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SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION.

SENATE.

SATURDAY, *September 21, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we have been following the path that has taught us the course of the pursuit of the ideal. But Thou art leading us on, sometimes amid the shadows and with anxious hearts, and yet with hearts aglow with fervor and passion for the truth and in anticipation of the final victory. We would rather walk in the dark with God than walk alone in the light. So do Thou give us those spiritual qualities that will ever inspire us to follow the gleam until the light of the victory which shall make free a world shall break in upon us by Thy grace. We ask for Christ's sake. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last, when, on request of Mr. SMOOT and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Brandegee	Fletcher	Martin, Va.	Smoot
Calder	Gulon	Nelson	Sterling
Chamberlain	Jones, N. Mex.	New	Thomas
Culberson	Jones, Wash.	Nugent	Trammell
Cummins	Kellogg	Pomerene	Vardaman
Curtis	Kendrick	Shafroth	Warren
Dillingham	Lodge	Sheppard	Wilfley
Drew	McNary	Smith, Md.	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Thirty-one Senators have answered to the roll call. There is not a quorum present. The Secretary will call the roll of absentees.

The Secretary called the names of the absent Senators, and Mr. OWEN, Mr. POINDEXTER, Mr. THOMPSON, Mr. TOWNSEND, Mr. UNDERWOOD, and Mr. WILLIAMS answered to their names when called.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I should like to announce that the junior Senator from Nevada [Mr. HENDERSON] is necessarily absent on business of the Senate, engaged in a conference.

Mr. FRANCE, Mr. ASHURST, Mr. MARTIN of Kentucky, Mr. SHIELDS, Mr. SMITH of Arizona, Mr. SIMMONS, Mr. WALSH, Mr. BANKHEAD, Mr. NORRIS, Mr. KING, and Mr. FALL entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Forty-eight Senators have answered to the roll call. There is not a quorum present.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that the Sergeant at Arms be instructed to notify absent Senators that their attendance is needed in the Senate.

The motion was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Sergeant at Arms will carry out the order of the Senate.

Mr. SHIELDS. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. MCKELLAR] is necessarily absent on official business. He telephoned he would be here shortly.

Mr. SIMMONS. I wish to announce that my colleague [Mr. OVERMAN] is unavoidably absent.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I wish to announce that the Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY], and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] are detained on official business.

Mr. MCKELLAR and Mr. RANSDELL entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Fifty Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF MINERAL OILS (S. DOC. NO. 280).

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Director of the Bureau of Mines, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 11th instant, certain information relative to the production and consumption of crude petroleum and other mineral oils in this country, and the amount required for export and the estimated stocks on hand at the present time, which, with the accompanying papers, was ordered to lie on the table.

THE BUILDING SITUATION.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the chairman of the War Industries Board, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 13th instant, certain information relative to the construction and alteration of public or private buildings.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, the report from the War Industries Board just submitted to the Senate affects the construction of buildings of every sort in the country. It is a matter of very great importance; in fact, I think it is the most far-reaching order issued by any department or board of the Government affecting the industries of the Nation since the war began. It is of such great importance that I ask unanimous consent that it be inserted in the RECORD for the information of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, in the near future it is my purpose to discuss this whole subject and its effect upon the country.

The report referred to is as follows:

WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD,
WASHINGTON.

To the honorable the PRESIDENT AND SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: On behalf of the War Industries Board, I beg to comply with Senate resolution 304, passed September 13, 1918, and transmitted to me the same day.

1. The only order promulgated by the War Industries Board "relative to the construction and alteration of public or private buildings" is contained in Circular No. 21, issued September 3, 1918, and supplemented under date of September 10, 1918. Copies of the order and the supplement are attached hereto.

2. Said orders were issued under the authority conferred upon the War Industries Board and its chairman by the President of the United States, in a communication to the chairman dated March 4, 1918, and confirmed by Executive order dated May 28, 1918, whereby the War Industries Board was created a separate administrative agency of the President, with the powers, duties, and functions set forth in the said communication from the President of March 4, 1918. Copies of said communication and of said Executive order are attached hereto.

I beg to call particular attention to the following powers and duties thus specifically conferred by the President upon the board and its chairman:

(a) "The studious conservation of resources and facilities by scientific, commercial, and industrial economies."

b. "The determination, wherever necessary, of priorities of production and of delivery and of the proportions of any given article to be made immediately accessible to the several purchasing agencies when the supply of that article is insufficient, either temporarily or permanently."

c. The chairman's duty to guide and assist "in obtaining access to materials in any way preempted," and "to anticipate the prospective needs of the several supply departments of the Government and their feasible adjustment to the industry of the country as far in advance as possible, in order that as definite an outlook and opportunity for planning as possible may be afforded the business men of the country."

I refer also to the act of Congress of August 10, 1917, known as the priority of shipment act.

3. In further response to Senate resolution 304, permit me to add:

In carrying out the duties, with which we were thus charged by the President, the War Industries Board and its chairman found the following situation to exist with respect to building and construction facilities and supplies:

a. Iron and steel are a necessary part of every completed building. They are necessary for plumbing, heating, ventilating, piping, hardware, and mechanical equipment. The direct and indirect war needs of this country and of our allies for the last six months of the current year already exceed 21,000,000 tons and the country's total output for the first six months was less than 17,000,000 tons. The unavoidable result is that iron and steel can not be used for nonwar or less essential purposes.

b. The United States Fuel Administration, finding that the production of building materials consumed upward of 30,000,000 tons of fuel per annum, and that there was a shortage in the fuel necessary for our war program, curtailed very materially the fuel allowed for building materials. The continued production of building materials for nonwar and less essential projects would now necessarily be at the expense of productions which our war program requires.

c. The Railroad Administration finds that 25 per cent of the total tonnage moved by the railroads is building material. It is absolutely essential that the portion of this tonnage which represents materials not needed for war or essential purposes should be displaced by tonnage which is.

d. The United States Employment Service finds that there is an acute shortage in the labor needed for the war program. It is absolutely essential that labor which now may be idle, or which may be engaged on nonwar or less essential work, should be employed upon work which will contribute toward winning the war.

It is therefore evident that the building and construction field furnishes an instance calling imperatively for the exercise by the War Industries Board of the duty with which the President charged it, of conserving the resources and facilities of the country for war purposes, of determining necessary priorities in production and in delivery, of obtaining access to materials in any way preempted, and of anticipating prospective war needs.

It is clear that there is not enough iron, steel, transportation facilities, fuel, and labor to supply the direct and indirect war needs of the country and the nonwar needs also, and that the resources and facilities used in nonwar and less essential building projects can only be applied thereto by taking them from the war needs.

The inevitable result of this would be failure to supply the war requirements of the country as they are needed. It would mean that nonwar and less essential needs would be produced at the sacrifice of war needs, with the consequent postponement of the day when the war will end and when American lives will be freed from the hazards of battle.

The attached orders were promulgated by the War Industries Board as a necessary means of avoiding this unhappy result.

These orders were only issued after the nearly six months' warning given by the resolution of March 21, 1918, which is quoted at length in Circular No. 21.

Attention is also called to the fact that before Circular No. 21 was issued numerous conferences were held between the board and the manufacturers of the principal building materials. The latter appreciated fully the situation as briefly outlined above and heartily agreed to cooperate with the board in carrying into effect the spirit of the resolution of March 21, 1918, and to that end to enter into the pledge set forth in Circular No. 21.

The manufacturers, however, felt that, not having the country's war program before them, it was impossible for them to determine what building projects were essential and what were less essential. They felt that the War Industries Board should determine this question as definitely as possible and should pass upon doubtful cases for them.

Accordingly the board did determine what were essential projects, defining them in paragraphs numbered (1) to (5), inclusive, of Circular No. 21, and projects of this character may proceed as therein explained. Other building projects are not prohibited but may likewise proceed if the local council of national defense, which is primarily the body best fitted to judge, finds them in the public interest or essential, and if this finding is approved by the War Industries Board. Building projects which do not measure up to these standards must be deferred until the war program is fulfilled. If they are not, the due fulfillment of the war program will be impossible.

The orders referred to are very much in the interest of the public, because they will prevent the public, including the trade, from planning or undertaking building projects and then, after plans or commitments have been made, finding that the war program makes it impossible to secure the materials necessary to complete them.

Moreover, the trade itself will find that because of the enormous housing and other construction work which the Government itself is undertaking a large part of the trade's facilities will simply be transferred to new lines of building activity.

Finally, the operation of the selective-service acts will much more than has already been the case directly affect the amount of labor available for the building trade and for other industries. Even with increased efficiency and female labor the natural outcome of this condition must be to curtail and reduce the volume of any given business not connected with the war program. As far as it is possible to do so, the less essential industries are being converted to more essential activities, but there will be a certain percentage of these industries which can not be so converted. Therefore the volume of business in the less essentials will be reduced, and with this reduction there will come a corresponding reduction in taxability.

It is not only the policy, it is the clear and simple duty, of the War Industries Board to see that the war program of the country is met, and this program must be met now, when its needs are upon us. This duty must be fulfilled, even if its fulfillment entails industrial loss in this country, as it does human loss abroad.

I have the honor to remain,

BERNARD M. BARUCH,
Chairman War Industries Board.

[P. C. Form 40.]

[War Industries Board, Priorities Division. Circular No. 21.]

NONWAR CONSTRUCTION.

To all manufacturers, jobbers, distributors, dealers, and consumers of building materials:

As far back as March 21, 1918, the following resolution was unanimously adopted and given wide publicity by the War Industries Board:

"Whereas it has come to the notice of this board that new industrial corporations are being organized in different sections of the United States for the erection of industrial plants which can not be utilized in the prosecution of the war; and

"Whereas plans are being considered by certain States, counties, cities, and towns for the construction of public buildings and other improvements which will not contribute toward winning the war; and

"Whereas the carrying forward of these activities will involve the utilization of labor, materials, and capital urgently required for war purposes: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, by the War Industries Board, that in the public interest all new undertakings not essential to and not contributing either directly or indirectly toward winning the war, which involve the utilization of labor, material, and capital required in the production, supply, or distribution of direct or indirect war needs will be discouraged, notwithstanding they may be of local importance and of a character which should in normal times meet with every encouragement; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That in fairness to those interested therein, notice is hereby given that this board will withhold from such projects priority assistance, without which new construction of the character mentioned will frequently be found impracticable, and that this notice shall be given wide publicity, that all parties interested in such undertakings may be fully apprised of the difficulties and delays to which they will be subjected and embark upon them at their peril."

Since that time the manufacturers of the principal building materials, including paving brick, face brick, common brick, hollow tile, cement, and lime, have agreed to cooperate with the War Industries Board in carrying into effect the spirit of the foregoing resolution, and the individual manufacturers have signed and filed with the Priorities Division pledges, in writing, substantially as follows:

"The undersigned hereby pledges itself not to use, nor, so far as lies within its power, permit to be used, any products of its manufacture now in, or which may hereafter come into, its possession or control, save (a) for essential uses as that term has been or may be defined or applied from time to time by the Priorities Division of the War Industries Board, or (b) under permits in writing signed by or under authority of such Priorities Division; that it will make no sale or delivery of such products to any customer for resale until such customer has filed with it a similar pledge in writing; and that it will use its utmost endeavor to insure that its products shall be distributed solely for essential uses."

Similar pledges are exacted by manufacturers from their customers who purchase for resale.

That all interested in the manufacture and sale of building materials, as well as those interested in building projects of every character, may have a clear definition of or a ready means of ascertaining the uses to which such materials may be put, and be advised of building projects which may be prosecuted during the war with the approval of the War Industries Board, this circular is issued.

Structures, roads, or other construction projects falling within the following classifications are hereby approved, and no permits or licenses will be required therefor:

(1) After having first been cleared and approved by the War Industries Board, those undertaken directly by or under contract with the War Department or the Navy Department of the United States or the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, the Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation of the United States Department of Labor, or the United States Housing Corporation;

(2) Repairs of or extensions to existing buildings involving in the aggregate a cost not exceeding $2,500;

(3) Roadways, buildings, and other structures undertaken by or under contract with the United States Railroad Administration or a railroad operated by such administration;

(4) Those directly connected with mines producing coal, metals, and ferro-alloy minerals; and

(5) Public-highway improvements and street pavements, when expressly approved in writing by the United States Highways Council.

No building project not falling within one of the foregoing classes shall be undertaken without a permit in writing issued by or under the authority of the Chief of the Nonwar Construction Section of the Priorities Division of the War Industries Board.

Should one contemplating building conceive his proposed project to be in the public interest or of such essentiality that under existing conditions it should not be deferred, then he will make a full statement of the facts in writing, under oath, and present same to the local representative of the Council of National Defense, applying to such representative for his approval of the proposed construction. Should such local representative approve the construction project, he will promptly transmit the application, stating clearly and fully his reason for approving same, to the chairman of the State council of defense for his consideration. If approved by the latter, he will transmit it to the Chief of the Nonwar Construction Section of the Priorities Division of the War Industries Board, Washington, D. C., for consideration, if need be further investigation, and final decision. Should the application be finally approved by the Priorities Division, a construction permit will issue which will constitute a warrant to manufacturers and dealers who have taken the pledges of cooperation above mentioned to sell and deliver building materials required in the construction of the licensed building project.

While it is not the policy of the Government to unnecessarily interfere with any legitimate business, industry, or construction project, it must be borne in mind that there is an imperative and constantly increasing demand for labor, material, and capital for the production and distribution of direct and indirect war needs, to satisfy which much nonwar construction must be deferred. A full realization of this fact by all loyal and patriotic citizens, including State and municipal authorities, is all that is required to postpone such construction activities as interfere with the war program. The State and local representatives of the Council of National Defense are with confidence depended upon to fully acquaint the whole people of these United States with the pressing need for the most rigid economy, measured not only in terms of dollars but in terms of labor, materials, and transportation service. The construction projects which must now be deferred may be undertaken when we shall have won the war and will then furnish employment to the returning artisan now on the battle front as well as those who will then be released by strictly war industries.

Yours, very truly,

EDWIN B. PARKER,
Priorities Commissioner.

Approved.

BERNARD M. BARUCH,
Chairman War Industries Board.

WASHINGTON, *D. C., September 3, 1918.*

SUPPLEMENTARY CIRCULAR OF SEPTEMBER 10, 1918.

Circular No. 21 issued by the Priorities Division of the War Industries Board under date of September 3, 1918, dealing with nonwar construction, applies only to projected buildings and not to those already begun. Where a substantial portion of a building has already been constructed, manufacturers and distributors of and dealers in building materials may continue to furnish such materials for the completion of such buildings pending further action by the War Industries Board. The local representatives of the Council of National Defense are requested to make surveys of all building activities in their respective territories and report same as promptly as possible to their State chairmen, together with their recommendations concerning the necessity for the continuance of such construction or deferring same until after the war. The State chairmen will in turn forward such reports, with their recommendations, to D. R. McLennan, Chief of the Nonwar Construction Section of the Priorities Division of the War Industries Board, Washington, D. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, March 4, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. BARUCH: I am writing to ask if you will not accept appointment as chairman of the War Industries Board, and I am going to take the liberty at the same time of outlining the functions, the constitution, and action of the board, as I think they should be now established.

The functions of the board should be:

(1) The creation of new facilities and the disclosing, if necessary, the opening up of new or additional sources of supply.

(2) The conversion of existing facilities, where necessary, to new uses.

(3) The studious conservation of resources and facilities by scientific, commercial, and industrial economies.

(4) Advice to the several purchasing agencies of the Government with regard to the prices to be paid.

(5) The determination, wherever necessary, of priorities of production and of delivery and of the proportions of any given article to be made immediately accessible to the several purchasing agencies when the supply of that article is insufficient, either temporarily or permanently.

(6) The making of purchases for the allies.

The board should be constituted as at present and should retain, as far as necessary and so far as consistent with the character and purposes of the reorganization, its present advisory agencies; but the ultimate decision of all questions, except the determination of prices, should rest always with the chairman, the other members acting in a cooperative and advisory capacity. The further organization of advice I will indicate below.

In the determination of priorities of production, when it is not possible to have the full supply of any article that is needed produced at once, the chairman should be assisted and, so far as practicable, guided by the present priorities organization or its equivalent.

In the determination of priorities of delivery, when they must be determined, he should be assisted when necessary, in addition to the present advisory priorities organization, by the advice and cooperation of a committee constituted for the purpose and consisting of official representatives of the Food Administration, the Fuel Administration, the Railway Administration, the Shipping Board, and the War Trade Board, in order that when a priority of delivery has been determined there may be common, consistent, and concerted action to carry it into effect.

In the determination of prices the chairman should be governed by the advice of a committee consisting, besides himself, of the members of the board immediately charged with the study of raw materials and of manufactured products, of the labor member of the board, of the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, the chairman of the Tariff Commission, and the Fuel Administrator.

The chairman should be constantly and systematically informed of all contracts, purchases, and deliveries, in order that he may always have before him schematized analysis of the progress of business in the several supply divisions of the Government in all departments.

The duties of the chairman are:

(1) To act for the joint and several benefit of all the supply departments of the Government.

(2) To let alone what is being successfully done and interfere as little as possible with the present normal processes of purchase and delivery in the several departments.

(3) To guide and assist wherever the need for guidance or assistance may be revealed; for example, in the allocation of contracts, in obtaining access to materials in any way preempted, or in the disclosure of sources of supply.

(4) To determine what is to be done when there is any competitive or other conflict of interest between departments in the matter of supplies; for example, when there is not a sufficient immediate supply for all and there must be a decision as to priority of need or delivery or when there is competition for the same source of manufacture or supply or when contracts have not been placed in such a way as to get advantage of the full productive capacity of the country.

(5) To see that contracts and deliveries are followed up where such assistance as is indicated under (3) and (4) above has proved to be necessary.

(6) To anticipate the prospective needs of the several supply departments of the Government and their feasible adjustment to the industry of the country as far in advance as possible, in order that as definite an outlook and opportunity for planning as possible may be afforded the business men of the country.

In brief, he should act as the general eye of all supply departments in the field of industry.

Cordially and sincerely, yours, WOODROW WILSON.

Mr. BERNARD M. BARUCH,
Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE PROCLAMATION OF MAY 28, 1918.

I hereby establish the War Industries Board as a separate administrative agency to act for me and under my direction. This is the board which was originally formed by and subsidiary to the Council of National Defense under the provisions of an act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes, approved August 29, 1916.

The functions, duties, and powers of the War Industries Board, as outlined in my letter of March 4, 1918, to Bernard M. Baruch, Esq., its chairman, shall be, and hereby are, continued in full force and effect.

WOODROW WILSON.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by G. F. Turner, one of its clerks, announced that the House disagrees to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12923) to supplement the second liberty bond act, as amended, and for other purposes, agrees to the conference asked for by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. KITCHIN, Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY, Mr. DIXON, Mr. FORDNEY, and Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania managers at the conference on the part of the House.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. NELSON presented the memorial of C. D. Shepard, of Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, relative to the income-tax situation for United States citizens residing in Canada, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the memorial of Charles F. Falk, of Two Harbors, Minn., and the memorial of M. D. Martin, of Northfield, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed increased tax on nonbeverage alcohol, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a telegram in the nature of a memorial from the Northern Display Advertising Co. of Minnesota, of Minneapolis, Minn., and a telegram in the nature of a memorial from C. A. Marshall, of Duluth, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed tax on outdoor advertisements, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a memorial of Rosenthal & Falk, of Crookston, Minn., and a memorial of Sam M. Field, of Moorhead, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed tax on shoes selling for more than $10 per pair, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. THOMPSON presented a petition of local branch, Railway Mail Association, of Kansas City, Kans., praying for the fixing of a standard day of employment for railway postal clerks, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

He also presented a memorial of the bar association of Wyandotte County, Kans., remonstrating against the proposed scheme of local board compensation and appropriations providing for the payments therein proposed, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the Loyal Legion of the State of Kansas, of Topeka, Kans., praying for the creation in the War and Navy Departments of a roll designated as "Civil War volunteer officers' retired list," which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. DREW. I present the memorial of Hon. Henry W. Blair, a resident of the city of Manchester, in my State, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

There being no objection, the memorial was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America:

I have the honor to inclose letters to the late lamented Senator Gallinger and to the Washington Times bearing upon the important subject of illiteracy in this country which he proposed to use in the further discussion of a bill reported by Senator SMITH of Georgia in the way of contradiction and explanation of highly misleading statements made in debate by himself and other Senators on the bill on the 25th day of last March, and perhaps on other days. Of this he emphatically assured me at least four different times, but the debate was not resumed and other opportunity did not occur during his lifetime. I also inclose brief additional matter, as follows, upon the necessity of the future general education of the masses of the people of the world if this war is to result in the destruction of autocracy and lasting democratic government and desirable peace.

I respectfully request the insertion of this in the RECORD and appropriate action as an act of justice to the memory of Senator Gallinger as well as to the truth of history, as my letter to the Washington Times clearly shows. From the nature of things the subject matter must dominate any rational action by an international conference or alliance, which must end this war and establish democracy as the ruling form of government among the nations of the earth.

Very early action would seem to be necessary or the errors will become history and fair corrections would have the same publicity as the original errors of fact in debate.

The action of the "unspeakable Turk" in destroying existing schools—English, American, French, and even Russian schools—even while war is waging, and their proposed perpetual extinction shows that our enemies comprehend the nature of this war better than we do.

The following item was recently published in a local newspaper:

"THE HAGUE, NETHERLANDS, *June 29.*

"Djemal Pasha, Turkish ambassador in Syria, one of the most influential leaders of the Young Turks, stated recently in an interview in a review called "German Policy" that all American, English, French, and Russian schools in Syria and Palestine already had been closed and he would never allow them to reopen after the war.

"He regarded this as an indispensable step toward the rooting out of entente influence in the post-bellum period. Jewish colonization, he declared, was equally injurious and he would do his utmost to oppose it.

"The review, dated June 8, has only just arrived through a secret route. It is believed the German Government forbade sending copies abroad, owing to its anti-Jewish character."

Whatever else is neglected or delayed let the Congress and the President seasonably attend to this. No public man has done it or proposed it to my knowledge.

The foremost man on earth has stated the issue in this war to be the overthrow of autocracy; that is, government of all by the few; or by democracy, which is the government of the people by themselves.

This is government of the people, by the people, for the people. All else is tyranny or the mob. But for this issue we have no business in this war.

There can be and there shall be no permanent peace on earth among men until the people know enough to govern themselves.

Autocracies govern by force. Democracies must be even more intelligent than tyrannies or kings, for there must be intelligent force exercised by the masses of the people in government by democracies. The majority of the people will seek their own good. Intelligence only is death to autocracy.

Of what use is a peace which does not require that every child born into the world of every nation and for all generations shall be forever entitled to be vested with the right to a good, common-school education at the public expense? This much at least. It is the cornerstone of democracy.

The expenditure in common schools of one-hundredth part of the loss in treasure to date would have prevented any war, to say nothing of the blood of men and of the works of thousands of years of civilization with unknown billions yet to come, which not only would have prevented any war but would have qualified every child for liberty and would have established the system all over the world.

Nothing but the good government and the increased productive power which democracy alone can give will prevent the bankruptcy of nations by debts contracted and damage already done.

For God's sake and for man's sake proclaim the right of every child born into the world to a free common-school education as the first and indispensible condition of peace.

You alone can do it for you are the most powerful intelligent human force, and therefore you alone have the opportunity and beyond all the love and respect of mankind and with these the responsibility.

If it be not done this war is but a preliminary skirmish to what is to come. And our country and those representing it will be forever disgraded and destroyed without remedy.

Letter to Hon. J. H. Gallinger:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 6, 1918.*

Hon. J. H. GALLINGER,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR GALLINGER: In debate upon the Senate bill to appropriate $50,000 for the education of soldiers too illiterate to read their military manuals or to understand orders from their officers, reported unanimously from the Committee on Education on the 25th of March, reference was made by you to the Blair education bill, to the effect that if it had become a law such an appropriation would have been unnecessary, and you believe that the amount proposed to be expended by the Blair bill was some six or seven million dollars.

Senator SMITH withdrew his bill before any reported action and moved the passage of a House bill appropriating the same amount, to wit, $50,000, for the same purpose.

Upon the House bill there was some debate preceding its passage by the Senate in which marked general lack of information in regard to the scope and purpose of the Blair bill became evident, of which historical justice requires a brief correction—sufficient at least so that the wide discussions of that measure, which continued for 10 years in the Congress and the country, may not be lost in further deliberations upon the most important question which concerns our country and the world, to wit, the removal of illiteracy from the masses of the people in order that democracy may maintain itself against autocratic power.

There will never be permanent peace until the common school is a world-wide institution. The action of March 25 upon the Senate bill was promptly reported in the Washington Times and the press generally. I at once wrote a letter to the Times, but before it could be published the second debate, which was upon the House bill, had occurred, and it became necessary to ask its publication, with slight enlargement, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as an act of justice to all.

I shall very highly appreciate the exercise of your proverbial courtesy in this matter, and remain, as ever,

Your friend,

(Signed) HENRY W. BLAIR.

Letter to the editor of the Washington Times:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 26, 1918.*

To the EDITOR OF THE WASHINGTON TIMES.

DEAR SIR: In your issue on the third page, under the head "What Congress did yesterday," I find education for illiterates now and under the Blair bill. * * * Senator SMITH of Georgia called up the subject of educating illiterate drafted men. Senator Gallinger dexterously reminded him that the Southern States had defeated the Blair bill for eradicating illiteracy at the South at national expense. The subject went over without recording the fact that the solid South objected to the Blair bill as intended to apply chiefly to colored Republicans, when it was said they were too illiterate to vote. I wrote every line of the Blair bill and did what I could in a 10-year war to secure its passage.

It applied equally to all illiterates, white and black, as shown by the census of 1880, north and south throughout the whole country. I believed it more important to educate the white illiterate than the colored, because there were more of them, and also because the negro could never rise through the strata of white ignorance above him until education had dissolved it. I was therefore more anxious for the education of my own race, and still am so, than for that of colored illiterates. Both should go on together.

The motives of its author and of its supporters generally were not political. Education of the illiterate white people and their children would make twice as many Republicans as educating the colored alone. The bill was not intended to apply to the colored Republicans chiefly, but to all alike; and, combined with State funds, the same amount of money was provided for each illiterate.

There was then, as now, an immense, growing and most dangerous mass of illiteracy at the North as well as at the South.

If the bill had become a law there would be no need of educating 700,000 white soldiers so that they can read their manuals and understand orders while they are fighting and dying to establish democracy and free schools everywhere else save in their own country.

Lastly, a large majority of the Southern United States Senators and, I believe, in the House, although it was not brought to a vote in the House, strongly supported the Blair bill.

No greater speeches were ever made in the Senate than by Senators Lamar, Pugh, Garland, Hampton, Jackson, Gibson, Vance, George, Ransom, Barbour, and many others, all for this bill.

No pretended history was ever more falsely written than that of the Blair bill.

In my firm belief its defeat cost Tom Reed the Presidency. Booker T. Washington and great influences behind him, after having supported, did their utmost to defeat the Blair bill.

The bill proposed temporary, but not permanent, aid, $120,000,000 during the 10 years of its operation under State administration, averaging $12,000,000 yearly, when it was believed the schools would become self-sustaining in all the States. This aggregate was reduced to $80,000,000, as finally amended, when it was defeated for the want of one vote in the Senate. The United States had no supervision or control further than to see that the law was complied with or the funds forfeited to the use of other States.

It is not strange that you have been misled in regard to this important measure of a past generation, for its inside history is comparatively unknown; but these errors are so serious and the subject so increasingly and permanently of world-wide importance if this war is to be won and not wasted, that I could not honestly permit them to pass uncorrected. Temporary national and international aid to common schools is the foundation and guaranty of free institutions, and their only sure defense against autocratic and anarchistic power. Hereafter the education of children will be considered as important as begetting them, for without moral and intellectual training either autocracy or anarchy will render human existence an eternal curse.

The discussions of the Blair bill were the turning point in the greatest of all wars, that for the spread and preservation of the public-school system for the free education in the common branches of knowledge of every normal child born into the world.

There will never be permanent peace on earth until the principles of the Blair education bill are made the basis of unity in the treaties and conventions which are to control the future relations of men. The common or public school will always insure a virtuous and intelligent majority as the governing force in a democracy. Common schools for the world! International agreements efficiently enforced need guarantee nothing more, for once established self-interest will always maintain them in the several nations.

Let us then have peace, but not until we have free common schools, for without them there can be no true democracy.

The passage of the Blair bill would have cost $80,000,000 as finally amended, but it would have prevented this war; it would have saved the world to date, $120,000,000,000 of money and millions of lives, and there can be no estimate of what is to come. It would have doubled the wealth of the South, if not of our whole country, and it would have established free schools as the missionary societies spread Christianity all over the world, and free democratic institutions forever. What a field for private charity, like the Bible and other great societies!

A blunder may be worse than a crime in its consequences. To repeat a blunder is always a crime.

Yours truly,

(Signed) HENRY W. BLAIR.

Wherefore your petitioner, a citizen of the United States, residing in the city of Manchester, in the State of New Hampshire, respectfully memoralizes the Congress and prays that the several prayers of his memorial be granted, and especially that the present war shall be waged until systems of free common schools are established throughout all nations who will adhere to them, are parties to a democratic peace which shall be pledged forever to maintain them.

HENRY W. BLAIR,
Room 801, Colorado Building.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September 18, 1918.*

N. B.—"In the several nations" and "what a field for private charity like the Bible and other great societies"! not in original letter.

THIRD LIBERTY LOAN.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, on April 27 of this year the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] delivered an address at my home in Brooklyn on the then third liberty-loan drive. That speech was afterwards printed in the RECORD. I am just in receipt of a copy of a letter from the gentleman who had charge of that meeting, addressed to the Senator from Oklahoma, which I ask permission to have inserted in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The letter referred to is as follows:

MANUFACTURERS' TRUST CO.,
Brooklyn, N. Y., September 19, 1918.

Hon. T. P. GORE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: The address delivered by you during the third liberty-loan drive acted as and was, indeed, an inspiration to all those who heard your message. The sentiments expressed should surely help in bringing about successful results in the flotation of the fourth liberty loan.

We must have no double allegiance, no divided loyalty, no fifty-fifty fidelity. Each and every person should participate to the full extent of his capacity and do his "bit" by subscribing now for bonds.

Brooklyn will again help to put the fourth liberty loan "over the top."

Sincerely,

NATHAN S. JONAS, *President.*

THE MEAT-PACKING INDUSTRY.

Mr. KENDRICK. Mr. President, I send to the desk a memorial, which I ask to have read and printed in the RECORD. This memorial is signed by the president and the secretary of the American National Live Stock Association and the different members of what is known as the market committee of that association.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, was it the request that the memorial be printed in the RECORD or that it be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry?

Mr. KENDRICK. It was that it be read and printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The request was that the memorial be read and printed in the RECORD.

Mr. SMOOT. I shall have to object to that.

Mr. KENDRICK. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Utah to explain his objection. This is a very brief memorial and it is signed by the representatives of thousands of people who are interested in the live-stock industry. I think the Senator from Utah will remember, for he is on the Committee on Printing, that I have not transgressed the rules of the Senate by asking to have either petitions, memorials, or any other form of document printed in the RECORD.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to the Senator that the chairman of the Committee on Printing, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. SMITH], has just entered the Chamber, and I am quite sure that the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. KENDRICK] has heard the statement which has been so many times made by the Senator from Arizona in relation to the printing of petitions and memo-

rials in the RECORD. If we print one, we might as well print all of them that come; and if we print all of them that come to the Senate, the RECORD will be more than half filled with petitions and memorials. The Senator from Arizona has stated time and again that he intended to object to the printing in the RECORD of all petitions and memorials unless they fell under the practice; that is, that they come from municipalities, from officials of a State, or from a State government. That has been his attitude and that has been the attitude of the Committee on Printing. It is therefore my duty, not my pleasure, I will say to the Senator, to object to the printing of this memorial in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is, Shall this memorial be printed in the RECORD?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, before that motion is voted upon I desire to make a parliamentary inquiry. Parliamentarily, should not the motion to print come from the proponent? I have noticed, in reading the RECORD, that the Chair puts the question whether or not the proponent presses the question to a vote in the Senate. I therefore desire to ask whether it is the duty of the Chair, under the rule, to put the question without the motion being made by the proponent himself?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair thinks that the Senator from Wyoming would not have presented this memorial and asked to have it printed in the RECORD unless he desired that that should be done. On objection, the Chair thinks it is the duty of the Chair to submit the question to the Senate.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, I desire that the Chair shall bear with me for just a moment on that proposition. There are many Senators who feel impelled to ask unanimous consent for printing matter in the RECORD because that request has been made of them. A Senator himself can not do less than ask for what the petitioners request him to do. Then, if the Senator presenting the petition is satisfied with the action of the Senate and with our effort to prevent the enormous expense of this public RECORD, he is ready to abide by that decision of the Senate; but if the Chair puts the motion, although the Senator originally preferring the request is not pressing it, it puts on the committee and those who are trying to protect the RECORD from this expense the double burden of watchfulness and of the frequent calling of the roll that otherwise would not happen unless the Chair, on his own motion, puts the question.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Well, two such matters have gone in the RECORD this morning without a word being said.

Mr. SMOOT. Petitions?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Yes. There is not very much watchfulness here. The Chair is going to stand by his ruling. All in favor of printing the matter in the RECORD will say "aye."

Mr. SMOOT. I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. No; let us have a division.

Mr. KENDRICK. I ask for a yea-and-nay vote.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. FLETCHER (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS], which I transfer to the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BENET] and vote "yea."

Mr. THOMPSON (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN]. In his absence I transfer that pair to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] and vote "yea."

Mr. UNDERWOOD (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HARDING]. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. WILLIAMS (when his name was called). I have a pair with the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE], and therefore withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. JONES of Washington (after having voted in the affirmative). The junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] is absent on account of illness in his family. I am paired with him during that absence. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] and will allow my vote to stand.

Mr. THOMAS (after having voted in the negative). I notice the absence from the Chamber of the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. MCCUMBER]. I have a general pair with that Senator. In his absence I transfer the pair to the Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN] and will allow my vote to stand.

Mr. WALSH. I am paired with the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS] and vote "yea."

Mr. WILLIAMS. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] to the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] and vote "nay."

Mr. LODGE. I have a pair with the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BAIRD] and vote "nay."

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] and vote "nay."

Mr. CALDER (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF] and will let my vote stand.

Mr. CURTIS. I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK] and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. STERLING (after having voted in the affirmative). I should like to inquire if the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] has voted?

The VICE PRESIDENT. He has not.

Mr. STERLING. I have a general pair with that Senator and therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX]. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. CURTIS. I have been requested to announce the following pairs:

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT] with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY];

The Senator from Maine [Mr. FERNALD] with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON];

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED];

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. SUTHERLAND] with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECKHAM]; and

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON] with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WOLCOTT].

The roll call resulted—yeas 29, nays 12, as follows:

YEAS—29.

Ashurst	Jones, Wash.	Norris	Trammell
Calder	Kendrick	Owen	Vardaman
Culberson	King	Poindexter	Walsh
Drew	McKellar	Pomerene	Warren
Fletcher	McNary	Ransdell	Wilfley
Guion	Martin, Ky.	Shafroth	
Henderson	Nelson	Sheppard	
Jones, N. Mex.	New	Thompson	

NAYS—12.

Brandegee	France	Simmons	Thomas
Cummins	Lodge	Smith, Ariz.	Townsend
Dillingham	Shields	Smoot	Williams

NOT VOTING—55.

Baird	Gronna	Lewis	Sherman
Bankhead	Hale	McCumber	Smith, Ga.
Beckham	Harding	McLean	Smith, Md.
Benet	Hardwick	Martin, Va.	Smith, Mich.
Borah	Hitchcock	Myers	Smith, S. C.
Chamberlain	Hollis	Nugent	Sterling
Colt	Johnson, Cal.	Overman	Sutherland
Curtis	Johnson, S. Dak.	Page	Swanson
Fall	Kellogg	Penrose	Underwood
Fernald	Kenyon	Phelan	Wadsworth
Frelinghuysen	Kirby	Pittman	Watson
Gerry	Knox	Reed	Weeks
Goff	La Follette	Robinson	Wolcott
Gore	Lenroot	Saulsbury	

The VICE PRESIDENT. On this question the yeas are 29, the nays are 12, with 5 Senators present paired and not voting. There is not a quorum present. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Fletcher	Martin, Ky.	Smith, Ariz.
Bankhead	France	Myers	Smith, Md.
Borah	Guion	Nelson	Smoot
Brandegee	Hardwick	New	Sterling
Calder	Henderson	Norris	Thomas
Chamberlain	Jones, N. Mex.	Poindexter	Underwood
Culberson	Jones, Wash.	Pomerene	Vardaman
Cummins	Kellogg	Ransdell	Walsh
Curtis	Kendrick	Shafroth	Warren
Dillingham	King	Sheppard	Wilfley
Drew	Lodge	Shields	
Fall	McKellar	Simmons	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Forty-seven Senators have answered to the roll call. There is not a quorum present.

Mr. GERRY entered the Chamber and answered to his name.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Forty-eight Senators have answered to the roll call. There is not a quorum present.

Mr. KIRBY entered the Chamber and answered to his name.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Forty-nine Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present. The pending ques-

tion is whether the petition presented by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. KENDRICK] shall be inserted in the RECORD. On that question the yeas and nays have been requested and ordered. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX], which I transfer to the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] and vote "yea."

Mr. FLETCHER (when his name was called). I make the same announcement of my pair and its transfer as on the previous vote and vote "yea."

Mr. JONES of Washington (when his name was called). Making the same announcement of my pair and its transfer that I made on the previous vote, I vote "yea."

Mr. MYERS (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MCLEAN], who is absent. I transfer my pair to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] and vote "yea."

Mr. STERLING (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] to the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF] and vote "yea."

Mr. THOMAS (when his name was called). Announcing the same pair and transfer as before, I vote "nay."

Mr. THOMPSON (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN], which I transfer to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] and vote "yea."

Mr. UNDERWOOD (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HARDING]. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. WALSH (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS] and vote "yea."

Mr. WILLIAMS (when his name was called). Repeating the announcement made upon the last call, I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CURTIS. I have been requested to announce the following pairs:

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT] with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY];

The Senator from Maine [Mr. FERNALD] with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON];

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED];

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. SUTHERLAND] with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECKHAM]; and

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON] with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WOLCOTT].

Mr. SHEPPARD. I wish to announce that the Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON], and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] are detained on official business.

The result was announced—yeas 39, nays 14, as follows:

YEAS—39.

Ashurst	Hardwick	Martin, Ky.	Shafroth
Calder	Henderson	Myers	Sheppard
Chamberlain	Jones, N. Mex.	Nelson	Sterling
Culberson	Jones, Wash.	New	Thompson
Curtis	Kellogg	Norris	Trammell
Drew	Kendrick	Nugent	Vardaman
Fall	King	Owen	Walsh
Fletcher	Kirby	Poindexter	Warren
Gerry	McKellar	Pomerene	Wilfley
Gronna	McNary	Ransdell	

NAYS—14.

Bankhead	France	Simmons	Townsend
Brandegee	Lodge	Smith, Ariz.	Williams
Cummins	Martin, Va.	Smoot	
Dillingham	Shields	Thomas	

NOT VOTING—43.

Baird	Harding	McLean	Smith, Md.
Beckham	Hitchcock	Overman	Smith, Mich.
Benet	Hollis	Page	Smith, S. C.
Borah	Johnson, Cal.	Penrose	Sutherland
Colt	Johnson, S. Dak.	Phelan	Swanson
Fernald	Kenyon	Pittman	Underwood
Frelinghuysen	Knox	Reed	Wadsworth
Goff	La Follette	Robinson	Watson
Gore	Lenroot	Saulsbury	Weeks
Gronna	Lewis	Sherman	Wolcott
Hale	McCumber	Smith, Ga.	

So Mr. KENDRICK's motion was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The memorial presented by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. KENDRICK] will be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

The memorial is as follows:

A MEMORIAL REGARDING THE REPORT OF FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION ON MEAT-PACKING INDUSTRY.

To the President of the United States, to Congress, and to the Federal Trade Commission:

The live-stock producers of this Nation in a spirit of loyal service wish to give their utmost efforts to assist our Government in winning this war. The most practical service which we believe they can render is to produce an adequate supply of meat animals for the military and civilian needs of ourselves and allies, and to aid in opening the channels of distribution so as to free the industry completely from practices which have encouraged the growth of monopoly and special privilege.

The market committee of the American National Live Stock Association were fully conversant with the critical meat situation at home and abroad, and the menace to the food supply of the Nation which existed when the President on February 7, 1916, directed the Federal Trade Commission to make its investigation, and later, on March 18, 1918, when, at the earnest solicitation of Mr. Hoover, he appointed a committee of five capable members of his own official family to determine a "positive national live-stock policy." The extremely unsatisfactory conditions prevailing in the live-stock business fully justified the action of the President in both instances, as well as the action of Congress in appropriating the necessary funds.

After carefully considering the report of the Federal Trade Commission, the American National Live Stock Association, through its market committee, and on behalf of the live-stock producers of the country, desires to express to the President, to Congress, and to the commission its deep appreciation of the fearless, convincing, and constructive summary of the report of the commission on the meat-packing industry and to express its belief that both producers and consumers should unite in vigorous support of the prompt enactment of appropriate legislation to carry into effect constructive policies and remedies of the character recommended by the commission.

The misrepresentation of the recommendations, which has been given widespread publicity, must not be permitted to mislead either Congress or the people. The commission did not recommend that the packing plants of the five large packers should be taken over by the Government. It did recommend that these packers should be deprived of the means by which they have acquired and maintained their monopolistic control of the live-stock markets and of meats and a constantly increasing list of other food products. It did recommend that the transportation, terminal, and distribution facilities of the country should be taken out of the hands of the monopolists and be made available on equal terms to open competition.

We have also carefully considered the report of the committee of five, and thoroughly indorse the idea of a positive national live-stock policy. It must be borne in mind, however, that the report of the committee of five is essentially a war measure, while the report of the Federal Trade Commission relates more especially to the permanent conditions that should prevail after the close of hostilities. While we deeply regret that the report of the committee of five did not touch on the great question of production, we especially commend that portion of it which dealt with the necessity for a uniform system of accounting in the packers' industry, the regulation of stockyards and commission men by the Department of Agriculture, the advisability of greater publicity regarding wholesale prices of meats, and the need of an investigation into the conditions of the retail trade; and we strongly urge the early appointment of a commission clothed with ample power to investigate thoroughly this situation and present a definite plan for a simplification of retail distribution which will assure the consumer a wholesome meat supply under a system free from waste and needless expense; and, most important of all, we indorse the need of a revision of the packers' license, being thoroughly convinced that the welfare of the live-stock industry and the consuming public demands effective regulation of the packers' entire business instead of only a portion.

We therefore respectfully, but earnestly, urge the prompt and favorable consideration by Congress of the remedies recommended by the Federal Trade Commission.

H. A. JASTRO, *Chairman*,
EDWARD L. BURKE,
DWIGHT B. HEARD,
JOSEPH M. CAREY,
HENRY C. WALLACE,
E. C. LASATER,
W. R. STUBBS,
Members of Market Committee of American National Live Stock Association.
IKE T. PRYOR, *President.*
T. W. TOMLINSON, *Secretary.*
WALTER L. FISHER, *Counsel.*

Adopted September 17, 1918.

Mr. ASHURST subsequently said: Mr. President, I may be in error, but I should like to inquire if under the motion a few moments ago to print in the RECORD the memorial presented by the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. KENDRICK] it was not to be read?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Oh, no; printed in the RECORD.

Mr. ASHURST. I am satisfied. I am not complaining.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Very good. Then let us go on. Are there further petitions and memorials?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I simply want to give notice to the chairman of the Committee on Printing that hereafter I shall not object to requests to print in the RECORD. Senators can present stuff that will require a thousand pages of the RECORD each day, as far as I am personally concerned. I do not want the chairman of the Printing Committee to expect me hereafter to object to anything being printed in the RECORD. Let us notify the country that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is open to exploit the views of anyone upon any question.

ACTIVITIES OF BREWERS' ASSOCIATION.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, there is before the Senate a resolution calling for a certain report from the Custodian of Alien Property, which has not yet been made to the Senate, I believe,

although I understand the facts called for have been furnished to Members of the Senate. I do not think the record in that case would be complete without the publication of the following, which I am informed is a correct copy of a letter which emanated from the White House last spring, a few days before politics had been officially adjourned.

The VICE PRESIDENT. There is no resolution here calling upon anyone to make a report on this question, the Chair will state. If the Senator is presenting it as a memorial, the Chair will ask if there is objection to having it read.

Mr. FLETCHER. Do I understand that the Senator presents a memorial or a letter?

Mr. LODGE. Let it be read.

Mr. FLETCHER. If it is not a petition, it is not in order, and I raise a point of order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will sustain the point of order.

Mr. NEW. I present it as a memorial, as a part of my remarks, and should like to have it read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator is out of order. He has no right to make remarks. The Chair sustains the point of order. Petitions and memorials are in order.

"TWO THOUSAND QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS."

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask the Secretary to read a communication which I have received in relation to the matter brought up by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] the other day concerning the circulation of the book entitled "Two Thousand Questions and Answers," and then I should like to make a remark about it. I ask that the name of the writer be omitted in the reading. I am willing to give it in confidence.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

NEW YORK, *September 16, 1918.*

Hon. FRANK B. BRANDEGEE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BRANDEGEE: I have just received from the Review of Reviews Co. a circular letter offering a book called "Two Thousand Questions and Answers About the War" to those who subscribe to the Review of Reviews or renew their subscriptions. The envelope bearing this matter bears on the front the following words in large black type: "Q. Did the Germans warn the passengers on the *Lusitania?*"

That this is an insidious form of German propaganda there can be no doubt, and I bring it to your attention, believing that you will deal with the matter appropriately and vigorously.

Very faithfully, yours,

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I understood from the matter that was inserted in the RECORD here to-day at the time when the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] brought this question to the attention of the Senate that this book, Two Thousand Questions and Answers, had been revised so that it was fit for publication and circulation. If this revised edition is being circulated through the United States mail, or if the prospective or circular advertising it is being circulated through the United States mail with that question on the envelope, it is perfectly evident what the intention is. It is the intention to convey the impression to the reader that if the passengers on the *Lusitania* had been warned by the Germans the Germans had a right to blow up the *Lusitania* and murder the men, women, and children who were aboard her. That is the intimation and the sole purpose of asking the question.

I do not know whose business it is to stop the publication from circulating through this country, and therefore I trust that if there is a Government official charged with the duty, bringing the matter to the attention of the Senate will cause him to take some action in the premises.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I have a short petition here, which is in four lines, as follows:

To the United States Senate:

As a citizen of the United States who believes the world can not be made safe for democracy while American women are denied the vote, in the name of justice I urge the immediate adoption of the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution by the United States Senate.

I will state that the petition is signed by several thousand citizens of the State of Colorado.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The petition will be referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator might just as well have the names printed.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I do not care to have the names printed, but will say that among the signers are many of the most eminent and prominent citizens of our State.

COMMITTEE SERVICE.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I ask for an order regarding committee service.

First I ask that the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CURTIS] may, at his own request, be relieved from further service upon the Committee on Canadian Relations; that the Senator from New York [Mr. CALDER] may, at his own request, be relieved from further duty upon the Committee on Indian Affairs; and that the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] may, at his own request, be relieved from further service upon the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Justice.

The VICE PRESIDENT The Chair hears no objection, and the Senators named are excused from further service upon the committees indicated.

On motion of Mr. WARREN, it was

Ordered, That the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. DREW] be assigned to membership on the following committees: Library, Printing, Indian Affairs, Canadian Relations, Expenditures in the Department of Justice.

DISINTERMENT OF BODIES.

Mr. SMITH of Maryland. From the Committee on the District of Columbia I report back favorably, without amendment, the bill (H. R. 12429) to authorize the health officer of the District of Columbia to permit the disinterment of the bodies of Eliza Hill Bowles, Bernice Worthen Bowles, and Bessie Vivian Bowles, and I submit a report (No. 573) thereon, and ask for the present consideration of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and it was read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the health officer of the District of Columbia be, and he is hereby, authorized, under such directions and precautions as he may adopt, to permit William C. Bowles to disinter, remove, and reinter the bodies of his deceased children, Eliza Hill Bowles, buried October 7, 1893; Bernice Worthen Bowles, buried October 18, 1893; and Bessie Vivian Bowles, buried October 18, 1893; all of whom died from diphtheria and were buried in Congressional Cemetery in said District, but such permit shall not be issued unless there has been filed in the health department of the District of Columbia a permit from the proper governmental authorities at the place where the reinterment is to be made, authorizing said interment there of the said remains.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 4950) regulating the personnel in the Coast Artillery bands; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 4951) fixing a limitation of time for bringing suits against the United States in certain cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BORAH:

A bill (S. 4952) granting an increase of pension to John B. Way (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A bill (S. 4953) granting an increase in appropriation to all State and Territorial soldiers' and sailors' homes from $100 per year for each inmate to $150 per year for each inmate thereof; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SARAH A. STAPLIN.

Mr. BRANDEGEE submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 308), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate to Sarah A. Staplin, sister of William Gardiner, late assistant clerk to the Committee on Pacific Railroads of the United States Senate, a sum equal to six months' salary at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

DEEP WATERWAYS SYSTEM FROM DULUTH TO NEW YORK.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, I submit a Senate resolution and ask unanimous consent to proceed to its present consideration.

The resolution (S. Res. 309) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of Commerce, together with the Chief of the Division of Inland Waterways of the Railroad Administration, is hereby directed to furnish for the use of the Senate such information as is available from public or private sources, without expense, concerning the advantage and value to the commerce of the country of the acquisition, construction, and maintenance of canals connecting Lake Erie with Lake Ontario and the latter lake with the Hudson River by way of the New York State Barge Canal from Oswego to Troy, to complete the deep waterways system from Duluth to New York, such report to include, so far as available, estimated costs of development of

same, respectively, as 30-foot deep canals, what relief will be thereby afforded to lines of existing rail transportation, the extent to which such canals would probably be utilized by the commerce of the country, the incidental value thereof as assisting the national defense, and any other economic advantages and uses such canals would serve.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Will the Senator from New York tell me the other authority besides the Secretary of Commerce?

Mr. CALDER. The Inland Waterways Division of the Railroad Administration.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I have not the slightest objection to the resolution. It occurs to me, however, that inasmuch as it calls for estimates of expenses, and so forth, the Army engineers ought to be consulted in the matter. Perhaps the Secretary of Commerce can consult them. I assume that it would incur some expense to make the survey and estimate.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, this resolution is almost identical with one adopted by the Senate a few days ago at the request of the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY] dealing with other inland waterway matters. I doubt if the inquiry will be an expensive job.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the consideration of the resolution?

Mr. FLETCHER. If it merely calls for some consideration of the matter and some investigation and report by the Secretary of Commerce it might be profitable to have it undertaken, but I gather from the reading of the resolution that it contemplates an estimate of the cost of a 30-foot canal connecting the Lakes and the Hudson River. I do not see how that can be done unless you have a very extensive survey and a pretty expensive investigation. Does the resolution contemplate that there may be an appropriation to do the work?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution says "without expense." Is there objection to its consideration?

Mr. FLETCHER. I have no objection to getting the information.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, I do not object to this resolution, but Senators may have forgotten that some four or five years ago the Senate passed a resolution requesting the President to enter into relations with the Canadian and British Governments looking to the construction of a waterway for ocean-going ships from Duluth to Montreal, covering a large portion of the distance contemplated in this resolution, but also continuing it farther, to the city of Montreal, where they already have an ocean way. I wish we might know exactly what, if anything, was done with the former resolution, which I introduced, and what action the President took in reference to it, because I believe it is of the very greatest importance. It is well known that Canada has been discussing a deep-water canal system to connect the Great Lakes with the St. Lawrence River by way of the Ottawa River route, which I think would be most unfortunate to the United States.

I happen to know, Mr. President, that this matter has been receiving very serious consideration in the Dominion. It has been interfered with somewhat on account of the war. There is a party or a division of people in Canada who want an ocean channel by way of Lake Erie, through the Welland Canal enlarged, and to Lake Ontario. Another party wish to keep the canal altogether on Canadian territory and therefore propose to connect Green Bay and the Ottawa River with the St. Lawrence. Senators can realize how important it is that the former should be encouraged by us because it would be no less beneficial to Canada and of great benefit to the United States.

I wish that this question might be considered seriously, because I can conceive of nothing that is more emphasized even in this time of war by our country's needs.

It would very largely solve the question of transportation rates; it would relieve freight congestion; it would be a military advantage by furnishing a cheap and efficient outlet to the sea, the demonstration for the need of which has been made so many times of late.

We have had this matter investigated by Army engineers, surveys have been made, and volumes of engineers' reports have been made with reference to the work. While one of the most complete reports advises that the expense would be very great, yet more recent information shows that that waterway could be developed for ships at practically no expense to either country. A few years ago a New York corporation wanted to build a dam for the purpose of developing water power in the Long Soo Rapids. The proposition then submitted was that it would construct dams under plans approved by the Army engineers of the United States in such a way as to subserve the interests of deep-water navigation, and without expense to the Government. I sincerely hope, Mr. President, that the proposition, which is not involved in the one presented by the Senator from New York, but in the one that was brought up the other day, which proposes to allow some corporation, or the Government itself, to develop water power in the St. Lawrence River purely for power purposes, will not be looked upon with favor unless there can be associated with it the navigation project. It is a look into the future, but it ought to be observed. We ought to take into consideration the interests of both countries. It is a mutual proposition; it is in boundary waters, and to preserve good feeling between the two countries the problem ought to be international and ought to be solved jointly. The two countries must work in harmony, for their interests are common. There is no valid reason why ships of deepest draft should not ply between Liverpool and Duluth. The administration should exercise the power which it already has to take the preliminary steps in this great improvement. I do not object to this resolution because it is somewhat along the lines of the project I have mentioned—it has in view an ocean way from Duluth to the foot of Lake Ontario, and there remains only the distance between Ontario and Montreal, in the St. Lawrence River, to be improved, and that is the natural water outlet for our foreign commerce. Nature has builded it for us, practically, although there are some obstructions to be removed; but those obstructions will themselves furnish the means of financing the development.

I repeat, it is a big proposition, and it is one that I had hoped would be submitted to the International Waterways Commission or to the Canadian Government itself, for it would have been welcomed. There is not any doubt about it. I know somewhat the sentiment over there. The question ought to be considered, and by both Governments. It ought to have received practical attention long ago.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I desire to say, in reply to the remarks that have been made by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND], that a short time ago I read in the public press that a company had made application to the International Waterways Commission for the improvement of the Soo Rapids, in the St. Lawrence River, and that the commission had granted them the right to make the improvement. Their improvement, as I recall it, was to create a water power and to leave the main channel of the St. Lawrence River in good navigable condition. It was stated that the Canadian Government had objected to the proposition on the ground that it was a matter that did not belong to the commission, that it was beyond the jurisdiction of the commission. I simply refer to the subject because it was called to my attention.

Now, I want to say a word to my friend, the Senator from New York [Mr. CALDER]. I am not opposed to his resolution, I am in favor of it, but I think he is calling on the wrong department for the information. The Commerce Department is not the department that has any data of any practical value at hand in reference to the matter. His resolution ought to be addressed to the Secretary of War. The Engineer Corps of the War Department has ample data, and, in many cases, has estimates of the cost of such improvements. As to the very proposition to which the Senator refers in respect to a route from the barge canal up into Lake Ontario and from there around on the American side by way of Buffalo, I think the Senator will find a report of the engineering department in respect to that subject. If the Senator desires to secure the information and the data for which he asks in the resolution, I think it would be a mistake not to address it to the War Department. If it were my resolution and I wanted that information, that is the department to which I would address it.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, answering the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON], I might say I was prompted to prepare the resolution in the way it has been presented because a resolution which was adopted a few days ago on motion of the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY], dealing with inland waterways, was directed to the Department of Commerce. I added the Inland Waterways Division of the Railroad Administration, of course, because I know they are making a study of the proposition involved in my resolution. If, however, it is the judgment of Senators here that the information can best be obtained from the War Department, I have no objection to substituting the War Department for the Department of Commerce. I know that the other resolution was addressed to the Department of Commerce, and that prompted me to frame this resolution in the same words; but if the Senator, in his wide experience, thinks it is better for the War Department to handle the matter, I shall not object.

Mr. NELSON. I certainly think it would be better, and that the Senator from New York would get more complete information in the quickest time from the War Department. That is my opinion.

Now, in respect to the Delaware & Chesapeake Canal improvement, I will say that that canal has been repeatedly surveyed; estimates have been made; and the matter has been considered

by the Committee on Commerce. I apprehend all the information that the Department of Commerce could furnish on that subject would be simply as to the commercial advantages of the route; and there is no dispute about those. The question involved in the Delaware & Chesapeake Canal, that has hung up the matter, is the taking over of an old company; a company which has built a canal there, and which has been charging tolls; and it is a question of buying out that company. That has been the matter in controversy. We have in the Senate twice, I think—at least once—put a provision into a bill for purchasing that canal, for the Government taking it over, improving it, enlarging it, and making it a ship canal; but the other House has refused to agree to the proposition; and so it has failed. The company is in a bad situation. Undoubtedly the canal ought to be taken over, improved, and converted into a ship canal; but, as I have said, the incubus that has delayed the matter, the question that has caused controversy between the two Houses, has been as to the acquisition of the rights of the old company.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, carrying out the suggestion of the Senator from Minnesota, I ask unanimous consent to strike out the Department of Commerce——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ASHURST in the chair). The Chair desires first to put the question: Is there objection to the request for the consideration of the resolution at this time?

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I do not rise to object to the consideration of the resolution, but the Senator from New York referred to a precedent having been established with reference to a resolution concerning the Coast Canal; and perhaps it is best to leave the Senator's resolution in its present shape. If it goes into the hands of the War Department, and if he asks for a report from that department, it is going to take a long time and considerable investigation; there is no question about that. I rather think that the Senator had better leave his resolution stand as he has offered it.

Mr. CALDER. Very well; then I will not change the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New York for the present consideration of the resolution? There being no objection, it is before the Senate. The resolution has been read. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by G. F. Turner, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 12863) to provide revenue, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11283) to amend and reenact sections 4, 11, 16, 19, and 22 of the act approved December 23, 1913, and known as the Federal reserve act, and sections 5208 and 5209, Revised Statutes.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the bill (H. R. 11283) to amend and reenact sections 4, 11, 16, 19, and 22 of the act approved December 23, 1913, and known as the Federal reserve act, and sections 5208 and 5209, Revised Statutes, and it was thereupon signed by the Vice President.

THE REVENUE.

H. R. 12863. An act to provide revenue, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I give notice that on Monday, after the close of the morning business, I shall take occasion to address myself to certain features of the measure which I believe are inconsistent with constitutional provisions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ASHURST in the chair). The bill will be referred to the Committee on Finance. The morning business is closed.

ACTIVITIES OF BREWERS' ASSOCIATION.

Mr. FLETCHER. I move that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida asks unanimous consent that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

Mr. CUMMINS. I wish to make a point of order.

Mr. NEW. Will the Senator from Iowa withhold his suggestion for a moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. CUMMINS. I will agree to withhold the point of order for a moment.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, addressing myself to the motion to take up the unfinished business, I desire to read what I believe to be an accurate copy of a letter which purports to have been issued from the White House on the 14th day of May, very shortly after politics had been officially adjourned. The letter is addressed to Mr. Arthur Brisbane, and reads as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, May 14, 1918.

MY DEAR BRISBANE: When you were at the White House offices today I forgot to ask you to send me the Chicago Herald and Examiner regularly to my office here. I am sure you are going to make the same good Democratic fight in Chicago that you have been making in your paper in Washington, and I want to see just how you do it.

Sincerely, yours,

J. P. TUMULTY,
Secretary to the President.

Mr. President, I have thought it well to have that letter in the RECORD, and I hope that it will be referred to the committee along with certain other papers relating to the subject of the purchase of the Washington Times, concerning which a demand has been made upon the Alien Property Custodian.

WATER-POWER DEVELOPMENT.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I have no objection to having the unfinished business laid before the Senate, but before it is considered and before anything is done under that order, I desire to have a quorum of the Senate present.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Then, the first question is, Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Florida that the unfinished business be considered at this time?

There being no objection, the Senate resumed the consideration of the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1419) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of dams across navigable waters," approved June 21, 1906, as amended by the act approved June 23, 1910, and to provide for the improvement and development of waterways for the uses of interstate and foreign commerce.

Mr. CUMMINS. I now make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Gerry	Myers	Sterling
Bankhead	Henderson	Nelson	Thomas
Calder	Jones, N. Mex.	New	Thompson
Chamberlain	Jones, Wash.	Norris	Townsend
Cummins	Kendrick	Poindexter	Trammell
Curtis	King	Shafroth	Vardaman
Dillingham	Kirby	Sheppard	Wilfley
Fall	McKellar	Shields	Williams
Fletcher	McNary	Simmons	
France	Martin, Va.	Smoot	

Mr. TOWNSEND. I wish to announce the absence of my colleague [Mr. SMITH of Michigan]. He is paired with the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED]. This announcement may stand for the day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Only 38 Senators having answered to their names, there is not a quorum present. The Secretary will call the names of absent Senators.

The Secretary called the names of the absent Senators, and Mr. MARTIN of Kentucky, Mr. RANSDELL, Mr. SMITH of Maryland, and Mr. WALSH answered to their names when called.

Mr. GUION, Mr. NUGENT, Mr. POMERENE, Mr. KELLOGG, and Mr. BORAH entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. But 47 Senators have answered to their names. There is not a quorum present.

Mr. FLETCHER. I move that the Sergeant at Arms be directed to request the attendance of absent Senators.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Sergeant at Arms will execute the order of the Senate.

Mr. UNDERWOOD, Mr. LODGE, Mr. DREW, and Mr. WARREN entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fifty-one Senators having answered to their names, a quorum of the Senate is present.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, Thursday afternoon of this week, the day before yesterday, there was extended debate in the Senate on the motion of the Senator from Forida [Mr. FLETCHER] to the effect that the Senate disagree to the House amendment to the pending bill—the water-power bill—and send it to conference.

I was not present during much of the debate. I was compelled, by important departmental business, to leave the Chamber soon after the debate began, and I did not return until about the time it closed. I am sorry I was not present during all of the debate. That debate, I have since learned, took a

wide range, covering not only the subject of water-power legislation and the procedure of the House and the Senate on matters pending between the two branches of Congress, but relating to the oil-land leasing bill, which is now in conference between the two branches of Congress, and relating to the attitude and actions of the Secretary of the Interior, the Attorney General, and the Secretary of the Navy with reference to the oil-land leasing bill, now and for a long time past in conference between the two branches of Congress, over which there is apparently a deadlock in conference and in which conference it appears that the opinions of those three Cabinet officials have figured to some extent, and the debate also covered many other subjects, some of them of a personal nature.

It appears that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] spoke several times during the debate that afternoon. I am sorry that I was not present to hear him. I was compelled by urgent official business to leave the Chamber about the time the Senator from Colorado took the floor to make his first talk, and I was compelled to be away quite a considerable length of time and did not return to the Chamber until about the time the Senator from Colorado made the closing remarks of his last address. I wish I had been present during all of that time, but owing to matters not under my control I could not be. The Senate was not in session yesterday, and it has just come to my knowledge since I entered the Chamber this afternoon, from an inspection of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Thursday, the 19th instant, that a good deal was said during that debate—said principally by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS]—about the attitude and actions of the Secretary of the Interior in regard to certain legislation and about a controversy between the Secretary of the Interior and other departments of the Government.

As I say, just in the last few minutes that matter has come to my attention. I knew nothing of it until I entered the Chamber this afternoon, and I have not yet had time to read all that there is in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the 19th instant on the subject; but I have read enough to learn something of the nature of the remarks which involved the Secretary of the Interior and the action of some other departments of the Government, and, although I have not read all that was said, I can not let this occasion pass without making some remarks on some things said here Thursday afternoon about the Secretary of the Interior. I feel that it is my duty to do so. Had I been here at the time, I would have made immediate reply. I now do so at the very first opportunity.

I see from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that day that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] read into the RECORD, in the course of his remarks, some statements about Secretary of the Interior Lane made by Mr. Kearful, of the Department of Justice, before the House Committee on Public Lands some months ago while it was considering the oil-land leasing bill; and I have read the most of Mr. Kearful's statements, so quoted in the RECORD of the 19th. I think Mr. Kearful's language on that occasion was an outrageous and most unjustifiable assault upon a high official of this Government, who stands as high as any man in the United States for probity, integrity, honor, and honesty, whose reputation is above reproach, whose official conduct has been animated by the purest of motives, and whose every action does embody and is regarded by the people of the United States as embodying absolute integrity and honesty as well as sound judgment and an intention to do justice.

I had heard some months ago something of the attack which Mr. Kearful made upon the Secretary of the Interior in his statement before that committee, but I had never seen it nor seen any part of it until this afternoon. I did not think enough of it to get a copy of the hearing before the House committee and read it. I did not attach any importance to it. I think it was entirely out of place when made before the committee, that it was wholly unjustified and unwarranted by anything Secretary Lane had done, and was a gross violation of propriety; and I am sorry the Senator from Colorado dignified it by quoting from it and having parts of it put in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. With great respect for the distinguished Senator from Colorado, whom I hold in high regard and for whose motives in all things I have high regard, I think he erred in putting those statements of Mr. Kearful in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I think it was an improper thing to do.

I see in the remarks of the Senator from Colorado that he takes exception to the fact that the Secretary of the Interior has made no reply to the assault made upon him on that occasion by Mr. Kearful and has taken no notice whatever of it. I think the Secretary of the Interior acted with eminent dignity and entire propriety in ignoring the assault made upon him by Mr. Kearful. I think it was entirely proper for him to ignore it. I think it was beneath the notice and the dignity of the Secretary of the Interior. I do not believe the honorable Secretary of the Interior has to make reply to or take any notice of any such assault upon him to vindicate or justify himself before the people of the United States. I believe that his reputation and his character are such as not to require that he take any notice of any such proceeding. I believe that the people of the United States have their own fixed estimate of the Secretary of the Interior, and that they do not care to have him reply to any such scurrilous attack as was made upon him by Mr. Kearful, nor expect it of him.

During the last five years and a half, since the present Secretary of the Interior has occupied that position, during nearly all of which time I have had the honor of occupying the position of chairman of the Public Lands Committee of the Senate, I have had intimate official relations and much official business with the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Franklin K. Lane, and I think I know quite well his character, as well as his attitude on public-land matters and his ideas on the policy of public-land legislation. I am glad to take this opportunity to say that I know him, in all that he does, to be actuated by the purest motives and a high sense of integrity and probity. I think it is highly reprehensible and most unjust for a man of the character of the present Secretary of the Interior to be attacked as he was before the House committee on that occasion, and in his absence, too. I think, however, that his standing is such that it is not only not necessary, but would be really improper, for him to take any notice of any such attacks from an inferior official.

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] rather complains that the Secretary of the Interior did not take notice of the attack. I do not think anybody took much notice of it or took it seriously. Evidently the President of the United States does not think the attack sufficient to take any notice of or to dignify. Evidently he does not believe the charges made by Mr. Kearful on that occasion. If he did, the present occupant of the office of Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Lane, would no longer be occupying that position. If the President of the United States thought there was any truth or merit in the statements made by Mr. Kearful, if Mr. Lane's resignation had not been forthcoming I am sure he would have been removed from the position which he occupies.

The Senator from Colorado, I find, made a remark to the effect that the present occupant of the office of Secretary of the Interior is merely Secretary of the Interior in name and not in fact. With all due respect to the distinguished Senator from Colorado, I think that was an incorrect, unwarranted, and unjust statement. I think Secretary Lane is in every way and absolutely Secretary of the Interior and is in full control of the affairs of his department of the Government in all respects, and that he has never hesitated to do whatever the duties of his position may have required or to take any stand that honesty and integrity and the best interests and welfare of the United States and the people thereof require. He has asserted every prerogative of his office and has not shirked or yielded an iota in discharging them. I think that his jurisdiction in that department has been undisputed and uninterfered with, except in one instance. That was in regard to the oil-land leasing bill, which is now in conference between the two branches of Congress. Over that bill it is true that there was a long dispute and controversy and much expression of different views in regard to its provisions by the Secretary of the Interior, the Attorney General, and the Secretary of the Navy.

I do not see, however, how that could have been prevented. I do not see how the Secretary of the Interior could have done anything to prevent it. I do not see that his prerogatives or his dignity were successfully encroached upon in any way whatever. That bill in its nature affected more or less three departments of the Government—the Interior Department, the Department of Justice, and the Navy Department. It was necessarily so.

It was principally within the jurisdiction of the Interior Department, and yet it affected certain oil lands in the State of California which had been withdrawn from public entry by Executive order, and some of those lands were in litigation between the United States Government and the Southern Pacific Railway Co. Some litigation was in progress in the courts of the country over which the Attorney General had jurisdiction and which he and his assistants had been conducting on the part of the Government, and the Attorney General naturally felt that his Department had some interest in that legislation. The suits were pending. He seemed to feel that the proposed legislation might interfere with the pending suits, and he asked, as I understand, to have the privilege of appearing or having some of his assistants appear before the Senate and House committees which considered that legislation, or was invited to do so, I do not

remember which. If he asked it, it was a very natural request, and there was no reason why the committee should refuse the request. There was no reason why the Department of Justice should not have representatives appear before those committees and state the attitude and contentions and views of the Department of Justice in regard to the litigation which was pending, and which the Attorney General felt that the legislation might interfere with. I do not see why the Department of Justice should have been expected to have kept silent on that proposed legislation while it was pending; and I do not see that the fact that representatives of that department asked the privilege of appearing, if they did, before committees of Congress which were considering the legislation necessarily encroached upon the Department of the Interior or its rights in the premises.

The Secretary of the Navy was naturally interested because he was endeavoring to provide an adequate supply of oil for the Navy, for the operation of warships, and he either asked or was invited to come before the committees of the House and the Senate and express the views of his department. So the three departments claimed, each of them, some interest in the proposed legislation, and claimed the right to express their respective views about the legislation—or, at least, did express them—and as long as representatives of the departments came before the committees and expressed their views and made their contention in a respectful manner, without reflecting upon the integrity of other departments or officials in other departments, I see no impropriety in it, and see no surrender by the Secretary of the Interior of any of his rights or prerogatives.

Mr. THOMAS entered the Chamber.

Mr. MYERS. I see the distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] has entered the Chamber. I said earlier in my remarks that I think the assault made upon Secretary Lane by Mr. Kearful before the House committee was wholly unwarranted and unjustified, and I said I thought the Secretary of the Interior was a man of such high standing and well-known integrity and probity that it was entirely proper for him to ignore that assault and pay no attention to it. I said, furthermore, that the President of the United States had evidently paid no attention to it, and I say now that I see no reason why we should pay any attention to it or bring it into the debates of this body. I said in that connection that I regretted that the intemperate language of Mr. Kearful had been dignified by being put in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; that I thought it was improper to put it in the RECORD, and it would have been better if it had been left out.

I have never known any attempted interference with the prerogatives of the Secretary of the Interior or the jurisdiction of the Interior Department by other departments of the Government except in that one instance, if that may be regarded such, and I could not call that unwarranted interference, in so far as it consisted in a respectful expression of views by the heads of other departments or their representatives, a respectful and temperate statement of their interest in the legislation and of how it would affect their departments. They had a right to appear in a respectful way before the committees. I do not see that any official could properly be denied that privilege. I do not think, however, that the contentions of the various departments of the Government or the clashing of interests between them with regard to proposed legislation should influence Congress in the enactment of legislation, except in so far as paying due regard to all their arguments and contentions, putting them in the balance, and weighing them with due regard and then doing what Congress thinks is right, taking everything into consideration.

Congress should give all pertinent and respectful contentions and arguments due regard and then should enact such legislation as Congress in the last analysis thinks wise and proper and best.

The departments of the Government of the United States can not always be kept just as separate as parallel tracks of railroad running alongside of each other several feet apart. The business of our Government is so complex and complicated and so extensive and comprehensive that many things arise in which different departments of the Government have more or less interest or feel more or less interest. Many times different departments think they have a right to have something to say in regard to proposed legislation. You can not separate the different governmental departments with a razor edge just as you would cut a cake of cheese and keep them totally separate and apart. They are not like two streams of water running several miles apart, but which never converge.

They sometimes get into a common territory where there are matters and proposed legislation more or less affecting different departments of the Government. It is true that does not often arise to such an extent as arose over the oil-land leasing bill, in which three different departments of the Government set up conflicting views and to some extent clashing interests, but it does sometimes arise to more or less extent. I can imagine cases where it might arise even to quite as much an extent in other departments of the Government. Upon first thought, one could hardly think of anything arising in the Post Office Department in which any other department of the Government might feel any particular interest or claim any right to intervene and express contrary views to those of the Postmaster General; and yet, if we were maintaining a Government post office on a warship of the United States, I can see readily where the Postmaster General would naturally have the strongest interest in any legislation affecting it, while the Secretary of the Navy, when warships are carrying the mail, might feel that he had a right to have something to say about the proposed legislation, and the Department of Justice might intervene and express a view contrary to the views of one or the other of the other departments.

I can not see anything in the fact that three different departments of the Government have felt impelled to express views about oil-land leasing legislation and to try to have some influence in Congress over it as reflecting in any degree upon the capacity or disposition of the Secretary of the Interior to control the affairs of his own department. I think he has done so to the full extent which the law allows and to the extent which propriety would permit of his going. A Secretary of the Interior can not always have his way absolutely in everything where there is a converging of interests, where several different departments of the Government claim or have an interest in legislation and the right to have something to say about it, when all are subject to control by the President of the United States, the supreme authority in the end. Neither can any other Cabinet official.

I do not suppose there ever has been a Cabinet official who served a four-year term without coming to some extent in clash with the interests, wishes, or desires of some other department of the Government or with contrary views of the President of the United States. If a Cabinet official could serve four years and have his way absolutely in everything, conduct the affairs of his department in every respect just exactly as he thinks they ought to be conducted without regard to any other department of the Government and without regard to the views and wishes of the President of the United States, I think it would be a very remarkable thing. I doubt if it ever has occurred.

So I think the statement that the Secretary of the Interior is not Secretary of the Interior in fact as well as in name, or the imputation that he has surrendered any of his prerogatives or his official position or has yielded to any encroachment is wholly untenable and is not justified by the facts. I believe the present Secretary of the Interior has filled his position with as much assiduity, earnestness, and devotion to the duties of the office and with as much devotion to the welfare of the Western States, the public-land States of the Union, and the people of those States, as any man who has ever filled that office, at the same time having due regard for the welfare of the entire Nation. I believe he has devoted more care and attention and thought to the welfare of that portion of the Union which comes under the especial jurisdiction of his department probably than any other man who has ever filled that position. He has not shirked, yielded, or dissembled one jot or tittle in protecting those rights especially committed to his care and he has done it with fairness and impartiality. I believe it has been his sole aim and desire and his single thought, in filling that departmental position, to contribute particularly to the welfare of the western part of our country, the public-land States, and the people of those States, and the development of their resources, and in general to promote the welfare and common interests of the whole people of the United States, and to do justice to all.

The mere fact that in one piece of legislation, which is the only piece of legislation that I know of since the present occupant has been in office in which his views have been challenged or opposed by any other department of the Government; the mere fact that in one instance his views have been opposed by some other department of the Government, whether rightly or wrongly, I think is no ground for the imputation or conclusion that the Secretary of the Interior has lacked in zeal or fidelity in upholding the dignity of his department and advancing the interests of it.

Mr. KING. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. MYERS. With great pleasure.

Mr. KING. I agree with the Senator in his statement that the Secretary of the Interior has with assiduity administered the duties of his high office. There is no encomium which he could bestow upon Secretary Lane that I would not most cor-

dially concur in. I have often said that the present Secretary of the Interior was perhaps the best-equipped man in the United States for the performance of the duties of the office, and that his administration of this important department of the Government was not only brilliant but characterized by statesmanship and ability and conscientious devotion to duty of the highest order. Secretary Lane is a great man, doing a great work, and administering a great office. He has earned the confidence of the people, and his wise, liberal, and progressive policies have earned for him the gratitude of the American people. But I did not interrupt the Senator for the purpose of entering into the discussion, which, as I gathered from the remarks of the Senator, has resulted from some observations made by the distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] a few days ago. I have been absent from the Chamber for a short time, and have not heard what the Senator has stated, except the last few sentences. Is not the Senator replying to the remarks of the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. MYERS. I am. That is the subject of my remarks.

Mr. KING. What I want to ask the Senator is this: Does not the Senator think that the Secretary of the Interior and the officials of the Land Department faithfully and honestly performed their duty in investigating the matters submitted to them under the law and which were involved in the applications for patents covering certain oil lands in the State of California?

Mr. MYERS. I am not prepared to pass upon the merits of the decision, because I am not familiar enough with the proceedings, but I am sure that he did his duty in investigating it and that he did it fairly and impartially, according to law, with fidelity and with a proper motive and to the best of his ability, and that those who assisted him in the conduct of the investigation did so to the best of their ability.

Mr. KING. With the information which I possess, I share the same views as those just expressed by the Senator. Indeed, I think that the importance of the questions presented and the publicity given to the applications for patents caused the officials of the Interior Department, including the Secretary of the Interior, to examine with the greatest possible care every question presented. From what I can learn, there was a determination that no fraudulent claim or one tainted with fraud or suspicion should be allowed, and each applicant for patent was compelled to prove, as he should always do, that he was clearly entitled to a patent from the United States. This tribunal, quasi judicial, investigated all questions, and pursuant to such it found the facts in favor of the applicants and solemnly adjudged that they were entitled to patents.

Does not the Senator think that the law authorizes the Interior Department to determine the question as to whether or not applicants for patents are entitled to have patents issued to them? And does not the Senator think that the courts upheld that view?

Mr. MYERS. Yes; I do.

Mr. KING. Can there be any question under the authority both of the Federal courts and State courts as to the jurisdiction—let me add the exclusive jurisdiction—of the Interior Department to make such investigations and to determine whether the applicants are entitled to patents or not?

Mr. MYERS. None whatever.

Mr. KING. It seems to me that it must be conceded that the Interior Department did its duty in ascertaining the facts as to the character of the land, the validity of the locations, and whether the law had been complied with by those seeking patents. It acted pursuant to the law and within the law, and determined that certain persons were entitled to patents; but patents were not issued. Instead suits were instituted in the courts, men were forced into bankruptcy, all sorts of dilatory proceedings were resorted to by some one. The Interior Department's decisions were flouted and ignored. It was treated with contumely, if not contempt. It would seem that a wrong was done by some one. Now, whose duty was it to prevent this apparent, and as I believe real, injustice?

Mr. MYERS. I do not see that the Secretary of the Interior is in any wise to blame for the institution of those suits or how he could have prevented them. If attempts were made in the courts to annul the patents it was the duty of the courts to decide each proceeding upon the merits of the case and the law. It is the duty of the courts to decide an action at law. The Secretary of the Interior could neither decide the suits nor prevent them from being brought.

Mr. KING. I am expressing no opinion as to the power of the Secretary of the Interior to prevent the actions to which I have referred from being brought. These suits, however, resulted in a practical nullification of the action of the Interior Department; they have prevented patents from being issued to those entitled to the same and have forced men into bankruptcy and prevented the development of oil lands at a time when the Nation is crying aloud for oil to aid in its mighty war preparations and activities.

The Senator from Montana has just admitted that under the law it was the duty of the Secretary of the Interior or his department to pass upon certain questions of fact to determine whether or not the applications for patents should have been granted and then to issue the patents. Why have not the patents been issued?

Mr. MYERS. Actions were brought, I understand, to annul the patents.

Mr. KING. Who had the authority to bring such actions? The Senator has conceded that the law is clear, and that the decisions of the courts, both the Federal and State courts, are to the effect that the action of the Interior Department is final; that it has exclusive jurisdiction. Then who authorized the long and destructive legislation which has followed?

Mr. MYERS. Anybody can bring a lawsuit.

Mr. KING. And force men into bankruptcy in the name of the United States?

Mr. MYERS. Nobody but the Government can bring a lawsuit in the name of the United States.

Mr. KING. These suits were brought in the name of the United States, and the power and authority of this great Government were employed.

Mr. MYERS. The Secretary of the Interior is nowise to blame for that. He is not responsible for it.

Mr. KING. I think the Senator is right, and I want to acquit the Secretary of the Interior of what I conceive to be an injustice resulting from the institution of these suits. Now, who did it? Who was responsible for these actions?

Mr. MYERS. I judge the Department of Justice.

Mr. KING. Does the Senator justify the Department of Justice in bringing those suits?

Mr. MYERS. No; I am not justifying it at all.

Mr. KING. Does the Senator think, when the law is so clear and the decisions of the courts are so uniform as to the modus operandi in securing patents, that after the Interior Department has judicially ascertained the facts and rendered its decision that some other department of the Government ought to ignore such decision and launch the power of the Nation against those whose vested interests have been recognized and adjudicated?

Mr. MYERS. No; I do not; but that does not at all reflect upon the Secretary of the Interior as permitting any encroachments upon his jurisdiction and the rights of his department. He could not prevent these suits from being brought. It was not in his power to prevent it, and if the suits were improperly brought it is for the court to decide that they were improperly brought, and render a decision to that effect. It is for the court to render a decision against the contentions of the Department of Justice.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

Mr. MYERS. I yield with pleasure.

Mr. THOMAS. Does not the Senator think that under the circumstances outlined in the question of the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING], the Secretary of the Interior, having himself passed upon the evidence in the particular instances, would have been justified, notwithstanding the action of the Department of Justice, in issuing patents under the orders he had previously made for them?

Mr. MYERS. I am not familiar with the status of the litigation at this time. I am not familiar with all of the proceedings of that litigation. There is a statute of the United States which confers upon courts the power to enjoin the Secretary of the Interior or any other official of the Interior Department from further proceeding with the issuance of a patent until it is passed upon by the courts and in some circumstances its issuance may be permanently enjoined.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. MYERS. I yield with pleasure.

Mr. POINDEXTER. My understanding is that the greater part of the lands referred to by the Senator from Utah and the Senator from Colorado were included in areas that were withdrawn from entry by the President of the United States.

Mr. MYERS. I so understand.

Mr. POINDEXTER. The question of the Senator from Colorado would seem to imply that the Secretary of the Interior should proceed to issue patents for these lands—I am speaking now only of those lands in the areas that were withdrawn—notwithstanding the action of the President. A great many questions have been asked about who would interfere with the action of the Secretary of the Interior. It is very clear that the President can interfere with the action of the Secretary of the

Interior, because he is the chief of the Secretary of the Interior as to all the duties of that office.

While I am speaking I should like to express some surprise—and let it go at just expressing surprise—at the objection of the Senator from Utah to any question of property rights or of justice or a proper administration of the law being submitted to the adjudication of the courts. I think, whether it is the United States or the humblest citizen of the land, one of the most essential guaranties of a proper administration of the Government is the opportunity to have these questions submitted to the courts. Whether or not the suit is improperly instituted, as has already been said by the Senator from Montana, whether or not the court had jurisdiction of the case, as well as the merits of the controversy itself, of course is to be determined by the courts, and any attempt on any state of facts in controversy between officials or the opinion of Senators that would deny to the United States or to any individual the opportunity and the privilege of having questions of that kind adjudicated by the judicial department of the Government would be an attack upon the very fundamental principles of our Constitution.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

Mr. MYERS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. THOMAS. May I say just a word in comment upon the remarks of the Senator from Washington? It is true that the locations which were cleared for patent by the Secretary of the Interior concerned lands within a naval reserve, but it is equally true that not even the President of the United States has the power to create a reserve and by that act destroy vested private interests within its boundaries. If the Secretary of the Interior in the discharge of his duties and in the discharge of duties committed to no one else after careful investigation determines that a patent shall issue, that has been regarded as conclusive of the case in all court decisions with which I am familiar. It is that situation which I had in mind in propoundng the query I just submtted to the consideration of the Senator who has the floor.

Mr. KING. Will the Senator permit me to make an observation?

Mr. MYERS. Certainly.

Mr. KING. I am somewhat surprised at the attitude assumed by the distinguished Senator from Washington. If his position were the correct one it would lead to all sorts of usurpations and tyrannies and oppressions. I am at a loss to comprehend how so able a Senator, particularly one who represents a great Western State and one who is so familiar with the public-land laws and the mining laws that have been enacted by the National Government, can uphold and defend a course of procedure and a general policy which would, in my opinion, deprive persons of their property, destroy vested interests, and justify and permit any agency or executive department of the Government to be made an instrumentality of oppression and tyranny.

It is not my purpose nor would it be proper in the time of the Senator from Montana to discuss the question as to the powers or jurisdiction of the Interior Department, but I wish to state that Congress, in the exercise of its undoubted authority, created the Interior Department and defined its duties and its authority. The Secretary of the Interior was charged with certain responsibilities with respect to the public lands. Under the law he supervises the public business relating to all public lands. The Government is a party, and an interested one, where the surveying and the disposal of the public lands are involved, and the Secretary of the Interior is the representative of the Government in all matters relating thereto. The Revised Statutes of the United States enact that all public-land laws shall be executed by the Interior Department. By law, clear and unambiguous, this department is specifically charged with the duty of enforcing the public-land laws. This duty does not pertain to the Navy Department nor to any other branch or department of the executive authority. It has been repeatedly held both by Federal as well as State courts that the Interior Department is a quasi judicial tribunal, and its jurisdiction in regard to the sale and disposal of the public domain is exclusive. There are some exceptions, perhaps, to this general statement, but these exceptions have been created by special acts; but the general rule is as I have stated; that is, that the Interior Department has functions which may be denominated judicial or quasi judicial, and that with respect to the exercise of these functions its jurisdiction is exclusive and its decisions are final. The Constitution declares that the Congress shall have the authority to make all needful rules and regulations with respect to the sale and disposal of the public lands of the United States. Pursuant to this power Congress, as I have stated, created a tribunal with full authority and in accordance with law to make disposition of the public lands of the United States. Some of the courts, as I recall, have denominated the Interior Department, together with the Commissioner of the General Land Office and the subordinate officers, a special tribunal, and this special tribunal unquestionably is vested with judicial power to hear and determine all questions which the law declares shall be submitted for its determination.

The Interior Department is authorized to issue patents to those applying therefor upon the ascertainment of certain facts. It possesses certain discretionary powers, and it is manifest that in the exercise of those powers no court would have the right to interfere, and it necessarily follows that within certain limits, as prescribed and defined by law, the decisions of the Interior Department are and must be final. As I remember the rule as announced by some of the courts, not only is its decision or judgment final with respect to questions of fact, which the law commits to its jurisdiction, but where there is a mixed question of law and of fact, or if the question is one of law alone, the decision of the department carries with it the presumption of its correctness, and the courts will not ordinarily review the decision. The Interior Department is charged with the duty, as I have stated, of ascertaining the character of the land for which patent is sought, and its determination thereon is final. It is charged also with the duty of ascertaining and determining whether the applicant has complied with the law so as to authorize the issuance of patent. And, as I recall, the courts have held that whenever the jurisdiction of this department has been invoked and it is making investigation to ascertain the character of the land for which patent is sought, and where its decision upon the question under the law would be conclusive, no court, State or Federal, has the authority to interfere.

My contention is that the Interior Department was charged with the duty of ascertaining whether the lands to which reference has been made were oil lands, and whether the applicants for patent were entitled to conveyances from the Government. Certain persons had entered upon lands in California, known to be oil lands, and had located them conformable to law. Their entries had been made at a time when the lands were subject to location; they were public, unoccupied mineral lands of the United States subject to entry by any person who, by law, was qualified to make a mineral entry. The lands had not been withdrawn by the Executive. After entry had been made, and while the locators were in possession, as I understand, an Executive order was promulgated, which sought to withdraw from entry these lands as well as others. When the locators applied for patent, the Interior Department made thorough investigation with a view to determining the character of the land, and whether the applicants were entitled to patent. As I have stated, the Interior Department was constituted a judicial tribunal to pass upon these questions. It represented the Government and protected the Government. At the same time it acted in a judicial capacity.

The applicants had vested rights, growing out of valid locations which they had made, and they established, to the satisfaction of this tribunal, all of the facts necessary to entitle them to patents from the United States. The Interior Department, having this exclusive jurisdiction to determine the questions involved, decided in favor of the applicants and "clear listed" the lands for which title was sought. This was a solemn adjudication by a tribunal of competent and, upon the questions which the law provided for submission to it, of exclusive jurisdiction. It decided that certain applicants for patents had complied with the law; that the land was mineral land and subject to location. In the light of the record in the case, as I understand it, those seeking patents were, as a matter of law, entitled to have the same issued to them. My information is that the Interior Department still adheres to that view and still insists that those whom it solemnly adjudged to be entitled to patents have the right to demand that the Government shall fulfill its obligation and abide by the decision of the tribunal which the Government erected to determine the questions involved in the decision rendered. Notwithstanding these solemn adjudications, the Navy Department and the Department of Justice, as I am advised, ignored the Interior Department and its adjudications and instituted various actions to deprive the applicants for patent of their property.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

Mr. KING. Just a moment. Congress committed the authority to the Interior Department to control and make disposition of the public lands. The officers of this department have taken an oath to enforce the laws, and they are clothed with authority to make the investigation, and then to determine whether the applicant for a patent is entitled to the same; and when they have so determined, when they have passed upon these preliminary questions committed by law to them, no department

of the Government has a right to interfere. The President himself, notwithstanding my able friend has affirmed to the contrary, could no more rightfully interfere with the action of the Interior Department after it has passed or "clear listed" an application for patent than the distinguished Senator from Washington could interfere with the execution of a valid law. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I do not know that the difference between the Senator from Utah and myself can be settled between us. We are parties to the controversy and consequently it would have to be left to some impartial third party to decide. It is almost like a plaintiff and a defendant in a lawsuit trying to decide the case. But the position is so plain that I think little elucidation of it is possible other than a mere statement of it.

The Senator from Utah states his position. It is that the President of the United States even can not stop the issuance of a patent of the public lands of the United States if the Secretary of the Interior wants to issue it.

I will let the statement go for what it shows upon its face as to the merits of that proposition. The patent has to be signed by the President of the United States before it is a valid patent, and to say that the Secretary of the Interior can command the President of the United States to issue a patent to public lands against the will of the President, it seems to me, is rather a far-fetched proposition, to use a mild term.

Furthermore, as to the general proposition which the Senator states, that the Secretary of the Interior has exclusive jurisdiction over these questions; it is true that in the clear listing of the entries for patent the Secretary of the Interior has jurisdiction, and that the courts will not interfere; but in questions of fraud and various other limitations and conditions, the courts will interfere; but as to when that line of demarcation is reached as to whether the Secretary of the Interior has paramount authority or whether the courts have jurisdiction, I should like to ask the Senator from Utah to state under our Constitution and government who is to decide that question? Is the Secretary of the Interior the ultimate judge of his own authority or are the courts to decide it?

Mr. KING. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana further yield?

Mr. MYERS. I yield with pleasure.

Mr. KING. Mr President, replying, first, to the first suggestion made by my distinguished friend from Washington [Mr. POINDEXTER], I again express my surprise at the attitude which he has taken. I deduce from his observations that the President of the United States or any executive branch of the Government is not subject to the law; that the President of the United States may nullify the law, may set aside the action of any department of the Government, notwithstanding it is created by law and is proceeding strictly in accordance with the law.

Mr. President, the President of the United States has only such power in the disposition of public lands as is conferred upon him by law. He does not enact the law; he executes the law; the legislative branch of the Government determines how and in what manner the public lands may be disposed of. Congress has erected a tribunal, a quasi judicial body, to wit, the Interior Department, and it has committed to it the ascertainment of certain facts and the determination of certain questions, the same as Congress has committed to the various Federal courts the determination of certain questions. The President of the United States could no more interfere with the determination of questions submitted to the Interior Department than he could interfere with the decisions of the Supreme Court. It would be usurpation upon his part to set aside the law and to interfere with the due and orderly procedure by which title to public lands may be secured—procedure which has been prescribed by the Congress of the United States. Congress has the right to say that an applicant for patent shall proceed in a certain manner; Congress has the right to say that the Secretary of the Interior shall make certain investigations, and that those investigations shall be final, and that the applicant shall have patent after such investigations have been made and a decision thereon has been rendered. When the Secretary of the Interior, sitting as a court, passes upon those questions of fact and decides the questions submitted and committed to his charge by the Congress of the United States, his decision is a finality; and the President can no more interfere, I repeat, with his decision than he could interfere with a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. President, the Secretary of the Interior, as has been stated by the Senator from Montana [Mr. MYERS], passed upon certain of these applications for patent; determined, after thorough and exhaustive hearings, that the applicants were entitled to patents. He did his duty; but his decisions are nullified, his authority overridden by other agencies of the executive branch of the Government.

The Senator from Washington asks whether or not it is a proper thing to submit controverted questions to the courts? Why, of course it is not only proper, but it is right to submit to the courts those questions which are properly the subject of judicial cognizance.

Mr. POINDEXTER rose.

Mr. KING. Let me complete my sentence, and then I will yield to the Senator.

When, however, Congress creates a tribunal and confers upon it exclusive jurisdiction to hear and determine certain questions then, I submit, that it is improper for some other branch of the Government to employ the name and power of the Government to destroy the authorized and legal tribunal, and to harass and annoy and destroy those whose claims have been recognized and whose rights have been confirmed by a competent judicial body. Now I yield to the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. MYERS. I yield.

Mr. KING. I ask pardon of the Senator from Montana. I forgot that I was trespassing upon his time.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, the outcry of the Senator from Utah against lawlessness and anarchy seems to me to be somewhat misdirected. My opinion is that if his attitude should be the attitude of the Government, we shall be plunged immediately into a state of lawlessness. Whenever controverted questions of the administration of the law and the interpretation of the acts of Congress and of the ownership of property—which are the questions which are involved in these cases—can not be decided by the courts of the land, then we are in a state of anarchy, and that is what the Senator is contending for.

The Senator says, of course, if the laws of Congress are not complied with, those questions can come into court, and that only in those cases can the court have jurisdiction. Well, I should like to ask the Senator, Who is to decide whether or not the court has jurisdiction? The question of whether or not the laws of Congress have been complied with is the very question in these cases. Who is to decide this question? Is the Senator from Utah going to undertake to decide whether or not the Supreme Court has jurisdiction of these cases or is the Supreme Court of the United States going to decide its own jurisdiction? The Senator is a lawyer. Let him answer that question.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I stated a few moments since that both the Federal and the State courts have uniformly held that the Interior Department had exclusive jurisdiction over certain questions; that the decision of the Interior Department on those questions is just as binding as is a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States; and, as the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] suggests, the Supreme Court of the United States has so held in numerous cases which have reached it.

The Supreme Court of the United States would have no more power to interfere with the Interior Department in the determination of questions exclusively committed to it than would the Interior Department have power to rightfully interfere with the action of that great tribunal upon matters which were referred to it by Congress for determination.

I again affirm that, in my opinion, the position of the Senator from Washington would inevitably lead to oppression and to a confusion which would be productive of anarchy.

His position, as I understand it, is that the action of Congress in organizing a department or body upon which it confers exclusive authority to hear and determine controverted questions and to ascertain whether certain facts exist can be disregarded, and that some other agency of the Government can seize the power and authority of the Nation and institute oppressive litigation in other forums, to deprive persons of their property rights recognized and affirmed by the tribunal established by law.

This is a government of law, not of men, not of departments. The executive department, from the President down, is governed by law, and departments must respect the law, just as the humblest citizen in the land is expected to.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Will the Senator from Montana pardon me?

Mr. MYERS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I will say just a word. After all, it gets back to what we are debating here. The situation is this: Certain cases are pending in the courts which involve the title to some very rich oil lands in the West. Certain individuals and corporations are endeavoring to secure those lands. The

President of the United States has withdrawn them from patent, and the Attorney General of the United States has instituted certain suits in the courts against the entrymen, charging fraud. The cases are going along in the usual way in the courts, the Attorney General of the United States, representing the public, representing the people of the United States. The courts decide their own jurisdiction. They will decide whether or not the laws of Congress are being carried out, whether or not there has been fraud, and whether or not the Secretary of the Interior has the right to issue these patents. That is the situation; that is the status of these lands and the status of this controversy. The Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] inveighs against the decision of those questions as to the title to the public lands of the United States by the courts of the land. That is the entire situation.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I have no desire to take any part in the side discussion that has been conducted by the eminent Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] and the equally eminent Senator from Washington [Mr. POINDEXTER]. It is rather beside the object to which I am devoting my remarks. However, I will say that, as the Senator from Utah has said, undoubtedly this is a Government of law, and it is for the courts to say what the law is. Furthermore, it is for the courts to decide whether or not actions at law and suits in equity are properly brought and may be maintained. It is not only the duty of the courts to decide the law, but to say what controversies may be litigated in the courts. It is for them to decide and establish their own jurisdiction. That is the theory of our Government. It is the theory upon which law is maintained in our Government.

The courts must be the last and highest resort in the decision of their own jurisdiction and as to what controversies may be litigated in the courts. Anybody can bring a lawsuit, but it is for the courts to say whether or not a lawsuit is properly brought; whether or not the court in which it is tried has jurisdiction of the subject matter of the action and of the parties to the action. If the suits to which the Senator from Utah refers were improperly brought it is for the courts to say that they were improperly brought. The Secretary of the Interior has no authority to decide that they were improperly brought; he has no authority to decide the question of the jurisdiction of the courts and to throw these cases out of court on a demurrer which challenges the jurisdiction of the court over the subject matter of the actions. The Secretary is in no wise to blame for these suits being brought. He could not prevent the suits from being brought, and he is not guilty of any dereliction of duty on account of the suits being brought. He has not abandoned any of the prerogatives or any of the dignity of his department of the Government because these suits have been brought; he must simply wait, as must every other citizen in the land, for the courts to decide these suits, and then abide by the action of the courts.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MYERS. I yield with pleasure.

Mr. KING. I made no criticism whatever of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to the institution of these suits or otherwise; on the contrary, I affirmed that, according to my information, he had faithfully performed his duty and had given a decision which was eminently fair and right. I know he is not responsible for these suits and that the purpose of the litigation is to overturn his decisions. But I arose only for the purpose of making an inquiry. The Senator states that it is the duty of the courts to decide certain questions. Does not the Senator concede that it is within the power of Congress to determine what Federal courts there shall be aside from the Supreme Court of the United States and to determine the jurisdiction of those courts?

Mr. MYERS. Oh, absolutely; but the courts must construe the power conferred upon them, and they must decide the question of jurisdiction—whether Congress did or did not confer the jurisdiction. If any court willfully decides the question wrongfully or abuses its power, the judge is subject to impeachment; Congress has its remedy, and it can remove any such judge.

Mr. KING. If Congress has the power to organize the courts, to determine the number of Federal courts, and to prescribe their jurisdiction, does not Congress have the power to determine what functions the Secretary of the Interior shall exercise and discharge, and may it not also confer upon the Secretary judicial or quasi judicial powers; and if so, is not his finding upon a question which the law authorizes him to determine just as binding upon the people and upon the Government as the decision of a court?

Mr. MYERS. Oh, undoubtedly; but if anybody challenges his right in the court you can not, under our form of Government, get away from a decision of that court to save your life. If Congress confers upon the Secretary of the Interior certain duties and certain jurisdiction, and he exercises those privileges, but somebody goes into court and undertakes to prevent him from exercising them or attempts to invade them or to take them away from him, the court must decide that question; the decision must be left to the court; you can not get away from that under our form of Government. The Secretary of the Interior can not decide such questions.

The Secretary of the Interior is in no wise to blame for the institution of these suits; he is not subject to any censure for dereliction or for neglect of his duties on account thereof. He can only abide by the action of the court the same as anybody else. There is a statute of the United States which gives to the courts of the land the right to review decisions of the officials of the Interior Department in land matters on certain grounds, one of which, I believe, is fraud.

Anybody can go into court and bring an action to review a decision of the Secretary of the Interior upon an application for patent. If the Senator from Utah enters a piece of public land, complies with the law in every way, makes his final proof, and patent is about to be issued by the Secretary of the Interior, I can go into the court and institute an action to enjoin the Secretary of the Interior from issuing that patent; but the Secretary of the Interior would not be to blame for that. The court must decide it. And if I bring the action on improper grounds the jurisdiction of the court should be challenged and the court should uphold the demurrer which challenges its jurisdiction. One can go into court for almost anything. I undertake to say that I could go into court to compel the President of the United States to sign a patent which he refuses to sign. Whether or not the court would uphold my application for a writ of mandamus would be for the court to say; but, no matter how it should decide the case, the President would not be to blame; nobody would be vested with power to render a decision except the court itself in which the action was brought. Merely because over this one piece of proposed legislation, the oil-land leasing bill, which has had a long, tempestuous, and tortuous career in the Congress of the United States, both in the Senate and the House of Representatives, because three different departments consider themselves more or less interested, and because there was this litigation properly or improperly pending in the courts in regard to some of the lands which the proposed legislation would affect—and only in this one instance, so far as I know, has there been anything done which might be characterized as an attempt at interference with the prerogatives, jurisdiction, and rights of the Interior Department—I can not see that there is any basis for the imputation that the Secretary of the Interior has abandoned any of his duties or has been culpable or derelict or subject to characterization as being Secretary of the Interior in name only, and not in fact.

I do not think the Secretary of the Interior has failed to do anything that he might have done or ought to have done. If other departments of the Government have gone into court and have undertaken to estop the discharge of the duties of his department of the Government or to interfere with his jurisdiction and divest him of rights and privileges, I do not see that it interferes in the slightest degree with the dignity and efficiency with which the Secretary of the Interior has administered the duties of his office.

It may be that these suits should not have been brought; but in that event the Secretary of the Interior is not the blamable party. If they have been brought, as I understand to be the case, by the Department of Justice, and if they have been improperly brought, the party to be blamed is the Attorney General. If any head of a department of the Government willfully and knowingly exceeds his powers, or undertakes to do so, or grossly abuses or prostitutes them, there is a remedy; Congress has a remedy, and the Senators whom I am addressing know as well as I do what that remedy is; and it is the only remedy. But I do not see, whether any other department is to blame or not, that the Secretary of the Interior is in the slightest degree to blame; on the contrary, I think he has upheld the honor, the dignity, the efficiency, the effectiveness, and the prerogatives of his department of the Government in a highly creditable and most satisfactory manner, and that he has devoted a degree of talent, ability, fidelity, and zeal to the discharge of his duties that has been unsurpassed by anyone else who has ever filled that office.

Since his incumbency of that office the public-land laws have been administered, I believe, in a more efficient, satisfactory, and expeditious manner than they have ever heretofore been administered. I know in the State of Montana that homesteaders and other public-land entrymen have had their affairs

attended to in a manner which, in the main, is highly satisfactory, which has been generally fairly expeditious, and as a rule without any useless red tape or technicalities in the administration of the law, and I believe that the public-land affairs of the State of Montana and of all the Western States are now in a better condition and for some years have been better administered than for many years previous. I know that under the administration of Secretary Lane the State of Montana has had made within its borders about one-third of all the public-land entries of the United States each year for a number of years past, and I have had very little complaint about the administration of the public-land laws. I have had but very little complaint of delay in administration; and of the thousands and thousands of homesteaders and other public-land entrymen who within the last seven or eight years have come into Montana, constituting a perfect stream of immigration and new homemakers in that State, I have had comparatively few complaints of injustice or delay or complaints upon any other ground about the administration of the public-land laws. I believe that Montana is only typical of the other Western States in that respect. On the other hand, I have had many expressions of satisfaction with the manner in which the affairs of homesteaders and other entrymen have been attended to by the Department of the Interior in the last few years.

Of course, there have been some complaints of delay, and doubtless in some cases there has been more delay than there ought to have been, but I think that is largely, if not wholly, due to the fact that the General Land Office is handicapped by a shortage of help. I have tried for years to secure the adoption of amendments to appropriation bills to allow greater appropriations for the employment of agents, clerks, inspectors, and other employees in the General Land Office than it has had. I have not been successful because Congress is generally very reluctant about making appropriations to increase the clerical help in the departments, except in those departments which are engaged in work intimately connected with the prosecution of the war, such as the War Department and the Navy Department; but I think the General Land Office ought to have had more help than it has had, and I think that most of the delay of which complaint has been made is due to the fact that the Commissioner of the General Land Office has not had as much help as he ought to have had and as the work required. I admit that the work is not always as well up as it might be, but I put it wholly on the ground of lack of help. I think all the affairs of the Interior Department have been conducted in the best possible manner with the help which has been allowed it by law.

Mr. President, I have said about all that I care to say upon the subject. I regret that I was not here to have heard the remarks about the Secretary of the Interior day before yesterday, in order that I might have undertaken, in my humble way, to make some impromptu response at that time, but I was not here; I did not hear the remarks and did not know of them until I came into the Chamber this afternoon, and then not until my attention was called to them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Thursday. I had no opportunity to make any remarks in reply yesterday, because the Senate was not in session, and this is the first opportunity that I have had to do so.

I take this, the first, opportunity to say that I think that the honorable Secretary of the Interior was by some of the remarks on Thursday put in a decidedly unjust light, and one which he does not deserve; and I could not let the opportunity go without challenging some of those remarks or at least expressing my views, which are at variance with them, and giving expression to my full and complete confidence in the Secretary of the Interior and in the manner in which he has administered the affairs of his office in all particulars.

The sum and substance of my views is that I think the attack of Mr. Kearful before the House Committee on the Public Lands was grossly wrong, wholly unjustified and indefensible, and that the Secretary of the Interior was entirely justified in ignoring it as being beneath his dignity. I think it was unnecessary for a man of his high standing, character, integrity, and well-known probity to take any notice of such an attack. I am sorry that that attack of Mr. Kearful was dignified by being put into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I think it would have been better if it had been left out. No good purpose was served by giving it that notice no one else has given it, by bringing it into the debates of this body and dignifying it with publicity; and I think an unintentional injustice was thereby done to a good man and official.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I shall detain this large and inspiring audience of Senators but a very few minutes. If it were not for the fact that the Senator from Montana [Mr. MYERS] has either misapprehended my purpose and my statements on day before yesterday or that I have been unfortunate in expressing the views that I had in mind, I should not detain this body a moment longer.

I have made no attack on the Secretary of the Interior. I would not do so if I could. I could not do so if I would.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, just a minute please. I do not claim that the distinguished Senator has made any attack upon the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. THOMAS. I understood the Senator.

Mr. MYERS. The gist of my remarks was that the distinguished Senator from Colorado said in his remarks on Thursday, as I read in the RECORD, that the Secretary of the Interior was Secretary of the Interior in name only and not in fact. That, I thought, was unjustifiable, and it was that to which I directed my remarks.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, Mr. President; I said that. I was discussing the attempted land legislation of this Congress, and consequently I had that branch of the Secretary's jurisdiction in view when I made that statement.

It is not necessary for me to assure the Secretary of the Interior of my personal friendship. Indeed, I have been greatly concerned, owing to my sincere regard for him, both as a man and as an officer, because of conditions which seemed to me to interfere with and to prevent his free exercise of his judgment and his discretion in the administration of the land affairs of the Government. I knew of the attack made upon the Interior Department by Mr. Kearful on the 28th day of February shortly after it occurred. I fully expected that notice would be taken of it and that the statement would either be withdrawn or that some consequences might follow, as I think they should have followed. I waited through the months of March, April, May, June, July, and August for some one to take notice of what I characterized then and still declare to be a most unheard-of and unprecedented attack by one department upon the integrity of another before a committee in a public, official hearing. The opportunity for me to direct public attention to it did not occur until the attempt to refer the so-called water-power bill to a conference committee; and that, if my recollection serves me right, is ostensibly the subject matter of our present discussion.

I felt it my duty not only to resist the adoption of that motion, but also to amend the bill by grafting upon it the measure which the Senate passed last February providing for the lease of oil and other nonmetallic mineral lands of the United States, and to give a very brief history of the events punctuating the career of that bill from the time it left the Senate and went to the House until now.

Mr. President, I quite agree that Mr. Kearful, individually considered, is a wholly inconsequential person in this discussion. I am not concerned about his personality or his achievements. They are entirely beside the position which he occupied at the time he made the statements which I read into the RECORD. The Senator says he sees no impropriety in the appearance before congressional committees on land matters of the Attorney General and of the Secretary of the Navy. Neither do I. I have not complained of that. If they can be of service to committees in the consideration of legislation, I am sure the latter will welcome their presence. The Attorney General of the United States is the legal officer of the administration, and in the exercise of his duties he is presumed to pass upon and determine the correctness of legal phraseology and the effect of bills which have been enacted into law that the President may determine whether or not he should exercise his power of veto. The appearance of the Attorney General before the Land Committees of the Senate and the House may frequently enable them to legislate more intelligently, not only with regard to the subject matter before them but also with regard to the terminology used to express the legislative will. That is all right. My criticism goes to what took place before the House committee when that department, represented by an assistant, impugned the integrity of the Interior Department.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, just a minute, please. I concur very heartily in that criticism.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; the Senator concurs in it, but thinks that it should not have been dignified by any notice in the Senate. There is where we differ.

Mr. MYERS. Or elsewhere.

Mr. THOMAS. Or elsewhere. There is where we differ, toto cælo. We must assume that Mr. Kearful was speaking for the Attorney General of the United States and not for himself.

Mr. MYERS. I think that is a very violent assumption, Mr. President.

Mr. THOMAS. Why, Mr. President, from time immemorial the good old Anglo-Saxon maxim has been in force that what one may do by himself he may do by another. This man was

the representative of that department. He is the assisstant having charge of all land matters in that department. He was the alter ego on this occasion of the head of the department. Hence, in view of the fact that what he said has not been repudiated by the honorable the Attorney General, so far as I know, we are bound to conclude that he voiced the sentiments of that department, and, as a consequence, we must conclude that in the opinion of the Attorney General's Department the Interior Department, in the administration of this bill, if it becomes a law, instead of punishing fraudulent locators would reward them by granting them leases as they might desire.

Mr. President, I resented that as an imputation upon the integrity of one of the greatest Secretaries of the Interior we have ever had, and, in my judgment, the only reason which can justify the silence of the Department of Justice concerning Mr. Kearful's statement is either that it is approved or that the head of the department never heard of it; and of course the latter inference, to my mind, is a very violent one.

My own judgment is—I can only speak from a personal standpoint—that the matter should have been fought out and settled then and there between the two departments. Mr. Finney, representing the Interior Department, justly indignant over this imputation, arose and protested against it. That was not only natural and proper, it was most commendable; and there the incident seems to have ended. Had I been Secretary of the Interior—which I was not and never expect to be—I would have called attention to that and had it corrected or I would have tendered my resignation to the President of the United States. Evidently what I would have done differs very materially from what the honorable Secretary thought he should have done. I have no doubt that he did what he thought was best under all the circumstances; and, of course, he is the person to determine that question.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I should just like to say that if the Secretary of the Interior had taken the latter alternative over a small, petty difference of opinion on the part of a subordinate official, I think it would have been a calamity to the Western States of this country and to the people of the entire country.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, this incident may be a small one in the opinion of the Senator. Here, again, we differ. I do not regard a criticism of that sort, emanating from one department against another, as a small thing. I think it is a most extraordinarily important circumstance.

Mr. MYERS. If the Senator will excuse me, I meant to criticize the spirit which brought forth the expression of Mr. Kearful as a petty one.

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, Mr. President, I do not care what brought it forth. I am not concerned with whether it was a spirit of pettiness on the part of the official or not. I am concerned about a charge spread upon a public record months ago and affecting the integrity of the Interior Department. Perhaps I am overly concerned. The fact that those directly involved in the circumstance have not seen fit to resent it justifies that belief. It depends upon the point of view.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for just a minute?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. MYERS. I simply wish to say that if a United States Senator should resign every time he is charged by some constituent with an improper motive in something that he does there would soon be nobody in the United States Senate.

Mr. THOMAS. That might be a great blessing to the country.

Mr. MYERS. It would soon be an empty body.

Mr. THOMAS. That would not be an unmixed evil, Mr. President. But if the President of the United States, speaking through one of his petty officers, should declare that the Senator from Montana was not an honest man, and the Senator saw fit to ignore it, I certainly would not; the Senate of the United States certainly would not; and if the Senator submitted quietly to such a statement from such a source, and objected to his colleagues taking it up, then, with all due respect to him, he ought to resign.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. Of course the Senator must not understand me as doing anything more than using him as an illustration.

Mr. MYERS. I certainly would not resign. That would be one thing I would not do.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, they say Democrats never do. [Laughter.] I know the Senator would not resign. I know what he would do. He would vindicate himself, as he could very easily do, and he would not wait five or six months to do it. So I think that the illustration which the Senator interrupts me for the purpose of stating is not at all apropos.

Mr. President, I have taken up more time than I intended. There is, however, another phase of the subject which has intruded itself into the discussion to which I will briefly refer before taking my seat.

I am not wholly in accord either with my friend, the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING], or with the Senator from Washington [Mr. POINDEXTER], regarding the powers of the Secretary of the Interior over land affairs. I think both are partly right. The action of the Interior Department or of the Secretary of the Interior in adjudicating upon applications for patents is final. The right of the Government to institute suit, even after patent is issued, to set the patent aside upon the ground of fraud not brought to the attention of the Secretary of the Interior is undoubted.

The right to bring an action in the name of the United States, after patent, to cancel patent for grounds recognized by the courts, unquestionably exists; but the decisions of the department can not be assailed collaterally. I believe that the President of the United States has the power, the Secretary of the Interior having acted according to his best judgment, to overrule him, because he occupies the ultimate position of responsibility, and the Secretary of the Interior is accountable to him and to no one else. All this, however, is but an incident to the general situation; and about that I have said all that I care to say.

I know that a number outside of this body have construed my remarks of day before yesterday as an attack upon the Secretary of the Interior; and it is because of that circumstance that I have taken advantage of this opportunity to make that subject clear, so that hereafter there can be no misunderstanding about it. There is no more upright, honest, capable, conscientious official in the Government to-day than Franklin K. Lane, the Secretary of the Interior. I did not charge him—I can not charge him—with abandoning the duties of his office. He has not done so. What I said was that other heads of departments had invaded some of his prerogatives, and he had not protested. What I said was that interferences which I do not believe are justifiable have occurred with his management of land affairs, to the injury of the public and of many individuals acquiring rights on the public domain through strict compliance with the requirements of the Federal statutes. I am prepared, on any occasion that may be apposite, to prove these assertions by specific instances, if necessary. I am not making the statement through misinformation, unless the sources of my information are themselves unreliable; and I think it is as necessary to preserve in all their integrity the several jurisdictions of the various departments, if we are to have peaceful and successful administrations, as it is for the legislative and the executive authorities each to observe, as far as it is possible for them to do so, the respective limitations placed upon their power, and to intrude as little as possible upon the boundaries of the other departments.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I crave the indulgence of the Senate for a few minutes only on this subject.

I was not able to be in the Senate on Thursday. I was here for a time in the morning, and was called out by some matters which required my attention before the Treasury Department and the War Department. I always listen to what the distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] says, first because I regard him as one of the ablest men not only in the Senate but in the Nation as well. He is usually careful and judicious in his expressions, and it may appear to be a piece of presumption for me even to refer in a critical sense to what he may say upon any subject; but upon this occasion he and I are so much at variance, and the matter is so vital, that I ought at least to express my view of the situation presented.

No person can determine for another the course of conduct in life. We must each and all mark out such conduct for ourselves. No other person can give to the Senator from Colorado a philosophy of life. That must be adopted and acted upon by each one for himself and by himself. The rule of conduct that guides and controls men in their struggles and in their contests must be one that appeals to their judgment and their own consciences. It so happens in this case that the rule of conduct which the distinguished Senator from Colorado asserts that he would follow is not one which I would always follow.

For example, it appears that a gentleman by the name of Kearful——

Mr. KING. Not "Careful."

Mr. ASHURST. Not "Careful"—Kearful—before a committee of the House, some time last February, made some observations in the course of his argument which some members of the committee and the Senator from Colorado construe to be a reflection upon the Department of the Interior, and the Senator from Colorado last Thursday complained extremely that the Secretary of the Interior had not resented the statement made by Kearful. The Senator from Colorado is usually so accu-

rate in his view of public matters and his philosophy of life that it is astonishing that he could have wandered so far from what, in my judgment, is the true rule, usually, for a public official. The Senator from Colorado is disturbed because the Secretary of the Interior has not wasted valuable time on this man Kearful.

If the Secretary of the Interior were to pause in the performance of his vast duties to answer the ill-founded assertions of disappointed litigants and to answer the criticisms of those who attempt illegally to acquire the public domain and are thwarted, he never would have time for public business.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CUMMINS in the chair). Does the Senator from Arizona yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. ASHURST. Certainly I yield; yes.

Mr. THOMAS. I agree with the Senator. Does the Senator think that the charge which I criticized was made by an irresponsible citizen or a disappointed litigant?

Mr. ASHURST. Why, I never heard of the man's name until to-day. Now, Mr. Kearful may be one of the most distinguished lawyers in the United States, but I do not happen to have the honor of his acquaintance. If I ever met him, I have forgotten it.

Mr. THOMAS. Does not the Senator distinguish between Mr. Kearful and the Assistant Attorney General of the United States, speaking for that department?

Mr. ASHURST. I do not believe that Mr. Kearful, or Tearful, or whatever his name may be, speaks now, or spoke then, in a true sense for the Department of Justice.

Mr. THOMAS. Then, Mr. President, that is the difference between us. I do.

Mr. ASHURST. I realize, however, that when a man speaks in his official capacity as Assistant Attorney General he is "presumed" to speak for the Department of Justice; but I do not believe that the views which Mr. Kearful expressed before the committee with such facility, and without any facts whatever to maintain his assertion, are the views of the Department of Justice; and I did not read this statement until this morning. I never knew about it until another Senator called my attention to it, and then I read it. It is one of those bald statements without the slightest scintilla of evidence to support it.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Arizona further yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. ASHURST. Certainly I yield.

Mr. THOMAS. Of course the Senator knows that this gentleman is still the Assistant Attorney General and has been ever since he made that statement.

Mr. ASHURST. This is the first time I have learned of that. I did not know enough about him to know that he was then Assistant Attorney General or to know that he still retains the position.

Mr. MYERS. May I make a suggestion?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Arizona yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. ASHURST. I yield.

Mr. MYERS. I will state to the Senator from Arizona that Mr. Kearful merely expressed his opinion as to what the Secretary of the Interior would do under certain circumstances in the future, and I dare say that a contrary opinion is held by 99,999,990 people in the United States.

Mr. ASHURST. I thank the Senator for the interruption. I want it, however, to be understood that I am not making any assault upon Mr. Kearful, because I do not know that gentleman. It would be folly for me to stand here and make an assault upon him when I know nothing about him. I am only judging from what is alleged to be his statement and judging him upon his alleged statement. I do not blame the Secretary of the Interior for not making reply thereto, because the things that Mr. Kearful stated are hazy, nebulous, uncertain, and hypothetical; that if the Secretary of the Interior were to abandon his duties and rush in to make a "resentful" defense against nebulous, weak, inconclusive, omnium gatherum statements of that kind he would be kept busy at something outside his duties. I did not rise, however, to discuss Mr. Kearful. He may be a very estimable gentleman. I know nothing about him. I rose to express my regret that matters of this kind are creeping into the RECORD. I am liberal rather in regard to matters going into the RECORD. I am not, I think, thin-skinned about what goes into the RECORD as against those who can reply, but it seems far-fetched for a distinguished Senator whose influence in this country is great and whose words are listened to as the Senator from Colorado is listened to, to rise and make serious and lamentable complaint because the Secretary of the Interior did not resent what somebody else said about him [the Secretary].

Mr. President, I am sorry to confess that I am not free from resentfulness. I resent insults as quickly as anyone, but if I paused in these great times to resent what is said about me I would never have time to do my duty as a Senator nor to answer a roll call in this Chamber; I would be quite busy answering things that arouse my resentment.

In regard to the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Franklin K. Lane, he needs no defense at my hands. He certainly needs no defense at the hands of anybody on the ground that he ought to have been "resentful." When the historian comes to estimate the character of Secretary Lane the venom and the malice of the enemies he has made in his stalwart defense of public right and public honesty will not weigh more than as idle wind which to-day passes him by, and which he regards not.

I commend him rather for refusing to embroil his great office in the miserable debauchery of a quarrel as to which particular department shall have jurisdiction over this matter that has aroused all this debate. I agree with the Senator from Montana [Mr. MYERS], who has just spoken on this subject. I think frequently the jurisdiction of the departments is so interlaced and intertwined that it is very difficult to ascertain just what department should have jurisdiction. Frequently there is a divided responsibility and a divided jurisdiction, and to criticize the Secretary of the Interior because he did not set himself up as an autocrat and say, "I will not allow another department of the Government to permit its views or suggestions to interfere with my views and suggestions," would be unreasonable, indeed.

I have read some history touching our public men. I know of no man who is more respected by the two great political parties contending for supremacy now than is Secretary Lane. He has the confidence of all right-thinking people, and their confidence is reposed in him justly, in my opinion, not only because of his stalwart integrity, but because of his remarkably accurate and wide comprehension of the problems confronting our country now, and that will arise and confront our country when we are no longer here to aid it in this great struggle to give liberty and good government to the people.

There is but one man in this country and only one, and he is Woodrow Wilson, who has a greater conception of the grandeur and the duties and the obligations of public men than has Secretary Lane. No man in my day, except Woodrow Wilson, has horoscoped the future as accurately as has Secretary Lane. I presume every Senator received a copy of the letter Secretary Lane wrote to Members of Congress but two or three months ago, pointing out the necessity of taking care of returned soldiers on farms, and the problem of redeeming stump and cut-over land, reclaiming swamp land, for I think that letter was put into the RECORD half a dozen times. I wonder if Mr. Kearful, and I mention his name with respect, because I have no right to do otherwise, could write such a letter as that.

I think we must be more careful of the way in which we handle the names of people. Human character is a tender subject. There are people in this country who when they read a charge against a man, made possibly by some irresponsible individual, attach importance to it. I am not assuming the attitude of a censor or attempting to rebuke anybody, but I simply say that I do not agree with my distinguished and loved friend, the Senator from Colorado, who asserts that the Secretary of the Interior ought to abandon the attention that he is placing upon his duties and rush forward with a resentful defense and denial of the insinuation made by Mr. Kearful.

The Senator says that under such circumstances if the charges are not withdrawn there should be a resignation on the part of the Secretary. I do not know that I can quote him accurately, but that is the effect of his statement.

Mr. THOMAS. I did not say that. I stated what I would have done under similar circumstances.

Mr. ASHURST. I am going to say that I am not trying to flatter the Senator from Colorado. He would object to and resent improper and unjust praise of himself as quickly as he would resent an improper and unjust criticism of himself. There are few men I have ever met who have as much courage as the Senator from Colorado. He frequently votes alone. It takes no courage sometimes to vote alone when you are right, but he has the courage frequently to vote alone when he is wrong. He is a man of experience, but I can not see upon what philosophy he could predicate an opinion that a man ought to resign from a Cabinet position because another head of a department did not discharge some inferior member of that department who

made some statement reflecting on the other Cabinet official. Mr. Lincoln would not have had a Cabinet at all; he could not have maintained a Cabinet under such a proceeding. Seward nearly all the time declined to speak to or fraternize with Stanton. Seward did not resign and Stanton did not resign simply because they did not "like" each other.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

Mr. ASHURST. I yield.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator is a student of history. Can he name an instance in the administration of Mr. Lincoln where one member of a Cabinet or his assistant publicly announced that another Cabinet member or his department was not capable of honestly administering his trust?

Mr. ASHURST. I can.

Mr. THOMAS. Where?

Mr. ASHURST. When Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, let the contract for the construction of the *Monitor*, which destroyed the *Merrimac*, the Secretary of War practically charged him with malfeasance of public funds for letting that contract; but when the *Monitor* sank the *Merrimac* that same Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, charged Gideon Welles, the Secretary of the Navy, with inefficiency because he did not let a contract for more than one *Monitor*. But there was no resignation.

Mr. THOMAS. Then will the Senator inform the Senate, if the charge was made, if it was made publicly, which I think the Senator is mistaken in asserting, and whether any investigation was demanded or any challenge of the truth of the statement was made?

Mr. ASHURST. In the first place, I do not know that it was made publicly in the newspapers.

Mr. THOMAS. My recollection is that it was not made publicly at all.

Mr. ASHURST. The Senator may be right, but at least the President knew of the charge and all the Cabinet members knew of the charge.

Mr. THOMAS. It was a family matter, so to speak.

Mr. ASHURST. Yes; an official family matter.

Mr. THOMAS. It was made privately; that is to say, in the Cabinet. The record of it was found in Mr. Welles's diary.

Mr. ASHURST. But there are other evidences of it. At another time a very severe criticism was made with reference to building some sort of an obstruction in the Potomac River to prevent the Confederate fleet from coming up and destroying the city of Washington. The Secretary of War caused a number of boats to be sunk some miles below this city, and for years afterwards those boats were referred to as Stanton's navy. It led to a very serious disruption of friendships. It led to a criticism that arose between members of that Cabinet, between Secretary Stanton and Secretary Welles. Nobody suggested that one of those two should resign.

Now, that is about all I have to say, Mr. President. I certainly wish to say nothing in a controversial spirit. I hope that in the future all Secretaries of the Interior will be as assiduous and as diligent and have a scope of vision such as is possessed by the present Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. THOMAS. I move that the Senate adjourn.

Mr. POMERENE. Will the Senator withhold the motion for a moment?

Mr. THOMAS. I withdraw the motion for the present.

Mr. POMERENE. Perhaps about half an hour ago the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] asked, in the event of no one desiring to speak further, that I should move a recess until 4.30. The reason for that request is that the chairman of the Finance Committee is expecting to present a conference report.

Mr. THOMAS. In moving adjournment I am carrying out the request of the Senator from Virginia, as I understood it.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to the Senator that the conferees can not report this afternoon. Members of the conference told the Senator from Virginia to let the Senate adjourn, as it was impossible for the conferees to report this afternoon.

Mr. THOMAS. That was my information.

Mr. POMERENE. I was not so advised.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I will say to the Senator that the Senator from Virginia conferred with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS], and they came to an agreement that the Senate should not be held in session to receive the report to-day.

Mr. THOMAS. I renew my motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado moves that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, September 23, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, *September 21, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon and was called to order by Mr. CRISP, Speaker pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father in heaven, we approach Thee with renewed faith and confidence that Thou wilt continue Thy favors unto us.

Quicken therefore our conscience and clarify our minds, that we may act nobly and intelligently our part in the great drama of life and so fulfill the law and the prophets.

Our hearts go out in deepest sympathy to the Member of this House, and his stricken wife in their profound sorrow and grief. Comfort them, we beseech Thee, by the blessed promises of the Gospel and help them to look forward with faith to that day when all tears shall be wiped from all faces and all hearts lost in eternal joy. In Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

CONFUSION OF IDENTITY.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. There seems to be a disposition on the part of the Official Reporters, as well as others, to confuse the identity of the gentleman from Ohio, Judge GARD, and myself. I am flattered, complimented, and pleased by it, but Judge GARD, naturally, I imagine, would have a kick coming. I do not know how often in the RECORD in the six years we both have been in Congress it has appeared where words were attributed to Judge GARD that I have uttered, but I know it has happened at least four or five times. Perhaps Judge GARD would object to that. I do not know whether words which he has said have been attributed to me at times, but, anyhow, I hope hereafter that the reporters will recognize the difference between the distinguished gentleman from Ohio and myself.

Mr. MEEKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Yes.

Mr. MEEKER. Might the gentleman not state to the reporters what the difference is between himself and the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. DOOLITTLE. The gentleman now speaking is the gentleman from Kansas, Mr. DOOLITTLE.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next, after the reading of the Journal and the disposition of matters on the Speaker's table, the gentleman from West Virginia, Mr. NEELY, be given 30 minutes in which to address the House. He was going to make the request himself but was called away suddenly by a telegram.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that immediately after reading the Journal on Monday and the disposition of matters on the Speaker's table the gentleman from West Virginia, Mr. NEELY, may have 30 minutes in which to address the House. Is there objection?

Mr. FORDNEY. Would not the gentleman from North Carolina include 30 minutes for the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. FREAR, and the close of Mr. NEELY's address?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from North Carolina adds to that a request that the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. FREAR, at the expiration of the address of the gentleman from West Virginia, Mr. NEELY, may also have 30 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. SIMS. Reserving the right to object, I want to ask the gentleman from North Carolina a question for information. I was not here yesterday at the moment when the House adjourned. Was there an agreement to take up the agricultural stimulation bill on Monday?

Mr. KITCHIN. No.

Mr. SIMS. The gentleman from North Carolina knows that I am very anxious to get up the emergency power bill next Monday, and if these unanimous consents get in the way I do not know how I am going to get consideration of that bill.

Mr. KITCHIN. I suggest to the gentleman that he get unanimous consent to take his bill up immediately after these gentlemen have addressed the House.

Mr. GILLETT. The gentleman's bill would not be in order on Monday.

Mr. SIMS. I want to get unanimous consent to take it up, and such consent will make it in order.

Mr. KITCHIN. Let the gentleman from Tennessee ask unanimous consent that his bill be taken up immediately following the addresses of these two gentlemen.

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, I understood that the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER] stated last evening, in response to a query propounded to him by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB], that immediately on the day following the taking up of the Agricultural appropriation bill it was his intention to bring up the food-conservation bill. I want to inquire of the gentleman whether it is his purpose to bring up the food-conservation bill on Monday?

Mr. LEVER. In response to the inquiry of the gentleman from Wisconsin, I desire to say that I feel somewhat embarrassed. This morning I learned that a great many gentlemen from New England—particularly from the States of Massachusetts and New Jersey—have primaries on Tuesday next. Many of them have reservations already to leave to-night. I do not think I said that I intended not to call the food-stimulation bill up to-day, but my friend from Wisconsin calls attention to the fact that I told gentlemen privately that I would not.

Mr. BUTLER. I want to say that Mr. MORIN, from Pennsylvania, has gone home.

Mr. LEVER. Of course I can not call the bill up to-day under such circumstances. I would like very much if we can agree to some program that would take care of my friends from New England, but I do not see very well how we can agree to hold the bill in abeyance until the last of next week; and they could not reach here until the last of next week. So, if we can arrange to do it, I would like to call the bill up on Monday and send it to conference. The parliamentary situation is this: The Committee on Agriculture has recommended that the House disagree to all the Senate amendments and agree to the conference asked for, except the war-time prohibition amendment, and there it recommends that the House agree to the Senate amendment with an amendment which allows the importation of wine until May 1, 1919. We agreed to that amendment at the urgent request of the State Department for certain foreign countries.

Mr. STAFFORD. There is not much question in the mind of the gentleman from South Carolina and in the mind of any Member of the House as to what the action of the House is going to be in sending the bill to conference and agreeing to the prohibition amendment.

Mr. LEVER. I think everyone realizes that the war-time prohibition amendment will be overwhelmingly carried in the House, and of course I take it that the other disputed points will be sent to conference.

Mr. STAFFORD. Why can not the whole bill go to conference?

Mr. BUTLER. No; let us vote on the prohibition amendment and get rid of it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object——

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, is it to be understood that we take up the food-conservation bill on Monday?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Under these circumstances, as we have general debate to-day, I do not see any reason why we should indulge in debate on Monday; therefore I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin objects. Under a special order of the House the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] is entitled to 30 minutes.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to submit a request for unanimous consent.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the emergency power bill (H. R. 12776) be taken up for consideration, following the action of the House on the bill just referred to by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER], next Monday.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Let the Chair state the request. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that the emergency power bill be made the special order, to be taken up for consideration on Monday next, immediately on disposing of the agricultural food-stimulation bill.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object——

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

Mr. SNELL. I would like to ask the gentleman what became of the emergency power bill that has already been passed?

Mr. SIMS. We have not passed any emergency power bill. We passed a 50-year leasing water-power bill.

Mr. SNELL. Was that not an emergency proposition?

Mr. SIMS. No; and never was so considered.

Mr. SNELL. I understood when it was presented to this House that it was an emergency proposition.

Mr. SIMS. Then the gentleman misunderstood the character of the bill.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. SIMS. Of course, the gentleman has the power and right to object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York objects.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. The Chair just stated the request of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] that the consideration of the emergency power bill, so called, be made in order to follow after the emergency food bill was disposed of. I do not understand that there is any agreement that the food bill shall be taken up—only a statement by the gentleman from South Carolina that he would propose to take it up.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Answering the inquiry, the Chair submitted the request just as the gentleman from Tennessee submitted it to the Chair, but the Chair will further state that the agricultural food-extension bill is a privileged bill in its present status, and the Chair presumed that the gentleman from South Carolina would call it up.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to state, for the information of the House, in order that I may not have to answer the question three or four hundred times to-day, that we will call up the agricultural stimulation bill on Monday.

Mr. TREADWAY. At the opening of the session?

Mr. LEVER. Yes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] is recognized for 30 minutes. [Applause.]

POLITICS AND THE WAR.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, most of the Members of this House of both parties are candidates for reelection, and as the time approaches it is idle for us to pretend that we are not deeply interested in the result. Each of us believes that the success of his party will be beneficial to the Nation and will promote its prestige and success on both sides of the Atlantic. I do you on that side of the House the credit to believe that if you thought it would save one soldier's life or shorten by one day the war to have the next House Republican, you would acquiesce in that result, and I claim for this side equal patriotism. But each of us believes unreservedly in his own side.

One fact we will all admit, that there has never within our memory been a time when party feeling manifested itself so little as within the past 18 months, or when both sides of the House worked together with such harmony and cooperation to strengthen the hands of an administration. During no previous war has there ever been such unanimity or such a suppression of criticism. And I think it is not unfair for me to suggest that at least one-half the credit for that rests with the Republicans. We have been the minority. Under our system of government one of the main functions of the minority is to criticize and attack. It has no opportunity of initiative, no share of the patronage, no connection with the administration. For you Democrats it is natural and advantageous to support the administration, which in turn assists you. For us it is unnatural and brings no advantage. So for us to uphold an administration whose election we strenuously opposed and which has never consulted or befriended us has been, I think, more difficult than for you. But you on that side of the House have done your best to make it easy for us. You have met our advances with a consideration and a good will which has made cooperation pleasant, and I wish to express my warm appreciation of the genial spirit which has characterized our relations during this Congress. [Applause.] Perhaps I ought to add in contrast that for more than a year I have been the acting leader of the minority, and if during that time there has been by the administration any consultation or any recognition in any way of the Republicans in this House it has escaped my memory. [Laughter.]

During most of this Congress there has been an entire absence of partisanship in the speeches, but as the election approached in which we were all so deeply interested it was, I presume, inevitable that what we were thinking should find expression. The chairman of the Democratic congressional committee was, I think, the first one to stain the columns of the RECORD with the partisan tinge from which they had so long been free. He obviously intended his last speech as a campaign document, to be transmitted through the mails in the pending congressional campaign, just as there have been sent out under his frank and without paying postage, thousands of a partisan editorial from a New

York newspaper which he slipped into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

In this campaign speech the gentleman cites figures to show that the two Democratic Congresses during the first term of President Wilson appropriated more money for the Army and Navy than did the Republican Congresses during the terms of either President Roosevelt or President Taft, arguing that those Democratic Congresses were more liberal and more foresighted in preparing our Army and Navy for war than were the Republican Congresses. It is quite a new note to be sounded by a Democratic Congressman. It shows what a change the war has effected. It shows how a party can become ashamed of its past policy. It shows that some in the Democratic Party recognize public opinion too well to dare to say with Mr. Creel that they thank God we were not prepared when the war broke out. It shows a wish to make the people think that the Democratic Party had done more than the Republican Party to prepare us for war. And letters are being systematically sent out by the same Democratic chairman, pressing the same argument and trying to monopolize as a Democratic asset the patriotic war spirit which now inspires the Nation.

But the people have not such short memories as to be deceived by this superficial argument. The Democratic Congresses cited did spend more for war purposes than the Republican Congresses—but why? Was it because they had greater foresight and wisdom? During the first of those Congresses we had the War with Mexico, which compelled large military expense. The second of those Congresses did not meet until seven months after the sinking of the *Lusitania* and did not end until after Germany had made war upon us and our diplomatic relations with her were broken off, and only a month before we declared war. Did appropriations made under those circumstances indicate much foresight? The great naval appropriation bill of that last session was enacted on March 4, 1917, when war was clearly inevitable and only a month before it was declared; and the great Army appropriation bill of that session was not enacted until a month after war was declared. And yet the Democratic chairman argues that because under these conditions the size of the appropriation bills was greatly increased the Democratic Party is entitled to admiration and confidence.

During all that Congress the world was afire. Was it much to boast of that a Congress under such conditions had spent more money on war preparations than its Republican predecessors in an era of profound peace? It seems to me a pitiable case of misspent enterprise to try to gain credit for the Democratic Party from such figures. I am sorry to see partisan spirit enter that field. I am sorry to see these comparisons between the parties instituted. And I am not only sorry, but I am surprised at the effrontery of a Democrat in initiating the comparison. I think it would have been wiser, as well as more patriotic, for you to have taken the position, in which I would gladly have acquiesced, that those matters pertained to a past which we might well ignore, when many men in both parties failed to foresee the future and prepare for it, when many members of both parties, though far more in the Democratic Party, were deluded into false dreams of perpetual peace, and when only a few statesmen had true vision and foresight and the courage to proclaim and preach it to incredulous hearers.

That attitude of oblivion, to my mind, would have been the wise one for us all to have taken, and it would have been preeminently wise for the Democratic Party. But since the Democratic chairman has seen fit to institute comparisons let me quote from the mouthpiece of the Democratic Party here at the end of the last Republican Congress in 1911. Mr. Livingston, of Georgia, making the critical speech which it has been customary for the man holding his position to make for his party, but which we have omitted since this war broke out, said:

> It is true that in the early years of the present period of control of the Government by the Republican Party we engaged in a combat with a tottering throne, a combat that has gone down in the history of the world as the least bloody struggle between any powers. One would expect, when this lopsided war was over, our expenditures for militarism would again resume normal proportions. But they have not. On the contrary, they have mounted since then with leaps and bounds unheard of before. If this policy is to continue, of having a pistol in every pocket, our national credit will soon be in question and our Treasury drained to the bottom. * * * We are spending annually more than 70 per cent of our revenues for purposes of war in one way or another. * * * The organization of the next Congress will find the control of the House of Representatives in the hands of the Democratic Party. We are for economy all along the line, but more particularly in those departments of the Government relating to the enormous expenditures for war purposes.

And I ask you in all candor if that did not fairly voice the sentiment of the Democratic Party and did not accurately echo the votes which they had cast? And unfortunately for the country they experienced no change of heart until war was upon us.

I do not think this issue as to which party did most to prepare us for war, which the chairman of the Democratic committee precipitates, is one in which the people are much interested or which will cut much figure in the campaign. It does not need refutation by figures. The people know that while neither party had risen to its full duty, yet during the 15 years before this war it was the main body of the Republican Party and its leaders which vigorously favored preparation and it was the main body of the Democratic Party and its leaders which denounced and defeated it. And after the European war began it was the leaders of the Republican Party who agitated for an immediate arming, and forecasted the future so accurately that if their advice had been followed this war would long before this have been ended by our victory, while it was the leaders of the Democratic Party who discredited their fears and sneered at them as unnecessarily nervous and excited. The three men who were most prominent as the evangels of preparedness were Col. Roosevelt, Gen. Wood, and Mr. Gardner, all Republicans. [Applause on the Republican side.] It was among Republicans that their doctrines found most adherents. That they were Republicans is perhaps a coincidence, and perhaps it is only another coincidence that in this Congress there were last winter eight seats unoccupied, four by Democrats, four by Republicans. The aggregate ages of each four were about the same, but the four Democrats had returned to private life from motives of self-interest, in order to increase their pecuniary incomes, while the four Republicans had left the security and comfort of their seats here to serve their country in the fighting ranks of the Army. [Applause on the Republican side.] If they were mere coincidences, they were not discreditable to the Republican Party.

And here is another similar coincidence: A patriotic organization, the National Security League, has recently issued a statement, in which they select eight measures in the Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Congresses which they consider most vital to the war, and give the record of Congressmen on those votes. I do not indorse the accuracy of their selection, but I believe it is a nonpartisan, public-spirited organization, with no interest except an intense and single-minded ardor for the success of the war. According to their table seven men voted wrong on all eight of the measures, and of those seven six were Democrats and one was a Republican. Forty-seven men voted right on all eight of the measures, and of them 4 were Democrats and 43 were Republicans. [Applause on the Republican side.] I do not maintain that their test was in all respects a just one, but it was made by an impartial, nonpartisan committee, and is one of the significant straws which show that the claim of superior foresight made by the Democratic chairman is ridiculously unfounded.

I dislike to obtrude this partisanship into our counsels here. I do not wish to disparage the patriotism of the Democratic side or to unduly exalt our own. But as you have initiated this comparison of the two parties on the question of preparedness it is but fair that you should be answered and refuted.

I do not think it is an issue which much interests the country now. Wat the country wants is the earnest and successful prosecution of the war, regardless of past records, and it will select the instruments which will best achieve that end. But that same zeal which distinguished the Republican Party in urging preparation has animated it since the war began. I do not wish to institute comparisons of loyalty, but there certainly has been quite as much and as ardent support of the war measures on this side of the Chamber as on that, although the officials to whom we were giving power were not of our selection, and we have vied with you in the earnestness and, I think, surpassed you in the disinterestedness of our support.

And yet the argument is advanced, elect a Democratic Congress in order that the war may be won. Have not the war policies of the President been quite as well supported by the Republicans as by the Democrats? Would not many of the most vital ones have been defeated except for Republican support? I have no acid test for any of my colleagues here. I believe they were all actuated by a high loyalty to their country and their constituents. Particularly unfair do I think it to judge a man by his attitude before the war. But would the support of the war have been any less vigorous if a Republican had been Speaker instead of our honored CHAMP CLARK, who went out of his way to try to defeat the draft? Would the sinews of war have been any less amply or more sectionally provided if a Republican had been at the head of the Ways and Means Committee instead of Mr. KITCHIN, who also voted against the war and against the draft? Would the necessary war legislation have been retarded any more if at that momentous juncture a Republican had been chairman of the Mili-

tary Committee instead of Mr. DENT, from whose hands the administration program of the draft had to be taken and carried through by a Republican? And so I might proceed with the other committees. Would not the country have felt quite as secure and confident that the necessary war measures would be passed and the necessary powers given to the administration, without selfishness, without partisanship, without political afterthought, if the Republicans were in a majority instead of the Democrats? Of course, under our political system Congress would not have been quite as much under the control of the administration, the power of patronage would be lost, the Postmaster General, for instance, would not have been able to secure the passage of the vicious and sectional zone system of postage, but it is possible that the true needs of the country might have been better met for that very reason. [Applause on the Republican side.]

You are trying to frighten the country into the belief that the Kaiser will think the election of a Republican House indicates that the Nation is half-hearted about the war. Do you think the Kaiser is as ignorant as that? Does he not know that it has been the Republican Party and the Republican leaders who have been most earnest for preparation and national defense? Do you not think he knows whom he has most to fear? Will he think it is favorable to him if the next House is controlled by the party of Roosevelt and Wood and Gardner, by the party of LAGUARDIA and HEINTZ, and JOHNSON, who left their seats here to try to put bullets into his well-protected sons? Will he expect less hostile and effective legislation under a Republican Speaker and a Republican leader of the majority and a Republican chairman of the Military Committee? Is there any basis for the argument? You say Republicans made the same argument during the Civil War and during the Spanish-American War, but it is not a fair comparison. At the climax of the Civil War the Democratic national platform declared that the war was a failure and that we must yield. During the Spanish War the solid Democratic Party, with but six exceptions, voted against the bill to raise the revenue for the war. We, on the contrary, have in this war supported as cheerfully as you the most drastic legislation and have ungrudgingly assisted you to grant to the President the most extraordinary and dangerous powers, because our intense zeal for the war overcame our normal attitude as a minority. [Applause on the Republican side.] We will not be less loyal as a majority. I believe there never has been a time when a strong minority, almost equal in numbers to the majority, has so suppressed partisanship and criticism and so effaced its organization in wholehearted support of its political opponents. And if the next House is Republican, as a majority we will again show the same spirit which has actuated us as a minority, and instead of following your lead, as we are compelled to now, we will be an initiating, pushing, energizing force for the equipment and support of our brave armies in the field. [Applause on the Republican side.] And I believe such a result would bring gloom and doom to the Kaiser and not encouragement. He knows who have been his fiercest foes and who he has most reason to fear.

There is another reason why the next House should be Republican. The next Congress, although elected this November, does not regularly begin its work until the first Monday of December, 1919. Before then we all hope that the war will be ended. Then this country will face problems quite as difficult as have ever confronted it. The industrial upheaval which this war has caused must be gradually turned again into the permanent grooves of peace. The changes in our industrial centers will be peculiarly disturbing, and will cause innumerable hardships and antagonisms. To deal with these will require our best wisdom and statesmanship. The next Congress must cope with these problems. Which party can be best trusted? The great industrial centers, like the great bulk of the population, are north of Mason and Dixon's line, and yet if there is a Democratic majority the chairman of every important committee without exception, all the men of greatest influence in legislation, will live south of Mason and Dixon's line as they do today. And under the caucus system which the Democratic Party has adopted and ruthlessly enforced any stray Democrats from the North are bound helplessly to assist in carrying out the decree of the majority. Should not that section which is most directly and vitally interested, which has an enormous preponderance of population, whose contributions and taxes mainly support the Government, have most influence when their fate comes to be settled? The country is normally Republican. It was only by our dissension that the Democrats won power. Now, that we are again happily united should not our policies, the policies of a majority of the people, again prevail? In time of war we have no partisan policies, but when peace again encompasses us I believe we are best fitted to solve its problems. [Applause on Republican side.]

I dislike to make a sectional and partisan argument. In this Congress we have lived together in such harmony and worked with such cordial good will, ignoring party and sectional lines, that I regret that any discordant words should interpose. I have such thorough respect for the loyalty and patriotism of everyone on that side of the Chamber, as well as on this, such a personal affection for our honored Speaker, that I should like to have had the issue this year submitted to the people without argument. But you have forced the issue upon us. You have formulated acid tests, though you have claimed that the same acid washed a Democrat pure, but deeply stained a Republican. [Laughter.] When you issued that advertisement:

To the Wisconsin soldiers at Camp Grant: President Wilson, your Commander in Chief, desires all loyal Americans to vote for J. E. Davies. Davies's election means joy at Washington and gloom at Berlin. Davies's defeat means gloom at Washington and joy at Berlin.

You initiated a despicable attack on the patriotism of the Republican Party for which you ought to be ashamed and ought to suffer. The election of that sterling and patriotic statesman, Senator LENROOT, may have caused a little gloom in certain circles in Washington, but I do not believe it caused one ripple of joy in Berlin. It furnished another strong Republican arm in the Senate to drive nails in the Kaiser's coffin.

To that kind of campaign we will not resort. We will not even suggest a doubt as to your full loyalty, despite the acid tests. But we do think our record entitles us to claim that if we control the next Congress there will be vigorous and unstinted legislation for every war purpose. There will be no appropriation refused, however enormous, no power withheld, however dangerous, if only they seem likely to hasten the war. And so the election of a Republican House should cause joy to our allies and all the Kaiser's enemies. It may cause regret, and I hope some shame, to those who have used such barefaced arguments. It will cause regret doubtless to those thoroughgoing Democrats who can never believe there is any patriotism or any wisdom in their political opponents. It may cause regret to those who want simply a smooth-running party machine here without will power or initiative, only able to obey commands. But only a blinded, venomous partisan can really believe or claim that there will be any faltering in war legislation, no matter which party controls the next House. And those who believe in the principles of the Republican Party, who distrust the theories and the composition of the Democratic Party, who want an energetic, initiating force here to urge on the vigorous prosecution of the war, and who want an unfettered and fearless handling of the great problems which the war will bequeath to us, can labor with good conscience and assurance for the substantial Republican majority which indications promise us. [Prolonged applause on Republican side.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a special order of the House, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLIER] is recognized for 45 minutes.

By unanimous consent, Mr. COLLIER was granted leave to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

THE WORLD-WIDE WAR.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, on the 29th day of June, 1914, there appeared in the headlines of the press, both here and abroad, a startling announcement of the assassination, the day before, by a young student named Gabrilo Princip, of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife in the capital of the newly acquired Austrian Province of Bosnia. Few, indeed, who read the announcement of the assassination of the heir to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy realized that this abominable crime would be the spark setting fire to a conflagration which would soon spread over the greater part of Europe and, gathering intensity as it swept on, finally reach the uttermost confines of the earth.

In the minds of many this brutal murder produced a feeling of profound sympathy for the aged and unhappy Francis Joseph, who in his long life had experienced so many sorrows. Little significance other than this was accorded, and the crime at Sarajevo was soon dismissed as another dark and tragic chapter in the history of the ill-fated house of Hapsburg.

No family in Europe has so tragic a history, and for nearly three-quarters of a century it seems as though a curse had been laid upon almost every member of that unfortunate family. The Hapsburgs are one of the oldest and most aristocratic of all the reigning houses of Europe. Ardent supporters of the Roman Church, the Hapsburgs, for reasons of state, could marry only into reigning Catholic families. They were, therefore, re-

stricted to few reigning families of that faith—the Wittelsbachs, of Bavaria; the Bourbons, of Spain; the house of Savoy, in Italy; the Albertine line, in Saxony; and the Cobergs, of Belgium.

The feeling of hatred and antagonism which for nearly two centuries had existed between Austria and Italy eliminated the house of Savoy as a matrimonial market for the Hapsburgs, and the lineage of the Cobergs was not ancient enough to suit the autocratic tastes of the most aristocratic family in all Europe, though Rudolph, the unhappy son of Francis Joseph, married a Coberg, Stephanie, the daughter of the King of Belgium.

So the marriages of the Hapsburgs were limited to one or two families, notably the Wittelsbachs, of Bavaria. Such intermarrying of close relations was not without fateful and unhappy results.

Francis Joseph, who married his cousin, Elizabeth, of Wittelsbach, was an epileptic, as was also his grandfather, Francis I. This malady was transmitted to his son, the Crown Prince Rudolph, and his daughter, Marie Velerie, who married her cousin, Francis Salvador, of Wittelsbach, himself an epileptic. A cousin, Ludwig, of Bavaria, went mad and committed suicide. Another cousin, Otho, King of Bavaria, was violently insane and was confined in an asylum for years. Charlotte, the sister of Francis Joseph, and the wife of the ill-fated Maxmilian, lost her mind and was hopelessly insane. Tragedy seemed to follow closely almost every member of the Hapsburg family. The brother of Francis Joseph, Archduke Johan, was lost at sea. A cousin, a young girl dying from consumption, while smoking a cigarette, set her clothes on fire and was burned to death. His nephew, Archduke Lazlo, was accidently shot and killed while out hunting. Maxmilian, the husband of his mad sister, Charlottee, attempted to establish a throne in Mexico, and he fell by Mexican bullets before the guns of a firing squad. The Princess Louise left her husband, the King of Saxony, and deserting her children, ran away with a young Belgian tutor, while the brother of the princess ran off with an actress. Francis Joseph's only son, the Crown Prince Rudolph, who lived unhappily with his wife, Stephanie of Coberg, became infatuated with a beautiful adventuress, the Baroness Marie Vetschera. They were both found dead in the hunting lodge at Mayerling, the woman evidently had been strangled, while the crown prince, badly mutilated, supposedly with a razor, committed suicide by putting the muzzle of a rifle in his mouth and blowing his head completely to pieces.

But sorrow's crown of sorrow yet waited for the aged Emperor, for his wife, the once beautiful Elizabeth, whom he had led to the altar 45 years before, was stabbed to death in 1898 at Geneva by Luchienni, an Italian anarchist, and in June, 1914, his nephew, Franz Ferdinand, and his wife, the Archduchess Sophia, were shot and killed at Sarajevo.

So, in the minds of many, the tragic death of the heir to the throne of the dual monarchy had no more real significance other than to add another dark chapter to the sorrowful life of the aged ruler of Austria-Hungary.

The crime of Sarajevo was, however, no more the cause of the present great war than was the munition maker, who made the gun from which came the missile which sank the *Lusitania* the cause of the destruction of that noble vessel. This crime was a pretext eagerly seized upon by Germany to put into execution the beginning of a plan of world-wide dominion and control of territory far greater in its character and more important in its wealth and resources than ever Alexander seized or Rome coveted.

The intense hated between Serbia and Austria and the feeling of indignation at Vienna over the assassination at once brought those two countries face to face with war, when it was directly charged that Serbia was responsible for the crime and that the details of the plot to murder the heir to the Austrian throne were carefully planned at Belgrade.

Serbia, the greatest, the most warlike, and the most important of all the Balkan States, was the chief obstacle to Austria's ambitious plans for control and acquisition of territory in the Balkan Peninsula. Only six years before Austria, in violation of a solemn treaty, had forcibly annexed the Balkan States of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and was greedy for more territory and more expansion. Bounded on the north by its ally, the great German Empire, and on the east by Russia, expansion of Austria could come only from the south. In this plan of Austrian control Germany fully concurred, because it was only through the Balkan Peninsula that Germany could extend its operations in the east and secure an outlet upon the Ægean, Adriatic, and Mediterranean Seas. It was therefore essential to German ambition that Serbia be either dismembered or destroyed.

The Balkan Peninsula was the scene of much strife and turmoil, and the different Balkan States were frequently fighting among themselves. That much of this turmoil and fighting was the result of Austrian diplomacy there can be little doubt. There was for a while intense rivalry between Serbia and Bulgaria for supremacy in the Balkans, but Serbia had in recent wars completely demonstrated that the title to supremacy in Balkan affairs was hers. Serbia, dismembered, would have removed the chief obstacle of Austria's control in the peninsula and at the same time would put an end to the Serbian propaganda of hate which was the cause of much disquiet and unrest in the Slavonic Provinces of the dual monarchy. Over 40 per cent of the Austrian population was Slavonic. Many of these Slavs were ripe for revolt, and a confederated Balkan Peninsula was the least desirable of all things to Austria. Though a small power, yet Serbia also had dreams of empire. She had already shown military ability of the highest order. The blood of her people being almost purely Slavonic, there was a strong affinity between Serbia and the Russian Empire. Unquestionably historical, cultural, military, and racial right to supremacy in the Balkans belong to Serbia. She was bound by ties of blood and interest to Montenegro, the only Balkan State which never surrendered to the Turk. A footing upon either the Adriatic or Ægean Seas would in a short time develop Serbia into a great commercial nation and would mean the emancipation of all the southern Balkan territory from Turkey. The dream of Serbia was a united Slavonic Balkan confederacy, with Serbia occupying practically the same position in this confederacy that Prussia occupied in the German confederation. It is extremely doubtful whether this could ever have been accomplished. Certainly, however, no other Balkan State was capable of bringing about this confederation. Always in dread of Austrian encroachment, an intense hatred sprang up between the two countries, which was intensified on the one hand by the activity of secret societies supposed to be backed by the Government of Serbia intriguing and spreading dissatisfaction among the Austrian Slavonic Provinces, and on the other by the annexation by Austria of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the fear of further encroachment.

The Bosnians and the Herzegovinians resembled their Serbian neighbors in thought, in racial characteristics, and in appearance. They have the same race pride, the same love of country, of poetry, of music, and of romance. They have the same superstitions, the same customs, and speak the same language as the Serbians. Up to 1878 Bosnia and Herzegovina were nominally Turkish Provinces and had repeatedly attempted to throw off the Turkish yoke. At the completion of the Turko-Russian War, by the terms of the treaty of Berlin, Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the consent of the other powers, were transferred to their powerful neighbors on the north, with the distinct understanding that when order and tranquility had been restored Austria would withdraw and permit them to become independent States. But in 1908 Austria, with the approval of Germany, and taking advantage of Russia's weakened and demoralized condition after the Japanese War, and the domestic troubles then convulsing Great Britain, repudiated the treaty of Berlin and annexed both Bosnia and Herzegovina. Russia, Great Britain, and the other powers at once entered vigorous protests which were met with an emphatic declaration from Germany that Austria's aggression in Balkan territory would brook no interference. It was made plain by the Imperial German Government that in Balkan affairs the cause of Austria was also the cause of Germany. The other powers submitted, but this annexation aroused great excitement and intense resentment in Serbia. For so closely did the Bosnians and the Herzegovinians resemble the Serbs that Serbia felt as though part of her own territory had been seized by Austria. The natives of the annexed Provinces, already intensely antagonistic to Austria, were also much incensed by the high-handed way in which Austria had repudiated the treaty of Berlin and annexed them without their will or consent. This act of Austria was the cause of the Serbians increasing the propaganda of hate and dissatisfaction which had been industriously spread in all the Balkan territory under Austrian control.

A confederation or political alliance of the Balkan Peninsula would have united, roughly speaking, a territory of about 237,000 square miles, with a population of over 27,000,000. This, however, would include Greece, with about 25,000 square miles and a population of about two and a half millions. It would also include what is left of the Turkish dominion in Europe. This federation or alliance of over 27,000,000, with Serbia the dominant and commanding power, would not only have so commanded the respect of the other powers, and especially Russia, that it would have been a decided check to the ambitious plans of dominion for Germany; but what was far more important to

Austria would have been a source of constant anxiety for fear the Slavs in Austria, already discontented and ripe for revolt, would, relying on the power of the federation, be continually tempted to rebel and throw off the Austrian yoke. Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a population of over 2,000,000; Dalmatia, with over 700,000; and Croatia-Slavonia, with over 1,200,000, were eagerly waiting an opportunity to revolt, while in the north Bohemia, the richest part of all Austria-Hungary, with its 6,500,000 people, were eagerly awaiting any kind of an opportunity to throw off the Austrian rule.

The Serbians were keenly aware of the importance both to Austria and Germany that Serbia should be destroyed. Once Serbia was dismembered and partitioned among the greedy Balkan States the central powers had little to fear, as only the genius and the primacy of Serbia could effect any kind of confederation or organization in the Balkans.

Knowing this, the Serbians, on several occasions, in order to avoid a conflict which, unaided, would have meant their ruin, submitted to much humiliation.

Austrian control of the Balkans would have been practically the same thing as German control of the peninsula, and without this control there would have been no opportunity for Germany to extend its operations in the east. It was only through the country of Serbia that a railroad could be projected and operated from Berlin to Bagdad, in the territory of the Turk. It was only through Serbia that a branch of this railroad could be extended through the northern part of Greece to the seaport of Salonika, in the domains of the Kaiser's brother-in-law, the King of Greece, thus opening the ports of the Adriatic, Ægean, and Mediterranean Seas to German commerce and affording other markets to a country whose commerce, based upon the complete development of every natural resource, together with the most approved intensive and scientific methods, was continually increasing.

Germany was becoming overcrowded, her commerce demanded new markets, and the time was ripe for the Kaiser to test the war machine which for nearly 40 years he had been building up in order to carry out his ambitious dream of world power and world domination.

Since the fifteenth century, when the rude robber barons of the Hohenzollerns first came into notice, ambition, greed of power, and an insatiable desire to prey upon their weaker neighbors marked their conduct. In the early days the Hohenzollern estate was but a small feudatory; but, animated by a consuming ambition for place and power, by chicanery and by the sword the strength of the Hohenzollerns grew, until at last one of the house reached the dignity of an elector. The power of the Hohenzollerns continued to increase, though their influence in large affairs was more or less inconsiderable until the days of the great elector, perhaps the greatest of all the Hohenzollerns and the model from which the present Kaiser loves to copy. By his ability and shrewdness his son, Frederick, became the first King of Prussia, and since then the Hohenzollerns have been the incarnate spirit, the very embodiment of military preparation and the most conspicuous example of military and arbitrary force of any nation in the world. With the Hohenzollerns greed for territory has been a mania. They held what they once acquired and immediately began to Prussianize the territory often acquired with the merest shadow of right, and the Prussian manners, customs, and military spirit was in a short time so indelibly impressed upon the new territory that it soon partook of practically all of the characteristics of the old. By steadfastly and inexorably pursuing this policy the small State of Brandenburg, with only 15,000 square miles and a population of only about 4,000,000 people, from the latter part of the fifteenth century has developed into the mighty German Empire of to-day, ruled over by a Hohenzollern Kaiser, who, notwithstanding over a million and a half of his best men have been slain on the battle fields of Europe and nearly all of Christendom is arrayed against him, still dreams of German kultur dominating the rest of the world.

Brandenburg, in the seventeeth century, acquired Pomerania, with over 1,700,000 inhabitants, East Prussia, with a population of over 2,000,000, and the towns of Halle, Magdeburg, Hallestadt, Ruzberger, Rippin, and Linden, and all of this territory soon absorbed the Hohenzollern ideas of military force. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries up to 1870 saw a great development and growth of Prussia. There was acquired West Prussia, with over 2,000,000 inhabitants; Silesia, with over 5,000,000; Posen, with 2,000,000 inhabitants; the Province of the Rhine, with over 7,000,000; Westphalia, with over 4,000,000; the rest of Pomerania; a great slice of Hanover; and numberless cities and towns. This was the Kingdom of Prussia which in 1866, completely and decisively defeating Austria, in 1870 eagerly welcomed the blunders of Napoleon III and in a few months overran France and seized all of Alsace and a great part of Lorraine. The easy victories over Austria and France so increased the prestige of the Kingdom of Prussia that it was comparatively easy for Bismarck to persuade the rest of Germany to come into a federation with Prussia at the head and form the German Empire.

Master of a great part of Europe and practically controlling the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, there was born in the mind of the present Hohenzollern ruler a mad dream to extend German kultur throughout the world, and all the vast resources of his mighty empire for nearly half a century were utilized for this great venture.

While this dream of world power was born in the mind of the Kaiser and Bismarck, Von Moltke and many others were not free from this delusion; yet there is little evidence to show that the masses of the German people at first shared the ambitious dream. Therefore two gigantic problems faced the Kaiser. First, how to create in the German mind a belief that the German people were the elect of God, commissioned from on high to extend German kultur and German thought throughout the world, and, second, how to build up a war machine of such proportions and efficiency as to make possible the gigantic plan of universal dominion.

This the Kaiser and his advisers proceeded to do. Propaganda worthy of the days of Philip of Macedon was industriously circulated and distributed throughout the Empire.

It was first necessary to impress the German people with the idea of Germany's importance, to firmly imbue their minds with a conviction that they were not like the people of other nations, but that the Germans were a superior kind of supermen, being cast from a different mold from their fellows. Of all the passions played upon, vanity perhaps yields the most fruitful results. It is human nature to believe what we would like to believe, the wish often being the father to the thought.

Upon the lecture platform, in the schools, and in the churches the Germans were fed so continually with fulsome praise of themselves that the German population soon became obsessed with the idea that they were the elect of the earth and that, like the children of Israel, they, too, were God's chosen people.

The Kaiser solemnly announced that "the world will one day be made whole again through the efficacy of the German character." "The German people are the elect of God, and their enemies are His enemies," declared the chiefs of the intellectuals, while the learned Prof. Eucken, of the faculty of Jena, taught that "To us, more than any other nation, is intrusted the true structure of human existence, and we have the right to say that we form the soul of humanity."

Dr. Adolf Lassen, privy counselor to the Kaiser, wrote:

> We are morally and intellectually superior to all others, without equals. We have no friends. All fear us and look upon us as dangerous, because we are intelligent and active and morally superior to all.

Said Fritz Bley:

> We are the most gifted of nations in all the domains of science and art. We are the best colonists, the best sailors, and even the best traders.

There appeared in the Alldeutsche Blatter the following modest statement:

> The hatred bestowed upon us by the whole world may be classified as the hatred of an inferior race for a superior one.

Referring to his grandfather in 1897, the Kaiser said:

> He left Coblenz to ascend the throne as the selected instrument of the Lord, as he always regarded himself to be. For us all, and above all for us princes, he raised once more aloft and lent lustrous beams to a jewel which we should hold high and holy—that is, the kingship by God's grace; the kingship, with its onerous duties, its never-ending, ever-continuing trouble and labor, with its fearful responsibility to the Creator alone, from which no human being, no minister, no parliament, no people can release the prince.

A long step, truly, from the rude robber barons of the Hohenzollerns of the fifteenth century to the self-appointed agent of God in the twentieth.

Again, said the Kaiser:

> The great ideals which have been lost, more or less, by other nations have become for us Germans permanent possessions.

Says Von Buelow, the imperial chancellor:

> We Germans are the most learned people of the earth and at the same time the most capable in war. The greatest philosophers, the greatest writers, the greatest musicians are Germans. The military and intellectual deeds of the Germans are unequaled.

And so on, ad nauseam. An important newspaper published that—

> The German tongue acts as a blessing upon all men. Coming direct from the hand of God, this blessing sinks into the heart like a precious balm and ennobles it.

And this fulsome propaganda of self-gratulation was so eagerly devoured by the German people that they really began to believe the German was the elect of the Lord and the salt of the earth,

Said Vernon Kellogg, in the Atlantic Monthly, in writing of the way in which the industrious spread of this kind of propaganda influenced the German mind:

And they fight not simply because they are forced to, but because, curiously enough, they believe much of their talk. That is one of the dangers of the Germans to which the world is exposed; they really believe much of what they say.

Reiteration and repetition by the author of a falsehood has, in many instances, actually created an impression on the mind of the person guilty of remaking the false statement as to leave it in doubt as to whether the statement be true or false. The mind once in this condition, the transition from doubt to certainty is assured, the false story becomes real, and the author of a statement he once knew to be untrue finally believes the occurrence related an actual fact. So is it with the Germans, and there can be little doubt that they are conscientious in their belief that they themselves are truly selected by God as His instrument to take care of and direct the destinies of the world.

Maximilian Hardin, one of Germany's greatest editors, wrote, in commenting on the aims of Germany in the war:

We wage it from the lofty point of view and with the conviction that Germany, as a result of her achievements and in proportion to them, is justified in asking and must obtain wider room on earth for development and for working out the possibilities that are in her. * * * Not only for the territories that are to feed their children and grandchildren is this warrior host now battling, but also for the conquering triumph of the German genius.

Says the Kaiser, 14 years before the war, that he hopes the German people "will become in the future as closely united, as powerful, and as authoritative as once the Roman world Empire was," and that just as in the old times they said, "Civis Romanus sum," hereafter, at some time in the future, they will say, "I am a German citizen."

After the German mind had become imbued with the idea of German superiority in all things the next step was to convince the German people that God gave them superior intellects, superior culture, and superior gifts in order that they might transmit these blessings to the people of other nations.

In 1890, the Kaiser said in a public speech to his soldiers:

I look upon the people and nation handed on to me as a responsibility conferred upon me by God; and that it is, as is written in the Bible, my duty to increase this heritage, for which one day I shall be called upon to give an account. Those who try to interfere with my task I shall crush.

At the launching of the battleship *Wittelsbache*, the Kaiser announced:

The ocean teaches us that on its waves and on its most distant shores no great decision can any longer be taken without Germany and without the German Emperor. I do not think that it was in order to allow themselves to be excluded from big foreign affairs that 30 years ago our people, led by their princes, conquered and shed their blood. Were the German people to let themselves be treated thus it would be, and forever, the end of their world power; and I do not mean that that shall ever cease. To employ, in order to prevent it, the suitable means, if need be, extreme means, is my duty and my highest privilege.

Again, he said:

We demand our place in the sun * * * our future lies on the water * * * the trident should be in our hand * * * Germany looks ahead. Her horizons stretch far away. She must be prepared for any eventualities in the Far East. Who can foresee what may take place in the Pacific in the days to come—days not so far distant as some believe?

Again, says the Kaiser:

From childhood I have been influenced by five men—Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Theodoric II, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon. Each dreamed of world empire. They failed. I have dreamed of German world dominion and my mailed fist shall succeed.

Says the Kaloniale Zulschrift, in January, 1900:

The old century saw a German Empire; the new one shall see a German world.

Maximilian Harden declared in Die Zukunft:

After all it is visibly the meaning of history that the white race under the leadership of the Germans shall arrive at the real and ultimate dominion of the world.

Said Prof. von Seyden, in the Frankfurter Zeitung:

Germany should and wishes to be let alone. The Germans are the elect people of the earth. They will accomplish their destiny, which is to govern the world and direct the other nations for the welfare of humanity.

Just a year before the war an official German report recites, in part:

Neither ridiculous shriekings for revenge by French Chauvinists nor the Englishman's gnashing of teeth, nor the wild gestures of the Slav will turn us from our aim of protecting and extending German influence all the world over. It is our sacred duty to sharpen the sword that has been put into our hands and to hold it ready for defense as well as for offense * * * We must accustom them (our people) to think that an offensive war on our part is a necessity. * * * We must stir up troubles in the north of Africa and in Russia. In the next European war it will also be necessary that the small States shall be forced to follow us or be subdued. In certain conditions their armies and their fortified places can be rapidly conquered or neutralized; this would probably be the case with Belgium and Holland.

Recites one of the Pan-Germanic works:

Our fathers have left us much to do. The German people is so situated in Europe that it needs only to run and take whatever it requires. The German people finds itself to-day in a plight similar to that of Prussia at the accession of Frederick the Great, who raised his country to the status of a European power. To-day it is for Germany to rise from a European to a world power. * * * Public policy prompted by the emotions (Gefuhlspolitik) is stupidity. Humanitarian dreams are imbecility. Diplomatic charity begins at home. Statesmanship is business. Right and wrong are notions indispensable in private life. The German people are always right because they number 87,000,000 souls.

We find the minds of the German people now obsessed with two prevailing ideas: First, that they are superior to the rest of mankind; and, second, that it is their duty, for the good of humanity, to rule over all mankind. That it is a mission handed down from the throne of Almighty God to them to extend this influence all the world over. Now, the question presented itself to the propagandists: How can this be done? What are the means whereby other nations can receive this kultur which we think, like "the German tongue, sinks into the heart and ennobles it like a precious balm."

The Kaiser always admired the Turk. So, going back to Mohammed for his inspiration, he paraphrased their slogan of "Islam or the sword" by declaring Prussian kultur and German influence or the sword. So, then, the professors and publicists and editors and others were set to work to mold public opinion into a firm belief that war was an ordinance set by God, and that it was both righteous and holy to extend their influence by the sword.

Again, in the press, upon the lecture platform, in the schools, and in the churches the German people were taught to despise peace and to glorify war. They were taught to believe that the highest aim of Government is to be successful in war, and that it is the only remedy for ailing nations. Says Bernhardi three years before the war:

Our next war will be fought for the highest interests of our country. This will invest it with importance in the world's history. World power or downfall will be our rallying cry.

Writes Maximillian Hardin long before the war:

All Morocco in the hands of Germany. German cannon on the routes to Egypt and India; German troops on the Algerian frontier; this would be a goal worthy of great sacrifices.

Says the Deutsch Kurier:

It is on the soil of Europe which has been fertilized by blood that there is growing up for us a German crop, and we shall still the tears of those who have given their dear ones if we can say to them, "Thy son, thy husband has fallen for this greater and stronger Germany—bloody sacrifices have been offered, and more will fall; they must provide the foundation for a territorial expansion of our country, for boundaries in the east and west which will secure us peace for a generation."

Karl von Winterstetten said:

From this it appear that for Germany this war is the decisive step toward a real world policy, which she was compelled to take because the triple entente, that syndicate of great land monopolists, prevented her from expansion, from obtaining the elbow room which she requires by peaceful means. We must therefore look upon this war as necessary for two reasons—it is not only a question of finally repelling the advance of Pan Slavism, but also of opening up a way for the German people to ascend to the rank of a world power.

Said one of their deputies, Bassermann:

We know it; the German eagle will victoriously unfold his pinions and ascend to a prouder height than ever. And we shall also know how to keep a firm hold for all time to come on the countries which are fertilized with German blood. Our ardent love for our German fatherland makes us strong to make the greatest sacrifices. But let us therefore also keep a firm hold on what we have won and acquire in addition what we need. Beyond bloody war is splendid victory—let that be the watchword of this great time.

Werner Sombart, one of the leading German economists and professor in the Handelshochschule, in Berlin, modestly wrote:

As the German eagle soars high above the beasts of the earth so must the German feel exalted above all surrounding peoples and must look down upon them in their bottomless depths.

Bernhardi, an intellectual war-crazed fanatic, whose writings produced a profound impression on the minds of the German people, wrote that "war is a divine institution, more noble than dispensing justice." He writes of "the sanctity of war" and insists that "a State can not commit a crime, and that its highest duty is to increase its power; that between one State and another there can be no law; that a war of conquest is as legitimate as a defensive war; and that the maintenance of peace ought never to be a political aim."

He goes even further, and after declaring that war was "the force which propagated the finest flower of civilization" and was "the only efficient school of heroism," that "the efforts toward the abolition of war must not only be termed foolish but absolutely immoral and must be described as unworthy of the human race."

Gen. von Molke, Germany's great military commander, the hero of the Franco-Prussian War, stated that "war is an ordi-

nance set by God." Bismarck, the greatest of all latter-day Germans, taught that "where the power of Prussia is concerned, I know no law." A doctrine of supreme selfishness handed down to his successors and exemplified by contemptuously characterizing a solemn treaty with five great nations of the earth as a "mere scrap of paper."

Treitschke wrote:

He who knows history knows that it would positively be a mutilation of human nature if we tried to banish war from the world.

He again stated that the two chief functions of a State were to administer the law within its borders and make war.

The chiefs of the intellectuals already referred to in justifying Germany's immense military program, stated:

Without our militarism our civilization would have been annihilated long ago. It was to protect our civilization that militarism was born in our country.

Lamprecht, in writing of that kultur so superior to the rest of the world, declared:

That the moral value of a form of culture is its force. Culture exists in order to manifest itself as force.

Said Bismarck again:

Force creates right; war is a natural law.

Said Maxmilian Hardin, Germany's greatest journalist:

It was Germany's declared will to engage in universal war as a national industry.

Marshal von Haesseler declared:

If a people have the right of dominion, its power of conquest constitutes the highest moral law, and before it the vanquished must bow. Woe unto the vanquished.

Frederick Neitsche, one of the leading writers of Germany, wrote that—

Ye shall love peace as a means to new wars, and the short peace better than the long. I do not advise you to work, but to fight. I do not advise you to compromise and make peace, but to conquer. * * * Let your labor be fighting and your peace victory. You say that a good cause hallows even war. I tell you that a good war hallows every cause.

It was natural that these writings and preachings and sayings of Germany's most intellectual men in advocating war should produce a profound impression upon the German mind. But this impression was inconsiderable as compared with the moral effect produced by the actual military preparations which were continually going on before their eyes. Every young man was by law forced to enter the army and was imbued from early manhood with military traditions and military ideas. The manufacture of the new and improved implements of war at the great Krupp factory at Essen, the rapid development and growth of a large navy, all tended to stimulate the German mind into a belief that the time was ripe to test this wonderful war machine nearly 50 years of assiduous labor had been building and to begin the gigantic plan for world-wide control, so that the blessings of German kultur might be felt throughout the earth.

It is by no means strange that a people whose vanity had for nearly half a century been pampered by the fulsome praise of their own superiority from the lips of so many intellectual men, and who had become obsessed with an idea that the highest aim of any Government was to conduct for conquest against their weaker neighbors a successful war; it is by no means strange that minds becoming obsessed with such thoughts would naturally look with complacency upon any means of passion, terrorism, and violence which were necessary to attain the objects sought. And especially was this true in Germany where the same propagandists began to teach this doctrine. Said the Kaiser:

Remember when you meet the foe that no quarter will be given and no prisoners will be taken.

Haackel said, "Force takes priority over right"; Clausman stated, "All idea of philanthropy in war is a pernicious error"; while Treitschke taught that "We have learned to know the moral majesty of war in the very thing that to superficial observers appears brutal and inhuman."

Erzberger, a leader of the Conservative Party in the Reichstag, who is now sick and tired of this war and who has been clamoring for peace, declared that "this war ought to be as pitiless as possible."

Said Baron von Bessing, who was much surprised at the indignant clamor which arose after the brutal murder of Miss Edith Cavell, a nurse whose gentle ministrations among the sick and wounded soldiers knew no distinctions of country: "When thousands of innocent people have died in the war, why should anyone become hysterical over the death of one guilty woman?"

The vice chancellor, Bismarck, declared:

True strategy consists in hitting your enemy and hitting him hard. * * * Above all you must inflict on the inhabitants of invaded towns the maximum of suffering. You must leave the people through whom you march only their eyes to weep with.

That this lesson was well learned by the Germans none know better than the bleeding inhabitants of poor, desolate, destroyed Belgium. Bismarck, however, went further, and again stated:

If we can not provide troops for the whole of the territory which we occupy, we send a flying column from time to time among the recalcitrant communities. We shoot, hang, and burn. After that has been done several times they end by becoming reasonable.

Gen. von Disfurth arrogantly stated in a public interview in answer to criticism of Germany's savage, barbaric warfare against the noncombatants of Belgium that—

Germany stands as the supreme arbiter of her own methods, which in time of war the world must be compelled to accept. * * * For my part, I hope that we have merited in this war the title of barbarians.

Admiral von Tirpitz, in gloating over the destruction of the *Lusitania* and the murder of hundreds of defenseless men, women, and children, declared that the allies' ships should be sunk without warning, and, according to reports in the press, one German officer high in rank stated "it were much better all on board perished, as it would strike terror to the hearts of the enemies of Germany."

Civilization may well stand aghast at the exemplification of German kultur as applied to Belgium, to Roumania, and to Serbia, and well is it for civilization that it stands together and makes common cause against a common enemy, whose crimes, outrages, and excesses are unparalleled in the pages of history.

Is it strange that German soldiers murdered helpess old men, tortured defenseless children, and violated gentle women when the men of God, the preachers of the gospel, like Pastor J. Rump, in the pulpit of an edifice dedicated to the God of Love and Mercy and consecrated to the gentle teachings of the Prince of Peace, at the very time Belgium lay bleeding at the oppressor's feet, thundered:

Take heed that ye be counted amongst the blessed who show declining England, corrupt Belgium, licentious France, uncouth Russia, the unconquerable youthful power and manhood of the German people in a manner never to be forgotten. * * * Brethren, make an end of this generation of vipers with German blows and German thrusts.

There was published in Germany an official organ called the Jung Deutschland, and it is published for the purpose of exerting an influence over the minds of the young boys of the Empire. It is a publication adapted for the use of children, and it has the official sanction of the Imperial Government. Some time before the beginning of the European war there appeared in the columns of this official organ the following lofty sentiments for the edification of the children of Germany:

War is the noblest and hollest expression of human activity. For us, too, the glad great hour of battle will strike. Still and deep in the German heart must live the joy of battle and the longing for it. Let us ridicule to the utmost the old women in breeches who fear war and deplore it as cruel and revolting. * * *. its august sublimity elevates the human heart beyond the earthly and the common. In the cloud palace above sit the heroes, Frederick the Great and Blucher, and all the men of action. The great Emperor, Moltke, Roon, Bismarck are there as well, but not the old women who take away our joy in war. When here on earth a battle is won by German arms and the faithful dead ascend to heaven, a Potsdam lance corporal will call the guard to the door, and "Old Fritz" (Frederick the Great), springing from his golden throne, will give the command to present arms. That is the heaven of young Germany.

The Book of Books tells us:

And whosoever shall offend one of these little ones who believes in Me, it is better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and he were cast into the sea.

What greater offense can there be against the "little ones" and against all of Christendom than for official Germany to attempt to impress upon the minds of the little children of the Empire a belief that those who teach the doctrine of Him who, on Calvary's cross, gave up his life so that peace on earth, good will to men, might be the heritage of mankind; what greater offense can there be to the children themselves than to teach that those who humbly follow the lowly Nazarene are forbidden entrance to the gates of heaven, which swing open only to those who repudiate Christ's teachings?

Is there cause for wonder that a German soldier should exult and delight in the mutilation and torture of the child of an enemy when his pastor and spiritual adviser, in commenting upon the murder of hundreds of women and children on the ill-fated *Lusitania*, should exult as Pastor B. Baumgarten exulted, as he said:

Whoever can not prevail upon himself to approve from the bottom of his heart the sinking of the *Lusitania*, whoever can not conquer his sense of the gigantic cruelty to unnumbered perfectly innocent victims * * * and give himself up to the honest delight at this victorious exploit of German defensive power, him we judge to be no true German.

With what little value the Germans regard the lives of those not of the Germanic blood is well illustrated by the saying of Prof. Haeckel, one of the best-known zoologists in the world. He modestly said:

One single highly cultivated German warrior of those who are, alas, falling in thousands, represents a higher intellectual and moral life value than hundreds of the raw children of nature whom England and France, Russia and Italy oppose to them.

German kultur teaches that the German people are morally superior to other peoples. How have they shown their kultur? How have they proved their morals? How have they exemplified their superiority? What does this boasted superiority stand for? What does German kultur mean?

It means soldiers going into guiltless, unhappy, defenseless Belgium and committing outrages which would have brought the blush of shame to the face of an aboriginal untutored savage. It means the wholesale violation of young girls before their anguished parents' eyes. It means holding up a white flag and firing on the unsuspecting soldiers as they approached. It means the slaughter of defenseless men, the bayoneting of little children, and the murder of gentlewomen. It means dropping bombs upon sleeping cities where women and children were torn and mangled beyond all recognition. It means the burning and destruction of Red Cross hospitals. It means deporting the men to work in the fields of Germany, leaving the wives and little ones at home to starve. It means cutting off the breasts of women and the hands of boys and girls. It means using helpless men, women, and children as human screens, forcing them to go before the German attack to be shot down by their friends. It means stealthily, silently creeping up on an unsuspecting passenger vessel and sending it to the bottom of the sea, and as the men, women, and children flounder, half strangled, drowning in the water, German kultur means that German bullets shall complete the work the torpedo started.

The murder of Capt. Fryatt and Miss Edith Cavell are true and striking exemplifications of German kultur. Capt. Fryatt, who commanded a British merchant steamer, was in March, 1916, attacked by a submarine without warning. He attempted to ram the submarine and forced it to submerge, thus saving his vessel from destruction and himself and crew from being murdered. About three months afterwards, while piloting a passenger vessel with a number of unfortunate Belgian refugees abroad, he was captured by German torpedo boats and taken to Bruges and tried by court-martial for attempting to destroy a German submarine several months before. A generous enemy applauds a brave act, a heroic deed, even if committed by a foe. But German kultur, so superior to the morals of the rest of the world, demanded the blood of this man, who, in order to save the lives of himself and crew, dared to resist the murderous attack of a German submarine. He was sentenced to death and immediately executed. A Dutch paper called this crime "a dastardly murder of spite and hatred."

The superiority of German kultur was even better illustrated in the murder of Miss Edith Cavell, an English nurse, who had in the hospitals nursed back to life again scores of wounded German soldiers. She assisted some wounded English and Belgian prisoners to escape. For this she was tried by a secret court-martial and sentenced to be executed. Brand Whitlock, the American minister, tried in every way in his power to save the life of this noble woman, but to no avail. She was taken to the place of execution and faced the firing squad. It is said that when this young woman faced that firing squad, hardened soldiers as they were, their hearts were touched with compassion. The order was given to fire, and when the smoke cleared away it was found that she was only slightly wounded, one bullet alone having touched her. But German kultur needed this sacrifice to carry out its high ideals, and the officer in charge of the execution, drawing his pistol, advanced upon the unfortunate woman and shot her through the head. About the same time across the English Channel, a German woman, a detected and self-confessed spy, who fearlessly and defiantly admitted her guilt and gloried in her deeds, was tried by an English court-martial. She was also convicted and sentenced to six months' imprisonment in an English jail; yet the English woman, who had a hundred times risked her life in nursing back to health scores of sick and wounded German soldiers, was shot down like a dog.

The powers of Europe were not as blind to Germany's dream of universal conquest as German diplomats and strategists seem to think, but there were few who thought the blow would fall so soon. That Russia was alive to this situation is shown by the instant mobilization of her troops upon the Austrian and Serbian frontiers immediately after the ultimatum was sent to Serbia.

That France knew the extent of the German plan for world-wide control can not be doubted. Germany's attitude on many occasions, especially during the Moroccan embroglio, even going so far as to send a gunboat to Algiers, put France on notice. But none of these powers attached the importance to the plan it deserved. England alone appeared to be singularly blind to the extent of Germany's schemes of world aggrandizement. This is partly explained on the theory that England had for so many years regarded Russia as the enemy with which it would have to contend in the future that the plans of Germany, a much more formidable power, were overlooked. The ceding by England of the island of Heligoland to Germany in exchange for a free hand in Zanzibar will ever be regarded as one of the colossal blunders of history, though, strange to say, this treaty, while unfavorably regarded in England, was even more unpopular in Germany. But German diplomacy knew the strategic importance of this island. It was at once strongly fortified, and protects the mouth of the Kiel Canal, giving Germany two outlets to her fleet, each adequately protected, and in case of attack forcing England to divide her fleet. So important did the German Kaiser regard the acquisition of this island that he immediately went to the expense of doubling the width and extending the depth of the Kiel Canal, so as to allow easy passage of the largest superdreadnaught.

It is strange that the tremendous naval program of Germany did not put England on notice. So vast were these naval appropriations that up to 1907 Germany was spending $73 where England was spending $23. England, finally becoming alarmed at the rapid growth and development of the German Navy, proposed an agreement whereby each country would curtail the burdens of naval expenditure. This proposition was declined, and then England kept pace with Germany in naval preparation. At about the same time France became alarmed at the enormous preparations going on in Germany in reference to the huge land force and heavy armaments and entered a protest, which was of no avail.

The Kaiser and his advisers were now prepared to begin the campaign for world control. There had been firmly instilled in the German mind a contempt for other peoples and for all things not German. They were so saturated with the fulsome praises of self-adulation that they were convinced that no country could withstand the weight of German arms. They had built up the most effective war machine in the history of the world. They had developed every resource by intensive and scientific methods. Nothing was left to chance. Everything was prepared. Every strap was in its place, every buckle securely fastened. The huge Krupp works had supplied ample munitions of war. Tons of supplies were ready. Europe was asleep, Germany alone awake. The stage was set, the overture started, and only a signal was needed for the curtain to rise upon the greatest tragedy of all time.

Mr. Speaker, the German dream of world power had more the promise of its fulfillment than the casual observer would be led to believe. It was carefully planned after years of preparation, and only two incidents, unforeseen to Germany, prevented the Imperial Government from coming, at least for a time, into undisputed control of the greater part of Europe.

Criminologists tell us that in the plans, no matter how carefully laid, of the greatest and most intellectual criminals, there is always an unexpected weak place which often reveals the crime and betrays the criminal. So, also, in the gigantic plans of the Hohenzollern Kaiser there were two unexpected incidents which, occurring, defeated forever the ambitious dream of world power. One of these incidents was the unexpected resistance of Belgium, which gave the French Army time to mobilize, and the other was England's prompt entry into the war, which drove German commerce from the seas, thus cutting off all hope of obtaining supplies from abroad and at the same time making it possible for the allies to receive munitions and supplies from the markets of the world.

Germany's plan of universal control contemplated first striking in the East, where the colonial possessions of Great Britain and France were located. Either wresting these possessions from French and English control or else so disturbing conditions that possession of these colonies would prove a great weakness and source of uneasiness to both England and France was Germany's first objective.

In order to stir up troubles in the north of Africa so that the French and English possessions could be attacked with hope of success, it was necessary that a railroad from Berlin to Bagdad should be in operation so that troops could speedily and expeditiously be moved in close proximity to those points. The building of this railroad from Berlin to Bagdad would shorten the distance to India by at least 10 days. It would give Germany an opportunity to speedily mobilize her troops in close proximity to the Suez Canal. It would permit the Imperial Government, in case of war between Germany and Great Britain, to transport her troops by rail and attack Egypt from the land side.

Thus, the building and operating of this road from Berlin to Bagdad would, in case of war, permit Germany to speedily advance her troops against Africa, India, and the Suez Canal, and if trouble occurred with France, Morocco also could easily be

attacked. It was, therefore, of the utmost importance to Germany's ambitious dreams of conquest in the East that this road be in operation and under German control. It was also invaluable to Germany as a commercial enterprise. The friendship of the Turk had been secured. There would be no difficulty in building and operating this road through the Turkish dominions on to Bagdad. The obstacle in the way was Serbia, the greatest and most important of all the Balkan States.

This railroad was a cherished plan of the Kaiser's. He had been working to secure it for many years. By condoning the horrible Armenian massacres and other inhuman atrocities where thousands of Christians, men, women, and little children, had been tortured and murdered by the Turks, and by playing for years upon the vanity of the Turkish people, the desired end had been obtained and Germany had firmly established friendly relations with the Ottoman Government.

The Kaiser had visited Jerusalem, and theatrically clothing himself in the picturesque costume of Lohengrin entered the city and in the presence of a great multitude embraced the Sultan, who in turn embraced the Kaiser, calling him the true successor of Frederick Barbarossa. With great ostentation, pomp, and display the Kaiser then proceeded to the tomb of Saladin, to whom he referred as "one of the most knightly monarchs of any kingdom."

In parting from Abdul Hamid the Kaiser assured the Ottoman ruler of the friendship of Germany in the following words:

Let the Sultan and 300,000,000 of Mohammedans throughout the world, who honor him as their spiritual chief, rest assured that at all times the German Emperor will be their friend.

The systematic flattery of the Turk, early began, continued. It was a part of the gigantic plan of universal control which an official report recited Germany had marked out "to the minutest detail." Bismarck stated that "the Turk was the only gentleman in the East." There is nothing, however, significant in this, for the murderer of men, women, and little children for no offense other than they were followers of the Savior of mankind would naturally appeal to one who advocated inflicting upon helpless, unarmed, nonresisting civilians "a maximum of suffering, leaving them only their eyes to weep with."

Roorbach, in a book which ran through over a hundred editions, wrote: "Between the German and the Turkish nature there is, if not a profound kinship, at least a certain degree of affinity." Not an affinity as strongly marked as the learned Roorbach thought, for it is related that on many occasions the murderer of Christians recoiled in horror at the dreadful tortures and cruelties inflicted in the name of German kultur upon the unarmed, nonresisting civilians of Serbia and Roumania. Before the war began, in 1914, German officers were sent to Turkey for the purpose of reorganizing and training the Turkish armies, and Germany offered to restore to the Sublime Porte a greater part of the Balkan territory which Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece had wrested from the Ottoman Empire in recent wars.

The friendship of Turkey was assured. The railroad could be built from Constantinople to Bagdad or anywhere else in the Turkish dominion, but Germany still was powerless because Serbia, intensely antagonistic to both the dual monarchy and the imperial government, blocked the way.

When the heir to the Austrian throne was assassinated, owing to the ancient feeling of antagonism and hatred between Serbia and Austria, there was intense excitement prevailing in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The opportunity to dismember or destroy Serbia was at hand. The minds of the Austrians already highly inflamed were easily influenced into a belief that the plot to murder the archduke was laid in Belgrade and that the Serbian Government was responsible for the abominable crime. Austria charged Serbia with complicity in this murder and sent to Serbia a 48-hour ultimatum to which no country could accede and retain a vestige of sovereignty. The feeling in Austro-Hungary against Serbia, the charge that Serbia was responsible for the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, and the creation of recent alliances among certain powers threatened the peace of the world and caused much uneasiness and concern to the diplomats of Europe.

France and Russia for mutual protection had entered into an alliance called the "dual alliance." Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, for the same reasons, created the "triple alliance." England, France, Russia, Germany, and the dual monarchy all had agreed to respect the neutrality of Belgium. If Austria-Hungary attacked Serbia, the close affinity of blood and interest between Serbia and Russia would impel the great Russian Empire to rush to Serbia's assistance. Then Germany, the ally of Austria, would attack Russia, and France was the ally of Russia. The easiest way to invade France was to avoid the carefully defended mountain passes and enter by way of Belgium. In 1907 all of the great powers of Europe entered into solemn compact that no country should attack or invade Belgium or transport troops, supplies, or munitions of war across Belgian territory.

Thus, by events following the crime of Sarajevo, the peace of Europe was seriously endangered. But after several weeks had elapsed men's minds had cooled and it seemed to be generally understood that while Austria would make demands on Serbia in the nature of an ultimatum, yet these demands would be such that Serbia could comply, and Europe breathed again. It seems that Count Berchtold, the Austro-Hungarian premier, had assured the Russian ambassador that no extraordinary demands would be made upon Serbia, and the ambassador was absent on a brief vacation when the ultimatum was sent.

The ultimatum was evidently one Austria did not believe Serbia could accept, nor want Serbia to accept. It required that Serbia should repress every publication that intended to reflect upon Austria; to dissolve all the anti-Austro-Hungarian societies; to eliminate without delay all instructors and all educational matter which might serve to foment a propaganda against Austria-Hungary; and remove all officials from military and administrative service guilty of such propaganda, the names of which would be submitted by Austria later; to accept the collaboration of Austrian representatives to help enforce these demands; to permit Austrians to sit as a court in Serbia and participate in the judicial inquiry against the accessories to the plot to assassinate the crown prince and his wife; to arrest certain personages whose names were set forth in the ultimatum; to make public apology for the utterances of Serbian high officials, both at home and abroad, who, after the crime of the 28th of June, did not hesitate to express themselves in terms of hostility toward the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; and to inform the Imperial Government without delay of the carrying out of these measures. An answer was demanded in 48 hours.

Never was a more humiliating or insulting document sent from one civilized country to another. It was not expected that Serbia could comply with these demands.

It is contended and generally believed that Germany had knowledge of this ultimatum before it was sent to Serbia. That Germany approved the ultimatum can not be questioned, also that Germany was opposed to a further extension of the 48-hour limit is well established. Briggs Davenport, in his interesting history of the great war, which shows a remarkable familiarity with Balkan affairs, tells us that the text of the ultimatum was telegraphed to the Kaiser, who amended it in some particulars "in the direction of greater severity, so that the chance of evasion on the part of Serbia was minimized. It was he who fixed 48 hours the limit of time for the response." However this may be, Germany refused to join in with Russia, England, and France in requesting Austria to grant Serbia more time. The British ambassador telegraphed to Sir Edward Grey that "although I am not able to verify it, I have private information that the German ambassador knew the text of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia before it was dispatched, and telegraphed it to the German Emperor. I know from the German ambassador himself that he indorsed every line of it." Both the Russian ambassador and the Belgian minister at London, on the 28th day of July, expressed the opinion that Austria would never have sent such an ultimatum to Serbia without first showing it to Germany and having some agreement with that country.

The note to Serbia was dispatched at an unfortunate time, in so far as it concerned the powers who tried to preserve peace. The Russian ambassador had left Vienna on a brief vacation; the Serbian prime minister, Pachitsh, was absent from Belgrade; President Poincare, of France, and Rene Viviani, head of the ministry, were on the road returning from a visit to the Tsar. The Kaiser was away from Berlin, and could not be located for some time.

Serbia complied with practically all of the Austrian demands, save that which permitted Austrians to sit as a court in Serbia. Austria then invaded Serbia. Russia then declared war against Austria. On August 1 Germany declared war against Russia. On August 2 Germany sent an ultimatum demanding a right of way through Belgium into France, the day before war was declared against France. Belgium refused. The next day, August 3, Germany declared war against France, because some French aeroplanes had flown over the border, and began to advance on France through Belgium. On August 4 Germany declared war on Belgium.

Great Britain, Prussia, France, and Russia had jointly signed a document, afterwards referred to by the German chancellor as "a scrap of paper," guaranteeing to preserve the neutrality of Belgium. The fifth Hague convention declared in article 1 "that the territory of neutral powers is inviolable," and in article 2 that "belligerents are forbidden to move across the territory of a neutral power troops or convoys, either of muni-

tions of war or of supplies," and, in article 5, that "a neutral power ought not to allow on its territory any of the acts referred to in articles 2 and 4."

When Great Britain saw that the neutrality of Belgium was violated England then declared war on Germany. The German troops attacked Liege, and the greatest war in the history of the world had begun.

Several years before the war the Germanic League in advocating universal empire issued a manifesto which in part declared that "progressive effort will be carried on until our batteries can be unmasked without danger. Europe will then find herself confronted by a situation already prepared even to the minutest detail and against which she will be powerless."

That the time to unmask these batteries was ripe was uppermost in the public mind of Germany. Maximilian Hardin, in a burst of fanatical war-crazed frenzy triumphantly wrote: "Not against our will and as a nation taken by surprise did we hurl ourselves into this gigantic venture. Our might shall create a new law in Europe." Mark now the prevailing German obsession of arrogance, self-superiority, and conceit. "It is Germany that strikes. When she shall have conquered new domains for her genius, then the priesthood of all the gods will praise the god of war."

With Germany's immense Army of 1,200,000 men, selected for the invasion of France and ready to move at a moment's notice, it was not believed in Berlin that Belgium would have the temerity to resist the demand of Germany that the German forces be given a right of entry through Belgium into France. But with a courage equal to that of her sons when Cæsar wrote that of all of Gaul the bravest were the Belgians, the little country bared her heroic bosom to the advance of a cruel and relentless invader, and though crushed down by a vast superiority of numbers, slowly and sullenly contested every inch of the ground. [Applause.] Five army corps at different points entered the little kingdom, but stubbornly fighting, her ranks decimated, her towns burned, her civilians murdered, Belgium paid for her temerity at the cost almost of her existence. She stands to-day "another Niobe of Nations, childless and almost crownless, in her voiceless woe" yet in its final analysis, to that little bleeding country belongs the first credit of preserving civilization to Christendom. [Applause.]

Slowly Belgium fell back before the heavy onslaught of the German millions, but in the meantime the French were mobilizing and getting ready to repel the invader. Every day that Belgium could keep the immense horde of Huns from French soil meant much to civilization. And when after over three weeks' resistance the German Army of five army corps had overrun Belgium and stood upon French soil the road to Paris was no longer open, for a French Army together with a detachment of English soldiers barred the way.

To Belgium belongs the real credit of stopping the German advance and ending forever the wild dream of world power which obsessed the German mind. Had Belgium permitted Germany to advance unmolested to the French frontier no French Army could possibly have been mobilized in time to effectively resist the savage advance of the ruthless invader. No English troops could have been landed. No battle of the Marne might have been fought, and the civilization and the Christianity of nearly 20 centuries might have been destroyed.

Looking back along the path civilization and human progress have slowly, painfully, and laboriously pursued, the student of history finds that from time to time great decisive battles have been fought, the result of which exerted a controlling influence in shaping the destinies, not alone of the various countries of the world as they slowly emerged from barbarism to semi-barbarism and then to the civilization of to-day, but also in shaping and directing throughout the centuries the course of civilization itself.

Had any one of these great battles terminated differently, the current of the world's history would have been changed and turned into other channels, which would have impeded and retarded the advancement of that progress which throughout the years has been purchased at the cost of so much blood and tears and sacrifice.

In the east first appeared the dawn of civilization, of man's awakening to the advantages of organization and cooperation in governmental affairs. Nearly 25 centuries before "the cross cast its shadow on Calvary's Hill" Hamarabi enacted his code, and cruel and unreasonable as some of the laws of Chaldea were, yet many statutes in this first code were remarkable indeed in the justice and the wisdom of their application.

Centuries after the decline of Chaldea, Persia showed evidences of progress, but, intoxicated with the excesses of many victories over weaker nations, it, too, declined into that state of despotism and selfish ambition which ever have found fertile soil in the east.

In fact, the civilization of those early days, while showing evidences of mechanical and architectural skill of a high order, yet for the most part portrayed no real progress toward the betterment of mankind and the uplifting of humanity in either a moral or a material advance, but rather a declination into a state of despotic absolutism, which, notwithstanding the barbaric splendor which marked the courts and retinues of its tyrannical rulers, served only to emphasize and accentuate the vices which civilization and progress had taught these rulers to employ.

From time to time the east endeavored to impress upon the young and virile west the effete, languorous, and despotic manners, customs, and habits which since the early morning of civilization down to the present period have in a more or less degree characterized that great section of the globe. Five hundred years before the birth of Christ Persia dominated all of Asia and, with an immense army, prepared to sweep over and subjugate Europe. Between the subjugation of Europe and the Persian Army was a little band of Athenians.

The hopes of the western world, "the intellectual treasures of the Greeks," the civilization of Athens, the liberal institutions of a free government which even in those early days marked the history of Greece and several centuries later was to be still more accentuated in the Republic of Rome, all depended upon Miltiades and his little army of Athenians as they bravely attacked the Persian hosts at Marathon. With a loss of less than 200 men the Persians were utterly routed, leaving thousands dead upon the field.

The free institutions of the western world were saved, and the longings, faintly apparent as they were, but still beginning to appear in men's bosoms, for independent and liberal government were permitted to find expression through centuries of political evolution without being hampered and strangled by the effete, despotic, and languorous influence of the East.

Not only was Europe saved from a demoralizing and despotic influence which would have retarded civilization and progress for centuries by the victory of Marathon, but the result of this battle made it possible, a century and a half later, for the refining influences of the Greeks to enlighten the darkness of the eastern world. The victory at Arbela gave Alexander mastery of the East and the culture, manners, customs, and even the language of the Greeks was as Arnold said:

> Planted from the shores of the Aegean to the banks of the Indus, from the Caspian and the great Hyrcanium Plain to the cataracts of the Nile, to exist actually for nearly a thousand years, and in their effects to endure forever.

[Applause.]

Asia failed to impress its institutions upon the advancing civilization of Europe. But another peril threatened the western world. One hundred and twenty-five years after Darius was defeated at Arbela, one of the greatest military geniuses of all time arose and Hannibal, with a mighty and almost invincible army of Carthagenians left Africa and invaded Italy. For nearly 16 years he was the terror of the western world, but at the battle of the Metaurus his brother, Hasdrubal, was completely overthrown. The power of Hannibal was broken, and the fall and destruction of Carthage opened wide the door through which Rome passed as the Imperial City gained the domination of the world. Cruel, relentless, savage, and barbarous as Roman rule was, yet its influence in the world's history was infinitely superior to that of Carthage. Asia and part of Africa even to-day are enriched by the legacies Roman occupation bequeathed, evidences of which, though faint and indistinct, are still visible.

The Romans worshipped many gods, but were true to none. An offense against the eagles was punished by death. An offense against the gods was a trivial matter. Unmatched in discipline, superior to all others in skill of arms, Rome exerted a firm control over all conquered provinces, collecting tribute with merciless avariciousness and insatiable greed, and punishing all attempts to throw off the Roman yoke with the utmost severity. As long as these provinces yielded their tribute and submitted to Roman authority they were protected against all the world and permitted to worship any God of their choosing.

Had the civilization of Europe been dominated by the mercenary despotism of Carthage or the extreme fanaticism which prevailed in Asia an attempt would have been made to destroy in its infancy the Christian religion. But Rome, more or less tolerant in religious matters, viewed with complacency and satirical scorn the early growth of Christianty, until its disciples became so numerous and the faith so firmly founded that the later efforts of Rome in persecuting the Christians proved un-

availing to even diminish the constantly growing number of converts to a doctrine which for the first time opened the door of hope to the oppressed and the unfortunate of all mankind.

Christianity became firmly established in the western world. As the temporal power of Rome declined the star of empire advanced westward, but a new peril to the civilization and Christianity of Europe arose and again Asia attempted to wreck the advancement of human progress. A little over six centuries and a half after Roman arms defeated the Carthagenians at the Metaurus, a great horde of merciless, swarthy, ghastly appearing savages overran the east and south of Europe and, easily defeating the Roman armies which opposed them, crossed the Danube and, driving back the Germanic and Scandinavian forces, threatened to destroy the civilization and culture of Europe.

Tribe after tribe of these savage warriors poured into Europe, and before their grotesque appearance, the rapidity of their movements, the ferocity of their attack, and their legendary supernatural origin attributed, as Creasy suggests, "to the union of 'secret black and midnight hags' with the evil spirits of the wilderness." All Christendom stood aghast. Under the leadership of Attila, the scourge of God, this great swarm of Huns, fit prototypes of their more savage descendants, who have in recent years so ruthlessly and inhumanly ravaged and pillaged Serbia and Roumania, and their even still more brutal partners, who in the cruelty, wantonness, and bestiality of their crimes against defenseless Belgium, have far exceeded any atrocity Attila may have wrought, this great army of Huns prepared to conquer all of the western world.

Like a hot blast, scorching, shriveling, destroying, and driving everything before it, the savage and merciless progenitors of the present-day destroyers of Christianity, culture, and civilization swept on until the gates of Paris were almost in sight.

The barbaric horde was halted at Challons, on the Marne, where after a desperate battle the power of Attila was broken and he was driven back to his native east. It is indeed a significant fact and cumulative testimony to prove the assertion that history repeats itself when we recall that nearly fifteen hundred years afterwards, on the banks of that same little river Marne, another Christian army, battling for the peace and security of mankind, fighting for the democracy of the world, utterly defeated and routed another army of Huns more cruel and savage, more destructive against civilization, and more detrimental to human progress than were their untutored progenitors fourteen and a half centuries ago. [Applause.]

But Christianity was not permitted to survive without another great struggle to maintain its existence. The Moslems had crossed the Mediterranean, and, defeating the Visigoths, were in possession of Spain from Gilbraltar to the Pyrenees. They had conquered one after the other of the eastern Provinces of the decaying Roman Empire, and now a mighty army was prepared to invade Europe and force the inhabitants of the conquered countries to embrace Islam or the sword.

This was Europe's first invasion inspired largely by religious fanaticism. It was the crescent against the cross, Christianity against Mohammedanism. A magnificent army under the leadership of Abdeberrahman, the ablest and most renowned of the Moorish commanders, crossed the Pyrenees. It was an army of trained veterans, who fanatically believed that to fall in battle against the Christians would open the doors of Paradise, where the houris of heaven awaited their coming—an army which Southey described as—

A countless multitude; Syrian, Moor, Saracen, Greek renegade,
Persian, and Copt, and Tartar in one bond of erring faith conjoined—
Strong in the youth and heat of zeal, a dreadful brotherhood—

Who believed that—

Like the Orient, the subjected West
Should bow in reverence at Mohammed's name,
And pilgrims from remotest Arctic shores tread with religious feet
The burning sands of Araby and Mecca's stony soil.

Charles Martel met the invading Moslem Army and the followers of the Koran, who had robbed Rome of over half of its empire, conquered Persia, overrun Syria, Egypt, and north Africa, and had driven the Visigoths out of Spain, went down in crushing defeat before the Christian army at Tours, and thus the way was paved for Christianity to triumph throughout the world. In less than a century after the battle of Tours the power of the great Roman Empire was gone forever, but in its place there arose a power, spiritual in its nature and more far-reaching in its influence upon the history of mankind than ancient Rome in the height of its glory in even a remote degree attained.

The Norman conquest of England infused new blood in the sturdy Saxon stock. As Campbell expressed it, "They high-mettled the blood in our veins." The culture, graces, and refinements which characterized the fierce and arrogant chivalry of Normandy engrafted upon the rude but bold and honest Saxon character prompted Gibbon to write that "assuredly England was a gainer by the conquest," and Rapin, in his History of England, declared that the result of the Norman victory over Harold at Hastings was "the first step by which England is arrived to the height of grandeur and glory we behold in it at present."

Five hundred years later witnessed another struggle for supremacy. The victory of Drake over the Spanish Armada was world-wide in its consequences. Had the Spanish Armada accomplished its object the history not only of Europe but of the American Continent would have been changed, and new conditions would have arisen which would have altered the course of human affairs throughout the world.

The centuries rolled on. The rights of mankind were enlarging. The opportunities of the individual were widening. Autocratic governments were replaced by constitutional monarchies. Republics, receiving their authority from the consent of the governed, were established. Scientific progress and mechanical advancement were evidenced everywhere. The sciences and the arts were encouraged, education was free, agriculture was advanced, commerce was increased, law was enforced, order prevailed, humanity was expanding, courts of arbitration were instituted, international peace conferences were held, and the civilization, enlightenment, and prosperity of all Christendom had so progressed that a fond hope, shared by many, was born that the cruel and bloody wars of the past, brought about by man's greed and ambition for place and power, were the barbarous relics of a dark age from which the generations of today and to-morrow would be free.

But it seems that Christianity and civilization and human progress must not only be purchased at the cost of blood and tears and sacrifice, but the same price must be paid in order that they may be maintained and secured unto mankind. Nearly fifteen hundred years after the Huns were driven from the Marne another savage host was encamped upon the banks of that little stream. The civilization of the ages, the Christianity of nearly 20 centuries, and the culture and refinement of modern times was again trembling in the balance.

The old, old struggle was to be renewed. The setting of another sun would determine whether, as in the dim and misty past, once again might and brute force would take the place of right and justice; whether militarism would triumph over civil government; whether autocracy would usurp democracy; and whether governments whose responsibilities were devolved upon the individual and which derived all their powers and authority by the will and consent of the governed would be deemed a failure and perish from the face of the earth.

The Battle of the Marne can not be called one of the decisive battles of the world in the same sense that Arbela, Hastings, the destruction of the Spanish Armada, and Waterloo were decisive conflicts which once and for all terminated the power and strength of the adversary. More properly the comparison should be made with battles like Marathon, the Metaurus, Tours, and particularly Challons.

In these battles, while the advance of the invader was halted and the objective of the campaign lost, yet the defeated army was not destroyed, but reformed its broken line and for a time preserved a semblance of strength. At Marathon the Persian invader was driven back to his native East, but it was at Arbela that hope of Persia domination was lost forever.

The failure of Hasdrubal to join forces with his brother relieved Rome of any fear of Carthagenian rule in Europe, but for nearly four years after the Battle of Metaurus Hannibal remained in Italy, and it was some time afterwards when Scipio carried the war into Africa and Carthage was destroyed. The defeat of the Saracens at Tours drove them back across the Pyrenees, but it was seven and a half centuries later when Ferdinand and Isabella expelled the Moslem warriors from Europe.

At Challons Attila was defeated, but he retired in good order and even renewed his attacks against Europe, but the dread of the Hun as a world power was gone. On the other hand, the result of the Battle of Hastings left England at the mercy of Duke William, who at once proceeded to parcel out her fairest lands to his devoted adherents. Drake's defeat of Spain was decisive. The Spanish Navy was destroyed, her colonists were unprotected, and in one decisive conflict all dread of Spanish dominion vanished. The defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo ended the ambitious dream of the greatest military genius the world has ever known. Like a flaming meteor blazing across the skies, the son of a Corsican lawyer overran Europe, changing almost at will the map of a continent and placing the members of his family upon the thrones of the various countries conquered. But Waterloo came and the purple-clad Emperor of the Tuilleries spent the remaining years of his life a lonely prisoner at St. Helena.

The defeat at the Marne by no means destroyed Germany's power as an active fighting force, but it did destroy the carefully laid plan to take Europe unawares. Germany's dream of world power could be realized only by taking Europe by surprise, by a sudden dash across Belgium into France and overrunning the country before an army to repel the invader could be mobilized. All Germany's plans were working toward this end, and the defeat at the Marne gave the rest of Europe a chance to breathe, as it were, and to gather together an army which, with the aid of the United States, has dissipated forever the German dream of world dominion. [Applause.]

Had the Germans been victorious at the Marne, the next day they would have been knocking at the gates of Paris. Holland also would have soon been overrun, and controlling the shores of the English Channel, England would have had no port to disembark her troops nor any base to land her supplies. With France, Belgium, and Holland in German hands, and England unable to land either men or supplies, no new army sufficient to successfully cope with the invader could be mobilized, and the Hohenzollern dream of world power might have been, for at least a time, realized to the full.

The result of the battle of the Marne thrilled all Christendom. It put new hope into the heart of France. It put life and courage into the despairing soldiers of Belgium whose loved ones had been murdered, whose hearthstones were desolate, and whose fields were blackened wastes. It stimulated recruiting in England. It destroyed the fear that perhaps Europe might have been taken too much by surprise to resist the invader. It demonstrated that the French and English troops were more than a match for Germany's wonderful war machine. It created in the German mind a bewildering surprise that other soldiers could fight on equal terms with theirs.

As the German soldiers were fleeing from the banks of the Marne for the first time there crept into their power-crazed minds a suspicion that German superiority in all things was not as complete as all true Germans had been taught to believe. Had not the learned professors, the eminent scientists, the erudite economists, the preachers, the Kaiser, and his advisers all assured them that they were a superior race of men and under the direct personal care and guidance of God?

They were prepared to encounter obstacles which they expected to soon sweep away, but the possibility of a defeat never entered their minds. They were somewhat amazed, puzzled, and extremely angered at the stubbornness and effectiveness of the unexpected Belgian resistance, yet by force of numbers they steadily and relentlessly pushed the Belgians back and were satisfied in the belief that by their superiority in all things German "genius was still president." After the Germans had accomplished their objective, in so far as Belgium was concerned, and stood on French soil, they accepted, as a matter of course, the French and English retreat, as the Huns pressed on toward Paris. They were but fulfilling their destiny, which was to rule over the other peoples of the earth. Their superiority and their kultur had been and was being demonstrated. Their fighting machine was invincible. Flushed with the intoxication of their own success, enriched by the plunder which they had seized from the terror-stricken inhabitants of the conquered towns, drunk with the excesses of rapine and murder inflicted upon the helpless and unfortunate Belgians, and thrilled with eager anticipations of an early sack of the gayest capital in Europe and the rich promise of rapine and plunder it afforded, the Germans confidently pressed on. The French and English stubbornly and in excellent order fell back. The eager Germans followed. Paris drew nearer and nearer. The seat of government was transferred to Bordeaux, and still the French and English retreated, and still the victorious Germans pressed on.

"Surely the French and English will give battle to-morrow" was the prayer of Christendom, but the setting of the morrow's sun witnessed another retreat of the allies, another advance of the invader, until Paris was only 20 miles away.

On the banks of the Marne, where nearly fifteen hundred years before the savage horde of Huns had been driven from France, Joffre, the lion-hearted leader of the French, drew up his troops in line of battle. He had perfected his plans, he had outgeneraled von Kluck, he had mobilized his entire strength, and the "dre de retraiter" had been changed to "l'ordre d'avancer."

Again history repeated itself, for the setting sun of another day witnessed the spectacle of another army of savage Huns fleeing in more disorder and terror than did their barbaric progenitors over fourteen hundred years ago.

The people of the United States did not wish to enter this world-wide war, and were willing to make any sacrifice short of the surrender of national honor to keep from being drawn into the conflict. At the same time, however, there was a fixed determination firmly established in the minds of the American people that all protection guaranteed by international law should be secured to the citizens of the United States while in the discharge of all duties pertaining to their legitimate business.

Upon the beginning of the great European war the United States immediately assumed a position of strict neutrality. The proclamation of President Wilson to this effect was expected, and it at once met with the universal approval of the American people.

The Monroe doctrine, guaranteeing the territorial sovereignty of our sister Republics in South and Central America from foreign aggression, always a principle of the utmost importance, not alone to the United States but to all countries in the western continent, had recently, by way of emphasis, been reaffirmed by the United States both in 1899 and 1907 at The Hague conventions.

Next in importance to the Monroe doctrine has been that principle, first laid down by Washington and universally practiced by his successors, whenever it was possible so to do, of avoiding all embarrassing and entangling alliances or mixing in the quarrels of our European neighbors. For us to intervene in a European quarrel would be an invitation to them to violate both the letter and the spirit of the Monroe doctrine.

It was in accordance with this time-honored principle, as well as an earnest desire that our country be spared the horrors of war, that postponed for many days the inevitable conflict with Germany, and it was only after repeatedly submitting to many outrages that the United States reluctantly entered the war.

From the very beginning of hostilities so many vexatious and perplexing problems were continually arising that it taxed to the utmost the wisdom and ingenuity as well as the patience and tact of President Wilson.

With far-seeing sagacity President Wilson adhered to a strict observance of the principles of international law. It was the rock upon which he stood in an earnest endeavor to keep the privations and horrors of war from his country. Once let this rock be shattered and all would be chaos and confusion, and we would at once have been led into a maze of uncertainty and doubt. The only safe policy to pursue was to be guided by those precedents and statutes which from time immemorial have been laid down and agreed to by the civilized nations of the world as the proper course and policy for a neutral nation to pursue in dealing with a belligerent nation.

The wisdom of such a course is apparent to the most casual observer. Before the United States entered the war all the vexatious and perplexing problems which arose were not confined to disputes between our Government and the Imperial Government of Germany.

At the time when the controversy over submarine warfare between the United States and Germany became acute, we were also engaged in a controversy with Great Britain over the shipping of cotton to neutral ports. We were at the same time engaged in controversies with France and with Italy over the holding up and refusing to deliver cablegrams which related solely to commercial transactions between our citizens and the citizens of the neutral countries. All of these questions had to be settled, and the only proper way to settle them was by the precedents of international law.

The only wise course, the only safe course, the only proper course was not to deviate from these precedents. If once a single right of an American citizen were surrendered to Germany, then why not surrender another to Great Britain, another to France, and still another to Italy, and so on ad infinitum until all precedents were destroyed. Then every controversy which arose between the United States and a neutral nation would have to be settled either by force of arms or else through the means of a new diplomacy and a new code of international law—a code based upon expediency, with no precedents behind it for guidance and no sanction of approval from any country to give it weight. Each new question would then depend upon either the finesse of diplomacy or the force of arms as to its ultimate conclusion.

A vexatious problem, more troublesome at home than abroad, however, arose out of the selling of munitions of war to the belligerent nations.

The many friends of Germany in this country resented this, and they, together with others, demanded an embargo upon the shipment of all munitions. The munition makers of the United States were willing to ship these supplies to Germany if they could be safely delivered, but England's blockade prevented this.

The right of a neutral nation to sell munitions of war to a belligerent nation has long been sanctioned by custom and approved by international law. The United States, in 1793,

speaking through the mouth of Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State, declared:

Our citizens have always been free to make, vend, and export arms; it is the constant occupation and livelihood of many of them. To suppress their calling—the only means perhaps of their subsistence—because a war exists in a foreign and distant country in which we have no concern would scarcely be expected. It would be hard in principle and impossible in practice.

And in accordance with this principle munitions of war were sold by American manufacturers to French agents over the protest of England. Notwithstanding this protest, England, a few years afterwards, through Mr. Canning, officially declared—

that the shipment of arms to belligerents was not against the law, and that it could not be prohibited at all by the English Government.

In 1796, through the Attorney General, the United States reaffirmed the position of Thomas Jefferson in 1793, and in 1842 Secretary of State Daniel Webster, in a controversy between the United States and Mexico, declared that—

Trade in articles contraband of war is carried on at the risk of those engaged in it under the liabilities and penalties prescribed by the law of nations or particular treaties. If it be true, therefore, that citizens of the United States have been engaged in commerce by which Texas, an enemy of Mexico, has been supplied with arms and munitions of war, the Government of the United States nevertheless was not bound to prevent it, could not have prevented it without a manifest departure from the principles of neutrality, and is in no wise answerable for the consequences.

Franklin Pierce, in a message to Congress in 1855, reaffirmed this principle, as did President Grant in 1870, at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War.

During the Civil War Prussia sold munitions of war to both the United States Government and to the Government of the Confederate States. Germany sold munitions to Spain in the Spanish-American War, as well as to Russia in the Crimean War; to both Russia and Japan in the Russo-Japanese War; to the Boers in the war with England; and to the various Balkan States in recent wars.

The right of a neutral country to sell munitions of war to a belligerent nation is based upon common sense and sound public policy. The best energies of every country in times of profound peace, while not neglecting proper and adequate means of national defense, should be devoted to the education of children, the development of agriculture, the establishment of new industries, the increasing of commerce, and the encouragement of all kinds of legitimate business. All the energies of a country should not be devoted to the making and storing of vast supplies of war munitions to the detriment of everything else. If the laws of nations forbade the purchase of war munitions by belligerents from neutrals not only would it interfere with the legitimate industries of the neutral countries, but what is far more serious, the richest nation, or that nation which concentrated all of its energies and its resources in the manufacturing and storing of vast quantities of war supplies, would be at much advantage over and a constant menace to its more peaceful neighbors.

It would also force these neighbors to curtail the appropriations for education and the encouraging and developing of agriculture and commerce and devote all their energies to manufacturing munitions, which policy, if pursued by all, would keep the world perpetually in a state of unrest, would make taxes oppressive, and the country would always be on a war basis. Then again, if the United States refused to sell munitions of war to neutrals, in case we got into a war we would ourselves be estopped from buying munitions from a neutral country.

Our country was well within its rights, both as to international law and common sense, when Congress refused to put an embargo upon the selling and exporting of munitions of war. We said to the belligerent nations:

We are manufacturing war munitions; we will sell them to you, but we will not deliver them; come to our shores and get them if you want them and are willing to pay for them.

This invitation included the central powers as well as the entente, but there was practically no way for Germany to secure them, as the English fleet controlled the seas. However, Germany did buy munitions from the United States. The German submarine Deutschland, returning to Europe after its wonderful trip to the United States, carried with it over $1,000,000 worth of war munitions.

From the very beginning of this European struggle it was feared that if the United States should be drawn into this conflict it would be because of some act or acts committed on the high seas. When the neutrality of Belgium was violated England at once declared war against Germany. The first official act of the United Kingdom was to proclaim a blockade against the commerce of Germany. England's blockade was as strictly in conformity with the principles of international law as modern conditions would permit. It was a visible blockade of actual ships patrolling the waters. These ships could not venture within 3 miles of the shore, because the invention of large-caliber guns with a range of 10 or more miles would destroy them. This blockade was effective, ships were captured in endeavoring to circumvent it, but these vessels were not sunk nor were the passengers and crew murdered. Nor were they even attacked without warning, but notice to surrender was given in every instance. The vessels were captured, towed to a friendly or neutral port, and the cargo, if contraband, seized and confiscated.

In many instances England unlawfully seized our cotton and our vessels. The Government of the United States protested, and it was left to a court of admiralty to decide whether the seizures were unlawful or not. Before the United States declared a state of war existed between our country and Germany, Great Britain had in every instance paid the American owners of the cotton seized and restored the vessels.

The blockade England maintained was a lawful blockade and not one with vessels sailing beneath the waters and striking without warning. England's blockade sank no vessels, nor did it destroy the lives of the passengers and crew. Both Great Britain and Germany mined the North Sea in violation of the international agreements of The Hague. The United States protested against these violations, but did not declare war against either country on account of them. It was charged against England that some of these English mines were floating. This England stoutly denied, contending that the location of every mine was definitely known, and any English mine which was floating was one which had broken loose and was drifting. England further offered to safely pilot any vessel not carrying contraband articles through the waters which were mined.

Germany's answer to England's blockade was a merciless submarine warfare against the commerce of the allies. Notwithstanding international law provided in the capture of belligerent vessels the due observance of making this capture with every reasonable regard to the life of the crew, the security of the cargo, and the safe conveying of the prize to a port of entry for adjudication, and the protection of the captured from all injury as far as possible, German submarines violated all of these provisions and struck without warning, condemning ship and passenger, crew and cargo to destruction. While this course could be viewed only with the utmost disfavor by all the civilized countries of the world, yet it was never dreamed that the German submarine warfare would be conducted against neutral vessels and passenger boats and great ocean liners carrying hundreds of passengers who owed allegiance to the flags of countries not at war with Germany.

When the news was flashed to America that the great floating palace, the *Lusitania*, with over 2,000 souls on board, had been struck without warning and that many of the passengers and crew had perished, a thrill of horror and indignation over this barbarous act was felt from one end of the United States to the other, which indignation was tremendously increased when it was learned that of the 1,000 men, women, and little children who perished 137 were Americans.

Our relations with Germany at that time were already strained. About six weeks before, the British passenger ship *Falaba* was sunk and an American citizen lost his life. About the same time the American steamer *Cushing* was attacked by airships, and a few days afterwards the American steamer *Gulflight* was attacked by submarines. The destruction of the *Lusitania* and the murder of 137 Americans brought forth a vigorous protest from the United States. It seemed as though the countries were on the verge of war, but Germany assured the Government of the United States that American ships would not be hindered in the prosecution of legitimate shipping, and the lives of American citizens on neutral vessels would not be placed in jeopardy. The Government of the United States relied on this promise, but the barbarous and ruthless warfare continued.

Out of this warfare sprang the famous McLemore resolution, to notify all American citizens that if they traveled in armed merchant belligerent vessels and were injured or murdered upon the high seas, they traveled at their own peril, and the United States would not hold any country to account for such murder.

The adoption of this resolution would have been a shameful confession of the inability of the United States to protect the lives and property of its own citizens. It would have justly held us up to the contempt of all civilization as a Nation unwilling to protect its own people from assassination by a foreign power. Travel is a necessary part of a nation's business, and because other nations were at war to ask our people to stop traveling, to stop looking after their own business, to lose their means of livelihood, and keep away from the great ocean highways, which since the beginning of time have been free and open to the world, was intolerable and unendurable.

Notwithstanding the solemn assurance of Germany, more Americans were murdered and our Government again protested. Germany again recognized the protest, and in December, 1915, promised the Government of the United States "that liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of the noncombatants, provided that liners do not try to escape or offer resistance."

But in the next 60 days four or five more ships were sunk, and an American consul, traveling to his post, and nearly 400 American citizens were drowned. Still the United States forebore to go to war, and again protested to the German Government and again Germany promised to accord safety to the passengers and crew before sinking the vessel.

Again Germany defaulted and our Government threatened to sever diplomatic relations. Then Germany agreed to sink no vessels except in accordance with the general principles of visit and search, and that full opportunity would be given for all Americans to escape.

On January 31, 1917, however, Germany notified the United States that from and after February 1 she would forcibly prevent all navigation, including vessels of both belligerents and neutrals, in a zone around Great Britain, France, and Italy, and that all sea traffic would be stopped or the vessels sunk without warning.

Such a notification, after all the German promises, came to us like a clap of thunder from a clear sky. As the Secretary of State, in a recent speech, said, "It needed but the words reported to have been uttered by the German chancellor to complete the picture of the character of his Government when he announced that the only reason why the intensified submarine campaign was delayed until February last was that sufficient submarines could not be built before that time to make the attacks on commerce efficient." Do you realize that this means the promises to refrain from brutal submarine warfare which Germany had made to the United States were never intended to be kept; that they were only made in order to gain time to build more submarines; and that when the time came to act, the German promises were unhesitatingly torn to pieces like other "scraps of paper"?

This notice of Germany that all belligerent and neutral vessels would be sunk without warning whether they carried contraband or not, whether they were loaded with cargoes or not, whether they were passenger vessels or not, was nothing more nor less than an official declaration of piracy upon the high seas.

It is said that way back in the dim and misty past, when primitive men, sleeping in trees and dens and caves, would meet one of their own kind who did not belong to their immediate family and who they had, perhaps, never before seen, that no questions would be asked, no quarter would be given, but, with lowered head and bared fangs, they would silently, ferociously hurl themselves one upon the other and, with fist and tooth and foot and nail, fight it out to the last. If this be true, if mankind in the early morning of human existence was on so low a plane and men fought at random like the beasts of the forest, then it may well be said that the call of the wild has harked back for hundreds of centuries, and now, after nearly 2,000 years of Christianity, finds its expression in the ruthless German submarine warfare, where, silently, stealthily, and in the nighttime, neutral and stranger vessels are set upon and all on board are murdered without even the murderer knowing or caring who his victims may be.

Even then the United States did not declare war against Germany—even then, after all these insults and outrages and denial of a right to travel the high seas. No nation has the right to exercise jurisdiction over ocean waters over 3 miles from the land, yet Germany attempted to syndicate over 2,000,000 leagues of ocean highway and attempted to monopolize to her own use all the paths of ocean traffic. Time and time again the American flag had been insulted, American property had been wantonly destroyed, and American citizens had been brutally and ruthlessly murdered. Three times had the United States made official protests which Germany apparently respected, and then, after complete preparation had been made, treacherously and falsely repudiated. Even then the United States did not go to war. All that was done was to hand the German ambassador his passports and sever diplomatic relations with a Government whose official actions showed that it could not be trusted to keep a promise and who construed its solemn treaty obligations according to Bismarck's doctrine, that "where the power of Prussia is concerned I know no law."

The pages of all history may well be challenged to show a parallel to the patience and forbearance of the United States to continued insult, murder, and outrage. Once diplomatic relations between the Governments of the United States and Germany were severed, the President knew, every citizen knew, that if more American vessels were destroyed and more American citizens were murdered, for us to have submitted further would not only have placed our country in a humiliating attitude before all the world, but would have also meant the surrender of those inalienable rights and privileges which from time immemorial have been guaranteed to every country by the laws of nations. Such a surrender would have at once caused the United States to lose its prestige among the nations of the earth and inevitably sink to the level of a second or third rate power.

So eager was the United States to keep from being drawn into this conflict which seemed to convulse all Christendom, and so anxious was President Wilson to spare our country the horrors of war, that in order to postpone our entry into the struggle and to at least save the lives of American citizens from being wantonly destroyed and American vessels from being sunk to the bottom of the sea, the President earnestly requested Congress to grant permission to the owners of American merchantmen to place defensive arms upon their vessels, in the hope that these vessels could be defended from the murderous attack of the German submarines, which, like so many snakes, struck their venomous fangs at everything which crossed their path.

The House of Representatives promptly gave this permission, but to the astonishment and chagrin of the American people this permission was refused by the Senate, not because the Senate of the United States was opposed to an American citizen arming himself against a murderous and unlawful attack from a foreign foe, but because of the peculiar rules of practice and procedure in that body, which gave a Senator the right to speak for an indefinite period upon any subject. The resolution was sent to the Senate in the closing hours of the Sixty-fourth Congress, which session would end and the life of that Congress would expire at noon on March 4, 1917.

A filibuster was inaugurated by a few Senators against the resolution. Debate continued until the hour of adjournment arrived, a vote upon the resolution was prevented, the filibuster was successful, and the Sixty-fourth Congress expired without the resolution ever having been acted upon by the Senate.

Thus was presented to the American people the remarkable spectacle of American Senators refusing to give permission to an American citizen to put a gun upon an American vessel, carrying an American flag, laden with American products, destined to friendly ports, sailing in waters which from time immemorial had been open to the navigation of the world and which the owner of this vessel had every right, human and divine, to traverse; these American Senators refused to permit the American owner of an American vessel to carry arms in order to give him a chance to defend the ship and cargo and protect the lives of the passengers and crew against a piratical, unlawful, cruel, and murderous assault.

While the result of the filibuster destroyed all hope of peace and had the effect of hastening the conflict with Germany, yet war with Germany was inevitable, and the United States did not enter the conflict a moment too soon. Good finally resulted from the Senate filibuster, for an enraged public opinion soon forced that august body to adopt a much-needed cloture reform, but the adjournment of the Sixty-fourth Congress without the passage of the armed-neutrality bill awoke the American people to the seriousness of the situation which confronted them, and, standing as one man behind President Wilson, they determinedly and grimly began to reconcile themselves to the idea that an honorable peace was impossible.

The forbearance and patience of the American people in dealing with the insults and outrages Germany perpetrated upon us was apparently boundless. On several occasions for far less serious causes our country has resorted to arms.

Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century the young Republic paid the pirates of northern Africa a tribute for the privilege of sailing the Mediterranean Sea. In 1793 Algiers seized 11 American vessels and 112 of the passengers and crews were captured and sold into slavery; and even before that time two American vessels had been captured by these same pirates.

The infant Republic began the construction of a Navy, but in the meantime, while we were constructing and building the *Constitution*, the *President*, the *United States*, the *Chesapeake*, the *Congress*, and the *Constellation*, we paid the Dey of Algiers a million dollars in money and presents, together with an annual tribute of $27,000, so that American vessels might be permitted to trade in Mediterranean ports.

Again, in 1796, the United States was forced to pay Algiers another million dollars, while the Pasha of Tripoli received $83,000 in money and presents for this same purpose. Nor was this all, for two other avaricious pirates—the rulers of Tunis

and Morocco—also demanded and received tribute from the young Republic which had so recently taken its place among the nations of the earth.

Paying tribute for the privilege of exercising an inalienable right was intolerable to those who believed in the principles of liberty, equality, and free government, and when these avaricious pirates who infested the Mediterranean demanded more money and seized another American vessel, though the people of the United States numbered less than 6,000,000 souls, they declared that no more tribute would be paid. In 1803, during Jefferson's administration, under the leadership of the gallant and gifted Decatur, the war was again carried into Africa. The United States was completely successful in every instance, and over a hundred years ago American sailors bought with their blood the freedom of the Mediterranean Sea. [Applause.]

In 1812 England interfered with our commerce and, refusing to recognize American naturalization laws, took sailors off of our ships and impressed them into English service. The young Republic, with a population of less than 10,000,000, was not afraid to vindicate American honor and demand that American rights must be respected. Not for one moment did the United States hesitate, not for an instant did she falter, though England only interfered with our commerce and impressed our seamen. She did not sink our ships nor murder our sailors. Notwithstanding England was the greatest maritime country in the world, we went to war and on land and sea gained a glorious victory.

Over a century ago the infant Republic, with a population of less than 10,000,000 people, arose and settled forever the right of the American flag to wave in every port and on every sea. [Applause.] Now, when we have grown into the mightiest Republic on the face of the earth, Germany told us we must surrender the rights and liberties our fathers bought with their blood and maintained for over a hundred years. Germany told us that if we dared to sail the seven seas except in a certain course laid out by the Imperial Government, a few ships only each month, bound for one or two selected and unimportant ports, painted, as has often been said, "like a barber's pole," we did so at our peril.

Germany told the United States: "We are the elect of God, the salt of the earth. Our Kaiser tells us the trident is ours to wield; we will syndicate to our own use 6,000,000 square miles of ocean travel. Your jurisdiction over ocean waters is fixed by international law at only 3 miles from your shores." "German horizons stretch far away." (Kaiser.) "We intend to monopolize to our own use all the highways of ocean traffic, tie up your ships, suspend your commerce, and let your seamen and sailors seek other employment. We will throw a Chinese wall around the United States. Set but a foot beyond that wall and dare to venture from your shores and we will sink your vessels and murder your sailors."

If there be any who believe that we should have submitted to the continued outrages and insults of Germany, to the repeated violations of all precedents of international law, to the persistent breaking of all the rules and customs of humanity, and to numberless cowardly assassinations and murders of our citizens—if there be any who believe that we should have further submitted, let them pause for a moment and recall the heroic deeds of their fathers, who, under Decatur at Tripoli, Perry at Lake Erie, and Jackson at New Orleans, declared for all time America's right to maintain and defend the freedom of the seas. [Applause.]

The United States, as well as the entire Western Continent, was included in the gigantic plan of world control. Two years before the beginning of the war in Europe Germany made secret proposals to Great Britain to join forces, attack Mexico, and destroy forever the Monroe doctrine.

Gerhart von Schulze-Gaevernitz, professor of political economy in the University of Freiburg, wrote, in 1908:

> We need a fleet capable not only of coping with the miserable forces of South American States, but powerful enough, if the need should arise, to cause Americans to think twice before making any attempt to apply an economic Monroe doctrine in South America.

The celebrated journalist and author, Wintzer, years before the war, wrote:

> European interests, and with them the German, lie in America in case we have the power to support them effectively.

Eight years before the war Klaus Wagner wrote:

> Not only North America, but the whole of America must become a bulwark of German kultur.

And, referring to South America, he wrote:

> The lands will be settled upon by people of Germanic blood, the non-Germanic inhabitants being driven into reservations or at best to Africa (Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Egypt).

Recites one of the Pan-Germanic works published in 1911, in referring to south Brazil and Uruguay:

> It is truly a miracle that the German people did not long ago resolve on seizing the country. * * * False modesty has no value in a struggle for world empire.

The German people referred to, however, are German settlers in those countries. This same publication contends that it would be a blessing to the South American Republics if they came under German control—

> They would soon reconcile themselves to German rule and take delight in the fame of the German name in the world.

Gustav von Schmollor, the most distinguished historian of Germany, advocated the colonization of millions of Germans in Brazil.

The hatred Germany bears toward the United States is especially exemplified in the teachings of the professors in the universities in Germany. This propaganda of hate, jealousy, and envy directed against the United States in the different schools and universities produced a widespread impression upon the German mind.

The Monroe doctrine, maintaining the territorial sovereignty of our sister South and Central American Republics, is especially obnoxious to the Germans, and many of their bitterest tirades and most venomous philippics are directed against it.

Johannes Vollert wrote in 1903, in the Alldeutsche Blatter, about the Monroe doctrine:

> We Europeans almost universally consider it an impertinence. With a noisy cry they try to make an impression on the world and succeed especially with the stupid. The inviolability of the American soil is invoked without there being at hand the slightest means of warding off the attack of a respectable European power.

Hettner, professor of geography at the University of Heidelberg, declared in 1915 that—

> Just because the United States has set up the Monroe doctrine to exclude Europeans from America it does not follow that we should acquiesce in that doctrine.

Prof. Unold, of Handelshochschule at Munich, spitefully wrote nearly 20 years ago that the English and Yankees are everywhere disliked, and he prayed for the day to come when the Germans would be the intellectual, economic, and political leaders of the South American people.

Said Maj. Liebster, of the German Army, to an American vice consul before the two countries were at war:

> We are keeping books on you Americans. It's a long account and we haven't missed any details. Rest assured that that account will be presented to you some day for settlement. * * * We are keeping the account in black and white * * * with customary German thoroughness.

Edelsheim, of the German General Staff, wrote in 1901, over 12 years before the war, that a German corps—

> can begin operations on American soil within at least four weeks. * * * As a matter of fact, Germany is the only great power which is in a position to conquer the United States. * * * To accomplish this end the invader would have to inflict real material damage by injuring the whole country * * *, to seize in a short time many of these important and rich cities, to interrupt their means of supply, disorganize all governmental affairs, assume control of all useful buildings, confiscate all war and transport supplies, and, lastly, to impose heavy indemnities.

It is strange that that power-crazed maniac serving on the general staff of the German Army, dreaming over a decade ago of the conquest of the United States, did not add to his category of dire penalties and punishments inflicted upon us by the conquering Germans, after the looting of our cities and seizure of our public buildings, and—

> murder their helpless old men, torture and mutilate their little children, and violate their gentlewomen, as we always do in an invaded territory.

The close personal friend of the Kaiser and military attaché, Goetzen, remarked to an American major, N. A. Bailey, about 20 years ago:

> About 15 years from now my country will start her great war.

He was only five or six years off in his calculations. He continued:

> She will be in Paris in about two months after the commencement of hostilities. * * * Everything will move like clockwork; we will be prepared and others will not be prepared. * * * Some months after we finish our work in Europe we will take New York and probably Washington and hold them for some time. We will put your country in its place in reference to Germany. We do not purpose to take any of your territory, but we do intend to take a billion or more dollars from New York and other places. The Monroe doctrine will be taken charge of by us, as we will then have put you in your place.

Germany's plan was to take Europe by surprise, and then the humiliation of the United States was the next step in the gigantic venture. Jealous of our growing commercial supremacy, the Kaiser cast his covetous eyes across the Atlantic, and in his mad dream of world-wide power the vision of rich America paying Germany's enormous expenses of the war would come to his mind. We are a peace-loving, liberty-seeking people. We have always been more or less opposed to any large Military Establishment, and knowing how utterly unprepared we were at the commencement of the Great European war, the humiliation and conquest of the United States doubtless seemed an

easy matter to the ambition-crazed Kaiser, once he had succeeded in subduing and terrorizing all of Europe.

The conqueror dictates the terms of the peace treaty. In his dreams William of Hohenzollern could see a German chancellor, as Bismarck once did in Paris, pounding the green tables in London, in Paris, in Rome, in Petrograd, until the ink bottles danced, as he demanded huge indemnities and the fleets of the conquered belligerents. A victorious Germany, with all Europe lying bleeding and prostrate at its feet, the navies of the conquered countries at Germany's disposal, would have naturally bent all its energies in attempting to destroy that country whose ideals, civilization, and republican form of government were a menace to the militarism and autocracy of Imperial Germany.

Germany's denial of our right to sail the seas, the propaganda of hate so industriously distributed throughout the Empire, her proud boasting that some day she would conquer our country, and the actual plotting of our destruction, both here and in Germany, were not the only grievances the United States had against the Imperial Government.

Long before trouble with Germany began our country was overrun with German spies. German agents blew up our railroad bridges. They destroyed our factories. They wrecked our munition plants. They industriously circulated false and scurrilous propaganda in a vain attempt to stir up strife and create bad feeling between us and our sister South and Central American Republics.

Two years before the war they plotted with Great Britain to join forces, invade Mexico, and destroy the Monroe doctrine. They tried to involve us in a war with Japan. While our country was at peace with all the world German officials here in the United States, protected by that cloak international law throws around an envoy and makes his person sacred and inviolable—protected by this custom, German officials, taking advantage of their position and the opportunities it afforded to acquire information, intrigued and plotted against us, and secretly tried to bribe Mexico to attack us, offering. with the aid of German arms, to convert the States of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona into Mexican Provinces. Our flag had been insulted in a hundred ways. Our people had been murdered upon the high seas. No country ever had perpetrated upon it more insults and outrages before resorting to arms. No country ever submitted to injury and insult with more patience and forbearance; but when the United States did enter this conflict no country ever lifted its sword in a nobler cause, nor with a more fixed and steady determination to leave nothing undone to expeditiously and successfully terminate the war.

THE HUN'S MISTAKE.

Ambassador Gerard, in his book entitled "My Four Years in Germany," tells us that on the occasion of a visit he made to the house of the German chancellor that:

I remember on one evening—

Said he—

I was asked the question as to what America could do, supposing the almost impossible, that America should resent the recommencement of ruthless submarine warfare by the Germans and declare war. I said that nearly all of the great inventions used in this war had been made by Americans; that the very submarine which formed the basis of our discussion was an American invention, and so were the barbed wire and the aeroplane, the ironclad, the telephone and the telegraph, so necessary to trench warfare; that even that method of warfare had been first developed on something of the present scale in our Civil War; and that I believed that, if forced to it, American genius could produce some invention which might have a decisive effect in this war. My German auditors seemed inclined to believe that there was something in my contentions. But, they said, "While possibly you might invent something in America, while possibly you will furnish money and supplies to the allies, you have no men, and the public sentiment of your country is such that you will not be able to raise an army large enough to make any impression." I said that possibly if hostilities once broke out with the Germans the Germans might force us by commission of such acts as had aroused England to pass a law for universal military service. This proposition of mine was branded by the Germans as absolutely impossible, and therefore I am sure that the adoption by the United States of universal service in the first round of the war struck a very severe blow at the morale of Germany.

The unprepared condition of the United States from a military standpoint before the beginning of the great European war has been a matter of much comment and, in view of later events, has excited much hostile criticism, most of which was undeserved.

There were several good reasons which appealed to the American people why the United States did not embark upon a plan looking to a large Military Establishment.

Before August, 1914, it was not uncommon to hear the opinion freely expressed that the days of great wars were practically over. Indeed, there were many who believed that the Russo-Japanese War marked the last great struggle between the major powers of the world.

"Even if there should be another great war between the powers," it was argued, "it will affect us only in a remote degree." The isolation of the United States; its separation from Europe by 4,000 miles of ocean; its settled policy of refusing to interfere or mix in any way into the quarrels of foreign countries; its careful avoidance of any foreign entanglements; its great wealth; and the commercial relations existing between the citizens of the United States and those of foreign countries all gave to the people of the United States a feeling of security. It was not believed that in the future military operations on a large scale would be conducted on the land. The continued inventions of new and improved rapid-firing small arms; machine guns discharging nearly a thousand shells a minute; heavy artillery effective for miles; chemical experiments resulting in the manufacture of new and deadly explosives; together with the skill and marksmanship which accompanied the use of both the small gun and the heavy artillery were good and sufficient reasons in the minds of many why no more great land battles would be fought. Before such destructive armament it was not believed that armies could confront each other in the field without speedy and complete annihilation.

Deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of the American people was the distrust of a large standing army and, believing that all battles of the future would be fought upon the sea, support of the Army was reluctantly extended by Congress and any material increase in the Military Establishment at once met with speedy and determined opposition. An army sufficiently large to quell insurrections and police our island possessions seemed to be the extent to which the American Congress was willing to go. While the Army of the United States was negligible in so far as numerical strength is concerned it was argued that the National Guard of the various States would be the nucleus upon which a volunteer force would form in case the necessity for a larger Army should ever arise.

The success of American arms in the past had been brought about by volunteers, and there was prevailing an idea, incredible as it may seem now, that in the event of danger confronting our country, almost in a day millions of volunteers would be ready and prepared to meet and overcome that danger whatever it might be. No one doubted then, no one doubts now, that in case America needed her sons for her defense they would rush to her rescue. He who doubts the courage and bravery of the American people is no true American.

The spirit of our Revolutionary fathers, who resolved to be free or fill a martyr's grave, finds lodgment in the breasts of our people to-day. Since that memorable Fourth of July nearly a century and a half ago, when "Equality, with sword uplifted above the cradle of an infant Republic," consecrated that sword to the imperishable doctrine that "freedom is the heritage of mankind," our country has been foremost among the nations of the earth. The blood of the patriot who fell at Bunker Hill, which flowed at New Orleans, which drenched the plains of Buena Vista, and which ran in rivers at Gettysburg is no more red than that which courses through the veins of her sons today as they carry the Stars and Stripes to victory in Europe.

There has always been patriotism enough, there has always been bravery enough, there has always been heroism enough, and there has always been sacrifice enough. But armies can not be trained and equipped in a day. A state of war has now existed between the United States and Germany for over a year. The pages of history fail to show as much accomplishment in the same length of time along all lines of military preparation as has been made by the United States. But it is only now that we are ready to present an imposing force to halt the Hunnish invader in his attempted ravishment of France.

While the standing Army of the United States was inconsiderable in point of numbers before the beginning of the great war in Europe, it must not be presumed that the Navy was proportionately weak. On the contrary, the Navy of the United States, with the exception of Great Britain, compared favorably with the navy of any other country in the world. Some of the closest students and most accurate authorities placed the American Navy second in rank, acknowledging only the fleet of the United Kingdom as superior in armament and number of vessels. The Navy Yearbook, however, placed the United States Navy fourth, stating that both the navies of Germany and France were superior in tonnage, in armament, and in fighting strength to ours.

This statement in the Navy Yearbook was vehemently denied by many authorities, which denials, whether sustained or not, tended to prove that at least the Navy of the United States was a considerable fighting force and that there was little difference between its strength and the strength of the navies of other great powers excepting England.

The Navy of the United States in the number of its heavily armored battleships was slightly superior to that of Germany and considerably heavier than that of France, but our Navy was not as well balanced as it should have been. Auxiliaries were lacking, the number of cruisers was deficient, and the smaller craft, so necessary to the success of naval operations, was wanting. It was perhaps for these reasons that the naval authorities in the Navy Yearbook placed the United States fourth in rank.

There was no reason why these auxiliaries should not have been furnished and our Navy "rounded out." It was not because of a lack of pride Congress took in the American Navy. It is true that Congress was divided into two groups, one group calling itself "big-Navy men" and the other calling itself "little-Navy men"; but rare, indeed, could be found a Member of the American Congress who was not proud of the Navy and hoped that it would become stronger and more powerful.

The names of these two groups in which Congress was divided were misnomers, because the struggle between them was a fight relating almost solely to battleships. In fact, the "little-Navy men" were continually clamoring for submarines and more vessels of the smaller type, while the "big-Navy men" were continuing to use all their energies in order to induce Congress to build dreadnaughts of the heaviest class.

The advocates of both schools of thought expended most of their force and nearly all of their arguments for and against the building of more large battleships. The "little-Navy men" contended that a program of one ship of the dreadnaught class each year was sufficient progress, which contention was vehemently challenged by the opposition. So acrimonius did these discussions often become and so anxious were the advocates of either side to carry out their respective views on the battleship program that in the violence and heat of the discussion the smaller craft were often overlooked.

Whether the American Navy was second, third, or fourth at the beginning of the European war is a disputed question, but there was no question as to what rank the officers and sailors of American vessels occupied. As for efficiency, discipline, morale, and marksmanship, the American sailor was second to none. The results of the marksmanship tests of the different nations is not public property, but there was a confident belief shared by the officers and men as well as the Members of Congress that American gunners upon American battleships are the most expert marksmen in the world. Color to this opinion is lent when it is known that in order to improve the marksmanship of the American gunner many thousands of dollars more were expended in the purchase of ammunition for target practice in the American Navy than by any other country of the world, not even excepting Great Britain with her gigantic fleet.

Unfortunate as it was that the military preparation of the United States was so incomplete at the beginning of the great conflagration in Europe, yet the reasons why our country did not earlier enter upon the establishment of a more complete military organization are apparent. The desire for peace which seemed so universal and which found its expression in the donation of peace prizes, the organization of peace societies, and in conventions at The Hague participated in by all the civilized countries of the world, together with the fixed policy of the United States in attending to its own business and refusing to be drawn into European quarrels, caused the American people to regard the possibility of a war with a European power as remote indeed.

The distance from here to Europe, the great expense any country would incur in attempting to land troops or supplies, the recent reaffirmance at The Hague by the United States of the Monroe doctrine, and its ready acquiescence without protest or objection by any of the great powers, the general tendency to submit all disputes and international differences to arbitration, the tremendous financial and material resources of the United States which could be utilized in case of war, the enormous sums necessary to keep up a standing army, the deep-rooted aversion the American people have always held toward the creation of a large military establishment, and, above all, the progress humanity and civilization had made toward higher, nobler, and better things during nearly 20 centuries of Christianity, prompted the American people to rest content with a navy increasing in strength and power, already sufficient to preserve the Monroe doctrine and defend our coast line, and an Army, small though it was, yet together with the National Guard strong enough to preserve the peace of the Western Continent and police our island possessions.

The House of Representatives is the greatest deliberative body in the world. It possesses as much independent thought and independent action as any other representative body on the face of the earth. Fresh from the people every two years, a new Congress springs into existence. It is more or less responsive to the will of the people. It is more or less obedient to the wishes of the people, and while it possesses as much independent thought as any other representative body in the world, yet no general policy is ever continued indefinitely against the wishes of the people, and certainly no policy like refusing to enter upon the creation of a stupendous and gigantic plan of military preparation for national defense could be carried on for years without the acquiescence, the approval, and the indorsement of a great majority of the American people.

Few outside of the German Empire ever dreamed that a world-wide conflagration was at hand, and that almost overnight, as President Wilson once said, "the world would be on fire and the sparks would be flying everywhere."

After nearly 2,000 years of Christianity, civilization, and progress, who ever dreamed that our country would soon be forced into the greatest war of all the ages, and that less than 12 months after our entry into the struggle, unprepared as we were, we would have raised in money alone over twenty times the amount of the then existing national indebtedness, and that we would have loaned to our allies over six times the amount of this national debt.

That within the 12 months' time we would have so increased the fighting strength of our Navy that even the Navy Year Book will now place us second among the powers of the earth, and that we would have over 2,000,000 trained soldiers in arms, and that hundreds of thousands of as brave men as ever offered their lives for their country's cause were already fighting on European soil.

Had one gifted with prophecy foretold five years ago that the world would soon be meeting in a shock of conflict participated in by 33 great countries, including our own, and that this war was unparalleled in the number of men engaged and countries involved, in the cruelty and ferocity of the conflict, in the use of new and improved weapons of a type and with a caliber larger and more deadly than it was thought the ingenuity of man could devise, and that great armies composed of millions of men would confront each other year after year, had such a prophecy been made the prophet would have been laughed to scorn, his prophecy unheeded, and a jury de lunatico enquirendo sitting on his case would have adjudged so false and so sensational a prophecy absurd and the prophet himself a fit subject for an insane asylum.

Yet for over four years, on land and on sea, in the air and beneath the waters, in the trenches and on the plains, at long distance and in close proximity, the young and vigorous manhood of the universe have been at each other's throats, grappling in a death struggle; fighting with armored tanks, huge reptilian-appearing machines, suggestive of the mammals of a prehistoric age; fighting with improved rapid-firing guns, which under favorable conditions would enable half a dozen men to soon wipe out a regiment; fighting with the hand grenade discarded over a hundred years ago; fighting with guns belching forth liquid fire which scorches and burns and shrivels up the opposing force; fighting with noxious and poisonous gases, which not only kill but destroy the sight and the brain of their victims; fighting with tooth and nail, with bare hands and clubbed muskets; fighting with all kinds of deadly weapons and destructive implements of ancient as well as modern warfare, and deciding many engagements, in the face of all of science's wonderful inventions, at the point of the bayonet, like our fathers did over a century ago.

Immediately after the entry of the United States into the war, perhaps the bitterest and most intense discussion precipitated in the American Congress for many years arose as to how our Army should be raised and what means should be employed in securing an armed force sufficient to comport with the needs of the United States in the conflict in which our Government had become involved.

The majority of the Committee on Military Affairs reported a bill looking to the volunteer system, while an adverse report was prepared by the minority members of the committee reflecting upon the volunteer system as inequitable, unstable, inefficient, and unfair, and demanding a system by selective draft in which each State should furnish its quota of soldiers in proportion to its population.

It was contended by the advocates of the volunteer system that usage, precedent, and custom condemned the draft; that the armies of the past, which had so immortalized the glory of American arms, were composed of volunteers; that the draft as applied to the Civil War was found to be a failure and proved to be unsatisfactory to both the United and the Confederate States; that a selective-draft system which selected only a certain class of our citizens to the exclusion of other classes was unconstitutional, and that the adoption of such a policy would create riots and make the war so unpopular that the strength and usefulness of the United States would be greatly impaired.

The conscript was ridiculed, the name was declared one of reproach, some going so far as to say that the words "conscript" and "convict" were synonymous. It was contended that the conscript was not a suitable person to carry the American flag in battle, that the man who refused to volunteer and was forced to fight would be worse than useless, and that battles could be won only by volunteers who were eager to respond to the call and who were ready to make any sacrifice for the sake of their country.

There were many ingenious, honest, and sincere arguments made in Congress against the selective-draft system. But after the selective system by an overwhelming majority became a law, for the most part with not enough exceptions to prove the rule, the opponents of the selective-draft plan loyally supported the system adopted and did all in their power to make the plan a success. The advocates of the selective draft were not only largely in the majority but they had much the better of the argument, for surely no more fair, equitable, and democratic method of selecting an army can be devised than the present draft system.

It was vehemently and conclusively argued by the advocates of the selective draft that the volunteer system was inadequate, inequitable, unjust, and unfair; that the highest duty a citizen owed to his country was to bear arms in its defense; that a government owed its existence only to the fact that it extended to its citizens protection in their lives, in their liberties, and in their property. In return for this protection the citizen owes to his government his property and even his life if necessary. That a government owes to itself the paramount duty of first securing its preservation, and in efforts to do this the energies, the time, the ability, the property, and the life of the citizen can be commandeered to accomplish this end.

That men do not volunteer simply because of an adventurous spirit and a desire to become a soldier but from higher motives; because of a sense of duty impelling them to make any sacrifice for their country. That the man who volunteered might want to stay at home as much as the slacker who refused to answer the call to the colors, but that his love of country, his pride in its institutions, and his belief that his services were needed compelled him to make the sacrifice. That the volunteer system was not only unfair and inequitable but it was unscientific as well, for it brought men to the ranks who had dependents looking to them for support, and, again, it interfered with the business of the Nation by accepting men who were worth more to the country in other lines of endeavor and who could not well be spared from business important to the carrying on of the war.

That the unfairness and inequities and inequalities of the system were often shown by all the members of one family volunteering while their neighbors with less responsibilities shirked their duty and became slackers. That a selective-draft system, forcing all alike to respond to the colors, and proclaimed to the world long before it became effective would be robbed of the odium created by the conscription laws of the past, because those laws were resorted to only after the volunteers had become depleted and exhausted. That the laws of the past calling for volunteers had been unsatisfactory because of their indefiniteness and uncertainty of obtaining recruits. That the selective-draft system would close the doors on the hiring of substitutes and the payment of bounties. It was denied that custom and precedent were opposed to the draft.

Congressman KAHN, the ranking minority member of the Committee on Military Affairs, read a letter from Washington to James McHenry, in March, 1782, which recited:

> It is idle at this later period of the war, when enthusiasm is cooled, if not done away, when the minds of that class of men who are proper subjects for soldiers are poisoned by the high bounties which have been given and the knowledge of the distresses of the Army so generally diffused through every State, to suppose that our battalions can be completed by voluntary enlistment. The attempt is vain, and we are only deceiving ourselves and injuring the cause by making the experiment. There is no other effectual method to get men suddenly but that of classing the people and compelling each class to furnish a recruit.

He further read from a message of Thomas Jefferson, in December, 1805, which is as follows:

> In the meantime you will consider whether it would not be expedient for a state of peace as well as of war so to organize or class the militia as would enable us on any sudden emergency to call for the services of the younger portions, unencumbered with the old and those having families. Upward of 300,000 able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 26 years, which the last census shows we may now count within our limits, will furnish a competent number for offense or defense in any point where they may be wanted, and will give time for raising regular forces after the necessity of them shall become certain; and the reducing to the early period of life all its active service can not but be desirable to our younger citizens of the present as well as future times, inasmuch as it engages to them in more advanced age a quiet and undisturbed repose in the bosom of their families. I can not, then, but earnestly recommend to your early consideration the expediency of so modifying our militia system as by a separation of the more active part from that which is less so, we may draw from it when necessary an efficient corps fit for real and active service, and to be called to it in regular rotation.

At the conclusion of this spirited, and in some degree acrimonius, debate a vote of the House was taken, the result of which recorded 313 Representatives voting for the selective-draft system and 109 Representatives opposing the draft, supported the committee report, and voted for the volunteer system.

Since man first took his place above the beasts of the forest, ambition to lead, to command, was born in the human heart. Prehistoric man, living in dens and caves, fought for his mate, fought for his food, and often with bare hands fought with the beasts for the preservation of his life.

Little removed from the savage animals with whom he so often contended for his very existence, he gradually rose above his environment, while the beasts to-day are as fierce and as untamed as their ancestors were in the dawn of the world's history. The tiger still springs upon his victim with the same ferocity which characterized his brutal progenitor 10,000 years ago. The grazing flocks and lowing herds are now filling the same sphere of usefulness they did centuries past when David tended them on the banks of the Jordan. But shaking off the shackles of his early surroundings, man, step by step, advanced until he soon became master of the world.

Gregarious instinct first brought men together in families. It was but a step from the family organization to the grouping of families, and thus tribes were formed. Then came the leaders, men who were in a more or less degree by nature fitted to command. Leaders were first self-appointed because they were stronger than their fellows. They held their leadership by brute force, for many longed but few dared to contest the honor of command, which honor was surrendered only when the strength to maintain it was gone. Survival of the fittest was the rule, but men became more advanced, and leaders, drunk with authority and eager for power, began to see the advantage of patronage, of drawing men to them, not only through fear and through affection but also through their interest. Thus, by force, by daring, through admiration, and by a rude system of patronage, leaders began to be strong enough to hand the leadership down to their sons, and royal lines sprang into existence.

The continuance of power is intoxicating, it breeds arrogance and conceit, and it was not unnatural that all the homage and deference shown to a royal heir should finally create in his mind a belief that he is the anointed of the Lord and his right to govern comes from on High. His followers, ignorant and deluded, soon began to share the same opinion. The divine right of Kings became an established fact. Militarism was triumphant, and autocracy was the rule. But the world continued to advance, and in the progress of "ascending humanity" year by year, century by century, there crept into men's hearts a longing for freedom, a desire for a more widened opportunity and a form of government which should receive its powers from the people who were to be governed.

Here in America the patriot's dream of all the ages became a living reality. Here in a new world the door of hope, of freedom, of opportunity for all mankind was opened wide, and through it came the oppressed of other nations seeking an asylum of refuge for themselves and their children from religious and political persecution.

Here in a new world there was demonstrated for all time a complete manifestation of man's capacity for self-government. The spectacle of a free Republic, dedicated to liberty and equality, its responsibilities devolving alone upon the will and by the consent of the people themselves was seen across the waters, and the influence of the vigorous young American Republic was felt in every court in Europe.

Autocratic authority rapidly declined. Limited monarchies took their place, and, with the exception of Germany, Russia, and Austria, the example of the young Republic of the West in sharing the responsibilities of government with the governed was followed by all the great powers. It seemed as though at last, after years of despotism, that liberty, freedom, equality, and opportunity would be extended alike to all mankind.

In England and in France the divine right of kings had perished with the Stuart and the Bourbon; but still military despotism and autocratic rule cast its withering blight over a part of Europe, and it was only in the twentieth century that fate decreed that this monstrous doctrine should not survive the fading fortunes of the Hohenzollerns. [Applause.]

From time to time great military geniuses have arisen who by their force, their intellect, their power, and their ambition have attempted the enslavement of mankind—Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Attila, Gengis Kahn, Napoleon, and others. Looking back now for some evidences of their despotic influence, we are amazed to find how puny and contemptible their efforts, actuated solely by the hope of personal aggrandizement, now seem. The fame they acquired has long since been eclipsed and overshadowed by the memory of the sorrow and misery and suffering they left behind.

To-day a power-crazed military despot, fondly imagining that he is a fit prototype of the great military conquerors of the past, sits at Berlin and, dreaming of world empire, proudly boasts that where "Alexander, Cæsar, Theodoric II, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon failed" he will succeed. But above the roaring of cannon, the screaming of shells, the clashing of sabers, the whispering of bullets, the groans of the dying, the shrieks of the wounded, and the wailing of the widows and orphans this military autocrat can now hear the beating of the waves as they dash upon the lonely shores of another St. Helena. [Applause.]

But blood will flow and men will die and women will suffer as blood flowed and men died and women suffered whenever tyrants have attempted to enslave mankind.

Militarism and autocracy could not perish from the earth without a struggle which would convulse all Christendom. The rights of mankind, the liberties of the people, free government, justice, equality have all been dearly bought. Throughout the centuries we look back and we are appalled at the price our fathers paid that we might be free and that these blessings could be secured unto us. They bought and paid for every one of them, and always in the same coin—the coin of blood and tears and sacrifice. Not a right do we possess to-day, not an advantage do we have, not an opportunity do we own but in the past some arm strove and some heart bled for its attainment.

It has immutably been decreed by Him who doeth all things well that no great advantage can come to the human race except at the cost of sacrifice and suffering.

The spectacle of Christians, men, women, and little children, torn and mangled by wild beasts, their bodies rent and racked by cruel irons, crucified head downward, plunged in boiling oil, tortured in a thousand ways and dying a million deaths, firm and steadfast in the faith of the Lord, this spectacle did more to convert the heathen and Christianize the world than all the preachings in the universe.

Why it was God's plan that the gentle teachings of the Prince of Peace could not be impressed upon the world without being accompanied by sorrow and tears and suffering and death we know not; we can not answer the question the poet asks:

Why did Christ come sorrowing
And not to a glad refrain,
Why was the world's redemption scheme
Born in sorrow and in pain?
Why is the heart of motherhood
By the hand of an infant torn,
And why must a nation travail
That some great truth be born?

The militarism of the past, the autocracy of the ages, are making their last stand. They will perish utterly from the face of the earth, but before they go all Christendom will travail and suffer. For the Germans to win, for the Huns to triumph and destroy the democracy and the civilization and the Christianity of twenty centuries, would be to reverse the history of mankind. [Applause.]

From the beginning of time human progress has gone forward. It has never receded, never gone backward. The Huns, with the torch of the incendiary in one hand and the dagger of the assassin in the other, may overrun Belgium and devastate part of France. They may murder old men, violate gentle women, torture little children, and shock the universe with the enormity and the bestiality of their crimes. They may have a temporary success, but powerful, savage, cruel, and relentless as they are, the merciless horde of Huns now vainly striving for the conquest of the universe and wearing themselves out in attempting the destruction of the world's democracy can no more stop the sure, steady, continual advance of "ascending humanity" toward a broader culture and a loftier civilization than they can retard the seasons' march throughout the calendar years. [Applause.]

From each great upheaval in the affairs of men throughout the past, though often misery and suffering were left behind, yet from each one of these cataclysms history tells us that the world's moral, social, political, and economic atmosphere was the purer for the disturbance.

It was early decreed that some time the final struggle between autocracy and democracy, between military despotism and civil government, would be determined; and where is he to-day who is bold enough to declare that the present time is not the time, of all others, for this mighty struggle to take place? The baneful influences of despotism were too powerfully entrenched to be destroyed without a conflict which in its consequences would convulse a universe. This conflict was inevitable; and where is he who will declare that it did not come at the right time? Suppose this great struggle had been postponed for a quarter of a century, would our children have been better prepared to meet the iron host of Prussian millions than are we to-day?

Twenty-five years more of military training and military preparedness in Germany while other nations, half asleep, were preaching the doctrine of peace on earth and good will to men.

Twenty-five years more of propaganda of hate, of contempt for other nations and of all things not German.

Twenty-five years more of feverish activity in the Krupp works, of the storing of munitions of war, and in perfecting the marvelous war machine before which for a while all Christendom stood aghast.

Twenty-five years more of sermons and lectures and speeches on kultur in Germany; Germany with its immensely increasing birth rate, its chemical development, its mechanical improvement, and its intensive farming system.

Twenty-five years more of labor agitation and labor troubles in England, which if permitted to increase would create the worst kind of social discontent, paralyze industry, cripple commerce, retard development, and sap the economic lifeblood of the nation.

Twenty-five years more of constantly decreasing birth rate in France, which already was a matter of uneasiness and concern to all thoughtful minds in the French Republic.

Twenty-five years more of concentration of wealth, of extravagant speculation, of mad scrambling after dollars, of development of great trusts and combines, of destruction of competition in the United States, which already in its consequences presaged a decay of patriotism, and was a growing menace to the democratic principles of a republican form of government.

Who shall say that this great conflict should have been postponed for another quarter of a century? Let it come now while the world is awake and prepared to hurl back the audacious invader. [Applause.]

Let no one doubt the outcome of this great struggle. Let no one fear that the bright sunlight of the world's increasing democracy will ever be darkened by he shadow of the sable wings of the Prussian eagle. The blood of millions of martyrs, which throughout all time has been freely shed so that the door of opportunity should be open to mankind has not been spilled in vain. By their sacrifices and their suffering and their trials this door has been opened wide, and there are not enough blood and steel and iron in Germany to close it. [Applause.]

Every day the allies become stronger and stronger. Every day means that the United States is nearer the hour when she will strike with all her force. German militarism, Prussian despotism, kultur, autocracy, and all that is hateful and repugnant to those who love human liberty will be destroyed. The allies, against tremendous odds, in men, and in preparations for war, have excited the admiration of the world by their heroic resistance to the mailed fist and armed heel of Germany. But now, fresh, eager for the conflict, ready to die so that men may be free, millions of young Americans are rushing to France.

For nearly two and a half years we kept out of this struggle, and it was only after repeatedly submitting to many outrages and indignities that war was forced upon us. We did not enter this war for the love of conquest. The sons of America are not fighting in the trenches of France for the hope of territorial expansion. We are waging no war for the aggrandizement of our country. We entered this war to preserve the eternal principles of free government. We entered this war to protect our honor and to defend our homes and our firesides. We entered this war to maintain the freedom of the seas and to do our part in the great struggle, in which civilization and democracy are now engaged, so that the inalienable rights of mankind, dear to the hearts of all lovers of human liberty do not perish forever from the face of the earth.

Because our people have always loved peace and because we were far behind the nations of Europe in military preparations, the German Kaiser treated the protests of the United States against Germany's unlawful acts, with contumely and contempt. He never dreamed that if war between the United States and Germany did occur we would send soldiers to France. He thought it would be years before an American Army could be mobilized, trained, and ready to go, and even then, if he had not succeeded in vanquishing Europe by that time, the murderous U-boats would see to it that our soldiers never reached French soil. All that he believed we could do or would be able to do would be to lend our allies money and send them supplies.

Despite the thousands of German spies in the United States, little did the Kaiser know of the genius, the intelligence, and the patriotism of the American people. The unexpected resistance of Belgium and England's prompt entry in the war dissipated forever the mad dream of a world-wide German Empire. But the entry of the young Giant of the West into this war means that not only is the Hohenzollern dream of world power gone forever, but that the end of Prussian militarism and Prussian autocracy is at hand. [Applause.]

The greatest material resources of any country in the world's history are behind Pershing and his men as they carry the American flag into the trenches of Europe.

Less than 18 months ago the entire bonded indebtedness of the United States, including $222,000,000 Panama Canal bonds and $150,000,000 authorized for the use of the Navy was less than $1,500,000,000. To-day we have authorized the issuance of $14,000,000,000 in bonds, of which $7,000,000,000 was to be loaned to our allies, over $6,000,000,000 of which has already been turned over to them. In addition to this, there has been over $4,000,000,000 raised by taxation, and the House of Representatives on yesterday passed without a dissenting vote a revenue bill which will raise an additional $8,000,000,000.

At the close of the Civil War, in 1865, the United States had a bonded indebtedness of $2,381,000,000, which was the largest bonded debt the United States has ever owed in its entire history up to 1917. The wealth of the United States in 1870 was estimated at $30,068,518,000, the population at that time was 38,558,371, which was a per capita wealth of $779.83.

In 1904 the estimated wealth of the United States was $107,104,211,917, with an estimated population of about 81,000,000, which was a per capita wealth of about $1,300.

The wealth of the United States in 1912 was estimated at $187,739,071,090, with a population of over 92,000,000, which was a per capita wealth of over $2,000, an increase since 1904 of about $700 per capita in the national wealth.

During the eight years prior to 1912 the wealth of the United States was, notwithstanding the panic of 1907, increased about 75 per cent, or about 9 per cent per annum, over 1904. During the last six years there has been a period of unprecedented prosperity in all sections of the United States, and therefore the percentage of increase in the Nation's wealth has been marked. Estimating this increase under normal conditions at only 9 per cent per annum, we find that the wealth of the United States would be over $250,000,000,000, which is a per capita wealth of considerably over $2,500. In addition to this there is to-day in the United States more than one-third of all the gold in the world.

These figures are reassuring and show that as enormous as have been our expenditures since our entry in the European war, yet our resources have scarcely been disturbed and the payment into the Treasury of the United States since July 1, 1917, of $2,775,000,000 income and excess-profits taxes never caused the fluctuation of a single stock or bond nor created a ripple on the surface of commercial affairs. Yet the amount recently paid in the Federal Treasury in income and excess-profits taxes alone for 1917 exceed by over a quarter of a billion dollars the amount of the greatest total bonded indebtedness in the history of this Government antecedent to the present war.

The American people are in dead earnest about this war, and the best of our young and vigorous manhood now composes the Army of 4,000,000 men who will fight for democracy in the old world. Already comes back the news of the bravery and daring and efficiency of the American soldier. [Applause.] A soldier who has never known a defeat, and whose deeds of valor, whose acts of courage, and whose achievements along all the lines which go to make the soldier and the man will be sung in legendary songs around the firesides of Europe for generations to come. [Applause.]

In vain Ludendorff and the Crown Prince hurled their hundreds of thousands of picked troops against the little army of Americans at Sergy, at Cantigny, at Belleau Wood, and at Chateau Thierry. In vain the German soldiers, with a courage worthy of a nobler cause, charged again and again that stone wall of Pershing's like billows rushing against a rock-bound coast, only to be hurled back, broken and crushed, into the sea. [Applause.]

In the dark days of the April drive, where the exhausted line of our gallant allies, overpowered, outnumbered, giving way before the iron host of German millions, were pressed back toward Paris, that little army of Americans, small in numbers though they were, stood firm and steadfast. For days, for weeks, for months, they met the red storm of German fire and blood and steel without ever surrendering one foot of ground; and then, when the order to advance was given, like bridegrooms stepping to a marriage feast, the victorious Americans pressed on until the proud Prussians Imperial Guard, Germany's wonderful war machine of over a century's building, unable to meet the withering effects of the American fire, melted away before that deadly hail of shot and shell like snow beneath a southern sun. [Applause.]

We will carry this war through to a successful conclusion. The skies of the Fatherland will be darkened with the clouds of American aeroplanes. Millions more, if necessary, of as brave soldiers as ever offered their lives for their country's cause will face the German Kaiser's guns, while the mighty bosom of the ocean will be dotted here and there with countless American vessels carrying supplies and munitions to our men and our allies and driving the murderous German submarines from the waters of the sea.

We have now, thank God, a united country. Geographical but not sectional lines mark the only divisions in the United States, and the only rivalry between the sons of those who over 50 years ago wore those colors which suggested "the gray of the early morning and the blue of the noonday sky" is a rivalry to see which can first place the American flag on the ramparts of a German trench. [Applause.]

Over 100,000,000 of united American people, with heads uncovered, eyes uplifted, and hearts overflowing, stand in reverence beneath that flag which proudly floats above the mightiest Republic on the face of the earth. And as Old Glory unfurls its folds to the breezes of heaven, throwing aloft those stars and stripes which represent the liberty, the freedom, the independence, and the democracy of all mankind, from North and South, from East and West there goes up from the American people a mighty chorus, ever swelling, louder and louder, until the very clouds its echoes would repeat—a chorus of—

America, our country, we answer thy call,
That freedom may live and that tyrants may fall.
We owe thee our all and our all shall we give;
We'll do and we'll die that America may live.

[Long and loud applause.]

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing therein a message to the American people delivered by the President on Labor Day.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Montana asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing a message from the President of the United States to the people of America on Labor Day. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, if my memory serves me right, that address has heretofore been printed in the RECORD.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, I am advised by the Clerk that it has not been, and I made search myself and failed to find it.

Mr. STAFFORD. I think I recall having seen it inserted by some Member.

Mr. EVANS. I offered it, but it was objected to by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH].

Mr. STAFFORD. So far as I am concerned, I have no objection to having it inserted in the RECORD, but I do not care to have it inserted a second time.

Mr. EVANS. I think the gentleman is correct about that. I am advised, however, that it has not been printed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. For the time being I shall object, until I can satisfy my memory in respect to the matter.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD upon the subject of the progress of the United States in the war.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Nebraska asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the subject of the progress of the United States in the war. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I make a similar request.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Kansas makes a similar request. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next, after the reading of the Journal and clearing of the Speaker's desk, I be permitted to proceed for 15 minutes in order to present to the House a new gun.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Connecticut asks unanimous consent that on Monday next, after the reading of the Journal and the clearing of the business on the Speaker's desk, he be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I wish the gentleman from Connecticut would couple with his request one that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR] may have 30 minutes, so as to save time this afternoon.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I think that request has been granted.

Mr. LEVER. No; it was not granted, and I ask to modify the request in that way.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Connecticut accept the modification?

Mr. TILSON. Certainly; the gentleman from Wisconsin to follow me.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, this morning I asked for 30 minutes for the gentleman from West Virginia, Mr. NEELY, and also 30 minutes for the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. FREAR. I would like now to include 30 minutes for the gentleman from West Virginia, Mr. NEELY.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I wish to inquire from the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER], whether ample time will be afforded during the remainder of the day to take up the food-conservation bill and get through with it before 5 o'clock on Monday?

Mr. LEVER. I should think so.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair then understands the request is also modified to include the gentleman from West Virginia, Mr. NEELY?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will submit the request. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] asks unanimous consent that on Monday next, after the reading of the Journal and the clearing of business on the Speaker's table, the gentleman from West Virginia, Mr. NEELY, be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes, at the expiration of which the gentleman from Connecticut, Mr. TILSON, be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes, after which time the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. FREAR, be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

PENSIONS.

Mr. KEY of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table Senate bill 4723, an omnibus pension bill, with House amendments thereto, insist on the House amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate. The bill has been on the Speaker's table for two or three months.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk Senate bill 4723, an omnibus pension bill, with House amendments, insist on the House amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, can the gentleman give any explanation of the anomalous condition of an omnibus pension bill having slept on the Speaker's table for more than two months?

Mr. KEY of Ohio. For the reason that some of the Senate conferees were out of the city and some of the House conferees had been out of the city, and we could not get a conference.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The Chair appointed the following conferees: Mr. KEY of Ohio, Mr. KEATING, and Mr. SELLS.

AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 12714, the general Agricultural appropriation bill. Pending that motion, I ask unanimous consent that general debate upon the bill be limited to two hours, one hour and a half to be controlled by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN] and one-half hour by myself.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will state that that order has already been made. The order was made yesterday that there be two hours of general debate; that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN] control 1 hour and 30 minutes of that time, and the gentleman from South Carolina 30 minutes.

Mr. LEVER. I think the Chair is correct about that. I will ask the Chair to submit my motion.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the Agricultural appropriation bill, with Mr. SISSON in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the Agricultural appropriation bill, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 12714) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the first reading of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 25 minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. TILLMAN]. [Applause.]

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. Chairman, if possible, every citizen of the United States should visit Europe. He will return a better American. I do not mean by this statement to belittle the great nations and peoples over there. England, France, and Italy are mighty States, peopled by splendid men and women. They are our partial and loyal friends. They are brave and interesting. Theirs is a land of achievement and enchantment, a land of brilliant history. They possess the world's greatest paintings, the richest treasures in early church art, in cathedrals, tombs, historic battle fields, chateaus, and castles old in story. But ours is more a land of opportunity, and we lead them in newspapers, in hotels, in public schools, in sanitation, in enterprise, in public conveniences, in push and energy, and enjoy a higher level of average intelligence.

In southern France particularly, and in Italy, they farm with oxen, using a primitive plow. They cut their grain with a reap hook. The homes of the peasants have dirt floors and are poorly ventilated. Over there much precious daylight is wasted in sleep, in the slow sipping of wine, in the idle smoking of endless cigarettes by both men and women. Over there are many peasants seemingly permanently attached to the soil, without hope of aspiring to better things. We have no peasant class. Every man in America is a sovereign and every woman is a queen, with no limitation either by law or custom that might retard them in their efforts to acquire wealth or power.

These great old countries are picturseque, fertile, full of long-ago wonders, and the stirring happenings of to-day. For these reasons I wanted to see them and our allies and study them and the war at close range and identify myself in the closest way possible with the thrilling drama now being played on Europe's blood-stained stage.

We left New York on the French liner *Rochambeau* on July 5 accompanied by 14 transports bearing 54,000 thousand soldiers. On our boat were 1,100 American boys, 440 Polish volunteers, 40 Alpine Chasseurs a Pied, French shock troops named "Blue Devils" by the Germans, and numerous Red Cross and Y. M. C. A. people. These soldiers of ours and the bright, clear-eyed men and women of the patriotic associations showed no timid weakness. Their strong faces were aglow with high resolution. They were leaving peaceful homes to enter upon a career full of thrilling adventure, beset with risk and hardship, but offering rare opportunity for distinguished service to humanity. Their eyes and souls were fixed on bleeding France, where the red angel of war has not yet folded his crimson wings, dripping these four years with the precious blood of the world's bravest. They go to write a gilded page in the somber leaves of this young century's bloody chronicles. They will help to make this a golden age of heroes and heroines. Verily, this is a period of rapid-fire body and spiritual changes. The quiet farmer boy of to-day becomes the high-souled leader of a glorious charge to-morrow. The late ribbon clerk in a department store next week may receive from a king the coveted medal for a deed of valor. A bookkeeper in a country store is soon made into a leather-helmeted knight of the air, hurling death bombs or dying in a flaming plane in agony but in honor. Girls who yesterday smirked, giggled, and flirted are in the fierce spiritual uplift incident to these stirring times born over and are now closing the dying eyes of battle-scarred heroes, nursing wounded soldiers, scrubbing hospital floors, mending and washing for fighting men, rising to supreme heights never even imagined in their wildest day dreams. A few weeks over there and things back here seem to them as far away as the half-forgotten dreams of childhood.

BASTILE DAY.

In mid-ocean we celebrated July 14, the French Fourth of July, the anniversary of the fall of the Bastile, by a liberal display of the tricolor of France grouped with the Stars and Stripes. A squad of Polish recruits sang their national anthem, Americans the Star-Spangled Banner, the French the Marseillaise, and the Blue Devils their battle song.

SHIPS THAT PASS IN THE NIGHT.

Boats now crossing the Atlantic are armed, and to avoid the iron greetings of the murderous U-boat they are convoyed for a day or so from shore by submarine chasers, destroyers, and airplanes. They also carry depth bombs of T. N. T., the most effective weapon so far devised against the undersea craft. They receive wireless messages, but send none unless they are struck or engaged in battle with the enemy. They paint their sides in stripes of black, blue, and white, and, thus camouflaged, they de-

ceive the eye and confuse the aim of the submarine gunner. Now, ships that pass in the night do not speak each other in passing, but great unsocial, zebra-striped monsters of the deep, they glide like huge spotted ghosts through the waves, with lights out, with portholes closed, with no friendly greeting to other craft, with no answering hail, shunning friend and foe alike.

We landed at Bordeaux about the time the Germans began their last push for Paris. The squares and vacant places of this quaint old city were filled with great wine casks. This is the red and white wine section. America was there. We have two base hospitals located here. We have built great docks and warehouses, and have supplies stored there to sustain a million men for 45 days.

We went from this port through southern France, through fertile Gascony intensively cultivated, through picturesque Provence to Marseille, twenty-five hundred years old. Here the French soldiers in 1792 first sang the song written by Rouget de Lisle, of Strassburg, and it became the national anthem. It is named the Marseillaise after this city. The Americans were here also preparing more trouble for the Huns.

Skirting the blue Mediterranean, most beautiful of seas, flanked on the left by the Maritime Alps, we passed along the Riviera to Genoa, home of Columbus. We made a pious pilgrimage to his boyhood dwelling, visited the local American ambulance camp with 1,637 members, then on to Rome, accompanied from Genoa by our colleague, Capt. LA GUARDIA, now in the Italian aviation service.

FAIR ITALY.

Wise, or perhaps just favored by the great god Chance, were the old Romans in the selection they made for the central state of their world empire; seabound as it is on three sides, with the flanking crescent of snowcapped mountains on the north, watered by the Tiber, the Po, the Brenta, the Piave, the Rubicon, clean, clear rivers flowing through fertile valleys. We spent two days in the Imperial City, sightseeing, marveling at the stately grandeur of her lofty walls, her Pantheon, the Coliseum, baths, tombs, and lastly the forum (long ago planned, built, and enjoyed by the mighty descendants of the she wolf's litter). The effect a sight of the forum produces on a visitor is that of surprise at the smallness of the area in which such important and varied affairs were transacted. It is an oblong space extending northwest and southeast. Its greatest length is 230 yards from the rostra at the foot of Capitoline Hill to the Regia at the foot of Sacra Via. The breadth of the open area is about 80 yards. From this forum the then known world was ruled. It was originally a marshy bit of ground at the foot of the Palatine and Quirinal Hills, and was drained in the time of the kings by the great sewer, Cloaca Maxima, the remains of which we saw. Here our party saw the spots where Verres and Milo were tried, Cicero prosecuting Verres; where the bodies of Sulla and Julius Caesar were burned; where the arch politician, Mark Antony, by his tactful oratory lashed the Roman mob to violence; where the golden-lipped Cicero delivered his marvelous orations. There stood the Rostra Julia of Augustus, from which the Emperors as late as Hadrian addressed the people on great occasions. We saw the ruins of Nero's golden palace, and the temple of the Vestal Virgins, the remains of the Arch of Severus. On the south side of the forum close to the Temple of Saturn are the remains of the Arch of Tiberius, erected in 16 A. D., and close by the ruins of the great Basilica Julia, which was begun by Julius Caesar and finished by Augustus. The street on the east side of the basilica was the Vicus Tuscus, which led from the forum to the Circus Maximus, which the poet Horace alludes to as filled with tradesmen who wrapped up their goods in the manuscripts of inferior poets. On the north and south sides of the forum were butcher shops. It was from one of these that Virginius snatched the knife with which he stabbed his daughter to save her from the hands of Appius Claudius.

Rome is a city of contrasts; half Catholic, half Protestant, half ancient, half new. The poor live cheek by jowl with the rich. "A palace in the Ghetto and a hovel in the Corso have each existed without offense." Side by side stand modern skyscrapers and ancient ruins. Challenging each other, towers St. Peter's, the largest and richest church in the world; and not far away stands an old pagan temple with no pretentions to size, value, or importance. Here is a narrow, dirty, crooked street; there a clean, broad boulevard or square. Here the red hat and bright silk cloak of a cardinal have their splendor heightened by rubbing against the ragged black blouse of the beggar.

Rome's population has varied as much as her fortunes. It now has less than 500,000. Under the Flavian Emperors, she had 2,000,000; during the reign of Augustus, 1,300,000; in 1377 only 17,000.

We were shown many courtesies by that cultured Virginia author and gentleman, Ambassador Page; by Col. Buckey, by the Italian Government, by the premier, Orlando; by Sonnino, minister of foreign affairs; and by Marconi, now a commander in the Italian Navy. A reception was given us by both houses of the Italian Parliament, during which time a speech of welcome was delivered by the President of the Senate, and responded to by one of our number. King Victor Emanual, a very popular and democratic sovereign, entertained us at dinner at Villa Italia, near Padua, and this was followed by a reception by Gen. Diaz at his Army headquarters.

The valley of the Po, the Piave, the Brenta, and the lands about Padua, Verona, and Venice are wonderfully fertile, and are traversed by the best of roads. Near Treviso we witnessed a novel spectacle. A military fête was held there on July 23, at which the King and his generals reviewed the Third Army, which a short time before had defeated the Austrians with great slaughter and drove them back across the Piave. This army was commanded by the Duke of Aosta, first cousin to the King, and a much more imposing figure than his royal kinsman. Our party walked around the field, and also from the stand reviewed the various units of the 6,000 troops here assembled. These troops presented a fine appearance. Many of them were very young men. The average Italian, especially from North Italy, is a handsome and martial figure. The officers are especially fine looking in their smart caps and gray-green uniforms, the most attractive of all the allied uniforms. Italy lost 50,000 of her officers the first year of the war. These officers and soldiers are high-type men. Many of them are tall, fair, with strong bold faces. Many of them speak French, and not a few know English.

This was a gala occasion. The reviewing stand was gay with fluttering flags. The standards of the allies were grouped, and these, with a plentiful supply of bunting, made a brave showing.

It seemed a revival of the medieval chivalric meetings and celebrations, the last of which was the Field of the Cloth of Gold, half way between Guisnes and Arde, at which were Henry VIII and Francis I and their knights and ladies.

For the purpose of comparison, I quote from an old writer a brief description of this historical pageant:

> Friday and Saturday were occupied in preparing the field for the tournament. The lists were 900 feet in length and 320 feet broad. Galleries hung with tapestry surrounded the inclosure, and on the right side in the place of honor were two glazed chambers for the two queens. A deep fosse served to keep off the crowd. The entrances were guarded by 12 French and 12 English archers, and at the foot of the lists stood the tree of nobility; cloth of gold served for the trunk and dried leaves; the foliage was of green silk; the flowers and fruits of silver and Venetian gold. Christendom had never witnessed such a scene. The favorite usages of the courts of love and beauty were revived once more. The medieval age had gathered up its departing energies for this last display of its favorite pastime, henceforth to be consigned without regret to "the moldering lodge of the past."
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> There were knights in armor, squares, grooms of the chamber, gentlemen ushers, and, to add to the splendor, Cardinal Woolsey was present riding on a barded mule draped in crimson velvet, with gold front stalls, buckles, and stirrups, accompanied by 50 archers wearing jackets of red cloth adorned with a gold rose before and behind. These ceremonies lasted many days. There were much feasting, drinking, courting, and jousting, and knighthood was conferred on many.

Such was the last medieval pageant, the most imposing of its kind in history.

Now, at this modern Italian ceremonial witnessed by our party there was no lavish or useless display of wealth, but it was an event new to us and well worth seeing. The affair had a romantic setting. It occurred on the wide, fertile plain stretching from the Adriatic along the Piave and Brenta Rivers, with the bald Alpine peaks to the north, from behind which the sullen boom of Austria's big guns could be heard and the Italian cannon stubbornly giving shot for shot. Instead of archers, spearmen, swordsmen, knights in armor, there rode by the reviewing stand the athletic shock troops, who rush the enemy with the bayonet, drive him out of the trench, and then give way to the infantry, who are expected to hold the ground gained. Next came the artillery units; then the cavalry, armed with lance, a short carbine, long saber, and pistol; then the solid infantry; next troops that operate the deadly machine gun; then the motorcycle men; and, in place of the prancing mail-clad charger, the lowly mule, carrying on his back the mountain howitzer; then Alpine foot soldiers with a single feather in their hats; next the showy Berseglieri, with a patch of flaming plumes flashing in the soft sunlight. On one side was a huge observation balloon keeping guard, and overhead—something that Henry VIII and Francis I never dreamed of on the Field of the Cloth of Gold—a Caproni bombing machine was circling over the field, and, darting above and below it, now hundreds of feet in the air, now skimming close to the ground, a fast battle plane, a light war-hawk, flew, graceful and fearless, with wings as steady and sure as an Alpine eagle in the blue air of his near-by haunts.

In addition to decorating 900 Italian and allied soldiers for acts of bravery in battle, the King decorated with medals of valor the following American Red Cross men and English nurses: Alfred Collinson, of Massachusetts; John W. Miller, of Minnesota; John Gordon, of Vermont; James Gillespie, Lucius Davidson, and Fred Agate, of New Jersey; and Miss Muriel Perry and Mrs. Wynne, Red Cross nurses from England. The American Red Cross unit, consisting of 28 persons, during the eight and one-half days of the last battle of the Piave carried from the battle field 10,440 wounded soldiers.

Italian officers took us to the battle front on the Piave, and here for the first time we heard the sinister whine of Austrian shells exploding in plain view but obligingly far enough away to be harmless.

We were also taken up Monte Grappa, 5,000 feet high, among the trenches and dugouts, as far as our guides would permit us to go. No one can appreciate the difficulty of the terrain without personally visiting it over which the Italians are fighting.

Italy has made a good record in the war, barring the one great failure occurring last fall, when the virus of Bolshevikism infected for a time her soldiers, causing the regrettable debacle of Caporetto, about which Italians now avoid talking. The former commander in chief, Gen. Cadorna, at the beginning of the war boldly took the offensive, a course indispensable if victory is to be achieved, and steadily gained ground, the most difficult an army ever fought upon. Now Gen. Diaz has the situation well in hand and his superb army will continue to advance. We should send them ten divisions or more American troops to hearten and help them. On the second day of the last Piave battle Gen. Diaz is reputed to have said, "Now give us a few American divisions; we will first shake hands and then travel together into Austria." [Applause.]

Before the war Germany, through banking and business connections, was rapidly acquiring a strangle grip on Italy. That grip has been shaken off and can not be renewed after the close of hostilities.

When Italy cast her lot with the entente Germans said her aid was unimportant, that she was a nation of mandolin players, a country of artists, beggars, and brigands. Italy has been reborn. She has the artistic temperament, it is true, but now her soul is stirred to sacrifice and bent on victory. The fiery breath of war has kindled into a flame the long smouldering embers of martial aspiration, and now she had rather have the world admire her for her stern military virtues than love her for her sunny skies and her purple hills, her soft charms and sapphire seas. This "woman's country," barring the one regrettable incident already mentioned, has shown a tenacity and sturdiness of purpose worthy of her old-time achievements in war. Sterner peoples have ascribed lightness to this ally of ours. She has been a resort for tourists, and no one can feel the caress of her gentle winds, perfumed with the sweet breath of her myrtle and oleanders, without longing to visit her again. She has had a host of foreign lovers. She is beautiful, handsomely gowned, and jeweled by the hand of God and man; she is a land of sentiment, a holiday land, filled with palaces and pictures, memories and ruins, villas and vineyards, museums and art galleries; but now she is no longer the Italy of dreams; she is aroused. Her sons are driving the invader from her sacred soil and her soldiers are intensely serious and are showing a fortitude, a silent patience, a tireless industry, and an unbroken faith in the righteousness of her cause that bodes ill for her haughty Austrian neighbor. [Applause.]

Italy will be a different country after the war. She will shake off the German grip on her finances and her business interests. She will still have her poetic charms, her priceless treasures given her by God and the exalted genius of her architects, her sculptors, and her painters. She will continue to send forth great singers and breed great orators, poets, and historians, but she will play also a different rôle among the nations of the world and play it well. Her progressive statesmen say she is tired of living on the glories of her past, the glories that come to her from ancient valor and greatness or from later genius. She is determined soon to have the clanging factory, the tall chimney, the beating hammers, and a great merchant marine. She will then keep her sons at home, instead of sending them elsewhere to develop alien countries. She will then be no longer impotent, no longer dependent, particularly upon Germany, her selfish one-time ally.

When this struggle is ended this ally of ours must have Italia Irredenta. She must have a border that she can more easily defend. There must be a radical rectification of her northeastern frontiers, determined arbitrarily long ago by the iron will of Bismack strictly in the interests of Germany and Austria. [Applause.]

FRANCE.

At Paris we met President Poincairé; grim old Clemenceau, "The Tiger"; and other great Frenchmen; saw the noisy Deputies in debate; visited the obscure corner where Lafayette sleeps in a modest tomb, and dropped a white rose on the rough slab that covers him. We went through Notré Dame, in many respects the richest and rarest of the great cathedrals. It was sandbagged and some of the stained glass had been removed to keep it safe from the bombs of the vandals. The world has lost the art of making this rare cathedral glass, and how eagerly the Hun strives to destroy it! We visited Versailles, which cost when built a billion francs, an immense sum in those days, and largely because of the extravagance incident to its erection and maintenance it also cost Louis XVI and the beautiful Marie Antoinette their heads.

The spot where the guillotine stood in Place de la Concorde, the Place de la Bastile, and a hundred historical places were visited, not omitting Napoleon's tomb. The "Little Corporal" sleeps in his black sarcophagus, buried under several tons of sandbags.

This is an artillery war, and he was an artillery officer. How the Corsican's eagle soul would delight to come back to earth and launch an allied attack on the hated Hun and drive him back from the soil of his beloved France. Reading through the roster of his victories on the Arch de Triumph, what small skirmishes were Lodi, Marengo, Austerlitz, compared to Charleroi, Mons, Verdun, and the battles of the Marne.

The German long-distance gun 76 miles away was dropping shells in Paris every 18 minutes during two days of our stay. These shells can not be seen coming and no one can tell where they will hit, so nobody pays any attention to them. I saw where one of them had just wrecked the Hotel Calais, not far from the Place de la Concorde. I became convinced that it is the duty of the allies to respond in kind to the German campaign of frightfulness and bomb every enemy city that can be approached with our bombing planes. If they kill our women and children, why should we spare theirs? If we show any tender compassion, they ascribe it to weakness or fear of them. Stern reciprocity is the only argument that appeals to a Hun, and the old scriptural doctrine of an eye for an eye should be applied in all severity to them. [Applause.]

Paris is the fascinating woman that the Germans long to lay their lustful hands upon. To take her, the Kaiser's generals have sent to their shallow graves 2,000,000 of their bravest soldiers. Once in 1914 they were east of Meaux, less than 20 miles of her, and the prize seemed almost within their greedy grasp, but Joffre saw an opening in their divisions and was quick to seize his opportunity and hurled them back, staggering, bloody, and beaten for a time. Again in June and July, 1918, they drove their veteran legions almost in sight of this rich beauty, and who saved her then from spoliation and ruin? Not her own brave blue-coated Frenchmen, as fierce fighters as ever battled for holy cause or home; not the gallant yellow-clad English; not the game Italian; not North Africa, Canada, New Zealand, nor Australia; but the clear-eyed, smooth-faced lads of America. [Applause.] They stopped the Hun in his march on Paris. The initiative was snatched from them; it is now with us. They turned him back. They drove him homeward, and, God bless them, they are driving him yet and will continue to drive him till he lands in hades or Berlin. Paris, the beautiful, is still standing, charming as a May queen, on the banks of the winding Seine, garlanded with flowers, untouched and unpolluted by German vandals, grateful, smiling, and bowing thanks to the boys of Gen. Pershing who saved her from capture and dishonor. They did this very thing. [Applause.]

I saw the Bois de Belleau, where American bayonets drank deep of German blood, where our marines, in the fog and mists of No Man's Land stopped the boche and drove him eastward. There stood between the Germans and Paris these handsome young marines, but they were enough. Some crack French troops at a distance saw this brilliant work, and their officers said to ours, "We thought Americans would fight, but now we know it. We have never seen greater courage. We consider it an honor to fight side by side with such soldiers." Our soldiers are fresh and full of pep. They charge ugly machine-gun nests and take them; they always take them, and then they hold them. The Germans call them "teufel hunds," or "devil dogs."

I saw the fighting beyond Chateau-Thierry on July 29. Chateau-Thierry is a little place badly shot up. The beautiful Marne flows at its feet. It has a sixteenth century church, has narrow streets, and still narrower or no sidewalks, after the manner of old French towns. It has grown up around a very old, deep-dungeoned chateau, from which the town takes its name. It has a population of 7,000. I went up the hill and in-

spected the remains of the old chateau, and found nothing left but a black, thick-set, stone tower, with a deep dungeon on either side of the arch. Charles the Simple, a feeble successor of Charles Martel, was confined as a prisoner here; but the two dungeons are now filled with old shoes, bottles, clothing, and abandoned German loot. Two American cavalrymen were there, and one of them handed me a small brass button that he had cut from a dead German's blouse. The chateau was built in 720 by Charles Martel, the "Hammer of the Franks," who saved Europe from the savage Saracens in the Battle of Tours. He was the grandfather of Charlemagne, the greatest man of the Middle Ages. Chateau-Thierry has heard the battle cries of all sorts of warriors—Saracen, Spaniard, Hun, English, French, and finally American—and since mid-July the world agrees that no braver soldiers ever fought or bled in her narrow streets than these same American crusaders. [Applause.]

Chateau-Thierry blocks the path to Paris 39 miles waay, and this is why the hills and hollows round about have so often resounded with the clanging noise of battle. The place changed hands often during the early centuries. English archers took it in 1421; toward the close of the Hundred Years' War, the long war which finally brought from the fields of Lorraine Joan of Arc, the woman on horseback, to lead the armies of France to victory. The Germans, led by Charles V, took the place in the sixteenth century; a half century later the Spaniards sacked it. Here the boy-faced Napoleon smashed the allied nations in 1814, and a century later, this home of the French poet and master of fables, La Fontaine, this scene of long-ago battles, heard a new war cry, that of intrepid America, driving before her at the point of the bayonet the long victorious army of the crown prince. [Applause.]

All around this sector American soldiers distinguished themselves for bravery and endurance and drove the Boche each day. They had cleared the country of the foe, but the signs of grim battle were everywhere. Trees 2 feet in diameter had been cut squarely in two by the big guns. Villages were wrecked. Fields yellow with ripened wheat were pitted and pock-marked with great shell holes. I counted eight dead horses where a few hours before there had been a cavalry charge. Bear in mind all this was open fighting. We passed a peasant woman driving an old gray horse hitched to a cart, with the scanty household furniture piled thereon, going back to the lately abandoned stone hut that the Americans had just won back for her, and, as we returned late in the afternoon, she had set up housekeeping again in the little home, one side of which and most of the roof had been wrecked by either German or American shells in cross firing, but from the one small window a dusty and tattered curtain flew as proudly as a flag. Stone by stone, with her own hands, this patient peasant woman will rebuild that wrecked home, and may God grant that the terrible Boche will not drive her therefrom again. [Applause.]

On the way to the American front I passed through Vaux, reduced to a dust heap by our artillery, and for the first time smelt that never-to-be-forgotten odor of decaying human bodies still in the débris of the wrecked buildings. Concerning Vaux is this interesting item: Col.—now Gen.—Brown, of Kentucky, stated to members of our party that before Vaux, then in the possession of the Germans, was taken by our men our officers had ascertained through spies that the Germans there were short of men. This report was confirmed in another way. One of our privates shot a carrier pigeon belonging to the Germans with a dispatch in code tied to it. The dispatch was deciphered and gave the information that the German commanding officer must have 600 more men at once. It had been agreed between the French and American officers before this that the Americans were to attack in 10 hours. When the information carried by the pigeon was received, the Americans insisted on attacking in three hours. The supreme command was with the French, who protested, but the American plan prevailed. They attacked in three hours, before German reinforcements came, and Vaux was reduced and the Germans there that were not killed were captured. [Applause.]

Through Vaux our party went to the fighting front. The nearer the battle lines the more congested the roads became. Prisoners and ambulances loaded with wounded were coming back. Supply wagons and fresh troops were moving forward. Observation balloons, bombing machines, swift-flying Spads, light-winged chasses were here and there, but not in sufficient numbers; at least, not sufficiently alert in the particular fighting area that we were watching. We stood with helmet and gas mask on beside an artillery officer who was directing the gun fire of his battery. He complained that we were short of fighting and observation planes at this part of the field. He had just made that observation when three large German bombing machines came over our lines dropping bombs nearby. They broke a supply train in two, killing one man, wounding many. When they got in range our antiaircraft guns began firing on them. All around us we could hear the rat-tat-tat of machine guns, and I saw some soldiers shoot at them with their rifles. The hostile planes got safely away, however, and the two fighting planes that soon appeared from our side were too late to get them.

We saw considerable fighting in the Soissons-Chateau-Thierry-Rheims salient. Fortunately it was open fighting. The enemy was retreating, which fact enabled us to get close to the actual battle, conducted as we were by an Army officer.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TILLMAN. I will.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I wonder if the gentleman, who was our chairman and spokesman, and who made mighty good speeches upon official occasions at Rome, Paris, and London, will admit he requested the members of our party to go five minutes before to the particular hill or the particular spot where those bombs fell. It would have taken about five minutes to have gotten to that particular spot, and probably we would have been there if we had taken the gentleman's advice.

Mr. TILLMAN. The gentleman's statement, so far as it applies to our good fortune in escaping danger, is correct. I do not agree to his statement on the subject of the speeches. They were poor and commonplace.

I studied the German prisoners at short range. They are thin, grim, determined fellows, human machines drilled to slaughter. Some of them are very young, but others are gray haired. All look tired and warworn. Many of them are small men. Most of them are blonds. The Prussian guardsmen, however, are big fellows. Our officers say that if these prisoners are questioned within two hours after their capture they will almost invariably tell the truth about themselves and their armies, the explanation being that they are not sure but that they may be killed, but as soon as they realize that they are safe they are not so reliable. A general told us that the allied command obtained from captured Germans detailed and accurate information as to the exact place and hour when the last drive on Paris was to be made.

All through France we saw German prisoners at work, well fed and happy.

During the first few days of the great drive, beginning on March 21, these prisoners, thinking that Paris and the channel ports would soon be taken by their comrades and that the war would end in a short time, with Germany victorious, struck and declined to work. They were then put on bread and water, and soon asked to be allowed to work again. The Austrian prisoners appear inferior to the Germans, both mentally and physically. I saw a batch of these Boche prisoners brought into the first emergency field hospital. Promptly the American boys cut the buttons off their coats and passed them around as souvenirs. One of them was having his wound sterilized against tetanus, a slight bayonet wound brought on himself by his stubbornness, when he had refused to march off the field after he had been captured.

Our boys appear to hate the Boche more than do our allies. They claim the Germans will throw up their hands and cry "Kamerad," and then shoot as long as there is a chance to kill. This Hun pleasantry has resulted in fewer prisoners being taken by Americans, who no longer heed the hypocritical cry of "Kamerad," used by the enemy to throw them off their guard. [Applause.]

I spent some time at the first emergency hospital, just back of our lines. Load after load of wounded came in for first treatment. American doctors first injected antitetanus serum in the wounds and then passed the men on for other treatment. The Red Cross and the Y. M. C. A. were present everywhere, doing splendid service. There was much blood, much suffering, but everything possible was done for the wounded. Mothers of America, your boys are well cared for, sick, wounded, or well. I saw and talked with two young men suffering from shell shock. With few exceptions, everybody was laughing and joking and treating the occasion with true American philosophy and unconcern.

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER.

Right here let me offer my poor but sincere tribute to the American soldier. He is pouring into France in a wide golden stream, 300,000 every month. He has turned the red tide of battle Rhineward. But for him England, Italy, and France would now be defeated or fighting with their backs to the very last wall. He is as good as the best shock troops of the allies, as good as the Alpini or befeathered Berseglieri of Italy, the Blue Devils of France, the naked-kneed Highlanders of Scotland, as good as the best of the bulldog breed of New Zealand or Australia, as good as the bravest of the lion's litter from

England or Canada. I have Gen. Pershing's word for it that he is as good as the Kaiser's best. He has fought Jaegar, Saxon, Bavarian, and Prussian guardsmen, and he has driven these seasoned veterans from every bloody field when he met them or could overtake them. [Applause.]

He goes into action like a blue-eyed Viking. He bleeds with a smile on his face or dies with a jest between his teeth. He is possessed of the Puritan steadfastness of Cromwell's roundheads and the dashing gallantry of the blue-blooded aristocrats who rode with Prince Rupert. His grandfather, who charged with Pickett at Gettysburg or marched with Sherman to the sea, will never be ashamed of his record in this world struggle. The French and Italians are best in the charge. The English fight best at bay, against desperate odds; but the American is an ideal fighter, whether charging or on defense. Europe is aflame with admiration for this soldier from across the sea. Europe now rings with his praises, and Europe of the entente sleeps more soundly and Germany sleeps less soundly now that he is there. [Applause.]

Unlike the brave Frenchman, he is not seeking to drive an armed invader from his native heath; he is not fighting to prevent a merciless vandal from despoiling his fair villages and cities; he is not beating off lustful beasts in human form from the home where dwells his mother, sister, or wife. The wide Atlantic lies between this soldier boy and his loved ones. He is fronting the best-trained soldiers the world has ever known, 4,000 miles away from home, sweetheart, and native land. And thus he fights. The more honor to him. He is a crusader, battling for an ideal as much so as did any knightly follower of Richard Cour de Leon or Godfrey of Bouillon. That is why poilu and Tommy love him and love to fight by his side. They are brothers in arms; and in the long golden years to come they will cherish this comradeship, nor will any of these war-time associates forget "The look of men that ha' brothered men by more than an easy breath; the eyes of men that ha' read wi' men in the open books of death."

FRANCE.

But France and the French soldier and the French women deserve unstinted praise. Rose-hearted France, the favorite sister in this family of friendly nations. Her fertile plains have been devastated, her cities and villages laid waste, her soil drenched with the blood of enemy and ally.

France without her Paris, without her Versailles, without her Jeanne de Arc, her Napoleon, Henry of Navarre, Lafayette, Louis XIV, her Richelieu, without the brilliant glories of her scintillating past, is entitled to the plaudits and the respect of the world for what she has suffered and achieved in this war.

It was harvest time in France when I saw it. Those brave people jest at famine. High up close to the snow line on the steep sides of the Alps I noted the green and gold of alternating acre plats of wheat and growing gardens. From the gray solitudes of Brittany to the sunny slopes of the Pyrenees, the women of France have kept the village homes and made the crops. Their young men are at the front fighting or are sleeping in the soil they loved. The horses have been conscripted, the cattle, sheep, and chickens have gone to feed the army. Only the women are at home. Driving through the country with Admiral Wilson, I studied the picturesque peasants of Bretagne and I saw only a very few old men wearing black-ribboned hats, the mark of the peasant of Bretagne, but not a young man anywhere. The admiral explained that the Bretagne division met the shock of the German charge at Chemin des Dames and were decimated. But everywhere were the stout, big-boned, black-gowned peasant women, wearing a bit of white lace on their heads, clattering along in wooden shoes, doing woman's work, man's work, and the work of horses and oxen as well. I take off my hat to the peasant women of France. They have pushed back the crimson flood of war with their bare brown hands. Their achievements during this war have been stupendous, their sufferings and endurance epic. [Applause.]

The French are idealists. Their state motto is liberty, equality, fraternity. They love their beautiful land. They do not often leave it. It is something worth fighting for. No soldiers among the allies have fought better, few have fought as well. I had opportunity to study the French soldiers closely. They have a serious look upon their strong faces. They seldom smile. They are war weary. I saw them going forward to the front where machine guns were cracking. Again, I saw them returning from the trenches, mud stained, dust covered, singed with the fires of hell, solemn, but with the lofty spirit of France shining in their eyes. And the whole world can learn a lesson of politeness at the feet of the French. High or low, aristocrat or peasant, officer or private, man or woman, they are the very flower and fruitage of courtesy and good manners.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. YOUNG of Texas. I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. TILLMAN. I thank the gentleman very much.

They brought in a slim French soldier at the field hospital just back of the lines beyond Vaux. He had been, they told me, a Parisian Apache, one of the dangerous criminal class before the war, but who are now fighting and dying for the tricolor. He was black with blood from an ugly wound in the neck and was vomiting. Every time the American doctor or Red Cross assistant served him in any way, no matter how trivial the service, sick as he was he would smile and say, "Merci, m'sieur." As long as a Frenchman is conscious he never forgets to be polite.

Long live France! She belongs to the world. Jefferson, who loved France, said, "Every man has two countries, his own and France." France has saved civilization at great personal sacrifice many times. She is performing a lion's part in doing so now.

I am strong to love this noble France,
This poet of the nations, who dreams on
Forever after some ideal good,
Some equal poise of sex, some unvowed love,
Inviolate, some spontaneous brotherhood,
Some wealth that leaves none poor, and finds none tired,
Some freedom of the many that respects
The wisdom of the few.

[Applause.]

ENGLAND.

London seemed more like home. Here the names on the shops are like ours, and the people speak the language of Shakespeare. London is huge, solid, conservative, and with many beauty spots. As a home, I should think London preferable to Paris, but neither equal to America. The English were very kind to us. Lord Northcliffe, who owns several English newspapers and who makes and remakes cabinets, and who did not inherit his title but earned it, received us at Poynter Hall, one of his country estates. He there introduced us to his aged mother, who lives with him. Sir Campbell Stuart, of Canada, an Irishman with a Scotch name, entertained us at luncheon. We met Sir Eric Geddes, First Lord of the Admiralty, who used to work in Pittsburgh at a dollar a day and also labored as a hired railroad hand in West Virginia. We saw many streets and places made famous by Charles Dickens and went through London Tower, where Queen Elizabeth was confined for a time charged with treason. We went up into the Bloody Tower, where Richard III caused the two young princes to be murdered, and saw instruments of torture, dark cells, the wooden block and steel ax used by our cheerful ancestors in cutting off the heads of many good and loyal English men and women. We visited London Bridge, St. Paul's, Whitehall, the Bank of England, the law courts, and many places well worth seeing.

On August 1 we saw the House of Commons in session, by far the most dignified body of the kind in Europe. Mr. Speaker, Right Hon. James William Lowther presided in gown and wig. Some members sat with hats on, others bareheaded. We heard Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, explain the new supplementary credits bill for £700,000,000. He spoke in a dignified, high-keyed tone, with no effort at oratory, and was given close attention.

On the same day, the following, among others, spoke: Mr. Dillon, Mr. McKenna, Ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Snowden, Sir Willoughby Dickerson, Mr. McCurdy, Maj. H. Terrel, Maj. E. Wood, Sir F. Banbury, Mr. Balfour, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Holt, Lord Robert Cecil, Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Sir L. Worthington Evans. They discussed the credit measure, the proposed league to enforce peace, the military situation, the Russian question, referred a time or two to the Irish problem, and spoke on labor and other current subjects. Their demeanor was dignified, their language temperate, their sentiments lofty, and they seemed studiously polite and considerate in addressing or referring to one another. They appear older on the average than our House Members. On the day mentioned the house met at a "quarter before three of the clock," to quote from the official proceedings, and adjourned at 10.30 p. m.

FOURTH ANNIVERSARY AT ST. MARGARET'S.

On Sunday, August 4, we were present by special invitation at the Anglican Church, St. Margaret's, where the fourth anniversary of England's entrance into the war was celebrated. From the King downward the whole nation joined in prayer on that day. It was a solemn consecration of the nation's cause. The gathering at St. Margaret's was, they said, unprecedented. There, in stately procession, the great men of the realm passed in solemn procession up the central aisle of the church. King George and Queen Mary, Princess Mary, the Queen Mother Alexandra, Mr. Balfour, Lloyd-George, the Prime Minister, and other ministers of the Crown, and prominent

officials in church, naval, and military affairs and Government, the Lord Chancellor leading the peers, the speaker leading the Commons. The King was in naval uniform. He is not as tall as Queen Mary. The Queen was dressed in black. It was a very impressive ceremonial. The music was low and beautiful, and simplicity, reverence, and congregational devotion characterized the service. Peculiarly moving was this supplication:

Brethren, on this fourth anniversary of the declaration of war, let us draw near to the throne of God in penitence and humility; let us pray Him to deliver us from the temptations that beset us and, if it be His will, to grant us victory and peace; let us implore His help for the men and women who are engaged at home or abroad in carrying on the war; and let us thank Him for mercies already vouchsafed to us.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, white-haired and eloquent, preached from the text Exodus, xx: 7, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord, thy God, in vain." It was one of the most eloquent pulpit utterances I ever heard, and I quote from the sermon two extracts, following:

THE VISION OF LASTING PEACE.

As we offer together to God to-day such prayers as these, our vision ranges onward into the coming years. The world has been learning by fearful experience what war actually is. The facts have been burned into our living souls. To most of us war used to seem a far-off thing. There was about it a romance and glamor, which pushed its horribleness, not out of sight, but out of the foreground. Four years have taught us much. They have not diminished, they have enhanced, the glory, the imperishable dignity, of the deeds of heroic sacrifice at which we proudly and thankfully marvel. But they have taught us, too, in plain prose war's unspeakable hatefulness, and those who have been in closest and most honorable touch with all the realities of such a war are the first to resolve that please God a repetition of its ghastly horrors shall become impossible among men.

To that outcome, on this fourth anniversary, we set our thoughts, we attune our prayers. Though the vision tarry, wait for it. Somehow, somewhen, it must by the help of the living God be brought to pass. The ending of it forever and ever must be in accordance with God's purpose. The nations must set themselves thereto. I dare to feel assured that they will.

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PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADVICE.

Let us found ourselves on reality and not on appearance. Why—after going through all we have done—should we seek peace at the moment when Germany is declining, but has not yet declined, and when America is beginning, but has only just begun?

President Wilson, with searching thought, has spoken the only word which in these days should be heard in the councils and camps of the allies. "Force without stint, force without restraint, force to the utmost limit" And that is the path upon which the people of the United States—themselves nearly double the population of Germany—have avowedly and whole-heartedly embarked. We must keep in step with them. They are our kinsmen from across the ocean. They are our sons returned from a long estrangement. They are our comrades of the great war and of the greater future. With every day that this strife endures the old misunderstandings are removed and the ancient quarrels vanish away. When we count the fearful cost, let us not forget to count the precious gain. In the community of interest and union of spirit and brotherhood in arms now being recreated between the American people and the British race lies the most solid guaranty of our common safety in years to come, and of the general peace and progress of the world.

Let us therefore look steadily out upon that portion of our task that we have yet to do. Two separate conditions are required of the German people. First, they must be decisively beaten in the field by the armies of the allies. That should be the indispensable preliminary to a cessation of hostilities. Secondly, they should, by their own free and spontaneous action, by an act of self-regeneration, make a definite break with the system which has led them to so many fearful and monstrous crimes. Not till then should they be allowed to take their vacant place in the league of nations and be received into the new brotherhood of mankind.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

The most interesting place in England is Westminster Abbey. Once Catholic but now Protestant, it is a combination of cathedral, church, museum, and burial place of the nation's distinguished dead. We were permitted to go through it by the courtesy of an American woman, the daughter of the late William C. Endicott, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War in President Cleveland's first Cabinet. She was the wife of Joseph Chamberlain, now dead, and is at this time married to Canon Carnegie, rector of St. Margaret's and chaplain of the House of Commons. She entertained our party at tea and then conducted us on a three-hour tour through this wonderful place. Here the English Kings are crowned. Here "the brave and the faithful, the strong, the steadfast and true, from palaces and from halls of state, from church and cloister and fair English home, have found peaceful shelter after this painful life is ended."

The architecture of the abbey is a mixture of Norman, Romanesque, Gothic, and Renaissance. It has a thousand interesting spots, but to me the tombs of Edward I, Edward the Confessor, the Black Prince, the rich tombs of Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots, the poets' corner, and the statues of British historians, orators, statesmen, and literary men were of absorbing interest. We stood where the body of Cromwell was buried, but after the restoration, 12 years from the death of Charles I, this body was dragged from its resting place among the Kings, drawn on a sled to Tyburn, and hanged at the angles of the gallows facing Whitehall, where King Charles had been executed. The Protector's head was then cut off and set up on a pole. His body, without the head, lies buried now under the street on the old site of Tyburn and "over him the English pass, day by day, no longer fearing him."

Oliver Cromwell was a great Englishman, a great ruler, and during his protectorate he made the British Empire respected throughout the world. Parliament failed to make the required appropriation, so money was collected by public subscription, with which a handsome bronze statue of this great figure in English history was finally erected under the windows of the House of Commons, where it now stands.

Thousands of citizens from all civilized lands who yearly come up to the world's largest city seek out this wonderfully interesting old abbey, rich monument of the past and present glory of England.

Our party saw Westminster under favorable conditions, in the luminous twilight hours of a quiet August evening, under the intelligent guidance of a cultured, gray-haired American woman, transplanted to London but still American in feeling and in sympathy. The great organ, invisible to us, under the hands of a skillful player, gave out soft music as we strolled through aisles of medieval splendor, down the long nave, through the numerous rich chapels, through quaint chambers and ancient cloisters, through a wilderness of statuary, dead images of the mighty, back and forth among tombs of kings and queens and princes and those greater mortals who won and wore star-lit crowns more precious than any that ever adorned the uneasy head of a monarch—crowns such as Burke, Milton, and Charles Dickens wore.

Shakespeare was not buried here, a fact that I regret. I also regret that I am unable to employ his purple verbs and nouns and adjectives instead of my own poor words in describing this matchless abbey of Westminster.

We saw something of rural England in driving from London through the country, by way of Winchester, to Southampton. The farming sections are in a high state of cultivation and each farm is fenced with hedges.

Winchester, long time the capital, is well worth a visit. There the English Parliament met for 400 years. A fine old cathedral is there. There Sir Walter Raleigh was tried, Lord Jeffreys held court, and King Alfred was buried. We drove through the new forest where William Rufus was shot through with an arrow.

From Southampton the Pilgrim Fathers sailed for the land of the free.

Sturdy old England has performed a giant's part in the world war. Her navy has kept the seas open for the transportation of allied troops and supplies. She had only a "contemptible little army" in 1914, so termed by the Kaiser. Since then she has raised and equipped 7,500,000 men, and her red-cheeked lads have shown virile courage and endurance everywhere on her far-flung battle fronts.

HOSPITALS.

We visited the hospitals, more numerous in France and particularly in Paris than elsewhere. The very best medical and surgical skill is at the service of our sick or wounded. Doctors and nurses, well equipped technically and by experience, are in attendance at all hospitals—emergency, field, or base—and are giving conscientious and entirely satisfactory service. I saw the surgeons binding up wounds, relieving pain, operating, giving medicine, advice, and instructions, and nurses attending and watching over sick or wounded boys with the same tender solicitude as their mothers, if such a thing is possible.

Maj. Perkins, American Commissioner of the Red Cross in Europe, entertained us in Paris and showed us through the American Red Cross hospitals Nos. 1, 2, and 5. From him and from other sources we gathered the following valuable information on this subject:

When we entered the war we had only about half a dozen Army hospitals, with something like 5,000 beds. We now have 65 Army hospitals, with 70,000 beds, and will soon be able to care for more than 100,000 sick and wounded at one time. During the Spanish-American War the death rate in the training camps was 20 men out of each 100, but now only 7 out of each 100. When we entered this war only 8,900 of our people were doing hospital work. The number now engaged is 171,000. At the beginning we had only 375 nurses, but now we have 15,000, and the number is daily increasing. Only 14 out of every 100 men wounded are unfitted for further military duty. In other words, 86 of these wounded men will in a short time go back to fighting, and practically all of them complain that they fear the war will be over before they get back to their regiments.

Only about 4 per cent of the men wounded in action die. This showing speaks volumes of good things in praise of medical science, for the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Salvation Army, and other patriotic, altruistic, and religious organizations.

REHABILITATION HOSPITALS.

Last June Congress passed an act which was approved by the President providing for vocational rehabilitation and return to civil employment of disabled persons discharged from the military or naval forces of the United States. This act provides that the board created by this legislation shall have the power to provide such facilities, instructors, and courses as may be necessary to insure proper training for such persons as are required or may elect to follow the courses provided in said act; to prescribe the courses to be followed by such persons; to pay, when in the discretion of the board such payment is necessary, the expense of travel, lodging, subsistence, and other necessary expenses of such persons while following the prescribed courses; to do all things necessary to insure vocational rehabilitation and to provide for the placement of rehabilitated persons in suitable or gainful occupations. The act further makes it the duty of the board to make or cause to have made studies, investigations, and reports regarding the vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons and their employment or placement in positions suitable to their capacities. To carry out the provisions of this act Congress appropriated $2,000,000 and authorized the board to receive such gifts and donations from either public or private sources as might be offered unconditionally to carry on the work of the board.

I supported the act and made a somewhat critical study of this subject in Europe, where I had an opportunity to observe at first hand the practical application of this humanitarian project.

The French have established several hospitals of this kind, one called the Grande Palais in Paris, and one designated as the Ecole Joffre at Lyons; and the English are maintaining quite a number. One exclusively for the blind at St. Dunstans and one each at Newcastle, Leeds, Cardiff, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dublin, Belfast, Brighton, and Roehampton. I visited and made a careful investigation of the Roehampton plant.

The Roehampton hospitals and shops were first organized, and later workshops were started in Brighton. Queen Mary contributed to the building of the hospitals and shops mentioned and a number of other wealthy English men and women gave large sums of money to maintain these hospitals and carry on this work. The British Government as yet contributes nothing to their support.

At Brighton there is accommodation for as many as 600 men. The men remain there until their wounds are sufficiently healed to permit of their being fitted with artificial appliances. At Brighton the first consideration is the hospital treatment, and the technical training is secondary, but the hospital teaching force begin, as soon as the patient arrives, to coordinate the two separate problems—the healing of his wounds and his education for a gainful occupation after his recovery. At Roehampton, particularly, they train both his limbs and himself for the work that he is expected to do for a livelihood. When the legless and armless patient arrives from Brighton at Roehampton they place in his hand a leaflet giving him full and special instructions as to the facilities offered for gaining knowledge in skilled trades and for fitting themselves for a future career.

One of the principal features of the workshops is the way in which the various classes are adapted and fitted for the trades and professions taught. Students can be seen, especially the legless ones, busily engaged at typewriters, while others pursue studies at large desks, and still others file papers in an up-to-date filing cabinet. Following are some of the types of employment found for men who have lost an arm: Clerk, messenger, porter, schoolmaster, timekeeper, traveler, and watchman. Here are some vocations that they recommend for men who have lost a leg: Chauffeur, electrical worker, gateman, hospital orderly, munition maker, packer, painter, printer, tailor, telegrapher, and timekeeper. During the 18 months since the Roehampton hospitals have been opened they have placed in profitable positions, class A, men placed by the bureau in good positions, 1,294; class B, men returned to their own employment, 2,037; class C, men passed on to the local committee for employment, 1,783. The authorities at Roehampton told me that their experience during the last 18 months teaches them that their patients resolved themselves automatically into three different classes, the proportion of which can be definitely stated. They are as follows: Class A, men who are prepared to work anywhere and for whom employment should be provided before they leave the hospital, 25 per cent; class B, men who have had their places kept open for them and who on discharge from the hospital will return to their former employers, 40 per cent; and class C, men who place domicile before work and who will not discuss employment except in the vicinity of their own homes, 35 per cent. Class A, of course, offers the most urgent problem, as it includes a large proportion of young men and a large number of men with no settled homes. Class B presents no problem at all. Class C is composed mainly of married men, who are prepared to accept any work that they are capable of performing so long as it does not involve the breaking up of their homes. In order to deal effectively with this whole question there must be coordination of effort on the part of the hospital authorities and all other agencies interested in the work of rehabilitation and the employment of men rehabilitated.

I met a large number of these patients, those that had lost a leg appeared to be in the majority, but a great many had lost both arms and some had lost both legs. Many were being fitted with artificial limbs, and I was surprised to learn that 80 per cent of these limbs were manufactured by an American concern, and an American from South Carolina was the manager of the division charged with the duty of fitting the artificial legs and arms to the wounded soldiers. Some of these cripples were personally engaged in fitting limbs on themselves, sandpapering, filing, and preparing them for adjustment. The limbs were made of willow and were fitted with the utmost nicety, and are excellent substitutes for the natural limbs. They have steel contrivances that will enable the wearer to pick up articles from the floor and to do almost as many things with the artificial arm and hand as can be done with the ones nature provided.

Our party saw Sergt. Dore, who lost an arm, use a spade very efficiently, throwing the dirt over his shoulder with his artificial hand and arm. He also showed that he was an expert at cricket and at golf. A young soldier named M. C. Beane, with an artificial leg from his hip down, ran a foot race with an armless but a two-legged soldier and did not lose the race.

There were 920 patients at the hospital at Roehampton when our party visited them—all young, bright-faced English lads, apparently happy, talking cheerfully of the future, and delighted with the fact that they were not more seriously injured than the loss of one or more of their limbs entailed. Their condition also told the story of the deadly efficiency of the German artillery, as practically all of them were wounded by bursting shells. It was an inspiring spectacle to see them going about learning useful trades and talking hopefully of the future.

I gathered, however, from the officers in charge of these hospitals that the problem of dealing with disabled men is one which calls for both sympathy and tact. They can not be driven nor will they submit to harsh restrictions or arbitrary regulations. They must be coaxed, reasoned with, and guided. Left to themselves they will, as a rule, take up work only when obliged to do so, and then only the work which can be obtained with the least trouble. Technical training and reeducation do not instinctively appeal to them. The advantages to be gained have to be placed very clearly before them and they are, generally speaking, attracted only to what they see and to the trades in connection with which the course of training to be faced and the work to be done are practically demonstrated to them. The personal factor is what counts for most in dealing with these men, and without it little good can be done. If their instructors, however, are patient and understand and appeal to the psychology of the patient, and extend him a full measure of sympathy and understanding they can usually be of great service to them in preparation for their future career.

The English Government now gives a reasonable pension to each soldier maimed while in the service, and this pension is not lessened in the smallest degree because of this training given these men. Our own Government has provided generously for those who are injured in this war, but no man is happy unless he is at work and earning something by his own exertions, and for this reason: I regard this work of rehabilitation and this provision for training our maimed soldiers so they can follow some gainful occupation after the war as one of the most useful bits of legislation enacted by the Sixty-fifth Congress.

THE RED CROSS.

It is not remarkable that when the American Red Cross asks for a hundred million for good measure we promptly make it a hundred and fifty million. I carefully studied the Red Cross personnel on shipboard going and coming and over there. They are high-class men and women. They are doing the work of the Master and the work of humanity with zest and spirit. They do things over there. I wanted to notify my son, who is in the Aviation Service, to meet me in Paris. The Red Cross people located him at the front and wired him. Before leaving I asked them to forward him a delayed box of woolen socks, helmets, and sweaters that his mother had knit for him. They did so. They drive you about in their cars. They go to the

railway station with you. They maintain information bureaus. They seek out the needy and administer to them. They care for and feed the hungry and helpless among our allies, and, above all, they carry from the field the stricken soldier, bind up his wounds, and nurse him back to health. [Applause.]

THE RED CROSS NURSE.

Hats off to the Red Cross nurse. [Applause.] She is true almost to fanaticism to her calling. I have read of gray-clad women pilgrims toiling over leagues of burning sands, over tall mountains, and marching through wild forests filled with menacing dangers to bring an offering of value or respect or to pay the homage of a devotional visit to some far-away religious shrine. This same spirit can be seen in the eye and in the face of the Red Cross nurse. Firm of mouth and high of head, she leaves the safe shelter of her American home, defying the submarine, unafraid of danger or temptation. She goes about in Europe doing service that should bring her the title and the crown of a saint. Clad in a costume that distinguishes her above all others, attractive and becoming, she is welcome in the field, in the hospital, in the home, everywhere. In all the land everybody respects her. No one would harm her. Her red cross is a charm and a defense against insult or injury, with one exception, and one only. The wolfish Hun alone, who, respecting nothing on the round earth, whenever an opportunity offers, seeks to assail and injure her in any and every way, either by bombing hospitals, ambulances, hospital ships, or otherwise. [Applause.]

I saw her nursing the wounded at the first base hospital we visited. An old boy 4,000 miles from home with a bullet hole through his shoulder needs a lot of mothering. He gets it. I heard one nurse say to another, "Is that your boy?" pointing at a young soldier from Missouri who was inhaling ether, getting ready for an operation. The nurse addressed answered, "Yes; that's my boy," and she said this in a solicitous and a motherly tone, such as his own mother would use. Men of America stand with uncovered heads in the presence of these Red Cross nurses. They are doing great service. They are nursing our boys. They rank queens in grandeur and usefulness. They are as pure in heart as a vestal virgin. They are as chaste as any icicle that ever hung from Diana's temple. It is an honor and a privilege to touch with finger tip the hem of their garments. They go about doing good like saints and ministering angels. This is not an extravagant statement, nor is the Red Cross man second in efficiency or usefulness to the Red Cross woman in his field of activity. [Applause.]

I can not take the time to give anything like a full statement of what our Red Cross has done in Europe in the way of aiding soldiers' families, but I will say that in Italy alone in April, 1918, the Red Cross, through the department of civil affairs, distributed to the needy families of Italian soldiers at the front a special gift of 6,431,000 lire. In this distribution 7,051 towns were reached and 292,044 families were aided.

THE Y. M. C. A.

The men and women of this great organization are entitled to the grateful praise of all America for the uplifting influence they are exerting on our armies at home and overseas. They are softening the frowning front of war. Their good work is world-wide and their record is clean.

Shortly after we landed at Bordeaux we had the good fortune to get dinner at reasonable cost at a restaurant in charge of Mrs. Vanderbilt and a daughter of the late railroad magnate, E. H. Harriman, women of wealth, who are giving their time and money helping the Y. M. C. A. in its war work. At night we were entertained at their picture show. Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, jr., is over there and has general charge of the woman's branch of this work overseas. The Y. M. C. A. rent six hotels at Tours and conduct them for the benefit of our people at less than cost. I visited them at Brest, and they told me that they had bought out a saloon near the harbor landing and converted it into a place of rest and refreshment where boys could buy coffee, cold drinks, candy, and cakes instead of wine and brandy. At Brest this organization has 93 people, 15 per cent of them being women. They maintain reading and rest rooms, and our boys can have mending done there or buttons sewed on without cost. The Y. M. C. A. furnishes high-class picture shows. They have brought lecturers from America, among whom are President Schurman, of Cornell; Anson Phelps Stokes, from Yale; and entertainers like E. H. Sothern, Julia Marlowe, Elsie Janis, Mary Garden, and 50 other talented American players, who are there now solely to amuse, instruct, and entertain, without expense to them, our Army and Navy people. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. TILLMAN. May I have five minutes more?

The CHAIRMAN. The remainder of the time is in control of the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Arkansas have 10 minutes more——

The CHAIRMAN. The time was fixed by the House.

Mr. BORLAND. Without being taken out of the time of the gentleman from Iowa.

The CHAIRMAN. The time has been fixed by the House.

Mr. BORLAND. I ask unanimous consent that the time fixed by the House be extended 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. That can not be done in the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. HAUGEN. I yield the gentleman five minutes.

Mr. TILLMAN. I thank the gentleman very much.

Installed in all Y. M. C. A. huts are reading rooms, writing rooms, billiards, pool, checkers, chess, and organized athletics. I have seen thousands of boys at these huts, and I know they are a great help to them in the right way.

The activities of this excellent organization are astounding. Work is now being carried on by them in every continent, in Mesopotamia, Japan, India, Ceylon, Africa, the Philippines, Porto Rico, Turkey, Egypt, Russia, and in all the allied countries. It is doing a great work among the Czecho-Slovak forces. In France alone, the association serves men of 22 nationalities. There are now 538 huts of various sizes and designs in American camps. This number fluctuates as the "Y" lost more than 100 huts in the German drive of last spring.

I can testify that there is little convenience or shelter in the average French village. In many places the Y. M. C. A. hut is the only place where the men can keep warm and write a letter in winter. Every day over there 2,500,000 letters are written on free Y. M. C. A. stationery.

By the way, if you never saw a soldier write a letter home, it would be worth while to see him. I have observed him in the act. He seems to lose sight of his surroundings. He draws within himself. He is oblivious of all things else and is intent on his task. He does not want to be disturbed by jest or serious observation. His thoughts are on home and mother, thousands of miles across the waters, and it would be a sin to break in on this holy communion with loved ones far away. [Applause.]

The association is strictly nonsectarian, and there is no effort any where to promote creed or denominationalism. The major part of the work in France is educational, entertaining, religious, athletic, and personal service. More than 2,500,000 Bibles have been given away to soldiers. They were not forced upon them, but were given because the soldiers wanted them.

The work of the red triangle has a military value, recognized by Gens. Pershing, Foch, Diaz, Byng, Wood, and Kuhn, and by President Wilson and his Cabinet. Indeed, these people are a righteous force, sturdily helping to win a righteous war.

In London I visited Washington Inn, in St. James Square, an imposing Y. M. C. A. building, constructed so as to encircle the statue of William of Orange. I found it full of happy American soldiers, taking advantage of its good table and clean beds furnished at an extremely modest charge.

The manager of Eagle Hut, London, gave me his report for June, 1918, which I insert here, thinking this data might be of value. It reads as follows:

EAGLE HUT, JUNE, 1918.

Canteen: Meals served, 62,753; largest day, 2,372; pancakes, 11,545; soda fountain—drinks, 10,639; ice cream (started June 21), 3,799.

Domitories: men slept, 8,368; kits checked, 3,512; baths, 1,752.

Religious: Sunday meetings, 10; Thursday meetings, 4; attendance, 1,700. Five Sunday morning services in canteen. Good night, 28 services; Attendance, 216. Personal talks, 221.

Home corner: Visits and interviews, 168; sewings, 68; letters written, 35; letters received, 20.

Social: Entertainments, 23 held; attendance, 9,500. Theater parties, attendance, 1,728. Sightseers, 697. Hospitality (week-end parties, tea, dinner, and visits and tea on terrace of Houses of Parliament), attendance, 173. Socials, 4; attendance, 1,600. Billiards, 2,464 one-half hour games.

Information bureau: Queries answered, 4,827.

The Young Men's Christian Association should be encouraged here and by our soldiers overseas. It comes first in contact with the enlisted or drafted man, when he starts for camp or cantonment. It meets him and greets him when he arrives. It offers him a home, a club, a church, library, and writing room. It goes with him to the port when he takes ship for Europe. It accompanies him on the transport. It welcomes him on foreign soil. It keeps with him in rest camp, in billet, on the field, and if he is called upon to give up his young life in this most necessary and holy war, it gives him Christian burial. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT AND CABINET.

In Italy, France, and England, I am gratified to state that Secretaries Lansing, McAdoo, Baker, and Daniels are held in the

highest esteem, and over there President Wilson is the man of the hour. His name is on the lip of everybody. Streets and squares have been named for him in all the capitals and in many other cities, camps, and villages. This great and popular patriot is deservedly recognized as the foremost man of all the world, the peerless leader in thought and action.

NATIONS NEW BORN.

I have spoken of the rebirth of certain men and women, caused by the quickening influences of this just war. Nations also have been born again, have thrown off the old and put on the new, have acquired vision and friendliness and soul values never before possessed. Germany, cold, proud, watchful, calculating, certain of her strength, thoroughly trained and ready, is alone responsible for the war. She critically took weight and measure as she thought of all the nations likely to oppose her. She considered Great Britain as indolent, trade loving, nonmilitant; France decadent; Italy flighty and frothy; Russia drink-besotted; America selfish and afraid. When these nations saw the Kaiser's real intentions they aroused themselves. They were reborn and rebaptized. Since this rebirth Germany found the English lion sharp of tooth and claw, France brave as of old, Italy aggressive and full of fight, Russia sober and deadly, until the sinister taint of Bolshevikism poisoned her blood and brain, and later, from Belleau wood to Berlin, she heard the fearless scream of the American Eagle rising above the rattle of rifles, the blast of shells, and the boom of cannon, proclaiming new ideals and a greater destiny for the stout young Republic, hitherto isolated and not ambitious for primacy in world politics.

It is inevitable now, as I see it, that we must prepare for our manifest destiny, acquire a great merchant marine, maintain with our real friends joint control of the seas, seek and obtain our share of foreign trade, become a world power, and continue a world power. The part that we are playing in this war will win for us a seat at the head of the peace-conference table. There we must take care of ourselves, punish Germany properly, and see that our friends get fair treatment. We have definitely and finally turned the tide of battle in favor of the allies. [Applause.]

Four times civilization has been saved during this struggle. Once by Belgium's brave resistance. Again by the French at the Marne in 1914, and again by England's navy. Finally by the American soldiers along the Marne in 1918. The American Army, as has been predicted, is playing the decisive rôle in this struggle and is a certain pledge of victory.

MEXICO.

A proper subject for discussion at the peace conference is, What shall be done with Mexico? If the Mexican Republic or the Mexican people continue to discriminate against our citizens, if those in authority persist in confiscating American property, if their bandits are permitted to carry on perennially the outrages, thefts, and murders against unoffending Americans as they have been doing for many years past, if Mexico is to be made the base for German intrigue and aggression against us, it may become desirable or necessary as a measure of self-defense for us to go to war with Mexico.

GERMANY.

May God punish Germany according to her deserts. For all the blood that has been shed, for the suffering undergone, for the colossal costs of this awful war, Germany and Germany alone is responsible. The murder on June 28, 1914, of Prince Ferdinand and his wife by an Austrian subject, Gavrillo Prinzip, on territory governed by the Austrian crown, merely furnished an excuse for the war. Prussian militarism actually caused it. Note what the half-mad Kaiser has cost the world in two items alone—men and money.

M. M. Barriol, the distinguished actuary, gives the following figures as the money value of a man: In the United States, $4,100; in Great Britain, $4,100; in Germany, $3,380; in France, $2,900; in Russia, $2,020; in Austria-Hungary, $2,020, or an average money value for the five foreign nations of $2,892.

The number of men already lost is 8,509,000 killed and 7,175,000 permanently disabled, a total of 15,684,000. Thus the world has been impoverished through the death and permanent disability of its young man power to the extent of $45,000,000,000, figuring only as a cold-blooded actuary figures, and leaving out every other element of value that can not be measured in money. Germany must answer for this. The war to date has cost the nations over $160,000,000,000 in expense money, and the blame for this expenditure is hers.

Germany's outrages and crimes, outside of her killings in war, are appalling. I have it on the authority of an Army chaplain, Rev. George A. Griffith, now serving in France as chaplain of the Fifth Field Artillery, the regiment that fired America's first shot in the war, that there are now in France little children with stumps of hands mutilated by Germans, young boys whose right hand fingers these brutes cut off. Four young Canadians were crucified by them, and an American soldier is said to have found his own brother that they had crucified. A great clergyman in Belgium said, "For the honor and peace of womanhood, I dare not put in print the outrages that I know Belgian women have undergone at the hands of German soldiers."

I talked with an Englishman at Southampton, who had spent several years in Germany before the war, and he told me something of the junkers back in Germany. He said that for many years these people have been thinking of, talking of, and preparing for this war. It was Bismark who decided to make Prussia the dominant state in Germany, then the ruler of Europe, and finally acquire for her the mastery of the world. They believe that war is a biological necessity. The militarists or junkers, he said, are noted for their cruelty, selfishness, and their blatant hypocrisy. They seldom practice honor and rarely keep faith with any one. They adhere to the philosophy that it does not pay to be honest. Their chief aim in life is self-indulgence. They are gluttons in eating and drinking, and in all vices. Indeed, they glory in vices and think it a manifestation of German forcefulness. With them, lying is a fine art and is practiced as a cult. Generally, they are ill mannered, cynical, egotistical, treacherous, ruthless, and insolent. One German typical of the ruling classes said: "I don't believe in God or in religion, but every night I go down on my knees and think over everything I have said or done during the day, and if I find I have said anything that did not further my own interests, I make a mental note of the circumstance and take care it never happens again. This is how I educate myself for the battle of life, to get the most out of it and to steal a march on the others." These are the kind of people we are fighting, and I for one am glad that we are fighting them on another continent and not on our own.

America kept out of the war as long as she decently could. President Wilson, peace loving, as our people are, was reluctant about getting into the struggle and properly so, but our country would have been a cringing cur among the nations of the earth had she not entered when she did. The traitors in Russia had sold their great country to the Kaiser, and had it not been for our entrance into the war Germany before this in all probability would have triumphed. She would have absorbed Russia and her iron heel would have rested heavily upon the neck of the world for a century.

I voted for war. I have done and shall continue to do all in my power to push it to a speedy and victorious conclusion. We are going to win. The initiative has passed to us. Marshal Foch has proven himself a brilliant strategist. The wisdom of vesting supreme command in him can not be questioned. Gen. Pershing has his confidence and is recognized as one of the greatest officers among the allies. Our commanding general sent this message to the American Government:

Furnish us the men, supplies, ships, and airplanes and we will win decisively in 1919.

NO PREMATURE PEACE.

We owe it to those who have given up their lives as a sacrifice to the right to make this a fight to the finish, and we can and will finish it next year. In order to do so we must continue to rush men and supplies to Europe. We should not give the central powers time to breathe, reorganize, and gather strength to leap at the throats of peaceful nations again in a few decades. Let us end Prussian militarism now, and that ended, the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs will end also. We must obtain a decisive military victory. This is the greatest reward that we can offer for the gallant deeds of the dead, and it is the noblest monument that we can build to commemorate their sacrifices and achievements. They would be ashamed of us if we quit before Germany is soundly thrashed. We betray the dead if we allow the now cringing Hun, the late saber-rattling bully, to trick or whine us into a premature peace conference. [Applause.]

What would happen if the allied nations should now at Germany's instance meet for a peace discussion with the delegates from the central powers? By sitting down now at a peace table with her representatives we would have to admit that her delegates are as good as ours, and acknowledge that the outrages committed or condoned by her were not outrages at all. If we now begin to haggle with her diplomatic tricksters about peace terms, they certainly would not consent to be punished for their wrongdoing. Place a judge and a burglar upon equal terms and they would not likely agree as to what should be done with the burglar. [Applause.]

Germany is good at bargaining. She likes to swap things that she has no title to for something her antagonist owns. She considers that she is not bound by any promise. The allies prob-

ably have no statesmen hypocritical enough, abandoned enough, to render them fit persons to stand a chance of successfully haggling and negotiating with Germany. We can not match her for trickery and duplicity. If we agreed to a cessation of hostilities now and agreed to a peace discussion, the central powers would prolong it indefinitely and in the meantime they would be reorganizing their shattered forces. They would be trying to exploit and organize Russia for themselves. They would be attempting to create lassitude among our soldiers, forcing us to the expense of remaining in the field all the time, and, after weary months of wrangling, if she did not get a strong German peace or just what she wanted, she would throw down further negotiations and begin to fight again. We should beware of Prussian peace pitfalls. If the entente is to have a peace that will be lasting, it must be a peace dictated by us. Nor can we afford to leave our problems and differences to any mediator who might cause us to lose the ideals for which we are fighting. [Applause.]

A STRONG ALLIED PEACE.

Germany must get back or be driven back to her own place in the sun, Germany.

France must have Alsace and Lorraine and every square foot of the iron-ore field stolen from her in 1870–71.

Silesia, stolen by Frederick the Great from Austria, should be incorporated with a new free Polish State. The rich and powerful nations are and will be the nations with coal and iron. Germany with too much of both—that is to say, with Silesian coal and Lorraine iron ore—will be too powerful for the peace of the world.

The German people must learn from Germany's losses that it is unsafe to permit her militarists to wage offensive war and wars of conquest. So Germany must lose her colonies, already taken from her.

Patient, brave, suffering Belgium must be restored and her martyred people compensated for their losses.

Roumania must be reestablished.

Devastated Serbia must be rehabilitated.

The wrongs of Greece must be righted and her future made secure with the patriot Venizelos at least second in command of the ship of state.

Italy's dream must come true and she must have those areas where Italians predominate, including Trieste, and she must have a border that she can defend, instead of the border Bismarck compelled her to accept in the days of blood and iron.

As a great buffer state, serving to hold Prussian barbarism and junkerism in check, a great independent state must be formed for the Jugo-Slavs and those intrepid patriots, the Czech-Slovaks, now fighting with unprecedented heroism side by side with the military forces of the entente. This state will stand like a lion in the path between the central powers and the Pacific East.

The infamous scrap of paper called the peace of Brest-Litovsk, made by Prussian war lords with drawn swords in their hands and with Lenine and Trotsky with their hands behind them, must be torn up and spit upon, and the Russian Provinces stolen from Russia by this ill-smelling pact given back to Russia.

As a further block to Germany's unholy ambitions for eastern conquest Constantinople must go to the allied nations and be made a free port, the Dardanelles to be held open for the benefit of mankind. Nor should Turkey or Bulgaria be given any favors or concessions, for they deserve none.

Palestine, Syria, and Armenia must be taken away from Turkish rule and made secure.

America must be given a free hand to protect herself from Mexican aggression on her citizens or their property in or out of Mexico.

Germans after the war should not be allowed in the capacity of military instructors to their armies or as organizers of munition factories in any countries outside of her own borders. If this is allowed the militarists will be intriguing everywhere for another world war, as they did prior to this war.

The damage Germany has done should be assessed and paid, as far as it will go, out of German property in the allies' country and by paying damages in kind. This will render her less dangerous. She should hand over ship for ship destroyed by her commerce raiders and submarines; the machinery she has looted and destroyed in Belgium, northern France, Poland, and elsewhere should be replaced by her. She should, where practicable, pay goods for goods taken, and where she has exacted money fines she should be made to pay back in money.

In America all German traitors to our flag should be sent back to Germany, where they belong. If a man is once a traitor he rarely lives over the infection. Our naturalization laws should be remodeled, and Germans and other foreigners who have been pro-German or disloyal through this war should have their naturalization certificates annulled. [Applause.]

POST-BELLUM PROBLEMS.

We hear much about great changes that some prophets claim are to occur after the war. The older I get the more conservative I become. The world we live in is not such a bad old world. The God we worship is a wise and a beneficent God. Men and women under the old order of things have builded a wonderful civilization. It is by no means perfect, but I shall hate to see it destroyed or materially changed. Some changes are necessary and desirable, but God deliver us from red revolution, from the philosophy of those who are fluent in their recital of alleged ills, but who propose as a remedy the turbulent destruction of property rights. Deliver us from these people who proclaim that everything that is is wrong. We encounter at every corner men who seem not to live in the present. They toil not. They are brethren of sedentary habits. They stand to lose nothing because they have acquired nothing, but they profess to believe that we should reconstruct some shadowy old civilization said by them to be better than ours, or that we should reach out in anticipation a thousand years beyond our time and construct Utopian communities that are certain to fail in this day and generation. [Applause.]

We must not only destroy Prussianism, but we must avoid the greater evil—Bolshevikism. The last-named gentry have about run their inglorious course in afflicted Russia. They have feloniously taken most of the money out of the Russian banks. They have emptied all the wine cellars. They have murdered millions of their betters. They have done all in their power to deliver their country into the hands of Germany, and the economic theory that they have the right to rob every class but their own has proven its own folly. We will suppress I. W. W.ism. By this war we will abate Prussianism, we will escape Bolshevikism, and America and her allies will live together in a great, strong, peaceful, democratic brotherhood. Down with class tyranny and up with world democracy. [Loud applause.]

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. KEARNS].

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Chairman, at this time, when the world is bleeding from multiplied thousands of wounds; at this time, when one million and a half American boys are somewhere in or near where the conflict rages, an entire nation at home is united in its hopes and prayers for their success. Yesterday this House voted upon the most tremendous revenue bill that was ever prepared by any law-making body of any nation at any time. This bill includes in its scope of taxation every industry and practically all incomes. So wide is it in its scope that no man or woman, however rich or however poor, will escape it unaffected. Notwithstanding all of this, something that the world had never realized before, the complaints lodged against it are so few that they are not worthy the mention. Taking all of this into consideration, realizing its strain upon the purse strings of every individual in America, it argues well for the loyalty of the country and it is a cause for congratulation that there was not a single vote cast against this measure in this branch of Congress.

It is the evidence of the determination of the American people to win this war and count the cost in money when peace at last has come again.

At this time there is only one thought in the minds of the American people, and that is that the business of the world to-day is war and the purpose of the United States, in conjunction with the allied countries of Europe, is to win the war. This purpose was again reiterated by the President of the United States within the week, when he sent his brief and emphatic reply to the suggestion of the Austrian Government that a peace conference on neutral soil be held. This answer of the Commander in Chief of the American Army and Navy found a responsive chord in the hearts of all America. This was a restatement of the proposition that the business of the world to-day is war and that the fight will continue until the German horde shall be stopped in its mad rush against the civilization of the world. I do not know and you do not know how long this will take, but we do know that it is going to require the full man power of this country on Europe's battle fields, and, too, it is going to require every ounce of energy that is left at home.

Mr. Chairman, the purpose of America is and will be to fight until the only move the German Government can make will be a sincere move for peace, and peace, too, that will mean an absolute security for all the nations of the world, big and little. No one knows how long this will take. The guess of the schoolboy is just as good as the guess of the greatest military genius in Berlin or Paris or London or Washington. It may be

this year; it may be next year. These boys over there, we are told, are anxious to fight until Germany lays down her arms, and then they are going to say to her: "Never again shall you attempt to crucify the nations of the world upon your cross of iron." No; no one knows how long this is going to take, but we do know that the future peace and happiness and security of the world are now in good and safe hands—in the hands of the American boys. And I do not think that they can ever be persuaded to quit until they plant the Stars and Stripes upon the ramparts of the world's freedom.

We have all so often heard it said that Germany has been preparing for this war for 40 years. That is nothing. The United States has been preparing for this war three times 40 years. It is true that Germany has been indulging in the grim practice of building monstrous guns and every other device known to man for the taking of human life. On the other hand, America has been building schoolhouses and churches and has been planting them thick in every city and town and village and hamlet, and on every hillside, and in every valley throughout the entire country. In this way she has been training her boys and girls for peace, but when war comes they have been trained to lay down their implements of peace and take up the armament of war. In this conflict that is now raging in all of its hideous profusion intellect is going to win. The American boys have thus been trained in these great democratic institutions in a way that the soldiers of no other country have ever been trained. Before this war England and Germany could boast of their great colleges of learning where royalty was trained, but the great public-school systems of most of the States of this Union have been the astonishment of the world. In these schools boys and girls in every station of life have been trained side by side. They have been taught the same lessons; they are imbued with the same ideas; they are the soldiers of the only country that from its birth has declared that "all men are created free and equal." I do not want to detract in any way from the courage of the soldiers of any other nation engaged with America in this great struggle for national existence. I shall not. But all of America could not help but experience a thrill of patriotic pride a few weeks ago when an American officer, refusing to obey the commands of a superior foreign officer, ordered a counter charge in which the German forces were driven back. Ever since that moment the German Army has turned its face from the west toward home. And if I should be allowed to venture a guess, I would say they will never stop in this drive until Berlin is reached, perhaps destroyed. These boys will not agree to a premature peace.

When this time has come peace will follow. It will then be such a peace that will leave to the people of every nation the right to choose what path they shall follow. No man or set of men should have the right to determine for another citizenship a form of government under which it should live. This is far from the object of this war. We in America believe that the only righteous form of government is a democracy, where the people rule, but if another people want an autocratic form of government that is their concern and not ours. The President has said that this is a war to "make the world safe for democracy." He has also said that when peace comes "each nation must be left to decide for itself on its form of government." So this war, then, is one in which the entente powers are seeking to make the world a safe place in which the people of all governments may live in happiness.

There is much criticism to-day about criticism of war plans. A criticism that would tear down and at the same time blaze the way for a better and surer victory should not be withheld. A criticism that destroys and at the same time offers nothing better is treason against the American boys in uniform. These young men from every neighborhood throughout the United States are fighting your battles and mine. The great throbbing heart of the American people is with them in their every effort. Men may attempt to seek political advantage on the floor of this House in speech or otherwise, but the relatives of these boys and their friends have very little sympathy for such attempts to gain a personal or political advancement. Men outside of Congress, who are out of office and want in, often stoop low and adopt the most un-American tactics to beguile the thought of the American people from the great battle line in Europe to their own campaigns. The partisan political shyster will try to create dissension at home where there is no dissension, will try to plant suspicion of disloyalty in the minds of the electorate when the fact remains that there is no disloyalty in the ranks of Americans. All have one aim and one purpose, and that is to back to the limit every boy who wears the American uniform. These political pirates who cry disloyalty are agents of the Kaiser. In their efforts to bring political preferment to themselves they will fail, and only Germany will take notice of what they say.

Germany may be led to believe from their rantings that there is a division of opinion in this country as to the prosecution of this war. The opinion is unanimous, despite the hysteria of the office seeker and his friends, that this fight shall continue until there is a peace with a decided victory.

As I said before, this is the most stupendous revenue bill that has just passed that ever burdened the people of any nation; yet I am frank to say that I do not believe any of us much care about the amount in money this war is going to cost if it will only in the end bring back the boys who have left their homes in every community throughout this entire country. That is the thought uppermost in my mind to-day.

In this connection I am glad to be able to say that prior to this war I voted for every measure proposed that looked to the increasing of either the Army or the Navy; every proposal that tended toward a preparedness for this country received my vote. I might add that I voted against every proposal before we entered this conflict that tended to draw us into the vortex of this great struggle. Beginning with the declaration of war, for which I voted, down to the present moment I, in company with most of you, have voted for every measure relating to this war that has been urged by the administration. I will continue to follow this course as long as I have a voice and seat in this body. I have always believed in national preparedness for this country, and I believe in it yet. Before this war was declared I was only anxious for a preparedness as a security against war. And when we come out of this conflict of blood I would like to see the United States so armed that no hostile nation will ever dare venture near our shores. Of course I would like to see a disarmament of the world, but until that time comes I do not want to see this country throw away her guns. If all the other nations of the world are willing for disarmament when peace is finally come, then let it be simultaneous the world over.

Mr. Chairman, of course I do not favor a preparedness of this character because I want war. I advocate it because I do not want war to ever again spread its mantle of desolation over the world. War leaves in its awful wake death and destruction. It bows the head of a nation in deep and lasting sorrow. It strikes a deadly blow at civilization. Yet with all war's horrors, and with all of its miseries, in its ever onward march, civilization has not yet reached the point where it settles all of its disputes by peaceful and orderly methods. But on the other hand, each year invention gives to the world other weapons much more horrible and deadly than did the preceding year. To-day the inventive genius of all mankind is working overtime to give to the world additional weapons for the taking of human life.

Many profess to believe that this conflict will spell the end of war. All right thinking men hope and pray that this prophecy is true, but some without yet knowing what problems the world will face when peace shall again show her welcome smile, are demanding that the United States shall be the first great nation to disarm. These men and women are no doubt good, conscientious, loyal citizens, just as much interested in the welfare of this Nation as you or I, but I can not help but think that many of them are the same men and women who before the war commenced in Europe were predicting that war had deserted the world forever. So sure were they that the dogs of war had been so securely chained that they could never break their fetters, that they had even coaxed the dove of peace to build her nest and hatch her brood in the very mouths of cannon that to-day are belching forth a destruction to the enemies of the world.

Mr. Chairman, it is therefore early to talk about a disarmament for America alone. We must first know the problems that will confront us when that time comes. I sometimes fear there may be future wars. I hope not. Remembering only the past, we know that war has been present ever since time began. Away back yonder when the world was new, down to the present time, there has never been an age in which some country has not been grappling at the throat of some other country in a death struggle for national supremacy. Man in his primitive state fought with clubs. And as time went on he employed other crude instruments with which to wage battle against the enemy until, finally, gunpowder made the rifle possible. Then came the cannon for longer range on both land and sea.

But to-day the awful instruments of death have revolutionized modern warfare. These instruments have crazed the civilized world. Ships, larger and more impregnable, armed with guns so mighty and so deadly that they defy distance and resistance, plow the seas. To-day great armies of men composed of not thousands but millions, tramp the surface of the earth, armed with guns big and little, guns that throw lead and steel and fire and choking gas into the throats of contending armies. To-day great monsters of the sea, whale-

like, swim far under the surface and rising unnoticed, hurl for miles deadly torpedoes that, striking a vulnerable spot of some other great monster that rides the waves, it goes down to the bottom of the sea, forever lost. But, to-day, man is not content to fight on land and on and under sea, but he flies miles high above the surface of the earth, and from his mighty ship that sails the air drops death and destruction down upon the heads of armies and spires of cities, death and destruction that put the very thunderbolts of Jove to shame.

Yet this is modern warfare. This is science battling science. This is the mind of man run riot.

Yet this is the kind of hell into which we have invited the American boy to go, with the hope and firm conviction that out of it all he can point the way to a higher and better and safer civilization for the peoples of the world.

Mr. Chairman, this being his task, we are performing but a small duty when without a dissenting voice we vote money unlimited to support him in his unselfish work in his supreme devotion to his country's cause. The man who would do less has no place in the greatest lawmaking body in the world. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I desire to ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The chair hears none.

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Chairman, I desire to say now that I wish to proceed for 25 minutes without interruption.

Since the House has listened to these patriotic addresses, I hardly expected to be favored with such a large attendance, and I want to thank the Members of the House for waiting until the first speaker who discusses the subject of the bill.

This is the annual Agricultural appropriation bill, which was vetoed by the President.

Mr. McFADDEN. Mr. Chairman, this is an important measure, and I make the point of no quorum.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania makes the point of no quorum. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Evidently there is no quorum present, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The roll was called, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Aswell	Emerson	Kelley, Mich.	Rouse
Bacharach	Estopinal	Kennedy, Iowa	Rowe
Baer	Fairchild, G. W.	Kennedy, R. I.	Rowland
Barkley	Farr	Kettner	Rucker
Bell	Ferris	King	Russell
Bowers	Fess	Kreider	Sanders, N. Y.
Britten	Flood	La Follette	Sanford
Brodbeck	Flynn	LaGuardia	Saunders, Va.
Browning	Fordney	Lazaro	Schall
Butler	Foss	Lea, Cal.	Scott, Pa.
Caldwell	Francis	Lehlbach	Scully
Campbell, Pa.	Freeman	Linthicum	Shackleford
Cannon	Fuller, Mass.	Littlepage	Siegel
Cantrill	Gallivan	London	Sloan
Caraway	Glynn	Longworth	Small
Carew	Gould	Lundeen	Smith, C. B.
Carter, Mass.	Graham, Ill.	McArthur	Snyder
Cary	Graham, Pa.	McClintic	Stevenson
Chandler, N. Y.	Gray, N. J.	McCormick	Stiness
Church	Green, Iowa	McKinley	Sullivan
Cleary	Greene, Mass.	McLaughlin, Pa.	Sweet
Coady	Gregg	Mann	Swift
Connally, Tex.	Griest	Mays	Switzer
Cooper, Ohio	Griffin	Meeker	Tague
Cooper, W. Va.	Hamill	Merritt	Talbott
Copley	Hamilton, N. Y.	Moore, Pa.	Templeton
Costello	Hamlin	Morin	Thomas
Crago	Hastings	Mott	Van Dyke
Cramton	Heaton	Mudd	Vare
Dale, N. Y.	Heintz	Neely	Vinson
Dale, Vt.	Hensley	Nelson	Walton
Davis	Hicks	Nichols, Mich.	Ward
Delaney	Hilliard	Nolan	Watkins
Denton	Hood	Oliver, N. Y.	Watson, Pa.
Dies	Humphreys	Olney	Welling
Dill	Husted	Polk	Wheeler
Dooling	Hutchinson	Powers	Wilson, Ill.
Doughton	Igoe	Purnell	Wise
Drane	Johnson, S. Dak.	Ragsdale	Woods, Iowa
Drukker	Johnson, Wash.	Randall	Zihlman
Dyer	Jones	Rankin	
Eagan	Kahn	Robinson	
Edmonds	Keating	Romjue	

Thereupon the committee rose; and Mr. CRISP having assumed the chair as Speaker pro tempore, Mr. SISSON, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that the committee, having under consideration the Agricultural appropriation bill, and finding itself without a quorum, he had caused the roll to be called and 261 Members answered to their names, and that he presented therewith a list of the absentees for insertion in the Journal and RECORD.

The committee resumed its session.

EMERGENCY WATER-POWER LEGISLATION.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. STEENERSON] is recognized.

Mr. HAUGEN. Will the gentleman yield one minute?

Mr. STEENERSON. Yes.

Mr. HAUGEN. I desire to yield one minute to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS].

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I desire to have read a letter from the President of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, 21 September, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. SIMS: In view of the possibility of three-day adjournments by the House and the absence of a quorum from the city, I venture to write you this hurried note to urge that the emergency power bill be pressed to passage, if possible, before adjournment, as it is of capital and immediate importance as a war measure. I hope that it will be possible for you to obtain the consent of the House to this action.

In haste,
Cordially and sincerely yours,
(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

Hon. THETUS W. SIMS,
House of Representatives.

Mr. NORTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. My time is up.

Mr. NORTON. Did the gentleman ask the President to write that letter?

Mr. SIMS. I will answer all questions when the bill is under consideration.

AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL (H. R. 12714).

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Chairman, the $2.40 wheat having been eliminated by the veto and the 1917 crop having been sold and the 1918 crop largely sold, it is unnecessary to say anything about that question except to say that the wheat raisers of the Northwest patriotically accepted the action of the President, and they also accept loyally the announcement of the guaranty for the 1919 crop at slightly increased prices, being assured by the President in his proclamation on that subject that through a commission of inquiry he will determine what shall be a fair price for that crop.

In view of the fact that last year's price was fixed after inquiry and that that was planted and harvested under conditions that were more favorable, so far as expense is concerned, to the farmer than it will be for the next crop, the farmers of the Northwest feel assured that the price to be ultimately fixed will approximate the price contended for in Congress. It certainly will cost 10 per cent more to produce next year's crop than last year. Scarcity of labor alone will make a difference of that. If $2.20 was fair for 1917, $2.50 will be fair for 1919. The only complaint that I have heard has been that the price-fixing authority has not also been extended to those things that the farmer has to buy.

The farmers of the Northwest also yield patriotically to the war necessity of fixing the price of the wool they raise, and they look with favor upon the announcement carried in this morning's papers that the President is going to fix a fair price on cotton, also. Some of them were beginning to feel that they were discriminated against as a section, and they are glad to learn now the intention of the administration to at least go as far as fixing the price of cotton, which largely enters into the expense of every family and is also a war necessity.

This bill carries $27,000,000 for the purpose of encouraging agriculture, and it is important for Congress to know whether or not the purposes of the bill have been fully accomplished. I want to call attention to-day to one feature of the administration of the laws governing the Department of Agriculture which has been, as we believe, faulty. Some years ago the demand came from the people of the Northwest—from North Dakota, South Dakota, and Minnesota—for Federal grain standards. These grain standards, so far as wheat was concerned, were put into effect by the Secretary of Agriculture at the beginning of the marketing of the last year's crop. Much was hoped for that scientific system devised by the Department of Agriculture for grading grain, it had cost a lot of money for preparatory work. It was perhaps unfortunate that simultaneously with the enforcement of the grain standards act, so far as wheat was concerned, the food-control act went into effect, and under that authority the price of wheat was fixed according to the grades of the Federal standards. Had the people known of the effect that that would have upon the price to the farmer they would have protested, but no one realized the importance of it until it was too late.

Now, those people who have been led to believe that the farmer really received the price fixed by the President for wheat without deduction are mistaken, for when the Food Administra-

tion act went into effect the whole business was revolutionized. The first action taken was to make it certain that the grades determined the absolute price. On top of that the Government raised the commission to be paid by the farmer to the man who sells his wheat—the commission man—from what it had been for 50 years, namely, 1 cent a bushel, to 1 per cent. In ordinary times the price of wheat made no difference. The commission was 1 cent a bushel. But now it was more than doubled. If the farmer shipped directly to the Food Administration Grain Corporation he was charged 1 per cent, or 2¼ cents. If he shipped to a commission house it was the same. That was a deduction from the fixed price of 1¼ cents.

The commission man who sold the grain had nothing to do. He could not get a better price on behalf of the farmer who produced the wheat. That was fixed. The 1 cent a bushel was formerly earned by the diligent salesman who showed the intending buyer the intrinsic merits of the wheat. But here there was no possibility of getting any other price than that determined by the grade.

No. 1 was fixed; No. 2, 3 cents less; No. 3, 6 cents less; and No. 4, 10 cents less, and so on. Now, had these grades been such as to have been tested by experience, it might not have been as disastrous to the farmer as it turned out to be; but they were the most complicated grades that were ever devised, and the rules were so strict that at every turn the farmer was penalized. For each grade there was the requirement that it must be bright in color. It must have no admixture of other wheat, not even to the extent of 1 per cent of other varieties of wheat. It must have a test weight, in the case of No. 1, of 59 pounds. It must have a moisture test of not to exceed 13½ per cent. It must have only one-fourth of 1 per cent of damaged kernels, or of heat-damaged kernels. It must have less than one-half of 1 per cent of inseparable material.

Then there were certain rules in regard to dockage, which compelled the giving away of the valuable dockage that there was in the grain. For instance, if you shipped a carload—and I am speaking of actual cases—a carload of wheat containing 25 bushels of flax mixed with the wheat, which could not be separated, except by machinery, and that flax was worth $3 a bushel, or $75 in a car of a thousand bushels of wheat, yet the buyer of the wheat got that for nothing, and the freight was paid on it, the same as on dirt. No matter what the value of the dockage was, you could not receive pay for that. So the farmers were compelled to give away all the valuable dockage, amounting in the aggregate to millions.

Plump, good wheat, raised on new soil, usually weighs from 60 to 61 pounds per bushel. The requirement of No. 1 was 59 pounds. Here is a farmer who ships in his wheat that weighs 60 or 61 pounds to the bushel.

But the next requirement is that it must have a moisture test of 13½ per cent. If your wheat has 13.6 per cent of moisture, down it goes to grade No. 2. There might be a carload of wheat that would have all that is required under the first requirement and under the second and under the third. It might have some damaged kernels, although it met the other requirements, and then it would go down to No. 2. Or if it had more moisture than 15 per cent it would go down to No. 4, and then the farmer would lose 10 cents a bushel.

And so on with the inseparable material to the end of these six requirements. The result of that was that the farmer was punished when his wheat went below the standard fixed, but he was never rewarded when it went above. For instance, John Doe ships a carload of wheat that weighs 60 pounds to the bushel. Richard Roe, another farmer, ships wheat of the same variety that weighs 58½ pounds to the bushel. That wheat is graded as No. 2, because one-half pound short on test weight. A man who buys these two cars has only to put them together, and then he has all No. 1.

To illustrate further: Here is one car that has the first requirement—it is bright, cool, and sweet; (2) it has no admixture of other wheat; (3) it has only 12 per cent moisture; (4) it has a test weight of 60 pounds; (5) it contains no damaged kernels; (6) but it contains three-tenths of 1 per cent of cockle or vetch and therefore grades No. 2. Here is another car, just the same, but without any weed seeds, but it has one-tenth of 1 per cent of heat-damaged kernels, and it grades No. 2. Here is another car that more than complies with all the requirements, except that it has 13.6 per cent of moisture. Here is another that fulfills all the requirements, the same as the others, but weighs only 58½ pounds, test weight. Here is another that more than fulfills all the requirements, the same as the others also, but it has 1 per cent of red durum wheat, and it is graded No. 2. Mix these six cars together and it will be all No. 1, a gain of $180 on the six cars for a mixing which in a modern elevator can be done in a few minutes. And so throughout the whole list. You can take wheat that meets with these six requirements, six different samples, and they may be higher, and by mixing you can make No. 1, or you may make No. 1 out of No. 4.

The result was that the elevators of Minneapolis became the paradise of the mixer, and he could make sometimes $100 and sometimes $200 on one carload by simply mixing two together. Now, how absurd it is if one man can do this. You see, these grades were fixed absolutely to punish anyone who slightly came below the mark, but would not reward one who exceeded it. These grades were more strict, and there were more classes and more grades to each class, nearly twice over, than there were under the old system in Minnesota, which had given pretty good satisfaction apparently for more than 20 years. There were so many excuses under which the wheat could be graded down that the farmer actually realized only about 90 or 95 per cent of the price to which he was entitled, and he lost on the average at least 10 cents a bushel in addition to the extra charge that he had to pay for commission.

Now you can see that these rules must have been framed without reference to the fact that the grade fixed the price, because if that had been taken into account they would have been modified so as to allow something when the particular wheat excelled the requirements of the grade. I have in my office samples sent me by the Board of Grain Appeals of Minnesota, from Minneapolis, samples that any novice, any man who knows the difference between wheat and barley, can tell, graded No. 4, but which is better than No. 1, or at least as good. That results from the fact that a slight variation of one-tenth of 1 per cent in these requirements runs it down, although it may be plump and hard and sweet and vitreous, and all that, for the purpose of making flour, for making bread. The wheat that in these samples is graded No. 4 excells the higher grades. The object of grades, of course, should be to reflect the milling value, the value for food. Now, if they had anticipated that this would be the result, some modification would have been made or should have been made of the grade, because when the grade did not fix the price the wheat, so far as these primary markets were concerned, like Minneapolis, was sold by sample, and the mistake of the grade was corrected by the bidder. Wheat that had been stacked and sent out dry without any rain on it the bidder could tell, without any chemical analysis, was dry; that it carried perhaps only 12 per cent of moisture. In Minneapolis you could see hundreds of men on the board of trade, each man with a little table, all struggling, in ordinary times, to show that wheat that had been graded No. 2 was actually better than some No. 1, because it was so dry, or had such a plump kernel, and was such a high-test wheat per bushel, and the miller knew that it was true. Now, take it as to the moisture test. The ordinary man, of course, will know that moisture means water, and that if there is 1 per cent more of water in the wheat there is less substance for making flour; consequently, 1 per cent would deteriorate the value of the wheat for making flour about 2¼ cents per bushel.

Of course, we all understand that wheat must have moisture in it. In order to grind wheat it is necessary to dampen it to 15 per cent moisture. Flour itself usually contains 14½ per cent. When all moisture is extracted it undergoes such a chemical change that it ceases to be wheat. The dryest wheat that is ever shipped perhaps contains from 11 to 12 per cent of moisture. Now, if the miller buys that wheat, he allows for that, and if it is graded low for some other reason, he pays an extra price on that sample. In fact, that was the business of the men on the board of trade in these primary markets, to show the merits of that particular wheat, regardless of grade, and it was a common thing to see that No. 1, for instance, sold for 5 cents more and some for 6 cents more than the regular price of No. 2 wheat and some sold at the No. 1 price. So you see that the mistake of inspection was automatically corrected. But when the fixed grades and prices came the farmer suffered. The Government took from the farmer that which was simply up to standard and nothing more, and the miller bought that which was the cream of the market and made a profit. Hence, you will find that under crop year 1917 the millers made enormous profits and so did the elevators. Now, the profit of the elevators and millers, as far as that is concerned, in that year did not go to reduce the cost of living. It was clean velvet to them, because the consumer was charged a price for the flour that was based upon the high price of the wheat.

Mr. McKENZIE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEENERSON. I will yield for a question.

Mr. McKENZIE. I simply want to ask the gentleman whether or not in the primary markets at St. Paul and Minneapolis you have State inspection, or is it Federal inspection of which you are complaining?

Mr. STEENERSON. It is Federal inspection. That has superseded the State inspection. Now, these results caused great dissatisfaction among the farmers, who said that these grades were framed by men who did not realize practical conditions; that they were framed by men who did not realize that the elevators in the country towns had but few bins, so that they could not keep step with all these numerous classes and subclasses and grades, and that they would be mixed, anyway, and the farmer penalized for the mixing. They complained, and they had 18 or 19 different hearings before the Chief of the Bureau of Markets, and hardly anybody at all defended the grades, except a few millers and a few elevator men and mixers in the large centers. But instead of listening to the farmers, to the producers of the wheat, the Agricultural Department absolutely refused to do anything. Then the farmers sent delegations here from South Dakota and North Dakota and Minnesota, their State officers, their public-safety commissions. Representatives of the State government called on the congressional delegations here, and we all went to the Department of Agriculture first and stated our grievances without avail. Then we went to the White House and presented them there without avail.

Then we asked for a remedy for this defect in the administration of the law. I want to emphasize here that Congress has been blamed for this result; that the farmers have been defrauded out of a large part of the price that the administration had guaranteed them because of the passage of the grain-standard act. That has been a common complaint.

I have tried to point out that the fault was not in the law, but was in administering it and fixing the grades, and the grievance could have been remedied any time by the authority that caused it.

We came to Congress, introduced bills—my colleague, Mr. ANDERSON, a member of the Committee on Agriculture, introduced a bill and I introduced a bill—to see if we could not get the farmers represented on the board fixing the grain standard. We had a short hearing before the Committee on Agriculture, but it was postponed and never has been heard of since. So, in behalf of the farmers of Minnesota and the Northwest, I want to enter my protest against this treatment. We have exhausted every remedy in appealing to the administrative authorities and tried our best to get relief by legislation, but we have failed.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEENERSON. Yes.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. The gentleman says he had a short hearing before the Agricultural Committee. Did not the gentleman have all the hearings that he desired before that committee?

Mr. STEENERSON. No; I have been asking for hearings, but the chairman was absent and I could not get one.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. I do not think anybody refused the gentleman a hearing; he appeared once or twice before the committee.

Mr. STEENERSON. Well, we have had no action on the bill; that is sure. I want to say that if the Republicans were in control of this House and the gentleman from Mississippi should come before me as a member of the Committee on Agriculture or before this House and ask me to help him because the enforcement of the cotton-standard act was onerous and unfair to the cotton producers, I would guarantee that I would give him a sympathetic ear and try to remedy the trouble. We have complained of the administration of the grain-standard act, we have complained to the executive authorities and to Congress repeatedly, not only through the Members of Congress but through the constituted State authorities, and have had no satisfaction except to this extent:

The food administration has given some relief as to these grades, and I congratulate the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN] and others who went to Mr. Hoover and protested against the tyranny of the agricultural chief of the Bureau of Markets in this matter.

When Mr. H. N. Owen, publisher of Farm, Stock, and Home, the leading agricultural paper in the Northwest, complained to Mr. Hoover of the injustice of this operation against the farmers, Mr. Hoover said, "I know the grades are wrong, you need not tell me, because I have $500,000 in cash in my treasury which I gained because the grades which I sold at were better than the grades I bought at, and I do not know what to do with the money."

Now, that was not confidential. He bought about ninety million bushels of wheat, and the grades turned out so much more favorable to him that, as he said, he had a half a million dollars. If he was ahead a half a million dollars, how much were the mixers in Minneapolis ahead? Five or six times more, because Mr. Hoover's purchase was of the wheat that just came up to the standard, while the millers got the cream of the business.

I repeat, that if a similar situation had existed in the administration of the cotton-standard act, notwithstanding there is no cotton raised in my district, I should have been glad to join in procuring a remedy of faulty administration that resulted in depriving the honest farmer who labors and tills the soil producing both cotton and wheat.

What was the relief that was granted, so far as this year's crop is concerned. The relief was very simple. Mr. Hoover simply ordered the grain corporation to permit competitive bidding, provided the millers charged $10.01 for the flour.

That has restored competitive bidding at the market in Minneapolis to the extent that this limitation upon the price of flour will permit, and the loss by faulty grading has been to that extent diminished. What I have said about the variation in the real milling value of the same grade of wheat is well illustrated in the clipping from the market reports in the Minneapolis Journal of September 18 last, which follows:

CASH SALES SEPTEMBER 18.

Wheat: No. 1 dark northern, 8 cars, $2.24½; 5, $2.25; 3, $2.24; 1, $2.20. No. 1 northern, 7 cars, $2.17; 7, $2.18; 2, $2.18; 2, $2.15; 1, $2.18; 1, $2.19; 1, $2.14½; pt., $2.21; 51, $2.21; 1, 2.22½. No. 1 red, 2 cars, $2.17; 1, $2.16. No. 2 dark northern, 1 car, $2.23; 1, $2.19; No. 2, northern, 1 car $2.13; 2, $2.11; 1, $2.10½; 4, $2.18; 2, $2.19; 1, $2.12½. No. 3 northern, 1 car, $2.18; 3, $2.07; 2, $2.14½; 1, $2.16; 1, $2.15. No. 4 northern, 1 car, $2.02; 1, $2.13. No. 5 northern, 1 car, $2.07; 1, $2.07. No. 2 mixed, 1 car, $2.09½. No. 1 mixed, 1, $2.20; 1, $2.20½; 1, $2.20. No. 4, A, durum, 1 car, $2.15; No. 2, A, 1, $2.20½; No. 1 mixed, 1, $2.16½; No. 1, B, 1, $2.15½; No. 2 mixed, 1, $2.14; No. 1 mixed, $2.17½; No. 1, A, 2, $2.24½; No. 2, A, 1, $2.21½; No. 1, 2, $2.21; No. 2, 2, $2.18½.

Corn: No. 3 yellow, 2 cars, $1.65; No. 6 yellow, 1, $1.58.

Oats: No. 3 white, 1 car, 67c.; 2, 70½c.; 1, 69½c.; sample grade, 1, 70c.; No. 4 white, 1, 68½c.; No. 3 white, 2, 69½c.; No. 4 white, 3, 69c.; No. 3 white, 2, 70½c.; standard white, 1, 71½c.; mixed grade, 1, 68c.; No. 3 white, 2,000 bu., 70c.; 1 car, 70c.; No. 4 white, 1, 70c.; 1, 69½c.; 1, 68½c.; 1, 68½c.; 1, 68c.

Rye: No. 1, 5 cars, $1.59½; No. 2, 15, $1.59½; No. 1, 2, $1.59½; No. 3, 1, $1.58; No. 1, 1, $1.59½; No. 2, 6, $1.59½; No. 1, 1, $1.59½; No. 2, 1, $1.59; No. 1, 2, $1.59½; No 2, 3, $1.59½; 1, $1.64; 1, $1.59½.

Flax: No. 1, 2,100 bu., $4.30; 1,200, $4.25; 1 car, $4.20; 1,000 bu., $4.23; 1,250, $4.24½; 1 car, $4.32; 550 bu., $4.23.

Barley: No. 4, 3 cars, 94.c; 3, 96c.; No. 5, 2, 91½c.; 1, 92½c.; sample grade, 1, 86c.; No. 5, 1, 94c.; 1, 92c.; 1, 91c.; 1, 93c.; sample, 1, 88c.; 8, 92c.; 12, 94c.; 2, 93½c.; 2, 96c.; 5, 93c.; 5, 90c.; 1, 93c.; 4, 91c.; 1, 97c.; 2, 95c.

It will be seen that there is a difference of several cents in different numbers of cars of the same grade of wheat, owing to the fact that the grade did not represent the true milling value of the wheat, and the miller or mixer who bought it knew it and paid the price. This limited competition at Minneapolis, however, does not help the small farmer who can not ship his grain directly to that market. This competition does not extend to the country. The country shipper has still to depend on the grade, and the grade fixes the price as above.

While we have been able to get this small concession from the Food Administration, we have not been able to get any substantial relief from the Department of Agriculture. After all the hearings and all the agitation the Chief of the Bureau of Markets last spring issued what he called "tentative grades" and ordered a hearing at Minneapolis thereon. These tentative grades were quite an improvement, in the opinion of the wheat growers, over the old ones. The farmers came by the hundreds from the Northwest to the Minneapolis hearings, including the commissioner of agriculture of North Dakota, Mr. Hagen, but when the new grades were announced there were but very slight changes made in the old ones. Mr. Hagen wrote to the Chief of the Bureau of Markets and complained that the promised relief in the tentative grades had been withdrawn, and the Chief of the Bureau of Markets wrote him a letter defending the new grades. Thereupon the Public Safety Commission of Minnesota took a hand and wrote a letter to Mr. Brand, the Chief of the Bureau of Markets, which I will print at the end of my remarks here in the RECORD. This letter completely answers Mr. Brand's contentions and shows up the opportunities for undue profits on the part of the grain trade at the expense of the farmers.

Last month, while I was home during the recess, I went to Minneapolis to inquire into the administration of the grain-standards act, and spent two days there. I visited the laboratories of the Grain Inspection Service, the offices of the Federal Grain Board of Appeals, and I went with the inspectors into the grain cars and saw them take out samples. I visited the board of trade, where the sales are actually made. I examined the model flour mill and bakery where the milling and bread-making value of the different wheats were tested. While I was there I was called to St. Paul to attend a conference at the governor's office to consider the complaints of the administration of the Federal grain-standards act. It seems that an agitation had been started to reestablish the old Minnesota grades

and inspection in intrastate grain traffic. The Secretary of Agriculture had written to the governor protesting against it and suggesting a conference to adjust the differences. The governor had called in the chief inspectors of Duluth and Minneapolis and the members of the boards of grain appeals of those places and the public-safety commission. As a result of these deliberations a special committee, consisting of the members of the two boards of grain appeals, was appointed to consider the amendments to the Federal grain grades that should be proposed on behalf of the State. This committee reported, and the governor transmitted the proposed changes, which I will also insert in the RECORD. It will thus be seen that every effort has been made to obtain relief from the Department of Agriculture. Judging from our past treatment, however, we have very little hope of any results.

I have called attention to these grievances at this time because this very bill contains an appropriation of over $2,000,000 for the Bureau of Markets and $456,000 for the enforcement of the grain-standards act, and I want to give fair warning now that if this bureau continues its unjust treatment of the wheat raisers of the Northwest, we will have something to say when the next appropriation for this bureau comes up.

STATE OF MINNESOTA,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
St. Paul, September 11, 1918.

Hon. CHARLES J. BRAND,
Chief of Bureau of Markets, Washington, D. C.

Re modifications of grain standards for wheat.

MY DEAR MR. BRAND: Adverting to your telegram of August 16, I write to advise no action was taken at that time with respect to the adoption of Minnesota grades for Minnesota, but as a result of said meeting the following changes and modifications in grade standards have been suggested to me as advisable:

1. That the subclass red spring wheat be eliminated.
2. That the qualification "bright" for grade No. 1 be eliminated in the hard red spring and durum classes, except in the subclasses dark northern spring and amber durum.
3. That grade No. 5 be eliminated in the hard red spring and durum classes.
4. That the test weight per bushel of No. 4 dark northern spring be changed to 51 pounds, and that of grades Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, northern spring, to 57, 56, 54, and 50 pounds, respectively, and that of No. 4 durum to 52 pounds.
5. That in the hard red spring and durum classes the percentage of moisture permitted be increased to 15 per cent in all grades from 1 to 4, inclusive; and that all wheat containing more than 15 per cent moisture be classed as damp, but otherwise graded as qualified, with statement of the percentage of moisture; in other words, that it be graded in the same manner as smutty wheat.
6. That in the hard red spring and durum classes the percentage of rye permitted in grades Nos 1, 2, 3, and 4 be fixed as 2, 3, 5, and 7, respectively; and the percentage of foreign material, except rye, be fixed at 1, 2, 3, and 5, respectively, of which not more than one-half, 1, 2, and 4, respectively, may be other than cereal grain.
7. That in the hard red spring and durum classes the total percentage of damaged kernels in grades Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 be fixed at 2, 4, 10, and 15, respectively; of which not more than two-tenths, one-half, 1, and 2 may consist of heat-damaged kernels.
8. That in the hard red spring and durum classes the percentage of other wheats in grades Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 be fixed at 5, 10, 10, and 10, respectively, of which not more than 2, 5, 10, and 10 may be common white or white club.
9. That dockage be required to be divided into two classes, cereal grains and flaxseed, to be designated as class No. 1; all other dockage as class No. 2.

A table has been prepared showing more succinctly the changes so suggested.

Kindly let me hear from you as to what it is possible to do in connection with the proposed modifications.

Yours, very truly,

(Signed) J. A. A. BURNQUIST,
Governor of Minnesota.

[Copy of a letter to Hon. Charles J. Brand, Chief of Bureau of Markets, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., answering his letter to the commissioner of agriculture of the State of North Dakota, known as "Service and Regulatory Announcement No. 34."]

ST. PAUL, MINN., *July 12, 1918.*

Hon. CHARLES J. BRAND,
Chief of Bureau of Markets,
United States Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As farmers and wheat producers, we have read and considered with much interest your letter of May 16, 1918, to the commissioner of agriculture of North Dakota, which letter you publish and distribute as "Service and Regulatory Announcements No. 34." It appears to have been written in reply to a letter of the North Dakota commissioner, in which he criticizes the issuing of "Service and Regulatory Announcements No. 32," on March 5, 1918, a tentative revision of the official Federal grain standards for wheat, and thereafter on April 15, 1918, after five public hearings on said proposed standards, the issuing and promulgating through the Secretary of Agriculture of "Service and Regulatory Announcements No. 33" as the official grain standards for wheat effective July 15, 1918. We have made a somewhat careful comparison of the standards set forth in the document numbered 32, the proposed standards, and those in No. 33, the standards adopted, and we are as much surprised as the North Dakota commissioner to find that very slight changes have been made from the old Federal standards of 1917, not enough to afford any substantial relief from the injustices of the old standards, which were justly complained of by all the producers. We are still more surprised to find that, with a few practically insignificant exceptions, none of the charges proposed in the tentative standards have been adopted.

You can not but admit that the Federal standards of 1917 were unjust and resulted in almost universal dissatisfaction to the producers. Mr. Livingston, of your department, stated at the public hearing on the tentative grades held at Indianapolis on March 16, 1918:

"Complaints came from all parts of the United States regarding all classes of wheat. The least complaint was in the Pacific Northwest, but complaints have come from all the territory east of the Rocky Mountains, and they came principally from country grain dealers and producers."

He made the further statement:

"We formulated the grades which are now in effect, and when fixed prices and other war measures came in we received complaints from everybody except the millers."

We understand these complaints, admittedly well founded, were the very reason why the tentative standards in No. 34 were put forth, but it now appears they were not adopted and that the old standards on which these complaints were made are practically all left in force. If the producers and smaller grain dealers were not satisfied before, it follows that they are not satisfied now. If they had just cause for complaint under former conditions, as you appear to have recognized, why should they not still be complaining? You ask, "Have the farmers been given a square deal in the Federal standards for Hard Red Spring Wheat?" Your own department appears to have conceded that they were not given a square deal under the 1917 grades. As they are given the same deal now, you appear to have answered your own question in the negative. But to give you the benefit of the farmers' and smaller grain dealers' answer to your question, we will state that an inquiry was addressed by the chief grain inspector of Minnesota to all of the local warehouses and country mills in the State, 809 in number, asking how many favored the Federal grades and how many favored the old Minnesota grades, with the following result:

Warehouses.	Number favoring Federal grades.	Number favoring Minnesota grades.	Number noncommittal.	Percentage favoring Federal grades.	Percentage favoring Minnesota grades.	Noncommittal.
Line houses	13	81	.....	13.8	86.2	.....
Farmers' houses	59	243	.....	19.5	80.5	.....
Country mills	65	65	.....	50	50	.....
Independent houses	45	213	.....	17.4	82.6	.....
Noncommittal	.....	.....	25	.....	.....	.....
Total	182	602	25	.....	.....	.....
Total percentages	.....	.....	.....	22.5	74.4	3.1

The following is an expression of opinion from 661 local warehousemen in the State of North Dakota in relation to the present Federal grain grades:

Houses.	Favoring Federal grades.	Favoring Minnesota grades.	Total houses.	Percentage favoring Federal grades.	Percentage favoring Minnesota grades.
Farmers, cooperative, and independent houses	195	466	661	29.5	70.5

In your letter to the North Dakota commissioner you say:

"I regret that the farmers of North Dakota, or any other farmers, were led to expect any particular standards. The department at no time prior to the actual promulgation of the standards made any statement, either directly or indirectly, to any one individual or group of individuals, giving any advance information as to the requirements of the amended standards. It would seem, therefore, that anyone who wittingly or unwittingly led the farmers to expect any particular standards assumed a responsibility which doubtless will result in some misunderstandings."

Let us see if anyone has been guilty of giving advance information or leading farmers to expect any particular standards. The Federal grades first became operative on August 1, 1917. In S. and R. A. No. 32, being the promulgation of the proposed changes in these standards, the Secretary of Agriculture states that in November and December, 1917, public hearings were held to determine whether those standards satisfactorily met existing marketing conditions. He then says:

"Advice and suggestions received through letters, in personal conferences, and at the hearings, developed the fact that the standards for wheat, which were formulated for the requirements of trade under normal competitive conditions, should be revised to meet present market requirements.

"After full consideration of all the suggestions presented, a draft of proposed standards has been prepared on the basis of the suggestions, which had in view for the most part present marketing conditions."

This "draft of proposed standards" is S. and R. A. No. 32, and it follows and forms a part of the foregoing announcement of the Secretary of Agriculture. It would seem that "a draft of proposed standards" is at least in the nature of "advance information," and would have a tendency to lead the farmers to expect the standards therein proposed. It would not appear difficult to determine who has been guilty of giving this advance information and leading farmers to expect particular standards, and who has thereby assumed the responsibility for some misunderstandings. Whether this was done "wittingly or unwittingly," the effect is the same.

I would like to point out a few other wide discrepancies between S. and R. A. No. 32, promulgating the proposed grades, and your letter, which you claim is applicable thereto. In the former it is stated, over the signature of the Secretary of Agriculture:

"Under present abnormal conditions mixtures of different classes of wheat, admixtures of rye and other factors which influence color, texture, and loaf volume of bread, do not play nearly so important a part in the marketing of wheat as they did under prewar conditions."

This statement, in connection with what has already been quoted from the same document, shows that the standards were to be revised to meet

abnormal conditions, which conditions not only include those stated but also include the fixing of absolute prices by the Federal Administration. These abnormal conditions all still obtain; normal marketing conditions have not yet returned, nor is there any prospect that they will for some time to come. One of these abnormal conditions is the allowance of a considerable admixture of rye and other substitutes in flour used for bread. But in your letter to the North Dakota commissioner, you say:

"You will agree that permitting as much as 1 per cent of rye in No. 1, 2 per cent in No. 2, 3 per cent in No. 3, 5 per cent in No. 4, and 7 per cent in No. 5 is a very generous allowance and may prove, under normal marketing conditions, to be unsatisfactory to the great majority of our farmers who have no rye, or practically no rye, in their wheat."

It seems to us but natural that the farmer would conclude from Service and Regulatory Announcements No. 32 that he was about to be given stardards to meet abnormal marketing conditions, but your letter appears to advise him that the standards actually adopted have been prepared to meet normal marketing conditions.

You also state, "The presence of rye, even in small percentages, influences adversely the milling value of the wheat." Permit me to call your attention to Bulletin No. 328, issued by the United States Department of Agriculture on December 30, 1915, in which, on page 12, this statement is made:

"The presence of rye in wheat has a detrimental effect on the loaf value, and when more than 3 per cent of this ingredient is added the color and texture of the bread will be indisputably injured."

We have been furnished by the board of grain appeals of this State a report of baking tests which corroborates the foregoing statement made by your department. These tests show that the finest and highest grade of Pillsbury's best flour produced a loaf which graded 100 in color and 100 in quality. Flour made from No. 1 dark northern spring wheat with 3 per cent of rye added produced a loaf which graded exactly the same—100 in color and 100 in quality. Again, flour made from No. 1 dark northern spring with an admixture of 1½ per cent of rye and 1½ per cent of barley produced a loaf which graded 98½ in color and 100 in quality. Flour made from No. 1 dark northern spring wheat with 3 per cent of barley added produced a loaf which graded 99½ in color and 100 in quality. You state that allowing 1 per cent of rye in No. 1, 2 per cent in No. 2, and 3 per cent in No. 3 is a very generous allowance.

It is certainly generous to the millers. It permits them to make the same grade of flour from No. 3 as from No. 1 and get it for 6 cents a bushel less.

You further state that the average amount of rye admixture in all samples of all grades of hard red spring wheat examined by the department in the six years from 1911 to 1916, inclusive, was only one-tenth of 1 per cent. We can not believe that you wish to be understood as meaning that where wheat contained rye admixture it averaged only one-tenth of 1 per cent. We assume you took as a basis all of the wheat examined in the six years, both that containing rye and that containing no rye, and then took the total amount of rye found and dividing it by the total amount of wheat obtained this percentage. This method of figuring is misleading. Many cars might contain no rye, others a slight percentage, and others a considerable quantity. What we are dealing with is the fact that wheat is graded down to No. 2 when it contains 1.1 per cent of rye, and down to No. 3 when it contains 2.1 per cent of rye, when the millers can make exactly as good a grade of flour and receive exactly the same price from wheat containing as high as 3 per cent of rye as when it contains none. As between the producer and the miller, who is getting the "square deal?"

The further misleading character of your figures is shown by bulletin No. 328, before referred to, in which the statement is made on page 2 that an analysis of samples of wheat from the crops of 1911, 1912, and 1913 shows that rye was found in 83.1 per cent of the hard winter wheat samples secured and in 39.2 per cent of the spring and Durum wheat samples secured. You further state that if a relatively large amount of rye were permitted in the higher grades of wheat a strong inducement is offered to mix rye in all wheat whenever rye is cheaper than wheat, as is usually the case. The farmer has in some manner been led to believe that unusual conditions are now prevailing and that the standards ought to be governed accordingly. Since the advent of the war rye has been higher than wheat, sometimes a dollar a bushel higher; but the farmer finds that when he has it in his wheat, although in such small quantity that it does not affect its milling value, it reduces most substantially his grade and price. You say by permitting the mixing of rye the farmer who grows and markets wheat with little or no rye in it will be obliged to sell it on the same basis as wheat mixed with rye, and that this would mean a discount to the "many" farmers who produce pure wheat in order to benefit the relatively "few" farmers who produce wheat with rye mixture. The bulletin of your own department, above referred to, showing that 83 per cent of the hard winter wheat samples and 39 per cent of other wheat samples contained rye would not seem to indicate that very many farmers produced pure wheat and that there are few farmers who produce wheat with rye mixture; in fact, this same bulletin shows that there are no farmers who produce absolutely pure wheat.

In view of what has been said, we can scarcely understand your statement that the present Federal grades reflect fairly and sympathetically the milling values of the various qualities of hard red spring wheat. In an open competitive market the price is what reflects the milling value, but under fixed prices there is nothing but the grades which can reflect these values. The grain corporation, in fixing the prices, appear to have assumed that the grades would fairly reflect the milling value. What we said heretofore and shall say hereafter will simply demonstrate that the grades do not do this.

You state that No. 1 northern under the old Minnesota standards and No. 2 northern of the Federal standards are practically identical. Following this to its logical conclusion, we may conclude that No. 2 of all subclasses under the Federal grades would grade No. 1 under the old Minnesota grades. You then state that out of 75,563 cars of hard red spring wheat inspected August 1, 1917, to March 1, 1918, 35,225, or 46.62 per cent, graded No. 1 and 21,995, or 28.11 per cent, graded No. 2. It would seem to follow that, had the old Minnesota grades been in force, 57,220 cars, or 75.73 per cent, would have graded No. 1. There was then a loss of 3 cents a bushel to the producer on 21,995 cars, or 29.11 per cent, under the Federal grades. Further analyzing your statement, it would seem to follow that No. 3 Federal standards would grade No. 2 under the old Minnesota grades and that No. 4 would grade No. 3, etc. From the records of the Minnesota Inspection Department it appears that one-third of the 1917 crop graded No. 1, leaving two-thirds to grade No. 2 or less. The producers then, according to your own figures, would have received for this two-thirds of their crop 3 cents per bushel more than under the old Minnesota grades. In the northwestern spring-wheat belt the 1917 crop was 183,952,000 bushels, of which two-thirds is 122,635,666 bushels, which at 3 cents a bushel amounts to a total loss of $3,679,039.98. It is estimated that the 1918 crop will approximate that of 1915, which was 322,977,000 bushels, of which two-thirds is 215,318,000, which at 3 cents per bushel amounts to a loss of $6,759,540, the estimated loss on the 1918 crop. Small wonder the producers prefer to go back to the old Minnesota grades.

Your argument that the old Minnesota "No. 1 hard" grade was so stringent that but a small percentage of the crops of 1911 to 1916, inclusive, got into it, is not consistent with your statement that 31.65 per cent of the 1917 crop would have gone into that grade. It seems to us the fact that only a smaller percentage of the crop from 1911 to 1916 graded No. 1 is attributable to the quality of the crop rather than the grade standard. Again, you state, and use as a basis for argument, that No. 2 northern is the present commercial contract grade. This is not correct and the argument based on it should fall with it. The contract grade is No. 2 red spring wheat. This contract grade is fixed by the chamber of commerce and how it can be said that it furnishes a basis for figuring that the producers received a premium on their wheat under fixed prices is beyond our comprehension. Using your own language, did you make that statement wittingly or unwittingly? You figured that inspection of carload lots of hard red spring wheat entitled to premium 1917–18 shows a premium above contract received by the producer of from 1 cent to 7 cents, and you figure it on a basis of the price of $2.14 on No. 2 northern spring. We can just as consistently take the actual contract grade No. 2 red spring at the price of $2.12 and figure a premium of from 1 cent to 9 cents. Neither method of figuring puts one penny more into the pocket of the producers.

As to the Federal standards enabling the seller to receive a premium, the grain trade, as we have stated, adopts No. 2 red spring as the contract grade. The seller can deliver anything above No. 3, at contract price, but he can not collect any premium over the contract price. In fulfillment of his contract, he can deliver No. 3, dark northern, No. 3 northern, or No. 3 red spring, but in either case he must allow a discount of 5 cents a bushel. The No. 3 dark northern is at present higher than the No. 2 red spring, yet the seller must allow a discount of 5 cents per bushel.

Again, as we have before shown, No. 3 of any of these grades, may have been graded down on account of admixture of 2.1 per cent rye, and would make exactly as good a grade of flour. Nevertheless, the seller must give a discount of 5 cents per bushel. The premium under the Federal grades appears to be going in the wrong direction.

You appear to argue that the Federal grades are to be credited with abolishing spread in price. You proceed to show, however, that the result has been accomplished—as, of course, it must have been—by the fixing of a flat price by the administration on December 3, 1917. You state that under the old Minnesota grades, a spread in price of as much as 17 cents occurred in a single day, in No. 1 northern wheat. We find that under the Federal grades, in a single day—August 20, 1917—there was a spread of 40 cents on No. 1 northern, 40 cents on No. 2 northern, and 30 cents on No. 3 northern. The records show a much greater range in prices from the time of the adoption of the Federal grades to the time of the absolute fixing of prices than has ever been known in any corresponding period.

You state that farmers and representatives of the grain-growing interests were given every opportunity to present their claims at the various hearings, and that their suggestions have received careful consideration. Resolutions adopted by the representatives of the great grain-growing States, to wit, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Washington, and Idaho, were presented at the Minneapolis hearing. It was earnestly urged that 15 per cent of moisture should be allowed in all grades. It would seem to one not an expert that, if 15 per cent of moisture will spoil No. 1 or No. 2 wheat, it will also spoil No. 3. It would seem that the moisture content, if not sufficient to cause actual deterioration, should be the same in all grades. In the official grades promulgated, there was allowed in the hard red spring and durum classes 14 per cent in No. 1, 14½ per cent in No. 2, 15 per cent in No. 3, and in all other classes 13½ per cent in No. 1, 14 per cent in No. 2, and 14½ per cent in No. 3.

It was also urged that the percentage of other wheat in grades 1, 2, and 3 should be 10 per cent. In No. 1 dark northern, if the wheat contains 10 per cent of other hard wheats, its milling and bread-producing qualities are certainly not affected. In the grades promulgated, only 5 per cent of other wheat is allowed in No. 1, and 10 per cent in all other grades, and No. 1 only admits 2 per cent of durum and 5 per cent in No. 2. Durum is an important factor in this market; why do you ignore it?

It was urged that 3 per cent of rye or barley, either singly or in combination, was clearly shown not to affect the milling and bread-producing qualities of the wheat, and that such amount should be allowed in No. 1. In the official grades, only 1 per cent is allowed in No. 1, 2 per cent in No. 2, and 3 per cent in No. 3.

It was also urged that there is found in wheat large quantities of valuable dockage, such as barley, oats, and flax, for which dockage the producer receives nothing; and it was urged that the following clause be added to the promulgation of official grades (which, by the way, is the same as is provided by the Minnesota statutes): "All dockage having value must be noted and the amount thereof specified on the inspector's certificate, the price-fixing board to determine the compensation to be paid for dockage having value." This request, which would give the producer something for what he now gives outright to the miller, was ignored.

These are but a few of the many amendments suggested by the grain-growing interests; and we can not find by careful comparison of the resolutions presented and the grades promulgated that you have adopted a single suggestion, either in whole or in part.

You state that the tentative grades as published in "Service and Regulatory Announcements No. 32" did not represent the final views of the department at that time, but were announced for the purpose of securing constructive criticism and advice. The letter of the Secretary of Agriculture, appended to the document, states that the tentative revision was made after 18 public hearings were held and after full consideration of all the suggestions presented. In other words, the grain-growing interests were led to believe that the tentative standards as promulgated were themselves the result of constructive criticism and advice. It would appear that the North Dakota commissioner is justified in asking from what source came the constructive criticism and advice which led to the almost complete revocation of the proposed standards and the substantial return to the old ones, which a member of your own department has stated were satisfactory to no one but the millers.

C. H. MARCH, Litchfield, Minn.,
THOS. E. CASHMAN, Owatonna, Minn.,
Members of Minnesota Public Safety Commission.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. SINNOTT].

Mr. SINNOTT. Mr. Chairman, I got this brief time to-day during the consideration of this Agricultural bill to call to the attention of the House some of the anomalies, inconsistencies, and discriminations in the operation and practice of the various departments of the Government. We were told that the Overman consolidation act would bring about cooperation and harmony, articulation and consolidation, and all those other conditions necessary to a proper coordination of the various departments which we were so anxious to accomplish.

We are told—it is a trite saying, and the billboards have been placarded all over the country with the phrase—that "food will win the war." That is one of the reasons why there is an appropriation in the Agricultural bill—H. R. 9054—now under consideration, of $27,875,353 to stimulate food production; and in the bill which will be considered next Monday, H. R. 11945, there is an appropriation of over $11,000,000 for the purpose of stimulating food production.

This money is all to be expended out of the Treasury of the United States for the announced and avowed purpose of increasing food production.

In view of the desire to increase food production the people in my district, in Malheur County, Oreg., supposed that they would be permitted and encouraged to increase food production by expending their own money out of their own pockets. We have in that county what is known as the Warm Springs irrigation district, a municipal corporation or quasi one, a political subdivision of the State. On this Warm Springs project there have been irrigated for a number of years about 12,000 acres of land. They have water only sufficient for partial irrigation, not for full irrigation. By the expenditure of $750,000 they will fully irrigate and increase the production on the 12,000 acres next year 50 per cent, and in addition will irrigate in 1919 10,000 additional acres; that is equivalent to 16,000 new acres for 1919. In the year 1920 another 10,000 additional acres could be irrigated. I will tell you something about the fertility of the land.

Where they have been irrigating, they have raised 120 bushels of corn to the acre. They can raise on this project from 30 to 50 bushels of wheat to the acre. If they could get the water for next year, they would raise approximately 500,000 additional bushels of wheat or other food equivalents. They desired to sell bonds to put this land completely under irrigation. They first went out among the neighbors, the merchants and farmers in the county, and there were some $400,000 worth of bonds subscribed. Then the matter was called to the attention of a bonding company in San Francisco. That company said it would take all of the bonds—$750,000 worth—so the district applied to the Capital Issues Committee for an approval of this proposed bond sale. This matter has been taken up by Senator CHAMBERLAIN, by Senator MCNARY, and myself, and by other members of our delegation, also by the Idaho delegation. We have had it before the Capital Issues Committee for about two months. Last Wednesday our application was disapproved. When I first took the matter up, several weeks ago, I was told by the secretary or the assistant secretary of the committee that everything looked favorable; that they were waiting for a report from the West from their agricultural agent; that they had received telegraphic information that that report was favorable. The next week I was told that Secretary McAdoo had issued an order or request for the curtailment of all municipal expenditures; that no irrigation-district applications for bond issues would be approved unless there were very exceptional circumstances and conditions surrounding the project. We thought this was an exceptional project, because it was not a new project. It was not a prospective project, but it was a going project. We would increase the production by 50 per cent on 12,000 acres, put in 10,000 acres more next year and 10,000 acres the following year. I was informed last Wednesday that our application had been rejected. I was first told prior to that that it might interfere with the liberty-loan drive. Our people do not want to do a thing to interfere with war activities or the liberty-loan drive. So our people promised, and the bonding company agreed, not to resell those bonds until the liberty-loan drive was in the clear, but notwithstanding that the application was rejected.

I was told last Wednesday that one of the reasons was that the War Industries Board had made a special request that this application should be rejected so that raw material might be conserved. There will be very little raw material used. All we need to do this fall is to build a dam. We have the necessary material there on the ground; we will need a little cement and we can get that from Utah, and I so informed the Capital Issues Committee. There will be absolutely no interference with any of the war activities or with the next liberty-loan drive, and it seems to me if we had the proper cooperation, the proper harmony between the various departments, that a project like this would be approved. It has been approved by the Reclamation Service. The Director of the Reclamation Service sent in the strongest kind of indorsement to the Capital Issues Committee. Secretary Lane has twice requested that there be an appropriation by the Congress in order to take up the work upon this particular project. We do not want to interfere with the war-time activities or the next liberty loan, yet it seems to me it is a strange anomaly when in the bill under consideration $27,000,000 are appropriated out of the public Treasury and $11,000,000 in the bill to be considered next Monday, all to increase food production, to deny the people in my district, the Warm Spring Irrigation District, the right, the privilege of going into their own pockets and spending their own money in a way that will increase next year wheat production by 500,000 bushels, or other food equivalents.

It seems to me that the various departments lack that harmony, that coordination and cooperation, or articulation, whatever you may wish to call it, that we should have in order to increase our food production, when such a project as the Warm Springs District is disapproved. You would think that the Government would gladly avail itself of this opportunity to increase food production, especially as it will not cost the Treasury one cent, whereas the two bills before the House call for nearly $40,000,000 out of the Treasury.

That is not the only anomaly and discrimination to which I wish to direct your attention. The approval of a seven hundred and fifty thousand dollar bond issue, not costing the Government one cent, is refused to the people of my district and State. This has been a dream of theirs for years, that they shall have increased irrigation in this section, that they shall enlarge an oasis in a semidesert and raise alfalfa, hogs, wheat, and other food products, and they are willing to pay for that out of their own pockets, not asking one cent out of the Treasury of the United States. That, however, is refused. On the other hand, listen to this: Here I have a copy of the Washington Post of September 8, with these headlines:

McAdoo may lend the B. & M. $20,000,000.—Plans to end New England transportation difficulties.

I wonder how much raw material that will take. Surely more than our little irrigation district.

It is proposed to take $20,000,000 out of the Treasury of the United States, and Secretary McAdoo is willing to advance that to the Boston & Maine Railroad. Yet in my district we are denied the privilege of spending our own money to increase the food production. The article says:

Mr. McAdoo also said he thought he could safely promise that New England would not see a renewal of the transportation difficulties of the past winter. A plan for the rehabilitation of the Boston & Maine Railroad with the aid of a loan of $20,000,000 from the Railroad Administration was announced by William G. McAdoo.

How much raw material will that $20,000,000 rehabilitation take?

I shall insert the article from the Washington Post in the RECORD. Here it is:

M'ADOO MAY LEND B. & M. TWENTY MILLION—PLANS TO END NEW ENGLAND TRANSPORTATION DIFFICULTIES.

BOSTON, *September* 7.

A plan for the rehabilitation of the Boston & Maine Railroad, with the aid of a loan of $20,000,000 from the Railroad Administration, was announced by William G. McAdoo, Director General of Railroads, while on a tour of inspection of New England roads to-day. Mr. McAdoo also said he thought he could safely promise that New England would not see a renewal of the transportation difficulties of the past winter.

Interest on the money advanced to Boston & Maine, the Director General said, would be secured by mortgage bonds and trust funds, and approval of substantially all of the stockholders would be necessary before the plan could be put into effect.

"As now presented," Mr. McAdoo said, "the plan contemplates consolidation into one system of the Boston & Maine and its chief and proprietary lines, the holders of approximately $30,000,000 guaranteed stock of leased lines, receiving in exchange preferred stock of Boston & Maine bearing during five years four-fifths of the old rate of dividends and thereafter the present rate of dividends.

"This arrangement will reduce the fixed charges upon the system approximately $2,500,000 per annum, and lay a needed basis for a mortgage securing, on equal terms, all outstanding bonds and notes and provide a margin for any needed future issues.

"It is chiefly upon the security of bonds secured by such mortgage that the Government is now asked to advance approximately $20,000,000 necessary to carry out the plan of reorganization.

"Without such reorganization the Boston & Maine and its subsidiaries will continue to be seriously handicapped in raising funds for improvement on the properties absolutely required in the public interest.

"The Director General has decided to advance the necessary cash of about $20,000,000 upon a reasonable interest basis, secured by the mortgage bonds and trust funds, the general details to the plan to be, however, in all respects satisfactory to the Director General.

"The Director General will not support the plan unless it is approved by substantially all of the stockholders affected thereby."

Furthermore, I wish to state this, that in my opinion the Capital Issues Committee has no jurisdiction over this matter.

Mr. WASON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? That promise to the Boston & Maine Railroad was made two days before the Maine election.

Mr. SINNOTT. Yes; the Maine election was September 9. I asked one of the directors of the Capital Issues Committee, "What is your authority to pass on this bond issue?" He said it is the spirit of the act. I asked him to point out the specific language in this act that gives him any jurisdiction over a political subdivision of a State, over a municipal corporation, and he admitted to me that there was no specific authority in the act, but said it was the spirit of the act. I told him that the people of my district, if necessary, would forego their ambition, and whether the matter was covered by the language of the act or not, we were willing to stop our activities; we were willing to forego our ambition to build up our country at least while the war was on if that in any way embarrassed, hampered, or militated against war activities. But I could not and can not see how the sale of $750,000 worth of bonds could in any way embarrass the Government. It is an insignificant sum in comparison to the $40,000,000 appropriated in these two bills—insignificant in comparison to the proposed loan of $20,000,000 to the Boston & Maine Railroad, and besides it does not come from the Treasury of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Oregon has expired.

Mr. SINNOTT. I ask the gentleman to yield me two minutes more.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman two minutes more.

Mr. SINNOTT. Here is the language of the act:

> The committee may * * * pass upon and determine whether it is compatible with the national interests that there should be sold * * * securities hereafter issued by any person, firm, corporation, or association * * *.

It takes no lawyer to know that the term "corporation," as used in the act, does not embrace a municipal corporation such as an irrigation district. Last Wednesday I asked one of the directors of the Capital Issues Committee to give me the reasons in writing why this project was turned down. He said, very courteously, that the act only requires them to find that it is not compatible with the national interests.

I told him I felt that the people in my district were entitled to know the reason why this great project was turned down and rejected. He promised to write me. That was last Wednesday. I have not received a word from that day to this as to the reason why this project has been turned down except what he orally told me. Gentlemen, when we are asked to create these committees and commissions we should be more circumspect in the future than we have been in the past. We have actually been creating Frankinsteins in our governmental activities and departments to arise to plague us.

Mr. CRISP. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SINNOTT. I will.

Mr. CRISP. I just want to state to my colleague that I was on the Ways and Means Committee that framed the law creating the Capital Issues Committee, and my recollection of what transpired was that the question came up as to whether this Capital Issues Committee would have control of securities or bonds to be issued by States or subdivisions, and it was agreed, and Secretary McAdoo stated, they would not have.

Mr. SINNOTT. I am glad to have my opinion confirmed by the gentleman from Georgia, Judge CRISP, a member of the committee, and a noted jurist before his election to Congress, and I shall add that other members of the Ways and Means Committee expressed to me the same view. The whole text of the act shows that they have no jurisdiction over municipal or bond issues by political subdivisions of a State, but notwithstanding that if it is necessary to conduct the war that we should abandon this project we are willing to do it, but we certainly are entitled to have the reasons in writing why a project like this is turned down. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HAUGEN. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VOLSTEAD].

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Chairman, I only desire to ask leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. RAMSEYER].

EIGHT BILLION DOLLAR REVENUE BILL.

Mr. RAMSEYER. Mr. Chairman, last May a year ago I addressed the House at some length on the revenue bill that was then before it. You will remember that at that time the administration's estimate of the first year's cost of the war was $3,800,000,000. The Ways and Means Committee reported out a bill to raise $1,800,000,000 by taxation—a sort of 50-50 proposition; that is, to raise half by taxation and half by the sale of bonds.

There were a few gentlemen in this House, myself among them, who thought a much larger sum should and could be raised by taxation. My reasons for that position were stated in my speech of May 14, 1917. We did not get very far then, except we did succeed in materially raising the taxes on incomes. In that speech I said in part:

> The chief sources for additional taxes at this time should be from the following:
> 1. A tax that will take substantially all of the special war profits.
> 2. Increase the rate of income tax, with a sharp progression in rates as incomes become larger to 100 per cent of all incomes after a certain fixed amount.
> 3. High consumption taxes on all luxuries.

In his special message to Congress, President Wilson, on May 27, 1918, recommended the same sources for additional taxes in the following statement:

> We shall naturally turn, therefore, I suppose, to war profits and incomes and luxuries.

The President's statement is more condensed than mine, but he is driving at the same thing that I did over a year before.

After the revenue bill left the House last May a year ago conditions grew worse in Europe, owing to the disintegration of Russia. It became evident that we would have to take a larger part in the war than was first anticipated. So, by August, 1917, the administration raised its estimate of the first year's cost of the war from $3,800,000,000 to nearly $12,000,000,000, exclusive of our loans to the allies. The estimate for this year's cost of the war is $24,000,000,000. Last year some gentlemen argued that business could not stand to raise more than $1,800,000,000 by taxation. This year these same gentlemen make the same assertions about this bill to raise $8,000,000,000.

I realize as fully as anyone that the taxing power should not be carried to the extent of killing off industries and business. To successfully prosecute war, industries must be maintained at the highest point of efficiency and productivity. Then, too, after-the-war conditions must be taken into consideration, so when peace comes we can compete with other nations in the markets of the world. Unreasonable profits are being made by many as the result of the war. This fact has been repeatedly called to the attention of Congress. Profiteering runs "impudently rampant" in many industries. The Trade Commission in its report to the Senate of June 27, 1918, pointed out many flagrant cases of profiteering. Concerning the packers, this report says:

> However delicate a definition is framed for "profiteering," these packers have preyed upon the people unconscionably.

We say all kinds of mean things about the "profiteer," but what does he care, so long as he is left undisturbed in the enjoyment of his unholy profits? I believe this bill will get some of them, and I congratulate the committee on reporting out a bill as good as this one. It is a great improvement over the one passed by Congress a year ago. We must raise just as much of the war's cost as we possibly can by taxation. To raise all the cost of the war by taxation is now impossible. The balance will be raised by the sale of bonds to the people.

The less we finance the war by bonds and the more by taxation the sooner will we be relieved from its financial burdens after the war. The only time to get war profits is during the war. When the war is over that source of revenue will be gone. We should take all the war profits over a fair return on the investment in that kind of business.

I supported this bill as I have supported every measure for the successful and vigorous prosecution of the war. Recently Congress placed at the disposal of the administration all the manhood of the country from 18 to 45. Now, there should be no hesitancy to back those men with every dollar in the country. The men at the front who are risking their lives should not be required to pay off a tremendous debt when they come back, when that debt can be greatly reduced by placing heavy taxes on war profits, incomes, and luxuries.

Although this bill is four times larger than the last one, I have not received a single protest against it. The people are united in the common purpose to win the war. They want the taxes just as high as possible without the destruction of industry and business. They want every man and every dollar dedi-

cated to the accomplishment of a decisive victory over Germany. [Applause.]

WAR LEGISLATION.

Mr. Chairman, my service as a Member of this body began March 4, 1915. The European war had then been raging for six months. Our Nation by formal declaration became a belligerent April 6, 1917. Since that time I have not cast a single partisan vote in this body, nor have I made a single partisan utterance in or out of Congress.

The winning of the war is the supreme and paramount issue. Win the war we must and we will. The Nation's attitude is the same as was the attitude of the North during the Civil War. Here let me quote words of the immortal Lincoln, June 16, 1864:

> We accepted this war for an object, for a worthy object, and the war will end when that object is attained. Under God I hope it will never end until that time. * * * This war has taken three years. * * * I say we are going through on this line if it takes three years more

That is the spirit of America to-day—to fight, at whatever cost and sacrifice, until the worthy object for which we entered the war is attained. We will stand back of our gallant and brave boys at the front until German militarism is wiped off the face of the earth. The heart of the Nation has but one purpose, to unite and make triumphant free peoples and free institutions over autocracy and militarism. There will be no end to this war until that is accomplished.

Before our entrance into the war I voted for all preparedness measures recommended by the War and Navy Departments. Every law written on the statute books for the increase of the Army and Navy and every dollar appropriated therefor had my support. W. Ray Loomis, assistant superintendent of the document room, House of Representatives, has compiled the public laws and resolutions for the increase of the Army and Navy of the Sixty-fourth Congress with bearing on the trans-Atlantic war, which I shall append to my remarks. I voted for every one of them.

Since the war Congress convened, on April 2, 1917, to September 1, 1918, there have been enacted by Congress, with the approval of the President, 39 public resolutions and 210 public laws. Of these, 17 public resolutions and 113 public laws are classed as war measures. I shall append to my remarks a list of the 17 public resolutions, for all of which I voted. I shall also append a list of the 113 public laws bearing on or as a result of the war, all of which had my support and vote except one railroad bill.

This has been an arduous session. Besides the legislation which requires careful study and consideration there is an unusual amount of work which falls to the lot of a Congressman. On account of the war a thousand people have come into vital contact with the Federal Government where there was one before. New questions have arisen, and the people naturally turn to their Congressman at Washington, whom they know. Scores of complicated questions are pending and new ones continually arising. Questions concerning railroads, car shortage, operation of mines, labor shortage on farms, Food Administration rules, Fuel Administration regulations, and so forth, are referred to the Congressman. Almost daily there are requests for aid in getting allotments and allowances for the dependents of soldiers and sailors. This service is most gladly rendered, as it is for the relief of the loved ones of the men who are at the front fighting our battles "over there."

Day by day come letters and telegrams for information concerning the dead, wounded, and missing. Before me are two, typical of many:

> ——— ———, of Company ———, Regiment ———, American Expeditionary Forces, is by rumor reported either killed or died in a hospital. Can you find out from the department and wire me at once?

Some of these rumors upon investigation are unfounded, and a word from the War Department to that effect relieves the anguish and distress of a parent or a wife and their friends. Another:

> We know you are very busy but we need a little help. We don't know who to ask so we ask you, as you are our representative. Our son ——— ———, Company ——— ——— Infantry, crossed overseas in April and we haven't heard from him since, and we thought maybe you could help us locate him. Please help us if you can.

This is a part of the individual work which a Congressman does most cheerfully for the people of his own district, which requires time and vital energy to do, as well as to learn to do well. In these times when the choicest blood of the Nation is being spilled, we must remember that the burdens we bear and the sacrifices we make are as nothing compared to what our boys in Europe are doing and sacrificing for our common country. All must work, sacrifice, and suffer.

The President and Congress have worked together during this emergency with a spirit of cooperation and unanimity never before known in the history of the world. The President has publicly attested to this upon more than one occasion, the last time being May 27, 1918: "I have admired the work of this session. The way in which the two Houses of Congress have cooperated with the Executive has been generous and admirable." This spirit should prevail until victory is ours.

The work of the Navy in this war has been remarkable. The achievements of the Navy have silenced all critics. The transportation of nearly 2,000,000 soldiers over a sea infested with deadly submarines, with the loss of so few soldiers, is next to the miraculous. The building up of a large Army, too, although slow at first, is in keeping with American traditions and American initiative and genius. Mistakes have been made, it is true; but failures, outside of the production of aeroplanes, have been few.

What American heart has not been thrilled by what has occurred on the west front the past 70 days. It was the initiative and courage of American soldiers that turned the tide at Chateau Thierry and Belleau Woods, and that gave us the victory at St. Mihiel. Long will their heroic deeds be remembered by all lovers of freedom. The tide has turned and forward and onward will be the march of the allied armies until there will be possible for all the peoples of this earth governments "of the people, by the people, and for the people." [Applause.]

LAWS OF SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS WITH BEARING ON TRANSATLANTIC WAR.

(Prepared by W. Ray Loomis, assistant superintendent document room, House of Representatives.)

ARMY.

No. of Law.
Public, 85. Army reorganization (national defense act).
Public, 56. Establishing medal of honor roll.
Public, 79. Authority to issue supplies to military schools and colleges.
Public, 69. Increasing cadets at West Point.
Public, 92. Appropriating $200,000 for National Guard.
Public, 133. Urgent deficiency appropriations, Army and Navy.
Public, 191. Military Academy appropriations (1st sess.).
Public, 242. Army appropriations (1st sess.).
Public, 309. Appropriations for fortifications.
Public, 349. Authority to transfer certain retired officers to active list.
Public resolution, 11. Authority to increase enlisted men for Mexican campaign.
Public resolution, 23. Drafting of militia into Regular Army.
Public resolution, 32. Relief of homesteaders in Mexican campaign.
Public resolution, 35. Amending national defense act relative to reserve officers' training camps.
NOTE.—Provision for creation of Council of National Defense embodied in Public, 242.

NAVY.

Public, 18. Increasing midshipmen at Annapolis.
Public, 113. Authority for building two submarines (special type).
Public, 241. Naval appropriations (1st sess.).
Public, 391. Naval appropriations (2d sess.).
Public resolution 56. Appropriating $150,000,000 to speed war preparations.

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PUBLIC RESOLUTIONS ENACTED FROM APRIL 2, 1917, TO SEPTEMBER 1, 1918, AND CLASSED AS WAR MEASURES.

No. 1. Declaring war on Germany. (S. J. Res. 1.) April 6, 1917.
No. 2. Authority to seize enemy vessels. (S. J. Res. 42.) May 12, 1917.
No. 3. Authority to Red Cross to erect temporary buildings. (S. J. Res. 61.) May 22, 1917.
No. 4. Permission to War Department to erect buildings on Smithsonian grounds. (H. J. Res. 94.) June 9, 1917.
No. 5. Relating to eligibility of retired Army engineer officers. (S. J. Res. 70.) June 15, 1917.
No. 6. Excusing soldiers and sailors from assessment work on mining claims. (S. J. Res. 33.) July 17, 1917.
No. 7. Suspending labor requirements of owners of mining claims during war. (S. J. Res. 78.) October 5, 1917.
No. 8. Authorizing land purchases by Ordnance Bureau, War Department. (H. J. Res. 162.) October 6, 1917.
No. 9. Declaring war on Austria-Hungary. (S. J. Res. 111.) December 7, 1917.
No. 10. Extending time for filing applications under soldiers' insurance act. (S. J. Res. 128.) February 12, 1918.
No. 11. Allowing applications for war-risk insurance by soldiers' relatives. (S. J. Res. 133.) April 2, 1918.
No. 12. Relating to quotas of first-class drafted men. (S. J. Res. 123.) May 16, 1918.
No. 13. Providing for Army registration and draft of men reaching age of 21 years since June 5, 1917. (S. J. Res. 124.) May 20, 1918.
No. 14. Emergency rent-profiteering law for District of Columbia. (S. J. Res. 152.) May 31, 1918.
No. 15. For readmission of aliens to United States after discharge in foreign service. (H. J. Res. 255.) June 29, 1918.
No. 16. Authorizing transfer of Nobel peace fund of Roosevelt to war work. (H. J. Res. 313.) July 12, 1918.
No. 17. Wire-control act. (H. J. Res. 309.) July 16, 1918.

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PUBLIC LAWS ENACTED FROM APRIL 2, 1917, TO SEPTEMBER 1, 1918, AND CLASSED AS WAR MEASURES.

No. 1. General deficiency appropriations. (H. R. 12.) April 17, 1917.
No. 2. War bonds, seven billions, authority to issue. (H. R. 2762.) April 24, 1917
No. 3. Assignment of Fleet Naval Reserve to active duty. (H. R. 1771.) April 25, 1917.
No. 4. For extension of minority enlistments, naval service. (H. R. 2008.) April 25, 1917.
No. 5. Increase of midshipmen at Annapolis. (H. R. 2339.) April 25, 1917.

No. 6. Increase age limit for officers, Naval Reserve. (H. R. 2340.) April 25, 1917.
No. 7. Relating to foreign enlistments in United States. (H. R. 2893.) May 7, 1917.
No. 8. Army appropriations. (H. R. 13.) May 12, 1917.
No. 9. War Army bill, draft and selective service. (H. R. 3545.) May 18, 1917.
No. 10. Relating to enlistments in Naval Reserve Corps. (H. R. 2337.) May 22, 1917.
No. 11. Increase enlisted strength of Navy and Marine Corps. (H. R. 3340.) May 22, 1917.
No. 12. Military Academy appropriations. (H. R. 14.) May 29, 1917.
No. 13. Car-service regulations. (H. R. 328.) May 29, 1917.
No. 14. War-risk insurance for seamen. (S. 2133.) June 12, 1917.
No. 15. Issuance of rifles to State troops. (S. 995.) June 14, 1917.
No. 16. Army and Navy deficiency appropriations. (H. R. 3971.) June 15, 1917
No. 17. Suppression of espionage. (H. R. 291.) June 15, 1917.
No. 18. Condemnation of land for Army. (S. 2453.) July 2, 1917.
No. 19. Aeronautics personnel and appropriations. (H. R. 5326.) July 24, 1917.
No. 20. Authority to acquire aviation training sites, San Diego, Cal. (H. R. 4892.) July 27, 1917.
No. 21. Relief of homesteaders in military or naval service. (S. 1811.) July 28, 1917.
No. 22. Protection of desert-land entrymen in Army or Navy. (H. R. 3331.) August 7, 1917.
No. 23. For priority of railroad shipments and control of train service. (S. 2356.) August 10, 1917.
No. 24. Food-survey authorization. (H. R. 4188.) August 10, 1917.
No. 25. Food-control authorization. (H. R. 4961.) August 10, 1917.
No. 26. War bonds, authority for second liberty-loan issue. (H. R. 5901.) September 24, 1917.
No. 27. Creating aircraft board. (S. 2705.) October 1, 1917.
No. 28. Authority to explore for nitrates and potassium. (S. 2156.) October 2, 1917.
No. 29. War-revenue measure. (H. R. 4280.) October 3, 1917.
No. 30. Providing repatriation of citizens in armies of allies. (S. 2633.) October 5, 1917.
No. 31. Providing for Navy air-station site at Cape May, N. J. (S. 2437.) October 6, 1917.
No. 32. Urgent deficiency measure appropriating $5,356,666,016. (H. R. 5949.) October 6, 1917.
No. 33. Allowing dependents to receive pay while absent abroad. (S. 2883.) October 6, 1917.
No. 34. Regulating use of explosives during war. (H. R. 3932.) October 6, 1917.
No. 35. Providing for property lost by seamen. (H. R. 5647.) October 6, 1917.
No. 36. Permission to take public-land affidavits before military authorities. (H. R. 5082.) October 6, 1917.
No. 37. Permitting coastwise trade by foreign vessels. (H. R. 6175.) October 6, 1917.
No. 38. Providing six months' gratuity to dependents of deceased sailors in Navy. (H. R. 6306.) October 6, 1917.
No. 39. Providing commissions in Army staff corps and removing age limits of Reserve Corps officers requiring discharge. (H. R. 6350.) October 6, 1917.
No. 40. Extending liquor and immorality sections of Army draft law to Navy. (H. R. 6362.) October 6, 1917.
No. 41. Prescribing court-martial procedure in Navy. (H. R. 6363.) October 6, 1917.
No. 42. Appointing chaplains at large in Army. (S. 2527.) October 6, 1917.
No. 43. Preventing publication of military inventions. (S. 2531.) October 6, 1917.
No. 44. Relating to Medical and Dental Corps. (H. R. 4897.) October 6, 1917.
No. 45. Fixing 40 cents as commutation price for rations in Navy. (H. R. 5646.) October 6, 1917.
No. 46. Establishing new ratings for enginemen, blacksmiths, etc., in Navy. (H. R. 5648.) October 6, 1917.
No. 47. Distribution of Cavalry units in Army, providing for. (H. R. 5918.) October 6, 1917.
No. 48. Providing military and naval insurance. (H. R. 5723.) October 6, 1917.
No. 49. Regulating trading with enemy. (H. R. 4960.) October 6, 1917.
No. 50. Increasing Naval Academy enrollment. (H. R. 6967.) December 20, 1917.
No. 51. Authority for absence of homesteaders during war for farm-labor requirements. (S. 2334.) December 20, 1917.
No. 52. Authority to call Philippine forces into war service. (H. R. 7697.) January 26, 1918
No. 53. Authority for marines to serve under Dominican Republic. (S. 3006.) February 11, 1918.
No. 54. Providing for housing and lands for shipyard and munition workers. (S. 389.) March 1, 1918.
No. 55. Civil-rights law for soldiers and sailors. (H. R. 6361.) March 8, 1918.
No. 56. Authority to grant furloughs in Army for agricultural and other necessary pursuits. (S. 3471.) March 16, 1918.
No. 57. Daylight-saving law. (S. 1854.) March 19, 1918.
No. 58. Railroad-control law. (S. 3752.) March 21, 1918.
No. 59. Urgent-deficiency appropriations (second of session). (H. R. 9867.) March 28, 1918.
No. 60. Permitting shipment of petroleum on vessels. (S. 1546.) March 29, 1918.
No. 61. Providing disposal of effects of deceased sailors. (S. 3129.) March 29, 1918.
No. 62. To pay Navy firemen additional 33 cents per diem. (S. 3130.) March 29, 1918.
No. 63. To pay gun pointers and captains in Navy while absent. (S. 3445.) March 29, 1918.
No. 64. Authority to appoint officers, Philippine Scouts. (H. R. 9571.) March 30, 1918.
No. 65. Restoring discharged enlisted men to former grades if discharged to accept commissions. (H. R. 9903.) March 30, 1918.
No. 66. Authority to discharge recalcitrant Navy officers. (S. 3404.) April 2, 1918.
No. 67. Reducing instruction period at Naval Academy to three years. (S. 3401.) April 2, 1918.
No. 68. Third liberty loan authorization. (H. R. 11123.) April 4, 1918.
No. 69. War Finance Corporation law. (S. 3714.) April 5, 1918.
No. 70. To appoint additional Assistant Secretaries of War. (H. R. 9352.) April 6, 1918.
No. 71. Regulating pay of retired chief warrant officers, Navy. (S. 3400.) April 10, 1918.
No. 72. Relating to condemnation of land for nitrate and munition plants. (S. 3994.) April 11, 1918.
No. 73. Providing for quarters for officers in field or abroad. (S. 3863.) April 16, 1918.
No. 74. Delegating powers for suppression of espionage among women enemy aliens. (H. R. 9504.) April 16, 1918.
No. 75 Relating to military training in colleges and to Reserve Officers' Training Corps. (S. 3528.) April 17, 1918.
No. 76. Allowing indemnities to France for damages caused by American forces. (H. R. 9901.) April 18, 1918.
No. 77. Preventing interference with use of homing pigeons. (S. 3980.) April 19, 1918.
No. 78. Sabotage law, preventing destruction of war materials, etc. (S. 383.) April 20, 1918.
No. 79. To pay traveling expenses in Army when "on duty under competent orders." (H. R. 9163.) April 20, 1918.
No. 80. To promote officers temporarily when filling vacancies of officers to higher grades in Regular Army. (H. R. 9902.) April 20, 1918.
No. 81. For transportation of shipyard employees. (S. 3388.) April 22, 1918.
No. 82. Silver coinage law. (S. 4292.) April 23, 1918.
No. 83. Appropriating $1,000,000 for ordnance testing in Navy. (H. R. 10783.) April 26, 1918.
No. 84. Relating to naturalization laws and giving citizenship to aliens in Army. (H. R. 3132.) May 9, 1918.
No. 85. Authority to sell war supplies to any person or allied nation. (S. 3803.) May 10, 1918.
No. 86. Relating to crews of vessels. (S. 1545.) May 11, 1918.
No. 87. Fixing age limits at Naval Academy. (S. 3402.) May 14, 1918.
No. 88. Authority for housing for war needs. (H. R. 10265.) May 16, 1918.
No. 89. Amending espionage act to prevent interference with conduct of war. (H. R. 8753.) May 16, 1918.
No. 90. Amending war-risk act for soldiers and sailors. (H. R. 11245.) May 20, 1918.
No. 91. Authorizing President to reorganize Government departments, bureaus, and agencies. (S. 3771.) May 20, 1918.
No. 92. Permitting banks to contribute to Red Cross. (S. 3911.) May 22, 1918.
No. 93. Passport-regulation law to require rigid restrictions in departure from or entry to country during war. (H. R. 10264.) May 22, 1918.
No. 94. Postponing enforcement of alley-housing law in District of Columbia until after war. (H. R. 11628.) May 23, 1918.
No. 95. For prohibition in Hawaii during war. (S. 3935.) May 23, 1918.
No. 96. Providing for appointment of one Army chaplain to every 1,200 soldiers. (S. 4409.) May 25, 1918.
No. 97. Additional urgent deficiency appropriations. (H. R. 12280.) June 4 1918.
No. 98. Requiring numbering and recording of undocumented vessels. (S. 1549.) June 7, 1918.
No. 99. Aids to navigation. (H. R. 11284.) June 20, 1918.
No. 100. Amending war-risk insurance act for soldiers. (S. 4482). June 25, 1918.
No. 101. Rehabilitation of disabled soldiers. (S. 4557.) June 27, 1918.
No. 102. Military Academy appropriations. (H. R. 11185.) June 27, 1918.
No. 103. Naval appropriations. (H. R. 10854.) July 1, 1918.
No. 104. Fortifications and munitions appropriations. (H. R. 12541). July 8, 1918.
No. 105. Protecting uniforms of friendly nations. (H. R. 11247.) July 8, 1918.
No. 106. General deficiency appropriations. (H. R. 12600.) July 8, 1918.
No. 107. Fourth liberty loan authorization. (H. R. 12580.) July 9, 1918.
No. 108. Army appropriations. (H. R. 12281.) July 9, 1918.
No. 109. Providing marine insurance for foreign vessels operated by Shipping Board. (H. R. 11048.) July 11, 1918.
No. 110. Amending shipping act as to controlling interests of merchant vessels. (H. R. 12100.) July 15, 1918.
No. 111. Granting powers for regulation of ocean freight rates and for requisitioning of vessels. (H. R. 12099.) July 18, 1918.
No. 112. Authorizing importation of Red Cross articles free of duty. (H. R. 12704.) August 31, 1918.
No. 113 Extending draft ages below 21 and above 31 years to include all between ages of 18 and 45 years. (H. R. 12731.) August 31, 1918.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROBBINS].

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Chairman, I desire to ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, and to also ask that I may not be interrupted in the limited time which has been given me.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Chairman, I wish to devote the time which is given me this afternoon to discussing the unfair distribution of war encampments and war activities between the States of the North and the South, and to make some comments upon the preparation that Pennsylvania has made and the work this great Commonwealth is carrying on in aiding the Federal Government in the prosecution of this great war.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to invite the attention of the Members of the House to what I consider as unfair discrimination against

the great State of Pennsylvania, which I have the honor in part to represent in this Congress, in the matter of the distribution of war encampments and war industrial plants and the resulting expenditures of money in the States wherein these war activities are located. I make no invidious comparisons when I say of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and her citizens that there may be other States that are as loyal and other people that are as thoroughly backing the administration in this war, but there are none that are doing more toward winning this war.

MEN FURNISHED IN THE ARMY.

When the first registration was made in Pennsylvania under the selective-draft law, June 5, 1917, 860,000 men registered, and when the law was amended, permitting those who have attained the age of 21 to register on the 5th of June, 1918, 60,759 additional young men registered, bringing the total registration up to 920,759. Of these 215,000 were placed in class 1. Under the man-power bill there were registered on the 12th of September, 1918, 1,100,000 additional men, which brings the total registration in Pennsylvania of men available for military service up to the stupendous number of 2,020,759. From this number Pennsylvania has actually sent into the military service in this war up to September 12, 1918, as follows:

Keystone Division (Twenty-eighth Division)	27,500
Machine-gun battalion (Rainbow Division)	750
Regular Army	80,000
Navy and marines	15,000
Selective service of drafted men	183,748
Total	306,998

and will between September 12 and October 18, 1918, send 14,497 additional, or furnish to the Nation a total of 321,495 men for our Army to battle for the freedom of the world.

The Tenth Pennsylvania, now the One hundred and tenth United States Infantry, along with the One hundred and ninth and One hundred and eleventh, all from Pennsylvania, fought in the battle of Chateau Thierry from the last week in June to the 9th of August and succeeded in driving the Germans back across the Vesle, a distance of 24 miles, losing more than one-fourth of their men killed, wounded, and missing. These troops have by their bravery and fighting ability won immortality, shed lustre on American arms, and turned the tide of victory in favor of the allies.

MONEY FURNISHED.

In the matter of furnishing funds Pennsylvania yields to no other State in friendly rivalry in this respect. The legislature appropriated $5,000,000 to be expended by a commission, of which the governor is the head, on war activities, and her citizens have oversubscribed their allotment of each of the three liberty loan bond issues already made. In the matter of raising funds for the Red Cross, Young Men's Christian Association, Knights of Columbus, Hebrew Association, and other war charities all of these funds have been oversubscribed when asked for by those concerned in raising these charitable gifts, and the plans are now well laid for the fourth liberty loan, which will be oversubscribed promptly, as has been done in each of the three previous bond issues. [Applause.]

REVENUES PAID TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

For the fiscal year 1918 Pennsylvania has paid into the United States Treasury under the war-revenue bills the stupendous sum of $495,889,801.05, being an increase of 11.8 per cent over the amount paid in 1917. This splendid sum is 17.5 per cent of the total revenue of the entire country for the year 1918. I may, therefore, be pardoned for expressing as a citizen of Pennsylvania my feeling of gratification at this splendid showing of the money contributed and men furnished to the Union in the prosecution of this world war.

While the citizens of Pennsylvania have furnished all these men and stand ready to furnish more, and have subscribed and donated these vast sums of money and are ready to subscribe and donate all that may be required in the future, out of a pure sense of patriotic duty to the Union in this time of need, and seek no reward other than the consciousness of duty performed, yet we have been differentiated against and slighted by those in charge of the preparation for war in the matter of the location of encampments for the training of troops and war industries to such an extent that it seems to me that attention should be directed to what really appears to be unjust and unfair discrimination against my native State.

Neither Pennsylvania nor her citizens have complained, but a sense of fair play and just treatment compels me to call attention to the fact that in the matter of the location of camps for the training of troops and the various activities for the preparations for war which are strictly under Government control Pennsylvania has been slighted, avoided, and not given just and fair recognition.

In these remarks no reference is made to naval activities, because such might give information to the enemy, and the locations of these are generally controlled by harbor facilities, labor conditions, and special circumstances, but the matter of war activities and the location of encampments has already been made public.

The War Department issues maps, giving the places where these are; railroad companies advertise them, and they are not in any way secret, and it is therefore no breach of confidence whatever to call the attention of the public and of this House to the injustice and sectional bias that have been exercised by those who have located these war activities.

LOCATION OF ENCAMPMENTS AND WAR ACTIVITIES BY AUTHORITY OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

The General Government has expended approximately $691,886,000 in establishing encampments for the training of troops and emergency war plants for the manufacture of war materials within the limits of the United States. Of this stupendous sum Pennsylvania has received a little over $8,893,732, which expenditure has been made at the following places and in the following sums:

Supply depot and warehouses, Middletown, $1,413,000.
Temporary aviation barracks, Essington, $5,732.
Hospital Corps, Allentown (not large; not obtainable).
Tank service, Gettysburg (small; not obtainable).

No reference is made to the proposed ordnance plant to be located near Pittsburgh, which is not constructed strictly for the present war, since it will not be finished for several years.

This very small expenditure of war funds in Pennsylvania is unfair and rank discrimination against my native State. The large State military camping ground at Mount Gretna, which the Regular Army have used on many occasions and which is now available for the use by the National Government without cost, is unoccupied. The vast areas of State-owned lands that could be used at small cost by the General Government for aviation fields, Artillery training camps, and general Infantry training purposes have not been used or occupied to any extent, except one gun range which has been established in a limited way and little used.

Certainly Pennsylvania has not been passed up, slighted, and ignored because she has failed to do her part; it must then be for partisan or sectional reasons.

This brief investigation, brought about by the discrimination against Pennsylvania in the matter of the location of war activities and industries, has led me to look beyond that State and take a general view of the whole country for the purpose of ascertaining how other States and sections of the country have fared when it came to locating encampments for the training of troops and war industries for the preparation of war, with the resultant distribution of funds expended in the communities where these are placed. It is very evident that Pennsylvania has probably fared worse than any other State, taking into account its size and importance, but it is also readily apparent that the North has received scant consideration in these matters and that the vast majority of these activities are located in 16 Southern States, and into these States the Federal Treasury has and is pouring a steady stream of gold, that is distributed among these encampments and war activities and ultimately reaching the pockets of the inhabitants of these States.

Dividing the States into two groups, I find that 16 Southern States have received from the General Government in the way of initial expenditures for the establishment of cantonments and strictly war activities the stupendous sum of $490,306,991.34. These States and the amount received by each are as follows:

Alabama	$61,386,145.36
Arkansas	15,409,572.56
Florida	7,278,201.24
Georgia	28,710,845.85
Kentucky	8,375,239.90
Louisiana	6,240,474.65
Maryland	39,187,441.87
Mississippi	5,544,514.92
New Mexico	4,007,545.86
North Carolina	4,518,761.39
Oklahoma	5,174,646.07
South Carolina	19,045,284.95
Tennessee	76,672,100.00
Texas	32,652,744.11
Virginia and West Virginia	176,103,472.61
Total	490,306,991.34

This is but a small part of the money that has been and is being expended by soldiers and the friends of soldiers in each State around these encampments, and of the amount for salaries and the wages, the monthly pay roll being about $1,500,000, that is being constantly poured into these favored Southern States by the Federal Treasury.

An analysis of the purpose for which these vast sums have been expended in these Southern States in the light of their political complexion is most interesting.

The State of Alabama, that has a solid Democratic delegation in Congress, has been taken care of by the Secretary of War by the location of four camps and two industrial plants, with an original expenditure of $61,386,145.36, and by a continued flow of gold into that State that is passing from the Federal Treasury to these places since the date of their establishment.

Arkansas, also with a solid Democratic delegation in both Houses of Congress, has received the establishment of three encampments and one picric-acid plant at a cost of $15,409,572.56, with the resultant benefits that arise therefrom.

Georgia, also with a solid Democratic delegation in Congress, is favored with seven military encampments and an acid plant, originally costing $7,000,000, or a total expenditure for these war activities of $28,710,845.85.

South Carolina, that also has a solid Democratic delegation in both Houses of Congress, has been favored with five encampments, upon which the Government originally expended $19,045,284.95.

Tennessee has been favored with an original expenditure in this respect of $76,672,100.

Texas, the State that rarely, if ever, sends a Republican to Congress, seems to have been especially favored, for here the Secretary of War has bestowed the Nation's benevolence with a lavish hand, and established 25 military camps in this State, upon which the Government expended originally $32,652,744.11. The flow of gold from the Treasury into Texas breaks out in 25 prolific springs in various parts of the State.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBBINS. No; I can not yield; I have not the time.

Virginia and West Virginia come in for an expenditure of $176,103,472.61, no doubt accounted for by Virginia's political loyalty to the Democratic Party.

North Carolina, solidly Democratic, has one encampment already established, at Charlotte, upon which the Government originally expended $4,518,761.39. Another is being completed at Fayetteville. I presume it will be called Camp Simmons in honor of the senior Senator from that State, whose influence, it is claimed, secured its establishment.

In connection with this encampment we are able to give the reason why these military cantonments and war activities are located in the South, and this reason is political.

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBBINS. No; I will not yield.

Senator SIMMONS is a candidate for reelection in the State of North Carolina. He has advertised throughout the State that he is in favor of 35-cent cotton, the location of military cantonments in his native State, and the establishment of a Government munition belt.

To quote with reference to the Fayetteville encampment:

"SENATOR SIMMONS IS GIVEN LARGE SHARE OF CREDIT FOR THE CAMP—HIS TALK WITH MR. BAKER PROBABLY DECIDED THE MATTER—RESOLUTIONS FROM FAYETTEVILLE THANKING SENATOR PRESENTED."

"Secretary King, of the Fayetteville Chamber of Commerce, brought to Washington to-day resolutions adopted at a recent meeting of that organization, thanking Senator SIMMONS for the part he played in landing an Army camp at Fayetteville."

Thus it appears that political influence, working on Secretary of War Baker, has succeeded in having him establish a military camp at Fayetteville, in North Carolina, in July of this year, during a political contest for Senator in that State and more than a year after all the other great encampments had been located. It is fair to assume, therefore, that these same influences have brought about the establishment in the Southern States of the great preponderance of military encampments and the expenditure of these vast sums of money for war activities. This does not seem to indicate that "politics is adjourned" when the "loaves and fishes" are being distributed.

The average cantonment accommodates from 25,000 to 40,000 men at $30 per month, and the pay roll would be from $750,000 to $1,200,000. Adding the officers' salary would bring the amount up to one million or to one and one-half million per month that is distributed in each encampment. Even though all the encampments are not so large as this, it can be readily seen what streams of gold these encampments are distributing in the Southern States.

In sharp contrast with these expenditures in the Southern States is the expenditure for like activities in 14 Northern States, where most of the money in the North has been expended, because there are many Northern States where no encampments or activities exist at all, and which States usually send a solid Republican delegation to Congress.

Let us examine these briefly. I find in these 14 Northern States the Federal Government has expended for like war purposes only $200,559,222.01, which money has been disbursed as follows:

California	$14,980,398.84
Illinois	11,878,150.11
Indiana	582,000.00
Iowa	9,518,975.38
Kansas	11,611,998.31
Massachusetts	11,480,837.87
Michigan	18,165,178.56
Nebraska	549,266.00
New Jersey	51,103,884.79
New York	17,818,965.30
Ohio	36,116,364.04
Pennsylvania	8,893,732.00
Vermont	108,823.13
Washington	8,750,647.68
Total	200,559,222.01

Iowa has one encampment, upon which the Government has expended $9,518,975.36. Indiana has one encampment, upon which the Government has expended only $582,000. Kansas has one encampment, upon which there has been expended $11,611,998.31. This is at a permanent post known as Fort Riley. Massachusetts has one encampment, upon which has been expended $11,480,837.87. Michigan has two encampments and two acid plants, upon which has been expended $18,165,178.56. Nebraska has a balloon school and an aviation field, upon which there has been expended only $549,266. New Jersey has one encampment, one embarkation camp, and one radio laboratory, upon which has been expended $20,976,268.79; and one powder plant, upon which has been expended $7,000,000; and four loading and assembling plants at the seaports, upon which there has been expended $30,127,816.79. Ohio has one training camp, three flying fields at Dayton, and a nitrate plant at Cincinnati, on all of which has been expended $36,116,364.04. Pennsylvania has a supply depot at Middletown, on which there has been expended $1,400,000; temporary barracks for aviation at Essington, on which has been expended $5,700; and a tank-service camp at Gettysburg, and the Medical Corps at Allentown, which expenditures it was impossible to get, but which have been quite small, and a smokeless powder plant and nitrate plant upon which has been expended $8,893,732. The State of Vermont has one encampment, located at old Fort Ethan Allen, on which was expended $108,823.13. In New York are located the embarkation encampments for the whole country, which could only be established at this port, from which nearly all the soldiers sail en route to Europe, yet there has only been expended at or near this great port $17,593,965.30.

This analysis of the expenditures in the North shows conclusively that political influence has been brought to bear on the Secretary of War, and that he has not only made these expenditures for political reasons but for sectional purposes also; and if the present political influence is to continue to control the location of encampments no doubt some of these which are now located in the North will be abandoned and new ones established in their stead in the South, like the Fayetteville cantonment, and that the other war activities will be further concentrated in the South. Each time an administration Senator is up for reelection or a Democratic candidate for Congress is in danger of defeat we may expect to see a cantonment established in his district to help along the political fortunes of some administration Democrat.

Another matter should be noted in this connection. Not only are the Northern States furnishing men greatly in excess of those furnished by the South to fight this war, but the Northern States are paying in by far the greatest part of the income tax, which is the chief source of financial support of the Federal Government at this time. For convenience and information let us contrast the amount of revenue received from the same two groups of States among which we have shown that the Secretary of War has distributed, so inequitably and unjustly, the public money for war activities.

The Revenue Commissioner on September 14, 1918, issued his report showing the amount of taxes collected for the current fiscal year from the various States of the Union. The States enumerated in group 1 have paid into the Federal Treasury in round figures income tax as follows:

Group No. 1.

Alabama	$18,200,000
Arkansas	5,700,000
Florida	4,600,000
Georgia	16,200,000
Kentucky	20,900,000
Louisiana	21,800,000
Maryland	40,000,000
Mississippi	4,900,000
New Mexico	1,800,000
North Carolina	20,200,000
Oklahoma	18,200,000
South Carolina	7,800,000

Tennessee	$14,100,000
Texas	30,300,000
Virginia	21,400,000
West Virginia	45,500,000
Total	291,600,000

With this modest sum, contrast the stupendous amount of money collected from the States designed as group 2, which States paid into the Federal Treasury $2,190,000,000, as follows:

Group No. 2.

California	$76,600,000
Illinois	275,500,000
Indiana	29,000,000
Iowa	14,900,000
Kansas	25,900,000
Massachusetts	166,600,000
Michigan	71,000,000
Nebraska	11,000,000
New Jersey	71,000,000
New York	689,200,000
Ohio	241,000,000
Pennsylvania	495,800,000
Vermont	3,500,000
Washington	19,300,000
Total	2,190,300,000

It is therefore established by these authentic figures beyond the peradventure of a doubt that not only is the North furnishing the great preponderance of the money and men to fight this war, but that it has received scant consideration, indeed, from the Secretary of War in the acknowledgment of these invaluable services in the distribution of war activities.

This amply demonstrates the truth of the assertion made by one of the well-known Democrats from the South in Congress that "they expected to get the men and the money from the North to fight this war."

I append to these remarks two tables in explanation and proof of the statements above given: Table No. 1 shows the location of the cantonments and various war industrial plants referred to and the amount of money expended on each. Table No. 2 gives in detail the amount of income tax collected for the current fiscal year from the various States of the Union.

Nothwithstanding this unfair treatment of the North and the sections of the country from whence come Republican Representatives to Congress, the Republican Party will continue to support the administration as it has in the past in the prosecution of this war to a successful and victorious conclusion with unanimity and patriotic devotion. [Applause.] Nothing will deter it from this. Republican support of the administration at all times can be relied upon. I do not accuse any person or party of disloyalty. There are no disloyal Members of Congress, yet it is fair to state in justice to the record of the Republican Party in the Sixty-fifth Congress that the three vital laws demanded by the administration as essential to the prosecution of this war against the Imperial German Government and her allies were all enacted under Republican leadership and against the protest of the Democratic chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs that had charge of these laws and many members of that party. These bills are:

1. Selective-draft law.
2. Quota or classification bill.
3. Man-power act.

Without these three laws on the statute books the administration would be greatly impeded, if not practically prevented from organizing our Army and successfully prosecuting this war. In fact, our whole military organization, which is the wonder and admiration of the world, and which is striking terror to the very heart of Imperial Germany, rests on these three fundamental laws, and for their enactment the Republican Party claim and are entitled to full credit for leadership.

The Republican Party has thus waived all desire for political advantage during this war and "has placed country above party," and while it does feel a grievance at the unjust treatment it and the Northern States of the Union have received at the hands of the Secretary of War, at the instance of the majority party, yet nothing will deter or prevent the Republicans from their continued undivided and enthusiastic support of the administration in all legislation asked for in the prosecution of this war for liberty against Germany and her allies, and this support will continue until complete victory is won and a lasting peace attained. [Applause.]

Location and cost of National Army camps, National Guard camps, officers' training camps, aviation fields, etc., and Government industrial plants, built since the outbreak of the war.

GROUP 1.

Alabama:	
Camp McClellan (National Guard), Anniston	$4,746,504.28
Camp Sheridan (National Guard), Montgomery	3,227,541.08
Taylor field (aviation), Montgomery	812,100.00
Repair depot (aviation), Montgomery	600,000.00
Total	9,386,145.36
Alabama—Continued.	
Industrial plants:	
Sheffield No. 1 (nitrate of ammonia)	$12,100,000.00
Muscle Shoals (nitrate of ammonia)	40,000,000.00
Grand total	61,386,145.36
Arkansas:	
Camp Pike (National Army), Little Rock	10,487,789.37
Fort Logan H. Roots (officers' training camp)	109,683.19
Eberts field (aviation), Lonoke	812,100.00
Total	11,409,572.56
Industrial plants: Picric acid, Little Rock	4,000,000.00
Grand total	15,409,572.56
Florida:	
Camp Joseph E. Johnston (quartermaster cantonment), Jacksonville	5,654,001.24
Carlstrom Field (aviation), Arcadia	812,100.00
Dorr Field (aviation), Arcadia	812,100.00
Total	7,278,201.24
Georgia:	
Camp Gordon (National Army), Atlanta	8,302,730.80
Camp Hancock (National Guard), Augusta	3,365,071.44
Camp Wheeler (National Guard), Macon	3,441,980.17
Fort McPherson (officers' training camp)	667,032.10
Fort Oglethorpe (originally built for medical officers' training camp)	4,719,931.34
Souther Field (aviation camp and warehouse), Americus	1,212,100.00
Equipment building, Fort Oglethorpe	2,000.00
Total	21,710,845.85
Industrial plants: Picric acid, Brunswick	7,000,000.00
Grand total	28,710,845.85
Kentucky:	
Camp Taylor (National Army), Louisville	8,375,239.90
Louisiana:	
Camp Beauregard (National Guard), Alexandria	3,973,874.65
Gerstner Field (aviation), Lake Charles	2,266,600.00
Total	6,240,474.65
Maryland:	
Camp Meade (National Army), Annapolis Junction	12,535,853.65
United States Proving Ground, Aberdeen	15,468,766.22
Indianhead Proving Ground	1,100,000.00
Total	29,104,619.87
Industrial plants:	
Nitrate of ammonia, Perryville	5,082,822.00
Edgewood Arsenal, Edgewood (estimated)	5,000,000.00
Grand total	39,187,441.87
Mississippi:	
Camp Shelby (National Guard), Hattiesburg	4,732,414.92
Payne Field (aviation), West Point	812,100.00
Total	5,544,514.92
New Mexico:	
Camp Cody (National Guard), Deming	4,007,545.86
North Carolina:	
Camp Greene (National Guard), Charlotte	4,518,761.39
Camp Simmons, Fayetteville	
Oklahoma:	
Camp Doniphan (National Guard), Fort Sill	3,304,166.07
Post Field (aviation), Fort Sill	1,485,480.00
Balloon School (aviation), Fort Sill	385,000.00
Total	5,174,646.07
South Carolina:	
Camp Jackson (National Army), Columbia	11,081,292.16
Camp Wadsworth (National Guard), Spartansburg	4,612,307.36
Camp Sevier (National Guard), Greenville	3,342,185.43
Camp Sevier (aviation), Greenville	5,000.00
Camp Sevier (officers' quarters), Greenville	4,500.00
Total	19,045,284.95
Tennessee:	
Park Field (aviation), Memphis	1,672,100.00
Industrial plants—Smokeless powder, Nashville	75,000,000.00
Total	76,672,100.00
Texas:	
Camp MacArthur (National Guard), Waco	3,529,134.84
Camp Bogan (National Guard), Houston	3,508,315.26
Camp Bowie (National Guard), Fort Worth	3,397,995.90
Camp Travis (National Army), Fort Sam Houston	7,976,840.73
Leon Springs (officers' training camp)	562,549.38
Love Field (aviation), Dallas	929,100.00
Repair depot (aviation), Dallas	551,500.00
Concentration camp (aviation), Dallas	16,766.00
Taliaferro Field No. 1 (aviation), Fort Worth	1,121,600.00
Taliaferro Field No. 2 (aviation), Fort Worth	1,007,100.00
Taliaferro Field No. 3 (aviation), Fort Worth	857,100.00
Ellington Field (aviation), Houston	2,130,900.00
Kelly Field (aviation), San Antonio	3,443,655.00

Texas—Continued.	
Brooks Field (aviation), San Antonio	$812,100.00
Balloon School (aviation), San Antonio	144,480.00
Rich Field (aviation), Waco	1,016,600.00
Camp MacArthur (aviation), Waco	192,000.00
Rich Field (aviation), Waco	1,016,600.00
Various fields (aviation), Wichita Falls	200,000.00
29 canvas hangars (aviation), San Antonio	11,240.00
196 canvas hangars (aviation), San Antonio	13,820.00
12 canvas hangars (aviation), San Antonio	6,750.00
77 canvas hangars (aviation), San Antonio	42,581.00
24 canvas hangars (aviation), San Antonio	14,016.00
Architectural services (aviation), San Antonio	150,000.00
Total	32,652,744.11
Virginia and West Virginia:	
Camp Lee (National Army), Petersburg	13,512,364.35
Camp A. A. Humphreys (Engineers' cantonment), Accotink	11,518,796.00
Camp Stuart and Hill (embarkation camp), Newport News	12,270,345.80
Fort Myer (officers' training camp)	135,968.46
Concentration camp (aviation), Morrison	1,603,100.00
Supply depot (aviation), Richmond	1,000,000.00
Langley Field (aviation), Hampton	3,664,050.00
Langley Field (portable houses), Hampton	36,813.00
Camp Abraham Eustis (artillery), Lee Hall	6,954,800.00
Total	50,696,257.61
Industrial plants:	
Smokeless powder, Nitro	65,000,000.00
Smokeless powder, Charleston	45,000,000.00
Bureau of Mines, Saltville	2,000,000.00
Loading and assembling, Williamsburg	6,407,215.00
Propellent charges, Seven Pines	7,000,000.00
Grand total	176,103,472.61

RECAPITULATION OF COST OF CAMPS IN GROUP 1.

Alabama	$61,386,145.36
Arkansas	15,409,572.56
Florida	7,278,201.24
Georgia	28,710,845.85
Kentucky	8,375,239.90
Louisiana	6,240,474.65
Maryland	39,187,441.87
Mississippi	5,544,514.92
New Mexico	4,007,545.86
North Carolina	4,512,761.39
Oklahoma	5,174,646.07
South Carolina	19,045,284.95
Tennessee	76,672,100.00
Texas	32,652,744.11
Virginia and West Virginia	176,103,472.61
Total	490,306,991.34

GROUP 2.

California:	
Camp Kearney (National Guard), Linda Vista	$3,933,607.92
Camp Fremont (National Guard), Palo Alto	2,671,590.92
Field (aviation), Riverside	800,000.00
Field (aviation), Sacramento	850,000.00
Rockwell Field (aviation), San Diego	1,087,200.00
Total	9,342,398.84
Industrial plants:	
T. N. T., Hercules	4,200,000.00
T. N. T., Giant	1,438,000.00
Grand Total	14,980,398.84
Illinois:	
Camp Grant (National Army), Rockford	10,044,138.30
Fort Sheridan (officers' training camp)	153,482.81
Scott Field (aviation), Belleville	1,680,529.00
Total	11,878,150.11
Indiana:	
Repair depot (aviation), Indianapolis	582,000.00
Iowa:	
Camp Dodge (National Army), Des Moines	8,518,975.38
Kansas:	
Camp Funston (National Army), Fort Riley	11,611,998.31
Massachusetts:	
Camp Devens (National Army), Ayer	11,480,837.87
Michigan:	
Camp Custer (National Army), Battle Creek	9,676,975.56
Selfridge Field (aviation), Mount Clemens	2,303,203.00
Total	11,980,178.56
Industrial plants:	
Picric acid, Grand Rapids	5,935,000.00
Tetryl, Center	250,000.00
Grand total	18,165,178.56
Nebraska:	
Balloon School (aviation), Fort Omaha	472,266.00
Florence Field (aviation), Fort Omaha	77,000.00
Total	549,266.00
New Jersey:	
Camp Dix (National Army), Wrightstown	11,221,427.98
Camp Merritt (embarkation camp), Dumont	9,386,490.81
Camp Alfred Vail (radio laboratory), Little Silver	368,350.00
Total	20,976,268.79
New Jersey—Continued.	
Industrial plants:	
Powder, Westville	$7,000,000.00
Loading and assembling, Elwood	7,445,690.00
Loading and assembling, Mays Landing	4,000,000.00
Loading and assembling, Gillespie	500,000.00
Loading and assembling, South Amboy	11,181,926.00
Grand total	51,103,884.79
New York:	
Fort Niagara (officers' training camp)	147,632.41
Plattsburg Barracks (officers' training camp)	212,120.34
Madison Barracks (officers' training camp)	52,804.67
Camp Upton (National Army), Yaphank	12,866,208.88
Addition to supply depot (aviation), Fort Wood	47,000.00
Equipment (aviation), Brooklyn	2,800.00
Hazelhurst Field (aviation), Mineola, Long Island	4,217,399.00
Photographic school (aviation), Rochester	35,000.00
Alteration to buildings (aviation), Long Beach, Long Island	13,000.00
Total	17,593,965.30
Industrial plants: Picric acid, Niagara Falls	225,000.00
Grand total	17,818,965.30
Ohio:	
Camp Sherman (National Army), Chillicothe	11,298,487.04
Supply depot (aviation), Dayton	800,000.00
McCook Field (aviation), Dayton	920,100.00
Wilbur Wright Field (aviation), Dayton	3,097,777.00
Total	16,116,364.04
Industrial plants: Nitrate of ammonia, No. 3, No. 4, Toledo and Cincinnati	20,000,000.00
Grand total	36,116,364.04
Pennsylvania:	
Supply depot (aviation), Middletown	613,000.00
Additional warehouses (aviation), Middletown	800,000.00
Temporary barracks (aviation), Essington	5,732.00
Tank camp, Gettysburg (small), no report.	
Doctors' camp, Allentown (small), no report.	
Total	1,418,732.00
Industrial plants:	
Smokeless powder (propellent charges), Tullytown	7,000,000.00
Nitrate of ammonia, Tamaqua	475,000.00
Grand total	8,893,732.00
Vermont:	
Fort Ethan Allen (officers' training camp)	108,823.13
Washington:	
Camp Lewis (National Army), American Lake	8,750,647.68

RECAPITULATION OF COST OF CAMPS IN GROUP 2.

California	$14,980,398.84
Illinois	11,878,150.11
Indiana	582,000.00
Iowa	8,518,975.38
Kansas	11,611,998.31
Massachusetts	11,480,837.87
Michigan	18,165,178.56
Nebraska	549,266.00
New Jersey	51,103,884.79
New York	17,818,965.30
Ohio	36,116,364.04
Pennsylvania	8,893,732.00
Vermont	108,823.13
Washington	8,750,647.68
Total	200,559,222.01

Comparative receipts from income and excess-profits tax, fiscal years 1917 and 1918, by States and Territories.

States and Territories.	1917	1918	Increase.
Alabama	$1,088,292.21	$18,210,692.70	$17,122,400.49
Alaska	36,647.54	241,300.29	204,652.75
Arizona	838,324.67	6,179,671.74	5,341,347.07
Arkansas	485,724.31	5,731,398.42	5,245,674.11
California	10,054,779.75	76,641,553.03	66,586,773.28
Colorado	2,849,673.85	23,190,502.59	20,340,828.74
Connecticut	6,923,550.48	62,190,711.73	55,267,161.25
Delaware	6,457,419.64	27,410,733.36	20,953,313.72
District of Columbia	1,765,444.79	8,822,573.23	7,057,128.44
Florida	633,534.95	4,639,716.09	4,006,181.14
Georgia	1,830,609.28	16,230,449.09	14,399,839.81
Hawaii	1,273,699.28	8,961,868.47	7,688,169.19
Idaho	394,191.55	2,067,089.07	1,672,897.52
Illinois	26,099,489.57	275,579,056.40	249,479,566.83
Indiana	3,494,895.10	29,054,944.64	25,560,049.54
Iowa	1,807,544.54	14,973,578.82	13,166,034.28
Kansas	2,918,028.92	25,943,912.36	23,025,883.44
Kentucky	1,645,757.18	20,946,948.81	19,301,191.63
Louisiana	2,082,663.23	21,807,341.85	19,724,678.62
Maine	1,193,125.25	12,016,085.50	10,822,960.25
Maryland	3,349,290.74	40,003,951.94	36,654,661.20
Massachusetts	20,280,564.13	166,598,752.86	146,318,188.73
Michigan	10,193,653.93	71,061,308.12	60,867,654.19
Minnesota	6,432,896.09	58,218,134.48	51,785,238.39
Mississippi	444,285.08	4,964,263.52	4,519,977.44
Missouri	7,112,585.89	60,012,953.42	52,900,366.53
Montana	1,075,347.46	3,325,820.00	2,250,472.54
Nebraska	1,148,326.91	11,335,082.21	10,186,755.30

Comparative receipts from income and excess-profits tax, fiscal years 1917 and 1918, by States and Territories—Continued.

States and Territories.	1917	1918	Increase.
Nevada	$90,848.50	$609,229.99	$518,381.40
New Hampshire	520,502.45	6,318,838.42	5,798,335.97
New Jersey	10,872,491.94	71,811,484.88	60,938,992.94
New Mexico	382,895.01	1,802,649.79	1,419,754.78
New York	128,062,735.21	689,265,600.01	561,202,864.80
North Carolina	1,793,798.64	20,251,704.10	18,457,905.46
North Dakota	292,931.41	1,828,857.21	1,535,925.80
Ohio	20,939,491.90	241,037,457.59	220,097,965.69
Oklahoma	6,660,278.50	18,261,448.25	11,601,169.75
Oregon	820,615.94	10,070,079.46	9,249,463.52
Pennsylvania	42,098,507.54	495,889,801.05	453,791,193.51
Rhode Island	3,199,967.17	16,385,548.57	13,185,581.40
South Carolina	579,990.45	7,884,094.31	7,304,103.86
South Dakota	231,412.48	2,478,972.94	2,247,560.46
Tennessee	1,380,775.14	14,173,009.88	12,792,234.74
Texas	5,392,933.62	30,313,161.81	24,920,228.19
Utah	1,330,020.99	2,504,650.26	1,174,629.27
Vermont	554,426.40	3,589,674.62	3,035,248.22
Virginia	2,458,632.70	21,486,152.38	19,027,519.68
Washington	2,042,989.56	19,334,083.84	17,291,094.28
West Virginia	1,921,047.60	45,548,830.46	43,627,782.86
Wisconsin	3,896,349.75	39,192,571.30	35,296,221.55
Wyoming	251,056.19	2,685,289.67	2,434,233.48
Total	359,685,147.50	2,839,083,585.53	2,479,398,438.03

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, though I do not agree with the contention set forth in the President's veto message, I have no desire or disposition to criticize, or to take exception to any statement made, or to question the President's judgment or knowledge of facts, so what I shall have to say in no way reflects upon him. I appreciate that he is a busy man and that in determining questions he must necessarily depend upon others to furnish him with data and information, particularly so in this instance. My understanding is that his time and attention has been devoted to other lines of activity; that his experience in growing and marketing of wheat is limited, therefore I assume that statements made in the message were based upon data and information furnished to him by others, and that he has evidently been somewhat misinformed in the matter. Of course, most unfortunate.

First, I desire to call attention to the President's statement that the measure—the Agricultural bill—was returned because of an "earnest dissent, from the point of view of principle as well as of wise expediency, from the provision of that part of section 14 which prescribes a uniform minimum price for No. 2 northern spring wheat of $2.40 per bushel," because it is believed "that such inelastic legislative price provisions are insusceptible of being administered in a way that will be advantageous either to the producer or to the consumer." If his adviser had turned to the provision objected to in the bill, he would have found that it provides that the "guaranteed price for the several standard grades of wheat for the crop of 1918 shall be based upon No. 2 northern spring or its equivalent of not less than $2.40 per bushel at the principal primary markets designated by the President by proclamation issued by him February 21, 1918, and at such other places as the President may designate." Compare it with the act of August 10, 1917, approved by the President, which contained this provision: "The guaranty price for the several standard grades of wheat for the crop of 1918 shall be based upon No. 1 northern spring or its equivalent at not less than $2 per bushel at the principal interior primary markets." It will be seen that the wording is word for word, except that the price in the act of August 10, 1917, was fixed at $2 instead of $2.40 and the price based on No. 1 northern spring instead of No. 2 northern spring, hence the principle is the same. That bill was approved and evidently believed to be sound in principle, wise, and expedient then. If so, I am unable to see why not now.

As to the prices fixed by the President's proclamation and those fixed in this bill, the President's own proclamation of February 21, 1918, contains this language: I do hereby determine and fix and give public notice of reasonable guaranteed prices for No. 1 northern spring wheat and its equivalents at the respective principal primary markets as follows, to wit:

Chicago, Ill., $2.20 per bushel, later increased to $2.26.

Omaha, Nebr., $2.15 per bushel, later increased to $2.18 per bushel.

Kansas City, $2.15 per bushel, later increased to $2.18 per bushel.

St. Louis, Mo., $2.18 per bushel, later increased to $2.24 per bushel.

Duluth, Minn., $2.17 per bushel, later increased to $2.22½ per bushel.

Minneapolis, Minn., $2.17 per bushel, later increased to $2.21½ per bushel.

New York, $2.28 per bushel, later increased to $2.39½ per bushel.

Philadelphia, $2.27, later $2.39.

Baltimore, $2.27, later $2.38¾.

Newport News, Va., $2.27, later $2.38¾.

Portland, Oreg., $2.05, later $2.20.

Seattle, Wash, $2.05, later $2.20.

San Francisco, Cal., $2.10, later $2.20.

Los Angeles, $2.10, later $2.20.

Galveston and New Orleans, $2.20, later $2.28.

At Salt Lake City, Utah; Great Falls, Mont.; Spokane, Wash.; and Pocatello, Idaho, the price was first fixed at $2 per bushel; at Fort Worth, Tex., at $2.09; at Oklahoma City, $2.05; Wichita, Kans., $2.08; at Charleston, S. C., and Savannah, Ga., at $2.27—28 in all.

I might add that the prices last fixed by the President have recently been guaranteed for the 1919 crop. The price in the Agricultural bill returned without approval fixed the price at $2.40 per bushel at the 28 markets named in the President's proclamation and at such others as the President may designate. Again, the principle involved is the same as is involved in the act signed by the President in 1917, the only difference being the price and grade upon which the price shall be based. The President's contention is that a fixed minimum price of $2.40 per bushel would, he estimated, add $2 per barrel to the price of flour; in other words, raise the price of flour from the present price of $10.50 at the mill to $12.50 at the mill, and inasmuch as we are anticipating a crop of approximately 900,000,000 bushels of wheat, this increase would be equivalent to the immense sum of $387,000,000 according to his message.

Again, if his advisers had referred the President to the Federal Trade Commission's report of April last on flour milling and flour jobbing he would have found that on an average approximately 4⅝ bushels of wheat are required to make a barrel of flour, and in some instances only 4½ bushels are required; that there are some 7,000 merchant wheat flour mills in the United States, which during the last three years have produced on the average 118,000,000 barrels of flour annually, grinding about 550,000,000 bushels of wheat per year; that from 11,000,000 to 16,000,000 barrels of flour have been exported annually.

If so, only 100,000,000 barrels of flour are consumed in the United States. Two dollars a barrel on 118,000,000 would be $236,000,000, $2 on 100,000,000 would be $200,000,000—not $387,000,000, as stated in the President's proclamation.

He would also have found that millers operating profits under Government regulation has increased nearly 175 per cent, and that their rate of profit on investments increased more than 100 per cent, which in a large degree accounts for the high cost of living. If 4⅝ bushels of wheat is all that is required to produce a barrel of flour, $2 per barrel would be equivalent to 43 cents per bushel. The proposed increase over the price fixed by the President ranges from the lowest at New York, one-half cent per bushel, to the highest at Omaha and Kansas City, at 22 cents, plus the difference in price of No. 1 and No. 2 spring northern, which is about 3 cents per bushel. Assuming that the President would have fixed a uniform price of $2.40 at all the principal interior markets, or, in other words, increasing the lowest price fixed from $2.18 to $2.40, and all along the line up to the highest from $2.39 to $2.40, plus 3 cents differential in grade, what would it have amounted to?

I have not the figures giving the number of bushels marketed at each of the various principal interior markets named in the proclamation, but if one averages up with the other, and if we cut the 22 cents, the highest difference, in half, the average increase would be 11 cents per bushel; add to that the 3 cents difference in grade value, we have an increase of 14 cents per bushel; but, in order to be absolutely on the safe side, we can call it 20 cents; if so, the increased cost of wheat to make a barrel of flour would be, not $2, but less than $1 per barrel. If we have, as anticipated, a 900,000,000-bushel crop, and if every bushel of wheat is marketed, the 20-cent increase will be equivalent, not to the immense sum of $387,000,000, as set forth in the message, but less than one-half of that amount, or $180,000,000; but anybody having any knowledge of wheat growing knows that all the wheat grown is not ground into flour and that all flour is not made out of wheat and that all flour is not sold. Everybody knows that wheat must be set aside for seed; substitutes have been ordered for wheat by the Food Administration; besides much of the wheat flour is consumed by the producers, which does not enter into the computation. As stated in the Federal Trade Commission's report, only about 550,000,000 bushels of wheat, or only about 118,000,000 barrels of flour, were ground; and 11,000,000 to 16,000,000 barrels of that were exported, and

only part of that is made of wheat alone, and only a part of it sold for consumption. If the increased cost were less than $1 per barrel, the increased cost to the consumer would be much less than $100,000,000; it would be less than one-quarter of the $387,000,000 estimated increased cost. Or, if the President should have increased the price of wheat 22 cents per bushel, to make up the difference between the lowest price of $2.18 and the price fixed in the bill of $2.40, and a corresponding increase of 22 cents at all the markets, plus the 3-cent differential in grade, in all, a total increase of 25 cents on all wheat entering into production of flour, the increased cost of all the 550,000,000 bushels of wheat ground into flour would have been only $137,000,000, deducting the amount consumed by the producer which does not enter into the computation. The increased cost to the consumer would have been less than $100,000,000.

If attention is to be given to the increased cost and profits, in my opinion, our attention should be directed to other channels. Why single out the wheat grower? Why should his nose be kept to the grindstone and permit everybody else to reap exorbitant profits? Compare this increased cost of less than $100,000,000 with the $431,684,936 profits for 1917 over 1914 taken by the Steel Trust—an increased profit of over 1,000 per cent. One concern—the Nagle Steel Co.—made a profit on its investments of 319.67 per cent; in other words, its profits for the year were equivalent to its investments more than three times over. Four meat packers—Armour, Swift, Morris, and Cudahy—increased their profits $121,000,000 over their prewar profits. Add the excess profits of the Steel Trust to the excess profits taken by the four meat packers and we have the stupendous sum of $552,684,836. Add to that the many millions made by the tanneries and other subsidiary companies, the millions made in padding their costs by heavily increasing their salaries and other manipulations as, for instance, the commission calls attention to the salaries paid by the American Metal Co. (Ltd.), New York, a concern dealing in zinc, whose president received a salary of $364,326.73; others received upward of $200,000—add it all up and then compare it with the profits and returns to the 6,000,000 farmers and their families, who received not 319 per cent on their investment or a thousand per cent profit over prewar profits, but who are contented with 5 or 6 per cent on their investment, and, according to Mr. Spillman, Chief of the Office of Farm Management, Department of Agriculture, get on an average of $142 in cash, $260 in fuel and house rent—a total of $402—as the annual earnings of a family of four and six-tenths persons. The farmer works not 7 hours a day; he and his family work early and late, many of them 16 hours, Sundays included.

The Government clerk who draws one or two thousand dollars salary, who has his Sundays free and 72 days' leave with pay, who, if all his leave is taken, works on an average, excluding Sundays, of less than 6 hours a day, gets $120 increase of salary. All agree that with the high cost of living clerks must necessarily be paid more salary than they have been paid in the past. The only contention as to the increase in hours was that now, in time of war, in these strenuous times when all are expected to do their bit, might they not be required to give an additional hour to work each day when paid for that hour, or the $120 increase as provided in the bill? The President thought not, and returned the bill without his approval. If no additional burdens are now to be placed upon them in consideration of the $120 increase in salary, and if most exorbitant profits are to be tolerated in the various lines of industry, I fail to see the justice in denying the small increase in price of wheat to the farmer, who works from 10 to 16 hours per day, who receives, according to Mr. Spillman's statement, only, on an average, $402 as the annual earnings of a family of four and six-tenths persons, who pays out of that small earning not only local, county, State, and Federal taxes but who is and who has been required under the law to pay his share of one-half of the taxes of the city of Washington. I fail to see why, under existing conditions, the farmer selling his wheat in Philadelphia should be denied the small increase of 4 cents per bushel of wheat, or the farmer selling his wheat in New York should be denied the increase of 3½ cents per bushel, which in amount would be less than 20 cents on a barrel of flour, or less than 1 cent for every 30 loaves of bread to the consumer.

Railroads have been granted unusual and unheard-of compensation. As a result, freight and passenger rates have been increased and $900,000,000 have been added to the burdens of the American people, a large portion of it to be paid by the farmer. The price of his cattle and hogs has been fixed through arrangements by the packer and the Food Administration. As a result, the farmers have been feeding and marketing their cattle at a loss, while four meat packers, so vigorously and eloquently defended by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN], have under Government regulations in the three war years, 1915–1917, increased their profits over $120,000,000 over prewar profits. Morris & Co. made 263.7 per cent profit on its three million capital outstanding for the fiscal year ending November 1, 1917. Yes; and Mr. "Consumer," I am told, to-day pays 60 cents per pound for sirloin steak here under the shadow of the dome of the National Capitol.

The water power, our most valuable resource, valued at many billions of dollars, is to be disposed of most likely without compensation. Just why all of this, I know not. I take it that it is fair to assume that conditions here are the same as in other countries, or as stated by Sir Adam Beck, page 716, part 3, of the Water Power Hearings: "The war, of course, is an 'excuse' for many things. I am afraid it is an excuse for many things in our country and perhaps you are similarly affected. Many things are justified and overlooked at this time in Canada because of the war. There is a spirit of greed prevailing the world over and men have little regard for efficiency or for the ultimate good of the people or anything else other than they want to see some quick money coming their way, easy money; and I am afraid a lot of them are getting it."

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, it has just been announced that the President of the United States is about to fix the price of cotton. I hear that this is to be done notwithstanding the long, loud, and anguished protests of the gentlemen who produce cotton and the gentlemen who represent the cotton-producing States. Those of us in the North who have felt the benevolent hand of the Government in fixing the price of wool and of wheat can appreciate the anguish of those gentlemen. They have our sympathy, but I can not refrain from commending the President of the United States and his advisors for this belated and necessary act of justice. I have always felt that any attempt arbitrarily and by governmental action to fix the prices must result in certain economic disturbances, both in the operation of the law of supply and demand and in the distribution of the product, but I am convinced that if the circumstances of the case during the last year and a half have justified the fixing of prices of wheat, they even more justify now the fixing of the price upon cotton.

I want to present some statistical matter which I think conclusively proves the necessity and the justice of this action on the part of the President of the United States.

When a year and a half ago we brought up for consideration the food-control bill in this House, the House was told that there was a shortage of wheat, and that shortage came at a time when there was the greatest demand in the world for food, for wheat, for bread, limited only by the necessities of our allies and ourselves in the prosecution of the war. That same situation exists to-day in the case of cotton and has existed for more than a year. I want to give some comparative statistics touching the production of wheat during the last four years and the four years preceding the war and the same statistical basis touching the production of cotton. In 1915 the production of wheat was 130 per cent of the average production of wheat for the preceding four years. In the same year the production of cotton was 75 per cent. In 1916 the wheat crop was 85 per cent of the production for the period to which I have referred. In the same year the production of cotton was 76.7 per cent. In 1917 the per cent for wheat was 86 per cent and for cotton 73 per cent. In 1918 we have a crop equivalent to 119 per cent of the average for the four years preceding the war and for cotton a production this year of 74.6 per cent of the average for the four years preceding the war. Reduced to bushels and bales the total production of wheat for the crop years 1915, 1916, 1917, and 1918 shows an increase, when compared with the total crop of the preceding four years, of 205,530,000 bushels, while the total production of cotton for 1915, 1916, 1917, and 1918, compared with the production for the preceding four years, showed a decrease of production amounting to 14,859,000 bales, a decrease in the cotton crop during the past four years equivalent to the average crop for any year during the preceding four years.

In other words, while during the last four years we have had an actual surplus of wheat as compared with the average for the preceding four years we have had during the same period an actual decrease in the production of cotton equivalent to almost 15,000,000 bales. How any man who has any elemental sense of justice can under those conditions justify the fixing of a maximum price upon wheat while cotton is permitted to soar without limit except the sky and the cupidity of the men who raise it and the profiteerer who uses it for his own advantage I can not understand.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDERSON. I want to go on with these figures, and I have only 10 minutes.

I desire to refer just a moment to the price. The price of wheat during the month of August this year was 140 per cent higher than the average price during the four-year period before the war to which I have referred. The price of wheat during the month of August this year was 35 per cent higher than the average for the years 1915. 1916, and 1917. The price of cotton during August of this year—and I am speaking now of the farm values—was 217 per cent higher than the average price for the years 1911, 1912, 1913, and 1914, and was 65 per cent higher than the price for the years 1915, 1916, and 1917. In other words, the price of cotton during the last four years of the war, under a great shortage, it is true, has been very much higher comparatively than the price of wheat. If there ever was a justification for fixing a maximum price for wheat or wool there is infinitely more justification now for the fixing of a maximum price upon cotton, and has been for more than a year and a half last past.

If the price of cotton is fixed at a point comparable with the fixed price of wheat, in its ratio to the average price of wheat during the four years preceding the war, the price of cotton to-day could not exceed to the farmer 25 cents a pound.

Of course, if we are to proceed upon the theory that prices are to be fixed by unrestricted competition, a high price for cotton would be justified by the existing shortage. We have abandoned this theory of unrestricted competition as to wool and wheat, and in its place have adopted a policy of Government price fixing coupled with governmental control of distribution.

It is not fair to make fish of wheat and fowl of cotton. If the shortage of wheat which existed last year, and which no longer exists, justifies the continuance of a fixed maximum price on wheat, the shortage of cotton, which is and has been very much greater than that of wheat, certainly now justifies the adoption of the latter policy with respect to cotton.

I conclude by again congratulating the administration upon this belated act of justice to the wheat farmer, the wool grower, the consumer, our soldiers abroad, and the allies who fight with us for the liberties of humanity and the democracy of the world.

I append the statistical basis upon which my remarks have been based:

Wheat.

Year.	Production.	Average farm price per bushel Dec. 1.
	Bushels.	*Cents.*
1911	621,338,000	87.4
1912	730,267,000	76.0
1913	763,380,000	79.9
1914	891,017,000	98.6
Average	751,500,500	85.5
1915	1,025,801,000	91.9
1916	636,318,000	160.3
1917	650,828,000	200.9
1918[1]	893,585,000	[2]205.1
Average	802,883,000	164.5

[1] Estimated. [2] Sept. 1, 1918.

Cotton.

Year.	Production.[1]	Average farm price per pound Dec. 1.
	Bales.	*Cents.*
1911	15,693,000	8.8
1912	13,703,000	11.9
1913	14,156,000	12.2
1914	16,135,000	6.8
Average	14,921,750	10.2
1915	11,192,000	11.3
1916	11,450,000	19.6
1917[1]	10,949,000	27.7
1918[2]	11,137,000	[3]32.2
Average	11,182,000	22.7

[1] Preliminary. [2] Estimated. [3] August, 1918.

The following table shows the ratio of production compared with the average for 1911, 1912, 1913, and 1914:

Year.	Wheat.	Cotton.
1915	130	75
1916	85	76.7
1917	86	73
1918	119	74.6

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

For the investigation and improvement of tobacco and the methods of tobacco production and handling, $32,000.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I rise to make a parliamentary inquiry first. Is it in order to move to strike out any of these paragraphs?

Mr. LEVER. Oh, yes.

Mr. WALSH. I move to strike out the paragraph just read, providing for the investigation and improvement of tobacco and methods of production and handling.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair did not hear the gentleman.

Mr. WALSH. I move to strike out the paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. On what page?

Mr. WALSH. The paragraph just read, for the investigation and improvement of tobacco and methods of tobacco production and handling.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has a copy of the President's message, and it is the only one I have. The Clerk is reading from the engrossed copy of the bill.

Mr. WALSH. I make the motion in this form, to strike out:

For the investigation and improvement of tobacco and the methods of tobacco production and handling, $32,000.

That is found on page 13, at the bottom of the page, of House Document No. 1229.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts.

The question was taken and the Chair announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a division.

The committee divided, and there were—ayes 6, noes 28.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

Purchase and distribution of valuable seeds: For purchase, propagation, testing, and congressional distribution of valuable seeds, bulbs, trees, shrubs, vines, cuttings, and plants; all necessary office fixtures and supplies, fuel, transportation, paper, twine, gum, postal cards, gas, electric current, rent outside of the District of Columbia, official traveling expenses, and all necessary material and repairs for putting up and distributing the same; for repairs and the employment of local and special agents, clerks, assistants, and other labor required, in the city of Washington and elsewhere, $242,320. And the Secretary of Agriculture is hereby directed to expend the said sum, as nearly as practicable, in the purchase, testing, and distribution of such valuable seeds, bulbs, shrubs, vines, cuttings, and plants, the best he can obtain at public or private sale, and such as shall be suitable for the respective localities to which the same are to be apportioned, and in which same are to be distributed as hereinafter stated, and such seeds so purchased shall include a variety of vegetable and flower seeds suitable for planting and culture in the various sections of the United States: *Provided*, That the Secretary of Agriculture, after due advertisement and on competitive bids, is authorized to award the contract for the supplying of printed packets and envelopes and the packeting, assembling, and mailing of the seeds, bulbs, shrubs, vines, cuttings, and plants, or any part thereof, for a period of not more than five years nor less than one year, if by such action he can best protect the interests of the United States. An equal proportion of five-sixths of all seeds, bulbs, shrubs, vines, cuttings, and plants, shall upon their request, after due notification by the Secretary of Agriculture that the allotment to their respective districts is ready for distribution, be supplied to Senators, Representatives, and Delegates in Congress for distribution among their constituents, or mailed by the department upon the receipt of their addressed franks, in packages of such weight as the Secretary of Agriculture and the Postmaster General may jointly determine: *Provided, however*, That upon each envelope or wrapper containing packages of seeds the contents thereof shall be plainly indicated, and the Secretary shall not distribute to any Senator, Representative, or Delegate seeds entirely unfit for the climate and locality he represents, but shall distribute the same so that each Member may have seeds of equal value, as near as may be, and the best adapted to the locality he represents: *Provided, also*, That the seeds allotted to Senators and Representatives for distribution in the districts embraced within the twenty-fifth and thirty-fourth parallels of latitude shall be ready for delivery not later than the 10th day of January: *Provided, also*, That any portion of the allotments to Senators, Representatives, and Delegates in Congress remaining uncalled for on the 1st day of April shall be distributed by the Secretary of Agriculture, giving preference to those persons whose names and addresses have been furnished by Senators and Representatives in Congress and who have not before during the same season been supplied by the department: *And provided, also*, That the Secretary shall report, as provided in this act, the place, quantity, and price of seeds purchased, and the date of purchase; but nothing in this paragraph shall be construed to prevent the Secretary of Agriculture from sending seeds to those who apply for the same. And the amount herein appropriated shall not be diverted or used for any other purpose but for the purchase, testing, propagation, and distribution of valuable seeds, bulbs, mulberry and other rare and valuable trees, shrubs, vines, cuttings, and plants.

Total for Bureau of Plant Industry, $3,137,038.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

I wish to inquire as to this congressional seed item, whether the conferees left it at the same amount as it passed the House? You will recall there was quite a discussion in the House, and the effort was made to raise the amount so as to accord Members of Congress the same number of packages of seed as heretofore, which required an increase in the amount of the appropriation because of the higher price of seed.

Mr. LEVER. We left it at the same amount.

Mr. STAFFORD. So there will be fewer packages for Members to distribute next year than in prior years?

Mr. LEVER. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman give the number of packages that will be available to be distributed by Members of Congress? As I understood the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER], he sought to increase the appropriation one-third, based on the increased cost. So I assume the number will be reduced one-third of the number of packages heretofore received.

Mr. TILLMAN. If the gentleman will yield, I have been advised we will get 10,000 packages of vegetable seed and 3,000 of flower seed.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I yield.

Mr. WALSH. I would like to ask whether the gentleman is lamenting or rejoicing?

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman will recall that I was of valuable assistance to the gentleman in his effort to demand in the House a separate roll call to keep the appropriation as it was. I am surprised at the gentleman's memory.

Mr. WALSH. I know the gentleman has quick changes of mind sometimes.

Mr. STAFFORD. On matters of economy the gentleman knows that I seldom change my mind.

The Clerk read as follows:

For enabling the Secretary of Agriculture to carry into effect the provisions of the act of June 30, 1906, entitled "An act for preventing the manufacture, sale, or transportation of adulterated, or misbranded, or poisonous, or deleterious foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors, and for regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes," in the city of Washington and elsewhere, including chemical apparatus, chemicals and supplies, repairs to apparatus, gas, electric current, official traveling expenses, telegraph and telephone service, express and freight charges, and all other expenses, employing such assistants, clerks, and other persons as may be considered necessary for the purposes named, and rent outside of the District of Columbia; and to cooperate with associations and scientific societies in the revision of the United States Pharmacopœia and development of methods of analysis, $589,081.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. PLATT. I do so for the purpose of asking the chairman of the committee a question. Is there anything in this bill in connection with this investigation by the Bureau of Chemistry or elsewhere for the promotion of the brewing industry? Is there anything under the growing of hops, for instance, that used to be carried in agricultural appropriation bills?

Mr. LEVER. No; there is not.

Mr. PLATT. In this item, on page 13, I notice reference is made to fermentation investigators, $58,000.

Mr. LEVER. That may apply to molasses and all kinds of things. It has no reference at all to beer or hops or anything of that kind.

Mr. PLATT. The situation has changed a little since this bill was originally proposed. I thought if there were anything in there that had special reference to that particular industry it ought to come out.

Mr. LEVER. That is true. I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. STAFFORD. The Committee on Agriculture is known to be composed exclusively of Members who have been "dry" for a number of years.

The CHAIRMAN. The pro forma amendment is withdrawn. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

For farmers' cooperative demonstration work outside of the cotton belt, including the employment of labor in the city of Washington and elsewhere, supplies, and all other necessary expenses, $554,800.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, I desire first to ask the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture how much is the total provided in this bill for the eradication or control of the cotton-boll weevil, or in any wise relating to that particular enterprise?

Mr. LEVER. That is the entire matter. No; I beg the gentleman's pardon. There may be a small appropriation carried under the head of the Bureau of Entomology for the study of the boll weevel itself, but it will be a very small amount.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, this is the largest appropriation made for any agricultural product, or which is expected to be expended toward aiding any agricultural product. Therefore among the agricultural products of importance in this country this is the most expensive to the Government. It is the one outstanding important agricultural product that neither pays a tax nor is controlled in its marketing or in its price by the Government.

I have supported this in former bills and I may now support it, notwithstanding my motion to-day, because I am in favor of encouraging all legitimate agricultural enterprises and products. But, as I said before, it is the only one of the large agricultural products of this country that is neither subjected to market conditions nor price control and which absolutely refuses to pay a tax. It is one of the two agricultural products designed for use in the production of clothing. One is raised in the North, upon the backs of the sheep, and the other is raised in the South from the cotton plant. "Gossypium malyacaea" is the scientific name which, translated by a Member, means "I shall be immune." Or in the light of recent events might be read "sole slacker of the soil." The wool that is raised on the backs of the sheep in the North is denied protection at our ports. The administration commandeers that wool and fixes a definite price at which it may be sold. Neither has been done with reference to cotton. This discrimination in favor of cotton and against wool is a direct reversal of the divine attitude of that early day when the flock products of Abel were preferred to the soil products of Cain.

Cotton is also unlike the wheat of the North, the price of which is fixed in the markets of the Nation, and those of the world are denied to the producers.

When the Congress of the United States was bold enough to believe that it still retained sufficient legislative authority to say the American farmer was entitled to have a 20-cent (9 per cent) raise on his wheat we were met by a veto containing the remarkable statement that the raise from $2.20 to $2.40 would raise the $10.50 barrel of flour $2, or to $12.50. According to mathematics as most of us were taught, it would mean a difference of 95 cents per barrel. But so many new rules have presented themselves to the Northwestern farmers that the repeal of "gravitation" might not startle them.

That veto alone was the cause for holding up this bill for a period of nearly three months, during which time all the new enterprises involved in this bill have been necessarily suspended from July 1, 1918, till whatever date this bill shall be signed.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SLOAN. I ask unanimous consent for five minutes additional.

Mr. LEVER. I ask unanimous consent that debate on this paragraph and all amendments thereto may close in five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent that the debate on this paragraph and all amendments thereto may close in five minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Chairman, I will have to object to that. I want 10 or 15 or 20 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arkansas objects. The gentleman from Nebraska asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. PLATT. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SLOAN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. PLATT. I merely want to ask the gentleman if he does not think it is rather unfortunate to bring up the question of fixing a price on cotton just at this time when the farmers are selling it?

Mr. SLOAN. I was speaking historically. I was not referring to the price of cotton now or later. My objection is to the selection of one great agricultural product, and neither fixing its price, controlling its price, nor in any wise controlling its market, when every other important agricultural product in the United States has its price fixed or its market controlled.

The question was asked the other day, when the cotton tax was being considered, why we should not as well place a tax upon corn as upon cotton—put them on the same basis. It is entirely proper that that should be done. The administration has placed its hand upon corn in two respects:

First, in confining the quotations on speculative corn away under the limit of the cash price for which it was being sold. Second, in the use to which the corn has been put, especially in the production of pork and beef. This has been controlled, first, in denying to pork and beef free access to the palates of the American people which would sustain a natural market. Second, by the creation of a standard of carcasses different from that which had been the standard on the American markets for

the last 30 years. The administration selected the light beef of the Argentine type or the southern type, instead of the finished beef which is the ordinary steer of from 1,300 to 1,600 pounds. This last was over a year ago encouraged by the Food Administration to be developed to the last pound capable of being placed upon the carcass, so that for a given number of live beeves we might have a large amount of beef produced. The market spread of price between the heavy and the new light standard was very small by reason of that created and controlled market. Out of that grew the insolvency and bankruptcy of a large number of the beef and pork producers of the United States.

Now, it seems to me that this one industry here, the cotton industry, so richly endowed, with $650,000 for its protection, should not object to being controlled either in its markets or in its prices. Or it should have gracefully submitted to a reasonable tax being placed upon it. There is no reason why an aristocracy of agricultural products should be established and maintained in this country, any more than there should be an aristocracy among men.

Further, the steel which is dug out of the earth and purified in the fervent heat caused and controlled by wasting labor is controlled in distribution and, therefore, in price. The coal which is drawn from the earth is distributed and priced as the administration wills. Why, then, should not cotton be market or price controlled by the administration and in default thereof taxed by Congress?

Moreover, there has been from one-half billion to three-fourths of a billion dollars, in effect, thrown into the sea by the perverse opposition of cotton Congressmen refusing to permit a reasonable import duty being collected upon the $3,000,000,000 worth of goods coming through our ports during the last fiscal year. It was said of old: "Let those who prevent their country's benefit be required to present an equivalent."

The Clerk read as follows:

For farmers' cooperative demonstrations and for the study and demonstration of the best methods of meeting the ravages of the cotton-boll weevil, including the employment of labor in the city of Washington and elsewhere, supplies, and all other necessary expenses, $650,140: *Provided, That* the expense of such service shall be defrayed from this appropriation and such cooperative funds as may be voluntarily contributed by State, county, and municipal agencies, associations of farmers, and individual farmers, universities, colleges, boards of trade, chambers of commerce, other local associations of business men, business organizations, and individuals within the State.

Mr. SLOAN offers the following amendment: Page 34, strike out the following:

"For farmers' cooperative demonstrations and for the study and demonstration of the best methods of meeting the ravages of the cotton-boll weevil, including the employment of labor in the city of Washington and elsewhere, supplies, and all other necessary expenses, $650,140: *Provided,* That the expense of such service shall be defrayed from this appropriation and such cooperative funds as may be voluntarily contributed by State, county, and municipal agencies, associations of farmers, and individual farmers, universities, colleges, boards of trade, chambers of commerce, other local associations of business men, business organizations, and individuals within the State."

By unanimous consent, Mr. SLOAN was given leave to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. LEVER. I ask unanimous consent that debate on this paragraph and all amendments thereto shall now close.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent that debate on this paragraph and all amendments thereto be now closed. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Nebraska to strike out the paragraph.

Mr. SLOAN. I withdraw the motion, with the consent of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the motion will be withdrawn and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Total for Bureau of Public Roads, $593,540.

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the bill. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

For investigating the handling, grading, and transportation of grain, including the grain sorghums, for the purpose of fixing definite grades thereof, $92,750.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I would like to be advised as to this item "for investigating the handling, grading, and transportation of grain," and so forth, "$92,750." How is that used?

Mr. LEVER. That is used in an effort to fix standard grades for various kinds of grain, wheat, oats, corn, sorghum, and so forth. It is a technical investigation for fixing the grades.

Mr. NORTON. Does the gentleman know how much of that amount is used in the bureau in Washington and how much for outside work?

Mr. LEVER. I do not have it at hand at this minute, but I can put it in the RECORD.

Mr. NORTON. There is a further appropriation in the bill of $456,580 to carry out the provisions of the United States grain-standard act. That seems to be a duplication of appropriation.

Mr. LEVER. No; one is for the enforcement of the grain-standard act and the other is for investigation work with a view to fixing standards. There is no duplication.

Mr. NORTON. It occurs to me that these are large appropriations for that class of work.

Mr. LEVER. They are large appropriations; the grain-standard act requires a large amount for the administration of it.

Mr. NORTON. I withdraw the pro forma amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

To make surveys to determine the actual distribution of the pink bollworm in Mexico and to exterminate local infestations in Mexico near the border of the United States, in cooperation with the Mexican Government or local Mexican authorities, $25,000.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Chairman, I intended to place in the RECORD yesterday a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, but it was the information of some gentlemen that we might be able to get through with the bill then, so I did not interfere.

There are several bills in the Committee on Public Lands providing for some manner of homestead on waste land or reclaimed arid land throughout the United States for the accommodation of and to help the home-coming soldiers.

We all recollect what a magnificient thing it was when that grand old Pennsylvania statesman, Galusha A. Grow, championed the homestead act after the Civil War, and what he did for the development of that great central producing granary of the world, which is to-day sustaining the fighting forces on the front in France. And what wonders we may do now for our heroes of to-day if we start in time! I am having read a letter from a soldier indicating a desire to have it done, and a letter from the Secretary of the Interior indicating his willingness to proceed.

I do not know who the chairman of the Committee on the Public Lands may be, but I assume that he is active and I assume also that legislation is in process. I know they are all good men on the committee, and all I wish to do is to rather suggest, by the reading of these two letters, the propriety of speeding up a little, as it may take a long time to formulate a plan, because we can not do it as they did in the homestead act, because there was the land ready for occupancy, but now it must be found in different sections.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOCHT. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. I am advised that the chairman of the Committee on the Public Lands is the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. FERRIS], and that he is active. [Laughter.]

Mr. FOCHT. Very active in political irrigation. [Laughter.] As far as his own district is concerned, we are not objecting as to how well he irrigates, but we can only wish him failure elsewhere. That is political, but what I want to do is something about this matter. This is not an original suggestion of mine, but one comes from one of my constituents and the other matter I wish inserted is a communication from the Secretary of the Interior, making suggestions to me. There is no politics in it, but I hope a great broad plan, something grand and noble, a worthy provision for the Yankee Doodle boys who are saving the world to-day.

Now, I would like to have the Clerk, in that compelling, sonorous voice of his, read the letters.

The Clerk read as follows:

CHEMICAL BATTALION, EDGEWOOD ARSENAL,
Edgewood, Md., September 2, 1918.

Hon. B. K. FOCHT,
House of Representatives.

DEAR SIR: Am engaged here at present as a chemist in the Lear gas plant, which I must say is undesirable work. The place since it has been completed to a certain degree rather appeals to me. My only

regrets are that at present prospects for advancement are small and no possible chance of going over to France, both of which were held out for inducements when I applied for induction papers for this branch of the service. However, I am an optimist, and have consolation in the fact that I believe the Germans will soon realize their ambitions and expectations to be absurd and bring the war to a close.

Now, in view of the fact that we are working with chlorine gas here continually and our lungs will be susceptible to the tuberculosis germ after we leave here, there are four of us fellows who intend to go West on farms and discontinue our prewar occupations.

Would you be kind enough to give me information regarding homesteads assigned by the Government, and what kind of inducements do they give for developing the land? Would the Government make any special inducements to soldiers such as a few of the South American countries?

Each of our company of four men has been raised on a farm, and at present I see no reason why we could not be successful in a business adventure of this kind.

Hoping that you may be able to give me first-hand information regarding this, and thanking you for the same, I remain,

Respectfully, Pvt. F. R. BEMIADERFER,
C. W. S. N. A.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, September 18, 1918.

Hon. B. K. FOCHT,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. FOCHT: I have your letter of September 5, inclosing one from Pvt. Bemisderfer, requesting information as to the plan for providing farms for returning soldiers. I am sending you all the information we have available on this subject. The plan, however, has not proceeded far enough along to be able to give any definite information to the soldiers, but such letters as Mr. Bemisderfer's evidence a necessity for this sort of a scheme, and I have to suggest that it would be a good thing if you would have this soldier's letter printed in the RECORD. In this connection, I am sending you a copy of a letter which I have also received from Sergt. Robert E. Graham.

Cordially, yours, F. K. LANE.

SOMEWHERE IN FRANCE, *August 10, 1918.*

Hon. FRANKLIN K. LANE.

DEAR SIR: Having read in a French newspaper of your proposed grant of farming land to returned soldiers, I would like to make an application for any program or printed matter you have on same. Am a man with family and am in the hospital now, recovering from wounds received at the front, to which I expect to return shortly.

Thanking you in advance, I am,

Respectfully,

(Signed) SERGT. ROBT. E. GRAHAM,
Company E, Sixth United States Engineers,
American Expeditionary Forces, France.

WHERE HE WAS AT.

A certain British soldier's letter, according to Punch, runs thus:

"I am sorry I can not tell you where I am, because I am not allowed to say. But I venture to state that I am not where I was, but where I was before I left here to go where I have just come from."

PUTTING COUNTY WEEKLIES OUT OF BUSINESS.

THE NORTHERN NEW YORK PRESS ASSOCIATION,
Canton, N. Y.

Hon. BENJAMIN K. FOCHT,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have read your remarks regarding news-print paper and the country weekly. I am glad the country weekly found a champion. You have earned their thanks.

Country weeklies depend on farmers for subscribers. Farmers seldom pay on receipt of bills. Agents are necessary. Four years ago when we began to manufacture munitions all those who were willing to accept the wages that weeklies could pay agents previous to that time suddenly decamped to the factories. Since then it has been impossible to secure agents. That has been going on for four years. We have had to depend on bills mailed, and responses have not been gratifying.

At the same time we have had to advance our rates to meet higher costs. The competition from city dailies has doubled because they can handle big war news. The advance and competition have tended to lessen subscriptions.

In attempting to collect by mail we have seen our clerks and "front-office helpers" enlist and go to the draft. The "old man" has staid to do the work of two and three.

We have lost railroad, automobile, and tire advertising. Our coal and feed dealers no longer advertise. Our local merchants are slacking up. In every town where there is not some war industry the job work is cut in half. We long ago cut our lists to the limit to save as much as possible.

To-day farmers can not pay. Agents can not be had. Office help can not be had. We are four years short in intensive collections because of the war We are adding to already great burdens by serving on war committees.

We can only comply with the cash request or demand by simply cutting off delinquents and placing the accounts in the hands of attorneys at a terrific loss of cash and friends. It reduces our circulation 50 per cent. It ruins our advertising rates. It ruins 50 per cent of the country weeklies forever, for a temporary saving.

So far as I can learn the editors who met with the commission were editors of daily papers who issue weeklies on the side. In this vicinity many weekly editions of dailies have been discontinued already. The persons best competent to set forth the weekly side are the publishers of real weeklies.

One branch of the administration is demanding the cutting down of the weekly. Another is urging them to adopt a book premium on training camp activities published by the War Department. Still another is supplying plate matter for raising money to send the "local" paper to every man in the service.

The present price of news alone will suspend the publication of 15 per cent of the weeklies. What more can be asked.

By attempting to cut down honest weeklies 15 per cent and insisting on a further immense reduction of circulation because of the cash idea, the Government will lose 50 per cent of its rural publicity.

The only one to gain by killing the weekly is the daily. I just want to thank you again for what you said.

Yours, truly,

WILLISTON MANLEY, *President.*

MANUFACTURERS' RECORD,
Baltimore, September 18, 1918.

Hon. BENJAMIN K. FOCHT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Having just read a copy of your speech on the shortage of news-print paper, under date of August 27, I inclose an editorial from the Manufacturers' Record of last week showing that the War Industries Board denies to country papers the privilege of paying for subscriptions to other papers in advertising. In other words, a paper which might wish to carry an advertisement in payment for the subscription for another paper can not do so. This, I think, is carrying the matter even further than any point raised in your speech.

Very truly, yours,

RICHARD H. EDMONDS,
Editor.

The Clerk read as follows:

Total carried by this bill for the Department of Agriculture, $27,875,353.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that debate upon this paragraph and all amendments thereto close in 11 minutes, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] to have 5 minutes, the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. NORTON] to have 5 minutes, and the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. HAWLEY] 1 minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Chairman, I was surprised and pained by the speech of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROBBINS]. His attempt at a time like this to play politics by appealing to sectional prejudice is indeed out of place and in very bad taste. He charges that several camps and cantonments have been established in the South for political and sectional reasons. His untrue charge is unwarranted from every fact in the case.

Every informed man knows that these camps and cantonments were located in the South mainly because of the climate and not for any sectional or political reason. I regret that such a suggestion should have been made by this Republican Member from Pennsylvania.

He complains that $60,000,000 have been expended in Alabama for the benefit of our boys in uniform, but he says nothing of the hundreds of millions of dollars being spent in his State for war purposes. The gentleman complains that a few million dollars have been spent for war purposes in the Southern States, but fails to tell this House and the country that more money is spent for war purposes in the State of Pennsylvania alone than the entire cost of all the camps and cantonments in all the Southern States.

Then, why should the gentleman from Pennsylvania make such a statement?

In view of the fact that hundreds of millions are being expended by the Government in northern States where all the gun factories and shipyards are located, I must confess that when I hear the gentleman attacking my section of the country as he has done to-day I fear that he is willing to do violence to the truth of the situation and create a sectional prejudice—even at a time like this—if by doing so he can serve a partisan purpose.

Mr. Chairman, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. ROBBINS, a Republican, was indulging in an attack upon the administration for locating some of the cantonments in the South, I thought of the speech of another Republican, Mr. REAVIS, of Nebraska, who has just returned from France, and who praised the boys from the South as he did the boys from the North. He did not try to deceive the country into believing that the South had been singled out for special favors in the expenditures of war funds. He seemed to be trying to contribute to the unity of purpose and solidarity of the American people.

He told how the Alabama boys and the Iowa boys, fighting side by side, were sending terror into the ranks of the brutal Hun.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROBBINS] seemed to be trying to serve a partisan purpose, while the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. REAVIS] seemed to be trying to serve his country.

Mr. Chairman, surely the people of the great and patriotic State of Pennsylvania do not indorse the unwarranted inappropriate, untimely, and unpatriotic attack that the gentleman from Pennsylvania has made upon the administration to-day.

Surely the good people of Pennsylvania will not indorse his attempt to array one section of the country against another. The man who undertakes to create prejudice in the minds of the people of one section against the people of another may help himself politically, but he is injuring his country. The man here at home who now undertakes to create a feeling of sectional bitterness amongst our people while our brave boys from every section are fighting side by side in defense of our country is an enemy to our country, I do not care whether he is a Democrat or Republican.

The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] was unfair to the cotton producers of the South in including in his comparison of five years of cotton prices with wheat prices of the year 1914. When the war broke out in Europe in 1914 wheat advanced in price and cotton fell down from 14 to 6 cents a pound, a loss of $40 a bale and $640,000,000 on that crop, while the price of wheat was higher.

I call the gentleman's attention to this because the comparison that he made does an injustice to the cotton producers. The comparison for five years prior to 1914 will show that wheat has advanced in price more than cotton. I am the friend of the wheat producer and voted to allow him an increase in price.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN] suggests that cotton is exempt from taxation and price fixing. When the gentleman suggests the taxing of cotton he invites a tax on all agricultural products, on every bushel of grain, and on every bale of hay produced in his section of the country. Do the farmers out there want that? I am opposed to such a tax.

The gentleman says we seized wool and fixed the price. He is mistaken in that. The truth is the wool seller agreed with the Government as to the price.

And let me say here that if it is necessary to fix the price of cotton to help win the war, the South is ready for the price to be fixed, and the South will be satisfied if those who have cotton to sell are permitted to have a voice in fixing the price as those who had wool to sell were permitted to have a say in fixing the price of wool. The only fear that we have had is that an unprofitable price might be fixed and, if so, bring bankruptcy and ruin to the cotton producers of the South.

I do not mean to say that an unprofitable price would be fixed intentionally, because we feel that the administration would be as fair to cotton as it was to wheat and steel and wool if it knew the cost of cotton production. All we ask is a fair deal and we expect to get that. Some of you gentlemen do not know it, but cotton is our money crop, and with it we buy grain and meat and mules from the West, and if the purchasing power of the produce is destroyed your grain and meat and mule market is destroyed in the South and you deprive us of the power to do our part in buying liberty bonds, and surely, gentlemen, you do not wish to do that.

Gentlemen, I trust that there will be no more appeals to sectional prejudice during this war.

To-day, while I speak to you, boys from every section of our country are fighting and dying on the battle front in France. They do not ask about the politics of a comrade or "Does your State pay more taxes than mine?" The only thing that they want to know is, Are you fighting for the flag? [Applause.] Thank God, none of these partisan Republicans can say a word against the valor and heroism of the American soldier from the South.

Go ask the machine-gun men from Wisconsin and Michigan about the courage and daring of the Alabama Infantry and they will tell you, "We feel perfectly safe when supporting their lead; we know that the enemy will never break through." [Applause.]

In the name of the boys whose blood is being shed this day, and in the name of all that we hold dear, I beg you, gentlemen, to banish partisan politics and put country, liberty, and humanity first, and all will be well. [Applause.]

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Chairman, the press of Friday, I think, contained a statement that in my judgment ought not to have been inserted on an inner page, but should have been given a prominent position on the first page, with large headlines, because it is the record of a notable event in the progress of the war.

It was to the effect that France, like the United States, is offering to her people a new loan to obtain funds for the vigorous prosecution of her successful war activities. That country has been in war for a little more than four years, and yet the public authorities in France, depending upon the patriotism and courage of her people, are offering to them a loan on a 4 per cent basis. It will undoubtedly be subscribed more than in full.

It seems to me that we in the Congress of the United States should take public notice of the devotion and courage of a people who, having borne as an important part of the theater of war, its heavy burdens for more than four years, have still the confidence which leads to victory. The unconquerable spirit of that gallant people encourages its public authorities to offer the loan on such terms as 4 per cent, with every confidence that the country, so burdened, so devastated, so worn with war, will take the loan in full.

This act of France is an indication of her confidence, determination, and steadfastness, commanding our respect and love, not only for her own sake, but as our full worthy ally. Not only her soldiers but her people fight in the full tide of endeavor. [Applause.]

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise and report the bill back to the House, with the recommendation that the bill do pass.

Mr. NORTON. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, that I may extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Chairman, I make the same request.

Mr. WALSH. Is this all on the bill?

Mr. LANGLEY. I desire to make a statement on this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the request will be granted.

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from South Carolina that the committee do now rise and report the bill back to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

The question was taken, and the motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and Mr. CRISP having assumed the chair as Speaker pro tempore, Mr. SISSON, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the Agricultural appropriation bill (H. R. 12714) and had directed him to report the same back to the House without amendment, with the recommendation that the bill do pass.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I move the previous question on the bill to final passage.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. LEVER, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that after the special orders allotting time to gentlemen to speak after the reading of the Journal on Monday I may be permitted to speak for 30 minutes on the benefits of the draft law.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman asks unanimous consent that after the expiration of the special order allowing Members to address the House next Monday he may be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. TREADWAY. Reserving the right to object, I would like to inquire whether there were special orders made this morning? As I recall it, those were not agreed to.

Mr. MADDEN. They were agreed to.

Mr. TREADWAY. And it was understood that the other Agricultural bill was coming up?

Mr. MADDEN. Permissions were given to three Members to address the House next Monday.

Mr. TREADWAY. Do those follow the Agricultural bill?

Mr. MADDEN. They come first.

Mr. RUBEY. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, there is another bill on the calendar from the Agricultural Committee, and I am going to object to any further speech making until the bill is taken up and passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Missouri objects.

Mr. MADDEN. Does the gentleman object?

Mr. RUBEY. I will have to object until we pass the Agricultural bill.

Mr. MADDEN. I hope the gentleman will not object. I do not often inflict myself on the House.

Mr. RUBEY. I will have to object. We have another important bill here.

Mr. MADDEN. That is true.

Mr. RUBEY. And we ought to pass it. It will take only 30 minutes to pass it here.

Mr. MADDEN. I have not been standing in the way of the passage of any bills here. If the gentleman wants to object to this request, of course he can object.

Mr. RUBEY. If this House will fix a time when we can vote on the prohibition proposition, and have it definitely fixed, I am willing then to let these gentlemen speak. That is a proposition I think we ought to vote on, and Members of this House ought to have an opportunity to vote on it at the very earliest possible moment.

Mr. MADDEN. I am anxious that you should have that opportunity, and I am not going to put anything in the way of giving you that opportunity. I have stood here and helped in everything that you wanted to do.

Mr. RUBEY. I appreciate that.

Mr. LEVER. Will my friend from Missouri yield?

Mr. RUBEY. I have not the floor.

Mr. LEVER. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I am satisfied that——

Mr. MADDEN. I will cut it to 20 minutes if that will be of any use.

Mr. LEVER. I am satisfied that if we can all work together here we can easily pass the food-production bill on next Monday. The best way to do is for all of us to keep in good humor. I hope the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RUBEY] will not object to the request of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN]. I can assure the gentleman from Missouri that I shall undertake to keep a quorum here on Monday until the food-production bill is passed, even if it takes until midnight.

Mr. MADDEN. I would be perfectly willing to have the House meet at 11 o'clock.

Mr. RUBEY. With that assurance, Mr. Speaker, I am perfectly willing to withdraw my objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] asks that at the conclusion of the special order next Monday he be permitted to address the House for 20 minutes.

Mr. MADDEN. I said "30 minutes."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. To address the House for 30 minutes. The Chair understood the gentleman to say "20 minutes." Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, in order that there may be no slip up in the passage of this legislation on Monday, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns this afternoon it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock Monday morning.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns this afternoon it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock Monday morning. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin objects.

PENSIONS.

Mr. SHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill S. 4194.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Kansas calls up a conference report, which the Clerk will report by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

Conference report on the bill (S. 4194) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.

Mr. SHOUSE. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, that the statement be read in lieu of the conference report.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Kansas asks unanimous consent that the statement be read in lieu of the conference report. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read the statement.

The statement was read.

CONFERENCE REPORT NO. 779.

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 4194) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its amendments numbered 3, 4, 6, and 7.

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the House numbered 1, 2, 5, and 8, and agree to the same.

JOUETT SHOUSE,
AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,
JNO. W. LANGLEY,
Managers on the part of the House.
T. J. WALSH,
REED SMOOT,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT.

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 4194) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors submit the following written statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conference as to each of said amendments, namely:

On amendments Nos. 1 and 2: Strikes out the provisions for increase of pension to Joseph H. Rowland and Thomas C. Moore, the proposed beneficiaries being deceased.

On amendment No. 3 (Nathan Vanmetre): Provides increase of pension to $50 per month, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $40, as proposed by the House.

On amendment No. 4 (Samuel H. McCormick): Provides increase of pension to $40 per month, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $32, as proposed by the House.

On amendment No. 5 (Robert Masters): Provides increase of pension to $32 per month, as proposed by the House, instead of $36, as proposed by the Senate.

On amendment No. 6 (Sarah S. Hubbell): Provides a pension of $50 per month to the widow of Brig. Gen. Henry W. Hubbell, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $25, as proposed by the House.

On amendment No. 7 (Thomas M. Wilkey): Provides increase of pension to $36 per month, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $30, as proposed by the House.

On amendment No. 8 (Henrietta Schmidt): Provides increase of pension to $25 per month, as proposed by the House.

JOUETT SHOUSE,
AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,
JNO. W. LANGLEY,
Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, may I ask what is the number of this bill? Is it a Senate bill?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. It is Senate bill 4194. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. SHOUSE, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the conference report was agreed to was laid on the table.

Mr. SHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on Senate bill 4543.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the conference report by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

Conference report on the bill (S. 4543) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.

Mr. SHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the statement be read in lieu of the conference report.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the statement will be read in lieu of the conference report.

The statement was read.

CONFERENCE REPORT (NO. 781).

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 4543) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its amendments numbered 1, 5, and 6.

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the House numbered 2, 3, and 4, and agree to the same.

JOUETT SHOUSE,
AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,
JNO. W. LANGLEY,
Managers on the part of the House.
T. J. WALSH,
REED SMOOT,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT.

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 4543) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors submit the following written statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conference as to each of said amendments, namely:

On amendment No. 1 (Emma C. Hill): Provides an increase of pension to $30 per month, as proposed by the Senate.

On amendments Nos. 2, 3, and 4: Strikes out the provisions for increase of pension to Payton S. Lynn, William A. Kilton, and Zed Culver, the proposed beneficiaries being deceased.

On amendment No. 5: Restores the provision for pension to Martha L. Cutler, as proposed by the Senate.

On amendment No. 6 (Charles A. Nimocks): Provides increase of pension to $50 per month, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $40, as proposed by the House.

JOUETT SHOUSE,
AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,
JNO. W. LANGLEY,
Managers on the part of House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. SHOUSE, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the conference report was agreed to was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next one.

The Clerk read as follows:

Conference report on the bill (S. 4722) granting pensions and increases of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the Clerk will read the statement in lieu of the conference report.

The statement was read.

CONFERENCE REPORT NO. (780).

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 4722) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its amendments numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, and 10.

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the House numbered 8, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 5: That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House numbered 5, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment, amended to read as follows:

"The name of Fanny S. Conline, widow of John Conline, late of Company E, First Regiment, and Company E, Fourth Regiment, Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and major, United States Army, retired, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving."

And the House agree to the same.

JOUETT SHOUSE,
AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,
JNO. W. LANGLEY,
Managers on the part of the House.

T. J. WALSH,
REED SMOOT,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT.

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 4722) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors submit the following written statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conference as to each of said amendments, namely:

On amendment No. 1 (Daniel Wootan): Restores the provision for pension at $21 per month, as proposed by the Senate.

On amendment No. 2 (Charles O. Thorp): Provides increase of pension to $40 per month, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $35, as proposed by the House.

On amendment No. 3 (Stephen Lampman): Provides increase of pension to $50 per month, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $40, as proposed by the House.

On amendment No. 4 (Nannie Johnson Veale): Restores the provision for increase of pension to $30 per month, as proposed by the Senate.

On amendment No. 5 (Fannie S. Conline): Provides increase of pension to $30 per month instead of $36, as proposed by the Senate.

On amendment No. 6 (Edwin Doan): Provides increase of pension to $50 per month, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $40, as proposed by the House.

On amendment No. 7 (Margaret E. Gibboney): Restores the provision for pension at $20 per month as proposed by the Senate.

On amendment No. 8: Strikes out the provision for increase of pension for Samuel M. Bailey, the proposed beneficiary being now deceased.

On amendment No. 9 (Eliza Dalton): Restores the provision for pension at $20 per month, as proposed by the Senate.

On amendment No. 10 (Stephen R. Clark): Provides increase of pension to $50 per month, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $40 per month, as proposed by the House.

JOUETT SHOUSE,
AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,
JNO. W. LANGLEY,
Managers on the part of the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. SHOUSE, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the conference report was agreed to was laid on the table.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. DRANE, for four days, on account of important business; and

To Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts, for one week, on account of important business.

HOUR OF MEETING ON MONDAY NEXT.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 11.15 a. m. on Monday next.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 11.15 a. m. on Monday next. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 27 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until Monday, September 23, 1918, at 11 o'clock and 15 minutes a. m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Secretary of State submitting additional estimates of appropriation required by the State Department for the fiscal years 1918 and 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1287); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Postmaster General submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for expenses of the Post Office Department in connection with war-savings stamps and thrift stamps for the fiscal year 1919, payable from postal revenues (H. Doc. No. 1288); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Postmaster General submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the purchase and maintenance of an automobile for official use, fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1289); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

4. A letter from the Acting Secretary of War, transmitting draft of bill fixing a limitation for bringing suits against the United States in certain cases (H. Doc. No. 1290); to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed.

5. A letter from the Acting Secretary of War, transmitting draft of a bill regulating the personnel in the Coast Artillery bands (H. Doc. No. 1291); to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. MOON, from the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 12976) providing for the protection of the users of the telephone and telegraph service and the properties and funds belonging thereto during Government operation and control, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 800), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. LEVER: A bill (H. R. 12714) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919.

By Mr. SLAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 12981) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to refuse to permit the exportation of any work of art purporting to be a gift made by an individual or organization to a foreign nation or municipality, unless by consent of the Secretary of State; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. PADGETT: A bill (H. R. 12982) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a large dry dock and appurtenant lands; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. HASKELL: A bill (H. R. 12983) prohibiting the disqualification of married women to appointment under the Government; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POU: Resolution (H. Res. 432) to consider House joint resolution 331; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. SIMS: Resolution (H. Res. 433) providing for the consideration of H. R. 12776, entitled "A bill to provide further for the national security and defense and for the more effective prosecution of the war by furnishing means for the better utilization of the existing sources of electrical and mechanical power and for the development of new sources of such power, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. DENTON: Resolution (H. Res. 434) to pay extra compensation to W. Ray Loomis, and providing for the issuance of the weekly compendium and monthly compendium; to the Committee on Accounts.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 12984) granting a pension to Edith Butler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 12985) granting a pension to Augustus W. Connor; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MASON: A bill (H. R. 12986) granting a pension to Annie E. Ranke; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Miss RANKIN: A bill (H. R. 12987) for the relief of Wallace Thompson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12988) for the relief of Minor Berry; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHERWOOD: A bill (H. R. 12989) granting an increase of pension to Frank K. Laha; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER (by request): Memorial of the Friends of Irish Freedom, tendering sympathy to relatives, friends, and the Senate of the United States on the death of Jacob H. Gallinger; to the committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), petition of Charles L. Craig, comptroller of the city of New York, opposing the taxation of income derived from municipal bonds; to the committee on Ways and Means.

Also (by request), petition of George Marshall, of Omaha, Nebr., and of W. B. Rhodes, William Lee, J. B. Rader, and M. B. Hull, of Manhattan, Kans., urging the immediate passage of the Volunteer officers' bill; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also (by request), petition of the Central New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, protesting the amendment to the Agricultural bill which will release beer and wine from bond for sale or export; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a letter of the F. E. Ransom Coal & Grain Co., Kansas City, Mo., concerning the Gore amendment to House bill 11945; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also (by request), resolution of the Anchorage (Alaska) Chamber of Commerce, urging governmental assistance in the development of the Alaskan coal fields; to the Committee on the Territories.

Also (by request), resolution of the National Fraternal Congress of America, urging the passage of Senate bill 3475, as amended by the House Judiciary Committee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also (by request), resolutions of the Kansas City Branch, Railway Mail Association, favoring the McKellar-Keating bill and urging a standard day for railway postal clerks; to the Committee on Labor.

Also (by request), resolution of the Public Ownership Association of California, urging Government control of the Navy reserve oil lands; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also (by request), memorial of Paul G. Bogdanoff, Edwin M. R. Weiner, and Robert L. Sawyer, all of Battle Creek, Mich., suggesting a program for utilization of man power after peace is declared; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RAKER: Resolution by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, urging the appointment of commission provided for in the Newlands river regulation amendment to the rivers and harbors bill; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, resolution passed by the California State Rural Letter Carriers' Association, relative to the exemption from tax of automobiles and gasoline used by Government employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, resolution passed by the National Fraternal Congress of America, urging the passage of Senate bill 3475; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SANFORD: Papers accompanying House bill 12974, granting an increase of pension to George A. Hitchcock; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. VARE: Petition of the superintendent of schools, Philadelphia, Pa., asking the passage of House bill 12767; to the Committee on Labor.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *September 23, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we have assembled once more in Thy presence. We have come out of our day of rest, a day that holds within its sacred bounds our highest and sweetest memories and our divinest aspirations. We have come out of the touch of sacred things to face once more the increasing obligations of life. We pray that Thy blessings may be upon us, that, with chastened spirit and with unyielding will and with courage sufficient for the testing time to which we have come, we may address ourselves to the tasks that await us in the fear of God and with Thy blessing. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last, when, on request of Mr. SMOOT and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The VICE PRESIDENT announced his signature to the enrolled bill (H. R. 11283) to amend and reenact sections 4, 11, 16, 19, and 22 of the act approved December 23, 1913, and known as the Federal reserve act, and sections 5208 and 5209, Revised Statutes, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House.

ACTION OF CAPITAL ISSUES COMMITTEE.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, some days ago I referred to the disposition made of an application of a corporation in my State for certain credit before the Capital Issues Committee. I am in receipt of a letter from the chairman of the Capital Issues Committee, Charles S. Hamlin, calling my attention to the specific application and the reasons for its disposition, which differs somewhat from my understanding of the affair. I therefore ask leave to insert in the RECORD, without reading, the letter of Mr. Hamlin addressed to myself upon that subject.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAPITAL ISSUES COMMITTEE,
NATIONAL METROPOLITAN BANK BUILDING,
Washington, September 20, 1918.

Hon. CHARLES S. THOMAS,
United States Senate, Washington.

DEAR SENATOR THOMAS: My attention has been called to your remarks during the discussion of the mineral-products bill in the Senate, as reported on page 10185 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in which you refer to the Capital Issues Committee, stating that—

"Speaking broadly and generally, the Capital Issues Committee will not sanction the issuance of securities to companies designed to promote and develop minerals of the several sorts mentioned in the bill. * * * My colleague and I had occasion to go with a couple of our constituents from Boulder County to the Capital Issues Committee within the past two weeks. The gentlemen are engaged in the production of tungsten, one of the materials mentioned in this bill. * * * The proposition was turned down upon the ground that the industry contemplated in the enterprise was of a speculative character."

From my recollection of the matter referred to—the application of the Tungsten Products Mining Co.—I was confident that the case had not been decided on the grounds indicated by your statement, for the reason that it is no part of the policy of the Capital Issues Committee to disapprove an issue of securities solely because an enterprise is speculative in character. However, I have since consulted the file in this case and refreshed my memory by discussing the matter with Mr. J. S. Drum, a member of the committee, and I should like to correct what I believe to be your misunderstanding of the matter.

Practically every application that comes before this committee respecting the issuance of securities by a development company presents two distinct aspects—the economic and the financial. The former is concerned with the need of increased output of a given product and the latter with the methods of obtaining and using the necessary capital. In other words, the economic necessity of increased production is not the only factor to be considered in determining whether any issue of securities is compatible with the national interest; the financial structure and methods must be sound in order to avoid waste and loss.

The application of the Tungsten Products Mining Co. related to the sale to the general public of not less than $750,000 of the capital stock of this company to obtain money with which to buy and develop additional tungsten-ore bodies and to provide working capital. It was not shown that the incorporators, although reliable, substantial, and highly trained men, were investing any substantial amount of their own capital in the enterprise in which they were asking the public to put its money. The committee can not approve the sale of stock to the general public under these conditions, regardless of the purposes for which the proceeds will be used.

It appeared also that the newly organized mining company was expected to finance the Tungsten Products Co., which is owned by the incorporators of the mining company. In the opinion of the committee, there seems to be no urgent reason at the present time, from the point of view of the national interest, for the incorporation of the mining company to take over the ore properties and refining plant of the products company or to finance the latter, especially in view of advices we received from the Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior, to the effect that there is a surplus of tungsten refinipg capacity in the country.

I am sorry, indeed, that you had to leave the conference with Mr. Drum, which you attended in company with Senator SHAFROTH and representatives of this company, because Mr. Drum tells me that he had not finished his discussion of the factors involved and that this probably accounts for your understanding that the application was disapproved because it was speculative in character. Many necessary enterprises are inherently speculative in character but are passed favorably by this committee nevertheless when there is need for increased output of the product in question and when the financial structure is such as to give proper assurances to the committee that economic waste will not result.

Very truly, yours, C. S. HAMLIN.

THE REVENUE.

Mr. FLETCHER presented a telegram in the nature of a petition from the Embry Tobacco Co., of Quincy, Fla., praying for protection for small corporations who have invested capital of less than $400,000, etc., which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENT.

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, to which was referred the bill (S. 4637) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 574) thereon.

SARAH A. STAPLIN.

Mr. THOMPSON, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred Senate resolution 308, submitted by Mr. BRANDEGEE on the 21st instant, reported it favorably without amendment and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate to Sarah A. Staplin, sister of William Gardiner, late assistant clerk to the Committee on Pacific Railroads of the United States Senate, a sum equal to six months' salary at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. BANKHEAD:

A bill (S. 4954) providing for the protection of the users of the telephone and telegraph service and properties and funds belonging thereto during the governmental operation and control; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 4955) to authorize the establishment of a fisheries experiment station on the coast of Washington; to the Committee on Fisheries.

By Mr. BRANDEGEE:

A bill (S. 4956) to authorize the President of the United States to reappoint Seth William Schofield major of cavalry; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

THE REVENUE.

Mr. NELSON submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 12863) to provide revenue, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

Mr. RANSDELL submitted three amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 12863) to provide revenue, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The morning business is closed and the calendar under Rule VIII will be proceeded with.

Mr. FLETCHER. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the amendment of the House of Representatives to Senate bill 1419, which is the unfinished business.

Mr. ASHURST. This is calendar Monday.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is calendar Monday.

Mr. SMOOT. That can only be done by unanimous consent.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I gave notice on Saturday that at the close of the morning business to-day I would address the Senate on certain features of the revenue bill. If the rule which specially assigns the morning hour on Monday for calendar business interferes with that notice I shall, of course, not insist upon proceeding.

Mr. FLETCHER. I withdraw the motion I made.

Mr. SMOOT. I ask unanimous consent that the consideration of the calendar under Rule VIII be dispensed with until the Senator from Colorado can deliver his address.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection?

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, before the Senator from Colorado proceeds I think it is advisable for me to make some announcement in regard to House joint resolution 200, which I gave notice heretofore would be taken up on Thursday of this week. A report has been circulated somewhat extensively in the press in the last day or two to the effect that in all probability the woman suffrage amendment would not be reached on next Thursday. I desire to state that so far as I know it will be reached. There is no plan made of which I have any knowledge to postpone the consideration of that measure, and from all the information which I can gather I know of no obstacle which will prevent its consideration at that time.

CALLING OF THE ROLL.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I certainly have no objection to the request for unanimous consent the distinguished Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] has asked for, but I promised a number of Senators that I would assist them in securing the regular order for Calendar Monday. There is no business on the calendar whatever in which I am especially interested, but I think a quorum ought to be present, so that if any Senators wish to object they may have an opportunity to do so. I therefore suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Jones, N. Mex.	New	Smoot
Bankhead	Jones, Wash.	Nugent	Sterling
Brandegee	Kellogg	Phelan	Thomas
Chamberlain	Kenyon	Poindexter	Townsend
Culberson	King	Pomerene	Trammell
Cummins	Lewis	Ransdell	Vardaman
Dillingham	Lodge	Shafroth	Wadsworth
Fall	McKellar	Sheppard	Walsh
Fernald	McNary	Shields	Wilfley
Fletcher	Martin, Ky.	Smith, Ariz.	Williams
Guion	Martin, Va.	Smith, Md.	
Hardwick	Nelson	Smith, S. C.	

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. BENET] is detained from the Senate on official business.

Mr. KENYON. I wish to announce the absence of the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. FRANCE] on account of illness, I will let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. McKELLAR. I desire to announce that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY] and the Senator from Arkansas

[Mr. ROBINSON] are detained on important business. I wish also to announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. HENDERSON] is detained on official business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Forty-five Senators have answered to the roll call. There is not a quorum present. The Secretary will call the roll of absentees.

The Secretary called the names of the absent Senators, and Mr. NORRIS and Mr. THOMPSON answered to their names when called.

Mr. DREW, Mr. SIMMONS, Mr. UNDERWOOD, Mr. CURTIS and Mr. KIRBY entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Fifty-two Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 4194) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 4543) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 4722) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.

The message also announced that the House insists upon its amendments to the bill (S. 4723) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy and of wars other than the Civil War, and to certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors, disagreed to by the Senate, agrees to the conference asked for by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. KEY of Ohio, Mr. KEATING, and Mr. SELLS managers at the conference on the part of the House.

The message further announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 12714) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

H. R. 12714. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Utah asks unanimous consent that the rule of the Senate requiring that the calendar shall be called this morning may be dispensed with until the conclusion of the remarks of the Senator from Colorado. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Colorado will proceed.

Mr. SMOOT. Will the Senator from Colorado yield to me for just a moment?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I wish to give notice that at a meeting of the Joint Committee on Printing this morning it was decided to instruct the Public Printer that hereafter the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be printed upon news-print paper instead of calendered paper, as it is printed to-day, and also that our calendar of business shall be printed upon news-print instead of calendered paper, as it is to-day. I wish to say that it becomes absolutely a necessity to do so, and not only a necessity to do so, but we are going to have a very hard time even to get the news-print paper to continue printing the 33,500 copies of the daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I wish to state that this will save the Government between two and three thousand dollars a day in the cost of paper alone. I wanted to say that much, because there has been objection, of course, in the past to printing the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on news-print paper.

In this connection I wish to state that the bound volumes of the RECORD will be printed with calendered paper as they are printed at present, but all copies of the RECORD that are sent out daily to Senators and Representatives will hereafter be printed upon news-print paper.

THE REVENUE.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, the financial needs of the Government, consequent upon the war with Germany, and the constitutional requirement that bills for revenue shall originate with the House have recently imposed upon the Ways and Means Committee of that body the most gigantic task it ever encountered. An estimated expenditure of $24,000,000,000 for the current year and the desire of the administration to realize one-third of the amount by taxation has necessitated the framing of a measure designed to raise the vast sum of $8,000,000,000 per annum without seriously disturbing the industries or menacing the commerce of the Nation. These figures are nearly one and a half times the total supply of our currency, including gold, silver, nickel, copper, and paper. It represents about 4 per cent of our estimated wealth. It exceeds the combined value of our imports and exports for any year of our history. It would much more than liquidate the money cost of our Civil War on both sides. It will subject the industries of the Nation to a supreme test of endurance. It will virtually absorb the annual profits of production, and must be made to do so, if possible, without discouraging continued productive energy.

We propose by this bill to raise 33⅓ per cent of our war expenses by taxation. This task none of the belligerents has attempted. No nation at war in the past has ever done so, if we except minor conflicts of brief duration from the reckoning. We are the first to make the experiment. If we adhere to it and the war shall endure after 1919, we shall be required to enact other revenue legislation laying heavier taxes, and continue to do so until it shall have terminated, because our war expenditures will increase progressively as the conflict proceeds.

I assume no superior wisdom concerning fiscal affairs. Indeed, I lay claim to but little technical knowledge of financial administration beyond that gained from writers of authority. These tell me that if the revenues of a Government fall below a fair percentage of its bond issues their values are seriously affected and their sale is possible only at a heavy discount. This is logical. They also deprecate large bond issues, and commend the principle of pay as you go for nations as for individuals. No man can challenge the soundness of the doctrine nor the wisdom of adhering to it whenever possible. But exceptions to all rules, whether of conduct or of finance, are bound to occur, and the present world war is an exception to all that has preceded it in human history. We can not, rich as we are, supply our Government through taxation with one-third of the money required for its expenses unless it ends quickly, a contingency which legislators can not assume as probable. But the Government can in a large degree relieve itself of much of its credit requirements, as it has done in the past, as its allies are doing, and as it must do should Germany remain unsubdued a twelvemonth from now.

I do not protest against heavy taxation in times like these. On the contrary, we should impose them as fairly, as uniformly distributed, and as extensively as commerce and industry, as production and consumption, will justify. But we should not, in my judgment, establish a mathematical percentage, based upon estimated expenditures, and make its realization the prime goal of our revenue laws. And this, with the most profound respect for the Treasury Department, the Ways and Means Committee, and some of my colleagues of the Finance Committee, is what we are seeking to do. The result of our action upon the taxpaying interests necessarily assumes a secondary place in our deliberations. Injustice to them, although not intended, must flow from such methods in legislation.

I do not quarrel with preliminary estimates of probable revenues available from different subjects of taxation. These are, of course, essential to any scheme of taxation, and in normal times may well be accepted as standards for adjusting assessments and fixing levies. But in times of unprecedented stress and prodigious outlay it must always be remembered that the integrity of the industrial fabric, in all its subdivisions, is as essential to military success as the Army and the Navy; that to overburden it is to cripple it, and that to cripple it is to invite disaster. As to this we are all agreed; our differences proceed from the result we apprehend from proposed schemes of legislation.

Mr. President, I gravely question the effect which an annual tax roll of $8,000,000,000 will have upon our material interests—agricultural, manufacturing, mining, and commercial—especially as this huge burden is to be distributed by this bill. I question whether after the first year of its operation it will prove efficient or successful. And I am convinced that such an unduly heavy imposition is not a present necessity. I am satisfied that

many of those upon whom these taxes are to fall entertain this view who will not express it lest they be reproached with a lack of patriotism and an unwillingness to cheerfully bear their share of the public burdens.

A factor in Federal taxation which can never be overlooked when increases are proposed, but which at times seems to be disregarded, is that it constitutes but a part—a large part, of course, but yet only a part—of the burden falling upon the taxpayer. In addition to them he must pay a State, county, school, and frequently a municipal tax, whose aggregate sum is prodigious. In 1916 the revenues of the States totaled $466,946,748. Those for the other purposes enumerated are very much more. I feel safe in estimating them at $2,000,000,000. These taxes, too, are increasing very rapidly. They must, like other taxes, be paid from the incomes and earnings of the people. To pay them otherwise is to impair capital and reduce the efficiency. Mr. KITCHIN gives the total individual incomes subject to normal tax in 1917 at $4,700,000,000, and corporation incomes for the same period he estimates at $10,000,000,000, or a total of $14,700,000,000. With the enactment of this bill $10,500,000,000 of this income must be used for purposes of general taxation.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Colorado to yield to me?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. POMERENE. The Senator has given an estimate of individual incomes and an estimate of corporation incomes——

Mr. THOMAS. I have given Mr. KITCHIN's estimate.

Mr. POMERENE. Yes. The question I had in mind was this: Are those in any wise duplications? In other words, is the part of individual incomes which might be received from dividends included in both items?

Mr. THOMAS. No; the individual incomes which are given by Mr. KITCHIN are those upon which a surtax only is levied. Less than 30 per cent of this fund will remain with the taxpayer whose needs must absorb a much larger proportion if his earning capacity shall remain unimpaired. Not all of these taxes are directly imposed on income, but they are passed along and ultimately rest upon that form of wealth, for taxes upon consumption, whether direct or indirect, must be finally defrayed from the earnings of the taxpayer.

Moreover, we propose by what we call war-time prohibition to destroy the basis for more than three-fourths of a billion of our proposed revenue. This sum if realized must, therefore, be superimposed upon our other taxable resources, whose totals are in turn to be diminished by our crusade against intoxicants. How this threatened deficiency is to be supplied, I do not know. Those intent upon the total suppression of the liquor traffic without regard to property rights or to revenue seem to be the least concerned about the problem of increased taxation thus thrust upon our attention. I think that our only resort will be to decrease our estimates by the sum of the amount involved, and in business parlance charge it to profit and loss. If we are to commit the folly of imposing taxes on the one hand and destroying the basis of them on the other, let us not saddle the consequences of our conduct upon the remaining sources of revenue, but accept the dogma of the sincere prohibitionist and shrink from the contamination of a revenue based upon an unholy and a wicked traffic. That is intelligible, although it may not be defensible. But it is worse than hypocrisy to levy a huge tax on distilled liquors on hand, destroy their value by forbidding their sale, and then require all other forms of taxable wealth to supply the deficit. Such a policy indicates the parody on Watts' good old hymn, which informs us that

> God moves in a mysterious way
> His blunders to perform.

But, Mr. President, I do not purpose at this time to discuss the details of the pending revenue bill. That I may be required to do when it becomes the unfinished business of the Senate. I am now concerned only with its general features and framework from a constitutional standpoint, and with its structure as a permanent scheme of war revenue. If some of these features are unlawful, unsound, or disproportionate, its legality will be challenged. If the challenge be overcome, its administration may be one-sided and injurious if not impossible. Details at present are, therefore, of secondary importance.

While constitutional questions have during the war become recondite, their intrusion upon novel and comprehensive schemes of legislation can not be prevented. Here they lie upon the very surface of the bill. The House report reveals and briefly disposes of them upon considerations of justice and equity. That is an easy method. If sound, we shall have no difficulty in removing restraints upon our legislative powers. We can relegate the Constitution to the limbo of things that were, and measure our authority by our discretion, should we care to retain that faculty. Personally, I am unable to reconcile my oath of office with this new standard of construction, although in the given instance it negatives the conclusion asserted.

The pending bill is obnoxious to the Constitution in not less than three important particulars. I refer to the proposed taxation of presidential and judicial salaries, of State and municipal securities and salaries, and to the alternative method of assessing and levying taxes by the war-profits method or the excess-profits method, clothing the Government with authority, as stated in the bill, to resort to "whichever of the two methods will yield the higher amount of taxes," and it may be further affirmed that the constitutional principle of uniformity in taxation is seriously jeopardized by the restriction of the taxes last mentioned to corporations only.

1. The Constitution declares that the salary of the President shall not be increased nor diminished during the period for which he has been elected, and that the compensation of judges shall not be diminished during their continuance in office. Until now this mandate has been respected. Beginning with 1913 Congress has enacted not less than three income-tax laws under the sixteenth amendment. During the Civil War and again in 1894 similar legislation was written upon the statute books. In none of them did this tax appear. In those of recent date these salaries were expressly excepted. What has occurred to make that now lawful which was unlawful before, or to make that doubtful which until now admitted of no doubt whatever? The need for revenue can not of itself introduce new elements into the problem.

The tax which this bill imposes is direct. It is upon the salary as income, and, as a matter of course, that is diminished to the extent of the tax, which is very high. If we can lawfully exact 10 per cent of these salaries, we may exact 90 per cent of them or take it all.

I do not care to cite copiously from writers of accepted authority that this can not be lawfully done, nor to do more than merely refer to the obvious fact that the integrity of the Executive and the independence of the judiciary demanded the insertion of these restrictions in the organic law of the Nation. Both are at the mercy of the legislature from the hour that the power of taxing these salaries is conceded. And in the case of the judiciary let me emphasize the fact that its representatives must submit to this exaction, however unlawful it may be, since they can only resist by refusing to make payment, by becoming defendants in actions by the Government brought in the courts over which they preside. This would require them to sit in judgment upon themselves, and that is unthinkable. If, then, we impose this tax, we ignore a plain constitutional inhibition, and deprive those concerned of all remedy against the consequences. This violates the very fundamentals of right, of justice, and of morality.

It is to be remembered that these restrictions imposed by the Constitution upon the legislative authority are not merely to safeguard the compensation of the officer. That is but a means to an end, and the end is the independence of the Executive and the judiciary. They are not favored for themselves, but protected for the well being of society by the assurance in the one case of an exact and in the other of a minimum compensation. In No. 73 of the Federalist, in discussing the executive restriction, Mr. Hamilton says:

> It is impossible to imagine any provision which would have been more eligible than this. The legislature on the appointment of a President is once for all to declare what the compensation for his services shall be during the time for which he shall have been elected. This done, they will have no power to alter it either by increase or diminution till a new period of service by a new election commences. They can neither weaken his fortitude by operating upon his necessities, nor corrupt his integrity by appealing to his avarice.

He thus comments in No. 79 upon the judicial restrictions:

> Next to permanency in office, nothing can contribute more to the independence of the judges than a fixed provision for their support. The remark made in relation to the President is equally applicable here. In the general course of human nature, a power over a man's subsistence amounts to a power over his will. And we can never hope to see realized in practice the complete separation of the judicial from the legislative power in any system which leaves the former dependent for pecuniary resource on the occasional grants of the latter.

Mr. Hamilton has thus formulated more clearly and tersely than I can hope to do, the vital necessity of a constant observance of these constitutional safeguards, both of which are assailed by the revenue bill.

2. The bill also includes on gross incomes "the interest from the obligations of States and political subdivisions thereof issued after its passage," together with the compensation of the State and municipal officers. These items have also been excluded either expressly or by judicial decision from previous income-tax legislation. Of the unconstitutionality of this proposed imposition, I entertain no doubt whatever.

The power of the State to tax Federal agencies, and of the Federal Government to tax those of the States was practically settled by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1819, in the great case of McCulloch against Maryland. A statute of that State imposed a tax upon all banks transacting business within its boundaries not chartered under its laws. A tax under this statute was levied upon the Bank of the United States, operating in Maryland under Federal charter. The tax was resisted by the Government, which challenged the power of the State to levy an impost tax upon its agencies or property. The State denied the right of the Government to create a banking institution, and insisted upon its power as an independent sovereignty to levy and collect the tax.

It was then determined that the power to tax being the power to destroy, could not be exercised by one sovereignty against the property or the agencies of another. The integrity of the general Government as against the States and of the States against the general Government demanded mutual exemption each from the revenue laws of the other. The unanswerable logic of Chief Justice Marshall in the decision of that memorable controversy has remained practically unchallenged until this bill was framed by the House committee; and I venture the prediction that if we incorporate the principle into the law it will be summarily set aside, as it ought to be, by the courts. Otherwise the income of the States and their municipalities, their securities, as well as the interest thereon, may be forced to respond to the demands of the national tax gatherer, 20 per cent, 40, 60, or 80 per cent, as the Congress may determine. And if this be permissible then the reciprocal right of the States to tax the national agencies at once springs into being, and chaos, if not civil strife, may ensue from the conflicting and irreconcilable policies of sovereignties revolving in the same orbit.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I am deeply interested and very much in sympathy with the argument the Senator is making; but I was a little late in getting into the Chamber, and, if he has not already discussed it, I should like to know whether in his argument the Senator is coming to the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution?

Mr. THOMAS. I have not come to that as yet.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. But the Senator will discuss that?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Very well.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, the Maryland case was the forerunner of many others of similar import and involving the same contention. Of these, Van Brocklin *v.* Tennessee (117 U. S.) is a type. It involved the power of Congress to tax State and municipal property. The power was denied, the court declaring that the reasons for exempting such property from Federal taxation were identical with those requiring the exemption of all property and income of the National Government from State taxation.

In Pollock *v.* Farmers' Loan & Trust Co. (158 U. S., 583) the tax assailed was levied, under the act of 1894, directly upon the income from State and municipal bonds in private ownership. It was there held that the want of power to tax State and municipal property extends to incomes derived from dividends or interest upon State and municipal securities.

I may digress by saying that the court was practically unanimous upon that proposition, although widely differing upon other controversies involved in that case.

In his great work on Constitutional Limitations, Judge Cooley (6th ed., pp. 2, 592) thus disposes of the subject:

> If the States can not tax the means by which the National Government performs its functions neither, on the other hand nor for the same reasons, can the latter tax the agencies of the State governments. The same supreme power which established the departments of the General Government determined that the local government should also exist for their own purposes, and made it impossible to protect the people in their common interests without them. Each of these several agencies is confined to its own sphere, and all are strictly subordinate to the Constitution which limits them, and independent of their agencies except as thereby made dependent. There is nothing in the Constitution (of the United States) which can be made to admit of any interference by Congress with the secure existence of any State authority within its lawful bounds. And any such interference by the indirect means of taxation is quite as much beyond the power of the National Legislature as if the interference were direct and extreme. (Citing Fifield *v.* Close, 15 Mich., 505.)
>
> It has therefore been held that the law of Congress requiring judicial process to be stamped could not constitutionally be applied to the process of State courts, since otherwise Congress might impose such restrictions upon the State courts as would put an end to their effective action and be equivalent practically to abolishing them altogether. (Citing Warren *v.* Paul, 22 Ind., 276.) And a similar ruling has been made in other analogous cases.
>
> Strong as is the language employed to characterize the taxing power in some of the cases which have considered this subject, subsequent events have demonstrated that it was by no means extravagant. An enormous national debt has not only made imposts necessary, which in some cases reach several hundred per cent of the original cost of the articles upon which they are imposed, but the systems of State banking which were in force when the necessity for contracting that debt first arose have been literally taxed out of existence by burdens avowedly imposed for that very purpose. If taxation is thus unlimited in its operation upon the objects within its reach it can not be extravagant to say that the agencies of Government are necessarily excepted from it, since otherwise its exercise might altogether destroy the Government through the destruction of its agencies. That which was predicted as a possible event has been demonstrated by actual facts to be within the compass of its power; and if considerations of policy were important it might be added that if the States possessed the authority to tax the agencies of the National Government they would hold within their hands a constitutional weapon which factions and disappointed parties would be able to wield with terrible effect when the policy of the National Government did not accord with their views; while, on the other hand, if the National Government possessed a corresponding power over the agencies of the State governments there would not be wanting men who in times of strong party excitement would be willing and eager to resort to this power as a means of coercing the States in their legislation upon the subjects remaining under their control.

The principle underlying the opinion in Veasie Bank against Fenno, eighth Wallace, page 533, is in harmony with this view, although apparently opposed to it. The tax of 10 per cent imposed by Congress upon the circulation of State banks, after the issue of Treasury notes and the establishment of national bank system, was there challenged as a violation of the rule. But the court sustained the tax upon the following ground:

> Congress having undertaken, in the exercise of undisputed constitutional power, to provide a currency for the whole country, may constitutionally secure the benefit of it to the people by appropriate legislation, and to that end may restrain by suitable enactments the circulation of any notes not issued under its own authority.

It may be added that the vast bulk of the State banks were merely private companies operating under general incorporation laws and in no sense public agencies.

I am, of course, aware that Gov. Hughes, of New York, expressed the apprehension that the sixteenth amendment, if adopted, would confer upon Congress the power to levy the tax I am now assailing. Any expression from the lips of that eminent jurist and statesman should command the most serious consideration. It arrested my attention when made, and I at once examined the subject with some care. I am not aware that Gov. Hughes committed himself upon the subject or that he did more than warn against a possible interpretation of the amendment involving serious consequences to the States by wiping out the salutary principle for which I am contending.

Mr. President, the New York Times of yesterday published an article entitled "Legal Questions in Taxing Bonds," in which reference is made to the message of Gov. Hughes on the 5th day of January, 1910; and I find from a reading of the extracts from Gov. Hughes's message—which are very brief, however—that my impression regarding the character of it is correct. I read:

> When this amendment was submitted for ratification by the Legislature of the State of New York, Charles E. Hughes, who was then governor, sent a message, dated January 5, 1910, in which he called attention to the fact that the phrase "from whatever source derived" might be construed as including the taxation of incomes derived from bonds issued by the State. In his message Gov. Hughes did not say that he believed the courts would place this interpretation upon the constitutional amendment, but merely called the legislature's attention to a possible construction, believing it his duty to place the legislature on guard as to the possible consequences of their action in ratifying the proposed amendment.
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> "To place the borrowing capacity of the State and of its governmental agencies at the mercy of the Federal taxing power," said Gov. Hughes, "would be an impairment of the essential rights of the State which, as its officers, we are bound to defend."
>
> Although for the reason just noted Gov. Hughes advised the legislature not to ratify the amendment, he quoted in his message several Supreme Court opinions indicating that State and municipal bonds could not be taxed by the National Government. He said:
>
> "While the justices of the court in the Pollock case differed in opinion upon the question whether a tax upon income from property was a direct tax, and as such could not be laid without apportionment, they were unanimous in their conclusion that no Federal tax could be laid upon the income from municipal bonds. Mr. Justice White, who dissented in the Pollock case with regard to other questions, as to this said (157 U. S., 652):
>
> "'The authorities cited in the opinion are decisive of this question. They are relevant to one case and not to the other, because in the one case there is full power in the Federal Government to tax, the only controversy being whether the tax imposed is direct or indirect, while in the other there is no power whatever in the Federal Government, and therefore the levy, whether direct or indirect, is beyond the taxing power.'"

Without present regard to that, I then reached the conclusion that the amendment was merely designed to supply the authority to levy an income tax which the Supreme Court denied to Congress in the case of Pollock against Farmers' Loan Co. by substituting the amendment for division 4 of section 9, Article I, of the Constitution, which declares that "no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken." It

contained no new grant of power and therefore included no new objects of taxation. The method of laying the tax was changed, but the subject of it remained the same.

This view was so exhaustively considered and so conclusively demonstrated by Senator Root in his celebrated letter to State Senator Davenport, of New York, in 1910, prompted by the message of Gov. Hughes, that I shall ask the privilege of printing it at this point in my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 17, 1910.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: Since our conversation last month I have given much consideration to the scope and effect of the proposed income-tax amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Much as I respect the opinion of the governor of the State, I can not agree with the view expressed in his special message of January 5, and as I advocated in the Senate the resolution to submit the proposed amendment, it seems appropriate that I should state my view of its effect.

The proposed amendment is in these words:

"ART. 16. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States and without regard to any census or enumeration."

The objection made to the amendment is that this will confer upon the National Government the power to tax incomes derived from bonds issued by the States or under the authority of the States, and will place the borrowing capacity of the State and its governmental agencies at the mercy of the Federal taxing power.

I do not find in the amendment any such meaning or effect. I do not consider that the amendment in any degree whatever will enlarge the taxing power of the National Government or will have any effect except to relieve the exercise of that taxing power from the requirement that the tax shall be apportioned among the several States. The effect of the amendment will be, in my view, the same as if it said, "The United States may lay a tax on incomes without apportioning the tax, and this shall be applicable whatever the source of the income subjected to the tax," leaving the question, "What incomes are subject to national taxation?" to be determined by the same principles and rules which are now applicable to the determination of that question.

If we were to construe the proposed amendment only by a critical examination of its words, the view upon which the objection is based would be reached by practically cutting the provision in two and reading it as if it read, "the Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived," without the concluding words. But we are not at liberty to do this. The amendment consists of a single sentence and the whole of it must be read together. It expresses but a single idea, and that is that the tax to which it relates must be laid and collected without apportionment among the several States and without regard to any census or enumeration, while the words "from whatever source derived" are obviously introduced to make the exemption from the rule of apportionment comprehensive and applicable to all taxes on incomes.

We are not left, however, to a mere critical examination of words. This provision, as Mr. Justice Bradley said of the Constitution in the Legal tender cases, is "to be interpreted in the light of history and of the circumstances of the period in which it was framed." Justice Story said of another clause of the Constitution, in Brisco *v.* The Bank of Kentucky (2 Peters, 332).

"And I mean to insist that the history of the Colonies before and during the Revolution and down to the very time of the adoption of the Constitution constitutes the highest and most authentic evidence to which we can resort to interpret this clause of the instrument, and to disregard it would be to blind ourselves to the practical mischiefs which it was meant to suppress and to forget all the great purposes to which it was to be applied."

This view must necessarily be applied to the proposed amendment if it be adopted. It will be construed in the light of the judicial and political history which led to the proposal and which appears upon the public records of our Government.

What is that history? The Constitution of 1787 conferred upon the National Government the power of taxation without any limit whatever, except that taxes on exports were prohibited.

The method of exercising the power, however, was subjected to two limitations. One, that imports, duties, and excises should be uniform, and the other that direct taxes should be apportioned among the States. The apportionment provisions were as follows:

"ARTICLE I.

"SEC. 2. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers," etc. (Amended, but not in this respect, by the fourteenth amendment.)

"SEC. 9. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid unless in proportion to the census or enumeration before directed to be taken."

For more than a hundred years after the adoption of the Constitution various tax laws of Congress were from time to time brought before the courts upon objections that they imposed direct taxes in violation of the rule of apportionment. The decisions of the courts uniformly sustained these laws, from the Hylton case, in 1796, which sustained an unapportioned tax on carriages (3 Dallas, 171), to the Springer case, in 1880, which sustained an unapportioned tax on incomes. (102 U. S., 586.)

In the meantime numerous laws were passed and enforced imposing taxes on incomes without apportionment, and a great part of the means for carrying on the Civil War was derived from such taxes.

In the year 1895, however, an income-tax law included in the Wilson tariff act of 1894 was brought before the Supreme Court in the case of Pollock against the Farmers' Loan & Trust Co., and in that case the court decided against the law. The case was heard twice. On the first hearing a majority of the court held that a tax on income derived from real estate must be apportioned as a direct tax, because a tax on real estate itself would be direct, and the judges divided equally as to whether a tax on income derived from personal property must be apportioned. (157 U. S., 429.)

Upon the second hearing of the case the court, by a majority of five to four, held that a tax upon income derived from personal property must be considered a direct tax and must be apportioned (158 U. S., 601). All the judges agreed, however, that taxes on incomes derived from business or occupations need not be apportioned. The effect of these decisions was thus described in one of the minority opinions:

"But the serious aspect of the present decision is that by a new interpretation of the Constitution it so ties the hands of the legislative branch of the Government that without an amendment of that instrument, or unless this court at some future time should return to the old theory of the Constitution, Congress can not subject to taxation—however great the needs or pressing the necessities of the Government—either the invested personal property of the country, bonds, stocks, and investments of all kinds, or the income arising from the renting of real estate or from the yield of personal property, except by the grossly unequal and unjust rule of apportionment among the States. Thus, undue and disproportioned burdens are placed upon the many, while the few, safely intrenched behind the rule of apportionment among the States on the basis of numbers, are permitted to evade their share of responsibility for the support of the Government ordained for the protection of the rights of all."

It was so evidently impossible to collect an income tax by apportionment among the States according to population that the general judgment of the country confirmed the opinion that the decision in the Pollock case had practically taken away from the Congress a power of vital importance to the General Government—a power the exercise of which had, at least in one time of peril, proved essential to the Nation's life.

The attention of the country was sharply called to the need of more Government revenue for the first time after the Pollock case by the decrease of customs and internal revenue receipts and the rapidly mounting deficit which followed the financial panic of 1907; and in the extraordinary session of Congress which began March 15, 1909, when the revised tariff bill came into the Senate, an amendment to the bill was introduced reproducing in substance the old income-tax provisions of 1894 which the Supreme Court had held to be invalid both as to income derived from real estate and as to income derived from personal property. The avowed and necessary effect of including such provisions in the new tariff law would be to present again to the Supreme Court the same questions which had been decided in the Pollock case and to challenge a reversal of their decision. Thereupon the resolution for the submission of this amendment was introduced in the Senate and was passed by Congress.

The proposal followed the suggestions of the Supreme Court in the Pollock case.

The evil to be remedied was avowedly and manifestly the incapacity of the National Government resulting from the decision that income practically could not be taxed when derived either from real estate or from personal property, although it could be taxed when derived from business or occupation.

The terms of the amendment are apt to cure that evil and to take away from the different classes of income considered by the court a practical immunity from taxation based upon the source from which they were derived.

There was no question in Congress or in the courts or in the country about the taxation of State securities. No one claimed that the inability of the General Government to tax them was an evil. The inability to tax them did not arise from the terms of the Constitution, but from the fact that, being the necessary instruments of carrying on other and sovereign governments, they were not the proper subject of national taxation, and that, therefore, no provisions of the Constitution, however wide the scope of their language, could be held to apply to such securities or to the income from them. Judge Cooley, in his work on Constitutional Law, says:

"The power to tax, whether by the United States or by the States, is to be construed in the light of, and limited by, the fact that the States and the Union are inseparable, and that the Constitution contemplates the perpetual maintenance of each with all its constitutional powers, unembarrassed and unimpaired by any action of the other. The taxing power of the Federal Government does not therefore extend to the means or agencies through or by the employment of which the States perform their essential functions, etc."

This rule of construction has been maintained for generations. It is undisputed; it was referred to with approval by the justices who wrote and delivered the opinions in the Pollock case both for and against the judgment. It has been declared again and again by the Supreme Court to be not open to question. It is a rule of construction just as controlling in defining the scope of the proposed amendment as it is in defining the scope of the existing provisions. Under it, from the earliest times of our Government, the apparently unlimited taxing power conferred by the terms of the Constitution has been held not to apply to the instrumentalities of the State. Under it acts of Congress which by their express terms appeared to include instrumentalities of State government have uniformly been held not to include them; this uniform, long-established, and indisputable rule applied to the construction of our Constitution—a rule which has been declared to be essential to a continuance of our dual system of government—forbids that the words of that instrument conferring the power of taxation shall be deemed to apply to anything but the proper subjects of national taxation. Under it we are forbidden to apply the words "from whatever source derived" in the proposed amendment to any of the instrumentalities of State government.

This amendment will be no new grant of power. The Congress already has power to impose taxes on incomes from whatever source derived, subject to the rule of construction which excludes State securities from the operation of the power, but the taxes so imposed must be apportioned among the States. Under the proposed amendment there will be the same and no greater power to tax incomes, from whatever source derived, subject to the same rule of construction, but relieved from the requirement that the tax shall be apportioned.

It appears, therefore, that no danger to the powers or instrumentalities of the States is to be apprehended from the adoption of the amendment.

It would be cause for regret if the amendment were rejected by the Legislature of New York.

It is said that a very large part of any income tax under the amendment would be paid by citizens of New York. That is undoubtedly true, but there is all the more reason why our legislature should take special care to exclude every narrow and selfish motive from influence upon its action and should consider the proposal in a spirit of broad national patriotism and should act upon it for the best interests of the whole country.

The main reason why the citizens of New York will pay so large a part of the tax is that New York City is the chief financial and commercial center of a great country, with vast resources and industrial activity. For many years Americans engaged in developing the wealth of all parts of the country have been going to New York to secure capital and market their securities and to buy their supplies. Thousands of men who have amassed fortunes in all sorts of enterprises in other States have gone to New York to live, because they like the life of the city or

because their distant enterprises require representation at the financial center. The incomes of New York are in a great measure derived from the country at large. A continual stream of wealth sets toward the great city from the mines and manufactories and railroads outside of New York. The United States is no longer a mere group of separate communities embraced in a political union; it has become a product of organic growth, a vast industrial organization covering and including the whole country; and the relation of New York City to the whole organization of which it is a part is the great source of her wealth and the chief reason why her citizens will pay so great a part of an income tax. We have the wealth because behind the city stands the country. We ought to be willing to share the burdens of the National Government in the same proportion in which we share its benefits.

The circumstances that originally justified the establishment of the rule of apportionment in the Constitution have long since passed away. It is universally conceded that its application to existing conditions would be so unjust and inequitable as to be impossible. The power of taxation which the rule makes it impossible for the Nation to exercise may be again, as it has once been, vital to the preservation of national existence. It would be most unfortunate if the several States of the Union were to insist upon the continuance of this unjust and useless limitation upon the necessary powers originally and wisely granted to the National Government.

With kind regards, I am always

Faithfully, yours, ELIHU ROOT.

Hon. FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT,
Senate Chamber, Albany, N. Y.

Mr. THOMAS. Upon the strength and under the interpretation outlined in this letter, the General Assemblies of the States of New York and New Jersey finally ratified the amendment. I think I am safe in asserting that such was the understanding of the legislatures of the other ratifying States. I affirm that it could not have been ratified at all had it been supposed to clothe the Federal Government with power to impair the integrity and undermine the structure of the States through the power of unlimited taxation. Nothing in the debates of the Congress nor in the comments of the press during the period of its consideration—nothing, indeed, until the message of Gov. Hughes appeared—was said or written which intimated that the representatives of the people in the Congress of the United States were subjecting their States, the agencies and instrumentalities thereof, to the taxing power of the Nation. The financial exigencies of the Government, however great, can not limit or enlarge the purport or the phraseology of the organic law.

The apprehension of Gov. Hughes arose from the phrase, "from whatever source derived." If he were correct, the income from Government bonds then existing and made free from taxation by the law authorizing their issue would be subject to the tax. Surely the Congress never designed by constitutional amendment or otherwise to violate its own contracts with the holders of the national securities, or that the courts would sanction its action if so intended.

Mr. President, the Supreme Court of the United States has had occasion to consider the extent to which the taxing power of the United States has been enlarged by the fifteenth amendment, and its conclusion is that the amendment has merely changed the method without adding to the extent to which assets were subject to Federal taxation.

In the case of Brushaber *v.* Union Pacific Railroad Co. (240 U. S., p. 1) the subject is fully considered, from pages 9 to 19, inclusive, which I ask the privilege of incorporating in my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

As a stockholder of the Union Pacific Railroad Co. the appellant filed his bill to enjoin the corporation from complying with the income-tax provisions of the tariff act of October 3, 1913 (sec. II, ch. 16, 38 Stat., 166). Because of constitutional questions duly arising the case is here on direct appeal from a decree sustaining a motion to dismiss because no ground for relief was stated.

The right to prevent the corporation from returning and paying the tax was based upon many averments as to the repugnancy of the statute to the Constitution of the United States, of the peculiar relation of the corporation to the stockholders and their particular interests resulting from many of the administrative provisions of the assailed act, of the confusion, wrong, and multiplicity of suits and and the absence of all means of redress which would result if the corporation paid the tax and complied with the act in other respects without protest, as it was alleged it was its intention to do. To put out of the way a question of jurisdiction, we at once say that in view of these averments and the ruling in Pollock *v.* Farmers' Loan & Trust Co. (157 U. S., 429) sustaining the right of a stockholder to sue to restrain a corporation under proper averments from voluntarily paying a tax charged to be unconstitutional on the ground that to permit such a suit did not violate the prohibitions of section 3224, Revised Statutes, against enjoining the enforcement of taxes, we are of opinion that the contention here made that there was no jurisdiction of the cause, since to entertain it would violate the provisions of the Revised Statutes referred to, is without merit. Before coming to dispose of the case on the merits, however, we observe that the defendant corporation having called the attention of the Government to the pendency of the cause and the nature of the controversy and its unwillingness to voluntarily refuse to comply with the act assailed the United States as amicus curiæ has at bar been heard both orally and by brief for the purpose of sustaining the decree.

Aside from averments as to citizenship and residence, recitals as to the provisions of the statute and statements as to the business of the corporation contained in the first 10 paragraphs of the bill advanced to sustain jurisdiction, the bill alleged 21 constitutional objections specified in that number of paragraphs or subdivisions. As all the grounds assert a violation of the Constitution, it follows that in a wide sense they all charge a repugnancy of the statute to the sixteenth amendment, under the more immediate sanction of which the statute was adopted.

The various propositions are so intermingled as to cause it to be difficult to classify them. We are of opinion, however, that the confusion is not inherent, but rather arises from the conclusion that the sixteenth amendment provides for a hitherto unknown power of taxation; that is, a power to levy an income tax which, although direct, should not be subject to the regulation of apportionment applicable to all other direct taxes. And the far-reaching effect of this erroneous assumption will be made clear by generalizing the many contentions advanced in argument to support it, as follows: (a) The amendment authorizes only a particular character of direct tax without apportionment, and therefore if a tax is levied under its assumed authority which does not partake of the characteristics exacted by the amendment it is outside of the amendment and is void as a direct tax in the general constitutional sense because not apportioned. (b) As the amendment authorizes a tax only upon incomes "from whatever source derived," the exclusion from taxation of some income of designated persons and classes is not authorized, and hence the constitutionality of the law must be tested by the general provisions of the Constitution as to taxation, and thus again the tax is void for want of apportionment. (c) As the right to tax "incomes from whatever source derived" for which the amendment provides must be considered as exacting intrinsic uniformity, therefore no tax comes under the authority of the amendment not conforming to such standard, and hence all the provisions of the assailed statute must once more be tested solely under the general and preexisting provisions of the Constitution, causing the statute again to be void in the absence of apportionment. (d) As the power conferred by the amendment is new and prospective, the attempt in the statute to make its provisions retroactively apply is void, because, so far as the retroactive period is concerned, it is governed by the preexisting constitutional requirements as to apportionment.

But it clearly results that the proposition and the contentions under it, if acceded to, would cause one provision of the Constitution to destroy another; that is, they would result in bringing the provisions of the amendment exempting a direct tax from apportionment into irreconcilable conflict with the general requirement that all direct taxes be apportioned. Moreover, the tax authorized by the amendment, being direct, would not come under the rule of uniformity applicable under the Constitution to other than direct taxes, and thus it would come to pass that the result of the amendment would be to authorize a paricular direct tax not subject either to apportionment or to the rule of geographical uniformity, thus giving power to impose a different tax in one State or States than was levied in another State or States. This result instead of simplifying the situation and making clear the limitations on the taxing power, which obviously the amendment must have been intended to accomplish, would create radical and destructive changes in our constitutional system and multiply confusion.

But let us by a demonstration of the error of the fundamental proposition as to the significance of the amendment dispel the confusion necessarily arising from the argument deduced from it. Before coming, however, to the text of the amendment, to the end that its significance may be determined in the light of the previous legislative and judicial history of the subject with which the amendment is concerned and with a knowledge of the conditions which presumptively led up to its adoption, and hence of the purpose it was intended to accomplish, we make a brief statement on those subjects.

That the authority conferred upon Congress by section 8 of Article I "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises" is exhaustive and embraces every conceivable power of taxation has never been questioned, or, if it has, has been so often authoritatively declared as to render it necessary only to state the doctrine. And it has also never been questioned from the foundation, without stopping presently to determine under which of the separate headings the power was properly to be classed, that there was authority given, as the part was included in the whole, to lay and collect income taxes. Again, it has never, moreover, been questioned that the conceded complete and all-embracing taxing power was subject, so far as they were respectively applicable, to limitations resulting from the requirements of Article I, section 8, clause 1, that "all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States," and to the limitations of Article I, section 2, clause 3, that "direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States," and of Article I, section 9, clause 4, that "no capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken." In fact, the two great subdivisions embracing the complete and perfect delegation of the power to tax and the two correlated limitations as to such power were thus aptly stated by Mr. Chief Justice Fuller in Pollock *v.* Farmers' Loan & Trust Co., supra, at page 557: "In the matter of taxation, the Constitution recognizes the two great classes of direct and indirect taxes and lays down two rules by which their imposition must be governed, namely: The rule of apportionment as to direct taxes, and the rule of uniformity as to duties, imposts, and excises." It is to be observed, however, as long ago pointed out in Veazie Bank *v.* Fenno, (8 Wall., 533, 541), that the requirement of apportionment as to one of the great classes and of uniformity as to the other class were not so much a limitation upon the complete and all-embracing authority to tax, but in their essence were simply regulations concerning the mode in which the plenary power was to be exerted. In the whole history of the Government down to the time of the adoption of the sixteenth amendment, leaving aside some conjectures expressed of the possibility of a tax lying intermediate between the two great classes and embraced by neither, no question has been anywhere made as to the correctness of these propositions. At the very beginning, however, there arose differences of opinion concerning the criteria to be applied in determining in which of the two great subdivisions a tax would fall. Without pausing to state at length the basis of these differences and the consequences which arose from them, as the whole subject was elaborately reviewed in Pollock *v.* Farmers' Loan & Trust Co. (157 U. S., 429; 158 U. S., 601), we make a condensed statement which is, in substance, taken from what was said in that case. Early the differences were manifested in pressing on the one hand and opposing on the other the passage of an act levying a tax without apportionment on carriages "for the conveyance of persons," and when such a tax was enacted the question of its repugnancy to the Constitution soon came to this court for determination. (Hylton *v.* United States, 3 Dall., 171.) It was held that the tax came within the class of excises, duties, and imposts, and therefore did not require apportionment; and while this

conclusion was agreed to by all the members of the court who took part in the decision of the case, there was not an exact coincidence in the reasoning by which the conclusion was sustained. Without stating the minor differences, it may be said with substantial accuracy that the divergent reasoning was this: On the one hand, that the tax was not in the class of direct taxes requiring apportion, because it was not levied directly on property because of its ownership but rather on its use, and was therefore an excise, duty, or impost; and on the other, that in any event the class of direct taxes included only taxes directly levied on real estate because of its ownership. Putting out of view the difference of reasoning which led to the concurrent conclusion in the Hylton case, it is undoubted that it came to pass in legislative practice that the line of demarcation between the two great classes of direct taxes on the one hand and excises, duties, and imposts on the other, which was exemplified by the ruling in that case, was accepted and acted upon. In the first place, this is shown by the fact that wherever (and there were a number of cases of that kind) a tax was levied directly on real estate or slaves because of ownership it was treated as coming within the direct class and apportionment was provided for, while no instance of apportionment as to any other kind of tax is afforded. Again, the situation is aptly illustrated by the various acts taxing incomes derived from property of every kind and nature which were enacted, beginning in 1861 and lasting during what may be termed the Civil War period. It is not disputable that these latter taxing laws were classed under the head of excises, duties, and imposts, because it was assumed that they were of that character inasmuch as although putting a tax burden on income of every kind, including that derived from property real or personal, they were not taxes directly on property because of its ownership. And this practical construction came in theory to be the accepted one since it was adopted without dissent by the most eminent of the text writers. (1 Kent Com., 254, 256; 1 Story Const., sec. 955; Cooley Const. Lim., 5th ed., *48; Miller on the Constitution, 237; Pomeroy's Constitutional Law, sec. 281; Hare Const. Law, vol. 1, 249, 250; Burroughs on Taxation, 502; Ordronaux, Constitutional Legislation, 225.)

Upon the lapsing of a considerable period after the repeal of the income-tax laws referred to, in 1894 an act was passed laying a tax on incomes from all classes of property and other sources of revenue which was not apportioned, and which therefore was of course assumed to come within the classification of excises, duties, and imposts, which were subject to the rule of uniformity but not to the rule of apportionment. The constitutional validity of this law was challenged on the ground that it did not fall within the class of excises, duties, and imposts but was direct, in the constitutional sense, and was therefore void for want of apportionment; and that question came to this court and was passed upon in Pollock *v.* Farmers' Loan & Trust Co. (157 U. S., 429; 158 U. S., 601). The court, fully recognizing in the passage which we have previously quoted the all-embracing character of the two great classifications including, on the one hand, direct taxes subject to apportionment, and, on the other, excises, duties, and imposts subject to uniformity, held the law to be unconstitutional in substance for these reasons: Concluding that the classification of direct was adopted for the purpose of rendering it impossible to burden by taxation accumulations of property, real or personal, except subject to the regulation of apportionment, it was held that the duty existed to fix what was a direct tax in the constitutional sense so as to accomplish this purpose contemplated by the Constitution (157 U. S., 581). Coming to consider the validity of the tax from this point of view, while not questioning at all that in common understanding it was direct merely on income and only indirect on property, it was held that, considering the substance of things, it was direct on property in a constitutional sense, since to burden an income by a tax was, from the point of substance, to burden the property from which the income was derived, and thus accomplish the very thing which the provision as to apportionment of direct taxes was adopted to prevent. As this conclusion but enforced a regulation as to the mode of exercising power under particular circumstances, it did not in any way dispute the all-embracing taxing authority possessed by Congress, including necessarily therein the power to impose income taxes, if only they conformed to the constitutional regulations which were applicable to them. Moreover, in addition, the conclusion reached in the Pollock case did not in any degree involve holding that income taxes generically and necessarily came within the class of direct taxes on property, but, on the contrary, recognized the fact that taxation on income was in its nature an excise entitled to be enforced as such unless and until it was concluded that to enforce it would amount to accomplishing the result which the requirement as to apportionment of direct taxation was adopted to prevent, in which case the duty would arise to disregard form and consider substance alone, and hence subject the tax to the regulation as to apportionment which otherwise as an excise would not apply to it. Nothing could serve to make this clearer than to recall that in the Pollock case, in so far as the law taxed incomes from other classes of property than real estate and invested personal property—that is, income from "professions, trades, employments, or vocations" (158 U. S., 637)—its validity was recognized; indeed it was expressly declared that no dispute was made upon that subject, and attention was called to the fact that taxes on such income had been sustained as excise taxes in the past (Id., p. 635). The whole law was, however, declared unconstitutional on the ground that to permit it to thus operate would relieve real estate and invested personal property from taxation and "would leave the burden of the tax to be borne by professions, trades, employments, or vocations; and in that way what was intended as a tax on capital would remain, in substance, a tax on occupations and labor" (Id., p. 637), a result which, it was held, could not have been contemplated by Congress.

This is the text of the amendment:

"The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration."

It is clear on the face of this text that it does not purport to confer power to levy income taxes in a generic sense—an authority already possessed and never questioned—or to limit and distinguish between one kind of income taxes and another, but that the whole purpose of the amendment was to relieve all income taxes when imposed from apportionment from a consideration of the source whence the income was derived. Indeed, in the light of the history which we have given and of the decision in the Pollock case, and the ground upon which the ruling in that case was based, there is no escape from the conclusion that the amendment was drawn for the purpose of doing away for the future with the principle upon which the Pollock case was decided—that is, of determining whether a tax on income was direct, not by a consideration of the burden placed on the taxed income upon which it directly operated, but by taking into view the burden which resulted on the property from which the income was derived, since in express terms the amendment provides that income taxes, from whatever source the income may be derived, shall not be subject to the regulation of apportionment. From this, in substance, it indisputably arises, first, that all the contentions which we have previously noticed concerning the assumed limitations to be implied from the language of the amendment as to the nature and character of the income taxes which it authorizes find no support in the text and are in irreconcilable conflict with the very purpose which the amendment was adopted to accomplish. Second, that the contention that the amendment treats a tax on income as a direct tax, although it is relieved from apportionment and is necessarily therefore not subject to the rule of uniformity, as such rule only applies to taxes which are not direct, thus destroying the two great classifications which have been recognized and enforced from the beginning, is also wholly without foundation, since the command of the amendment that all income taxes shall not be subject to apportionment by a consideration of the sources from which the taxed income may be derived, forbids the application to such taxes of the rule applied in the Pollock case, by which alone such taxes were removed from the great class of excises, duties, and imposts subject to the rule of uniformity and were placed under the other or direct class. This must be unless it can be said that, although the Constitution as a result of the amendment in express terms excludes the criterion of source of income, that criterion yet remains for the purpose of destroying the classifications of the Constitution by taking an excise out of the class to which it belongs and transferring it to a class in which it can not be placed consistently with the requirements of the Constitution. Indeed, from another point of view, the amendment demonstrates that no such purpose was intended and, on the contrary, shows that it was drawn with the object of maintaining the limitations of the Constitution and harmonizing their operation. We say this because it is to be observed that although from the date of the Hylton case because of statements made in the opinions in that case it had come to be accepted that direct taxes in the constitutional sense were confined to taxes levied directly on real estate because of its ownership, the amendment contains nothing repudiating or challenging the ruling in the Pollock case that the word "direct" had a broader significance since it embraced also taxes levied directly on personal property because of its ownership, and therefore the amendment at least impliedly makes such wider significance a part of the Constitution—a condition which clearly demonstrates that the purpose was not to change the existing interpretation, except to the extent necessary to accomplish the result intended; that is, the prevention of the resort to the sources from which a taxed income was derived in order to cause a direct tax on the income to be a direct tax on the source itself, and thereby to take an income tax out of the class of excises, duties, and imposts and place it in the class of direct taxes.

Mr. THOMAS. In the case of Stanton against Baltic Mining Co., in the same volume, at page 103, the court, on page 112, reiterates this doctrine, referring back to the Brushaber case as containing at length the reasons for the conclusion.

Mr. President, the language of the Brushaber case may be said to be somewhat involved; but still more recently, in an unreported case—the case of Peck & Co. against Lowe, decided on the 20th of May last, and in which the construction of the fifteenth amendment was involved—the court says:

> The sixteenth amendment, although referred to in argument, has no real bearing and may be put out of view. As pointed out in recent decisions, it does not extend the taxing power to new or excepted subjects, but merely removes all occasion, which otherwise might exist, for an apportionment among the States of taxes laid on income, whether it be derived from one source or another.

So, Mr. President, the opinion of former Senator Root, which I have already embodied in the RECORD, and upon the strength of which two States, at least, ratified the fifteenth amendment, finds official justification in the last utterance of the Supreme Court of the United States upon the subject; and inasmuch as that pronouncement preceded the formation of this bill, I am at a loss to understand why these taxes should have been included within its provisions.

The restrictions of the Constitution regarding the compensation of the Executive and judiciary, although not extended in terms to State officers of similar character, are founded upon reasons which make them apply with equal force to the compensation of all State and municipal officers when considered as subjects of Federal taxation. And the reasons advanced by the courts for the exemption of incomes and property of the States and their subdivisions, and of the securities belonging to individuals, also shield the salaries of State officials from the Federal taxgatherer. Whenever these items of property and income become subject to national assessments the States are themselves subject to progressive but certain extinction. For political considerations always potent in molding Federal revenue bills will here find a new field of activity, and State officials and policy will be directed by national authority into channels of its own choosing.

The clause of the sixteenth amendment subjecting incomes to taxation "from whatever source derived," is not broader than the power given by clause 1, section 8, "to lay and collect taxes, imposts, and excises, but all duties shall be uniform throughout the United States." The limitations regarding capitation, or other direct taxes, and taxes on exports do not affect excises, which is but another name for internal-revenue taxation. The power to lay these is unconditional save as to uniformity; yet stamp or other taxes on judicial process and provisions that documents required to be stamped shall not be received in evidence in any court unless so stamped, can not

be applied to the process of State courts or enforced against litigants in such courts. An unbroken line of precedents has so determined. One sovereignty can not invade another through the subtle process of taxation until the courts reverse the decisions of a century or until the people by constitutional amendment shall clothe the Congress with the power to do so in direct and unmistakable fashion. From an abundance of material I select the cases of Carpenter against Snelling, Ninety-seventh Massachusetts, page 452; Craig against Dimock, Forty-seventh Illinois, page 358; Moore against Moore, Forty-seventh New York, page 467; and Syales against Davis,, Twenty-second Wisconsin, page 225; while Collector against Day, Eleventh Wallace, page 113, expressly declares that the salary of a State officer is not subject to a Federal tax.

I cite a number of authorities in connection with that statement, which it is not necessary to read, but I want to refer particularly to the case of the Collector against Day, Eleventh Wallace, 113, which expressly declares that the salary of a State officer is not subject to a Federal tax. Inasmuch as the Supreme Court has held that there is no enlargement of the taxing power, but merely a change of its methods, as a result of the sixteenth amendment, this case is quite as applicable to-day as it was under the law under which the tax was assessed. The assessment was made under the income-tax law enacted by Congress during the war, which in terms subjected all incomes to taxation, and under the general power there apparently given by legislation this tax was levied upon the salary of a judicial officer of the State of New York who resisted the payment of it. The entire opinion is replete with information and I might appropriately read it all, but I shall content myself with reading from page 125 and following. The opinion was delivered by Mr. Justice Nelson:

Two of the great departments of the Government, the executive and legislative, depend upon the exercise of the powers or upon the people of the States. The Constitution guarantees to the States a republican form of government and protects each against invasion or domestic violence. Such being the separate and independent condition of the States in our complex system, as recognized by the Constitution, and the existence of which is so indispensable that without them the General Government itself would disappear from the family of nations, it would seem to follow, as a reasonable if not a necessary consequence, that the means and instrumentalities employed for carrying on the operations of their governments, for preserving their existence, and fulfilling the high and responsible duties assigned to them in the Constitution, should be left free and unimpaired, should not be liable to be crippled, much less defeated, by the taxing power of another government, which power acknowledges no limits but the will of the legislative body imposing the tax. And, more especially, those means and instrumentalities which are the creation of their sovereign and reserved rights, one of which is the establishment of the judicial department and the appointment of officers to administer their laws. Without this power and the exercise of it we risk nothing in saying that no one of the States under the form of government guaranteed by the Constitution could long preserve its existence. A despotic government might. We have said that one of the reserved powers was that to establish a judicial department; it would have been more accurate, and in accordance with the existing state of things at the time, to have said the power to maintain a judicial department. All of the 13 States were in the possession of this power and had exercised it at the adoption of the Constitution, and it is not pretended that any grant of it to the General Government is found in that instrument. It is, therefore, one of the sovereign powers vested in the States by their constitutions, which remained unaltered and unimpaired, and in respect to which the State is as independent of the General Government as that Government is independent of the States.

The supremacy of the General Government, therefore, so much relied on in the argument of the counsel for the plaintiff in error in respect to the question before us, can not be maintained. The two Governments are upon an equality, and the question is whether the power "to lay and collect taxes" enables the General Government to tax the salary of a judicial officer of the State, which officer is a means or instrumentality employed to carry into execution one of its most important functions, the administration of the laws, and which concerns the exercise of a right reserved to the States.

We do not say the mere circumstance of the establishment of the judicial department and the appointment of officers to administer the laws, being among the reserved powers of the State, disables the General Government from levying the tax, as that depends upon the express power to "lay and collect taxes," but it shows that it is an original inherent power never parted with and in respect to which the supremacy of that Government does not exist and is of no importance in determining the question; and, further, that being an original and reserved power, and the judicial officers appointed under it being a means or instrumentality employed to carry it into effect, the right and necessity of its unimpaired exercise and the exemption of the officer from taxation by the General Government stand upon as solid a ground and are maintained by principles and reasons as cogent as those which led to the exemption of the Federal officer in Dobbins against The Commissioners of Erie from taxation by the State, for, in this respect—that is, in respect to the reserved powers—the State is as sovereign and independent as the General Government. And if the means and instrumentalities employed by that Government to carry into operation the powers granted to it are necessarily and for the sake of self-preservation exempt from taxation by the States, why are not those of the States depending upon their reserved powers for like reasons equally exempt from Federal taxation? Their unimpaired existence in the one case is as essential as in the other. It is admitted that there is no express provision in the Constitution that prohibits the General Government from taxing the means and instrumentalities of the States, nor is there any prohibiting the States from taxing the means and instrumentalities of that Government. In both cases the exemption rests upon necessary implication, as any government whose means employed in conducting its operations, if subject to the control of another and distinct government, can exist only at the mercy of that government. Of what avail are these means if another power may tax them at discretion?

A unique feature of the pending bill is the proposed alternate or double system which it proposes for the taxation of profits as such. One of these systems is christened the war-profits tax, the other the excess-profits tax. These are intended to operate upon corporations only, and the authorities are required to use "whichever of the methods yields the higher tax in the case of such corporation." The war-profits method imposes a tax of 80 per cent upon all profits equal to the average net income of the corporation over its average income in the statutory prewar period, less a specific deduction of $3,000. If the corporation did not exist during the whole prewar period or had no income then or was less than 10 per cent of its invested capital, its war profit is the surplus over 10 per cent of its invested capital for the taxable year, plus the sum of $3,000.

The excess-profits method consists of a graded tax ranging from 35 to 70 per cent of the net profit in excess of exemption of $3,000, plus 8 per cent of the invested capital for the taxable year. The ingenuity of the tax gatherer is to determine which of these probes shall be used in each individual instance. Whichever will realize the larger amount of the tax must be chosen. Possibly if bad judgment is disclosed in the selection, as revealed in results, the method chosen will be shifted to the one rejected, since otherwise the terms of the law would not be complied with.

This novel device violates the familiar requirements of certainty and uniformity in taxation; requirements which are inseparable from justice and equity. Its only merit is its novelty. It may have disfigured other systems of taxation, but not I think in any English-speaking country. I have been unable to discover any authority disclosing its existence elsewhere or in previous national legislation, although I have not had the time for an exhaustive research. That fact is the best of reasons for believing it to be unconstitutional; for if it had appeared heretofore its validity would undoubtedly have been successfully challenged.

Mr. President, if Congress can provide two radically different bases for levying a tax against the same individual upon the same taxable asset and direct the administration of the law to resort to that which in the individual instance will realize the most revenue, it may provide three, four, or half a dozen of them. Any argument supporting the one will surely sustain the other. The taxpayer must submit to the experimental test of each method, that the collector may judge which of them will prove the most efficient. What he must pay he can never know with certainty. And the method applied to him for one taxable year may be discarded and another selected for the next.

Such a system would inevitably strew inequalities all over the country, and drive the taxpayer to the alternative of juggling his affairs in the hope of escaping confiscation by forms of law. It would thus offer a premium to rascality, and furnish ample justification for perjury. It would make taxes both unequal and uncertain in their distribution, in cheerful disregard of the constitutional requirement of uniformity. That quality can not rest upon a shifting and changeable method either of assessment or levy. It may exploit the taxpayer, but it can not square with justice, and should not disfigure the statute books. Finally it would arm the collector with a weapon through whose exercise favoritism, fraud, and bribery would flourish in unscrupulous hands and beset the administration of the national revenues with opportunities for corruption against whose temptations the virtues of the average official would not long resist.

Let me conclude by emphasizing another conspicuous defect in this bill. I refer to the confinement of this alternative tax to bodies corporate. Doubtless Congress has the power to do this, but only at the sacrifice of elementary principles of fairness and equity. The only reason alleged for doing so is "the difficulty in administering an excess-profits tax applicable to individuals." Shall we then refrain from requiring individuals and partnerships to pay this extra tax, because it is not as easy to make them pay it as it is to make corporations do so? Shall we forego an extensive source of revenue when all we can raise is urgently needed because we may encounter difficulty in collecting it? If so, why tax individuals at all? If the fact be so it confronts us as well in administering the income tax. We discriminate between different individuals elsewhere, but we do not discriminate between the individual and the corporation in the other schedules; why should we do so in this? I am compelled to believe that it is due to other causes.

The individual votes; the corporation does not; and votes must not be distracted unless unavoidable. All tax laws are unpopular. Why make them any more so than is absolutely necessary? Appropriations are popular and eagerly solicited. Why restrict them at all? Our revenue legislation is framed therefore to embrace as few people as possible and unusual exactions we reserve exclusively for those artificial creations which possess many privileges, but which are comparatively few in number.

The profiteer is an unavoidable evil in times of war. Public imagination pictures him as a very plethoric person, in Prince Albert coat, a high hat, and ornamented with a double chin, operating through corporate agencies and gorged with ill-gotten spoil. Such some of him may be. But the genus has other forms and operates in divers ways.

The corporation which takes advantage of the national needs and profits unduly is a profiteer.

So is the individual manufacturer, contractor, or material man.

So are the workman, farmer, and the miner when engaged in the same practices. The difference is purely one of degree, and all of them should be subject to the same law of taxation. Yet all save the first are immune from the war profits and excess profits schedules of this bill. This is an outrage.

Every man holding up the Government, capitalist, merchant, manufacturer, miner, laborer, or farmer should in these times pay the Government "through the nose." Nothing will prevent it save our fear of their political vengeance.

In legislation of this sort we are political cowards. We are brave enough when passing appropriations for pensions and prairie dogs, for dry docks in dry harbors, and for artesian wells to moisten navigable streams, but fainthearted when seeking means to make our appropriations good. We need many things in these days of stress and trial, but nothing more urgently than the good old virtue of moral courage, courage to legislate for the country's needs without fear, without favor, without regard to personal consequences. I devoutly hope that stimulated by such a sentiment we may consider, amend, and finally enact a revenue bill uniform in character, simple in administration, embracing pursuits and property within the scope of national taxation, excluding those which outlie that province and enacted without regard to political considerations or political consequences.

WATER-POWER DEVELOPMENT.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MARTIN of Kentucky in the chair.) The calendar under Rule VIII is in order. Is it the pleasure of the Senate to take it up where it was last left off?

Mr. LODGE. I wish to ask the Senator from Tennessee a question. I was not here on Saturday and I do not know whether the Senate disposed of the water-power bill.

Mr. SHIELDS. No, sir; it has not been disposed of.

Mr. FLETCHER rose.

Mr. LODGE. Is it not better to go on with it?

Mr. SHIELDS. The Senator from Florida has risen to ask that the unfinished business be placed before the Senate.

Mr. LODGE. I was not aware of that. The Chair stated that the calendar under Rule VIII would be proceeded with, and I thought possibly it would be better to complete that measure.

Mr. FLETCHER. I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business may be laid before the Senate and proceeded with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate resumed the consideration of the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1419) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of dams across navigable waters," approved June 21, 1906, as amended by the act approved June 23, 1910, and to provide for the improvement and development of waterways for the uses of interstate and foreign commerce.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending question is the motion of the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER] that the Senate disagree to the amendment of the House of Representatives and ask a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, it has been so long since anything was said upon the pending motion, although the subject has occupied the time of the Senate, that I desire to call attention to some of the difficulties in the way of considering the bill in conference in its present stage.

The Senate passed a bill providing for permits to be issued under certain conditions for the erection of dams and other structures in navigable streams. It limited the application of the bill to certain navigable waters. The House instead of dealing with the bill as it passed the Senate raised a special committee, consisting of three or four members of various committees of the House, undertook an investigation, a very painstaking investigation, and from that committee there came a report of a bill covering not only dams and other structures in navigable streams, but the treatment of our public lands so far as water-power in the streams which run through our public lands is concerned. It passed the bill. It is a measure which is so dissimilar from the one which was considered by and adopted by the Senate that it may be said to be new legislation entirely. As I remarked the other day, the only resemblance between the bill we are now asked to send to conference and the bill passed by the Senate is that in part the present bill is concerned with dams in navigable streams.

It seems to me, Mr. President, it is fundamental that the Senate ought to have an opportunity to consider the bill which has been passed by the House. If we send it to conference the Senate never will have a chance to consider it. It will never be able to amend it in any respect. If the conferees make a report of approval then we must either adopt the report as it is presented or reject it in whole.

The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], I think, suggested that the whole subject would be in conference. Well, let us see about that. The bill which passed the Senate provided that the Secretary of War should issue, upon application and if certain conditions were fulfilled, a permit for the erection of the structure. The bill as passed by the other House provides that a commission composed of the Secretaries of War, of the Interior, and of Agriculture shall have jurisdiction of the whole subject. Now, what is the matter which will be in conference there? The conferees would either have to adopt the House plan or the Senate plan; there would be no opportunity for a modification or for a change of the House plan; there would be no opportunity for a change or modification of the Senate plan. Either the conferees on the part of the Senate must recede from the Senate plan entirely or the House conferees must entirely recede from the plan there adopted. It is not fair; it does not tend toward good legislation to send a matter of difference of that sort to conferees.

Second. In the provision which is ordinarily known as the recapture clause, or the right which is reserved upon the part of the Government at the end of 50 years to take as its own the property which has been created, the Senate bill provided that upon that contingency the owners of the property should be paid just compensation, to be ascertained, if necessary, through the ordinary processes of condemnation. The House bill provides, under very different circumstances, but so far as this one point is concerned, that, if the United States shall take the improvement at the end of 50 years, it shall pay the net investment of the owners of the property. I should like to have some one tell me who is more familiar with the parliamentary procedure, and especially with the work of conferees, than am I what is in issue there between the conferees of the House and the Senate.

I do not believe in either plan. The plan adopted by the Senate, namely, just compensation, will result, as I attempted to show when the bill was before the Senate originally, in a great overpayment. It will result in compelling the Government of the United States to take over and pay for property upon a standard or upon a rule which must inevitably result in paying for property which it may not desire and paying for that property much more than it is fairly worth.

The House plan, the plan of paying for the net investment, will accomplish one of two things: With a successful enterprise, a water-power enterprise that has been going forward profitably, it will result, I think, in fair payment. I think it is a fair rule for a successful, profitable enterprise. It is the net investment as computed under the rules of the Interstate Commerce Commission applicable to the account of railways. But with an unsuccessful enterprise, one that has languished, one that has permitted its property to deteriorate, one that has not properly taken care of depreciation, the plan adopted by the House will compel the Government to pay two, three, four, yes, five times the value of the property that may have been created and may have been operated under the permit. It is not a fair provision for recapture.

But will some one tell me what is between the conferees of the House and the Senate; how, assuming that they remain within their jurisdiction, they can accommodate that difference between the House and the Senate? Will anyone be able to tell me how the conferees can present and secure a fair rule of compensation? It can not be done. There is no compromise between those two things.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Will the Senator permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. CUMMINS. In just a moment. The fair rule, and the one that is recognized, I am glad to say, by the President of the

United States and by every other thoughtful man, I think, with regard to the matter, is that the owner of the property shall, if it is taken by the Government, be paid fair compensation, but not exceeding the net investment. That will provide both for the successful and the unsuccessful enterprise, and will be fair not only to the owner of the property, but to the Government also.

Now, I yield to the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. My first question is, Is the Government compelled at the end of 50 years to take all of these enterprises?

Mr. CUMMINS. The Government is not compelled to do so——

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Then, can it not refrain from taking those that do not pay?

Mr. CUMMINS. But it is compelled either to take them or to permit the license or the privilege to continue upon the terms that had been originally agreed upon.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. The other question that I should like to ask the Senator is, With a view of obtaining some kind of legislation in this case, how will the reference of this particular matter to a separate committee ever bring the two Houses together? Would it not be similar to introducing a new bill in reference to the subject?

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I am assuming there may be an opportunity for compromise between the House and the Senate. There would be none whatever between the conferees from my standpoint on these fundamental points. I desire that the bill shall be taken up by the Senate, and if some one else does not do so I shall offer an amendment to the provision with regard to recapture and the compensation to be paid in that event, or I shall present an amendment which will substantially establish the rule which I have just stated, namely, that when the Government takes the property, if it does take it, it shall reimburse the owners of the property for its fair value, but shall not pay more than the net investment.

Now, let us see the difference between those two things. The just compensation, the fair value of the property, is, of course, ascertained by taking an inventory of the physical property with whatever intangible incidents may attach to it; and when that is ascertained it will be just as great in a successful enterprise as in an unsuccessful one, in one that has been carefully conducted as in one that has been negligently conducted.

In these days the theory of fair compensation or just compensation is the cost of reproduction less whatever depreciation may be found necessary in order to measure its decadence.

The net-investment theory is quite different. There if the operating company has earned a dividend upon its capital, if it has laid aside an amortization fund or a sinking fund, and if during the course of 50 years it has been able not only to pay a fair dividend upon the investment but has been able to reimburse the stockholders for their original investment, then the Government takes it for nothing; which is right, because those who have invested their money have already been repaid their money out of the proceeds of the operation of the enterprise. Every grant of every sort made by the public ought to be limited, if it is expected that the Government will ever take over the enterprise, by the consideration of the contingency that if in operation the capital has been returned the public shall not be required to pay it again.

For these reasons I am very solicitous—and I think every Senator ought to be—that the Senate shall have an opportunity to amend this bill as passed by the House in the way I have suggested, and I can not understand the viewpoint of those who insist on depriving the Senate of this chance to protect the people of this country against a rule which, in my judgment, whether as contained in the House bill or as contained in the Senate bill, will do great injustice in the future.

Take the third point. The Senate bill made no provisions whatever for a charge to the person holding the permit for the privilege of constructing the dam. Now, I am not a believer——

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to correct him in that respect?

Mr. CUMMINS. Yes.

Mr. SHIELDS. The Senate bill makes no provision for a charge by the Federal Government upon the power developed, but does make express provision for the States where the waters are found to charge royalties, upon the theory, or, rather, upon the undoubted principle, that the States are the owners of this interest, this property, and they alone have the right to make a charge.

Mr. CUMMINS. I am dealing alone with the action of the Federal Government. I know the Senator from Tennessee is right and that there is a provision in the Senate bill for a charge upon the part of the States or public-utility commissions; but there is no provision in the Senate bill for any charge on the part of the Federal Government to those who are to enjoy the privilege. The House bill provides that the commission appointed to administer the law may make just such change annually as it sees fit without rule, guide, or direction of any kind. Now, I should like to know from the Senator from Tennessee what is in issue there. What would be the question in conference? What would be the jurisdiction of the conferees in dealing with that question?

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President, my attention was diverted from the Senator's remarks at the time, and if he will kindly repeat the question I will endeavor to answer it.

Mr. CUMMINS. I should like to know what, in the opinion of the Senator from Tennessee, the jurisdiction of the conferees would be upon the subject of making a charge to the permittee or the licensee for the use of the stream?

Mr. SHIELDS. By the Federal Government?

Mr. CUMMINS. Certainly.

Mr. SHIELDS. The Senate bill now provides for charges or royalties to be imposed by the States only. The House bill has a very broad provision authorizing the commission to impose charges in their discretion without limit in each particular case. There is no provision that it shall be the same in all cases. It allows the widest latitude for discrimination. I think that there is an irreconcilable conflict between the two positions. There can be no compromise of the question as to who owns these streams. The Federal Government or the State government; one or the other has the property; one or the other has the right to impose and collect charges and pay them into its treasury. I agree with the Senator that there is no compromise on that. Then, I will ask the Senator, both of us being of the same opinion, what possible good would it do to refer the bill upon that question to a committee? If the committee brought it back to the Senate, what could the Senate do with it? That is a question that either one or the other, the House or the Senate, would have to recede from.

Mr. CUMMINS. Yes; but, Mr. President, there is a large latitude of action for the Senate that would not be open to conferees. The Senate can adopt any provision, any amendment of the House bill that it sees fit to adopt, and, if it does adopt an amendment, possibly not just in accordance with the bill which formerly passed the Senate, then, if the bill goes to conference, there will be something for the conferees to consider, there will be a territory which they may occupy and upon which they may bring about a compromise between the House and the Senate. There is none now, any more than there is on the other points which I have suggested.

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President, is the Senator of the opinion that there can be a compromise of the question as to whether the States or the Federal Government own the property and have the right to impose a tax upon it?

Mr. CUMMINS. In my opinion, the conferees will have no jurisdiction to consider any compromise of the provisions of the bill as it passed the Senate and the bill as it passed the House if we simply refer the subject to conferees. The Senate must act upon the subject again. I do not believe—at least, it can not be taken for granted—that the Senate will not amend the House bill in some particular.

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President, that does not answer the question that I propounded to the Senator. If there is an irreconcilable conflict between these views, how can the Senate reconcile it any more than a conference committee? I also differ with the Senator in his view that if there is a possibility of the Senate reconciling the views of the two Houses the conferees could not do so. The Senate has taken one position, the House the other. They are directly antagonistic, it is true, but whatever compromise the Senate or either House can make in such cases the conferees can do, when the action of the two Houses covers the entire subject matter, and that is the case here. I understand that the conference is for the purpose of making concessions and compromises, in order to come to a common agreement upon a subject that both Houses have covered.

Mr. CUMMINS. The Senator from Tennessee has now revealed the whole objection against sending this bill to conference. When the Senate passes one bill and the House passes another, having no connection at all with each other except that they relate in a broad way to the same subject, if it is true that upon a reference to conferees the conferees may have as great liberty and exercise as wide jurisdiction as the Senate itself could exercise or the House could exercise, then, of course, we might as well turn over to conferees the whole subject of legislation upon every matter. What is the use of 96 men sitting here and considering matters if they are finally to be determined by three or four or five men? Why should we weary ourselves with debate and with thought upon these things if, after all, the subject is to be determined by conferees? Why,

you might as well have appointed a conference upon the revenue bill originally, before the House acted or before the Senate acted, if that were within parliamentary law, and allowed five men on each side to make up a revenue bill, and then brought it before the House and the Senate, subject only to be voted up or voted down, without the privilege of any modification or any amendment being brought forward by Members of the legislative body. I know that that is one of the ways in which speed is accomplished, but I think it is accomplished at very great cost.

Mr. President, I am opposed to the reference to the conference, and I hope that the Senate will finally decide to take up this bill in some form. I do not care whether it sends it to a committee or whether it takes it up upon the floor. My only insistence is that it shall be open to amendment and that the views of the Members of the Senate shall be recorded upon the proposals that have been made by the House. Thus, and thus only, can it ever be ascertained what the Senate actually believes upon the matter brought forward by the House.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Bankhead	Jones, Wash.	New	Smith, S. C.
Benet	Kellogg	Norris	Smoot
Brandegee	Kendrick	Nugent	Sterling
Cummins	Kenyon	Poindexter	Thomas
Curtis	King	Ransdell	Thompson
Dillingham	Kirby	Shafroth	Trammell
Drew	McKellar	Sheppard	Vardaman
Fall	McNary	Shields	Walsh
Fletcher	Martin, Ky.	Simmons	Wilfley
Hardwick	Myers	Smith, Ariz.	Williams
Jones, N. Mex.	Nelson	Smith, Md.	

Mr. MCKELLAR. I desire to announce that the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] is detained on official business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Forty-three Senators have answered to their names. There is not a quorum present. The Secretary will call the names of the absentees.

The Secretary called the names of the absent Senators, and Mr. ASHURST, Mr. LEWIS, Mr. MCCUMBER, Mr. MARTIN of Virginia, and Mr. PHELAN answered to their names when called.

Mr. CULBERSON, Mr. WADSWORTH, and Mr. HALE entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fifty-one Senators having answered to their names, there is a quorum present.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. What is the motion now pending?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending question is the motion of the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER] that the Senate disagree to the amendment of the House to the bill, ask a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes thereon, and that the conferees on the part of the Senate be appointed by the Chair.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I trust I may have the attention for a few minutes at least of the few Members of the Senate who think this legislation important enough to require their attendance.

As has been pointed out, the bill as it was passed by the Senate dealt only with the subject of dams in navigable streams. When it went to the House everything after the enacting clause was stricken out and a bill was passed which dealt with the whole subject of power development upon the public lands as well as development in navigable streams.

The subject of the power development of dams in navigable streams has had consideration by the Senate at least twice. In substance the bill under consideration was passed by the Senate two or three years ago and again early in the present year. A separate bill entirely dealing with the subject of power development on the public lands has been pending before the Senate all of this time. It came before the Senate and was considered for some days and then was displaced by other important business. So no bill dealing with the subject of power sites upon the public lands has passed the Senate, at least within the last six years.

The bill now comes before us in such a shape as to cover both these important subjects of legislation. If the motion now pending prevails in its present form and the customs and practices of the Senate are observed the committee of conference of the Senate will be appointed solely from the Committee on Commerce which dealt with the bill as it left this body. That committee has never had before it the subject of power development upon the public lands. It seems to me, Mr. President, that is so unfair that I can not believe there is any Member of the Senate who could ask that the conference committee be made up in that way for the consideration of the bill as it is now before the Senate, returned by the House.

I have before me here a report made by the Geological Survey which designates the sections of the country in which these important power sites are located.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

Mr. WALSH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WILLIAMS. As I understand the situation the bill as it left the Senate went from two committees.

Mr. WALSH. No; only one bill left the Senate.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The bill then in the Senate was considered by two committees, one of which had jurisdiction of navigable streams and the other of streams that were unnavigable.

Mr. WALSH. Quite right.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Now, the House has consolidated all of them and sent it back. Why could not a conference upon the part of the Senate be formed of an equal number of both the Senate committees having original jurisdiction of the two subjects matter and let those conferees of the Senate deal with the House conferees?

Mr. WALSH. The Senator has anticipated me. It was my purpose to move as an amendment to the pending motion that the conference committee on the part of the Senate be so constituted.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It seems to me that is a common-sense settlement of the situation, without any parliamentary technicalities.

Mr. WALSH. I quite agree with the Senator.

But for the purpose of impressing upon the Senate the importance, and the relative importance, for that matter, of the provisions of the pending bill dealing with power development upon the public lands, I read from page 200 of the hearings on this subject before the Committee on Public Lands of the Senate, Sixty-third Congress, a table taken from the report of the Geological Survey for the year 1909, as follows:

Of a total of 61,678,000 potential horsepower in the United States the North Atlantic States have 4,910,000; the South Atlantic States, 5,107,000; the North Central States, 4,270,000; the South Central States, 3,342,000; and the Western States, 44,049,000. In other words, of the 61,000,000 available horsepower the Western States have 44,049,000, practically all of it more or less affected by the portion of the bill dealing with power development on the public lands.

Mr. KING. Will the Senator permit an inquiry?

Mr. WALSH. Certainly.

Mr. KING. I did not quite understand from the Senator's statement whether the bill which was considered in the Senate and which dealt with nonnavigable streams or streams upon the public domain ever passed the Senate?

Mr. WALSH. No; it did not.

In view of this situation, Mr. President, I offer the following amendment to the pending motion:

"That the conferees on the part of the Senate be appointed by the President of the Senate, three members of the Committee on Commerce and three members of the Committee on Public Lands; that the President take the advice of the chairman of each of the said committees as to the members coming from the same, selection to be made without regard by the rule of seniority, so that the chairman of each committee shall designate such members of his committee as in his judgment may best deal with the subject."

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, an amendment of that kind, it seems to me, drawn in that shape is rather unwise. I will say to the Senator from Montana that it has always been the practice here that the minority of a committee should be represented on a conference, and, of course, while there is nothing in the amendment offered by the Senate to prohibit that, when appointed by the chairman of the committee he could appoint all from the majority members of the committee. I hardly think he would, but why not let the appointment of the committee be just the same as it always has been in the past? The chairman of the committee or the Senator having in charge the bill always hands the names of the conferees to the Presiding Officer, and those Senators are always appointed by the Presiding Officers as conferees. I think that would be the best rule to follow at this time. If the Senator could confine his motion to so many members of each of the committees to be appointed, I think that would cover the ground just as well as to designate how they should be selected.

Mr. WALSH. Of course, I never thought of excluding the minority from representation upon the conference committee, and I am very certain that neither the chairman of the Committee on Public Lands nor the chairman of the Committee on Commerce would think of excluding Members from such representation on the conference committee. That matter being disposed of, I will explain to the Senator why I so provide.

Mr. SMOOT. Before the Senator begins his explanation, I should like to call his attention to the other matter I have in mind, and then he can explain both points.

Mr. WALSH. Very well.

Mr. SMOOT. I think it is unwise to say that the appointment shall be made irrespective of the seniority of the members of the committee. That can be done anyway without any order, and it seems to me that it is unnecessary.

Mr. WALSH. It can be done. I put it in simply because it has been done. When the bill passed the Senate before it went to a conference committee upon an agreement between the two Houses, my recollection is that it went to a conference committee not selected by the rule of seniority, and I took it that the Committee on Commerce would like to have the same conferees.

Mr. SMOOT. More than likely they would. They were appointed before without reference to their seniority or without any order from the Senate, and it seems to me at this time that the best course to pursue would be to make a motion that so many members of each of the committees shall be appointed as conferees.

Mr. WALSH. I will simply say with respect to that, Mr. President, that it is perfectly satisfactory to me either to have the rule of seniority followed or not to have it followed. If it is not going to be followed in the Committee on Commerce, I simply do not desire the chairman of the Committee on Public Lands to be under any kind of constraint to follow the rule of seniority.

Mr. SMOOT. Nor would he be.

Mr. WALSH. Either course is altogether satisfactory to me; but I do not want the Committee on Commerce to make their appointment without any regard to the rule of seniority; and then the chairman of the Committee on Public Lands feel that he is under constraint to follow some other rule.

Mr. SMOOT. I can not conceive what fear there is in the mind of the Senator at this time. Under the practice of the Senate, the chairman of the Committee on Public Lands is not bound at any time to suggest the conferees according to seniority. It is true that it is generally done. I do not know anything about what either of the committees is going to do, but it does seem to me that it ought to be left, as it always is left, to the discretion of the chairmen of the two committees.

Mr. WALSH. If it were left to the entire discretion of the chairmen of the committees and they did not feel under any obligation at all to observe the rule of seniority, as I said, that will be entirely satisfactory to me.

Mr. FLETCHER and Mr. JONES of Washington addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield, and if so to whom?

Mr. WALSH. I yield to the Senator from Florida. He first rose.

Mr. FLETCHER. I wish to say just at this time for the information of the Senator and any others who may be interested that the bill was originally considered in the Commerce Committee by a subcommittee composed of three Senators, members of that committee, and those members of the subcommittee practically on the floor here had charge of the bill and were afterwards named as conferees when the bill passed the Senate and went to the House. Of course the practice is here on a motion of this kind to have the chairman of the committee which has had charge of the legislation suggest to the Chair certain members who are ordinarily appointed by the Chair. I have no hesitation in saying that when I made this motion I suggested to the Chair the same members of the Commerce Committee who were appointed before and who composed the subcommittee which considered the bill in the Commerce Committee. It did not include myself, although I am chairman of the committee. I thought it well to continue as representing the Senate those members who were most familiar with this legislation by reason of their active interest in it as members of the subcommittee and members of the general committee and apparently here on the floor.

I took the liberty also, at the suggestion of the Committee on Public Lands, to suggest two members of that committee, and I understood that to be entirely satisfactory to the members of that committee. At any rate they are members whom both the chairman of the Commerce Committee and the chairman of the Committee on Public Lands are ready to suggest to the Chair when it comes to naming the conferees. That is a concession to the Public Lands Committee and a concession to the features of this bill which were not passed upon by the Commerce Committee before, and a concession, I think, quite unusual, because it is a bill which has been before the Commerce Committee, and when we ask for a conference on a bill we generally select the conferees from the committee which has had the bill in charge. It is unusual to go outside of the membership of that committee to select conferees; but, as I said, out of deference to the views which have been expressed here, and especially in view of this feature of the bill which has been added in the House, respecting the development of waterpower on public lands, I thought it was fair and just to have included in the conferees appointed by the Chair representatives from the Committee on Public Lands.

I do not think, however, that it is quite fair and reasonable to expect the same representation from the Committee on Public Lands as from the Committee on Commerce. Notwithstanding the fact that the bill as it comes to us includes this feature, namely, the development of water power in streams, navigable or otherwise, passing through public lands, particularly nonnavigable streams passing through public lands, I should say 90 per cent of this bill is the Commerce Committee bill. The principles developed in the Senate before and through the Commerce Committee are the principles to the extent of some 90 per cent of this measure that are now embodied in the bill before the Senate. I scarcely think that the Committee on Public Lands ought to ask that they have an equal representation on the conference. If there are three members from the Commerce Committee and two from the Public Lands Committee, it seems to me that is a better arrangement and a more just arrangement than to have three from each committee. In the first place, three from each committee makes an even number, whereas the other makes an odd number. I think five is a sufficient number, and that an apportionment of three to the Commerce Committee and two to the Public Lands Committee would be a fair and just apportionment.

I have no choice at all, of course, in reference to the naming of the members of the Public Lands Committee. I am willing to leave that entirely to the chairman of that committee or to any motion that may be adopted by the Senate specifying how those members are to be selected. My understanding is that the committee would be satisfied with the two whom I have suggested to the Chair. For the reasons mentioned, I am inclined to oppose to some extent, at least, the motion of the Senator from Montana. I believe it would be better to leave the matter in the shape it is in, to be worked out in accordance with the practice of the Senate heretofore.

Mr. WALSH. I now yield to the Senator from Washington.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I wish to say merely a word or two. I want to say to the Senator from Montana that while I am a member of the Commerce Committee and was a member of the subcommittee that helped to draft the preceding power bill that went to conference and this bill, I have a great deal of sympathy with the suggestion he makes regarding the membership of the conference, especially its membership from the Public Lands Committee. I should like to see him leave out the suggestion in his motion with reference to whether the members should be appointed by seniority or not. I think it would be best to leave that to the practice of the Senate as heretofore pursued and just provide for the appointment of conferees from each of the committees, the appointments to be made as we always make them.

Now, regarding the membership of the conference committee, I rather sympathize with the suggestion of the Senator from Montana that there ought to be three members of the Public Lands Committee on that conference. The bill as it comes back from the House is in effect two bills. One is a bill that the Commerce Committee reported and the Senate passed, with what changes the House made with reference to it, and the other is a bill relating entirely to public lands, with which the Public Lands Committee have been dealing for a long time, about which they have had very extensive hearings, and to which they have given a great deal of consideration. It is in effect two bills.

If there is anything incorporated in the motion of the Senator from Montana besides the mere provision for the number of conferees, I think it ought to be that no agreement shall be reached by the conferees upon the public-land provisions except upon the agreement of a majority of the members of the conference on the Public Lands Committee. So, in effect, we shall have really two sets of conferees from the Senate, one to deal with the public-land provisions and the other to deal with the commerce provisions. I should like to see the conferees appointed, at any rate, with an understanding of that kind, and I believe there ought to be three conferees from the Public Lands Committee as well as three from the Commerce Committee.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, replying to the remarks of the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER], I desire to say that I was not to be understood as making any criticism whatever of the appointment of the committee of conference heretofore from that committee or of its purpose now in the appointment of a committee of conference to depart from the rule of seniority.

In a conference with my colleague, the chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, he felt, however, some kind of restraint about departing from the rule of seniority. That is why I insist upon this provision in my motion, so as to relieve him from any embarrassment about selecting the members of the Committee on Public Lands. I think it quite appropriate that the subcommittee of the Committee on Commerce having the matter under consideration should be appointed members of the conference committee; and I am not to be understood as offering any criticism of that whatever.

I must express my surprise, however, that the Senator from Florida, who is usually eminently fair and just, stands on the floor here and advocates giving the Committee on Commerce a preference in the appointment of the conferees, giving that committee a majority of the conferees on the part of this body. My proposition addressed itself obviously to the distinguished Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] as a very fair and reasonable one.

Mr. President, that causes me to say a word or two more. Notwithstanding the fact that the power sites upon the public domain in extent are double the power sites in all other sections of the country combined, the western Representatives have never yet been able to get consideration before this body of a measure dealing with a subject of such transcendent importance as this. They have never even had an opportunity to get the matter considered seriously by this body.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

Mr. WALSH. If the Senator will pardon me, that is not peculiar. I regret to say that we never have these questions of first importance to our section of the country, these great questions concerning the disposition of the public land, up for consideration before this body that the Senate does not empty itself, except of the few of us who are immediately and directly concerned.

Mr. President, the other day there were some severe strictures made upon Members of the House, possibly upon one member of the conference committee, on what is known as the oil-leasing bill, because it was said that that body would only act with reference to the leasing bill as was suggested to them by certain officers of the Cabinet, and it was charged as something in the nature of a surrender of their functions. I suppose the situation over there is just the same as it is here. Four-fifths of the Members of the House in all probability do just the same as Senators do, when these matters come up they vacate the Chamber. They do not know anything about these questions. They do not study them at all, and when it comes to vote they take advice and counsel as to how they ought to vote from some other source. A great many of them have confidence in some members of the Cabinet, and go to them and say, "How do you think I ought to vote?" That is where the trouble comes.

Now, I am going to appeal to the Senate at this time, the last chance we are going to have on this matter, to give us a conference committee on the part of the Senate, at least, one-half of which shall be constituted of members of the Committee on Public Lands, who have given some consideration, at least, to the important subject of power sites upon the public domain, 44,000,000 out of 61,000,000 horsepower in the whole country.

Mr. President, where has the great development of water power in this country within the last 10 years taken place? It has taken place in the western section of our country. We are pioneers in the use of electrical power for the operation of commercial lines of railroad. We are practically the pioneers in the use of electrical power for great mining operations, for great metallurgical operations, and all that kind of thing. The question is one of vast importance to our part of the country; and yet the proposition is seriously suggested upon the floor here by one of my colleagues that in dealing with this subject the Committee on Commerce ought to have three members of the conference and the Committee on Public Lands two.

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President——

Mr. WALSH. I yield.

Mr. SHIELDS. The Senator speaks of the comparative development within the last 10 or 15 years in the Western States and the States east of the Mississippi River, where the navigable streams chiefly lie. I wish to know whether or not those western developments have been on navigable streams?

Mr. WALSH. Very few of them.

Mr. SHIELDS. Is it not a fact that the reason why there has been no development on navigable streams is because it is impossible under the present legislation upon the statute books?

Mr. WALSH. I think so, as well as upon the public land.

Mr. SHIELDS. All the development really has been made on streams that are not subject to that legislation and not controlled by it.

Mr. WALSH. That is correct. The development has been made chiefly where the power sites are held in private ownership, not upon public lands or in streams on public lands.

Mr. President, it is a matter of no consequence to me whether that provision of the amendment which I have offered shall find favor with the Senate or not. I am just simply presenting the situation to you. It is perfectly agreeable to me either that the rule of seniority should be preserved in both committees or should be disregarded in both.

Mr. President, with that I desire to say, and I desire to say without any regard to what the composition of the conference committee will be, that I hope this bill will go to conference. I do not believe any great good will come by sending the bill at this time to a special committee, which will probably hold extensive hearings, and then return the bill to the Senate, where it will be debated and discussed at very considerable length, much the same ground being traveled over that has been traveled over in the Senate twice, and, in part, three times already; and in the end it must go to a conference committee.

If the subject had never had the consideration of the Senate at all, if the whole matter had not been thoroughly debated, if the sense of the Senate had not been taken upon every real controverted question in the matter, there would be much in the suggestion made by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS], whose views upon this subject are entitled to very respectful consideration, for I know that he has given earnest thought and study to the subject. But, Mr. President, while it is true that the bill which came from the House is quite different from the bill which passed the Senate, yet we all know that, except for matters of detail, the controversy has always centered about two questions, and two questions only, in this whole subject: First, upon the question as to whether an annual charge shall be made by the Federal Government; and, second, as to the provisions under which the property shall be retaken by the Government at the expiration of the franchise period.

I am not able to agree with the Senator from Iowa that there is no difference between the two Houses to be adjusted. Take the question of an annual Federal charge to begin with. The bill which left the Senate makes no provision whatever for such an annual charge. That view is stoutly maintained by many Members of the Senate, and I dare say it is held perhaps by a majority of the Senate. It is not my view.

Mr. SHIELDS. The Senator refers to the charge by the Federal Government?

Mr. WALSH. I mean the charge by the Federal Government in consideration of the grant of a franchise. On the contrary, Mr. President, the House bill contains the following provisions to be found at page 37:

(e) That the licensee shall pay to the United States reasonable annual charges in an amount to be fixed by the commission.

There, of course, is a straight difference between the two Houses, and the conference committee will be called upon accordingly to deal with that particular subject; and inasmuch as the Senate refuses to impose any charge at all and the House has provided what the charge shall be and how it shall be arrived at, that is a difference that can be adjusted. The House provision can be accepted or a compromise can be offered or some other provision can be made upon the subject.

The other subject of difference, Mr. President, is, as I have said, the conditions under which the recapture is to take place. That is provided for in the Senate bill at page 10, the provision being that at any time after the expiration of 50 years, and so on, the United States may take over the property upon paying to the grantee just compensation therefor. That is the Senate idea. The House, on the contrary, advances the net-investment idea, as follows:

SEC. 14. That upon not less than two years' notice in writing from the commission the United States shall have the right, upon or after the expiration of any license, to take over and thereafter to maintain and operate any project or projects, * * * upon the condition that before taking possession it shall pay the net investment of the licensee in the project or projects taken.

So that matter is in difference between the two Houses, as it always has been in difference, and the conference committee will be entitled, as a matter of course, to take up that subject and deal with it as in its wisdom seems best.

It is true that the Senate bill does not make provision for the construction of dams in streams which are theoretically navigable, but which in fact are not navigable; that is, streams that are regarded by the War Department as being navigable, but upon which there is really no navigation. The House bill does not contain that. So that matter is in difference. The Senate has declared itself upon that question, so that will fall within the jurisdiction of the conference committee.

Likewise, Mr. President, the House bill provides for the creation of a commission by which the licenses shall be issued,

that commission to consist of the three Secretaries. The Senate bill contains no such provision. The Senate conferees may either accede to the provision found in the House bill or provide for some other kind of commission, if that would seem wise, as a substitute. So, Mr. President, it seems to me that the bill is now in such shape that it can be very properly considered by a conference committee and a report made, which, with the discussions that have already taken place, will be all that is requisite.

Mr. President, that is all I care to say, except to advert briefly to the very learned and interesting argument made a few days ago by the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH]. At the outset of his argument I was lead to believe that the Senator was advocating the dismissal of every project that has thus far been advanced by either House for the solution of this great question of water-power development, the absolute disregard of all such projects, and the substitution, in lieu of all of them, of some plan for municipal, State, and Federal development and control. Mr. President, this matter has had the very earnest consideration of both Houses of Congress ever since I came to the Senate, some five and a half years ago. Of course, the question has been alive at least since 1909. The necessity for some legislation upon the subject has been apparent to every student of public questions since that time; and until now I can not recall a single instance in which it was proposed that these power sites shall lie idle for all time, until appropriations are made by Congress for their development, or by States, or by municipalities. I trust we shall not now listen to any suggestion that will absolutely defeat all of the pending legislation, start in anew, and endeavor to devise some new system of municipal, State, or Federal development.

It is true that many a municipality, finding close at hand a power site, might, with extreme profit to its citizens, go out and develop that power site for the purpose of taking care of its municipal needs. Under favorable circumstances it might not only make a development adequate to take care of its own municipal needs, but one adequate to provide power for industrial enterprises within its borders or in its immediate vicinity.

The city of Los Angeles, under a special grant from Congress, has done so to the great advantage and profit of its citizens. It has a great grant from the Government, which it has developed at an enormous cost. The power is supplied to its street railways and is used for the lighting of the houses of the city, and, as well, Mr. President, it supplies power to great industrial enterprises in the region all around. More important than that, it supplies power to raise water for irrigation purposes, so that immense tracts of land in the immediate vicinity of the city are put under cultivation, to the great advantage of the people who reside in the city and the general benefit of the whole country. But, Mr. President, those are exceptional instances.

In my own State, in the county adjacent to the one in which I live, there is a little town of perhaps less than 1,000 people. They have gone up into the mountains, a distance of 10 or 15 miles, and have there developed a hundred horsepower, which is adequate to furnish power for the lighting of their little city. But, Mr. President, we can not rely upon enterprises of that kind for the development of the great power sites of the country.

The power site at Priest Rapids has been referred to from time to time in the discussion of this subject. It is in the Columbia River, at a point where that river is crossed by the Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad. There can be developed an aggregate of at least 400,000 horsepower. The initial cost of power development is not ordinarily less than $100 per horsepower. That means an investment of $40,000,000 for the development of that power site. Shall we allow that to remain idle and undeveloped and unimproved? Shall we allow the waters to run away, as they have run away since time began, without utilization at all, until some municipality in the State of Washington undertakes to obligate itself to the extent of $40,000,000 for the development of that power? What municipality will do it?

Unfortunately neither of the Senators from Washington is here, but if they were present I should ask the senior Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] or the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. POINDEXTER] what the probabilities are that the city of Spokane, for instance, or the State of Washington will go out and undertake to develop a water power at an expense of $40,000,000?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

Mr. WALSH. I yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. THOMAS. Does the Senator from Montana think that $40,000,000 could be secured from any source under this bill for the development of that water power?

Mr. WALSH. Well, Mr. President, that diverts me from my argument, but I will answer the Senator from Colorado, and answer him with perfect frankness about the matter. Senators have all encountered Mr. Pierce, who is interested in that power site, and he hopes, if this bill gets through, to get a franchise to develop it. He says that he can raise the money to develop that power site under the House bill, with some small amendments, which he feels can be made. I do not know whether the money can be raised or not, but the man who wants the opportunity to develop the power says that it can be raised.

Mr. President, I will answer the Senator from Colorado again, that another gentleman has been here for a long time from my State—Mr. Harris—who is interested in the development of what is known as the Big Horn Canyon power site. There can be developed something like 125,000 horsepower. That means an investment of from twelve and a half to fifteen million dollars. Mr. Harris tells me that he believes he can raise the money for the development under the House bill, with some amendments to it. I have given the Senator from Colorado what information I have.

But, Mr. President, let me proceed. Take the great power site at The Dalles in the Columbia River. That site is capable of developing 500,000 horsepower; that means an investment of $50,000,000. The city of Portland, the greatest city there is in that section of the country, has not any intention, has not any thought, of going into the development of The Dalles power site signifying an investment of $50,000,000. Take my own State; take the Polson power site on the Pend Oreille River, which is capable of developing 225,000 horsepower; that means an investment of $25,000,000. There is not a municipality in my State that is going to undertake that development; neither is the State of Montana going to undertake it.

Moreover, Mr. President, everybody must recognize that these power developments are great big business enterprises. When you have the power developed, you have got to find a market for it; you have got to go out and induce industrial enterprises to establish themselves within the radius which can be supplied from the particular development; you have got to go out and induce householders to use the electrical power for household purposes, as has been done in many sections of the country; you have got to develop a business, and you have got to run it on business principles. Ordinarily a municipality is not organized so as to run a great big business enterprise of this character with success.

As I have said, under peculiar circumstances and usually with reference to small developments, municipalities may develop them very well, and the House bill makes provision for just such cases. I have not been able to find the corresponding provision in the Senate bill, if there is one; but the House bill provides—I read from page 33—as follows:

> SEC. 7. That in issuing preliminary permits or licenses hereunder the commission shall give preference to applications therefor by States and municipalities, provided the plans for the same are deemed by the commission adapted to conserve and utilize in the public interest the navigation and water resources of the region.

The bill further provides that whenever one makes an application for a franchise under its provisions he must for a period of eight weeks advertise the fact in some paper printed in the county in which the development is to take place. When one has thus made his application and has advertised, if a municipality itself desires to develop that power it may come in and apply to do so, and its application must be given preference over the application of the private party or corporation. So every opportunity is given under the bill for municipal development if the municipalities will develop; but we object to any scheme or plan which will keep these power sites idle until the municipalities may prepare at some time in the remote future to develop them.

But I understood the Senator from Idaho eventually, Mr. President, not to urge, as seemed to be his idea in the first place—at least, as I gathered it—that these power sites be kept idle and unproductive until the municipalities got ready to develop them. He simply desired to give the municipality the preference, and if the municipality did not desire to exercise that preference, then the private party or corporation might do the development. He complained, however, about the provision in this bill under which, he said, a discretion was left with the commission as to whether or not they would give preference to the municipality. Mr. President, the only discretion given to the commission under the provisions of the House bill is that they must give the preference to the municipality, provided their plans contemplate the development to the extent to which the site is capable of being developed; in other words, if a municipality desired to make a development of, we will say, only 5,000

horsepower in the case of a site that was capable of developing 50,000 horsepower and there were private parties or a public utility corporation desirous of getting a permit to develop the entire 50,000 horsepower, then the preference to the municipality would not obtain; in other words, the idea is to have these power sites developed to their full capacity. If a municipality undertakes to develop or decides to develop a power site to its full capacity, it has the preference under this proposed law. So, Mr. President, I do not think that provision ought to be changed, and I express that view for the benefit of the conferees, if the bill shall go to conference, for whatever it may be worth. These are great resources, and they ought to be developed to their utmost capacity; every opportunity ought to be given to the municipalities and to the States to make the developments, if they desire to do so; but when they do not desire to do so—and in many cases it will be entirely impossible for them to do so—we should invite private capital to develop these resources for us.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, I do not believe that there is a Member of the Senate, and I am sure that there is not a member of the Committee on Commerce, who does not feel that the Committee on Public Lands should have representation on the proposed conference committee, but it seems to me that we are going to create a very awkward situation. If three members of the Public Lands Committee and three members of the Committee on Commerce are appointed on this conference committee and they fail to agree upon important matters, how are we ever going to get a bill of any kind? The bill reported by the Committee on Commerce and passed by the Senate has a double significance; it not only deals with water powers, but it deals with navigation on navigable rivers in connection with water-power development, and it appears that the question of navigation on navigable rivers is growing in importance all the time.

So far as I am concerned, I am willing, and have frequently expressed the opinion, that the public-land States should have all the legislation that is necessary in order to enable them properly to develop their water-power resources and facilities. I am willing that they should have all they need and perhaps more than they ought to have. I have gone further, Mr. President, than have the western Senators, for I have said frequently that I hoped the day would soon come when under proper restrictions all the public lands would be turned over to the States to handle and manage for their own benefit. I think that ought to be done; but perhaps that is a long way off, and it has nothing to do with the present situation.

I do not care who is appointed on the conference committee, if one shall be created, from the Committee on Public Lands, nor do I care who is appointed from the Committee on Commerce. I have no particular desire to deal with this question; I have been bothering my brain with it for 10 years and have not accomplished very much, but if this conference committee is composed of six Members, three from each of the two committees, and they shall fail to agree I should like to have some Senator suggest a remedy.

How are we going to get the bill out of such a committee and get it enacted into law? I do not know of any way to do it, because under all the rules governing conferences a majority must agree in the report.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. POMERENE in the chair). Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. BANKHEAD. I yield.

Mr. WALSH. I hope we shall be able to agree on this bill in some way or other. I do not anticipate any difficulties such as the Senator from Alabama fears.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I do not know that there will be such a difficulty.

Mr. WALSH. But, if there should be, I would be very glad to make the suggestion to him that an additional member be selected from the Committee on Agriculture, the ranking member of the committee, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN].

Mr. BANKHEAD. Well, we will discuss that when we come to it.

Mr. WALSH. I think that would be quite proper, because the State of the Senator from Oregon is interested in both aspects of the measure—the navigable feature of it and the public-lands feature of it.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, I do not know that there is going to be any trouble about an agreement; I am not supposing that there will be; but, if there should be, I am simply inquiring what the remedy is; that is all. I have no objection to appointing three members of the Public Lands Committee if the Public Lands Committee so desires, and I do not care who are appointed on the committee; that does not make a particle of difference to me, so far as I am concerned. What I want is a bill that will insure power development on navigable streams, and I want a bill that will enable the public-land States to develop their power. It may be that we will have no trouble in conference, if I should be one of the conferees, in agreeing upon a bill of that character. I hope there will not be; but, as I have said, the question of the development of water power on navigable rivers has a double significance, for it is just as important to develop the navigation on our rivers as it is to develop power; and the Commerce Committee has given long and patient study to that subject. That is all I care to say. I hope the Senate will pass upon this question, and either send the bill to conference or send it to a committee or some other place which they may select. I do not care a straw what they do, so far as I am concerned.

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President, I am not going into a discussion of the merits of this bill either as it passed the Senate or as it was amended by the House. I do not think it is necessary to do so at this time. Everyone agrees that there are differences of the most material character between the bill passed by the Senate and that passed by the House, and there must be very material modifications of the views of both Houses before that bill can be enacted into law. There are many of the general principles governing the development of water power that are common to both of these bills, and are to be found in them both; in fact, I think in large measure the bills, while expressed in different phraseology, are practically the same, although there are very material and very serious differences that have been entertained by the two Houses for many years, as shown by bills passed by both of them.

The only question that is now before the Senate is whether or not the Senate shall disagree to the amendment of the House and whether conferees shall be appointed.

The matter had been discussed between members of the Commerce Committee and the Public Lands Committee as to the relative representation of the two committees upon the conference committee to be appointed. The chairman of the Commerce Committee and members of that committee readily agreed that the Public Lands Committee should be represented but not that they should control the matter. They agreed to this on account of the fact that the House has included in the amendment made to the Senate bill legislation affecting streams upon the public lands, a matter not included in the Senate bill. I think it is fair for the Public Lands Committee to be represented. The Commerce Committee proposed that the conferees be composed of three from the Commerce Committee and two from the Public Lands Committee. No method of selecting them was considered or agreed upon. The chairman of the Committee on Public Lands is at perfect liberty to adopt the method he thinks best and which is according to the practice of the Senate.

I believe that that is the fair way to proceed in this matter, and that it is just to both committees. As has been repeatedly said in the Senate, this bill was originally in charge of the Commerce Committee. It has the preference. Ordinarily, under the usages and practices of the Senate, when a bill of this kind is returned by the House, if a conference is agreed upon the conferees are appointed entirely from the Commerce Committee; and that part of them shall be from the other committee—the Committee on Public Lands—is a concession upon the part of the Commerce Committee.

The statement made by the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH], showing the relative interest of the public-land States and that of what we might call the navigable-stream States is not altogether clear as to the facts. It is not full, and is really misleading when we consider the questions involved and to be considered by the Public Lands Committee. Ninety per cent of this bill relates as much to the navigable streams as it does to the streams on the public lands; and that is true notwithstanding the statistics show that the greatest amount of undeveloped water power in the United States is in what are known as the public-land States. It grows out of two facts—one, that the great volume of the power in the public-land States is not on navigable streams and a bill affecting navigable streams only does not affect it; the other, the fact that the only difference regarding legislation for the development of water power to be found in this bill as amended by the House is in those provisions providing for the lease of dam sites and of transmission lines through and over the public lands.

I will read the clause providing for these matters. I will only read that part applicable to the question I am discussing. It is the provision for licensing parties or municipalities desiring to make developments; and it is said that it may be done—

For the purpose of constructing, operating, and maintaining dams, water conduits, reservoirs, power houses, transmission lines, or other project works necessary or convenient for the development and im-

provement of navigation, and for the development, transmission, and utilization of power across, along, or in any of the navigable waters of the United States, or upon any part of the public lands and reservations of the United States (including the Territories), or for the purpose of utilizing the surplus water or water power from any nagivation dam.

It is readily seen that the provisions of the bill are confined to navigable streams in every respect, except a provision for the leasing of public lands when necessary for dam sites, or sites for construction works, or transmission lines. Every other principle of the bill applies to navigable streams. The appointment of the commission, the rates to be charged, the royalties to be charged, the manner of regulation—everything, in fact, except this one matter of leasing public lands—apply to waters wherever you find them, whether in the public-land States or in what are known as the navigable-stream States, which would be those contiguous to the Mississippi River and lying east of it in the United States. In fact, there are two great regions where water power is found in the United States—that is, in the Rocky Mountains and in the Appalachian Mountains—one of them west of the Mississippi River, and the other east of it; the navigable streams nearly all lying east of the Mississippi River, with notable exceptions.

Another question showing the greater interest of the Commerce Committee in this legislation is the fact that this measure relates to navigation, and that committee has the sole charge of all bills relating to the navigation of rivers in the United States—as has already been said, an interest equally important with that of the development of water power. So, when we get down to the question as to which committee has the greater interest in this matter, the Commerce Committee has at least three-fourths of it. I think I state it very moderately when I say that. It has jurisdiction over three-fourths of the interests involved in this legislation, sole interest in navigation, and fully as much in water power that is subject to the provisions of this bill. That being so, I think it is a very liberal concession to give the Public Lands Committee two of the conferees, and for the Commerce Committee to retain its control of three.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. SHIELDS. I do.

Mr. CUMMINS. A very important part of this bill relates to the distribution or transmission of power among or between the States. Why do you eliminate the jurisdiction of the Committee on Interstate Commerce? I agree that the Committee on Commerce has to deal with the improvement of waters so that they will be better adapted for navigation; but why do you not give the Committee on Interstate Commerce a show when it comes to the provisions which relate to commerce among the States in the transmission or distribution of power?

I am moved to ask that question because the Senator was just trying to explain why part of this jurisdiction should go to the Committee on Commerce, part of it to the Committee on Public Lands, and so on. Now, I ask him, as long as you are making up a conference committee upon new and unusual principles, why not take in the Committee on Interstate Commerce?

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President, the only reason I can give the Senator is that the interest of the Interstate Commerce Committee is so small as to be negligible; and no one ever before thought that it had jurisdiction of the matters involved in this bill sufficient to be considered in connection with it. There are only a few cases where the power crosses State lines, and where interstate commerce would be involved; and it is very doubtful whether it is involved there or not.

This is all I care to say about the question involved. I favor the motion of the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER]. I think it ought to be adopted, and that without the amendment proposed by the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH].

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KING in the chair). The Senator from Iowa will state it.

Mr. CUMMINS. What is the motion made by the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH]?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. As the Chair is advised, it is an amendment to the motion submitted by the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER]. The amendment offered by the Senator from Montana is that six conferees be appointed, three from the Committee on Commerce and three from the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. CUMMINS. And that the rule of seniority be disregarded?

Mr. WALSH. Without reference to the rule of seniority.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

Mr. CUMMINS. I was just asking what the motion was.

Mr. WALSH. That selection be made without regard to the rule of seniority.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield to the Senator from Utah.

Mr. SMOOT. I want to say to the Senator from Montana that there is no rule of seniority here in forming conference committees; and if the Senator from Montana [Mr. MYERS], the chairman of the Public Lands Committee, is embarrassed in any way, I can say, as far as I am concerned as one of the minority members of the committee, that he need not take me into consideration at all. I hope, therefore, the Senator from Montana will strike out that part of his motion.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. So do I.

Mr. WALSH. I hope that, whether the rule of seniority is regarded or is not regarded, the Senator from Utah will be appointed a member of the committee.

Mr. SMOOT. I am perfectly willing to go off the conference; and I do not want the chairman of the Public Lands Committee to feel at all embarrassed, but to pass me over and select any other member of the committee that he desires.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. WALSH. I think the chairman of the Committee on Public Lands now feels that he is at perfect liberty, without injuring the feelings of anybody, to disregard the rule of seniority, so I ask leave to withdraw that portion of the amendment.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, a further parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBINSON in the chair). The Senator will state it.

Mr. CUMMINS. Is the motion or question divisible? In other words, will we have an opportunity to vote first upon the question of disagreement and the request for a conference and then upon the method of selecting the conference committee? [A pause.] May I say a word while the Chair is reflecting upon that question? I am very much interested——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will say to the Senator from Iowa that the present occupant of the Chair thinks there are two separate questions involved in the pending proposal and that it is competent to divide or segregate them and vote upon them separately, the first question being as to whether the Senate shall disagree to the amendment of the House and ask for a conference; and if a disagreement is ordered and a conference asked, then the Senate can vote upon the question as to the manner of selecting the conferees.

Mr. CUMMINS. Precisely. I am not interested in the last question so much as I am in the first. I am very much opposed——

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, will the Senator pardon me?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield.

Mr. WALSH. I want to suggest to the Senator from Iowa that, parliamentarily, my amendment, of course, will be first voted on. I offered an amendment to the pending motion.

Mr. CUMMINS. I understand that.

Mr. WALSH. And the question is, Shall we amend the motion made by the chairman of the Commerce Committee so as to provide that three members of the conference committee shall be selected from the Committee on Commerce and three from the Committee on Public Lands?

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I again say that I am not so much interested in the manner of selecting the managers on the part of the Senate as I am in preserving the right of the Senate to consider this bill, although I have no doubt that the method proposed by the Senator from Montana is the more equitable plan; but the mere fact that we are attempting to negotiate with each other with regard to the selection of conferees—caused, I assume, by the known or unknown attitude of the proposed conferees toward the questions at issue—furnishes conclusive proof that this bill is not yet ready to send to conference. If you will give the Senate an opportunity to consider the House bill, and narrow to understandable limits the differences which may appear, so that they can be defined and perceived, we will have no trouble in the selection of conferees.

I agree that it would be intolerable to send the bill to conferees who had no other interest in the matter than the interest which arises out of navigable waters, just as it would be entirely unjust to send it to a conference committee that had no information, other than general information respecting the subject, save that which grows out of the streams on our public domain.

That is a situation which is simply deplorable. Here we have a bill which has never yet been considered by a committee having jurisdiction of both these subjects or having made investigations concerning both, and we are trying to make up by private negotiation a conference committee that may be able to grasp the subject and to do justice to it. Who ever heard of a proposal of that kind? And yet it is absolutely necessary, if we send the bill to conference in this situation.

If you will follow out the suggestion or the motion that I made, and which I understood to be entirely satisfactory to the members of the Committees on Public Lands and Commerce, in the event we did not go to conference immediately—namely, that this bill be referred to a special committee, to be composed of an equal number of members of the Committee on Commerce and of the Committee on Public Lands—there you have a committee having a single organization, but composed of Senators who have given study to these two phases of the great subject. They would take the bill, and, after having considered it and after having taken evidence upon it if they so desired, they would report to the Senate the bill which in their judgment ought to become the law of the land. A very large part of the differences that now appear would then be dismissed. I venture to say that the differences between the Senate and the House then would not be what they are theoretically now, because I agree with the Senator from Montana that we have never taken up the subject in a serious and determined way, believing that we were shortly to arrive at legislation; and I am in favor of doing it. I think it is a great, important subject, and we are now preparing to deal with it in the most unintelligent way that I can conceive. I predict that instead of forwarding legislation, instead of facilitating the development of these great powers, if we send this bill to conference in the present form, we will place in the way of legislation an obstacle that it will require a long time to remove.

Mr. President, I ask for a division of the question, first, that relating to the method of selecting the conferees, and, second, that relating to disagreement and asking for a conference.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair advises the Senator from Iowa that the motion which he mentions as second will have to be put first, under what the Chair understands to be the rules of the Senate.

Mr. CUMMINS. I am not arranging the order of putting the question. I am asking for a division of the question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Very well. A division will be ordered.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, on Saturday the Senator from Iowa gave notice that he would move that the pending measure be referred to a special committee for consideration. I sincerely hope that this motion will prevail and that the motion of the chairman of the Committee on Commerce [Mr. FLETCHER] will be defeated. This measure is one, to use the language of the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH], of "transcendent importance"; it affects all portions of our country, but particularly the public-land States.

The House bill embarks our country upon a dangerous sea with an unknown haven. The uniform holdings of the courts of our land have been that the waters within the States were owned by the States in trust for the people. The Federal Government has no ownership or interest in nonnavigable waters, and its interest in navigable streams is limited to the prevention of their use so as to interfere with navigation. Under the power to control interstate commerce the Federal Government may prevent obstructions within the navigable streams which would impede or interfere with their navigability. The bill sent to this body from the House, if I correctly interpret it, is a radical departure from the views which have obtained for more than a century, and will deprive the States of their ownership in and control of the streams found therein, both navigable and unnavigable. There is no question but what there is a deep-seated purpose to place the Federal Government in control of all the waters found within all the States. The contention will be made, if this bill should become a law, that in controlling navigable streams for power purposes the Federal Government has the right to control all the tributaries and sources of supply of such navigable streams. In the public-land States the House bill places the Federal Government in control of all streams capable of producing power, and fastens upon the people a licensing system oppressive and obnoxious.

But what I rose to state was that, to my mind, it is manifestly unfair to force a measure of this character through the Senate without giving an opportunity for consideration and for amendments to the same. The Senate of the Sixty-fifth Congress has never considered many of the questions involved in the House bill. The bill which passed the Senate and for which the present measure is a substitute did not relate to the public lands and the question of the Government controlling the waters of the public-land States for power purposes. It must be remembered that 20 to 30 Members of the present Senate took their seats in this body on the 4th of March, 1917. During the past 15 months 10 of the Members of this body have been called by death, so there is a large part of the membership of this body that has never had any opportunity to consider these important questions, so vital not only to their States but to the Union.

It is quite likely in a general way they have given some thought to the question of the use of streams of our land for power purposes, but they have not had the opportunity to consider proposed legislation in relation to this important subject. The proposition now is that a measure which has come from the House shall be sent to a conference committee. The Members of the Senate are to be denied any opportunity to fully and fairly consider this bill or to offer any amendments thereto. It is said that when the conferees agree upon the question and report back to the Senate an opportunity will then be afforded for Senators to give expression to their views. Mr. President, it is true that if the conferees agree to report this, or a modified measure, back to their respective bodies, we will then have an opportunity here to discuss, not the bill, but the conference report. That is to say, we may discuss the principles of the bill, but we will have no opportunity to amend the bill, no matter how imperfect or dangerous or destructive it may be. We will be compelled to accept the conference report and the bill submitted without the slightest modifications, or we will be compelled to reject it in its entirety. It is obvious that such a course is unfair. There may be some Senators to whom the bill, so reported, will be most obnoxious, and yet they may feel constrained, because of some meritorious features, to vote for it rather than to get no legislation. It is a dangerous, indeed a vicious manner of legislating. It is legislation by compulsion. It prevents fair consideration or deliberation. Mr. President, this bill, I repeat, is a dangerous bill. As I understand it, it is a deadly thrust at the rights of the States. It is in harmony with many of the measures which receive powerful support in these hours, calculated to destroy the States and to create a strongly consolidated and centralized Government.

The Federal Government ought to cede to the States the public lands found therein. It ought not to place its strong hand upon the property of the States and to build up a dangerous and destructive paternalism. It is not in harmony with Anglo-Saxon principles and our theory and form of government to constitute a Federal Government a powerful and omnipotent paternalism. The thought of the Federal Government going into the States and controlling the waters, which are owned by the States and the people, and granting licenses to those who use the waters, and to institute a system which makes the Federal Government a landlord and the people servants and tenants, is so obnoxious as to excite my opposition to proposed schemes and legislation embodying such views. A measure so important as this ought to be fully considered by the Senate. There should be full opportunity to the new Senators to express their views upon the question, to offer amendments to the pending bill, and to aid in securing legislation which meets their views.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

Mr. KING. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WALSH. I rise to suggest to the Senator from Utah that the Senate bill was considered and passed on the 14th day of December last, the whole subject being then for the second time discussed by the Senate.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, as I understand, the bill which was passed by the Senate in December did not relate to the public lands. As the Senator from Montana pointed out in his very lucid statement a few moments ago, no bill relating to the public lands has been passed. One has been considered in a previous Congress. None has been considered by the Senate at this session.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, if the Senator will pardon me——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah further yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. WALSH. The statement of the Senator is quite true, and yet the fact is that the controverted questions in the two measures are practically the same.

Mr. KING. It seems to me that there is a great deal of difference between a bill which deals with navigable streams and a bill which deals with the streams within the public-land States. I am sure that in the very brief discussion which occurred in the Senate during this session with respect to the bill which passed the Senate very little, if any, consideration was given to the question of the public lands or how this bill would affect the public lands.

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President——

Mr. KING. I yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. SHIELDS. The Senator will find on examination of the bill passed by the Senate and the amendment proposed by the House that the material difference relates to the leasing of public lands for dam sites and for transmission lines over the public lands, and that practically every other principle involved in both of the bills applies to streams upon the public lands equally with those of navigable waters. I undertook to make that statement a while ago, showing that the interest of the Public Lands Committee is really very much smaller than that of the Commerce Committee in regard to the jurisdiction of this bill.

Mr. KING. With respect to the relative interest which these two committees would have in this bill I express no opinion. I do not know whether it is more important to the Commerce Committee than it is to the Public Lands Committee. There is very much in what the Senator from Iowa suggested, that it is of immense importance to the Interstate Commerce Committee. But the point I am trying to make is that there has been attached to the Senate bill a measure which was not considered in the Senate, and there are features of this important subject to which Senators have not given attention. Now, to submit this whole matter to a conference committee seems to me to be manifestly unfair. I think we ought to have an opportunity to consider it upon the floor of the Senate, have an opportunity to amend the provisions of the bill, and for that reason it ought first to go to a special committee constituted in the manner indicated by the Senator from Iowa, and let them report such a bill as their judgment and the investigations which they may made demand.

When they report a measure to the Senate it can then go to the calendar, and when it is called up for consideration it can receive proper attention at the hands of Senators and the subject can be dealt with in a full and comprehensive manner.

I shall vote against the motion to refer the bill to conference, and shall most cordially and heartily support the position of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, I do not know whether I find myself in agreement with either side in this controversy. I am convinced, without going into a discussion of the broad question, that the Federal Government has no right or jurisdiction over any navigable or nonnavigable stream further than a mere easement for the transportation of commerce. The Supreme Court has decided from the first—I can not speak of its later decisions—that it was a mere easement. The Federal Government has no right or power to charge the individual who puts up the money for a purpose that does not injure commerce, that, in fact, nineteen times out of twenty improves the commerce of the stream. The Federal Government, except for the few purposes of the maintenance of that commerce, has no right on earth to say a word to a State about what it does with that water. When it comes to the nonnavigable streams within a State, whether on public land or in privately owned areas, the Government has no right of control over the stream or the use or the disposal of the water except for purposes purely governmental.

In the desert-land States the law and the constitutions of the States declare that the waters belong to the people of the States. The Federal Government owns the land on these streams as any other proprietor would own it, modified probably by the trust that many of the Supreme Court decisions place on the character and purpose and extent of the Government title. But grant that the Government is the proprietor, it can not hold as a sovereign, as has been decided time and time again by the Supreme Court. Any private owner of land abutting on a stream in any of the desert-land States can be forced by eminent domain, through proceedings in the State court, to submit his land to any easement for any beneficial purpose named in the statute of the State.

Yet the Federal Government makes reservations invading the sovereignty of the State simply by declaring that the Government owns the land of the waters of the State, and neither the State nor any individual shall without its consent use the water on which the life of the State depends. Thus all water-power development is suppressed.

I agree with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS] that the questions of navigable and nonnavigable waters in some respects are wide apart, but at the very bottom of them they rest on the same principle, that in fact the Government has nothing to do with the one except to preserve the navigation of the stream, and it is acting as a dog in the manger when it says to a man on the Tennessee or on the Ohio River that he can not build a dam across it, confessedly not injuring but aiding navigation, and that the man who built it or the State that did it, shall not have the right to say what should be done with the power incident to the expenditure of the money.

I do not agree with the leasing system. In my State alone, I think I am within reasonable limits when I say that there have been propositions by which we could have lighted the city of Los Angeles from private capital, willing to deliver the power generated at a fixed and a reasonable price, willing to submit to the domination of the State as to what a reasonable and fair price would be; but they will not put up a dollar—and I think they would be very foolish if they did—when they are subject to leases drawn and interpreted by Secretaries of the Interior, whose personnel is often changing. I do not know but that, as my friend the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] said the other day, the Navy might take jurisdiction and the Attorney General have much to say before the lease expired. They do not know where they are. Under such circumstances they would not put up the money for a development of the stream, and it will not be done in the next 50 years under the Government reservation of power sites in a desert-land State.

We might as well come to a realization of that fact at one time as another. Let the Government go to the full length that the Supreme Court will permit rather than submit to the proposition as to my State, with its rights and powers under its constitution, and the Federal Constitution shall be ignored by Federal invasion usurping the State sovereignty and renting State property and keeping to itself the money exacted from its victims. Riparian rights have no existence in desert countries. Our laws dedicate waters to very different ends than those recognized as rights of landowners along streams in England and the well-watered States east of the great mountains dividing our country.

Mr. President, if this conference committee is confined simply to these two measures and does not violate the rule of the House and the Senate, if the conferees do not give relief from these positions by a finding outside of either bill to make it perfectly plain, in violation of the very rules of sensible conferees—sensible I mean of the conditions of the country—before taking the navigable streams on the one part or the nonnavigable streams on the other, and if out of that conference there can not be some reasonable measure reported to the Senate, then I shall despair of ever getting relief and must take, as we all have to take in this life, some doses that are very unpleasant for us, no matter how much they hope or promise to improve our health. That conference committee, in my judgment, ought to make a broad division, whether either of these bills do it or not, between the navigable and nonnavigable streams. The navigable streams are not bothering me, except one named as navigable that a boat bearing commerce has not been on in 20 years, and that is the Colorado River. We can light every city within 150 miles, giving power and light, from the Colorado River by private enterprise.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Arizona yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I yield.

Mr. CUMMINS. This question comes to my mind at that point. I hold exactly the same opinion with regard to the rights of the Federal Government and the interest in these streams, so far as the water is concerned, that the Senator from Arizona holds; but now the House has passed a bill and sent it over here which provides that the commissioners in whose jurisdiction this whole matter is placed may make such an annual charge for the use of the water in your nonnavigable stream as they may see fit. We have passed nothing on that subject.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I hope we never will pass anything to that effect.

Mr. CUMMINS. We have had no opportunity to express ourselves in any way upon it. Now, what will be in conference between the House and the Senate when you send a bill so framed to conference?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. As far as I am concerned, in answering as well as I can the Senator's question, no such agreement ought ever to be had in that conference. Here is our trouble, as already stated: There is no legislation at all to give this conference committee, if you will hold yourself strictly within the rule by saying nothing shall be considered except one or the other bill contemplated. We have found there is no possibility of agreement, not because the Senate was not willing to go much further than it ought to go, in my judgment, but because the Senate, making all the concessions it could, is met every time with that unbending determination of the House conferees. If the Senator's motion to refer prevails and the committee reports and the Senate passes a bill meeting our judgment, that measure would have in conference the same trouble we are having now. It will delay without giving aid.

Mr. FLETCHER. I suggest to the Senator that Congress has not anything in the world to do with the development of water power on nonnavigable streams.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I know that. That is what I am talking about. But it is assuming power.

Mr. FLETCHER. There is nothing in the bill——

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. It is assuming power under this bill.

Mr. FLETCHER. No; only in so far as nonnavigable streams run through public lands.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. They are on the public lands.

Mr. FLETCHER. That may be somewhere, but in some States there are no public lands——

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I am talking about the arid States west of the Rocky Mountains. There are the public lands.

Mr. FLETCHER. This refers only to navigable water, and Congress has jurisdiction over navigable water.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. What jurisdiction?

Mr. FLETCHER. Control for the purposes of navigation. For that reason Congress says you can not interfere with one of these navigable streams by building a dam across it without our permission. It is to meet a condition like that that this legislation is necessary. With respect to nonnavigable streams Congress has nothing to do; the Federal Government has nothing to do, except in so far as the bill attempts to reach in the use of the language "or" upon any part of the public lands and reservations of the United States, including the Territories.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. That takes in every nonnavigable stream west of the Rocky Mountains.

Mr. FLETCHER. Of course, there is where the authority rests in Congress to enact this sort of legislation and to that extent it was within our jurisdiction, but speaking generally of the exercise of power over nonnavigable streams, we have no power of that sort.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I am sorry the Senator has not had the experience the balance of us have. The Senator does not know about what has been done in regard to nonnavigable streams in our State.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I yield.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator's [Mr. FLETCHER'S] position is correct in the abstract.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Yes; absolutely.

Mr. THOMAS. But in practice authority is now exercised by the Secretary of War over every tributary of every navigable stream upon the theory that interference with the tributary, whether navigable or not, may interfere with or disturb the flow of the stream which is navigable. As a consequence, this bill will be made applicable, if it passes, to every tributary of every navigable stream in the section of the country for which the Senator from Arizona now speaks. That has been carried to such an extent that the attempted diversion of water from a small tributary of the Colorado River in my State necessitated the interviewing by my colleague and myself of the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, War, and State before we could secure final action.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Colorado for his illuminating interruption. Let me add one word to it. As I understand the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS], in charge of a finance measure, is very anxious to pass it this evening, I shall not detain the Senate further than to say that not only streams that go into navigable waters are controlled by the Federal Government, but streams that waste and burrow in the desert sands and never see a navigable stream are likewise to be controlled and managed by Federal authority, the States meanwhile protesting.

When an opportunity is discovered to build a dam in a mountain canyon to generate power to pump water on farms below the Government at once reserves this as a power site and development ceases. Of course it does. Under such conditions it could not be otherwise. I leave to your imagination the blight this throws over the whole State where every feasible power site is reserved from use by the people of the State and from the State itself.

Mr. HARDWICK. I would just like to ask the Senator if there are no navigable streams in the West on public lands and what happens when the public land is homesteaded?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. None in my State, and I know of few, if any, in any arid State. The lands selected for power sites are always and of necessity impossible to settle as a homestead. Homesteads might and would be made on lands below the power site if the homeseekers could develop power and by it pump water on the adjacent valley lands.

Mr. HARDWICK. You mean if the Government takes the water they never can use the land?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I mean that the Government reserves the power site, does nothing to develop it, and by the reservation prevents anybody else from developing or using it. Thus you see no one can use the power or develop it for any purpose whatever. It prevents anybody from using the water power, though it is dedicated to the State under the constitution of the State.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, inasmuch as the pending question, the amendment offered by my colleague to the motion of the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER] relates to the powers and privileges of the Committee on Public Lands, of which I have the honor to be chairman, and inasmuch as the amendment of my colleague would confer certain powers and responsibilities upon the chairman of that committee, to which reference has been made in the debate this afternoon, I feel that I should say at least enough on the pending question to explain my vote thereon, and that I will do.

I have not been oblivious to the situation that has confronted the Senate with regard to the substitute water-power bill which has been sent to the Senate by the House. I have given it much thought and have conferred with various Senators in regard thereto and as to the proper procedure and what should be done. It is a very unusual situation. The Senate has passed a bill for the development of water power on the navigable streams of the country, but has never passed a bill for the development of water power on unnavigable streams on the public domain of the country. Heretofore those subjects have been treated separately by the Senate. A bill for the development of water power on navigable streams has twice passed the Senate. A bill for the development of water power on unnavigable streams on the public domain has been debated but has never passed the Senate.

When the bill for the development of water power on the navigable streams of the country went to the House a special committee was appointed, and it reported a substitute which covers and embraces legislation on the entire subject, comprising the development of water power on the navigable streams of the country and the development of water power on the unnavigable streams of the country on the public domain. Bills for the development of water power on the navigable streams of the country have always been reported out of committee and handled in the Senate by the Senate Committee on Commerce. Bills for the development of water power on unnavigable streams on the public domain have always been reported and handled in the Senate by the Senate Committee on Public Lands. So we get back here from the House an omnibus bill, a bill combining legislation of both kinds which has heretofore had a divided jurisdiction in the Senate.

Of course, the bill for which this substitute comes back from the House was reported out of and handled on the floor of the Senate by the Senate Committee on Commerce. It has always been the practice in the Senate for the Senate conferees, when a bill goes to conference, to be selected from the committee which has handled the bill in the Senate or which handled the bill for which a substitute comes from the House. So on the face of the situation the Public Lands Committee was apparently cut out of all jurisdiction. Jurisdiction was apparently taken out from under it.

It is an unparalleled situation. In my experience of seven years and a half as a Member of this body I have never known another such situation to arise. So far as I know it has no precedent, and I do not believe that it has one. It is somewhat of a puzzling question as to what should be done with the substitute bill which has come to the Senate and if it should go to conference how the conferees should be selected. I admit that it was quite perplexing to me, and I have not been oblivious to the importance of it and the responsibility connected with it, and I have given it much thought. I have conferred with different Senators serving on different committees about the situation and as to what ought to be done.

Primarily, on the face of the situation the Committee on Commerce appears to have the first claim to jurisdiction and recognition in the selection of conferees. However, as is apparent to everybody, the Committee on Public Lands is equally interested, and, as my colleague has said, the public-land States afford the opportunity for the major portion of the development of water power in this country.

After conferring with members of the Commerce Committee it was stated to me by one Senator on that committee that if the bill should go to conference the Committee on Commerce was willing to allow two of five Senate conferees to come from the Committee on Public Lands. Speaking for myself, I was disposed to accept the proposition as the best that could be hoped for. In my experience here conferees on the part of

the Senate have always consisted of an odd number. I have never known an even number to be appointed on behalf of either the Senate or the House. The immemorial rule has been an odd number—generally three or five. I have never known less than three and I have never known more than five conferees on the part of the Senate, and I supposed the conference would undoubtedly consist of an odd number and would probably be five.

That being the case I felt that I could hardly hope for the Public Lands Committee to get three out of five conferees, when the bill for which the substitute comes back from the House was a bill which originally came from the Senate Commerce Committee. I thought I could not possibly expect the Public Lands Committee to get three conferees and the Commerce Committee to get only two under those circumstances. It appeared to me that two from the Public Lands Committee out of five would be all that could be hoped for or expected.

I can see reasons for the uniform practice of conferees from the Senate consisting of an odd number, because the rule is that when conferees from the House and the Senate get together they do not vote each one for himself and let the majority of all settle a disputed question. The rule is that a majority of the conferees of each branch of Congress must decide what that branch will stand for and whether it will accept or reject a proposition; whether they will sign or refuse to sign the conference report; whether they will abide by or refuse to abide by any action. So always heretofore conferees on the part of the Senate have consisted of three or five; so a majority of them could decide the attitude of the Senate in the conference. There is reason for this. The great obstacle in conferences is the danger of deadlock between Senate and House conferees. Some conferences are wholly fruitless on that account—result in permanent deadlocks and permanently defeat legislation. Many times legislation, if not defeated, is delayed weeks or months. To have Senate or House conferees of even number, four or six, might result in deadlocking the conferees for one branch among themselves, two or three on each side of a question. That would increase the danger of a deadlock and no legislation. Hence, I have never known House or Senate conferees to consist of an even number.

However, of course I shall vote for and support the amendment offered by my colleague [Mr. WALSH] to make the conference consist of six members, three each from the Public Lands and the Commerce Committees. It is at once apparent that that is more equitable and fair, as giving to each committee an equal voice in the proceedings of the conference. It is not only fairer but better for the Public Lands Committee and for the Western States, the interests of which that committee is supposed particularly to represent. Upon reflection, I do not know either that an even number of conferees from the Senate would make it any more awkward in settling questions before the conference; upon reflection I have come to the conclusion that it would not make it any more awkward. The Senate conferees would have to be bound by a vote of four out of six instead of a vote of three out of five.

The old rule that the majority must prevail would remain. Of course, I can not consistently vote against any proposition which is intended to give the Committee on Public Lands equal dignity and standing, equal weight and representation in the consideration of matters wherein it is equally interested with another committee. For that reason I shall vote for the amendment offered by my colleague. I think that the best solution of a vexed question, one which has been the subject of much conference and discussion between members of the Public Lands and Commerce Commitees of the Senate and other Senators, as well. I regard it as a very happy solution. It is a departure from custom, but this is an unprecedented condition and must be settled regardless of precedents, for there are none.

As to the suggestion made by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS] that the bill should be sent to a special committee for further consideration and then for report to the Senate, I must say that I share with my colleague the fear that that would result in interminable delay, in nothing being done at this session of Congress, and probably nothing being done during the life of this Congress, which must expire on the 4th of March next. I realize that there is much merit in the suggestion offered by the Senator from Iowa; there is some reason in support of it; but I have had such long experience, covering a number of years of fruitless effort, in the endeavor to get through this body legislation for the development of water power on nonnavigable streams on the public lands of the country, in order to develop the resources of the Western States and to advance their interests, that I shrink from anything which offers further opportunity for delay. Delay is so easy to occur in this body, and it intervenes often on such slight provocation and is likely to be so prolonged, that I feel that my past experience with legislation of this character in this body justifies me in saying that the course suggested by the Senator from Iowa would greatly endanger and jeopardize the possibility of any water-power legislation during the life of this Congress if this bill should go to either a regular or a special committee for further consideration. Therefore, I shall vote for the motion to send the bill to conference.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH].

Mr. WALSH. I call for a division.

Mr. THOMAS. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair desires to know whether the motion of the Senator from Montana is that six conferees on the part of the Senate be appointed by the Vice President, three of whom shall be members of the Committee on Commerce and three of whom shall be members of the Committee on Public Lands. Is that the motion?

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is the amendment proposed by the Senator from Montana?

Mr. LODGE. As I understand, that is not the main question.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Oh, no; that is not the main question.

Mr. LODGE. Is it not for the Senate first to determine whether or not it will send the bill to conference?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair does not so think. The original motion was that the Senate disagree to the amendment of the House to Senate bill 1419, ask for a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes thereon, and that the conferees on the part of the Senate be appointed by the Chair.

Mr. LODGE. I see. This motion is in the nature of an amendment?

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is an amendment to the original motion. The question has been ordered divided, and the question will therefore be put in this shape.

Mr. LODGE. I see. I did not know that the motion of the Senator from Montana was in the nature of an amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The yeas and nays having been ordered, the Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] and vote "yea."

Mr. FLETCHER (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS], which I transfer to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] and vote "nay."

Mr. JONES of Washington. The junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] is necessarily absent, on account of illness in his family. During his absence I have a pair with him on this and other matters. I therefore withhold my vote. If at liberty to vote, I should vote "yea."

Mr. MYERS (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MCLEAN], who is absent. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. HENDERSON] and vote "yea."

Mr. THOMPSON (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN] and vote "yea."

Mr. WALSH (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN], which I transfer to the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS] and vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I have a pair with the junior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. OVERMAN]. As he is not in the Chamber, and I do not know how he would vote upon this measure if present, I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. LODGE (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BAIRD] and will allow my vote to stand. This notice may stand for the day.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH], who, I observe, is absent. I transfer that pair to my colleague [Mr. PAGE] and vote "nay."

Mr. CURTIS. I have been requested to announce the following pairs:

The Senator from New York [Mr. CALDER] with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY];

The Senator from Maine [Mr. FERNALD] with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON];

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS];

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED];

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. SUTHERLAND] with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECKHAM];

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON] with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WOLCOTT]; and

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT] with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY].

The result was announced—yeas 30, nays 20, as follows:

YEAS—30.

Brandegee	Kenyon	Norris	Sterling
Chamberlain	King	Nugent	Thomas
Cummins	Lewis	Phelan	Thompson
Curtis	Lodge	Pomerene	Vardaman
Fall	McCumber	Robinson	Walsh
Hale	McNary	Shafroth	Willey
Jones, N. Mex.	Martin, Ky.	Smith, Ariz.	
Kendrick	Myers	Smoot	

NAYS—20.

Bankhead	Harding	Nelson	Simmons
Dillingham	Hardwick	New	Smith, S. C.
Drew	Kirby	Poindexter	Trammell
Fletcher	McKellar	Sheppard	Underwood
Guion	Martin, Va.	Shields	Wadsworth

NOT VOTING—46.

Ashurst	Goff	Lenroot	Smith, Md.
Baird	Gore	McLean	Smith, Mich.
Beckham	Gronna	Overman	Sutherland
Benet	Henderson	Owen	Swanson
Borah	Hitchcock	Page	Townsend
Calder	Hollis	Penrose	Warren
Colt	Johnson, Cal.	Pittman	Watson
Culberson	Johnson, S. Dak.	Ransdell	Weeks
Fernald	Jones, Wash.	Reed	Williams
France	Kellogg	Saulsbury	Wolcott
Frelinghuysen	Knox	Sherman	
Gerry	La Follette	Smith, Ga.	

So Mr. WALSH's amendment was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there are no further amendment's, the first question is, Will the Senate disagree to the amendment of the House to Senate bill 1419?

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. Is not the first question whether the Senate shall disagree and ask for a conference?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The present occupant was not in the chair at the time, but his understanding is that the Senator from Iowa asked that the question be divided as the Chair has indicated, and that the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON], who was then in the chair, ruled that he was entitled to have it so divided.

Mr. CUMMINS. The then occupant of the chair must have misunderstood me. I suggested that there should be a division, first, as to whether we shall send the bill to conference—that is, as to whether we shall disagree and ask the House for a conference; and, second, as to the manner of appointing the conferees if the first question should be decided in the affirmative.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The present occupant of the chair was not in the chair at the time, but was informed that the Senator had asked to have the question divided into three parts.

Mr. CUMMINS. No, Mr. President. Of course I want the Senate to disagree to the action of the House; my whole argument has been to show that there ought to be a disagreement; but I have attempted to show that, instead of asking for a conference and appointing conferees, we should amend the bill on the floor of the Senate or send it to a committee, either general or special, for the purpose of having it considered there.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Iowa permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. CUMMINS. Yes.

Mr. LODGE. If we vote down the motion to disagree, then the bill is before us to make such disposition as we please.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Just a moment.

Mr. CUMMINS. I had supposed that the request of the House for a conference was a necessary part of the motion.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let the Chair present this question: If the Senate votes down the motion to disagree and decides that it will have no conference, has it not passed the bill? That is what the Chair would rule, whether he is overruled or not.

Mr. CUMMINS. If we vote down the motion to disagree and the request for a conference?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Certainly. That will pass the bill, as the Senate does not disagree and does not want a conference.

Mr. CUMMINS. Does the Chair hold that would pass the bill?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Why not?

Mr. CUMMINS. It was, therefore, that I moved early in the debate that the bill be referred to a special committee, to be composed of five members of the Committee on Commerce and five members of the Committee on Public Lands, for consideration and report. I understood the Chair at that time to rule that that motion was not in order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That motion was not in order, but if the pending motion as a whole should be voted down by the Senate the Chair would then rule that the Senate could refer the bill to a special committee or a standing committee, or that the Senate could amend it in the Senate. When, however, the motion is split up and the Senate votes alone on the question as to whether it will disagree or will not disagree, that presents a different situation.

Mr. CUMMINS. That being true, I withdraw the request for a division of the question and ask that the motion as amended be voted down.

Mr. HARDWICK. A parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Georgia will state it.

Mr. HARDWICK. The Senate bill having been amended in the House, then, if the request for a conference is denied, the question will be on concurring in the House amendment, will it not?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The request has been made to divide the question and have a separate vote on whether the Senate will disagree to the House amendment. The Chair says that if that is voted down, it is an agreement to the House amendment.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, with all submission, I do not think that is ever the method of agreement. The first motion in order when a Senate bill is returned from the House with an amendment is to concur, because that brings the Houses immediately together. The next is a motion to disagree and ask for a conference. The next is to disagree and ask for a conference with instructions. I do not think the mere voting down of a motion to disagree in the least is equal to an agreement by definite affirmations, because if we voted down a motion to disagree, the matter is still before the Senate, and we have got to have an affirmative motion to concur or agree.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair simply wanted to warn the Senate as to how he was going to rule.

Mr. FLETCHER. At any rate, the whole question can be settled on the vote on the motion to disagree to the House amendment and ask for a conference. All those have to do who insist that the procedure ought to be otherwise and that they want the bill to go to a committee is to vote against the motion, while those who want it to go to conference should vote for the motion, and that will settle it. There is no need of any division of the question at all.

Mr. THOMAS. That is not the ruling of the Vice President.

Mr. FLETCHER. That is the ruling of the Chair, namely, that if this motion is voted down the bill is still before the Senate and can be referred to a special committee or can be amended here. That is what the Chair holds, and that is exactly the situation.

Mr. HARDWICK. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. FLETCHER. Yes.

Mr. HARDWICK. Will not the situation be this: If this motion is voted down then the House amendment to the Senate bill will be before the Senate for such disposition as the Senate may wish to make of it?

Mr. FLETCHER. Certainly; and that is what the Chair has held when a vote is taken on the whole motion.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is what the Chair ruled the other day; but if the Senate wants to split this question up and vote down the first half of the motion, the ruling of the Chair will be that that passes the bill, and there will be an opportunity to overrule the Chair; that is all.

Mr. LODGE. I understood the vote was to be taken on the whole motion as amended.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If that question is voted down there is not any doubt about the right of the Senate then to proceed to take up the bill in the Senate or refer it to a standing or special committee.

Mr. LODGE. If voting down a motion to disagree is equivalent to voting to concur, there never would be an opportunity for the Senate to amend or to refer to a committee. We could either concur or could vote down a motion to disagree, and thereby concur.

Mr. CUMMINS. I did not ask for that kind of a division of the question, and I now withdraw my request for a division.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I renew the request.

Mr. CUMMINS. I simply wish to remind the Senate that, if it desires an opportunity to amend this bill or to consider the bill that has been sent here by the House, the motion made by the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER] ought to be voted down.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I renew the request for a division of the question.

The VICE PRESIDENT. For a separate vote?

Mr. POINDEXTER. Yes.

Mr. CUMMINS. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Washington now renews the request for a separate vote on the different clauses of this question. On what part does the Senator wish a vote first?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I should like to have, first, submitted to the Senate the motion to disagree. If that is voted down, I understand, under the ruling of the Chair, it is equivalent to concurring in the amendment of the House, and that is what I desire. I believe that this legislation ought to be disposed of and that the best measure that we can get out of the controversies which have been raging here for a number of years is the House bill; and, in order to submit that question, under the ruling of the Chair, I ask for a division of the question.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, if the Senator will allow me to make a suggestion, if he will make a motion to concur in the House amendment, it will accomplish his purpose without any ruling of the Chair, or there being any doubt about it. Such a motion will take precedence over the pending question, and will bring the matter to a direct vote.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I have no objection to making that motion. Under the ruling announced by the Chair, the first procedure would be equivalent to that; but if it is in order, I make the motion that the Senate concur in the House amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Washington moves that the Senate concur in the House amendment. That motion being calculated to bring the two Houses together, is in order.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Upon that motion I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN (when his name was called). Making the same transfer of my pair as before, I vote "nay."

Mr. DILLINGHAM (when his name was called). I note the absence of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH], with whom I have a pair. I therefore transfer my pair with him to my colleague [Mr. PAGE] and vote "nay."

Mr. FLETCHER (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as to my pair and its transfer as before, I vote "nay."

Mr. JONES of Washington (when his name was called). While, as I have heretofore announced, I am paired with the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON], I am informed by his colleague that on this motion he would vote as I intend to vote, and therefore I vote "nay."

Mr. MYERS (when his name was called). I announce the same transfer of my pair as on the last vote, and vote "nay."

Mr. THOMAS (when his name was called). In the absence of my pair, the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. MCCUMBER], I withhold my vote. If at liberty to vote I should vote "nay."

Mr. WALSH (when his name was called). Making the same announcement concerning my pair and its transfer as on the previous vote, I vote "nay."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). Making the same announcement of my pair as on the last roll call, I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. THOMPSON (after having voted in the negative). I have a pair with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN], who, I observe, is not present. I make the same transfer of my pair as on the last roll call, to the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN], and will allow my vote to stand.

Mr. THOMAS. I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. MCCUMBER] to the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDELL] and vote "nay."

Mr. CURTIS. I have been requested to announce the following pairs:

The Senator from New York [Mr. CALDER] with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY];

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT] with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY];

The Senator from Maine [Mr. FERNALD] with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON].

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] with the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH];

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS];

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED];

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. SUTHERLAND] with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECKHAM]; and

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON] with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WOLCOTT].

The result was announced—yeas 2, nays 48, as follows:

YEAS—2.

Norris	Poindexter		

NAYS—48.

Bankhead	Hardwick	Martin, Ky.	Smith, Ariz.
Brandegee	Jones, N. Mex.	Martin, Va.	Smith, S. C.
Chamberlain	Jones, Wash.	Myers	Smoot
Cummins	Kellogg	Nelson	Sterling
Curtis	Kendrick	New	Thomas
Dillingham	Kenyon	Nugent	Thompson
Drew	King	Phelan	Trammell
Fall	Kirby	Pomerene	Underwood
Fletcher	Lewis	Robinson	Vardaman
Guion	Lodge	Shafroth	Wadsworth
Hale	McKellar	Sheppard	Walsh
Harding	McNary	Shields	Wilfley

NOT VOTING—46.

Ashurst	Goff	McLean	Smith, Md.
Baird	Gore	Overman	Smith, Mich.
Beckham	Gronna	Owen	Sutherland
Benet	Henderson	Page	Swanson
Borah	Hitchcock	Penrose	Townsend
Calder	Hollis	Pittman	Warren
Colt	Johnson, Cal.	Ransdell	Watson
Culberson	Johnson, S. Dak.	Reed	Weeks
Fernald	Knox	Saulsbury	Williams
France	La Follette	Sherman	Wolcott
Frelinghuysen	Lenroot	Simmons	
Gerry	McCumber	Smith, Ga.	

So Mr. POINDEXTER's motion was rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The pending question is the motion that the Senate disagree to the amendment of the House to Senate bill 1419, request a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes thereon, and—as amended—that six conferees on the part of the Senate be appointed by the Vice President, three of whom shall be members of the Committee on Commerce and three members of the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, at the risk of calling for a repetition, because I want it thoroughly understood, I make a parliamentary inquiry: If that motion is voted down, the bill will then be before the Senate for such disposition as it shall see fit to make of it, will it not?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The House amendment will be before the Senate, either for amendment on the floor of the Senate or for reference to the Committee on Commerce, the Committee on Public Lands, or any other committee, or a special committee.

Mr. CUMMINS. Upon the motion I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I want to say a few words with reference to this matter, because in order to make this bill workable I believe it is necessary that amendments should be made. In order to permit amendments it is contended that the conference report must be referred to a special committee instead of a conference committee.

I do not believe it is possible to raise big sums of money for the purpose of constructing reservoirs and water-power plants upon the public domain unless an applicant gets a title upon which a financier will lend money; and in this bill, as it is now reported, there is no such title. The title reported is a leasehold estate which is subject to forfeiture for many causes. It is absurd to expect capitalists to lend large sums of money upon security that might be wiped out without any fault on their part. It seems to me, therefore, that it becomes necessary to amend the bill. It can be done very easily by leaving the law as it was before the withdrawals of water-power sites took place and before the passage of the law making all rights of way simply revokable permits. In that event the public is protected by utility commissions in States fixing rates, as water-power plants or common carriers. It may also be done by making it in the alternative, as to whether a person can file upon the site under the old law or under the leasing system. It may also be done by giving the Federal Power Commission power to permit entries for power sites under the old law in the event that it is not able to get any person or company to undertake the construction of reservoirs under the leasing system of this bill. It must be remembered that it takes from $5,000,000 to $40,000,000 to construct one of these water-power plants and the money is always raised by bonds secured by mortgage upon the plant. My

theory is that where you have a bill which provides for leasing, with the power on the part of the Government to absolutely annul the whole grant and to forfeit the rights of the entryman, you can not get capitalists to lend money upon any such title. It seems to me that even if we affirm this portion of the bill there ought to be a provision by which a stronger title can be granted, with a recapture clause attached for the benefit of any municipality, or the State, or the Nation. With such amendments water-power plants would be constructed and the public protected from monopoly.

It seems to me, therefore, that this bill ought to be sent to a committee, not of conference but a committee of the Senate.

Mr. CUMMINS. I ask for the yeas and nays on the pending motion.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DILLINGHAM (when his name was called). I transfer my pair as on the last roll call, and vote "yea."

Mr. FLETCHER (when his name was called). I make the same announcement as on the former roll call as to my pair and its transfer, and vote "yea."

Mr. JONES of Washington (when his name was called). As before announced, I am paired with the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON]; but I am informed by his colleague that if he were present he would vote as I shall vote on this motion. Therefore I feel at liberty to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. MYERS (when his name was called). I make the same announcement of the transfer of my pair as on the last roll call and vote "yea."

Mr. SIMMONS (when Mr. OVERMAN's name was called). My colleague [Mr. OVERMAN] is unavoidably absent. He is paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN].

Mr. THOMAS (when his name was called). Upon this question I am at liberty to vote, although my pair is absent. I vote "nay."

Mr. THOMPSON (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as before, I vote "yea."

Mr. WALSH (when his name was called). Repeating the announcement made on the preceding roll call, I vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. OVERMAN]. I transfer that pair so that he may stand paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF], and I vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Making the same transfer as heretofore, I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 42, nays 9, as follows:

YEAS—42.

Bankhead	Jones, N. Mex.	New	Sterling
Brandegee	Jones, Wash.	Phelan	Thompson
Chamberlain	Kellogg	Poindexter	Trammell
Curtis	Kendrick	Pomerene	Underwood
Dillingham	Lodge	Robinson	Vardaman
Drew	McKellar	Sheppard	Wadsworth
Fall	McNary	Shields	Walsh
Fletcher	Martin, Ky.	Simmons	Warren
Gronna	Martin, Va.	Smith, Ariz.	Wilfley
Hale	Myers	Smith, S. C.	
Harding	Nelson	Smoot	

NAYS—9.

Cummins	King	Norris	Shafroth
Hardwick	Kirby	Nugent	Thomas
Kenyon			

NOT VOTING—45.

Ashurst	Goff	McCumber	Smith, Md.
Baird	Gore	McLean	Smith, Mich.
Beckman	Gronna	Overman	Sutherland
Benet	Henderson	Owen	Swanson
Borah	Hitchcock	Page	Townsend
Calder	Hollis	Penrose	Watson
Colt	Johnson, Cal.	Pittman	Weeks
Culberson	Johnson, S. Dak.	Ransdell	Williams
Fernald	Knox,	Reed	Wolcott
France	La Follette	Saulsbury	
Frelinghuysen	Lenroot	Sherman	
Gerry	Lewis	Smith, Ga.	

So Mr. FLETCHER's motion, as amended, was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12923) to supplement the second liberty bond act, as amended, and for other purposes.

BOND EXEMPTION—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. SIMMONS submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12923) to supplement the second liberty bond act, as amended, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses, as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1 and 2, and agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken out by said amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 5. That the subdivision (b) of section 5 of the trading-with-the-enemy act be, and hereby is, amended to read as follows:

"'(b) That the President may investigate, regulate, or prohibit, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, by means of license or otherwise, any transactions in foreign exchange and the export, hoarding, melting, or earmarkings of gold or silver coin or bullion or currency, transfers of credit in any form (other than credits relating solely to transactions to be executed wholly within the United States), and transfers of evidences of indebtedness or of the ownership of property between the United States and any foreign country, whether enemy, ally of enemy, or otherwise, or between residents of one or more foreign countries, by any person within the United States; and, for the purpose of strengthening, sustaining and broadening the market for bonds and certificates of indebtedness of the United States, of preventing frauds upon the holders thereof, and of protecting such holders, he may investigate and regulate, by means of licenses or otherwise, (until the expiration of two years after the date of the termination of the present war with the Imperial German Government, as fixed by his proclamation) any transactions in such bonds or certificates by or between any person or persons: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this subdivision (b) shall be construed to confer any power to prohibit the purchase or sale for cash, or for notes eligible for discount at any Federal reserve bank, of bonds or certificates of indebtedness of the United States; and he may require any person engaged in any transaction referred to in this subdivision to furnish, under oath, complete information relative thereto, including the production of any books of account, contracts, letters or other papers in connection therewith in the custody or control of such person, either before or after such transaction is completed.'"

And the Senate agree to the same.

F. W. SIMMONS,
HOKE SMITH,
H. C. LODGE,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

CLAUDE KITCHIN,
HENRY T. RAINEY,
LINCOLN DIXON,
J. W. FORDNEY,
J. HAMPTON MOORE,
Managers on the part of the House.

The report was agreed to.

INCREASE OF PENSIONS—CONFERENCE REPORTS.

Mr. WALSH submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 4194) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its amendments numbered 3, 4, 6, and 7.

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the House numbered 1, 2, 5, and 8, and agree to the same.

T. J. WALSH,
REED SMOOT,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

JOUETT SHOUSE,
AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,
JOHN W. LANGLEY,
Managers on the part of the House.

The report was agreed to.

Mr. WALSH submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 4543) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain

soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its amendments numbered 1, 5, and 6.

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the House numbered 2, 3, and 4, and agree to the same.

T. J. WALSH,
REED SMOOT,
Managers on the part of the Senate.
JOUETT SHOUSE,
AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,
JOHN W. LANGLEY,
Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Montana if this conference report is on the bill that contains the provision for the widows of Gen. Mills and Admiral Cottman?

Mr. WALSH. It is not.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is upon agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

Mr. WALSH submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 4722) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its amendments numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, and 10.

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House numbered 8, and agree to the same.

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House numbered 5, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment, amended to read as follows:

"The name of Fanny S. Conline, widow of John Conline, late of Company E, First Regiment, and Company E, Fourth Regiment, Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and major, United States Army, retired, and pay her a pension at the rate of $30 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving."

And the House agree to the same.

T. J. WALSH,
REED SMOOT,
Managers on the part of the Senate.
JOUETT SHOUSE,
AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,
JOHN W. LANGLEY,
Managers on the part of the House.

The report was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 25 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by G. F. Turner, one of its clerks, announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (H. R. 12923) to supplement the second liberty-bond act, as amended, and for other purposes, and it was thereupon signed by the Vice President.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 8 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, September 24, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 23, 1918.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE.

G. I. Christie, of Indiana, to be Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, in accordance with the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," approved August 10, 1917.

MEMBER OF FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

Victor Murdock, of Kansas, to be a member of the Federal Trade Commission. (Reappointment.)

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Fred C. Pabst, of Galveston, Tex., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 22, with headquarters at Galveston, Tex. (Reappointment.)

UNITED STATES COAST GUARD.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the United States Coast Guard, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

John F. McGourty,
John J. Hutson,
Fred A. Nichols,
Charles F. Seiter,
Chester H. Jones,
William F. Towle,
Michael J. Ryan,
James Pine,
Warner K. Thompson,
Joseph R. Besse,
John P. Gray,
Paul H. Harrison,
William Williams,
John H. Cornell,
William Pitts Wishaar,
Gordon T. Finlay,
Louis L. Bennett, and
Roy P. Munro.

The following-named third lieutenants to be first lieutenants in the United States Coast Guard, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Frederick J. Birkett,
Norvin C. Smith, and
Donald H. MacCollom.

The following-named first lieutenants of Engineers to be captains of Engineers in the United States Coast Guard, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

John T. Carr,
Albert F. Patterson,
Webb C. Maglathlin,
Whitney M. Prall,
George W. Cairnes,
John F. Hahn,
Harvey F. Johnson,
Martin A. Doyle,
Norman B. Hall,
Sidney B. Orne,
Frank E. Bagger,
Philip B. Eaton,
Thomas H. Yaeger,
Alvan H. Bixby,
Charles E. Sugden,
Francis E. Fitch,
Charles J. Odend'hal,
Henry C. Roach.
Clinton P. Kendall,
Kurt W. Krafft, and
Charles H. Johnson.

The following-named third lieutenants of Engineers to be first lieutenants of Engineers in the United States Coast Guard, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Charles T. Henley, jr.,
Edward F. Palmer,
Francis C. Wells, and
John N. Heiner.

First Lieut. of Engineers Byron A. Minor, retired, to be a captain of Engineers in the United States Coast Guard, on the retired list, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918.

Cadet David F. Akers to be a third lieutenant in the United States Coast Guard from the 3d day of September, 1918.

Cadet Engineer William B. O'Brien to be a third lieutenant of Engineers from the 3d day of September, 1918.

First Lieut. Samuel P. Edmonds, retired, to be a captain on the retired list of the United States Coast Guard, for temporary service, from the 1st day of September, 1918.

First Lieut. Eugene Blake, jr., to be a captain in the United States Coast Guard from the 21st day of August, 1918.

Second Lieut. Philip F. Roach to be a first lieutenant in the United States Coast Guard from the 21st day of August, 1918.

Cadet Joseph Greenspun to be a third lieutenant in the United States Coast Guard from the 31st day of July, 1918.

Cadet Louis Waite Perkins to be a third lieutenant in the United States Coast Guard from the 1st day of August, 1918.

Cadet Lyndon Spencer to be a third lieutenant in the United States Coast Guard from the 4th day of August, 1918.

Cadet Raymond Thomas McElligott to be a third lieutenant in the United States Coast Guard from the 16th day of August, 1918.

Cadet Asa Vern Wilder to be a third lieutenant in the United States Coast Guard from the 17th day of August, 1918.

Cadet Robert Myer Kaufholz to be a third lieutenant in the United States Coast Guard from the 18th day of August, 1918.

The following-named second lieutenants to be first lieutenants in the United States Coast Guard, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

William Patrick Kain,
James Marsden Earp,
Floyd Jesse Sexton,
Clement Joseph Todd,
Gustavus Urban Stewart,
Joseph Francis Farley, jr.,
David Patterson Marvin,
Carl Herbert Abel, and
Edwin Mount Webster.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENT IN THE ARMY.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

To be second lieutenant.

Second Lieut. John Elliott Wood, Engineers, United States Army.

PROMOTION IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY.

INFANTRY.

To be lieutenant colonel with rank from May 3, 1918.

Maj. Frederick G. Stritzinger, jr.

To be lieutenant colonels with rank from July 10, 1918.

Maj. Charles C. Smith.
Maj. Frank L. Wells.

To be lieutenant colonel with rank from July 23, 1918.

Maj. Briant H. Wells.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENT, BY PROMOTION, IN THE ARMY.

INFANTRY.

To be first lieutenant with rank from October 24, 1917.

Second Lieut. George T. Metcalf.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY.

Lieut. Alfred W. Brown, jr., to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy from the 1st day of July, 1918.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy from the 7th day of March, 1918:

Edward K. Lang,
Robert Gatewood,
John A. Fletcher,
Daniel J. Callaghan,
Richard S. Field, and
George D. Murray.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the navy from the 8th day of June, 1918:

Howard H. Good,
Herman E. Fischer,
Warren A. Shaw,
Anton B. Anderson,
Elliott Buckmaster,
Ralph W. Holt, and
William G. Greenman.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy from the 5th day of June, 1918:

Winfred H. A. Pike, jr.,
John F. Bates, jr.,
Harry H. Chenoweth,
Stuart B. Clark,
Herbert V. Wiley,
Clenn H. Easton,
Robert T. Darrow,
Alan Barnet,
Elmer R. Henning,
James E. Maher,
Allen G. Quynn,
Archer E. King, jr.,
Preston Marshall,
Hilbert A. Fisher, and
John S. Ray.

Midshipman Chauncey Camp to be an ensign in the Navy from the 7th day of June, 1918.

The following-named assistant surgeons to be passed assistant surgeons in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant from the 5th day of December, 1917:

Charles E. Treibly, and
Roscoe M. Waterhouse.

The following-named assistant surgeons to be passed assistant surgeons in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant from the 22d day of April, 1918:

Chalmer H. Weaver, and
Henry McDonald.

Dental Surg. William N. Cogan to be an assistant dental surgeon in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade) from the 24th day of October, 1912.

The following-named dental surgeons to be assistant dental surgeons in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade) from the 3d day of January, 1913:

Harry E. Harvey,
James L. Brown,
Eugene H. Tennent, and
Joseph A. Mahoney.

The following-named dental surgeons to be assistant dental surgeons in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade) from the 5th day of February, 1913:

Leon Martin,
Joseph D. Halleck, and
Anson F. McCreary.

Dental Surg. John W. Crandall to be an assistant dental surgeon in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade) from the 7th day of February, 1913.

The following-named dental surgeons to be assistant dental surgeons in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade) from the 11th day of July, 1913:

Marion E. Harrison,
Ernest W. Lacy,
Lucian C. Williams,
Harry W. Blaisdell, and
Harry D. Johnson.

Dental Surg. Paul G. White to be an assistant dental surgeon in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade) from the 30th day of August, 1913.

The following-named dental surgeons to be assistant dental surgeons in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade) from the 13th day of February, 1914:

Cornelius H. Mack,
Arthur A. Rehm, and
Hugh T. Meyers.

The following-named dental surgeons to be assistant dental surgeons in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade) from the 21st day of August, 1914:

William L. Darnall,
Logan A. Willard,
John R. Barber,
George H. Reed,
Franklin L. Morey,
John V. McAlpin,
Marson W. Mangold, and
Edward E. Harris.

The following-named dental surgeons to be passed dental surgeons in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade) from the 21st day of April, 1915:

Alexander G. Lyle and
Alexander J. Zuehlke.

The following-named dental surgeons to be assistant dental surgeons in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade) from the 10th day of December, 1915:

Thomas L. Sampsell and
Thomas J. Daly, jr.

Asst. Dental Surg. William N. Cogan to be a passed assistant dental surgeon in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant from the 23d day of September, 1915.

The following-named assistant dental surgeons to be passed assistant dental surgeons in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant from the 1st day of November, 1915:

Harry E. Harvey,
James L. Brown,
Eugene H. Tennent, and
Joseph A. Mahoney.

The following-named assistant dental surgeons to be passed assistant dental surgeons in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant from the 4th day of February, 1916:

Leon Martin and
Anson McCreary.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Robert S. Robertson, jr., to be a lieutenant on the retired list of the Navy from the 1st day of July, 1918.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Michael A. Leahy to be a lieutenant on the retired list of the Navy from the 5th day of July, 1918.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Richard E. Byrd, jr., to be a lieutenant on the retired list of the Navy from the 2d day of September, 1918.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Walter L. Heiberg to be a lieutenant on the retired list of the Navy from the 1st day of July, 1918.

Pay Clerk Edward R. McKenzie to be a chief pay clerk in the Navy from the 9th day of May, 1918.

Ensign Oliver H. Ritchie to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy from the 5th day of June, 1918.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy from the 8th day of June, 1918:

Raymond E. Kerr,
Emory W. Coil, and
James A. Crutchfield.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy from the 5th day of June, 1918:

Howard L. Vickery,
William Granat,
Morris H. Spriggs, and
Ralph Kiely.

Machinist William Twigg, jr., to be a chief machinist in the Navy from the 17th day of January, 1918.

Lieut. Edward D. Washburn, jr., to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy from the 10th day of May, 1918.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Harry D. McHenry to be a lieutenant in the Navy from the 7th day of March, 1918.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy from the 8th day of June, 1918:

Willard E. Cheadle,
Harry G. Patrick,
Robert A. Hall, and
George L. Woodruff.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy from the 5th day of June, 1918:

Arthur C. Davis,
Benjamin F. Perry,
Charles F. Osborn,
Henry P. Burnett,
Forrest B. Royal,
Harvey E. Overesch,
Millard G. Gamble, and
John H. Campman.

Ensign Jesse H. Smith to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy from the 7th day of December, 1916, to correct the date from which he takes rank as previously confirmed.

The following-named commanders to be captains in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of August, 1918:

Willis G. Mitchell,
John J. Hyland,
Samuel W. Bryant,
Edward S. Jackson, and
Henry L. Wyman.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of August, 1918:

Claude A. Bonvillian,
Edwin A. Wolleson,
Robert W. Cabaniss,
Claude B. Mayo,
Hamilton F. Glover,
Gardner L. Caskey,
John B. Rhodes,
George H. Bowdey,
Robert A. Theobald,
Fletcher C. Starr,
William L. Beck,
Garret L. Schuyler,
Charles F. Russell, and
Guy E. Baker.

Ensign John S. Upton to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of June, 1918.

Ensign George L. H. Dolan to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918.

The following-named acting pay clerks to be assistant paymasters in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, for temporary service, from the 1st day of September, 1918:

Ralph J. H. Oldegeering,
John D. Gagan,
Robert J. Monteith,
Fillmore S. C. Layman,
Harold R. Lehmann,
Howard R. Jackson,
James M. Thomas,
John H. Skillman,
Martin M. Friedman,
Allen D. Turner,
Leon I. Smith,
Myron W. Willard,
Archie A. Antrim,
John H. Gallion,
Wayne Prather,
Charles W. Gerhardt, jr.,
Jesse A. Scott,
Harold E. Humphreys, and
Hugh A. Phares.

Francis J. Ludwig, a citizen of Texas, to be acting chaplain in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service, from the 14th day of August, 1918.

Rudolph Ericson, a citizen of Minnesota, to be acting chaplain in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service, from the 20th day of August, 1918.

The following-named lieutenants on the retired list to be lieutenant commanders on the retired list of the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

George Joerns,
John E. Iseman, jr.,
Walter L. Heiberg, and
Robert N. Miller.

Lieut. Charles E. Reordan to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918.

Chief Sailmaker Michael P. Barr to be an ensign in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1917.

Ensign Michael P. Barr to be a lieutenant in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918.

Boatswain Alva Henderson to be an ensign in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of August, 1918.

The following-named warrant officers, for temporary service, to be ensigns in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of September, 1918:

William E. Woods,
Daniel F. Kelly,
John H. Conroy, and
Oscar E. Whilden.

The following-named enlisted men to be ensigns in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of September, 1918:

Alfred C. Headley,
Lester Carpenter,
Thomas J. Coffee,
Bert Ketcherside,
John H. Herke,
Frank L. Miles,
David G. Gray,
Joseph L. McCann,
Howell O. Jones, and
Montie Wood.

The following-named ensigns of the United States Naval Reserve Force to be ensigns in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 8th day of September, 1918:

Warren R. Hastings and
Howard A. McKee.

Ensign Earl F. Chandler, of the United States Naval Reserve Force, to be an ensign in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of September, 1918.

Asst. Surg. Paris V. Corey, of the United States Naval Reserve Force, to be an assistant surgeon in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service, from the 19th day of January, 1918.

The following-named acting pay clerks to be assistant paymasters in the Navy, for temporary service, with the rank of ensign, from the 15th day of September, 1918:

Howard F. Bowker,
Tipton F. Woodward,
Robert G. Robeson,
George P. Smallman,
George E. Duffy,
Chalis J. Norstad,
Charles A. Cook,
Robert R. Thompson,
Allen C. Smith,
John C. Poshepny,
Gordon S. Bower,

Edward Mixon,
Henry C. McGinnis,
William F. Shaw,
Frank J. Manley,
Harry F. Hake,
Julliu J. Miffit,
Harry G. Kinnard,
William E. McCain,
Golden F. Davis,
Grandison J. Tyler,
Clyde A. Moser, and
Stamford G. Chapman.

Ensign Robert E. Sammons to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918.

Ensign Harold M. Jones, of the United States Naval Reserve Force, to be an ensign in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 8th day of September, 1918.

The following-named chief boatswains on the retired list to be lieutenants on the retired list of the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

William Manning,
Thomas Savage,
Andrew Anderson,
John Winn,
Charles T. Chase,
Aaron B. Irelan,
Haydn Williams,
Thomas F. Greene,
James E. Quirk,
John E. Murphy,
Waldron P. Simmons,
Nelson R. King, and
Thomas L. McKenna.

The following-named boatswains on the retired list to be lieutenants on the retired list of the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Hjalmar E. Olsen,
Charles Wouters,
Lee R. Borland, and
William H. Johnson.

The following-named chief gunners on the retired list to be lieutenants on the retired list of the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Edward Beakes,
Isaiah Wilbur, and
Charles F. Uhlrich.

The following-named gunners on the retired list to be lieutenants on the retired list of the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Peter Hanley,
Frank A. McGregor,
Humboldt J. Palmer,
Vista R. Thompson,
Theodore C. Wester,
Arthur S. Williams, and
William Carroll.

The following-named chief machinists on the retired list to be lieutenants on the retired list of the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

James W. Murray,
Arthur T. Percival,
Adam Gibson,
Lee Grossenbaker,
James Quill,
Bernard Gebhardt,
Richard B. Smith,
George T. Brownridge,
Jacobus J. Corino,
William J. Trevorrow,
John St. C. Hothersall,
Thomas J. Hayes,
William E. Stiles,
James H. McDonough,
Martin Huber,
Frank R. Barker,
William P. Davis, and
Robert E. Rucker,

The following-named machinists on the retired list to be lieutenants on the retired list of the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Martin Casey,
August Anschuetz,
William C. Dronberger,
Herbert E. Kershaw,
Joseph J. Duffy,
Edwin J. Cutherill,
William F. Mullinix,
Charles W. Jackson,
James Wilson,
George M. Heinen,
John O'Neil,
Peter J. Hanlon,
John McPhee, and
Max Vogt.

Chief Sailmaker Charles E. Tallman, retired, to be a lieutenant on the retired list of the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918.

The following-named boatswains on the retired list to be lieutenants on the retired list of the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of August, 1918:

William Johnson and
Gustaf Dahlman.

Gunner Harry Webb, retired, to be a lieutenant on the retired list of the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of August, 1918.

Chief Machinist Fabian P. Noel, retired, to be a lieutenant on the retired list of the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of August, 1918.

The following-named machinists on the retired list to be lieutenants on the retired list of the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of August, 1918:

William E. B. Grann,
William P. Little,
Anthony P. McCarthy,
Daniel J. McCarthy,
Thomas F. Hobby, and
Harlan B. Heath.

The following-named boatswains on the retired list to be lieutenants (junior grade) on the retired list of the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Alvah M. Smith,
Charles C. Beach,
William G. A. Schwerin,
Norman McIntire,
Henry Feehan,
John L. Kelley, and
Thomas G. MacDonough.

The following-named gunners on the retired list to be lieutenants (junior grade) on the retired list of the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Edgar A. Robie,
Arthur Rogier,
John Westfall,
James Munro, and
Alfred Barker.

The following-named machinists on the retired list to be lieutenants (junior grade) on the retired list of the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Oscar Bragonier,
Herbert J. Wiseman,
Michael A. Rossiter,
Jesse E. Jones,
Edmund H. Klamt,
Charles G. Wheeler,
William C. Staufer, and
Daniel R. Shackford.

The following-named chief pharmacists on the retired list to be assistant surgeons on the retired list, with the rank of lieutenant, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

John W. Wood and
John D. Milligan.

The following-named pharmacists on the retired list to be assistant surgeons on the retired list, with the rank of lieutenant, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

William H. Huntington and
Isaac N. Hurd.

The following-named chief carpenters on the retired list to be assistant naval constructors on the retired list, with the rank of lieutenant, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Milton F. Roberts,
Benjamin E. Fernald,
Frederick J. Simmonds,
Harry L. Demarest,
Joseph F. McCole, and
Sverre Floathe.

The following-named carpenters on the retired list to be assistant naval constructors on the retired list with the rank of lieutenant, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Benjamin D. Pender and
Joel D. Griffin.

CONFIRMATION.

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate September 23, 1918.

POSTMASTER.

ARKANSAS.

Sam R. Carpenter, Arkadelphia.

WITHDRAWAL.

Executive nomination withdrawn from the Senate September 23, 1918.

COAST GUARD.

First Lieut. Charles W. Cairnes to be a captain on the retired list.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *September 23, 1918.*

The House met at 11.15 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Infinite and Eternal Spirit, God over all, without whom we could not be, inspire us with the highest and holiest aspirations, that our work may be of the highest excellence and worthy of all emulation. To the glory of Thy holy name, in the spirit of the Master. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last was read and approved.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following request.

The Clerk read as follows:

Gen. SHERWOOD requests leave of absence for 10 days on account of looking over the political situation in his district.

[Laughter.]

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I move that that be granted, because of its candor.

The leave of absence was granted.

PRICE OF WHEAT.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. ANDERSON. To make a privileged motion.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will proceed.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I move to discharge the Committee on Agriculture from the further consideration of the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 429.

Resolved, That the Secretary of Agriculture be, and he is hereby, requested to furnish the House of Representatives with a copy of a resolution or report adopted or made by the agricultural advisory committee touching the price of wheat on or about the 20th day of August, 1918.

Resolved further, That the Secretary of Agriculture be, and he is hereby, requested to furnish the House of Representatives with a copy of a report or recommendation made by the Secretary of Agriculture to the President of the United States touching the price of wheat on or about the 24th day of August, 1918.

The SPEAKER. How does the gentleman claim that the resolution is privileged?

Mr. ANDERSON. It is a resolution of inquiry referred to the Committee on Agriculture on the 9th day of September, 1918. Under the rule the resolution was required to be reported within seven days thereafter. Not having been so reported, the motion to discharge the committee is a privileged motion.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken, and the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Massachusetts rise?

Mr. WALSH. I want to direct the attention of the gentleman from Minnesota, although his resolution is passed, to the fact that the language of his resolution, it seems to me, is faulty. He uses the words "Resolved further." That is never used in a resolution. The resolution is all one resolution.

Mr. ANDERSON. But there are two distinct propositions in the resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts is right, and, without objection, the words "Resolved further" will be stricken out.

There was no objection.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER. The special order for to-day is the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY] has 30 minutes, the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. TILSON] 15 minutes, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR] 30 minutes, and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] 30 minutes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, in the absence of the gentleman from West Virginia, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois may now address the House under the order of business.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent that the program be turned upside down and that the gentleman from Illinois, who was last, may now be first. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

DEFERRED CLASSIFICATION IN THE DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, sometime ago the House passed 14 resolutions calling on the different departments and boards and commissions to report the number of men who had received deferred classification at the request of the heads of those boards or departments. All of the departments thus far, except the Post Office Department and the War Department, have reported the names and addresses and positions occupied by those men and how long they have been in the service.

I do not know why the War Department and the Post Office Department have not paid any attention to the resolutions passed by the House. It may be that they, having men employed all over the United States, find difficulty in assembling the information which they expect to send to the House.

I was gratified when the report of the Navy Department came in to find that the Secretary of the Navy was responsive to the sentiments which the House expressed through the resolutions, in that he indicated that, notwithstanding the fact that a great many men within the draft age had been deferred and were occupied in clerical places in the Navy Department, he expected to put them into active service as rapidly as the conditions in his department would permit. Whether any such action has been taken by any other branch of the service I do not know.

The marvel of the assembling of the Army has been the manner in which the Provost Marshal General's Department has been operated. His task was an onerous task. It required a great deal of careful calculation to formulate the rules and regulations by means of which this great Army and Navy were gathered together from the body of the citizenry of the country. How well his work has been done everybody in the United States realizes. I think no man ever occupied a public place who has performed his functions as disinterestedly or as systematically as has the Provost Marshal General of the Army. He is to be commended not only by the Congress but by the people of the country as well. I believe he has the confidence of the American people to a greater extent than any other man, unless it be the President, and he deserves that confidence.

In order that he may be able successfully to continue the work with which he is charged it will be necessary for him to have the cooperation of all departments of the Government, civil as well as military. Unless he has that cooperation the work that he has so well performed up to the present time is likely, in a large measure, to be destroyed. It would be unfortunate if any civil department of the Government should be permitted to intervene in any way to embarrass the organization of the Army and the Navy, or to create dissatisfaction among the American people by giving deferred classification to men who ought to be in uniform at the front.

The object of my statement here this morning is to call the attention of the House to a telegram which was sent out by Herbert Hoover, Food Administrator, on the 19th of this month, which, from the language of the telegram, was intended to be secret, and which, if followed by action, such as he suggested, will be the cause of great embarrassment and some uneasiness as well as great dissatisfaction among the people of the country. I read the telegram for the information of the House:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September 19, 1918.*

To all food administrators and zone agents:

With regard to the selective draft, wish to repeat that the attitude of the Government is that every man who is essential to the efficient conduct of your administration should be retained in your organization, and that it will be easier from a working point of view if such men as you select would claim deferred classification by reason of their connection with the Food Administration. These claims must be supported by affidavits, which you should obtain from local board and sign and forward for my approval. As affidavit must be returned to local board

you must arrange for extension of time for filing questionnaire and affidavit in case of every essential man. These affidavits will be practically final with the exemption boards, and if not recognized by them, the whole of their action will be reviewed from Washington. Registrants may claim deferred classification by reason of dependent families or other ground at the same time. If any of the men you designate have conscientious objections to making this claim for deferred classification on their own account they may omit to make any such claim and you can make claim for them, sending affidavit for our approval and obtaining extension of time as above. All of the men who are deferred in order that they may continue in the Food Administration, including those who claim deferred classification at your suggestion and those receiving it through our intervention, will receive from us, on authority of the President, a statement that they have been directed by the Government to continue in the Food Administration.

We wish you to interpret the definition of "essential men," for whom deferred classification is provided, with sufficient liberality to maintain the efficiency of the Food Administration, but where men can be replaced without in any way damaging the efficiency of the organization, deferred classification should not be claimed. Give no publicity regarding this matter. If you are yourself within the draft age, advise at once, stating your age and number and address of local board having jurisdiction, as I intend to secure exemption for you under direction of the President, that you are performing the maximum service in your present position.

HERBERT HOOVER.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Do I understand that that communication which the gentleman has just read is a telegram?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Probably a night letter.

Mr. MADDEN. A night letter is a telegram, is it not?

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. In just a moment. Just let us stop to think for a moment of the extraordinary language of this telegram. Where men have conscientious objection, it says, to making a claim for deferred classification, the agents under whom the men are employed are directed to make the claim for them; and the telegram further states that if the local boards refuse to take cognizance of the affidavits filed, whether filed by the man who receives deferred classification or by the man under whom he works, the whole of the action of the local board is to be reviewed in Washington. This is extraordinary. If a civilian officer of the Government or an agent is permitted to conduct the affairs of the office that he holds in defiance of all the rules laid down by the President himself, we may hope in the not distant future to see chaos in an effort to organize an army. We have already boasted, and justly boasted, that we have been the most successful of any country in the world in an effort to organize an army from civilians. We already have in the Army and the Navy something like 3,000,000 men in uniform. But if the agents of the Government outside of the Army are permitted to go over the heads of the Army and the properly constituted authorities and direct who shall serve in the Army and who shall not, who can blame the people of the United States if they hesitate? This telegram is extraordinary. It says, "Make no publicity of this matter." It says also that men are to be deferred not only on the recommendation of the agents of the Food Administrator, but of the Food Administrator himself, regardless of whether these men want to serve in the Army or not. It can not be construed as anything less than outrageous. Why should we have a draft law? The purpose of the draft law was to raise an army, to be sure that we were going to be able to raise an army. All of the men in Congress who voted against the volunteer system of raising an army did so because they were fearful that we might sometime have a lot of men on the front facing the enemy and that we would have nobody behind to come to their relief in case of danger. The purpose of passing the draft law was to make certain that we had a sufficient number of soldiers in reserve to come to the relief of the men who were on the front line. We were fearful that if we depended upon the volunteer system we would find ourselves short of reserves at the most critical period of the war. If the reserves are to be dissipated by orders from men who have no responsibility whatever for the conduct of the war, we ought to know about it. We ought to know whether the laws of the land are to be obeyed or whether they are to be set aside with impunity. We ought to know whether the Provost Marshal General of the Army has responsibility for the proper conduct of his office or whether some man in some administrative position outside of the Army has superior authority, and whether that superior authority can be exercised without respect to what effect it may have on the discipline of the Army and upon the sentiment of the people of the country.

So far the people of the United States have been willing and ready and anxious to do all they can to promote the country's welfare. They have been willing to give every dollar and every man, and I believe that no Government functionary should be permitted to in any way embarrass the situation. I further believe that if the telegram that I have read should be acted upon favorably by the men in charge of the Food Administration throughout the country and deferred classification be given to men who were even not willing to ask for it, it would be a great calamity. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. This telegram, I understand, was sent to the various members of the Food Administration?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes; throughout the country.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. Permit me to ask one more question. I voted for the selective-draft law, and I think the gentleman did. Was it not urged upon the floor of the House that it would permit the men best able to serve at home to be left at home, and those best able to go might be taken?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes; but this does not do that.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. Are not these men who have already had experience in the administration of the food laws better prepared and better able to discharge their duties than new men would be?

Mr. MADDEN. I apprehend that a great many men who are in the Food Administration are not needed there, for I do not know of any department of the Government where there are so many people employed who do nothing except sit around and draw their pay.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. I am almost inclined to agree with the gentleman upon that, but in his telegram he advises these people not to ask exemption.

Mr. MADDEN. He says they must construe the word "essential" liberally, and that means that they can construe it in any way they please.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. Permit me to ask one more question, if it does not embarrass the gentleman.

Mr. MADDEN. Oh, it does not embarrass me. Nothing embarrasses me.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. The gentleman objects to the statement in the letter that the matter will be reviewed from Washington.

Mr. MADDEN. Surely.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. Is not there a regular channel through which these reviews shall come?

Mr. MADDEN. No; the regulations of the draft made by the President himself provide—of course, they make the President violate his own regulations under the telegram, but here is what the regulations say:

Classification from which an appeal may be claimed: Such appeals may be claimed only by or in respect of a registrant classified by a district board in class 1 or by or in respect of a registrant classified by a district board in a deferred class, when and after the immediately preceding class is exhausted; and only when there has been at least one dissenting vote in the district board.

Now, the President made the regulations that under no circumstances would they review a case except where there was at least one dissenting vote in the district board; but this telegram instructs these agents to disregard all the regulations and instructs them that where the local board refuses to act upon the affidavits made that the case will be reviewed in Washington.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. The gentleman will admit that is the construction the gentleman places on this rather than what is implied?

Mr. MADDEN. I am reading the regulations, and then I am reading a telegram, and then I am taking the two together. I do not want to be unfair, but I want to call the matter to the attention of the House and the country, because I think it is worthy of being given publicity. I think it is one of the greatest mistakes an administrative officer can make to send such a message to his agents throughout the country and ask them to keep it secret. Now, why should there be any secrecy if it is the proper thing to do? If it is not a proper thing to do it ought not to be done regardless of whether it is secret or public.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. Will the gentleman yield again?

Mr. MADDEN. I will.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. The gentleman will understand I am not speaking of Mr. Hoover, because he does not need the defense——

Mr. MADDEN. I am not trying to berate Mr. Hoover.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. But he might have thought that the language if made public—that many men would bring pressure to bear who should not have exemption?

Mr. MADDEN. Well, that might have been his object, but I am bringing this to the attention of the public for Mr. Hoover, so that I may be sure the public understands it. I have nothing but the greatest admiration for Mr. Hoover as a man. I think he is a man of great ability, and I think he has done wonderful work. I think that he is worthy of the confidence of the country, and I do not know of any man with whom I have had conversation who impressed me with better knowledge of the work that

he has in charge than Mr. Hoover has, but that could not make me agree that this performance is one that he can justify. I will say about his office that there are more people employed in the office—I will not say employed because that would not be fair—but people who are sitting around the office——

Mr. CALDWELL. Drawing pay?

Mr. MADDEN. On the pay roll, which gives them a chance of drawing money out of the Treasury and giving no value for the compensation they receive, than in any other place I know. You can walk through the office of the Food Administration, as I have done for an hour and a half one day, and you would have seen at least a thousand people supposed to be employed as clerks, groups of stenographers in three or four different rooms, maybe as many as 5, maybe 10, in a group, with not a typewriter at work in any room, with no person employed, sitting around reading a newspaper or gossiping; and that is not the only department where that is true—I walked through the Engineering Division one day, started in at 9 o'clock and walked through from 9 until half past 10, just as a matter of curiosity, did not speak to anybody, went through the office. I saw at least a thousand people in the hour and a half and there was not one in the whole thousand working during the hour and a half.

I saw there groups of stenographers, five groups, not less than 50 in all, and not one typewriting machine at work out of the whole 50, not anybody at a desk doing a thing. Now, if they were doing that during that hour and a half, how many other hours and a half might that same thing be true? You will find that all through the departments, and yet we are spending millions of dollars here for housing which is unnecessary. There is no need for spending this money if the departments will confine themselves to the number of people that they can legitimately employ. There are ten people doing one person's work in most places. I know a case where, for example, a major in one of the branches of the War Department having charge of personnel work, anxious to employ and get commissions for two or three more majors, succeeded in convincing the head of the department that the work of his branch of the service was so arduous that he was compelled, as a matter of justice to the department, to get more officers. He got them, and not one of those men has done a bit of work since commissioned. Not only that, but the men previously in the offices have not been doing anything, they say so themselves, and they are ashamed of being there. Why, over in New York I went through the quartermasters stores, and I was able to get the names of 210 commissioned officers in that office from majors down. There was one desk in the place for every three men. They had to relay, in order to get a desk once in a while, and when they were not relaying they acted as messenger boys or smoked cigarettes. There is just room for a proper organization in that office for 20 division directors. It might be proper that each of those should be a commissioned officer, but all the other people in the office ought to be girls or young men below the draft age or men above the draft age who ought not to be in the Army, but those men, with five or six exceptions, are within the draft age. I got the name and rank and house address and the telephone number of every one of those men, and called the case to the attention of the Quartermaster General.

The work they were doing was done before the war by civilians—men and women. After the war began it was done by uniformed officers drawing high pay. And so it goes. In this connection I call attention to the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, with 10,000 employees where half that number should suffice.

Now, contrast, for example, the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts of the Navy with the Quartermasters Department of the Army. The Bureau of Supplies and Accounts of the Navy provides for 560,000 men and all the ships. It buys and supplies, it keeps the accounts, and pays the men. They have eight men in the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts—men and women—to do all the work of coaling the ships of the Navy. For a similar function in the Army they would have 2,000 men. They have, for example, in all of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts about 1,600 men and women. They buy all the cannon for the ships, let all the contracts, keep all the accounts, pay all the men, do everything that is to be done in connection with the supplies.

While the Fuel Administration has over 1,200 people right here in Washington, compare their work with the work of the Supplies and Accounts Division of the Navy and you can understand how idiotic it would be for anybody to suppose that 1,200 people are necessary in the Fuel Administration of this Government. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DECKER). The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY] has 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY] is recognized for 30 minutes. [Applause.]

Mr. NEELY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent both to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. Speaker, war, with its innumerable hardships, immeasurable burdens, and indescribable horrors is never a subject for pleasurable contemplation. Our natural inclination is to think and speak of the triumphs and treasures of peace rather than the havoc and anguish of war. But to escape consideration and constant consideration of the war in which we are now engaged is a task as difficult of performance as was that of the vestal virgin who, in order to prove her innocence, was required to carry water in a sieve from the banks of the Tiber to the top of the Capitoline Hill.

The American people have never reveled in bloodshed, gloried in slaughter, or delighted in the images of camps and sieges and battles. They have found the wellsprings of their being and the gratification of their ambition in felling the forests and subduing the forces of nature; in sowing in springtime and reaping in harvest; in discovering the innumerable curious things and inventing the countless cunning devices that diminish the burdens and increase the joys of life; they have delighted more in the swish of the scythe, the sound of the hammer, and the hum of the saw than in the roar of the cannon, the call of the bugle, or the beat of the drum; they have loved the chimes of the church bell more than the wild, wierd music of war. They have been content to cultivate the tree of knowledge and gather the ripened fruit of a civilization more splendid than that of the Greeks, more magnificent than that of the Romans, more enduring than that of the ancient Egyptians.

Since the very hour of this Nation's birth the American people have loved peace; they have loved it with an ardor second only to that with which they have loved their honor, their country, and their God. In the temple of peace the American people have worshiped, upon the altar of peace they have burned their incense, at the shrine of peace they have bowed their knees. They have never sought a war; they have never fought one except as a last resort. [Applause.]

We fought the War of the Revolution as the last means of severing the tyrannical ties that held us in bondage to Great Britain. We fought the War of 1812 in order that we might enjoy the freedom of the seas. We fought the great Civil War in order that this Government might endure, that slavery might die, and human liberty live forever and forever. We fought the Spanish-American War to the end that the tyranny and persecution of the Old World might cease to exist in the new. [Applause.]

And now, after a notable period of 19 glorious years of priceless peace, we are again at war. We are at this hour engaged in a mighty conflict more deadly than any that ever raged among ferocious beasts of African jungle; more barbarous than any ever conceived by American Indian; more stupendous than any ever dreamed of by Alexander the Great, the Macedonian madman, who, with his iron-shod foot on the throat of prostrate humanity, wept because there were no more worlds for him to conquer. [Applause.]

That our ardor may not abate, that our preparations may not pause, that our fighting may not cease until the Huns shall have made restitution of all that they have stolen, made all possible reparation for every injury they have inflicted, and given satisfactory guaranties that they will never again disturb the peace of the world, let us keep constantly in mind the reasons that impelled us to take up arms against the German Empire and its allies.

WHY ARE WE AT WAR?

Generally speaking, we are in this war because Germany, by her tyrannical, lawless, and murderous course, made it impossible for us to stay out of it without proving ourselves a Nation of mewling mollycoddles and cringing cowards. But, particularly speaking, we are in it because for more than two long years before our acceptance of the existence of a state of war the Imperial German Government maliciously outraged our citizens on land and sea; feloniously destroyed our property at home

and abroad; brazenly invaded our rights; insolently violated our honor; wantonly insulted our flag, polluted its stripes, and dimmed its stars; she brutally murdered our men, mercilessly slaughtered our women, and fiendishly butchered our little children. With the full knowledge and apparent approval of her embassy in the shadow of the Capitol of this Nation, in open violation of every principle of international relationship, she endeavored to incite the Mexicans to make war upon us, offering them Arizona, Texas, and New Mexico as a reward for assailing us with fire and sword. She also tried to induce Japan to take up arms against us and thrust the spear of oriental militarism into the defenseless side of this peace-loving Republic.

After more than two years of these accumulated aggressions and unmitigated evils, we found national honor, the traditions of our fathers, the spirit of independence, the law of self-defense, the gaping wounds of perishing humanity, the shivering ghosts of murdered men and women—all pleading with us to resist this unutterable reign of Prussian terror with force and arms, and to shed more blood, if need be, in order that the blood of our own innocent ones might no longer be shed by the common enemies of all mankind. To these pathetic pleadings and melancholy supplications we have not turned a deafened ear. The heartless Huns, with their deadly fangs dripping with human gore, dragged us into this merciless war. They forced us to draw the sword of righteous retribution, and God helping us, that sword will not be sheathed until German Kaiser, Turkish Sultan, and Austrian Emperor have been scourged from their blood-soaked thrones [applause], until their hordes of inhuman assassins have been captured or conquered, and the peace of the world has been reestablished upon a foundation as enduring as the everlasting hills. [Applause.]

Unhappily, the voters of this country are obliged to carry on a campaign with ballots in America while their boys are carrying on a campaign with bayonets in France. In November the people must elect a Congress. Without the unstinted legislative support of that Congress the war can not be won. Without the support of that Congress our Army can not win a single battle; our Navy can not gain a single victory. Without the support of that Congress our soldiers and sailors can not be armed, provisioned, or equipped; their dependent families can not be clothed or sheltered or fed. Therefore this year's election is of extraordinary importance to everyone interested in winning the war.

There should be no politics in the conduct of our military campaign. But there can be no impropriety in our submitting to the country the record made by a Democratic President, a Democratic Congress, and a Democratic Cabinet in the management of this gigantic enterprise. If the people do not approve that record, they will rebuke those who made it by choosing new servants to represent them during the next two years. On the other hand, if that record conclusively shows that our achievements in war have not only equaled the Wilson administration's accomplishments in time of peace but that they have actually surpassed all human expectations, then the voters with their characteristic wisdom will make no change. [Applause.]

As to what has been done, let recent history speak to the point, and in the light of that history let the people record their verdict at the polls.

THE MATCHLESS RECORD OF OUR WAR-TIME ACHIEVEMENTS.

On April 6, 1917, the day on which we entered the war, our Army, including all of its various branches, consisted of 195,147 officers and men. By September 20, 1918, that Army had grown, as if by magic, until it had in it 3,062,513 officers and men. Of the latter number we have thoroughly trained, fully equipped, and safely transported more than 1,700,000 officers and men to the fighting front in France over 3,000 miles of ocean filled with mines and teeming with German submarines.

At the beginning of the war we had 257 forts, cantonments, and training camps. We now have 419. We then had only 7 field and base hospitals; we now have 388.

The medical department of the Army had in it 7,825 officers and men; it has grown until it is now an establishment of 260,984 officers and men.

By the application of the latest and most scientific methods of treating the sick and the afflicted we have reduced the death rate in Army camps to 7.5 men per thousand, the lowest rate ever recorded by any nation in any war, and a rate of more than 12 less deaths per thousand than occurred in our own training camps during the Spanish-American war.

We had 2,356 officers and men in the Corps of Engineers. We now have 264,457 officers and men in this department, and more than 205,000 of them are in France reconstructing war-wrecked industrial plants, laying railroads over which to transport troops and supplies, and building bridges over which our victorious armies of unnumbered thousands will later march to the pursuit of the demoralized and fleeing Huns.

When we entered the war our Navy had in all of its various branches an aggregate of 87,530 officers and men; it now has in it more than 590,000 officers and men. We had but 304 ships afloat; we now have 1,800, and under the direction of our efficient Secretary of the Navy others are being built faster than they can be counted, to the supreme satisfaction of our allies and the utter consternation of our foes. Assisted by the British Navy we have safely convoyed more than 1,500 troop and supply ships across the ocean.

On the day we entered the war our air service had in it 1,175 officers and men. There are more than 143,000 in it now. We then had 3 aviation fields; we now have 28. We had 210 training planes then; we now have more than 6,800 planes of various kinds.

The foregoing naked figures and facts concisely express the magnitude of the marvelous military program we have carried out during the first 17 months we have been at war.

The mere raising of our vast Army, figuratively speaking, in the twinkling of an eye, although an accomplishment without a parallel in history, is, nevertheless, but a part of our titanic performance; it is but a single act of a very long and complicated drama.

Every one of the millions in our new Army and every one of the hundreds of thousands in our new Navy had to be clothed and sheltered and fed. Every one of them had to be furnished equipment, including everything from the shoes on his feet to the hat or the helmet on his head; including everything from the rude tin cup from which he drinks his coffee to the rifle with which he shoots his foe; everything from the razor with which he shaves his face to the bayonet with which he slays the vicious Hun.

All these things, in hitherto undreamed of quantities, had to be provided by our Government for the comfort, safety, and effectiveness of our boys as they emerged from the pursuits of peace proudly to take their places in the serried ranks of war.

There were next presented for solution the difficult problems of transportation; the mobilization of industries; the speeding up of production; and the redistribution of labor so as to repair, as far as possible, the losses in man power which the mines, the factories, the farms, the foundries, the railroads, and all the other necessary industries of the country had suffered through the operation of the selective draft. All of these problems, with their innumerable perplexities, as well as all the unnumbered other problems directly or indirectly related to them, have been so unerringly solved by Woodrow Wilson and his assistants in the Congress and the Cabinet as to amaze mankind and make this the foremost Nation of all the world.

The name of Xerxes will live in history forever because he raised an army of more than a million men and transported it on a bridge of boats across the Hellespont where it is only a mile wide. But this feat of the Persian king, the result of years of preparation, pales into utter insignificance when compared with the achievement of Newton D. Baker in raising an army of more than 3,000,000 men in 17 months, and the accomplishment of Josephus Daniels in safely transporting more than 1,700,000 of them across the Atlantic Ocean. The successful transportation of our vast Army to Europe in itself adds a new luster to the fame of our already famous Navy, and inscribes the name of its great Secretary, Josephus Daniels, in the gilded book of immortality.

THE LIBERAL PROVISIONS WE HAVE MADE FOR OUR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS AND THEIR DEPENDENT FAMILIES.

Having called our boys to the colors, we proceeded to increase the pay of enlisted men in the Army and Navy almost a hundred per cent. Then, in order that our soldiers and sailors might be enabled to make ample provisions for the cherished ones they leave behind them when they go to war, in order that they might be free from the melancholy reflection on the eve of battle that their death might leave a decrepit father, a superannuated mother, a helpless wife, or an infant child in poverty and distress, we provided a war-risk insurance bureau through which, at minimum rates, anyone serving in the Army or Navy can take out an insurance policy for any amount up to $10,000, payable to any beneficiary the insured may elect to name.

After fully providing for every conceivable want of our soldiers and sailors we went a step farther and made provisions for the payment of liberal allowances to their dependent ones during the continuance of the war. These allowances run from $5 per month for a motherless child up to a maximum of $50 per month for an entire family.

We next provided compensation for the death or disability of soldiers and sailors resulting from their services to the Government in the present emergency. If a soldier or sailor die in

the service, compensation ranging from $20 to $75 per month is paid to his widow, children, or dependent father and mother. In case of total disability the injured man is paid from $30 to $95 per month, according to the size of his family. In case of partial disability the soldier or sailor receives compensation in proportion to the severity of his affliction.

In brief, as a result of our liberal legislation, the American soldier is to-day the best paid, the best fed, the best clothed, the best sheltered, and the best protected fighting man on the face of the earth, while his dependent ones have been provided for with a degree of liberality and solicitude that establishes an unparalleled record for beneficent and generous legislation.

The foregoing very imperfectly indicates some of the momentous things the President and the Congress and the War and Navy Departments have done since the 6th day of April, 1917.

But, unfortunately for the historian and the speaker, some accomplishments are so vast that they can be barely stated but never adequately described. For instance, the making of the universe, including everything, from the tiniest grain of sand to the most stupendous star, is recounted in the first verse of Holy Writ in the simple language: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." In relating what has been done in the way of war-time legislation by the present Congress we can but reverently and feebly follow this notable example of inspired narration; we can only state the staggering facts without embellishment and leave it to a sane, sober, and serious world to comprehend their significance and do justice at the polls to those who, by bringing these facts into being, preserved the life, the liberty, the honor, and the glory of this Republic and saved from destruction the happiness and peace of all the future generations of men. [Applause.]

We ungrudgingly congratulate our historic opponent, the Republican Party, for its loyalty to our common country and its devotion to patriotic duty in this crisis. Its patriotism is not only unchallenged, but it has been signally recognized by this administration in many ways, particularly by the appointment to high official positions of such of its illustrious members as William H. Taft, Charles E. Hughes, Frank A. Vanderlip, Herbert Hoover, Charles M. Schwab, and scores of others, all of whom are faithfully serving the cause of liberty and effectually aiding in ridding the world of the blighting curse of abominable autocracy.

We so implicitly believe in the patriotism of the Republican masses that we confidently rely upon them to aid in reelecting every well-qualified Democratic Congressman who has loyally supported the military program of the President, the Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy. We confidently rely upon the patriotic Republican masses to aid in defeating for Congress or the Senate every partisan politician and cheap political adventurer who is more solicitous for a victory at the polls than he is for a victory on the field of battle; who is more anxious to get himself into an office than he is to get the boys out of the trenches; who attempts to hide his indifference to the outcome of the present war by discussing the issues and opening the wounds of the Civil War.

It is more important in this election than in any other in the Nation's history that partisanism be laid aside and that the citizens cast their votes for those men and only for those men who are honestly and earnestly devoted to the cause of this country and determined to win the war. Any candidate of any party who is under the slightest valid suspicion of disloyalty because of his associations, relationships, utterances, or activities should be decisively defeated. No man of whose patriotism or loyalty there is the slightest doubt should be elected to an important office in which he could traffic in the lives of American soldiers, barter away official information, or surrender to a Prussian agent a single right of this Republic.

Fathers, relatives, and friends of the boys in France, make no mistake on election day. A vote against a loyal Democratic candidate or against the reelection of a Democratic Congressman who has faithfully supported the President's program is a vote to prolong the war and continue the absence of the boys in France. A vote for the reelection of such a Congressman is conclusive evidence of the voter's approval of the administration's supreme efforts to end the war with victory and lasting peace and to bring the boys back home. God pity the man who proves recreant to duty in such an hour and in such a cause.

POLITICAL FALSE ALARMS.

A few Republican politicians and candidates for Federal offices, seeing only with the piercing eye of vaulting ambition, look into the future for a field of action, oblivious to the tremendous tasks of this day and impotent to perform the duties of this hour. Statesmen of this particular school are proclaiming the inability of Democrats to enact constructive legislation that will be demanded at the close of the war and alleging that only Republicans can pass progressive laws. To all this the fathers of the boys who are fighting in France will be content to reply: "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." For further answer to such fallacious arguments we shall say to our Republican friends, not by way of criticism but by way of assurance and for their peace of mind, that if Patrick Henry's rule is still sound, if the future may be safely judged by the past, and the lamp of experience is a lamp by which our feet may still be guided, then if constructive laws are written in the future, they will of necessity be written by the party of Woodrow Wilson. [Applause.]

DEMOCRATIC ACHIEVEMENTS BEFORE THE WAR.

For example, the Republicans were in control of the Federal Government almost continuously and completely for more than 40 years prior to the beginning of the Wilson administration. During all that time they were powerless to pass a currency law that would emancipate the business and the finance of the country from Wall Street control. Within the first year of the Wilson administration a Democratic Congress enacted a currency law that is admittedly the greatest legislative achievement of this century. This Democratic currency law at the beginning of the war saved this country from financial ruin and the credit of our allies from utter annihilation.

After their four decades of power the Republican Party turned over to Democracy the great railroad systems of the country in a condition of inefficiency, bankruptcy, and ruin. Many of them were under the grossest mismanagement and filled with water and graft. Under the stress of war it became impossible for them to perform their functions and a Democratic administration was forced to provide for their operation under Government control. [Applause.]

For almost a quarter of a century labor organizations and patriotic societies demanded the passage of an immigration law embodying the literacy test, but it remained for Democracy to write this legislation into the statute book.

It was the insistence of a Democratic House that gave the people the parcels-post law. It was a Democratic administration that perfected this law, and under it gave the public a delivery service, the utility of which it is impossible to exaggerate.

The farmers of the Nation were locked out of Congress for two decades by our opponents who controlled the Government. The Wilson administration opened every legislative door to the tillers of the soil and gave them the Federal farm-loan or rural-credit law.

We boldly assert and the record convincingly proves that the present administration, in less than 40 weeks, enacted 10 times more remedial legislation for labor than the Republican Party enacted for it in more than 40 years.

And who that has played a man's part in emancipating those that toil does not rejoice in the glorious record of devoted service and sacrifice made by American labor since we entered the war? While blood has gushed from the wounds of the boys "over there," rivers of perspiration have flowed from the brows of the patriots "over here" who have toiled on the railroads, in the mills and the mines, and in the factories and the fields. All praise to American labor! It has fought a good fight; it has honored itself and saved the life of the Nation; it has unqualifiedly kept the faith.

In turn, the Wilson administration has shown its appreciation of labor's loyal and generous service and maintained Democracy's reputation of being labor's best and stanchest friend by preserving, unimpaired, through this crisis every safeguard gained for the toilers through the struggles of a hundred years.

Prior to the beginning of the present administration there grew up in this country, under judicial sanction, a form of oppression commonly known as "government by injunction." The protest from the masses of the people against this evil was unanimous, but relief was never obtained until a Democratic Congress passed the Clayton law, which sounded the death knell of government by injunction. [Applause.]

Antitrust legislation, the hope of the producer and the dream of the consumer, couldn ever be realized until it was enacted by a Democratic administration.

Countless other examples could be cited, but the foregoing are sufficient to prove conclusively to every fair-minded man and woman that the Democratic Party is the real champion of constructive legislation and that it may be safely trusted to make laws for the people in time of peace as well as in time of war.

But no matter how glorious our history of the past, no matter how seductive the temptation to invade on the wings of imagination the undiscovered and alluring fields of the future,

we must nevertheless remember that it is our imperative duty to devote our entire energy of mind and body to the all-important issue of winning the war. Until this issue has been determined in our favor no other earthly issue can be of any concern.

A MIGHTY ARMY AND A GLORIOUS CAUSE.

Nearly two millions of our boys have gone and other millions are preparing to go to the trenches to fight. Primarily not for Europe, but for America; not for some other government, but for our Government; not for glorification, but for self-preservation. Listen, and in imagination you can hear the tramp, tramp, tramp of our gallant soldiers marching to ruthless and relentless war. All of them will win honor and fame. The most of them will come back to us, and then, while the bands play and the flags flutter, while multitudes applaud and millions approve, we will put the palm of reward in their hands and the fadeless laurel of victory upon their brows. But, unfortunately, some of them will not return. Some of them will die in foreign lands and sleep in unmarked graves, and this is the saddest part of the awful tragedy that is now being enacted upon the stupendous stage of all the world; but—

How can man die better than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his gods?

How can man die better than fighting to destroy this mailed and loathsome monster of Prussian militarism that purposes to enslave the world or engulf it in a sea of blood?

It were a thousand times better that we all die in the trenches and that liberty live than that we all ignominiously live to see national honor, international law, human liberty, and the religion of Jesus of Nazareth perish from the face of the earth. [Applause.]

Regardless of cost and danger, heedless of suffering and sacrifice, fears and tears, we must and will win this war. To lose it is to make hideous militarism the grand master of the globe, to extinguish the light of the world, and kindle the unquenchable fires of desolation and woe. To lose it is to forfeit the liberty of every citizen, endanger the life of every man, imperil the chastity of every woman, and jeopardize the freedom of every child. To win it is to crush autocracy and enthrone democracy, to strike the shackles from enslaved millions and set them free, to banish war and restore peace to a blood-washed, weary world.

By way of incitement to supreme effort and utmost action until all of our barbarous and bloodthirsty foes have been subdued, let us bear in mind that our defeat would mean an immediate repetition at our very doors of all the horrors perpetrated by German soldiers in Belgium and France.

WHAT THE HUNS HAVE DONE TO OTHERS, AND WOULD DO TO US.

Official reports, the truth of which is not denied, show that at Haecht, in Belgium, the red-handed Huns nailed innocent girls to cottage doors and crucified them as the Savior was crucified upon Calvary; that at Hofstade, the Prussian fiends decapitated unoffending ministers of the gospel, cut the heads and hands and feet from children, while babes were torn from their mothers' arms and dashed to death in the streets by brutal beasts of the Kaiser's army as a part of Germany's campaign of frightfulness. At Pepinster, helpless, harmless women were outraged before the eyes of their husbands and their children; later their bodies were mutilated, their lives destroyed, and last of all the husbands and the nursing babes of these outraged and murdered women were butchered by the cutthroats of the beast of Berlin.

These instances of blood-curdling barbarism could be infinitely multiplied, but their multiplication is unnecessary, for we are already fully alive to the enormity of the suffering and sorrow that would inevitably follow us and our posterity forever if we should fail to win this war. If we should stop short of a decisive victory, our own country would sooner or later be invaded by a German army, and then all the indescribable horrors and excruciating tortures inflicted upon our allies would be visited in full measure upon our own people.

This is the fateful and decisive hour of history. If we should now relax our efforts, withhold our services, or refuse to make our sacrifices, Germany would eventually set up her military machine on this continent. And when Prussian militarism comes to our shores look to see every American pay tribute to the Kaiser or serve as a slave to a German master until death cancels the bonds of his servitude. Look to see American women outraged; American children maimed, mangled, and slaughtered; American men tortured to death; girls crucified; prattling babes murdered and their hands and feet hacked from their bodies. Look to see American fields laid waste, villages depopulated, cities burned to ashes, property confiscated, churches desecrated, the ministers of mercy assassinated, the precepts of Christianity mocked, and the deeds of humanity scorned.

God forbid that the Prussian reign of frightfulness shall ever curse this land. God grant that we may so effectively do our part, so courageously fight our fight, and so heroically defend our homes, our loved ones, and our native land that intruding foot of fearsome foe may never, never tread the soil over which Old Glory waves.

But let us have confidence and courage, for this war will end in a sweeping victory for the armies of our allies and ourselves, because we are fighting for freedom against tyranny; for liberty against slavery; for Christianity against paganism; for justice against injustice; for eternal right against monstrous wrong; for the deathless teachings of the Great Jehovah against the ephemeral philosophy of Nietzsche, Von Treitschke, Bernhardi, and Mohammed.

Then conquer we must, for our cause it is just,
And this be our motto, "In God is our trust,"
And the Star-Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

If it be asked why the innocent must be sacrificed for the guilty, why millions of righteous must perish in their struggle against myriads of godless men who have hitherto flourished like the green bay tree, answer can only be made that it is now, as it has ever been, the inscrutable way of Almighty God to blot out wickedness with the blood of his saints.

From Calvary's crimsoned cross to the ensanguined battle fields of the Marne and the Somme sacrifice has been the immutable purchase price of progress, while civilization has written every luminous page of its resplendent history in profusions of precious blood.

[At this point a body of French Legionaires, guests of the Nation, entered one of the galleries, whereupon the Members of the House rose and received them with applause.]

Digressing for a moment, I venture to extend, on behalf of the House, to you battle-scarred heroes of France, who have just entered the gallery, a warm welcome to the great American Republic which was christened in the commingled blood of your renowned ancestors and our illustrious sires.

As Napoleon's veterans fought at Austerlitz, as the soldiers of Leonidas sacrificed at Thermopylæ, as the warriors of Miltiades won at Marathon, so you stout-hearted patriots of France fought at Verdun, sacrificed at the Somme, and won on the bloody banks of the Marne. For your sacrifice, your valor, and your victory civilization will forever be your debtor, and humanity will forever sing your praise. You are thrice and four times welcome in our midst. What is ours is yours, to the last crumb in our cupboards and the last drop in our cups.

As we have no words of our own that are vigorous enough to express our admiration for you or our appreciation of your glorious achievements, let the celestial muse of Virgil in the following lines from the Æneid portray what we conceive to be the sentiments of every American for you, the gallant champions of civilization's cause:

In you this age is happy, and this earth;
And parents more than mortal gave you birth.
While rolling rivers into seas shall run,
And round the space of heaven the radiant sun,
While trees the mountain tops with shade supply,
Your honor, name, and praise shall never die.

WHAT OUR BOYS ARE DOING OVER THERE.

Mr. Speaker, to-day more than seventeen hundred thousand of America's best and bravest sons are gallantly fighting in far-off France, vindicating humanity's rights, avenging civilization's wrongs, and paying with accrued interest a heavy obligation that we have owed the French people since Rochambeau held up the hands of Washington at Yorktown [applause] and Lafayette fought at Brandywine for American independence. [Applause.] How grandly those boys beyond the sea are maintaining the honor of this country and living up to the brightest and best traditions of this Republic! How proudly we read of their victories; how gratefully we learn of their sacrifices; how devoutly we pray for their safe return to their loved and loving ones who are keeping the "home fires burning" and looking with anxious eyes and tear-stained cheeks for the dawn of peace.

In France, the land of chivalry and beauty, through countless lines of battle, with machine guns and cannon in front of them; with asphyxiating gases enveloping them; with the air filled with death-dealing craft above them; with exploding mines beneath them—through all these hellish horrors American boys are proudly bearing the flag of this Republic [applause]; the flag that has never known a failure or suffered a defeat; the flag that makes tyranny tremble and freedom rejoice; the flag that beckons the downtrodden and oppressed of every country on the globe to this land of liberty above which the great dome

of promise is studded with the shining stars of hope; the flag that waves over democracy's cradle; the flag that will finally float above autocracy's grave. [Applause.] This is the flag that the American soldiers from the wind-swept north and the sun-kissed south will eventually carry through plundered cities, over blood-soaked battle fields; past desecrated temples; by ruined cathedrals; through bleeding Belgium to the river Rhine, and from the Rhine to the Spree, and across the Spree to Berlin, where, at last, it will proudly float from the spires of the Kaiser's palace and majestically wave above the ruins of the Hohenzollern's throne. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from West Virginia has expired.

Mr. GODWIN of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from West Virginia be allowed 15 minutes more on account of the interruption.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from West Virginia be extended 15 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. NEELY. We have briefly outlined the arduous task and the stupendous undertaking of the American soldiers who are fighting and are going to fight for you and for me. These boys, in the morning time of life, with every door in the world of infinite opportunity open wide to receive them, with every breeze bringing them promises of future glory, laid their last hope and their last ambition upon the altar of their country, and leaving the rich treasures of heart and home behind them entered the welter of war to pour out their blood as the purchase price of our safety.

A GREAT OPPORTUNITY.

And what shall we do to make their sacrifices effective; what can we do to strengthen their arms, dishearten their foes, and speed the coming of the joyous day of Germany's unconditional surrender? There is much we can do, and every patriot will do his utmost. He that does less than his best in this crisis is a slacker, and he that does nothing is a disgrace to the Nation and not entitled to live in a land of freedom or share the protection of the American flag.

We must forget the word profit and cease to think about money making during the war. Wealth in this country without victory would bring no satisfaction or pleasure to its possessor; moth and rust would corrupt it; thieves would break through and steal it; it would take the wings of the morning and fly away. The monster who will profiteer at the expense of the flesh and blood of the boys in the trenches is in infamy next to Judas Iscariot, who betrayed his Savior for 30 pieces of silver.

At this particular time patriotism is infinitely better than profit, generosity is more estimable than greed, and mercy is sublimer than money.

To be specific, the farmer must raise more grain in order that the soldiers in the trenches may not go hungry to battle or empty to bed. The miner must dig more coal so that the smelting furnaces and munition factories may be run at capacity night and day. The banker must lend greater aid in solving the financial problems of this Government that is now paymaster for half the world. More doctors must go to the front, for they are needed there. Let the lawyers get out of the courthouse and into the firing line of freedom and do more war work at home or abroad. Let the preachers stand this monster of Prussian militarism in their pulpits, strip it of the multitudinous masks it wears, and mercilessly show its marble heart, its snaky eyes, and insatiate maw to their congregations. Let them teach the people that the extinction of this hell-born monstrosity means liberty and life and that its survival means certain bondage and ignominious death.

All must buy liberty bonds; must buy them again and again and again. They are the best investment in the world. They are secured by a first mortgage on the entire wealth of this Nation, which is now more than $250,000,000,000. Our annual income is about $50,000,000,000, while our total indebtedness, including all war expenditures to date, is less than $16,000,000,000, or less than one-third of our income for one year. If we do not buy bonds, our Government will be without money, and without money the war will fail and our boys in the trenches will be forced to surrender to the maiming, torturing, and murdering Huns. Let no man be stingy with his dollars while the soldiers are being generous with their lives.

We must give generously to the Red Cross, for it is more than worthy of our support. Its angels of mercy—the Red Cross nurses—will go where shot and shell are screaming, where rivers of blood are flowing, where death hovers over fields of battle, and there they will care for the suffering, comfort the dying, and with their magical remedies and marvelous skill they will bind up the wounds of the soldier, stanch his blood, allay his fever, and banish his every ache and pang and pain. [Applause.]

All should give to the Army Y. M. C. A. and other similar war-time organizations, for they will safeguard the soldiers' moral fabric, without which even the strongest man becomes as weak as a little child. No matter who one is or what his race or rank or station, there is a work for him to do; there is a place for him to fill; there is a cross for him to bear. [Applause.]

WHAT THE VOTERS WILL DO OVER HERE.

There is one other service of inestimable value that every voter can perform, and that every patriot will perform, and that is the service of going to the polls on election day and casting a ballot for those candidates who can and will do most to bring this war to an early conclusion and bring the boys back home. No candidate of any party is qualified for office unless he is loyal to the core, unless he is a hundred per cent patriot and a hundred per cent against Prussian militarism. If a candidate of any party has, since we entered the war, been neutral as between this country and the German Empire, or hostile to our allies; if he has ever apologized for Prussian barbarism, justified the sinking of the *Lusitania*, or declined to back up the soldiers at the front with every resource at his command, let every loyal citizen vote against him, work against him, and help to consign him to political oblivion on election day.

Let it be repeated that the only issue before the American people is the issue of winning the war; the issue of crushing German militarism until it can never again raise its snaky head, open its all-devouring mouth, or exhale its devastating breath. This is the issue that will take every father, brother, and friend of a soldier to the polls; it is the issue upon which every patriot will mark his ticket; it is the issue upon which every red-blooded, loyal-hearted American will cast his ballot. All other issues, for the time being, are dead and buried, and it would be as impossible to find the graves in which they slumber as to find the sepulcher in which Moses was laid by the hands of the angels.

The voter who at this critical time supports a candidate for Federal office who is not in full accord with the war program of the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy sticks a knife into the back of every American soldier, prolongs the war, increases its horrors, and multiplies the number of the boys who shall see their native land no more. In this year of stress and strife no patriot will permit love of party to make him vote against the interest of his country. [Applause.]

Democrats, Republicans, Prohibitionists, and Socialists, Protestants and Catholics, Gentiles and Jews are all fighting together in France, shoulder to shoulder, heart to heart, and hand to hand. They are enriching the soil of Flanders with their blood; they are dying side by side, and the radiant angels of the same merciful God are bearing their immortal spirits in invisible chariots to the same Paradise where they will, in common, walk the streets that are paved with stars. If our boys can forget their politics and their differences of opinion and die together over there, shall we dishonor their memory and desecrate their unmarked graves by refusing to vote together over here on the 5th day of November? Forbid it, Almighty God. [Applause.]

Let every voter aim his ballot just as the boys are aiming their bullets and directing their bayonets, point-blank, at the vitals of the Huns.

And how can one determine for whom to vote? The question is easily answered. First, the acid test of loyalty should be applied without fear or favor to every candidate. Anyone that can not withstand the test should be scratched off without an instant's hesitation. If the voter will follow the rule laid down by the Savior he will make no mistake on election day. It is as follows: "And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out; it is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire: where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched."

If both candidates are equally loyal, then let the voter determine the question, Which of them can and will be more helpful to the Commander in Chief in bringing the war to a successful conclusion; which can and will do more for the boys at the front? And how can one answer these questions? By a simple process of deductive reasoning. Upon the President is the supreme responsibility of directing the operations of all of our armed forces and winning victories for our cause. There is not a patriot in the Nation who does not want to help the President bear his heavy burden. There is not a patriot who questions the wisdom and righteousness or the success of the President's leadership. Therefore let that leadership be strengthened by giving our great Commander in Chief men of his own party

faith, who are in full accord with him not only on one question but on every question, to hold up his hands till the end of the war. To elect any man to a Federal office who is not in harmony in heart and thought and word and deed with Woodrow Wilson is to proclaim to Berlin that the American people have repudiated their Chief Executive, that sentiment in the Nation is divided, that the Kaiser has a henchman on the way to the Capitol, and that we are against the war. Such a proclamation would mean the conscription of more American boys, the shedding of more American blood, and the loss of more American lives.

WHAT MR. LINCOLN SAID.

In 1864 McClellan, a Democrat, ran against Lincoln for the presidency, and at that time the Civil War was still raging. Mr. Lincoln, by uttering a homely but immortal phrase, decided his fate and also the fate of the Nation. He said that the American people had too much sense to "swap" horses in the middle of the stream. And he was right. The people not only reelected him President, but they also reelected, by a decisive majority, a Republican Congress to stand by him and support him and help him solve the war problems of the Nation. We are to-day in the midst of a war whose responsibilities, complications, and horrors are even greater than those of the great Civil War. The people have just as much sense in 1918 as they had in 1864, and they are going to use it to the same effect. On the 5th day of November history will repeat itself, and the voters will proclaim with a voice that will cross the ocean and reverberate through the Kaiser's palace in Berlin that the American people will not "swap" off the party of Woodrow Wilson in the middle of this blood-red stream of world-wide war. [Applause.]

SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT.

Realizing that a repudiation of the President's party at the polls would give more encouragement to our enemies than the capture of an American army corps; realizing that it would be more disastrous to our cause than the loss of a great battle on the western front, the American people will, on election day, indorse, by an overwhelming majority, Woodrow Wilson and his course by electing a Congress and a Senate of the President's own party faith to stand by him, to aid him and hold up his hands until the war clouds are lifted, until the smoke of battle has cleared away, until the Goddess of Liberty again waves the emblem of peace over palm and pine. And what father, brother, or friend of a soldier will fail to indorse the administration of Woodrow Wilson, the greatest moral and spiritual leader on the globe? Who in all the history of mankind has ever been endowed with more profound wisdom or more penetrating and prophetic vision? Who has ever more safely and successfully led or more faithfully and devotedly served a great people? The world is accepting the words of Woodrow Wilson as the words of an oracle. The people of England, France, Italy, the islands of the sea, and more than 100,000,000 Americans are following his footsteps as zealously as the Mussulman follows Mohammed. They are approving his official actions as the actions of a political Messiah.

On the 5th day of November, let every patriot, for the sake of his Nation, for the cause of humanity and the life of his boy, ungrudgingly support the plans, the purposes, and the party of Woodrow Wilson, a man who in leadership is a Joshua; in statesmanship, a Jefferson; in wisdom, a Franklin; in courage, a Jackson; in justice, a Lincoln; and in patriotism, a Washington; a man whose mind is a mirror that reflects the possibilities of the future as well as the promises of the present and the prophecies of the past; a man whose judgment is as unerring as the mariner's compass and whose purposes are as constant as the northern star. [Applause.]

THE WAR CLOUD'S SILVER LINING.

As we unqualifiedly dedicate our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to the completion of the trying task before us, may we not console ourselves with the thought that after the wilderness came the promised land; that after the darkest hour of the night comes the splendor of the morning, the glory of the sunrise, and the grandeur of a new-born day; that after the crucifixion of the sinless Savior, paradise opened wide its portals to all the children of men. May we not hope that after this carnival of destruction and this holocaust of humanity men will be so sickened with bloodshed, so horrified with devastation, and so appalled with wholesale butchery that they will, with one accord, forsake the demon of hate and swear eternal allegiance to the everlasting God of love. May we not believe that the sun of righteousness will eventually rise with healing in his wings and illumine every highway; that the hands of the Infinite will finally make every crooked path straight; and that the pure white light of a crucified Christ, streaming down from the ineffable throne of God, will at last dispel the darkness that obscures our vision, stays our progress, and envelops our little lives? Let us fervently hope and devoutly pray that when this wicked world-wide war is over the Prince of Peace in all His glory will instantly set up His everlasting kingdom in the hearts of men; that Pope's dream of the Messiah may be fully realized, and that—

> All crime shall cease and ancient fraud shall fail,
> Descending justice lift aloft her scale,
> Peace o'er the world her olive wand extend,
> And white-robed innocence from heaven descend.

[Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DECKER). The gentleman from Connecticut is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

BOND ISSUE.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, notwithstanding the rule as to the printing of conference reports in the RECORD, I ask unanimous consent to take up the conference report on the bill (H. R. 12923) to supplement the second liberty bond act passed the other day.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to take up the conference report on the bill to supplement the second liberty bond act. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will the gentleman state the substance of the conference report?

Mr. KITCHIN. The Senate made several amendments, but receded on all except on the question of giving the President power to prohibit the sale and transfer of bonds and certificates. The House concurred with an amendment striking out the word "prohibit" as it relates to the sale of bonds and certificates of indebtedness, but giving the President the power to investigate and regulate such transactions with a further provision which I will read:

(b) That the President may investigate, regulate, or prohibit, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, by means of licenses or otherwise, any transactions in foreign exchange—

And so forth.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Under that provision, does the gentleman think the President would have the power to prohibit the sale of bonds on the stock exchanges?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not think so. I do not think he would have the power to prohibit, but he could regulate.

Mr. STAFFORD. May I inquire further whether the bill in its present form as agreed to by the conferees is more liberal as to the disposition of liberty bonds?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; it limits the President's power.

Mr. STAFFORD. The bill has not been modified in other particulars?

Mr. KITCHIN. In two small amendments, putting in a capital "I" and a capital "T." Otherwise the bill is exactly as it passed the House, and the material amendment is, as I said awhile ago, in respect to the bonds and certificates of indebtedness.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Does not the gentleman think that that will stop the bonds from being negotiated?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; I do not.

Mr. MADDEN. I think so, and I think it would be very unfortunate if that should be the case, because, while it is intended to stabilize the bonds, I think it will have the reverse effect.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say that the conferees considered that question very thoroughly and we also had the Secretary of the Treasury before the committee, and the conferees all were of the unanimous opinion that this provision will help to stabilize the bonds. Gentlemen will remember that the bill is exactly as it passed the House, with this exception, that they have taken the bonds and certificates out of the prohibition clause of the section and amended it and substituted this provision.

Mr. MADDEN. I would be glad to have the gentleman read it.

Mr. KITCHIN. It is as follows:

SEC. 5. That subdivision (b) of section 5 of the trading-with-the-enemy act be, and hereby is, amended to read as follows:

"(b) That the President may investigate, regulate, or prohibit, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, by means of licenses or otherwise, any transactions in foreign exchange and the export, hoarding, melting, or earmarkings of gold or silver coin or bullion or currency, transfers of credit in any form (other than credits relating solely

to transactions to be executed wholly within the United States), and transfers of evidences of indebtedness or of the ownership of property between the United States and any foreign country, whether enemy, ally of enemy, or otherwise, or between residents of one or more foreign countries, by any person within the United States; and, for the purpose of strengthening, sustaining, and broadening the market for bonds and certificates of indebtedness of the United States, or preventing frauds upon the holders thereof, and of protecting such holders, he may investigate and regulate, by means of licenses or otherwise (until the expiration of two years after the date of the termination of the present war with the Imperial German Government, as fixed by his proclamation), any transactions in such bonds or certificates by or between any person or persons: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this subdivision (b) shall be construed to confer any power to prohibit the purchase or sale for cash or for notes eligible for discount at any Federal reserve bank of bonds or certificates of indebtedness of the United States; and he may require any person engaged in any transaction referred to in this subdivision to furnish, under oath, complete information relative thereto, including the production of any books of account, contracts, letters, or other papers in connection therewith in the custody or control of such person, either before or after such transaction is completed."

Mr. MADDEN. They would have to be sold. The President might make a regulation so that if a person holding a bond which he was obliged to sell to save himself from bankruptcy could not dispose of it.

Mr. KITCHIN. No.

Mr. MADDEN. There is no restriction on the right of the President to make regulations.

Mr. KITCHIN. No; we give him power to make regulations. I want to say to the gentleman that two Senators, one a Senator from Massachusetts and the other a Senator from Georgia, and also Senator THOMAS, of Colorado, took the position which the gentleman now takes, and after discussing the whole proposition they were perfectly willing to put in this provision. In fact, it was the suggestion of one of the Senators.

Mr. MADDEN. Of course, if the gentlemen who have given it careful consideration are satisfied that it does not prohibit legitimate business transactions, very well.

Mr. KITCHIN. I imagine that the President's regulation would not go to the extent of preventing reasonable transactions.

Mr. MADDEN. For example, suppose the gentleman himself had $50,000 worth of Government bonds and he found himself facing bankruptcy if he could not dispose of them.

Mr. KITCHIN. I imagine that the President could not under this make any rules or regulations saying that I could not sell my bonds to my bank or could not borrow money upon them.

Mr. MADDEN. They would be worthless if that could not be done.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I am going to object to this request.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will ask the gentleman to withhold that for just a minute. We have a very urgent letter from the Secretary of the Treasury asking that this report be considered and disposed of to-day, because they want to begin at once to advertise and to set on foot the beginning of the liberty-bond campaign on September 28. I have explained the only difference, and there is no doubt that the House will adopt this report.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman knows very well that the plans for this campaign are going ahead, and I do not believe that a delay of one day will seriously hamper the matter. The more important measures are on which conference reports are offered, the more often is the request made that we consider them without printing, and we have a little preliminary discussion, which is informal in its nature, and then we vote upon the conference report, with 99.44 per cent of the membership not knowing what is in the report until the next day, when they find out what they have voted for.

Mr. KITCHIN. My thought was it would not take the House a day, or even an hour, to comprehend exactly what this amendment was, which is as plain as language could make it, and I was sure the House would adopt the conference report either to-day, if we voted on it to-day, or to-morrow or the next day, if we voted on it then. I was trying to save time.

Mr. WALSH. There is no difference, except the President's power is limited rather than——

Mr. KITCHIN. In other words, the House bill, which the House overwhelmingly passed—passed unanimously—gave the President absolutely the power to prohibit any sale of bonds, which of course he would not exercise. Now, this limits that power. This strikes out the word "prohibit" and gives simply the power to investigate and make regulations, which of course must be reasonable regulations; and goes further than that, and it says that nothing in this provision can be construed to give power to prohibit the sale or transfer of bonds or indebtedness for cash or notes negotiable for discount at any Federal reserve bank.

Mr. HAYES. Is this a complete agreement?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. HAYES. Signed by all the conferees?

Mr. WALSH. How much discussion does the gentleman contemplate permitting? We have got an important matter here which has been agreed upon will be disposed of to-day.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will give discussion if the House should want it, but I should not think there would be very much discussion. I should not think any person could object to this provision when the House bill was a good deal more rigid and gave the President considerably more power than this does.

Mr. HAYES. The gentleman did not answer my question.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the objection.

Mr. HAYES. As to whether or not there is a complete agreement on the part of all the conferees.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; a complete, signed agreement by those who participated in the conference.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. ROBBINS. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KITCHIN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, I was going to say, having in mind the last statement the gentleman made a moment ago that the bill was much less rigid than when it passed the House, that when the bill was under consideration in the House I offered an amendment to strike out that word "prohibit" where it applied to the sale or transfer of bonds.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman offered an amendment, but the amendment was offered at the wrong place and the gentleman did not have time to perfect it.

Mr. DENISON. And while I was trying to perfect my amendment another amendment of a similar kind, but a little more sweeping, was offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. HAYES], and then the gentleman from North Carolina made his very forceful speech against it and against taking away from the President this power to prohibit the sale of bonds; and his speech was so forceful that he frightened a good many of us into believing that if we voted to take out that word "prohibit" we would be doing an unpatriotic thing. I wanted to know whether the chairman of the committee thinks if we vote now to accept this action of the Senate, which is exactly what I was trying to get done, we will still be thought to be unpatriotic?

Mr. KITCHIN. I did not mean to state that the gentleman is mistaken in that; not at all. I said that gentlemen of the House—for instance, I said that Mr. HAYES was as patriotic as anyone whom I knew and is as intensely loyal as any man in the Capitol, and my argument was that this would give better protection to a certain class of holders, a smaller class, too. Now, I insisted on its being just like the House passed it, and the Secretary of the Treasury stated to the conferees what I stated. He said that it was essential to give the President power to use the word "prohibit" and he would not take the responsibility if we struck it out and did not give some power to prohibit certain kinds of transactions and I agreed with him. I said to the House then the fear which the gentlemen of the House who opposed the word "prohibit" entertained was absolutely groundless because it is inconceivable that the President would ever exercise the power which you gentlemen feared he might exercise. Now, then, after all that, after I made the very forceful speech, as the gentleman says, and if I can afford finally in the interest of speedy legislation, so they can go ahead with the liberty-loan drive, to accept the striking out of the word "prohibit," and the Secretary of the Treasury, who is responsible for the sale of these bonds, can reluctantly accept this in order to speed up and permit us to proceed at once with the liberty-loan campaign, it looks as if all the other gentlemen of the House could.

Mr. DENISON. I agree with the gentleman exactly. I think the Senate amendment is exactly right and I thought we should have amended it that way ourselves when I offered my amendment to strike out the word "prohibit." I think the President should have the power to regulate transactions in bonds, but not the power to prohibit their sale or transfer.

Mr. HAYES. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object——

Mr. ROBBINS. Of course, we have not read this conference report, and all we know is from hearing the reading and what the gentleman says. As I understand, it limits this power to two years?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. ROBBINS. That was discussed in the House.

Mr. KITCHIN. That is what the gentleman from Pennsylvania suggested, and I told the gentleman I would suggest that in conference and it ought to have been in the bill, but it

was too late when the gentleman spoke to me about it to so amend the bill before it passed the House.

Mr. ROBBINS. The provision now in the report is that the power is limited to regulation, not to prohibit.

Mr. KITCHIN. The power we give the President with respect to bonds and certificates of indebtedness is investigation and regulation, and we limit it to two years after the termination of the war.

Mr. HAYES. Like the gentleman from Illinois, I desired only to have stricken from the bill that power to anyone to make or to prohibit sales, but now as the gentleman explains it, as the conferees have agreed upon it, I have no objection whatever.

Mr. KITCHIN. I understood that was the gentleman's position, but the gentleman——

Mr. HAYES. But now, as the gentleman explains it and as the conferees have agreed upon it, I have no objection whatever. As I explained when the bill was before the House originally, I have no fear of proper regulation. The fear I had was that a regulation that might amount to a prohibition would interfere with a sale of the bonds and their value afterwards.

Mr. KITCHIN. As it appears now it is substantially the position he took on the floor, but, unfortunately, the gentleman's amendment, which was written hurriedly in the exciting moments of the debate, went further than the word "prohibit."

Mr. HAYES. It struck out the regulation also.

Mr. KITCHIN. I think this is what the House would be perfectly willing to agree to if I could get unanimous consent.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The Clerk will report the conference report.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to let him read the statement instead of the report.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. The report should be printed somewhere in the RECORD.

Mr. KITCHIN. It will all go in the RECORD.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman should couple with his request that the statement and report be printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent that all these papers in regard to the conference report go in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report is as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT (NO. 805).

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12923) to supplement the second liberty-bond act, as amended, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1 and 2, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 3: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken out by said amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 5. That subdivision (b) of section 5 of the trading-with-the-enemy act be, and hereby is, amended to read as follows:

"'(b) That the President may investigate, regulate, or prohibit, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, by means of licenses or otherwise, any transactions in foreign exchange and the export, hoarding, melting, or earmarkings of gold or silver coin or bullion or currency, transfers of credit in any form (other than credits relating solely to transactions to be executed wholly within the United States), and transfers of evidences of indebtedness or of the ownership of property between the United States and any foreign country, whether enemy, ally of enemy, or otherwise, or between residents of one or more foreign countries, by any person within the United States; and, for the purpose of strengthening, sustaining and broadening the market for bonds and certificates of indebtedness of the United States, of preventing frauds upon the holders thereof, and of protecting such holders, he may investigate and regulate, by means of licenses or otherwise, (until the expiration of two years after the date of the termination of the present war with the Imperial German Government, as fixed by his proclamation) any transaction in such bonds or certificates by or between any person or persons: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this subdivision (b) shall be construed to confer any power to prohibit the purchase or sale for cash, or for notes eligible for discount at any Federal reserve bank, of bonds or certificates of indebtedness of the United States; and he may require any person engaged in any transaction referred to in this subdivision to furnish, under oath, complete information relative thereto, including the production of any books of account, contracts, letters or other papers, in connection therewith in the custody or control of such person, either before or after such transaction is completed.'"

And the Senate agree to the same.

CLAUDE KITCHIN,
HENRY T. RAINEY,
LINCOLN DIXON,
J. W. FORDNEY,
J. HAMPTON MOORE,
Managers on the part of the House.

F. M. SIMMONS,
HOKE SMITH,
H. C. LODGE,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the adoption of the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. TILSON] is recognized.

THE ABBOTT GRENADE GUN.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, at an earlier stage of our war preparations we heard much about "paper guns," meaning, of course, designs and blue prints without the facilities for producing real guns. This was true for a long time after we were in the war as to the Browning gun. I am glad to say that, so far as producing them is concerned, the Browning guns, both light and heavy, are now well advanced in quantity production.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TILSON. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. TILLMAN. The gentleman states that the production of the Browning guns, large and small, is now satisfactory. The gentleman does not state whether or not its use is satisfactory. Can the gentleman enlighten us on that question?

Mr. TILSON. I wish I could enlighten my friend on that question, for I am very much interested. I may say to the gentleman—and I speak with a degree of hesitation—that I have had some misgivings as to the probable effectiveness of the light gun. I am afraid that there is one point connected with its use that is not yet entirely satisfactory. I will say, further, to the gentleman that I have not even talked about it with any official, and that my fears are based largely upon my own very limited trials of the gun. I hope it will turn out that there is no ground whatever for my fears, but the gentleman has asked me and I have answered him truthfully.

I have here to-day a real paper gun, made of paper. It is the invention of Mr. Wayne Abbott, of California. He is a very modest man, who wears a service flag with three stars for three sons in the service, and who, on the 12th of this month, registered himself for service under the new selective-draft law. Mr. Abbott has lived thus far a somewhat interesting and sometimes thrilling life. He hopes to add other chapters even more interesting by actual service alongside of his boys in the trenches.

For a time he was a balloonist. In order to relieve the monotony of drifting comfortably across the country in a free balloon he often amused himself by leaping from his perch in the clouds and descending by means of a parachute. Incidentally he has turned over to the Government what seems to be a very practical invention in the shape of an automatic parachute for descending from an injured airplane, and it is being hopefully tested out.

The Abbott paper gun or mortar is made of paper fiber inclosing a roll of galvanized sheet iron. Here it is [indicating]. It looks more like a music roll than anything else, and can be carried quite as conveniently in one hand or suspended from one finger. The breech block is of wood, with a simple electric-battery attachment to fire the piece.

The ammunition used is the hand grenade. The use of the grenade in this war is general, almost universal, and continuous. It ranges all the way from the Stokes mortar shell down through all forms of rifle grenade to the simplest hand grenade made, which is probably the Mills or our own Mark I service grenade. This is one of ours [indicating].

Hand grenades are very dangerous, often to friend as well as foe. In previous remarks I have referred to the great number of British dead on Salisbury Plain as a result of training with the Mills grenade. The natural limitations of human strength make somewhat small the danger zone of a hand-thrown gre-

nade; and if it is made of malleable iron or steel, the thrower himself is within the zone.

All sorts of contrivances have been devised and tried for increasing the range of the hand grenade beyond that possible for the human arm. Even the old catapult has been tried. The Stokes mortar, firing a much larger and more expensive shell, attains a maximum range of about 1,200 yards, but below 400 yards it is not entirely satisfactory. The rifle grenade must suffice for the shorter ranges down to the range of the human arm, about 50 yards. The rifle grenade is much more expensive than the hand grenade. Its use for this purpose subtracts a rifle from the firing line and injures the rifle, besides requiring the use of a special grenade discharger.

The Abbott paper gun seems to cover satisfactorily the range from 400 yards down to 50 yards. I have fired grenades from it and know that they can be fired more than 500 yards. It is readily adjustable to fire any size, make, or kind of hand grenade. Here is one of our service grenades and here one of the Wales impact grenades. The impact grenade when perfected should give the better results, because it obviates the necessity for the time fuse.

The accuracy of this gun is quite remarkable. With a sufficient number of them a temporary barrage can be laid down. The distance thrown is determined by the angle of fire. Knowing the distance, this spirit level [indicating] is set at the required number of degrees indicated on this arc [indicating] and made fast by a set screw. Thereafter it is only necessary to see that the air bubble is in the middle of the glass when the piece is fired in order to reach the target.

The tactical uses of such a weapon may prove to be numerous and very important. One obvious use will suggest itself to everyone. Assume that the enemy trench is 300 yards from our own front-line trench, which is not an unusual distance. A number of these light, simple grenade throwers from our front trench can make life somewhat uncomfortable in the enemy trench.

Another very important use suggests itself. Enemy machine-gun nests are the bane of an advancing force, and often exact very heavy toll. They are the strongest resource of a rear guard, since they are the most difficult to dislodge by the advancing infantry, especially when tanks are not or can not be used. They are often in shell holes where no rifle fire can reach them. If with one of these simple, inexpensive guns a hand grenade can be landed anywhere within the shell holes, it means "taps" for all the occupants. Masonry or concrete "pill boxes" will be required to furnish protection from them.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman permit an interruption?

Mr. TILSON. Yes.

Mr. HICKS. How are these hand grenades propelled out of this gun?

Mr. TILSON. They are propelled by means of a powder charge at the base of this wooden container. The container has the powder charge in the rear and carries the grenade in the front.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. TILSON. Yes.

Mr. KNUTSON. How is it possible to hold the gun sufficiently rigid as to maintain the desired angle?

Mr. TILSON. Oh, almost any sort of a device can be used. In fact, a man can hold it against the ground or against the wall of the trench with his hand as steadily as a rifle, or he can make any sort of a temporary arrangement. A forked stick set to give the right slope would serve the purpose. By observing the air bubble, there is no trouble in holding it at the degree desired.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman permit another question?

Mr. TILSON. Yes.

Mr. HICKS. As the gentleman knows, the Stokes mortar cleans itself at every discharge. Would this clean itself, or would it have to be emptied out or turned inside out?

Mr. TILSON. There is nothing left in the gun. The container and the grenade go out together, separating after leaving the gun.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Connecticut has expired.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may have—how long?

Mr. TILSON. If I am to be asked any questions—and I hope that will occur—I should like to have 10 minutes. Otherwise I should need at least five minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wyoming asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Connecticut may proceed for 10 minutes more. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TILSON. Yes.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Do these go off like the Stokes mortar, by a percussion cap?

Mr. TILSON. No. Attached to the breechblock is an electric battery, and the gun is fired by this means, as I will show to the gentleman a little later on.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TILSON. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. In regard to the grenades that are fired by contact, is there any danger with respect to the force which impels them in firing these grenades causing them to fire prematurely?

Mr. TILSON. No. The safety devices of the impact hand grenade thus far developed are two in number. One is a cotter pin and the other a chain device. The cotter pin is drawn when the grenade is placed in the container. The chain is not removed until it is actually fired from the gun. The grenade is gone before the chain is withdrawn, and there is no danger while it remains in place.

The Wales impact grenade, the use of which I have just described, is now being developed in a form containing a gas check at both ends of the grenade, and made so that it can be fired from the rifle, from this gun, or thrown by hand.

This is not the only size in which this gun can be made. It can be made up to 6 or 8 inches. It can be used to throw gas shells just as well.

The obvious drawback which may render general use of this weapon not practicable is the wooden container with its wire connections and detonator, one of which must go with each grenade. The keeping on hand ready for use a supply of these, although it is a simple, inexpensive affair, may prove to be a serious handicap and prevent its general use as an offensive weapon.

I will show just how the gun is operated, and then gentlemen can judge for themselves. These contact points on the side are very simple affairs, the connections running down to the battery. The wire connections slip right into them. When the grenade is in place the container is dropped into the gun thus [indicating]. It is aimed, with the aid of the spirit level, at the proper angle to reach the target. When so set and ready to fire, all that remains to be done is simply to press the button [indicating] and it does the rest. [The gun fired, throwing a light rubber ball into the rear gallery.]

As you all know, I have followed and studied with considerable zeal and earnestness the development and production of firearms, ammunition, and other war materials since long before we entered the war, and from time to time have endeavored to present to the House in helpful form the results of my labors. For the present, at any rate, this concludes my numerous and somewhat extended series of war-material speeches.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank the membership of the House on both sides of the aisle for so graciously and so frequently yielding me the privilege of the floor and for the helpful and apparently interested attention uniformly given to all my remarks on these subjects. [Applause.]

My thanks are further due to the House for the honor conferred on me a few days ago by the unanimous authorization to have a compilation of all my speeches on arms, ammunition, airplanes, and gas masks printed as a House document.

The heart, soul, and life of every American patriot are now absorbed—yes, submerged—in the supreme effort to end the war by a complete and overwhelming victory. Each of us here is doing what he can toward that end. The matter of having at the several battle fronts an early and adequate supply of the best possible matériel is not only important but it is vitally essential. It is a matter of life or death to thousands, and possibly of victory or defeat in the end. Thus far it has seemed to me that the most effective service that I can render is along this particular line. In doing this work my constant aim and desire have been to do my part here manfully, just as our brave boys "over there" are doing theirs gloriously. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR] is recognized.

HEROISM OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, the presence of 100 brave French soldiers who sat in the galleries a few moments ago and were repeatedly cheered by this House makes a fitting prelude to a short statement I desire to submit on American soldiers of equal bravery and valor.

The pages of history are rich with the record of heroism of American troops, but in this hour of national sacrifice I ask the House to pause for a moment to pay tribute to the heroic living and dead of the gallant Thirty-second Division, American Army, now fighting in Europe, a division that has won its place in history.

Sons of Wisconsin and sons of Michigan who had never faced a gun but were inspired by loyal devotion to their country—these boys are entitled to an honorable place in history side by side with the veteran Wisconsin Iron Brigade that turned the tide of battle at Gettysburg during the dark days of the Civil War.

Censorship prevents giving details that some day will be a glorious page in a chapter filled with heroic deeds. Briefly stated, the Thirty-second Division, composed of the Sixty-third Michigan and Sixty-fourth Wisconsin Brigades of National Guardsmen, was formed at Waco, Tex., and recruited with men from various States until, when landed in France, in February, 1918, it reached approximately 20,000 men.

The division was stationed at various places in France and Alsace until the second battle of the Marne, when it was moved near Chateau-Thierry on the firing line to a point where the marines had fought the enemy to a standstill. Relieving the Third Division of Regulars on this sector, from July 30 to August 5, during seven days of continuous fighting the Thirty-second Division forced back the enemy until, on August 5, the German lines broke and never re-formed until they had fled across the Vesle River, and the city of Fismes was occupied by our boys in the onward march to victory.

Individual heroism that equaled the finest achievements of the Civil War were repeated again and again in that irresistible advance of the Thirty-second Division, described by French officers and German prisoners as the most desperate fighting they had seen during the war, Verdun and the Somme not excepted.

Of that battle Edwin L. James, New York Times war correspondent, says:

> One village changed hands nine times in the bitter contest between these boys from Wisconsin and Michigan and the German Jaegers and Prussian Guards. The title of "Les Terribles" has been bestowed on this division by the French.

Words of praise come from many writers, but one other comment, editorially, from the Chicago Tribune, alone is noted. Under the caption of "Les Terribles," the Tribune says:

> There was something more than gallantry to be credited to the Thirty-second Division, "Les Terribles," as these Wisconsin and Michigan fighters have been dubbed by their astonished French comrades. They have achieved the courage of the new-found republic, these soldiers, most of whom are the sons of German parents. * * * It is fateful that men one generation removed from the baneful influence of junkerdom should wield the sword that is to play such an important part in suppressing it. Their sturdy fathers and mothers in Wisconsin and Michigan are stoutly vindicated in the resolve for liberty, and they may justly take pride in the distinction that their sons are "Les Terribles."

It does not detract from the recognized bravery of other American soldiers or from the exploits of the French, the British, or other allies to praise the living and dead of the Thirty-second Division, because that is their due.

One of the regiments of the old Wisconsin Iron Brigade, which included other State regiments, lost one-half of its effective strength at Gettysburg, and that brigade has been glorified in song and story—it defeated a brave, whipped foe.

The sons and grandsons, the soldiers of this day and age, have maintained the record of their sires, for a company of the Sixty-fourth Brigade from Eau Claire, in my own district, went into action with 178 men on July 30 and came out with 74, while 5 of its 6 lieutenants were killed, wounded, or missing. Company C, of Hudson, which I organized many years ago in my little home city, also entered the battle with a full company and is reported to have come out with 30 men in charge of a mess sergeant. Other companies of the division were led by noncommissioned officers at the close of the final drive with their line officers killed, wounded, or missing.

In the entire division the casualties reached 4,100, or nearly 1 in 4 of those engaged. In the One hundred and twenty-eighth Wisconsin Regiment 750 casualties were reported, or about 1 in 3 of those engaged, while in the One hundred and twenty-seventh Wisconsin Regiment casualties reached 1,445 out of 2,400 men, including 76 per cent of its officers killed, wounded, or missing.

These figures were given me personally in Washington by two different men, both present at the battle. Tests of courage are not determined by losses in battle, but results gained are sometimes an index, and the Thirty-second Division of "Les Terribles," from Wisconsin and Michigan, gained its laurels through seven days of constant fighting midst rain and mud, charging across the open and through woods against machine guns and artillery, occasionally yielding to superior force, but, without faltering, driving on and on until the shock troops of the Thirtieth Prussian Guard were forced back a dozen miles across the Vesle, and our boys gained all their objectives and held them. [Applause.]

AMERICA'S SOLDIERS CAN NOT BE STOPPED.

According to one of the participants in the battle, who told me personally of the fact, a captured German captain who had been in the war since its beginning declared he could not understand how the advance was made in the face of the fire the Germans were directing, but the Thirty-second Division, as its men fell, closed up the ranks and drove on until their flag was carried to the river, and the finest shock troops of the enemy, broken and bewildered, had been captured or driven to the other side.

That is the spirit of the American soldier from every State, and that spirit will win the war.

Adjt. Gen. Holway, of Wisconsin, says that 40 per cent of Wisconsin's troops in that battle were of German parentage, and adds that while others were of Scandinavian, Irish, Polish, and New England blood they were all true American boys first, last, and always. [Applause.]

Let no man engage in cowardly insinuations about the loyalty or bravery of Wisconsin's men, young or old, at any time or place. Those who do so have their own miserable, selfish interests first at heart, and are as false and dangerous to the welfare of this country and of its people as are recognized traitors who receive deserved punishment.

Our soldiers abroad are winning the plaudits of both friend and foe for upholding the flag of their country during this war, as their fathers and their fathers' fathers did before them, and they send word back to us from across the water they have no time for political or lip patriots. Let those political patriots within my State who have declared Wisconsin sought to thwart the military program of the Nation and those who demanded military courts-martial for Wisconsin take heed, for such persistent poison-gas patriots who seek to divide our people will be scorned and scourged by honest men. Let youthful lip patriots who have joined in the same hue and cry now waive exemptions, shoulder their guns, and take the place of Wisconsin's gallant sons who fell at Chateau-Thierry. The service will make them good soldiers and better citizens and give them an understanding of the great debt of gratitude we owe our American boys in France. [Applause.]

BATTLES OF BULLETS AND BALLOTS.

I would conclude these remarks with this brief account of a battle of bullets, wherein the arrogant Hun has been driven back by Wisconsin and Michigan boys, but a further word is necessary regarding arrogant forces in our States and country that masquerade as "loyalists," "patriots," and "security" leaguers, and cover up their real aims by working upon the fears and prejudices of the public at large. Nothing is too sacred and no measures too cowardly for these men to employ when advancing their own selfish interests. The battle of bullets at Chateau-Thierry finds its political counterpart in the battle of ballots just waged in Wisconsin.

In the State primary, the Wall Street profiteering patriots of New York, linked with others of the same brand in Wisconsin, assumed their announced task of preserving the Nation's patriotism. In this effort they brought into the campaign all of the 100 per cent personal enemies of my colleagues from Wisconsin, reenforced by all the old machine-gun politicians, profiteering patriots, and a fine line of ambitious, shock-proof candidates, all attacking under a "loyalty" camouflage. For ammunition they used carloads of misrepresentation, poison-gas slanders, and alternated appeals to prejudice and patriotism that found lodgment in the minds of men who had not the time to investigate if they had the inclination to ascertain the truth. My colleague, Mr. COOPER, has presented for your inspection a sample of cowardly slanders put forth against him.

Mr. Speaker, an insolent letter received by Representatives in Congress from the "Security" League of New York, with an impudent questionnaire, comes from an organization that has prostituted the name "Americanism" in its efforts to defeat Congressmen. Its letterhead carries the names of Elihu Root and Alton B. Parker to give character. I will not discuss undenied public reports that one of its sponsors hired a substitute during the Civil War and his Americanism may be measured by the price paid for that service.

Mr. COX. What is the name of that man?

Mr. FREAR. I will not discuss that now. His name is known to the country.

Another sponsor for this libelous league was snowed under in a popular election a few years ago by over two and one-half million voters because of his alleged subserviency to Wall Street and on a platform demanding "a reduction of the Army," which then numbered about 25,000 men.

This is no time for recrimination, but the days are too critical for a selfish, war-profiteering league to denounce as "disloyal" practically 90 per cent of the membership of this House who have been praised by the President in repeated messages for their patriotism, and to traduce 47 of the 48 States. That charge against the President would lodge the slanderers in Leavenworth. Against the Supreme Court it would mean criminal-contempt proceedings. Directed against a coordinate branch of the Government, a part of the greatest legislative body in the world, during these hours of national stress and peril, it invites active prosecutions by the Attorney General's department.

No one charge since the beginning of the war has given more aid and comfort to the enemy than the infamous libel that this House individually or collectively is 90 per cent disloyal for voting its convictions, under its oath of office, either prior to or since the declaration of war. The jurisdiction of the House as to its own membership is supreme, and ino rder that the election activities of this league may be reached I have offered a resolution of inquiry, which I send to the Clerk's desk to have read:

House Resolution 435.

Whereas the National Security League, a self-constituted political body, has given to the press of the country an infamous screed wherein practically 90 per cent of the Representatives of the House are publicly branded before the world as disloyal men; and

Whereas the National Security League has caused to be widely published a statement of self-determined percentages of patriotism, computed under its authority, wherein 47 States of the Union are rated disloyal, based on such votes and computations; and

Whereas charges have been publicly made that this "league" has expended large sums of money, reaching $1,000,000 or more, in carrying on its propaganda, and in its active efforts to defeat Members of Congress under a cloak of "loyalty" and that such expenditures are made contrary to the Federal corrupt-practices act; and

Whereas said "league" has been publicly charged with being composed of and financed by war profiteers living in New York and elsewhere and inspired by corrupt purposes unrelated to loyalty.

Resolved, That the Judiciary Committee of the House be empowered and instructed to bring before it the officers and directors of the National Security League and such members and witnesses as may have knowledge of its activities and ascertain what efforts have been made to improperly influence the election or defeat of Representatives in Congress, the persons contributing to such funds, the amount of such contributions, and purposes for which contributed and expended, together with all violations of the corrupt-practices act affecting election expenditures and all other proper information. That the committee is authorized and empowered to issue subpœnas, swear and examine witnesses, and to procure all documents bearing upon the matters referred to, and to employ needed stenographers and clerks in the prosecution of such inquiry.

The "Security League" flag waved by Elihu Root and acting patriot Alton Parker, of Wall Street, carries a political skull and crossbones ostensibly over eight barred votes in Congress, of which six are prior to the war, and become the "Security" League's test of loyalty. The character and effect of these votes it brazenly misrepresents. Only 47 Members of Congress, according to the profiteering patriots of Wall Street, out of over 400 Members are strictly pure men, fit to stand with Root and Parker, and of the 47 perfect patriots only 4 are Democrats. All of the remaining 350 Members of Congress, or more, are subjected to poisoned-gas attacks from this "league" through the public press.

CONGRESS DOES NOT REPORT TO WALL STREET.

Our honored Speaker, CHAMP CLARK, can not wear the cross carried by the Root-Parker Wall Street patriots, because he and all the rest of the Missouri delegation fail in the "acid test" which has been published far and wide by a sensational press. Neither can the league's tin cross be tied on Leaders KITCHIN nor MANN, nor LENROOT, nor MOORE, nor DENT, nor DIES, nor FORDNEY, nor FITZGERALD, nor FOSTER; they do not measure up with patriots Root and Parker. The Wall Street published blacklist includes RAINEY and DOREMUS, official bell weathers; and SISSON and STEPHENS, of Mississippi; and SHALLENBERGER and STEPHENS, of Nebraska; and CAMPBELL, of Kansas. FERRIS and FESS, our national chairmen, are both unpatriotic according to Wall Street profiteers, who include also in the procribed list KITCHIN, and KAHN, and KENT, and KINKAID, and KETTNER, and KEATING, and KNUTSON, and KING, and KINCHELOE. LEVER and HAUGEN get the hook. MOON is under a cloud, CHURCH can not get across, and CROSSER gets nowhere. What is in a name when GOOD is in bad. DOOLITTLE does too much, WISE belies his name, STERLING is spurious, RUBEY off color, and GREENE, BROWNE, WHITE, and BLACK are termed yellow by the Root-Parker Wall Street patriots? [Laughter.]

Judges CRISP, BYRNS and BYRNES and BURNETT are roasted to a turn, while CANDLER, of the Tombigbee; both HULLS, of Tennessee and Iowa; hard-hitting HUDDLESTON, LANGLEY, MEEKER, DECKER, DYER, RODENBERG, and REAVIS, all patriotic orators and statesmen; and GARRETT, SAUNDERS, STAFFORD, SIMS, TOWNER, TEMPLE, and ESCH, parliamentarians and efficient legislators of recognized fame, with 300 other Representatives in Congress, all fall by the wayside in their Americanism.

According to the Root-Parker Insecurity League of Wall Street, the only State with a perfect loyalty record is Rhode Island, the smallest. All the remaining 47 States are "disloyal," according to this arrogant league. [Laughter.] Wyoming is wrong 75 per cent, according to these tin-cross patriots, because, in their opinion, MONDELL, the whole delegation, is three-fourths imperfect. Nevada is 50–50 American because of Representative ROBERTS, and Texas as 66.67 per cent, or almost exactly two-thirds, bad. Missouri, the home of our distinguished Speaker, is rated 50–50 per cent disloyal by Root and Parker, and Pennsylvania is mathematically 31.94 per cent un-American. California, the home of KAHN, gets the bad rating of 43.86 per cent; Colorado, the home of KEATING, is 78.12 below loyalty freezing point [laughter]; and Wisconsin is 70 per cent under par. North Carolina, with WEBB, SMALL, and KITCHIN, is found to be 56.25 per cent unpatriotic, and Iowa, that gave to her country many of the famous Rainbow Division, is precisely 64.77 per cent disloyal. New York, the home of the only Root and only Parker and only "Security" League, is 150,000 per cent bad and hopeless, because that figure represents Hylan's enormous majority in the "loyalty" fight made against him by the Root-Parker league. [Laughter.] New York's batting average in Washington, when removed from Root and Parker's patriotic influence, is fixed at only 15.11 per cent disloyal.

North Dakota is rated as 79.16 per cent hopeless, while Indiana, the migratory home of Marshall, Vice President and patriotic exemplar, is knocked down as a cheap patriotic substitute at 52.88 per cent of the real thing. Illinois hits the cellar stairs with all of its 27 Representatives excepting Foss, but including CANNON, MADDEN, and MANN, and assays 39.81 per cent disloyal; and Ohio, the State of Presidents Hayes, Garfield, and McKinley, and of Gen. SHERWOOD, GARD and LONGWORTH, is plastered over by the Root-Parker league with 55.67 per cent disloyalty mud.

Mr. PLATT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. Yes; for a question.

Mr. PLATT. There is no disloyalty in the charge of the Security League.

Mr. FREAR. When they figure up the percentage of loyalty and Americanism there is a distinct charge of disloyalty, and New York is one of the worst, measured by the result of Hylan's election when he snowed under the Root-Parker League. [Laughter and applause.]

These are the official figures given to the press of the country, to our allies, and to the Kaiser by the Wall Street profiteering patriots. By careful computation they have ascertained only 47 Congressmen are fit company for a league that indicts the House of Representatives and all the States excepting Rhode Island.

WALL STREET LEAGUE ENTERS WISCONSIN PRIMARIES.

The league's activities were felt in the recent Wisconsin primaries where three of my colleagues received the double cross from the league instead of the tin article, and less than 200 votes out of approximately 20,000 votes cast in each of the three districts spelt defeat in each case. In other words, between 49 and 50 per cent of the voters in three Wisconsin districts, whose boys were yet fighting near Chateau-Thierry, gave their support to my colleagues—COOPER, NELSON, and CARY—but the Root and Parker poison was enough to deceive and defeat them. Three-cornered fights were variously interpreted, but where thousands of Democrats were urged by insecurity leagues at home and abroad to help defeat my colleagues in Republican primaries, the result is easily explained. In Mr. NELSON'S district and in others not 10 per cent of the Democratic vote was saved with which to qualify the Democratic candidate, because all participated in Republican primaries.

A brief word regarding the harvest of hate fostered and garnered by the political and business patriots who thus seek to determine the loyalty and Americanism of Congress and of the country, measured by their own yardsticks: With headquarters in New York City, they were whipped out of their boots while trying to defeat Hylan in a Democratic scrap on the "loyalty" issue. He won out by 150,000 majority, although $2,000,000 was spent to defeat him, and practically every New York paper opposed him. The next league fight was against LENROOT in the Wisconsin senatorial election. Although aided by the Democratic administration, the verdict went to LENROOT by a people who are as patriotic as any in the country. In the Minnesota primaries four Members were marked for defeat, but when returns came in it was discovered VAN DYKE, a Democrat, had been unopposed; two Republicans, DAVIS and KNUTSON, won out overwhelmingly against their "loyalty" opponents by a combined plurality of 18,000; and the fourth Member was defeated in a many-cornered fight. Iowa returned every man who was opposed on the "loyalty" issue excepting one, who patriot-

ically stuck on the job at Washington, and thus gave his detractors a clear field.

In Nebraska with a 75 per cent disloyal insecurity league estimate no opposition could be aroused and all Members were returned, so far as the "loyalty" issue was concerned. In Wisconsin three Members were unopposed, three were renominated over three security league perfect patriots, and three were defeated by close votes, running from 79 to 180, or less than one-half of 1 per cent of the vote cast.

In Illinois all of the Representatives proscribed by the Wall Street tin-cross decorators won renominations. The only one who failed was a solitary Member the insecurity league approved. I have made no effort to present a list of those who have been renominated over the dishonest and wickedly false issue which attracted political profiteers in many districts, but it is safe to say that 90 per cent of the proscribed Members are renominated. The country repudiated the infamous charge of disloyalty, but such libelous charges can not be made without corresponding responsibilities.

What the country has a right to know is why the Root-Parker political patriots of New York made these charges and why they failed to oppose leading Democratic Congressmen like KITCHIN and SHERWOOD and VAN DYKE, who voted against war, and yet struck at LENROOT's loyalty. They attacked LENROOT in the senatorial campaign with bitter and malicious falsehoods and dishonest half truths, but now sheathe their poisoned arrows when Ford runs for Democratic Senator in Michigan with the President's approval. Yet Ford was the leader of the pacifists before war was declared.

Mr. MEEKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. For a question.

Mr. MEEKER. I have written the Security League asking them why socialism is rampant in New York and dead in Missouri. Can the gentleman explain that?

Mr. FREAR. These men in New York are making socialism popular by reason of their own arrogance. I thank the gentleman.

The political patriots violently assailed my colleague, Mr. COOPER, with his 26 years of honorable legislative service, as he related to the House last week, and yet the public slanderers remained silent as to Mr. KITCHIN, who happens to be equally distinguished and equally proscribed, but is a Democrat.

They fired all their heavy artillery at my colleague Mr. NELSON, who has two sons in service, and they sent a cloud of poisoned gas into my own district when my only son was yet under fire with the Thirty-second Division near Chateau-Thierry. Yet these political patriots and purveyors of slander made no move to defeat VAN DYKE, a good Democrat, across the river from my district in Minnesota, although his votes were cast with mine, and Minnesota was published by these libelers of States as being 63.75 per cent disloyal.

I am not criticizing those of the opposite party who escape the direct attacks of the poison-gas profiteers with headquarters in New York and branch offices in Milwaukee and elsewhere. My Democratic friends are as loyal as Root or Parker, even though only three Democrats of the House are recommended for the insecurity league's cross. But I call attention to the fact that these New York superpatriots dare not oppose Ford, KITCHIN, SHERWOOD, VAN DYKE, or others, because if so the administration would tear off their hypocritical masks. So they expect to snipe away in close Republican districts of the North in November and parade their efforts while posing in the limelight. An adjunct of Democracy in Wisconsin, Indiana, New Hampshire, New York, Maine, Minnesota, and throughout the North, their poisoned-gas machines appear to be spiked against Democrats, North or South. No political post-mortem is here proposed, but the approaching general election fixes attention on the methods of these Wall Street patriots who are now aiding the administration's efforts to capture the next Senate and House.

Mr. BURNETT. I believe that President Taft is one of the several vice presidents of the Security League.

Mr. FREAR. No; his name is not mentioned. The gentleman from Alabama and I are rated by the Root and Parker crowd as un-American, with 350 other Members of Congress. There is no politics in this; they reject all excepting 43 Republicans and 4 Democrats. I ask to investigate these investigators and promise interesting results.

They seek, apparently, to divide Republicans in the North and next to defeat the nominees. No opposition occurs in the South. Poison-gas attacks are made under a "loyalty" cloak, and as an evidence of the method of base misrepresentation put forth in Wisconsin—too late for reply—I offer a malicious folder, similar to that put forth in many other districts, circulated in my own district a week before the primary, entitled "FREAR's record in Congress." The people of the district repudiated the folder and its authors by an overwhelming vote, but that in no way affects the necessity for exposing its half truths and general falsity, which are a fair sample of attacks in other districts.

FALSE CHARGES AGAINST FREAR'S RECORD IN CONGRESS.

The first charge reads, "An abuse of the franking privilege." This charge, also made in other districts, is based upon a brief four-page statement when defending my legislative record and exposing my detractors. A few men met in my district, inspired by the Root-Parker type of patriots, and, acting under a hypocritical cloak of superloyalty, criticized my votes in Congress. The same charge was repeated by two or three papers of the district. Compelled to remain in Washington because of official duties here, the only way to acquaint my constituents with the falsity of charges against my record was by giving an immediate and correct statement of facts in reply. No intelligent critic questions this personal right and privilege or that the leave to print was properly granted by the House, as in thousands of cases, or the rule under which granted. Time has been generously given me by the House in debates and general discussion, but where 400 Members are equally entitled to the floor, limited time necessitated the rule for extending remarks in matters of similar character.

The remarks were printed at my own expense and sent out as all other remarks are sent. Only petty dishonest opposition would misrepresent the parliamentary practice or House rule or fact that I fully complied with all, as shown by the record. I have endeavored to actively help in saving a hundred million dollars or more through the defeat or reduction of wasteful bills in Congress, and no honest critic believes I would seek to save a few dollars postage in sending out matter not strictly frankable. If so, the remedy is plain by presenting the matter to the House.

Two or three petty newspapers have repeated the false charge about franking privileges by Congressmen. Our constituents have a right to know our attitude on public questions and national legislation, but I do not care to defend a wise law or proper practice at this time. I do desire to call attention to the fact not generally known that newspapers known as "publications of the second class" are carried by the Government through the mails free of charge to all subscribers residing in the county where published, under section 433, postal laws.

Without that privilege thousands of weekly papers would be compelled to suspend, because their subscribers would not pay the additional postage. The average small weekly probably averages 52,000 copies annually which are carried in the mails free of charge throughout the year. This loss or expense to the Government contributes largely toward the $70,000,000 annual shortage in second-class postage revenues.

Carriage at expense of the Government of these papers must be justified, if at all, on grounds of educational value; but constant misrepresentation and slanders week after week by unscrupulous scribblers, in papers carried free by the Government, is neither educational nor just to the people. When such men question the franking privilege given Congress and yet owe their own livelihood to free carriage daily or weekly by the Government of their papers, their dishonesty and hypocrisy merit public contempt.

The "first" charge contained in the folder on the war record is that I voted against the McLemore resolution in 1916, long before war was declared. KITCHIN, MANN, CANNON, LENROOT, and 138 other patriotic Members voted against tabling the resolution. GRAY, KEATING, KENT, and other Democrats so voted and were praised and supported by the President, who yet bitterly criticized LENROOT for voting the same way. That vote was cast back in 1916, and later that same year I was elected by 14,000 majority. The charge as made is a deliberate, dishonest effort to misrepresent the character of the resolution, the effect of the vote, and the purpose of those so voting.

The "fourth" charge, that I voted against war, again includes Leader KITCHIN, Gen. SHERWOOD, VAN DYKE, and other Democrats and Republicans who had no opposition in the recent primaries. Washington, Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd-George, and other national leaders of this and other countries could be equally assailed if this charge is tenable and would be debarred from wearing the Root-Parker cross of tin. Henry Ford, leader of the pacifists, now finds Executive approval, although his pre-war record was based on financing peace measures to prevent war. These facts are concealed and the charge is willfully distorted.

The "fifth" charge, that "FREAR voted against conscription," is unqualifiedly false. With Speaker CLARK, Leader KITCHIN, and over a hundred other Members, I voted to permit volunteering, but the provision recommended by the committee

gave the President power to conscript if he found it necessary to do so. I voted for the amended conscription bill after the volunteer provision was stricken out, and voted for the completed bill. This libel is continuously reiterated by Security League slanderers in the name of "patriotism."

The "ninth" charge says that "FREAR led the fight to eliminate the nitrate provision, a most important measure." The last part of the statement again is willfully false and mendacious.

I am here credited with leading the fight against the Muscle Shoals $20,000,000 private water-power joker contained in a bill before the war. The purpose of the fight was to prevent an enormous steal from the Federal Treasury under a false pretense, and the entire Congress, House and Senate, was equally responsible for results because, when the fraud was exposed, it was stricken from the bill and kept out by both the Houses of Congress. Instead of receiving credit for preventing the steal, these profiteering patriots in New York and Wisconsin abuse me.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. Yes; certainly.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman understands that only within the last few weeks the War Department has declared that the dam at Muscle Shoals is a nonessential and ordered work suspended during the course of the war.

Mr. FREAR. I thank the gentleman; he really led in the last fight against the Muscle Shoals proposition this session, although both of us voted for the proposition rather than be put in the light of voting against a war measure.

Mr. LONGWORTH. We voted for every measure for making nitrates, but we voted against establishing a water-power site that we knew could not be used within four years.

Mr. FREAR. The gentleman from Ohio is correct.

The same lying folder next says of charges in court made against L. B. Nagler:

Mr. FREAR testified that Nagler's reputation for loyalty was good. The jury did not agree with Mr. FREAR'S idea of loyalty and promptly found Mr. Nagler guilty.

Again the cowardly authors of the folder sought to prejudice minds at the eleventh hour by a malicious lie uttered knowingly, too late for reply. The undisputed facts are that the Federal court subpœnaed Justice Owen, of the State supreme court, Secretary of State Hull, State Treasurer Johnson, and myself to testify regarding Mr. Nagler's reputation "prior to the charges contained in the indictment." Mr. Nagler had been assistant secretary of state under three secretaries for a period covering many years, and all testified his reputation was good at the time covered by the question so far as known. I was singled out by a blackmailing folder that unsuccessfully sought to prejudice votes as to my loyalty by misrepresenting my testimony. This was done in the name of "patriotism." Other false charges in the folder and half truths issued at the last moment and circulated by my opponents through the district were too late to answer. In the primary the voters repudiated the folder and the character assassins who helped in its circulation, and I carried seven out of the nine counties with over 4,000 plurality over my nearest opponent, with a good vote over all, and received the largest indorsement ever given by my home county in all my years of public life. I am content with the verdict.

My reply to poisoned-gas attacks is that since the declaration of war I have voted for every measure passed by Congress, over 100 in number, for the prosecution of the war, and shall continue to do so. My Americanism may be measured by the fact that my father, his father before him, my only son, and I have each worn Uncle Sam's uniform in actual service, and I am ready to do so again if need be. Political and business war profiteers may misrepresent, and powerful organizations acting under a cloak of "loyalty" may deceive, but Congress and the States will not be made the creatures of any Root-Parker league so long as the people rule.

Mr. Speaker, I have no desire to revamp issues when once decided, but, while I have no fears personally of the result in November, I can not remain silent when the poison-gas brigade in New York, Milwaukee, and in my own district assails my Americanism.

Loyalty to our country is universal with men on both sides of the aisle in this House, and some of the kindest words of encouragement that have come to me since the Wisconsin primary are from Democratic friends. We are united in the effort to win the war, and all are supporting the President in that resolve. Efforts to revive the Kaiser bugaboo will mislead no one, because at the present moment the Kaiser is kept busy with other pressing matters over there and can not be worked overtime over here for the coming elections. Lip patriots and poison-gas leagues have no place in politics at this time. After the war is over the greatest legislative problems that have confronted the country for a half century must be decided. The people will register their will in November based upon the political, economic, and constructive records of men and of parties, and they know that a united Congress and country will support the war to a victorious conclusion, for in that purpose there can be no division. [Applause.]

APPENDIX.

Bearing on the loyalty of and substantial service rendered by Congress, I submit the estimate of two distinguished statesmen—one the President of the United States; the other a man who came near reaching that same goal, but who is equally great as the able Presiding Officer of the House of Representatives of the United States.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S STATEMENT.

The Sixty-fifth Congress, now adjourning, deserves the gratitude and appreciation of a people whose will and purpose I believe it has faithfully expressed. One can not examine the record of its action without being impressed by its completeness, its courage, and its full comprehension of a great task. The needs of the Army and the Navy have been met in a way that assures the effectiveness of American arms, and the war-making branch of the Government has been abundantly equipped with the powers that were necessary to make the action of the Nation effective.

I believe that it has also in equal degree, and as far as possible in the face of war, safeguarded the rights of the people and kept in mind the consideration of social justice, so often obscured in the hasty readjustments of such a crisis.

It seems to me that the work of this remarkable session has not only been done thoroughly, but that it has also been done with the utmost dispatch possible in the circumstances or consistent with a full consideration of the exceedingly critical matters dealt with. Best of all, it has left no doubt as to the spirit and determination of the country, but has affirmed them as loyally and as emphatically as our fine soldiers will affirm them on the firing line.

SPEAKER CLARK'S STATEMENT TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, I congratulate you on the ending of the most important session of Congress in the history of the Republic. The amount of business that we have transacted is absolutely amazing and stupendous. I think every Member of this House has contributed all that was in him to the support of the Government of the United States in this great emergency. So far as I have been able to observe—and I have observed very closely—partisan politics have been temporarily banished from this House.

I think every man has given the utmost of patriotism to his service here. I doubt very much whether any other Congress from now until the day of judgment will ever vote as much money in one session as we have voted; I hope not. Every dollar that the departments have asked, or the President has made it appear they needed, they have got, and the Sixty-fifth Congress has deserved well of the country.

THE JUDGES AND THEIR INSPIRATION.

Eight measures to determine the loyalty of Congressmen and of the States, used by the defender of Boss Tweed, and a discredited presidential aspirant who ran on a party platform in 1904 favoring a "reduction of the Army." No. 1. Tabling the McLemore resolution, March 7, 1916. No. 2. Kahn amendment to the committee Army bill, April 18, 1916. No. 3. Brandegee Senate amendment to the Army bill, April 18, 1916. No. 4. Providing for a volunteer reserve under Federal control. April 13, 1916. No. 5. To recommit naval bill, June 2, 1916. No. 6. Amendment as to American ships carrying arms or ammunition—all before war. No. 7. Declaration of War, April 5, 1917. No. 8. Kahn amendment on conscription, April 23, 1917.

THE INSOLENT QUESTIONNAIRE.

The "Security" League gets whatever standing it has obtained from its two "honorary presidents." Its "congressional committee chairman," who finds Chairmen FERRIS and FESS lacking in Americanism, speaking for patriots Root and Parker, says to every candidate for Congress, the questionnaire will be given "country-wide publicity," thanks to a security-league controlled press that has lampooned Congress in the past and is confidently expected to continue that task of "patriotism."

[Elihu Root, honorary president; Alton B. Parker, honorary vice-president; Charles E. Lydecker, president; Henry L. West, executive secretary. Telephone, Murray Hill 9145.]

THE NATIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE (INC.),
CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE,
New York, September 18, 1918.

DEAR SIR: We take the liberty of handing you inclosed two blank forms of a "questionnaire" which is being submitted to every official candidate for Congress and to which we trust you will reply in due course.

In sending this to you it is proper that we should explain that the work of this committee is a strictly nonpartisan endeavor to assist in the election to Congress of candidates whose Americanism is unquestioned and who possess the character, ability, and capacity that qualify them for the office.

This committee does not set itself up as a judge of candidates. Its scope is merely to record and publish facts and to do so according to well-defined principles and rules from which there will be no deviation in favor of or against any individual or of any party.

A digest of the replies to the "questionnaire" will be given country-wide publicity.

Very truly, yours,

CHAS. D. ORTH,
Chairman Congressional Committee.

[Elihu Root, honorary president; Alton B. Parker, honorary vice president; Charles E. Lydecker, president; Henry L. West, executive secretary. Telephone, Murray Hill 9145.]

THE NATIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE (INC.),
19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE (CHARLES D. ORTH, CHAIRMAN).

QUESTIONNAIRE.

The work of this committee is strictly nonpartisan.

This questionnaire is being addressed to the nominees to Congress of every party. The replies will be carefully examined and compiled for publication.

Two blanks are sent to enable candidates to preserve a copy of their reply.

If replies are not received within a period equal to mail time plus 10 days, it will be regarded as a declination to respond, in which case the committee will send copies of the questionnaire to friends and opponents of the candidate for the purpose of securing the best available data.

1. Name.
2. Residence address.
3. Business address.
4. Present occupation.
5. Occupations for the past 15 years.
6. What public offices previously held?
7. (a) What has been the candidate's position since July, 1914, on preparedness?
   (b) In what way is the candidate directly on record as expressing these views?
   (c) Is the candidate's present position the same as given in answer to (a)?
8. (a) What was the candidate's viewpoint about the United States entering the war prior to the declaration of war, April 5, 1917?
   (b) What record exists embodying these views?
   (c) Have the candidate's views since changed regarding the participation of the United States in the war?
9. Will the candidate pledge himself to be an advocate of peace with victory—by which is meant a vigorous prosecution of the war until Germany, Austria, and Turkey concede the claims of the allies?
10. By what achievements in politics, business, or professional life has the candidate demonstrated his ability to cope with the problems of the Nation?
11. What other views or policies regarding the war and reconstruction does the candidate advocate?

Please reply to questions 1 to 6 in the spaces provided above.

Replies to questions 7 to 11 should be made in the blank spaces on pages 2, 3, and 4; please number each reply to correspond to the question.

CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES OF THE "LEAGUE."

A congressional investigation of membership of the "Root-Parker league," its contributors, contributions, and expenditures, will disclose the truth or falsity of an oft-repeated statement that the league is financed by war profiteers, including especially munition makers, and that the object of attacks is not related to patriotism.

The purpose of the resolution introduced, primarily, is to ascertain whether charges made by the league, that would be criminal if made against the President, and grounds of impeachment if made against the Supreme Court, are not equally grounds of contempt when made against a coordinate branch of the Government by an ex-United States Republican Senator and a disappointed Democratic politician, whose own past records would be of service in determining purity of intentions.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for three minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent to address the House for three minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to read a letter which I received this morning from an esteemed constituent. It is as follows:

NORTH ADAMS, MASS., *September 20, 1918.*

Hon. ALLEN T. TREADWAY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE DEAR SIR: Inclosed you will find circular and letter to me from the Review of Reviews Co., seeking subscription for the magazine, and offering 2,000 Questions and Answers About the War as a premium. I understand that this book is full of German propaganda; and if it is so, why does not the Government suppress such work, which is conducted through the mail?

Yours, truly, ——— ———.

The circular letter from the magazine Review of Reviews contains an extract from the volume. It contains an indorsement by Mr. George Creel, the chairman of the Committee on Public Information, of the volume which, I understand, later he found it wise to withdraw. But be that as it may, it seems to me such a propaganda as this ought to be called to the attention of the proper postal authorities in order that our mail shall not be used for such purposes. I submit the letter I have received for the purpose of calling it to the attention of the department in this way.

Mr. DECKER. Will the gentleman give us the date of the letter?

Mr. TREADWAY. September 20.

Mr. DECKER. I mean of the circular.

Mr. TREADWAY. It has no date; it bears the postmark of New York. The envelope contains the question, "Did the Germans warn the passengers on the *Lusitania?*" a very inappropriate question to attract the attention of persons receiving it in the mail.

Mr. DECKER. I would like to state for the gentleman's benefit that at least two weeks ago the Review of Reviews stopped the publication of that book, and that fact has been announced in all the newspapers of the country. The Government stopped it at least two weeks ago.

Mr. TREADWAY. The publication of the book may have been stopped; I know nothing as to that, but it is being circulated at the present time, and evidence is submitted here to that effect.

Mr. DECKER. I would state with due respect that that is the reason I wanted the gentleman to state the date of the letter. I think the gentleman has been sent a letter at least two weeks old.

Mr. TREADWAY. I doubt that, but if it is two weeks old, it is the fault of the Post Office Department in not dating their mail when they stamp it. This bears the postmark of New York City, and if the envelope is not new, it certainly ought to show when it was put in the mail by the Review of Reviews. The Post Office Department is at fault in allowing the circulation of such a publication at any time. It is my opinion that my constituent sent me the circular as soon as he received it.

TRADE-MARKS AND COMMERCIAL NAMES.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to submit a unanimous-consent request to have a rereference of the bill (S. 4889) from the Committee on Patents to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. I made this request once before. This is a department bill and was introduced in the Senate and also in the House and was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in the House and to the Committee on Commerce in the Senate.

The SPEAKER. What is the bill about?

Mr. SIMS. It is a bill with reference to putting into effect provisions of the treaty with respect to trade-marks and patents in South American countries. The gentleman from New York, chairman of the Committee on Patents [Mr. CHARLES B. SMITH], is present. I have spoken to him about the matter, and he has no objection to this request.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to have the gentleman from New York make a statement in respect to the matter.

Mr. CHARLES B. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, this bill was originally introduced by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] and was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. That committee considered the bill for some time. The bill was passed by the Senate, and it was sent to his committee. Under the circumstances, as chairman of the Committee on Patents, I have no objection to having the Senate bill sent to the same committee, which has considered an identical House bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. GOOD. To submit a unanimous-consent request. I ask unanimous consent that I may have the privilege of addressing the House to-morrow for 20 minutes immediately after the reading of the Journal.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, I make the same request, that I may have 20 minutes after the gentleman from Iowa to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa asks leave to address the House for 20 minutes after the reading of the Journal and the cleaning up of business on the Speaker's table. Is there objection?

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, if it is in order, we want to take up the emergency power bill. There has already been a rule reported, and I do not want to make a unanimous-consent agreement——

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to this request?

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, there is another bill that has a privileged status coming up before the power bill. The rule is ready, so I serve notice on the gentleman——

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

Mr. SIMS. I object, if it delays either one of these bills.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can not make a conditional objection. It is either yes or no.

Mr. SIMS. Then I object, for the first time in my life.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee objects. The gentleman from Alabama wanted to speak after the speech of

the gentleman from Iowa, and of the gentleman from Iowa can not get to speak the gentleman from Alabama——

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my request if the gentlemen want to take up this legislation. I just wanted an opportunity to reply to what the gentleman from Iowa might say if he spoke.

Mr. GOOD. I desire to speak on the subject of campaign contributions.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's request has already been objected to.

Mr. GOOD. May I ask who objected to the request?

Mr. SIMS. I objected solely on the ground it would defer action on this bill. I have no other objection to the gentleman speaking.

Mr. GOOD. The gentleman will lose more than 20 minutes on the other bill.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the objection.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I object, then.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri objects.

Mr. DYER. I object to the request of the gentleman from Alabama and also to that of the gentleman from Iowa.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama has not preferred any request and that is surplusage.

Mr. DYER. Then I withdraw my objection.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Missouri withdraw his objection?

Mr. DYER. I withdraw it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the gentleman from Iowa speaking?

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object——

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I object, and I am going to stand hitched to it.

STIMULATION OF AGRICULTURE.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 11945) with Senate amendments.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi moves that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the Senate amendments to the bill (H. R. 11945).

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. And pending that motion I want to arrive, if I can, at some agreement with reference to general debate.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the title of the bill first.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (H. R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products."

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. I would like to ask the gentleman from Iowa what he suggests in reference to general debate on these amendments?

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Speaker, we have several requests, and we think we should have an hour and a half on this side, at least. The requests are coming in pretty rapidly here, and I think we had better have at least two hours on this side.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. It looks to me like we ought to get along with an hour on a side in reference to this matter in general debate. There are a good many amendments to be considered.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object——

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. I have not preferred a request; we are trying to arrive at something on which to base a request for time.

Mr. KAHN. I understand that.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has not made any request; he is trying to make a request.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. I was trying to get some basis upon which to make the request.

The SPEAKER. What is the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. In order that we may get some basis to arrive at, I will suggest an hour on a side.

Mr. SABATH. What do I understand by an hour on a side?

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. An hour on this side and an hour on that side for the purpose of general debate.

Mr. SABATH. Where will we on this side who are opposed to the bill receive our time?

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. We will endeavor to take care of you gentlemen on this side.

Mr. SABATH. We are against the bill.

Mr. HAUGEN. We have a number of gentlemen on this side who desire time, and they would have to be cut down considerably. The gentleman is aware of what took place here a minute ago; and with some speakers to-morrow, in order to expedite the passage of this bill——

Mr. LEVER. I suggest to the gentleman from Iowa that this side has very little requests for time; most of it comes from the other side. It seems to me that we might get along with an hour and a half. What does the gentleman think of an hour and a half; will that be sufficient?

Mr. HAUGEN. I have requests for more than two hours, and I think they are entitled to it. I do not think we could get through with any shorter time.

Mr. MONDELL. I think the gentleman will expedite the passage of his bill by allowing liberal time for debate.

Mr. GALLAGHER. The gentleman ought to find out who is for and against and divide the time that way. This is a matter we are all interested in. This side and that side the gentleman says is trying to divide the time. What does the gentleman mean by that?

Mr. HAUGEN. There are a number of questions involved. I take it Members will be for a number of amendments and against others, and that it will be impossible to divide the time in that way, but we ought to give sufficient time.

Mr. LEVER. I will say to the gentleman from Illinois he has in mind one amendment of the Senate, but there are thirty-odd amendments there.

Mr. GALLAGHER. That is the most important amendment that I have in mind.

Mr. SABATH. You mean the confiscation amendment?

The SPEAKER. Has the gentleman any request to make. All of this talk is out of order.

Mr. LEVER. I suggest to the gentleman from Iowa that we take an hour and a half on a side.

Mr. HAUGEN. I can not possibly get through with that. If I can get through with two hours, that is the very best I can do.

Mr. CANNON. Do you propose to have some debate under the five-minute rule?

Mr. LEVER. It would be in order to have debate under the five-minute rule.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, there are many important Senate amendments to this bill, as the gentleman has just suggested. The debate will apply to some extent to a number of those amendments. The prohibition amendment is a very important one, but there are other amendments to the bill that gentlemen desire to discuss, and altogether they will take a considerable amount of time, and I am sure that at least two hours will be needed on this side of the Hall by gentlemen for and against it.

I assume, of course, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN], if he has charge of the time, will divide the time equitably and fair on this side, as I am sure it will be so divided on that side. Two hours on a side, or at least two hours on this side, is about the least time in which the matter could be disposed of.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Will it be largely confined to the amendments to this bill or to other matters?

Mr. MONDELL. Altogether to this bill.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, then I ask unanimous consent that general debate be fixed at four hours, two hours to be controlled by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN] and two hours to be controlled by myself on this side.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER] asks unanimous consent that general debate be confined to four hours, two hours to be controlled by himself and two hours by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN].

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to know if part of the two hours to be controlled by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER] will be divided among those who are opposed to some of the amendments in the bill?

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. It will be divided equitably in consideration of the number of amendments that are pending. As stated by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER] awhile ago, there are thirty and odd amendments here. We can not allot any great part of the time to the discussion of one amendment when there are a great many other amendments.

Mr. SABATH. I appreciate that. Nevertheless, there is one amendment which is of great importance, which attempts to eliminate and confiscate millions and millions of dollars worth of property.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I call for the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is, Is there objection to the request of the gentleman fom South Carolina [Mr. LEVER] for four hours general debate, two hours on a side?

Mr. DYER. Unless I can obtain some information from the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN], I shall be compelled to object.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. DYER. I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri objects. The question is on going into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

The question was taken, and the Speaker announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I demand a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 109, noes 11.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point there is no quorum present.

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of no quorum.

The SPEAKER. Two gentlemen, one from Missouri and one from New York, make the point of no quorum, and evidently there is none.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify the absentees, and the Clerk will call the roll. Those in favor of going into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union will, as their names are called, answer "yea," and those opposed will answer "nay."

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 257, nays 29, answered "present" 1, not voting 144, as follows:

YEAS—257.

Alexander	Ellsworth	Kraus	Saunders, Va.
Almon	Elston	Larsen	Schall
Anderson	Esch	Lazaro	Scott, Iowa
Ashbrook	Evans	Lee, Ga.	Scott, Mich.
Austin	Fairchild, B. L.	Lesher	Scully
Ayres	Fairfield	Lever	Sears
Baer	Farr	Lobeck	Sells
Bankhead	Fields	Lufkin	Shallenberger
Barnhart	Fisher	Lunn	Sherley
Beakes	Focht	McArthur	Sherwood
Beshlin	Fordney	McClintic	Shouse
Black	Foster	McCulloch	Sims
Blackmon	Frear	McKenzie	Sinnott
Bland, Ind.	Freeman	McKeown	Sisson
Bland, Va.	French	McLaughlin, Mich.	Sloan
Blanton	Fuller, Ill.	Madden	Smith, Idaho
Booher	Garner	Magee	Smith, Mich.
Borland	Garrett, Tenn.	Mansfield	Smith, C. B.
Bowers	Garrett, Tex.	Mapes	Snell
Brand	Glynn	Martin	Snook
Brodbeck	Good	Merritt	Steagall
Browne	Goodall	Miller, Minn.	Stedman
Brumbaugh	Gordon	Miller, Wash.	Steele
Buchanan	Gray, Ala.	Mondell	Steenerson
Burnett	Green, Iowa	Montague	Stephens, Miss.
Burroughs	Greene, Vt.	Moon	Stephens, Nebr.
Butler	Gregg	Morgan	Sterling, Pa.
Byrnes, S. C.	Hadley	Morin	Strong
Byrns, Tenn.	Hamilton, Mich.	Mudd	Sumners
Campbell, Kans.	Hamlin	Neely	Sweet
Candler, Miss.	Hardy	Nicholls, S. C.	Taylor, Ark.
Cannon	Harrison, Miss.	Nichols, Mich.	Temple
Cantrill	Hastings	Norton	Thompson
Carlin	Haugen	Oldfield	Tillman
Carter, Mass.	Hawley	Oliver, Ala.	Tilson
Carter, Okla.	Hayden	Osborne	Timberlake
Chandler, Okla.	Hayes	Overmyer	Towner
Clark, Pa.	Heflin	Overstreet	Treadway
Classon	Helm	Padgett	Venable
Claypool	Hersey	Paige	Vestal
Connelly, Kans.	Hicks	Parker, N. Y.	Voigt
Cooper, Ohio	Hilliard	Peters	Volstead
Cooper, Wis.	Holland	Platt	Waldow
Cox	Hollingsworth	Porter	Walker
Crisp	Huddleston	Pou	Walsh
Crosser	Hull, Iowa	Pratt	Wason
Currie, Mich.	Hull, Tenn.	Quin	Watkins
Curry, Cal.	Igoe	Rainey, H. T.	Watson, Va.
Dallinger	Ireland	Raker	Weaver
Darrow	Jacoway	Ramseyer	Webb
Decker	James	Rayburn	Welty
Dempsey	Johnson, Ky.	Reavis	Wheeler
Dent	Juul	Reed	White, Ohio
Denton	Kearns	Robbins	Williams
Dewalt	Keating	Rodenberg	Wilson, La.
Dickinson	Kehoe	Rogers	Wilson, Tex.
Dill	Kelly, Pa.	Romjue	Wingo
Dillon	Kennedy, Iowa	Rose	Woodyard
Dixon	Key, Ohio	Rowe	Wright
Dominick	Kiess, Pa.	Rubey	Young, N. Dak.
Doolittle	Kincheloe	Rucker	Young, Tex.
Dowell	King	Sanders, Ind.	Zihlman
Dunn	Kinkaid	Sanders, La.	
Eagle	Kitchin	Sanders, N. Y.	
Elliott	Knutson	Sanford	

NAYS—29.

Caldwell	Eagan	McLemore	Sabath
Carew	Gallagher	Maher	Smith, T. F.
Chandler, N. Y.	Hamill	Meeker	Stafford
Coady	Haskell	Moores, Ind.	Swift
Delaney	Kahn	Nolan	Tinkham
Donovan	Longworth	Parker, N. J.	
Dupré	McAndrews	Rainey, J. W.	
Dyer	McLaughlin, Pa.	Riordan	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1.

White, Me.

NOT VOTING—144.

Anthony	Flood	Kennedy, R. I.	Roberts
Aswell	Flynn	Kettner	Robinson
Bacharach	Foss	Kreider	Rouse
Barkley	Francis	La Follette	Rowland
Bell	Fuller, Mass.	LaGuardia	Russell
Britten	Gallivan	Langley	Scott, Pa.
Browning	Gandy	Lea, Cal.	Shackleford
Campbell, Pa.	Gard	Lehlbach	Siegel
Caraway	Garland	Linthicum	Slayden
Cary	Gillett	Little	Slemp
Church	Glass	Littlepage	Small
Clark, Fla.	Godwin, N. C.	London	Snyder
Cleary	Goodwin, Ark.	Lonergan	Sterling, Ill.
Collier	Gould	Lundeen	Stevenson
Connally, Tex.	Graham, Ill.	McCormick	Stiness
Cooper, W. Va.	Graham, Pa.	McFadden	Sullivan
Copley	Gray, N. J.	McKinley	Switzer
Costello	Greene, Mass.	Mann	Tague
Crago	Griest	Mason	Talbott
Cramton	Griffin	Mays	Taylor, Colo.
Dale, N. Y.	Hamilton, N. Y.	Moore, Pa.	Templeton
Dale, Vt.	Harrison, Va.	Mott	Thomas
Davis	Heaton	Nelson	Van Dyke
Denison	Heintz	Oliver, N. Y.	Vare
Dies	Helvering	Olney	Vinson
Dooling	Hensley	O'Shaunessy	Walton
Doremus	Hood	Park	Ward
Doughton	Houston	Phelan	Watson, Pa.
Drane	Howard	Polk	Welling
Drukker	Humphreys	Powers	Whaley
Edmonds	Husted	Price	Wilson, Ill.
Emerson	Hutchinson	Purnell	Winslow
Estopinal	Johnson, S. Dak.	Ragsdale	Wise
Fairchild, G. W.	Johnson, Wash.	Ramsey	Wood, Ind.
Ferris	Jones	Randall	Woods, Iowa
Fess	Kelley, Mich.	Rankin	

So the motion was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. LITTLEPAGE with Mr. COOPER of West Virginia.

Mr. TALBOTT with Mr. BROWNING.

Mr. VAN DYKE with Mr. PURNELL.

Mr. SLAYDEN with Mr. LANGLEY.

Mr. RANDALL with Mr. FOSS.

Mr. BELL with Mr. WINSLOW.

Mr. TAGUE with Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island.

Mr. MAHER with Mr. GRAY of New Jersey.

Mr. OLIVER of New York with Mr. SWITZER.

Mr. DALE of New York with Mr. BRITTEN.

Mr. VINSON with Mr. MOTT.

Mr. LEA of California with Mr. MCKINLEY.

Mr. FERRIS with Mr. DALE of Vermont.

Mr. ROBINSON with Mr. STINESS.

Mr. HENSLEY with Miss RANKIN.

Mr. LINTHICUM with Mr. FESS.

Mr. HUMPHREYS with Mr. DAVIS.

Mr. DOUGHTON with Mr. ANTHONY.

Mr. GALLIVAN with Mr. GOULD.

Mr. ASWELL with Mr. BACHARACH.

Mr. ESTOPINAL with Mr. COPLEY.

Mr. KETTNER with Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY with Mr. GRIEST.

Mr. SULLIVAN with Mr. HUTCHINSON.

Mr. COLLIER with Mr. STERLING of Illinois.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. A quorum is present. The Doorkeeper will open the doors. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON] will please take the chair.

Thereupon the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of Senate amendments to the bill (H. R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," with Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the purpose of considering the Senate amendments to the bill H. R. 11945. The Clerk will report the title of the bill and the Senate amendments in their order.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I ask for recognition under general debate.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

A bill (H. R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products."

Mr. LEVER rose.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from South Carolina rise?

Mr. LEVER. If the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] will indulge me for a moment——

Mr. STAFFORD. I will yield to the gentleman for a question——

Mr. LEVER. I think we can expedite this thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Chair understand that the gentleman from Wisconsin yielded the floor?

Mr. STAFFORD. By no means. I yielded for a question.

Mr. LEVER. It is a little bit more than a question. I am satisfied that we can pass this bill this afternoon if we will all make up our minds to do it. Personally I have no reason for wanting to hurry this matter through, but there are a number of gentlemen here who have their primaries on to-morrow, who have their reservations bought, and who expect to leave here to-night. I have been trying to arrange matters so that these could leave the city and yet have an opportunity to vote on this important bill. It is my intention to allow the first paragraph of this bill to be read and then to move that the committee rise, with a view to seeing if we could not reach some agreement as to general debate. I am willing, so far as I am concerned, and my colleagues on this side are willing, that liberal debate shall be had on this bill. So far as I am concerned, I am willing that two hours to a side be given. That would enable us to finish this bill by half past 6 or 7 and avoid the difficulty and the jam in which we find ourselves. If the gentleman from Wisconsin will permit me to try out that procedure I will do so.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have no objection to the original plan suggested by the gentleman of having two hours on a side for general debate, one-half to be controlled by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER] and one-half to be controlled by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN]. If the gentleman wishes to move that the committee do now rise, and will state that on getting into the House he will move to close debate in two hours on a side, I will yield for that purpose.

Mr. HAUGEN. I suggest that unanimous consent be granted to my colleague from Iowa [Mr. GOOD] for 20 minutes to-morrow.

Mr. LEVER. I will undertake to get, after we get back to the House, 20 minutes to-morrow for the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD] on the condition that my colleague from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] shall have a like amount of time.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman move, when we get back to the House, to close debate in four hours, two hours on a side, or ask it by unanimous consent?

Mr. LEVER. I will try to get unanimous consent. If I can not get it, I will move to close debate in four hours' time, the time to be equally divided.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Ought there not to be included in the gentleman's request a motion or provision that the vote be taken at a certain time?

Mr. LEVER. That is almost impossible. I have no idea that we will have any trouble in getting the five-minute debate. I ask unanimous consent that the first section of the bill be read.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read the first amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

First amendment, page 2——

Mr. STAFFORD. I thought the gentleman was going to move to rise.

Mr. LEVER. We have to read first.

Mr. STAFFORD. I did not yield the floor for that purpose. The status of the parliamentary situation was that I or any other Member of the House was entitled to one hour for general debate.

Mr. LEVER. Then, Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration Senate amendments to the bill (H. R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," and had come to no resolution thereon.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 11945; and, pending that, I ask unanimous consent that the general debate on this bill be limited to four hours, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN] to control two hours and the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER] to control two hours.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina, pending the motion to go into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, asks unanimous consent that general debate on these Senate amendments to the bill H. R. 11945 be limited to four hours, two hours to be controlled by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER] and two hours by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN]. Is there objection?

Mr. DEMPSEY. I object, Mr. Speaker. I move that the House consume one hour——

Mr. IGOE. I demand the regular order, Mr. Speaker, if there is objection made.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER] moves that the general debate on these amendments be limited to four hours, two hours to be controlled by the gentleman from Iowa and two hours to be controlled by the gentleman from Mississippi. The question is on agreeing to that motion.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, you can not include the control of the time.

The SPEAKER. No; that is not in it.

The question was taken, and the motion was agreed to.

Mr. LEVER. Now, Mr. Speaker, put the question of going into Committee of the Whole. I ask unanimous consent that the time fixed shall be divided, two hours to be controlled by the gentleman from Iowa and two hours by the gentleman from Mississippi.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent that the four hours agreed upon be divided half and half between the gentleman from Mississippi and the gentleman from Iowa. Is there objection?

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HASTINGS. Is this general debate to be confined to the bill?

The SPEAKER. There is no rule or agreement in relation to it. As it stands it is like any other general debate.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, let me submit another unanimous-consent request in order to save time. I understand the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD] desires to address the House for 20 minutes to-morrow immediately after reading the Journal and clearing up business on the Speaker's table. I ask unanimous consent that after matters are disposed of on the Speaker's desk the gentleman from Iowa may address the House for 20 minutes and that the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] may address the House for 20 minutes if he desires.

The SPEAKER. As soon as these other matters are out of the way the Chair will put the request.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to know whether this debate is to be limited to the bill or not.

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not know.

Mr. HAMLIN. I think it ought to be limited to the bill.

The SPEAKER. What the Chair desires to ascertain is whether there is objection to the division of the four hours in accordance with the request of the gentleman from South Carolina. [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The gentleman from South Carolina preferred another request, that to-morrow after the reading of the Journal and clearing up the business on the Speaker's table the gentleman from Iowa be permitted to address the House for 20 minutes and the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] for 20 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to go into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

The question was taken, and the motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, with Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is now in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of Senate amendment 13 to the bill H. R. 11945.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN].

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, during all the days of my life I have been a firm believer in temperance; not alone temperance in the use of liquor, but temperance in the use of food. The doctors tell us that every year 600,000 people in this country dig their graves with their teeth by overeating. I believe, too, that intemperance in exercise leads to the breaking down of the physical tissues, and is bad. But in my opinion prohibition will never cure the liquor evil. On the contrary, I believe it will bring about infinitely worse evils than the liquor evil. There are in this country to-day 1,500,000 authenticated "dope" fiends, men and women who take cocaine, morphine, heroin,

caffeine, or some other habit-forming narcotics or drugs. In the administration of the first draft law 80,000 men between the ages of 21 and 31 years were rejected because they were "dope fiends." That is, enough men to form two divisions of the American Army. It is enough men to form about seven divisions of the Germany Army. It is a remarkable thing that with prohibition legislation being enacted all over this country the use of poisonous, habit-forming drugs is increasing by leaps and bounds. I attribute it in a large measure to the effect of prohibition legislation.

The man who wants a mild stimulant, the man who wants a glass of beer or of light wine and finds he can not get it will go to one of the drug stores, or possibly a grocery store, and buy some of these remedies which I have here on display on this desk. He will get 47 per cent of alcohol mixed with a little opium by taking this concoction, and after a while he becomes an avowed drug or "dope fiend."

Mr. MEEKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Mr. MEEKER. Is the gentleman aware of the fact that the National Anti-Saloon League is opposed to the drug investigation as recommended by Senator FRELINGHUYSEN?

Mr. KAHN. I did not know that.

Mr. MEEKER. They are doing so in their papers, and have received contributions from organizations for that purpose.

Mr. KAHN. I know that the Treasury Department, in its desire to go to the bottom of this question, namely, the enforcement of the Harrison narcotic-drug act, appointed a committee of which Hon. HENRY T. RAINEY, of Illinois, a Member of this House, is chairman. Prof. Reed, of Harvard, is a member, and Dr. Dumes, Col. Bailey, of the United States Army, and B. C. Keith, of the Treasury Department, are the other members. These gentlemen have been investigating this important question. It is a question that the Members of this House are called upon now to take into consideration in deliberating on the pending bill.

The question before us is, Do we want to prohibit the use of light wines or beer, with their limited alcohol contents, or drive these men who need stimulants and who, by hook or crook, will get the stimulant, to the use of these deadly narcotic drugs? That is one of the questions before this committee to-day.

Beer has only 4 per cent of alcohol, and the brewers of this country have recently reduced that small percentage to an almost negligible quantity of spirits. Under this bill it will be impossible for a man to secure a glass of beer or a glass of light wine, not only during the continuance of this war, but for the period of demobilization after, and God alone knows how long that period is going to be.

Mr. Chairman, the proponents of this measure appeal to the Members of this House on a false issue. They tell us that they intend to conserve the food of this country during the war. My State of California makes practically 90 per cent of the wine made in the United States. There is not a particle of food product that goes into the making of these light wines. But certain varieties of grapes that can be used for food are crushed for medicinal wines, and they are specially excluded from the provisions of this act.

The light wine that is used in everyday life is made from the wine grape. You have to make wine out of those grapes or throw them into the waste barrel. You can not make anything else out of them. You can not make raisins out of them. You can not make preserves out of them. The only thing you can make of the wine grape is wine.

The wine grape has been a gradual development in my State. Wine was made in California by the old Franciscan monks, who came there from Mexico in 1769. They brought the grape cuttings, which had been procured originally from Spain, and planted them in California. For years we had what they called the Mission wine. Later on, when California came into the Union and our agricultural interests began to develop, it was found that the soil and topography of the country lent themselves admirably to the cultivation of the grape. And so experts went to the grape-growing countries of Europe and brought back recognized varieties of vine cuttings. The Department of Agriculture immediately came to the assistance of the California grape growers and wine makers.

The officers of that department established experiment stations in our wine-growing sections. Those stations told the farmers of that grape-growing area what varieties of grapes thrive best under the conditions that prevail there. The State of California itself organized a board of viticulture. They made experiments, and under their advice and suggestions the industry has grown to such proportions that between $150,000,000 and $200,000,000 are invested in the industry. California wine is being used in every civilized country. I want to call to the attention of this committee this notable fact, namely, that in no country in the world where the people are a wine-drinking people are there any considerable number of drunkards. If you allow the use of light wine, if you allow the use of beer, you are not going to have a nation of drunkards. But if you vote for absolute prohibition you are going to establish this country on an alcohol basis and a habit-forming drug basis. Distillation is the easiest of all processes. If a man can not buy good whisky in a reputable establishment, he will procure a little "still" and make it in his own home. That is what you are driving the people of this country to do. Why, the Speaker of the House [Mr. CLARK] told me of an instance that occurred in the State prison of the State of Missouri. There was a prisoner at Jefferson City who got hold of a gun barrel which he hid in his cell. He used that as a distilling worm. He took a little water from the daily supply that he received. Then he took some corn bread, that he saved from his ration, and made a mash of it. He thus was enabled to distill whisky right in his cell. He finally grew ambitious and thought he would save up enough alcohol to get a right good drink. In fact, he did save up enough to get a right good drink and got ingloriously drunk. That is how the authorities found out how he had been distilling right under their noses. My colleagues, with that kind of an instance before you, you can readily imagine what will happen in this country if you try by this kind of drastic legislation to deprive a man of a mild stimulant.

Mr. RUCKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Mr. RUCKER. Does the gentleman think this same consequence would follow on the prohibition of liquor drinking as readily as beer drinking?

Mr. KAHN. I have just told the gentleman that I think this drastic legislation is going to result in things infinitely worse than the use of beer, light wines, or ardent liquor.

Mr. RUCKER. The gentleman thinks prohibition of the liquor traffic will bring about a worse condition than to have it?

Mr. KAHN. Yes; in some respects.

Mr. RUCKER. The gentleman I think spoke and voted against the national submission of that question.

Mr. KAHN. I do not remember whether I spoke against it, but I know I voted against it.

Mr. RUCKER. I have looked up the RECORD and the gentleman spoke against it.

Mr. KAHN. I probably did, because I have pronounced views on the subject.

Mr. RUCKER. And made a strong speech for a worthless cause.

Mr. KAHN. And I am as strong for temperance as the gentleman from Missouri; and I am as temperate as the gentleman from Missouri; and I have never in my life been drunk; and I have never taken a glass of liquor except under a doctor's order or prescription.

Mr. RUCKER. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Mr. RUCKER. I can concede the gentleman is as sober as myself and as temperate as myself and a better man than myself.

Mr. KAHN. No; not a better man by any means.

Mr. RUCKER. And that possibly the gentleman is on the wrong side of the whisky question and always has been. That is my view of it.

Mr. KAHN. That is simply the gentleman's opinion. I want to say to the gentleman that I have heard men, who believe as the gentleman does, say emphatically that whisky is a poison; that it has no value whatever for medicinal purposes.

Mr. RUCKER. I will admit it has not poisoned me, but it is a bad thing to use.

Mr. KAHN. I want to read in that very connection a very interesting bit of correspondence. Some weeks ago, or, I should say, some months ago, I saw in the newspapers that the Navy Department had accepted from the sheriff of Seattle, Wash., 6,500 quart bottles of whisky that had been confiscated by the authorities for violation of the State prohibition law. I became interested in that fact because the dispatches said that they were to be used by the Navy Department for medicinal purposes, and having become interested I wrote to the Surgeon General of the Navy this letter:

JULY 19, 1918.

Surg. Gen. W. C. BRAISTED,
Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL: I have seen in the press dispatches on several occasions items to the effect that quantities of distilled spirits seized in various so-called "dry" communities were turned over to the Navy Department for medical purposes. I believe the last article of the kind that I saw was purported to come from some point near Seattle, Wash. Can you give me the facts about this matter? I would greatly appreciate your courtesy and kindness.

Very sincerely, yours,

JULIUS KAHN.

Whereupon I received this letter in reply. It is exceedingly illuminating, taking into consideration that the Secretary of the Navy occupies the same position on this question as my friend from Missouri [Mr. RUCKER]:

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY,
BUREAU OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY,
Washington, D. C., July 31, 1918.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: In reply to your letter of the 19th instant with regard to certain distilled spirits seized at some point near Seattle, Wash., you are informed that the Secretary of the Navy received a dispatch from the commandant of the thirteenth naval district reporting that the mayor of Seattle had offered to him a quantity of good whisky which has been seized on account of the violation of some law, and that the offer was made to the Medical Department of the Navy rather than the whisky should be destroyed.

In the opinion of the Secretary of the Navy, it was deemed wise to accept this whisky and a telegram was sent to the commandant of the thirteenth naval district by this bureau authorizing the acceptance on his part, provided that there should be no objection or unfavorable recommendation on the part of the United States Collector of Internal Revenue.

This is the entire transaction, so far as I have been informed, to this date, and the whisky so received will be used for medical purposes.

Very sincerely, yours,

W. C. BRAISTED,
Surgeon General, United States Navy.

Hon. JULIUS KAHN, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

[Applause.]

So Secretary Daniels evidently thinks whisky has medicinal virtues. Of course it can be, and sometimes is, used to excess by individuals. Of course it sometimes brings disaster to the individual who uses it in excess.

Mr. RAKER. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KAHN. No; not now. But the use of whisky in moderation can not be said to be injurious to the individual. Certainly it is not nearly so injurious as the use of narcotics, I repeat, if whisky is used in moderation. I do not myself use it, but I have no objection to a man who does use it if he does so in moderation and as a stimulant. When a man gets along to a certain time of life he almost invariably requires stimulants. Your doctor will probably tell you that. The use, but not the abuse, of liquor will do nobody any harm. Whereas the use of drugs, habit-forming drugs, "dope," will under every circumstance harm the individual. Oh, this legislation which is pending at this moment, in my opinion, is simply the expression of a blind, unreasoning fanaticism.

Mr. RAKER. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. The gentleman and myself neither have been home for a year or more?

Mr. KAHN. For 10 months I have not been home.

Mr. RAKER. On the 17th of this month the gentleman's party met, and mine also. Did not both political parties in California indorse the Federal amendment?

Mr. KAHN. No; at least so I have heard.

Mr. GORDON. Your party did not.

Mr. KAHN. Your party did not. [Applause.] It advocated war-time prohibition, but not the prohibition amendment.

Mr. RAKER. What was the attitude of the gentleman's party?

Mr. KAHN. Well, my party indorsed the prohibition amendment. But I am also the nominee of the Prohibition Party in my district. [Laughter and applause.] The Prohibitionists named——

Mr. BUTLER. What are they—derivatives of the real prohibitionists?

Mr. KAHN. The Prohibitionists in my district know my stand on this question, my unfailing stand, I will say to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RUCKER], and wrote my name on their ballots in sufficient number to give me the nomination of their party. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, how much time have I left?

The CHAIRMAN. Six minutes.

Mr. KAHN. Now, the remarkable thing about this proposed legislation is this: They propose to cut out the use of beer and wine. They propose to prevent its manufacture after May 1, 1919, and then prohibit their sale after the 30th of June, 1919. And the Committee on Agriculture has recommended, by a committee amendment, that Italy and other foreign wine-producing countries shall be allowed to dump their wine into this country to compete with the manufacturers of native wine, who at best, if this provision carries, will be put to it pretty hard to dispose of their stock by the 1st of next July. France, Spain, and Portugal are about to ask for the same privilege. Is that fair? Is that just? I appeal to the sense of fairness——

Mr. DECKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KAHN. I can not yield. I appeal to the sense of fairness of the Members of this House to prevent such a consummation. I appeal to your sense of justice. Either extend the time within which the native product can be disposed of and sold, or do not permit the product of foreign countries to come here and destroy the home markets of the native producer.

The wine makers of California recognize the fact that national prohibition is very likely to become a part of the fundamental law of this country. They are trying to liquidate their business. They are trying to do so in good faith. Do not deprive them, I beg of you, of a fair opportunity to do so.

I shall offer an amendment when the bill is up under the five-minute rule, to extend the time for the sale of wines in this country to December 31, 1919. And I hope that the membership of this House, looking upon the proposition fairly and justly, will adopt that amendment, so that the grape growers and wine makers of California, who for years have been developing a great industry, shall be permitted to go out of that business in a clean, honorable, lawful way.

I want to say one further thing about the "dope," or habit-forming drug business. I have here several small bottles of "dope" that is being sold now in ever-increasing quantities, and which is not reached by this or any other legislation. A lot of it is manufactured right over in Baltimore. There is one concern over there by the firm name of McCormick & Co., that in 1915 sold 2,585 gallons of Bateman's Drops, paregoric, and Godfrey's Cordial. In 1917, two years later, when prohibition had gone into effect in the District of Columbia, they sold of those same remedies 4,803 gallons.

Bateman's Drops, according to the formula printed on the label, has 42 per cent of alcohol and 1.9 grains of opium. So that you not only get your strong alcohol, but almost 2 grains of opium with it. I repeat the sale of that is not prohibited, and you can buy it in any drug store and at a great many grocery stores.

Mr. BUTLER. I would like to ask the gentleman a question, although I do not insist on it. It is a question that has been bothering me.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the gentleman get a little time in which to answer the question?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes' time to the gentleman in which to answer the questions.

Mr. KAHN. I thank the gentleman, and will try to answer these questions.

Mr. BUTLER. Is it not possible to prevent the manufacture and sale of this stuff you have in your hand? Is there any law that will do it, or can not a law be enacted?

Mr. KAHN. There is no law at the present time.

Mr. BUTLER. Can we not enact one?

Mr. KAHN. I suppose we can. But I fear that when we have enacted it they will evade that law and still continue to feed the people such stuff as is contained in these bottles.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. The gentleman said that it contained 1.9 grains of opium.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Per fluid ounce.

Mr. KAHN. Now, Lemon Compound, which they sell a great deal of, has 15 per cent of alcohol. That is 3 per cent more alcohol than is found in light wines. Paregoric, which they feed even to babies, has 47 per cent of alcohol and 1.83 grains of opium.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I would like to say that those matters were considered by the Ways and Means Committee in framing the revenue bill, and particularly that part of it which amends the Harrison narcotic law, and I recall receiving a letter from a large firm in which they criticized me very vigorously for attempting to limit the sale of these pure household remedies.

Mr. RUCKER. The gentleman has made a careful study of the statistics in reference to those pure household drugs. What is the per cent of people who have cultivated the habit of using those household articles compared with the per cent that use whisky to excess?

Mr. KAHN. I will say frankly to the gentleman that I know this committee to which I referred as having been appointed by the Treasury Department is made up of very reputable gentlemen, including one distinguished Member of this House, Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY of Illinois. They have found out that of those cases that could be authenticated, 1,500,000 "dope users" are now extant in this country.

Mr. RUCKER. They did not say how many of those use liquor to excess?

Mr. KAHN. No; they did not get that information.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KAHN. I yield.

Mr. CANNON. Just a short one.

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Mr. CANNON. Has the gentleman any statistics as to how many people in the hundred millions in this country dig graves through gluttony?

Mr. KAHN. I told the House at the beginning of these remarks that the doctors say 600,000 a year do so.

Now, I want to call your attention to several other matters. The statement that drunkenness is so common in this country is not borne out by the facts. We had 19,000,000 admissions to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco in 1915, and there were only 83 arrests during the whole period of the exposition for drunkenness. Wine, beer, and whisky were not prohibited on the exposition grounds nor in the city of San Francisco. Only 83 arrests. Just think of it. That speaks volumes for the sobriety of the American people. So, when you undertake to write legislation of this kind upon the statute books of the Republic, you practically indict this whole Nation as a nation of drunkards, and I object to that emphatically.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Mr. DECKER. There are several of us who differ from your views but are in doubt about this proposition which you took up last in your speech. I wish you would illuminate it a little further. We are in doubt as to whether we should vote to concur with the Senate amendment or whether we should vote to concur with an amendment to it which would permit Italy, I think it is, to import wines. Now, then, could you tell us—and I am asking for information only, not to refute anything you said, because we are all going to vote the way we please in the matter in a minute or two—but I would like to know if there is any treaty obligation involved there with Italy that should induce us to extend the time for her to import wine?

Mr. KAHN. I have understood Italy has contended that there is, and I think France, Spain, and Portugal have since then sent a communication to the State Department claiming that they, too, have rights similar to those of Italy. That is why I say if you adopt the amendment so as to allow them to ship their wines into this country until the first of May, 1919, in all fairness—because those wines will compete with the native wines—you ought to extend the period for the sale of wines in this country until December 31.

Mr. DECKER. Would it not be a safer or surer policy on the part of the gentleman from California, if he wanted to protect his industry out there, in case there is any treaty obligation, if you would just join the rest of us and concur in the Senate amendment? That will give your people a better chance to sell their wine than they would have if you would concur with an amendment, would it not?

Mr. KAHN. I will say this to the gentleman: One of the indictments that we constantly make against the Imperial Government of Germany is that it disregards its treaty obligations; and I for one do not think it wise on the part of this country to disregard any of its treaty obligations.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the gentleman may have another minute. I would like him to answer a question.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman five minutes of the time which has been allotted to me.

Mr. KAHN. I thank the gentleman very much.

Mr. DECKER. I really wanted to know the view of the gentleman from California as to these treaty obligations, because I have much confidence in his ability, and I speak sincerely. There are none of us in this House, even prohibitionists, who would treat a treaty as a scrap of paper, and if there is a treaty between Italy and the United States, that settles it. That binds us, and we want to be fair with your people.

Mr. KAHN. The Secretary of State, I am advised, has informed the Committee on Agriculture of this House that there is a treaty with Italy. I am not fully informed myself. All that I know about it is what I have seen in the newspapers. That is as far as I know. We also saw in the newspapers the statement that when the committee seemed to take favorable action on the Italian request, France, Spain, and Portugal came in and said they had similar treaties and were entitled to similar privileges.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. This opens the door to all wines from every country?

Mr. KAHN. Yes; because of the "favored-nation" clause. It undoubtedly would open the door for the entry of wines from every country.

Mr. LONGWORTH. It would apply to any country?

Mr. KAHN. Exactly so. I want again to thank the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] for extending my time for five minutes. In that time I want to recall to the attention of this House the fact that the Apostle Paul in his First Epistle to Timothy, chapter 5, verse 23, advised the latter, "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities." Let me also recall to you the fact that Jesus performed His first miracle by turning water into wine. Let me read from the Gospel of St. John, chapter 2:

And the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee; and the mother of Jesus was there:
2. And both Jesus was called, and His disciples, to the marriage.
3. And when they wanted wine, the mother of Jesus saith unto Him, They have no wine.
4. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come.
5. His mother saith unto the servants, Whatsoever He saith unto you, do it.
6. And there were set there six waterpots of stone, after the manner of the purifying of the Jews, containing two or three firkins apiece.
7. Jesus saith unto them, Fill the waterpots with water. And they filled them up to the brim.
8. And He saith unto them, Draw out now, and bear unto the governor of the feast. And they bare it.
9. When the ruler of the feast had tasted the water that was made wine, and knew not whence it was (but the servants which drew the water knew), the governor of the feast called the bridegroom,
10. And saith unto him, Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine; and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse: but thou hast kept the good wine until now.
11. This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth His glory; and His disciples believed on Him.

Does any man think that He who is worshiped by hundreds of millions of people all over the world would have done a thing that would have worked ill upon the people with whom He and His disciples were present at the marriage festival?

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KAHN. No; I can not yield.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. I would like to know——

Mr. KAHN. I can not yield now.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. KAHN. I can not yield now. I only have a minute more time. There are thousands, yes, there are millions, of men in the world, whether they believe in His divinity or not, who realize that in His life He exemplified the greatest perfection of mankind. They know that His teachings were pure, and that any man, be he Christian or Jew, Pagan or Mohammedan, will become an infinitely better human being in the sight of God and man if he follows the precepts of that Great Teacher. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has again expired.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend and revise my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the leave will be granted.

There was no objection.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. REAVIS].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska is recognized for two minutes.

Mr. REAVIS. Mr. Chairman, I rise at this time for the purpose of putting in the RECORD the fact that I favor this bill and the prohibitory clause in it.

I had several conferences with the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, and in those conferences he told me he thought the vote on this bill would be reached Saturday. In the light of that information I made an engagement to speak in Chicago to-day. When it became apparent that the vote could not be reached Saturday, but that it would be reached to-day, I changed the date of that meeting until to-morrow.

To make that engagement I have to leave Washington at 6 o'clock this evening. I would not go if my vote was required to pass the measure. It is very apparent that the measure will be passed by an overwhelming majority. I did not want to leave without putting into the RECORD the fact that I favor the bill, and I favor the prohibitory clause.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY].

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Chairman, I have voted to exclude saloons from the Capitol Building. I have voted to eliminate saloons in this Capital City. I have voted to exclude saloons from the military reservations, and I propose to-day to vote for this amendment which ends, during the period of this war at least, the sale of intoxicating liquors in the United States. [Applause.]

I have seen whole communities, blasted for years by saloons, emerge into prosperity when saloons were banished from within their boundaries. I expect to see prosperity still prevail in all sections of these United States when the saloons disappear, prosperity even greater than we have enjoyed in the past.

As a member of the Ways and Means Committee, in obtaining revenue for this Government I have voted always for the highest possible tax upon alcoholic liquors. I have supported to the best of my ability at all times the movement for the increase of the taxes on alcoholic liquors of all kinds. But as a member of that committee, engaged for six years and even for a longer period than that, in solving these questions of revenue I think I am able to say that we can run this great Government without saloons, and, by the eternal gods, we will find the revenue somewhere with which to carry on this Republic without continuing further this alliance with saloons. [Applause.]

The gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] has correctly stated, as he always does in matters he investigates himself, the result of the investigation conducted by the Treasury committee, of which I am chairman, in the matter of the increase in the number of dope fiends in the United States. That committee has reached the conclusion that there are now at least 1,500,000 addicts in this country. But the greater number of them, and the greater increase in the number of addicts, has occurred in the cities in this land where there are saloons almost in every block. The number of addicts has increased right alongside of the saloons. They have gone right along with the saloons.

The gentleman has called attention to such alleged remedies as Bateman's Drops, which sometimes contain as much as 47 per cent of pure alcohol in volume, and to paregoric, which contains more alcohol than wine contains, and to Godfrey's Cordial, a 15-cent bottle of which contains a good drink of whisky, and, in addition, contains derivatives of opium.

These alleged remedies are manufactured under the permission of section 6 of the Harrison Antinarcotic Act. In all these dry territories, territories which have become dry recently, the increase in the consumption of Bateman's Drops, which is merely whisky mixed with opium and similar preparations, has been alarming. The Treasury committee of which I am the chairman has recommended the repeal of section 6 of the Harrison narcotic law. I presented to the Ways and Means Committee sections modifying the Harrison antinarcotic law, which I prepared myself, and the Ways and Means Committee accepted these sections and made them a part of the revenue bill which has passed this House. The revenue bill which has passed this House contains a clause eliminating section 6 of the Harrison Narcotic Drug Act.

[The time of Mr. RAINEY having expired, by unanimous consent he was given three minutes more.]

This House, preparing for its vote to-day for prohibition for the period of this war, by an overwhelming majority adopted without dissent the paragraph in the revenue bill which eliminates section 6 of the Harrison Narcotic Act, under which these remedies to which the gentleman from California has called attention have been manufactured and sold in all the States in this land.

Our action to-day is perfectly consistent. We can not vote for prohibition in either House and at the same time permit, under the Harrison Act, a drink of whisky to be sold in these little Bateman's Drops bottles and these other bottles at every grocery store and every drug store in the United States provided they contain a little less than 2 grains of opium; and so, before the action of to-day, we have eliminated, so far as this House is concerned, section 6 of the Harrison Narcotic Act.

I want to say in reference to the Anti-Saloon League that I took this matter up with its officers, Dr. Dinwiddie, and the others several months ago. Their employees have copied hundreds of pages of manuscript in recent days in my office, preparing to assist in the fight throughout the United States for the complete elimination of the sale of narcotics, except for medicinal purposes, everywhere in this land. They heartily approve of the efforts of the Treasury committee to abolish from the laws section 6 of the Harrison Narcotic Act, and are cooperating in every possible way in order to bring about that result.

I have here a letter from a manufacturer of fluid extracts in Baltimore. They manufactured from January 1 to August 20 of this year 19,000 gallons of Jamaica ginger, lemon and vanila extracts, and strawberry extracts containing alcohol. These flavoring extracts are sold in dry territory, and the drier the territory the more of these flavoring extracts are sold. They are sold because they contain whisky and are sold to rum addicts throughout the land.

Here is the letter from this firm that manufactures more flavoring extracts than any other firm in this section of the United States, and they announce the alarming fact—alarming to them—that the increase we have made in the tax on alcohol to be used for nonbeverage purposes is resulting, as they find, by consulting manufacturers throughout the country in the fact that the manufacturers propose to make lemon extracts, Jamaica ginger, and strawberry and banana extracts without the use of alcohol, and they call it imitation extract because it is made without the use of alcohol. They give prices; they can not make lemon extract using alcohol for less than $7.36 a gallon.

But you can make it without alcohol for 92 cents a gallon, and they say they referred to that as imitation goods. I will print the letter. They say that imitation goods are at times really stronger than the pure, but do not have the flavor and are more rank and therefore not so pleasing to the taste. The thing that makes the extracts made out of alcohol pleasing to the taste is the alcohol they put in it. They call attention to the fact that manufacturers are going to make lemon extract, on account of the high tax on alcohol to be used for nonbeverage purposes, and to make Jamaica ginger, and the rest of those things, without the use of alcohol. They have found out they can do it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Under the permission to extend my remarks I print here the letter I have been discussing, which was attached to a letter addressed to me, which I also print:

BALTIMORE, MD., *September 16, 1918.*

Hon. HENRY T. RAINEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. RAINEY: Inclosed please find a copy of a letter I have written to Hon. CLAUDE KITCHIN, which will explain itself. I feel that it is my duty to call this matter to your attention.

Yours, very sincerely,

W. M. MCCORMICK.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1918.

Hon. CLAUDE KITCHIN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Since writing you a few days ago I have taken up with a number of manufacturers of flavoring extracts the proposed increase in tax on alcohol to $4.40 per proof gallon, and was surprised to find that the majority of them had already made or were making plans to manufacture imitation extracts which require very little alcohol, cutting out pure goods entirely. They feel that the price of flavoring extracts is already so high that this additional tax would force them off the market, especially at this time when sugar is so very scarce and the indications are that the manufacture of soft drinks will be greatly reduced.

It is for the above reason that I take the liberty of calling your attention to this matter again, believing that if the additional tax is assessed it would result in "killing the goose that lays the golden egg."

For comparison, please note that when using alcohol costing $9.20 per gallon, as per bill under consideration, flavoring extracts will cost as follows for alcohol alone:

Extract lemon, pure and true: Alcohol contents, $7.36 per gallon; imitation, $2.30 per gallon.

Extract vanilla, pure and true: Alcohol contents, $5.05 per gallon; imitation, $0.92 per gallon.

An additional loss to the Government would be the import tax on oil of lemon and vanilla beans, both of which are imported, while the imitation goods are made from vanillin, coumarin, and citral, all of which are made in this country and consequently pay no tax.

The average consumer, using the same size package, would pay 10 cents for imitation and 40 cents for pure goods.

Imitation goods are at times really stronger than the pure but do not have the flavor, and are more rank and penetrating, therefore not as pleasing to the taste.

The flavoring-extract industry to-day pays a larger percentage of taxes than any other, whisky, beer, and tobacco included, and this all has to be borne by housewives on farms as well as in the cities. (The bakers use the more concentrated forms of extracts and are not, therefore, so much affected by the present or proposed bill.)

Summing the whole thing up, I am convinced that the Government would actually lose money by increasing the tax on alcohol to such a great extent, for the flavoring-extract industry is the largest consumer of pure ethyl alcohol to-day.

Yours, sincerely,

W. M. MCCORMICK.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SHERWOOD].

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Chairman, since I have had the misfortune to represent the ninth district of Ohio I have always voted on economic questions with the majority of my district. We have had three elections in Ohio on the prohibition question to amend our constitution. It has been three times voted down in my district. For these three elections the majority has been on an average about 7,000. I believe I am as good, if not a better, temperance man than the gentleman who just preceded me. I do not have occasion to use spirituous liquor in any form. I never had a cigar or a cigarette in my mouth; I do not even chew gum. [Laughter and applause.] On the Atlanta campaign of 110 days—under fire every day—I was told by my chaplain, a very reliable gentleman, and the surgeon general of our division, that I was the only officer in that division who never took a drink of whisky during the whole 110 days. You can not make men good by law; you can make men bad by law, and you can make men hypocrites by law.

I will vote for any and all bills to promote morality and temperance, but this prohibition amendment is conceded by the

leading lawyers on this floor to be unconstitutional, and the chairman of the committee in charge of this bill concedes it to be unconstitutional, I am reliably informed.

Every Member when he enters this Chamber at the commencement of every Congress takes an oath to support the Constitution of the United States. I regard that oath as sacred, and under no circumstances or conditions will I knowingly violate it.

I desire in connection with my remarks to send to the Clerk's desk a letter which I received from 16 prominent business men of the city of Toledo, representing perhaps a majority of the bankers and business men of Toledo. Our 15,000 organized laborers, representing the intelligence and patriotism of the laboring classes, have passed resolutions practically unanimously against this prohibition legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the matter referred to.

The Clerk read as follows:

TOLEDO, OHIO, *August 27, 1918.*

Hon. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR GENERAL: At a special meeting of the Toledo Hotel Men's Association held at the Boody House on August 26 the membership was unanimous in directing that a communication be dispatched to you vigorously protesting against the passage of the pending prohibition amendment to the emergency Agricultural appropriation bill, for the reason that its adoption will cause irreparable and immeasurable loss to the individuals and concerns whose fortunes are invested in the hotel business in this city, as well as deprive the local, State, and National Governments of revenues seriously needed.

The proposed measure is purely a subterfuge. On his recent return from England Herbert Hoover declared that the allied countries are well supplied with food materials except sugar, due to the patriotic zeal of the American people, who have so cheerfully aided his administration in rendering food conservation a success. No class of business men have rendered more aid in that behalf than the hotel proprietors of the Nation and those of Ohio in particular.

If prohibition would win the war, or even help win it, the allies would have adopted it long ago. On the contrary, all, including Russia, have rejected the fake nostrum after an experimental trial.

The Toledo Hotel Men's Association represents vested capital aggregating $5,000,000. Prohibition in any form will very seriously impair, if not wholly destroy, that enormous collective investment. The men and concerns interested are large purchasers of liberty bonds and thrift stamps and have given liberally of their means to all causes of war charity. Wholly aside from that, they pay large personal taxes, income taxes, and revenues, employ large numbers of people wholly dependent on their earnings, who would otherwise not be able to meet the demands of war conditions, and are in addition lending all possible aid locally and otherwise to further the great cause of world democracy.

While willing and ready to make any sacrifice necessary to help win the war, we protest vigorously against ruination of our business by fake reformers, who have embraced the present state of war as an excuse and not a reason for clubbing the Nation into submitting to prohibition, with its consequent unrest and turmoil, at a time when strict cooperation and unification are so highly necessary to render the victory over Prussianism complete.

A full membership of this association joins in this protest, and it should be borne in mind that there are a number of hotels in Toledo that do not have bars in connection, so this protest is not altogether a selfish one. The following constitute the membership, together with the hotel properties represented by each:

A. L. Wallick, president and manager Secor Hotel.
E. P. Severcool and E. B. Edmonds, owners and managers Waldorf Hotel.
Sherman Bond, president and manager Boody House.
L. Aljoe, managing director Navarre Hotel.
A. C. Stephens, president and manager St. Clair Hotel.
Charles Ehle, manager Jefferson Hotel.
Edmonds & Stair, owners and managers Toledo Hotel.
Fred Crossett, proprietor and manager Madison Hotel.
William Deffenbache, proprietor and manager Monticello Hotel.
William F. Widell, president and manager Widell Hotel.
Entemann Bros., owners and managers Park Hotel.
Chris. E. Meyers, owner and manager Wade Hotel.
F. F. Tompkins, owner and manager Hotel Tompkins.
John C. Weaver, owner and manager Weaver's Tavern Hotel.
M. J. McCormick, owner and manager Grand Hotel.
Mrs. M. M. Swaab, manager Court Hotel.

Very truly, yours,

TOLEDO HOTEL MEN'S ASSOCIATION,
By A. C. STEPHENS, *President.*

Attest:

E. W. HARMEYER, *Secretary.*

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER].

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Chairman, I am very sorry the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY] has gone from the room, for I have here a rather interesting document in regard to the attitude of this high and holy organization known as the Anti-Saloon League on the drug question. Last year it was my privilege to submit to this House, as some of the by-products of prohibition, a list of 747 so-called medicines that run all the way from eight-tenths of 1 per cent to 93½ per cent in alcohol. I discussed at that time the use of opiates and drugs. But the important and interesting thing in this is the national attitude of Pharisaism and hypocrisy that it brings out. I do not know of any measure that comes on the floor of this House where so many men ask to be excused from the roll call as when they vote on this. The only organization in America that wants secret pledges from men in advance of their nomination is the Anti-Saloon League, and no other concern does business that way. This Anti-Saloon League, whose superintendent or attorney, Wheeler, told me in Oberlin, Ohio, in 1894, if I would join the organization they would make a rich man out of me because it was the best graft now going in America; and who in 1909, when I met him in Salt Lake City, Utah, on his return trip from California, laughed at the people of Utah for coming across with funds as they did, the same time they toured that country out there, and he happened to think afterward I had taken the other side of it and did not talk any more. This holy organization that takes over a million dollars from the drug concerns a year, a holy institution that stops at nothing to destroy a man's character or reputation who will not yield to them, and who to-day is carrying on the movement in this country to destroy every man, not only financially but every other way they can, who dares to stand against them, who have told me in my home they would destroy me if I did not yield to them; these men who if they were not in Washington this bill would never have been brought out and we all know it. What is the use of this camouflage parading around here? We know that this bill is here at their order and no other. Let us see how they stand on the drug proposition.

Senator FRELINGHUYSEN introduced over in the Senate a resolution for an investigating committee that was just reported, a resolution to investigate the use of drugs in this country by the appointment of a commission. That commission shall investigate the causes which lead to the use of habit-forming drugs, the extent of the use of such drugs, and the kind of drugs used, and shall also investigate the subject of the drug addicts and such other factors as in its judgment have an important bearing upon the use of narcotic and habit-forming drugs, and shall recommend to the President the best methods in its judgment of regulating the importation, the manufacture, sale, and use of narcotics and habit-forming drugs and of solving the problem presented by the drug addicts.

In the American Issue, the editorial organ of the Anti-Saloon League, in which the names of some of the gentlemen referred to by the gentleman from Illinois appear, on page 4, its editorial page, August 31, it has this to say about this resolution. I say these drug concerns have financed the Anti-Saloon League, and there is not a man on the floor of this House who dares to produce their books. And I say you men to-day are getting ready to cast your ballot under the lash of the Anti-Saloon League for the purpose of turning this country over to these drug men who are in the pay of this habit-forming drug organization. I mean just what I say, but at the present time you had just as well bay at the moon. The American people are getting into the drug-use game. They substitute it for alcohol and the advance agent for that organization is the holy Anti-Saloon League of America, which if you took the money from their coffers would close business to-morrow.

The only men who ask you to make secret pledges in writing before you are nominated and say, "We will keep it secret if it will embarrass you in your nomination and election." I do not say all men get such communications. I say the Missouri delegation has had them for the last three elections. I do not say who answered them or how. I say that is the practice of that organization, and it is not alone in Missouri. Men would rather do anything than be put on a roll call on these bills.

Here is an editorial on this very resolution. I will produce a letter from the Anti-Saloon League in that regard and put it in the RECORD if anybody wants to see it. This says:

A ROSEWATER RESOLUTION.

A joint resolution was introduced in the United States Senate July 13 by Senator FRELINGHUYSEN authorizing the President to appoint a commission to investigate the subject of narcotic and habit-forming drugs. The first "whereas" reads as follows:

"Whereas it is openly charged by scientific men and statisticians that the use of narcotic and habit-forming drugs is largely on the increase, not only in the form of opium, morphine, cocaine, heroin, and kindred opiates, but also certain so-called 'soft drinks' charged with caffeine, sold at innumerable fountains to our young men and young women." This is significant, not so much for what it contains as for what it omits.

If Congress is to provide $50,000 for a junketing commission in this time of stress and strain it should be no half-way inquiry, but should cover all kinds of habit-forming drugs. The significant omission in the resolution is alcohol. Why? Surely, if the trace of caffeine in some so-called "soft" drinks is a sufficient menace to the health and morals of the people to justify a congressional investigation, the menace of alcohol is a thousandfold greater. While investigating caffeine why omit coffee, which, as ordinarily served, contains more of the drug than any ordinary "soft" drinks served at soda fountains? Then Congress must not overlook the alkaloid theine, contained in every infusion of tea leaves, which is chemically identical with caffeine. The committee might cause offense to another alkaloid, nicotine, a product of the tobacco plant, if the investigators overlooked its claims as a narcotic and habit-forming drug.

We are very much afraid that the brewers are trying to "put one over" on Senator FRELINGHUYSEN by getting him to introduce this Rosewater resolution.

In 1908 "Rosewater," then known as Rosenwasser—

A man who was recognized as being of exceptional intellectual capacity and held that place, but his report was adverse to the Anti-Saloon League. That is the way they treat him, the man who had opened the first dope clinic in the world, and they appeal to the fact that his name was once "Rosenwasser," but a man who so hated all suggestions of Germanism that years ago he changed his name to Rosewater. And yet they try to bring that up, Mr. Chairman, as an argument—

was a member of a commission on dependency and crime in the State of New Jersey, the president of which was Michael T. Barrett, vice president of the Lyon & Sons Brewing Co. and secretary of the United States Brewing Co., both of which companies have been taken over by A. Mitchell Palmer, Alien Property Custodian. This commission prepared a whitewashing report, so far as alcohol is concerned, and recommended the sale of liquor on Sundays.

Congress has already legislated in the Harrison Act very strongly on the question of narcotic drugs, and the Department of Justice has complete records on the subject.

Mr. Rosewater is now a commissioned surgeon in the Army, made such since this editorial was written. Pro-German? The only man in America who has conducted his clinic solely on this and has produced in Newark, N. J., an absolute cure of more than 38 per cent of men and women who have come to him as victims of drugs.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MEEKER. I ask for five minutes more.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the gentleman's time be extended. I would like to ask him a question.

Mr. HAUGEN. I yield five minutes to the gentleman.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MEEKER. Not now. This commission prepared a whitewashing report, so far as alcohol is concerned. I presume the Surgeon General of the Navy was whitewashed when Mr. Daniels accepted 6,500 quarts of good whisky for the Navy. The enemy of liquor takes it as a gift if it does not offend the Internal-Revenue Department—6,500 quarts at Seattle as a gift. Who bought the Surgeon General of the Navy, when this man is to be brought in who is now a commissioned officer of the Navy and made so since this editorial was written?

So far, so good. This man, at the invitation of four governors of the South, has investigated their States as to the drug condition.

Rosewater, alias Rosenwasser, has maintained for years an office in the city of Newark as a specialist in treatment of drug addicts. Of late he has been wandering about in dry territory with his notebook making superficial notes.

What right? The man has his clinic in Newark, and that is where he has established his world-wide reputation as an investigator. This holy organization that is fighting to save the babies from paregoric; this holy organization that takes the pay of a concern in Michigan that has 47 per cent alcohol in its product and on the bottle is a direction to the baby's mother as to how to give it to the children; this great organization that does not object to the producing of the Wine of Cardui organization in Tennessee and protests against putting out beer that has 4 per cent of alcohol—these great men, these saints, these uplifters who have stopped every bill that has been offered in this House toward the work of this war until they have dictated their own terms, and not one of whom yet has been known as a worker in war work. There are no liberty-bond campaigners amongst them; no Red Cross work amongst them. They are too busy directing what should be done on the hill, these holy men, these drug opponents and enemies, writing this editorial. And the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY] falls for that kind of stuff, in the face of an editorial not a month old.

Here is what they say in conclusion:

So far so good; but why neglect the dope fiends of Newark, Jersey City, Hoboken, and New York, in all of which cities they are a pest? One naturally wonders why, if prohibition of alcohol leads to increased use of other drugs, Rosewater doesn't remove to some prohibition State where he could find more patients.

It is a significant fact that before the doctor took his resolution to Washington his investigations were referred to in Justice, the official booze organ of New Jersey, and in the Newark Ledger, the personal organ of Chris. Feigenspan, president of the United States Brewers' Association. Who employed Rosewater, alias Rosenwasser? Who drew the joint resolution for him? Who are most concerned to divert public attention from the liquor traffic? Why was alcohol omitted from the duties of the proposed commission? One answer will fit all questions.

Senator FRELINGHUYSEN will be sensible and discreet if he forgets this joint resolution.

Mr. BLANTON. Now, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. MEEKER. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. Does not the gentleman know that if the Anti-Saloon League were wiped out of existence the prohibition fight on the floor of this House and elsewhere would go on just the same?

Mr. MEEKER. I do not know anything of the sort, and the gentleman from Texas does not know it, either.

Mr. BLANTON. That is the truth.

Mr. MEEKER. It is not the truth. The Prohibition Party in this country casts an average of 50,000 votes out of 30,000,000.

Mr. BLANTON. But it will not stop until the Nation is as dry as a powder house.

Mr. MEEKER. At that time the gentleman will be in heaven, or some other place, instead of in Congress. As long as men are going to prohibit the manufacture of alcohol we in this country are going in two directions. We have two nations to follow so far as the physiology is concerned. Sweden and Turkey, the one to drugs and the other to pure alcohol. Sweden has attempted absolute prohibition, but with what result? That her people have become just as the people of Seattle, Wash., have, with 6,500 quarts of good whisky on their hips to turn over to the prohibition Secretary of the Navy. I wonder who bought Daniels?

I wonder if this high and holy Anti-Saloon League will write an editorial on Daniels taking on board a big jag for the Navy? Consistent, holy gentlemen! We are driving in two directions. You men will come back to this Congress in five years with the problem of the use of drugs that will stagger every man, something that will be destroying our young people, and you will come back with the problem of private distillation that will make that of Sweden look like only the beginning.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I did not intend to say anything upon this proposition, but I was afraid, perhaps, that the vigorous speech of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER] might give you the wrong impression about the views entertained in our State.

The truth of the matter is, the Missouri delegation does not agree with Mr. MEEKER. I have not been authorized to speak for them, but I know that they will not object to my saying that, with perhaps three exceptions, the entire Missouri delegation will vote for this war prohibition amendment. [Applause.]

And I wish to say to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER] that the delegation from Missouri, his colleagues, with whom I have the honor to associate, do not have to sign any pledges, secret or public. Everybody knows in our districts where we stand on this proposition. We have told them before we were elected, and they have no doubts as to how the roll will stand when Missourians' names are called.

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER] has spent much time in talking about the Anti-Saloon League. I do not represent the Anti-Saloon League, but I know a few of them. I do know Dr. Dinwiddie. I once met a man by the name of Baker, from Ohio, president of the league, who invited me to make a speech at Atlantic City, and I made it and paid my own expenses. I have met a man by the name of Richard Pearson Hobson. I understand that he has been associated with the Anti-Saloon League of America, and I am not afraid to testify that he is the kind of man that does honor to any organization in any country of this world. [Applause.] He needs no tribute of mine or from Mr. MEEKER as to his patriotism. He demonstrated his courage in the War with Spain when he sank the *Merrimac*, and before men attempt to detract from his honor or his patriotism let them go and do likewise.

The gentleman casts some aspersion upon these people who believe in prohibition as not being workers in this war. I resent it on behalf of the people I have the honor to represent. I resent it on behalf of all good Missourians who believe in prohibition, including those in the district which the gentleman represents. There are people in his district who believe in prohibition, though they are greatly in the minority. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER] may talk as though he had the courage of a lion, but we all know that the overwhelming majority of the people in his district are against prohibition. He talks as if he had been persecuted. He speaks as if the people of his district had tried to beat him because he is wet. Let him stand as I have stood and as other members of the Missouri delegation have stood in districts where the people were divided on this question, and then he might talk about persecution. If he had the brewers of St. Louis fighting him because

he stood against beer [applause], if he had the distillers against him, then he could come up here and swell out his chest and pretend to be a courageous lion, standing for what he believed. [Applause.] He has spoken much against the Anti-Saloon League, against Dr. Baker, against Dr. Dinwiddie, against Richard Pearson Hobson, against men like William J. Bryan as professional prohibitionists. I want to say something to the gentleman, and he knows I am his friend personally: There are people who are professional antiprohibitionists. [Applause.]

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DECKER. Yes.

Mr. GORDON. I would like to know, you being one of the Missouri delegation that Mr. MEEKER referred to, whether or not it is the fact that the Anti-Saloon League has been getting secret pledges from members of the Missouri delegation pledging them to vote for prohibition?

Mr. DECKER. I thank the gentleman from Ohio for asking that question. There may have been such pledges sent to some people. I have never received one. I began to make speeches in favor of prohibition long before I started to run for Congress. I am a leader for prohibition out in my country. [Applause.] I do not ask anybody from St. Louis or even Mr. Bryan or Mr. Hobson on that question. [Applause.]

Mr. GORDON. That is not quite responsive to my question.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. DECKER. May I have five minutes more?

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes more to the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri is recognized for five minutes more.

Mr. DECKER. I can not speak for other men, but I do not think it is true. It is true that the Anti-Saloon League in Missouri——

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DECKER. Yes.

Mr. MEEKER. Do you mean to say they have not sent out those letters?

Mr. DECKER. Do not attempt to intimate that you are coming up here to intimidate me. Do not think that I am afraid of you.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask for order.

Mr. DECKER. No; I will maintain order here, so far as that is concerned. They have never been sent to me. Where the gentleman has misled the House is in saying "they promised to keep them secret."

Mr. MEEKER. I will put that copy in the RECORD.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I ask gentlemen to observe the rule.

Mr MEEKER. I rise to a question of personal privilege, and I will put a copy of that letter in the RECORD.

Mr. DECKER. All right, put it in the RECORD.

Mr. RUBEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DECKER. Yes.

Mr. RUBEY. I am a member of the Missouri delegation, and I never received a letter of that kind. [Applause.]

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Chairman, I want to be fair with the gentleman. I do not think the Anti-Saloon League of Missouri has been in the habit of publishing these pledges. You know the Bible says, "Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves," and the trouble with a good many prohibitionists in the past has been they have been harmless as doves but have not had as much sense as serpents. The Anti-Saloon League has been fighting the cause with good judgment and has been of great service, and I know of no dishonorable methods that they have been guilty of. Sometimes they may have kept pledges secret. Have the brewers of St. Louis and the distillers always told the people of the country who they were relying upon? [Applause.]

I lived in Kansas when I was a boy and you need not talk to me about prohibition driving people to drugs. You never saw a man that was raised in the State of Kansas that could be elected road overseer in the county where he lived that would dare to stand up and talk against prohibition, national or local. I know you had one man by the name of Hadley that came over from Kansas and was elected governor of Missouri; he was not a prohibitionist publicly, but down in his heart I believe he knew it was a success. A man ran for governor in Kansas three or four elections ago, and he ran on a resubmission platform and did not get enough votes hardly to count. It has been tried in different sections of Missouri. It has been a success. The gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] can argue with his ability and philosophical trend of mind that wine is a good thing, beer is a good thing, and whisky is better than many things, but I want to say to you men that you do not have to consult a doctor, you do not have to hunt up statistics—the ordinary man only has to go and drag out the skeleton in the closet of his own family to know what whisky does for mankind. [Applause.]

It weakens the strong; it tears down the mighty; it has not been good for statesmen; it has not been good for some preachers and ministers of the gospel. [Applause.] It has not been a good thing for the man who toils with his hands; it has not been a good thing to steady the nerve of the engineer who holds the throttle while you and I are asleep on the cushions. [Applause.]

Do not talk about this being a "holier than thou" movement. I do not claim to be any better than you; I do not claim I will get to heaven quicker than you do; I do not claim that a man has to be a prohibitionist to go to heaven. I do not claim that. It is not a religious question. As long as it was made a religious question such fellows as the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER] could come into our districts and beat us two to one. When we got to talking to the farmers, the railroad men, the miners, to the boys and the men who do the work, and telling them that it was an economic question; that it meant a question of boots and shoes and clothing for little children, enabling them to go to school, with a fire in the stove to keep them warm, they knew we were telling the truth. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Chairman, I ask for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. DECKER. I hope I am not imposing on your patience, but you must excuse me. This charge of hypocrisy and talk about "holier than thou" has riled me. My good friend Mr. SABATH differs, I see. He is one of the most patriotic men, one of the best men that I have known in Congress. God forbid that I should give the impression, because we differ on this question, that I think I am "holier than thou." Deliver me from ever being a hypocrite. This is not the only question that men like you and me have to settle in Congress. I will not say that this is the most important question.

The most important question is winning the war. Our boys are fighting for the Stars and Stripes over there. I want to ask the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER] if this prohibition is a good thing for our soldier boys while being trained to fight and die, why is this prohibition such an evil for the other people of our country who are helping to win the war? [Applause.]

If this prohibition is a good thing for the boys whom we train to lead the charge, why blame the mothers of these boys and the fathers, too, who insist that prohibition is also good for the men and boys who stay at home. These same fathers and mothers are told that we need more grain, more labor, more fuel, more transportation. Why blame them because they demand that you and I as their representatives see to it that food and fuel and labor and transportation are not used in this business which all must admit is not essential to the winning of the war?

Men who are against this proposition in time of peace are for it now. For the sake of conservation, for the sake of increasing our morale, for the sake of the flag, for the sake of victory, the overwhelming majority of America is for prohibition during the war.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

The committee informally rose; and Mr. DEWALT having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, a message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12923) to supplement the second liberty-bond act, as amended, and for other purpose.

FOOD-PRODUCTION ACT.

The committee resumed its session.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON].

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman who preceded me talked as if this was a measure to authorize the President to prohibit the use of grain and foodstuffs in the manufacture of spirituous, vinous, and malt liquors. Why, we passed a bill of that sort a year and a half ago. As I recall, the food-conservation bill originally passed prohibited absolutely the use of grain in the manufacture of spirituous liquor during the period of the war and authorized the President at any time to prohibit the use of food and grain in the manufacture of vinous

and malt liquors, so that no legislation is necessary to accomplish the purpose which the gentleman from Missouri was advocating here so eloquently. Now, I want to say to you, Mr. Chairman, none of my family have died drunkards, and I can not testify as an expert, as the gentleman who preceded me says everybody here can. I myself do not use intoxicating liquors in any form as a beverage, and never have since I was 14 years old. So I am not a reformed drunkard, either. My principal objection to this measure is that it violates the Constitution of the United States. I know that will be laughed at. We have been notified from high authority in both branches of Congress that we have suspended the Constitution. Just how that was done nobody has taken the time or trouble to explain. Just how all these people who are bellowing around here have released themselves from their oath of office nobody has suggested.

Mr. SLOAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORDON. I can not yield, my time is so limited, but I will yield for a question only.

Mr. SLOAN. Be a little more concrete, if the gentleman pleases, as to who the high authority is that waives the Constitution.

Mr. GORDON. The distinguished Republican leader in the United States Senate so testified in his speech there about a week ago that it was suspended. I inquired of the gentleman in charge of this bill a little while ago how much whisky or spirituous liquors there are in bond under contract with the Government of the United States, the sale of which would be prohibited after the 30th of next June if this bill becomes a law. He said he did not know. He said it was not important anyway, because this bill did not apply to those liquors, which clearly indicates he has not even read the bill of which he is in charge. I will read so much of the bill as contains that provision:

It shall be unlawful to sell for beverage purposes any distilled spirits, and during said time no distilled spirits held in bond shall be removed therefrom for beverage purposes except for export.

Except for export. Now, not being able to get any information from the committee having charge of the bill I called up the Commissioner of Internal Revenue just now and was informed by him there is in bond deposited under contract with the Government of the United States between 145,000,000 and 150,000,000 gallons of spirituous liquors. The gentleman with whom I talked is the expert in charge of this particular branch of the Internal-Revenue Office, and he said to me that without the tax those liquors are worth $1.50 to $2.50 a gallon, depending upon the time they had been in bond. If this bill passes that 145,000,000 to 150,000,000 gallons which has not been disposed of by the 30th of next June will be confiscated. That liquor was deposited there under contract with the Government of the United States, which permits the owners to withdraw that liquor from bond at any time within eight years by the payment of the legal tax upon it. This bill repudiates that contract. I asked the gentleman how much of this liquor could be sold or disposed of per month, and he said in reply to that that if the tax was not raised they could probably dispose of 5,000,000 gallons per month, but if the $8-a-gallon act, which this House has enacted, should become effective there would not be any of it disposed of, and that it will result in the confiscation of this property worth between two and three hundred millions of dollars. Now, we all like to hear these flowery speeches of our friend from Missouri and other gentlemen who are so hard up for a campaign issue that they seem willing to prove their patriotism by violating their oath of office, and I want to say to you that the Government of the United States under legislation enacted 40 or 50 years ago and amended from time to time since has received this property into its custody. It is now proposing to enact legislation that will confiscate that property. That I say violates the fifth amendment of the Constitution. If it is necessary to get liquor away out of the country to get it away from these people who live in this dry territory, and who consume so much of these drugs and other stuff the gentleman from California told us about, I say if the public welfare requires that this property be destroyed in order to keep it away from them, then I say that the Government of the United States ought to pay for this property before it destroys it. That is what I say. It is a plain, simple proposition. The fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides that private property shall not be taken for public purposes without due processes of law, and due process of law is to pay for the property its true value in money, and nobody proposes to do that. Why, the chairman of this Agricultural Committee, the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina, told me that this bill was unconstitutional, but he will vote for it just like all of these other fellows from these dry States.

Mr. KAHN. Does not the gentleman know that both France and Switzerland paid——

Mr. GORDON. Every civilized country on the face of the earth has always compensated for the value of property when they saw fit to take property and destroy it. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. SLAYDEN. I will say to the gentleman from California he asked virtually the same thing that I was going to ask.

Mr. GORDON. So far as winning this war is concerned, there is not a single nation on the face of the earth that has adopted prohibition except Russia, and we know what it did to Russia. The manufacture of intoxicating liquors was a Government monopoly before the Czar established prohibition, and it cost him his crown and scepter. I do not see how it helped Russia very much as a military asset. It seems to me that if it proves anything, so far as prohibition in Russia is concerned, it proves that it converts people into pacifists instead of making them fight. Now, Mr. Chairman, I understand I am talking to a packed jury here. [Laughter.] I was very much interested in the secret pledges that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER] stated had been sent to all the Missouri Members for the last three campaigns.

Mr. MEEKER. If the gentleman will yield, I have already wired for that letter and it will be here.

Mr. GORDON. That makes plain some of these votes that we have been having here. I will undertake to say no man has any right on a public question secretly to pledge himself in advance of his election, and when he does that he has obtained votes by false pretenses.

Mr. MEEKER. Does not the corrupt-practises act forbid it?

Mr. GORDON. Yes. The law forbids it.

Mr. RUBEY. I would like to guarantee to the gentleman that, outside of two or three of the Missouri delegation, none of them has received letters of the sort, and we are not pledging ourselves or making secret pledges to anybody.

Mr. GORDON. I am glad to hear the gentleman say that. That certainly exonerates him and confirms the high opinion I have always entertained of him.

Mr. MEEKER. Does the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RUBEY] indorse that system of trying to obtain votes?

Mr. RUBEY. Certainly not. I do not think the system prevails.

Mr. MEEKER. The letter will be produced.

Mr. GORDON. I was never asked to pledge myself on the question, and, so far as this prohibition question is concerned, my position, I think, has always been well known.

Mr. BLANTON. You spoke of the Government paying for the property.

Mr. GORDON. I spoke of paying for this property before they destroyed it.

Mr. BLANTON. Paying for it if they destroyed it?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. If the Government did agree to pay for it, would the gentleman be in favor of prohibition?

Mr. GORDON. No; I would not. What has that to do with it? I say to you, whether you are in favor of prohibition or not, you ought not to be in favor of this. The property is in the custody of the Government. I do not care how much you are in favor of prohibition, you ought to vote against this bill, because it does not contain any provision to pay for this property which is sought to be destroyed by this legislation. There is not an intelligent man on the floor of this House who does not know that this legislation is unconstitutional, but yet they will stand here and vote for it because they are afraid somebody will vote against them.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON] has expired.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SHERWOOD] asked unanimous consent to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, if no one else would like any time, I would like about five minutes.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MCLAUGHLIN].

Mr. MCLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I wish to speak of another amendment. When this bill was before the House an amendment was offered forbidding the use of any of the money to pay salaries or expenses of men who should be employed and to whom deferred classification under the draft law was given on account of such employment. That amendment was adopted by practically a unanimous vote of the Committee of the Whole and was later approved by the House. At about the same time other bills of importance providing for the employment of a large number of men were considered and

passed. Nearly every one of those bills contained a similar provision. I have in mind the bill providing for the taking of the next census, a bill which provides for the employment of some 80,000 men and women, and without a dissenting voice the Committee of the Whole adopted an amendment forbidding the granting of deferred classification to any man on account of his employment under that law. So the House is committed on that question, and I believe very properly so.

This bill passed and went to the Senate carrying that provision. When it reached the Senate it was amended. It comes back with that provision stricken out. I wish to call the attention of Members of the House to that fact and to prepare them for an amendment that will be offered to disagree to the Senate amendment and instructing the conferees not to yield on that proposition.

Now, under the bill similar to this, passed a year ago, carrying an amount of money much smaller than this bill carries, the Department of Agriculture employed some 4,500, mostly men. This bill, carrying a much larger amount, will continue the employment of the 4,500 and provide for the employment of about 7,000 more, making about 11,500 to be employed under this bill. Almost all of them are or will be employed temporarily for special work, stimulating agriculture, carrying information to the people, gathering statistics, and other kinds of extension work. It was urged against this amendment when it was considered in the House that it would embarrass the regular work of the Department of Agriculture, interfere with the employment or the pay of its regular employees. That statement was not correct. The regular employees of the department are not employed or provided for by these appropriations. These appropriations provide almost entirely for temporary employment of men and women, so that the department can start out now and employ all the men it wishes or needs to employ under this act; but it is up to the department, it seems to me, and my idea in offering the amendment was approved by the House, that it should employ only those who are outside the draft age.

The Department of Agriculture reported to the Committee on Agriculture that at the request of the Secretary, deferred classification had been given to some 2,200 of its employees, and it struck the House as a very large number.

Now, when we consider the large number of girls and women employed in the Department of Agriculture and the large number of men who have been employed there for many years, and who are above 31 years of age, we must see and admit that 2,200 given deferred classification is an unreasonably large number; that the spirit of the draft law has been lost sight of; that the provision of the law permitting deferred classification at the request of the Secretary of Agriculture has been abused. I believe and insist that this law providing for employment of men, almost all of them temporarily, should be so framed as to make it impossible for the Secretary to request or secure deferred classification of these men.

Mr. WALDOW. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Yes.

Mr. WALDOW. As to that 2,200 who have received deferred classification, is that 2,200 out of the 4,500 or out of the 11,500?

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. It is 2,200 out of all the men employed in the Department of Agriculture, including the 4,500 employed under a bill similar to this enacted a year ago.

Mr. WALDOW. Does the gentleman say that at the present time there are 11,500 employees of the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Oh, there are more than that. There are more than 20,000. I said that under this bill provision is made for the employment of about 11,500 men and women. Forty-five hundred were employed in similar work a year ago and paid out of appropriations carried in a bill similar to this bill, but which carried a smaller amount of money. This bill, carrying a much larger amount than the bill of last year, will continue the 4,500 on the rolls and permit the adding of 7,000 more, making 11,500, or such a matter, employed and to be employed under this act.

Mr. WALDOW. I do not believe the gentleman has caught my point. This bill has not passed. Has the Department of Agriculture employed 11,500 without the passage of this bill?

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. No. They have continued, as I understand it, the 4,500 employees that were employed under a similar act passed a year ago, and they are waiting to employ the additional 7,000 until this act shall have been passed.

Mr. WALDOW. Then my contention is correct, that the 2,200 who have received deferred classification——

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Are not included in the 7,000 additional to be employed under this act. That is right.

It must impress everybody that 2,200 is a very large number, and that continuation of the policy pursued by the Secretary of Agriculture ought not to be permitted.

It is urged by the Department of Agriculture that if this amendment is passed it will embarrass them in their work, and I have been urged to withdraw my support from the amendment; have been told the work of the department—and to be done under this act—will be embarrassed if the amendment becomes law. They say they wish to employ young men lately out of college to advise and instruct the farmers. [Laughter.] They say men without college training or who have been a long time out of college are not imbued with the spirit of the department, or are not up to date in their knowledge of present-day scientific agriculture. I insist to you, gentlemen, and I say it as a staunch supporter of the extension work carried on by the Department of Agriculture, that the principal objection to that work is and has been that young men without experience have been employed. They go out fresh from college, with too little experience in farming, and undertake to instruct, advise, and assist the farmers in their work, and they do not succeed.

The greatest objection that has been raised to the extension work of the department grows out of the fact that young and inexperienced men without knowledge of problems confronting farmers have been employed. If this amendment, adopted and made a part of this bill at my suggestion a few weeks ago and which the Senate has disagreed to, is put back into the bill it will be up to the Department of Agriculture to employ only older men, men of experience, men who can go to the farmers with better grace, meet them on a common footing and give better advice and produce better results.

Mr. Chairman, I have spoken for the purpose of calling the attention of the House to the fact that this amendment was stricken out in the Senate, and that we should pay attention to it when we consider the bill under the five-minute rule. Discussion so far on the bill has been altogether on the prohibition amendment, and I thought that unless the attention of the House were called to the draft amendment, so called, it might be lost sight of. It is very important and I trust the House will determine that it should remain in the bill. [Applause.]

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the Chair, Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the Senate amendments to House bill 11945 and had come to no resolution thereon.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bill of the following title, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 12923. An act to supplement the second liberty-bond act, as amended, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that this day they had presented to the President of the United States for his approval the following bill:

H. R. 12923. An act to supplement the second liberty-bond act, as amended, and for other purposes.

FOOD-PRODUCTION ACT.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the Senate amendments to House bill 11945.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, with Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky in the chair.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER].

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, let me inquire of the gentleman from Iowa how much time he intends to consume on that side? And before he answers I want to say that we are all anxious to vote on the bill this afternoon. If gentlemen will use as little time as possible for general debate, we ought to begin to vote in a very few minutes. I only have a request for five minutes more.

Mr. HAUGEN. I have an hour left, and I have a number who desire to speak. It is possible that some may yield back some of their time and we may get through quicker than that.

Mr. LEVER. I hope gentlemen will use as little time as possible for the accommodation of certain gentlemen who have reservations for to-night and still want to vote on this prohibition amendment.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, I understood the gentleman to say he had requests for five minutes only. I have asked for time, and I understand there are others.

Mr. LEVER. I misunderstood the gentleman from Mississippi. Other gentlemen have requested time who say now they do not want it.

Mr. HAUGEN. I believe that all of us are of the same opinion and want to expedite the passage of the bill as much as possible.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SLAYDEN].

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, the effort of some men to control the habits and thoughts of other men has been the cause of more trouble and bloodshed than any other one thing history mentions. For centuries that particular form of tyranny manifested itself in the struggle of religious faiths. It provoked wars and sent martyrs to the stake. The spirit that caused some men to perish in war and burned at the stake stout-hearted individuals who chose a cruel death rather than recant their views still lives and controls a few individuals in the American Congress. The majority of the Members of this House who scorn the right of American citizens to regulate their own conduct, who have tossed aside personal liberty as of no value, are not of the hard and cruel type that directed the horrors of the religious wars. These moralists of our day are merely working to save their seats in Congress. If they knew that the majority of their constituents were antiprohibitionists they would vociferously uphold that view of this question and would make the House deaf with their clamorous appeals for the personal liberty of the citizen. If they were uncertain about the views of the voters, no power under heaven could get them off the fence. But being convinced that the prohibition sentiment is sweeping the country, they let loose on us these tear-bringing appeals to the emotions that we have been compelled to endure for so long. I was gratified a few moments ago when the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MCLAUGHLIN] asked the House to remember that this paragraph about prohibition was not the only thing in the bill and that other features of this proposed law are entitled to consideration. But of course his appeal is in vain. When men are excited in the chase after other people's rights they give no thought to such matters. One of the wisest things ever said by Woodrow Wilson was his reference to this very question. In substance he said that one of the most apparent evils of the agitation for prohibition is that it cuts athwart every other question and makes calm consideration of important issues impossible. Here, to-day, we have an illustration of the wisdom of what the President said. It divides families, separates friends, and causes discord in communities. It has become a religious faith and, as of old, its believers are determined that the infidels shall be converted or exterminated. It makes men forget the political faith of the party to which they profess allegiance. Traditionally and in principle the Democratic Party is opposed to it. Platform after platform of the party of Jefferson has pronounced against it or any other form of sumptuary legislation. How many Members of this House care or know about these declarations?

Is it necessary to either coddle or control the grown-up men and women of the United States? They are neither imbeciles nor weaklings. They are a sober, decent, self-respecting people as a whole and have been from the beginning of our history. Certainly, the statesmen of an earlier period were as wise as any we can show to-day, their laws as wholesome, were as truly pious, as truthful, and, pardon me for saying it, infinitely braver in holding and expressing opinions.

The world is rapidly improving in respect to the evil of overindulgence in alcoholic drink. There is comparatively little drunkenness in our country now, and less and less as time goes on. Soon we will come to the view of drunkenness that obtains in other parts of the world and view it as it is viewed in Spain, France, Italy, and other parts of Europe—as a disgrace. Over there the drunkard who is a nuisance is punished, not the sober man who drinks moderately and behaves himself.

A few minutes ago I was talking to one of my colleagues recently returned from Europe. He tells me that he saw very little drunkenness; that in Scotland he saw only three intoxicated men, one Scotchman and two Americans. I do not doubt that the two Americans were from some prohibition community and had never been taught self-restraint. My friend Mr. GORDON, of Ohio, threw himself into this flood of impassioned oratory to call attention to one feature of this proposed law that is entitled to the gravest consideration. He challenges the constitutionality of a law that undertakes to confiscate or destroy property as this bill proposes to do. It is a bit of highwaymanry that no other country, either as a reform or war measure, has resorted to. It proposes to take property from the citizen by the superior force of the State without compensation. That is downright robbery and disgraceful to the American Union. France paid for the distilling plants and the liquors on hand when she abolished the trade in absinth. Switzerland did the same thing. This proposal is on the same moral plane as the act of the highwayman who takes money from the wayfarer by force of arms. For this Government to take or destroy property without full compensation is disgraceful and dishonest.

The talk about it as a war measure is pure humbuggery. It is precisely the program of the prohibitionists from a period long anterior to the present war, the Spanish War, or the War between the States. It is just an opportune phase of prohibition.

Here we are hard put to find money to carry on the war, and these gentlemen propose to cut off one source of revenue that might yield a billion dollars a year. How are we to make up the deficit? Shall it be by customs taxes that will add to the cost of everything we import? Shall it be by consumption taxes on tea, sugar, coffee, possibly butter and eggs? We must have the revenue if we are to defeat Germany. Let these gentlemen who propose to cut off large sources of income suggest others.

Our fathers did not know that it was disgraceful to make or improper to use moderately any sort of alcoholic drink. A glass of wine or a julep in some sections was an incitement to hospitality, to geniality, and increased the delights of all social occasions. Overindulgence in food or drink was rank, disgusting gluttony and equally tabooed in polite society.

George Washington, who was a figure of some importance in the beginning of our Government, was a distiller, and no less respected because of that fact. He sold the product of his distillery to his neighbors and required payment of the bills when due. I dare say there are Members of this House who would have taken his name off their visiting list—for which Washington would probably have been grateful—but long after they have sunk into the sea of oblivion so properly provided for them he will still be cherished by all true Americans as the greatest of all our products and to the end history will set him down as first in war, first in peace, and first in all the attributes of a real man.

Mr. Chairman, these speeches that appeal to the emotional, that overflow with pathos, have interested and amused me. They remind me of the first prohibition speech I ever heard; they are just as logical, just as unconvincing as the one I heard under a big live-oak tree in west Texas. The orator of that occasion had all the tricks of the present-day speakers on the same subject. He came out strong for the defense of mother and home that nobody was assaulting and everybody ready to defend. He denounced vice and praised virtue, in which all were agreed. He was most pathetic and moved those who wear their hearts on their sleeves to tears. He told, and told exceeding well, a story of how a workingman who had received his weekly wage stopped at the saloon on his way home and surrendered to his appetite for drink. His wife was at her poorly furnished home trying to still the cries of her hungry children. She hovered over the dying embers on the hearth, eating out her heart in anxiety, rocking the cradle with one foot while she wiped the tears out of her eyes with the other!

It was a moving and convincing tale.

Mr. Chairman, we are trying to destroy a tyrant in Europe. Let us be careful not to set up others at home. In trying to save democracy abroad let us not forget that it is more important to save it at home.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend and revise my remarks.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to extend my remarks slightly.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to these requests? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. Chairman, I ask leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HAUGEN. I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL].

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, whatever gentlemen's views may be on the subject of prohibition it must have become reasonably patent to any man who has taken the pains to keep informed that the time for the discussion of the pros and cons of the question of prohibition is past and that the time has come when the people demand that we act. There may be arguments entitled to some consideration against the legislation as contained in this bill, but, next to the determination of the Amer-

ican people to end this war with victory, next to that, the strongest determination in the American heart and mind to-day is that of establishing the condition of prohibition in this country during the period of the war and that will be very evident when the representatives of the people vote on this Senate amendment when we reach it. The American people are determined that for the period of the war at least grains and fruit shall not be used for the purpose of manufacturing intoxicating liquors; that for the period of the war at least conditions of sobriety shall be established throughout the country.

There was a time when arguments were in order, but that time has passed so far as the majority of the American people are concerned, and they are expecting us to act. Not all the American people are satisfied with the provisions of this bill. Some of them would prefer to have the date when prohibition is to take effect extended; many more would like to have, indeed are very anxious to have, the date of the taking of effect of prohibition legislation more immediate, but apart from these differences of opinion the overwhelming majority of the people are behind legislation of this character and for very good reasons. What George Washington did or thought or what other good men did or thought cuts no figure now. Times have changed, and the thoughts and views of men have changed with them, and many a man who a few years ago would have resented as unwarranted interference with personal liberty any legislation prohibiting the use of liquors is now a most ardent advocate of prohibition legislation. Yes; there will be some property losses, regrettable because loss of property is always regrettable; but the men who are in this business are largely responsible for that, for many of them, in the face of the very evident growing determination of the American people to put an end to the liquor business, have not only continued but have enlarged and extended their business.

Mr. Chairman, so much for that. This very important bill, important in its prohibition amendment, important in the aid it gives to agriculture in many lines, has unfortunately been loaded in another body with a lot of legislation that ought never to have been placed upon a bill of this character. It is important that we should regulate rents in the District of Columbia, but the regulation of rents in the District of Columbia has no place on a bill of this character; and while I do not wish to impugn the motive of any gentleman anywhere, I can not understand why anybody should have placed or should want to have remain in this bill legislation of that character if he is entirely and heartily favorable to the general purposes of the bill.

Mr. LEVER. Will the gentleman yield for a suggestion?

Mr. MONDELL. I yield.

Mr. LEVER. This bill has been amended in the other body with four great, big propositions over which the committees reporting it had no jurisdiction, namely, the rent-profiteering bill, the Indian land-leasing bill, the pure-feed bill, and this prohibition measure, with sundry other amendments.

Mr. MONDELL. There is no justification for it, and it all ought to come off of the bill in conference—every bit of it.

Mr. LEVER. Does it not look very suspicious as to motives?

Mr. MONDELL. As I said, I impugn no man's motive, but if I were compelled to form an opinion on the subject I might be constrained to feel that the motive might not have been the best.

Mr. LEVER. I feel very much the same way.

Mr. MONDELL. Now, gentlemen, I want to call particular attention to an amendment on page 26, which if it were presented in the proper way would seem to start all right with a view of preventing the shipment of improper, deleterious, and adulterated feed products. It has no place on a bill of this kind, for this committee should not in connection with the consideration of this bill have to go into the very large question of adulteration. But there is a very peculiar joker in next to the last line of that first paragraph on page 34. It is proposed to prohibit the shipment of ground or shredded straw or hay. Well, in the western country alfalfa is a very important product, and alfalfa meal is one of the very best dairy foods and dairy products. Alfalfa meal is ground or shredded alfalfa hay. In this amendment alfalfa hay and alfalfa meal, as pure products as there are in the world and probably the best of all foods for dairy purposes, is classed along with peanut hulls, rice hulls, ground corncobs, and other products having little or no feed value. The whole paragraph should go off the bill in conference. In any event, these perfectly pure and healthful foods should never be classed with these questionable articles.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to emphasize the statement made by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. McLAUGHLIN] relative to the provision of the bill stricken out by the Senate which was intended to prevent the Agricultural Department from becoming a haven for slackers. The American people are intensely in earnest about this war, and they are intensely in earnest in seeing that the draft law is equitably and honestly administered and that there shall be no place anywhere, particularly under Government control, where slackers may find bomb-proof refuge.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wyoming has expired.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Chairman, it must seem peculiar, to say the least, to the thinking Members of this body that while we are considering this prohibition amendment, tacked on this bill by the Senate as a pretended war measure, to a bill to stimulate agriculture, we are at the same time depriving people not only of their personal liberty but hundreds of thousands of our citizens of their business and property accumulated after years and years of perseverence and toil. All this is being done, we are told, to help win the war, while we are sending an army over the sea to fight for the liberty and freedom of the people everywhere and to make this world a decent place to live in. I regret very much that it is called a prohibition amendment, as there is something more than prohibition involved in it. It means the destruction of hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of property, the lifetime savings of many of those engaged in the liquor business, without any consideration for reimbursement or provision to pay for the property that is ruined and destroyed.

I am not a prohibitionist and never have been. I believe in temperance and am in favor of such regulations as are needed in conducting the traffic in liquor. I do not take any stock in the arguments that are being made here in favor of prohibition, because, as I have stated, this amendment means a great deal more than to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors. If I were a prohibitionist and I wanted to do a little work for the prohibition movement, I believe I would start right in here in Washington, where we have prohibition, to do a little missionary work.

I represent a district in Chicago where there are eight or nine hundred saloons doing business. You can walk all over the district in a little over an hour, and I want to tell you I can see as many drunks around Capitol Hill as I can see in my district any day of the week; and I notice, here as elsewhere, that a lot of the loudest shouters for prohibition are among the biggest booze fighters. Now, that is pretty plain, and there is more truth than poetry in it.

As I have told you, this is more, a great deal more, than merely a question of prohibition, because you propose by this act to ruin thousands of people and destroy their property, the life-time savings of many who have worked hard all their lives to accumulate the same, and you want to wipe it out without any consideration for them whatever, without any attempt to reimburse them for their loss. You are going to ruin thousands and thousands of prosperous people engaged in a business that the United States Government has been a partner in ever since the foundation of the Government, without any compensation to them whatever.

We are told that this is a war measure. Everybody who knows anything about the war and the provisions we have made for war-time prohibition knows that that is a fake argument pure and simple. There is no truth in it whatever; the war argument is simply used to further the prohibition movement, but the indications are that it will not go into force until the war is over.

We are told it will conserve grain and coal; that the grain is needed for food. Why, there is more vacant land in golf grounds, thousands and thousands of acres of the best kind of land, that could be planted and produce more grain, if necessary, than is used in all the breweries in the United States. Conserve the grain here, prevent the manufacture of harmless beer, and ship the grain over to our allies to be manufactured into beer and liquor over there, and distributed even to the soldiers in those countries, while it is not allowed within 5 miles of a camp in this country.

Then, again, we want to save the coal. Is it to save it for the poor people that are suffering for the want of coal in our cities or to sell it at a reasonable price? Why, if there was a movement started in this country, or in this House, to do one-quarter of the work to produce coal from the mines and distribute the same that has been done to further the prohibition movement, do you believe that millions all over the country would be threatened as they are now with freezing this winter? Why, out in my section of the country they have already given notice that there is to be a shortage of coal, and the news dispatches tell us that many are compelled at the present time to burn old papers or anything else they can get to burn to keep

warm and save themselves from catching cold; but here all the talk is about prohibition to win the war.

If the mines were worked and the coal distributed as it should be, and there was half the effort on the part of this House to see that coal was produced in sufficient quantity as there is to promote prohibition, do you believe that the people would be threatened as they now are in this country with freezing this winter because they can not get coal? Coal will still be furnished to business concerns and factories that supply goods that are not considered necessary or essential for the successful prosecution of the war, but breweries and saloons will be put out of business and the poor people will be still left to suffer from the cold and freeze; who cares?

If this prohibition movement were an honest movement to help the war, I would not say a word about it. I am in favor of winning the war, but everybody knows that such is not the purpose of this amendment. It is dishonest and hypocritical, and I can not understand what the American people are thinking about to allow a few agitators to put over such a law on them.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GALLAGHER. There is no use wasting any time with people like you. Everybody knows where you are.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GALLAGHER. I am talking to men with whom I can reason. I might talk to you for 24 hours and you would vote for prohibition anyway, because your district demands prohibition of you.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. GALLAGHER. I have only a few minutes. And I want to say that if I was going to do some missionary work for the prohibition cause I would like to start in to work up here on Capitol Hill, but what is the use. This is a proposition which you can not argue or convince anybody as to how they shall vote, because they have their minds made up in advance as to how they are going to vote.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. GALLAGHER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman spoke of drunkenness which he has seen on Capitol Hill. I would like to ask him this question: Do you refer by that to the official personnel of Capitol Hill or to the visitors here?

Mr. GALLAGHER. I think the House knows very well to whom I refer. [Laughter.] I do not think I need explain it.

The liquor business is not the only business that is going to be injured by this law; States, counties, and cities will be financially injured by its passage. In my city alone millions of dollars will be lost to the city government that now goes to the support of the municipality, to say nothing of the hundreds of millions of dollars that will be lost by the United States Government in revenue, at a time when money is so badly needed for war purposes; nor is any business in the country taxed as heavily as the liquor business. Liquor dealers pay a greater part of their income to the Government than does any other business in the United States.

Look at the movement that is going on for the passage of the constitutional amendment for national prohibition in the States. We are told they have 14 States that have already ratified the amendment. What States have submitted the question to the people for a vote on it? I do not know of any State but one that has honestly submitted that question to the voters of the States for ratification. The prohibition element are resorting to force, to bulldoze, and compel the State legislatures to ratify that amendment without ever submitting it to the people. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. GALLAGHER. I hope I have done some good to help our cause, anyway. [Laughter.]

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. PLATT].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. PLATT rose.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PLATT. I have not started yet.

Mr. DYER. I do not want to take the gentleman's time.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Chairman, I want to speak for a few minutes in regard to the National Security League. We have heard a most extraordinary tirade here this afternoon by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR], who declares that this organization is made up of profiteers and scoundrels of one kind and another, and he also alleges that the National Security League has charged every Member of this House who did not vote in accordance with its ideas on the questions selected as tests with being disloyal. That is pure bunk, and the gentleman knows it. It has not charged anybody with being disloyal. It has simply placed before the people in graphic form the records of Members of Congress on the declaration of war, the Kahn amendment to the draft act, the McLemore resolution, and certain preparedness measures. The gentleman from Wisconsin, if he had it to do over again, would not now vote, I am sure, as he did then on some of these measures. He is thoroughly patriotic; nobody, I am sure, doubts that; but we all make mistakes, and, for my part, I think it better to admit them than to abuse the person who points them out. Very few Members of the Sixty-third Congress, for instance, supported the first preparedness motions made by the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Gardner; but I do not believe there is a man here who will have the hardihood to deny that Mr. Gardner, who has since then laid down his life for his country, was right. The program of preparedness that he advocated so strenuously and ably in the winter of 1914–15 and later in the Sixty-fourth Congress was modest indeed compared with the enormous expenditures we have since undertaken; but if his program had been adopted then it would have saved this country of ours many millions of dollars and doubtless also many thousands of lives.

Those who voted with him, it seems to me, have a right to feel proud of that fact, but they certainly would not for a minute seek to imply that the great majority who voted otherwise were in any sense disloyal. The National Security League has not included those early roll calls of 1915 in its list of test votes; but as they were the pioneer preparedness votes after the beginning of the war in Europe I am going to insert two of them with my remarks.

Mr. Chairman, the National Security League needs no defense from me. It is composed of a large number of patriotic citizens scattered over the country, who pay the munificent sum of $1 a year for membership. With the fund so created the league issues its occasional charts and statements.

Here is a chart headed "Congressional vote on preparedness and war," prepared by the league publicity agent, Mr. E. L. Harvey. It shows how all the Members of the Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Congresses voted on eight questions selected as tests. With the chart was issued a statement for newspaper publication analyzing the votes and containing a "roll of honor," which comprises the names of 47 men out of 347, who were Members of both Congresses, who "voted right on all eight measures."

He also gives a list of 7 men who "voted wrong on all eight measures," a list of 22 who "voted wrong on seven of the eight measures," a list of 30 "who voted wrong on six of the measures," and a list of 58 "who voted wrong on five of the measures," and it figures up the percentage of wrong votes by States.

Now, it so happens that my name is on the honor roll, as are the names of most of my Republican colleagues from New York State, but I do not think the tests selected were entirely fair, nor do I think it was quite fair to get out an explanation of the chart containing a roll of honor and the names of men who voted wrong on eight, seven, six, and five of the questions selected without also giving the names of the men who voted right on seven, six, and five of the questions selected.

THE EIGHT TEST VOTES.

The eight measures used by the Security League's committee in the compilation of the chart were stated as follows:

No. 1. McLemore resolution, March 7, 1916. This resolution was to the effect that American citizens should forego their natural, legal, and constitutional rights to travel on the high seas.

No. 2. Kahn amendment to the Hay Army bill, March 23, 1916. This amendment sought to increase the Regular Army to 178,000, or more nearly approaching the recommendations of the General Staff of the Army.

No. 3. Brandegee amendment to the Hay-Chamberlain Army bill, April 18, 1916. This amendment provided for an Army of 250,000 as against 140,000.

No. 4. Section 56, providing for a volunteer reserve army wholly under Federal control, April 18, 1916.

These last two dates are wrong. Both votes were on the conference report, May 8, 1916.

No. 5. Motion to recommit naval appropriation bill, June 2, 1916. This motion was designed to secure an increase in the Navy beyond what was provided in the original bill.

No. 6. Cooper amendment, March 1, 1917. This amendment was designed to prohibit to American ships their legal right to carry arms or ammunition in their cargoes.

No. 7. Declaration of war against Germany, April 5, 1917.

No. 8. Kahn amendment to conscription act, April 23, 1917. This provided for the raising by conscription of the necessary Army to give effect to the declaration of war.

Now, the McLemore resolution, the Cooper amendment to the armed-ship bill, the declaration of war against Germany, and the Kahn amendment to the draft act were vital matters, and while no one should be accused of disloyalty who voted wrong on these matters, still it seems to me that those who did so vote

were wrong and might just as well admit it. The Republicans of the House make an excellent showing on all these questions.

The four preparedness votes selected were perhaps the best that could have been selected if four had to be taken, but it seems to me that No. 4, on section 56, should have been omitted, and I wrote to Mr. Harvey, the publicity director of the league, and told him so. I received a reply, dated August 23, from Mr. Charles D. Orth, chairman of the Security League's congressional committee, who is the man, by the way, who should be the target of criticism, if anybody. He explained that they had to select measures that "supplied an official record of actual votes," and added:

It is unfortunate that some Members spoiled their roll-of-honor record by voting wrong on section 56. Our view is that the thing of overriding importance was the essential and inherent principle involved, which should have governed the voting to the exclusion of any other consideration.

Section 56, you remember, brought in the question of the militia and the so-called continental army advocated by President Wilson in his message to Congress in December, 1915, but afterwards abandoned by him because of the open revolt of the Democratic leaders of the House against it.

A NEW HONOR ROLL.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to introduce a new honor roll by reading the names of the men who voted "yea" on the first roll call for preparedness on January 22, 1915. The motion was made by Mr. Gardner, of Massachusetts, to recommit the Army appropriation bill and add $700,000 to the appropriation for aircraft, and those who voted for it were:

Bathrick, Cooper, Curry, Edmonds, Esch, Farr, Gardner, Greene of Massachusetts, Guernsey, Hayes, Helgesen, Hinds, Hobson, Johnson of Washington, Lafferty, Lindbergh, McLaughlin, Mapes, Miller, Moss of West Virginia, Murdock, J. I. Nolan, Parker of New Jersey, Peters, Platt, Rogers, Smith of Michigan, Stephens of California, Sutherland, Temple, Underhill, Volstead, Winslow.

There were just 34 in that first preparedness roll call, and it is worthy of preservation.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PLATT. Yes.

Mr. HARDY. Does the circular state that Mr. Hay, before the vote was taken, said that they had already appropriated all that had been estimated?

Mr. PLATT. This vote I have taken from the RECORD, not from any circular; but Mr. Hay did say that. Let me read to you what Mr. Hay said with regard to another motion of Mr. Gardner's on the same bill, a motion to amend the item for field artillery so as to appropriate for 120 new guns instead of 52. Mr. Hay said: "We have plenty of time before the dreams and visions of the gentleman from Massachusetts shall come about to make all these guns."

That was the attitude of a certain crowd in this House at that time, and some of them have not gotten over it yet.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. PLATT. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. KNUTSON. It has been charged by Members of this House that one of the industrious charter members of the National Security League hired a substitute in the Civil War.

Mr. PLATT. That has nothing to do with the attitude of Members of Congress on this war.

Mr. KNUTSON. Can the gentleman give any information as to the time when this official became so very patriotic and experienced a change of heart?

Mr. PLATT. I do not know what the gentleman refers to. This organization, I may say, is doing just exactly as the Anti-Saloon League and other organizations are doing with respect to the votes of Members of Congress. They are a little overzealous, perhaps, and so is the Anti-Saloon League. I disagree with some of their methods.

Mr. KNUTSON. Would it not be far better for the country if this gentleman had had a more patriotic fervor in 1861?

Mr. PLATT. I fail to see that 1861 has any connection with 1918. The National Security League is, generally speaking, all right and did a lot of good work before we entered the war in advocating preparedness. It is nonpartisan and composed of patriotic citizens who pay $1 a year.

And now I want to add the second roll call on preparedness, that of February 23, 1915. It was on a motion made by the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Gardner, to recommit the fortifications bill with instructions to report an appropriation of $1,000,000 instead of $200,000 for the purchase, manufacture, and test of ammunition for seacoast cannon:

Britten, Bryan, Danforth, Deitrick, Donohoe, Falconer, Farr, Gardner, Greene of Massachusetts, Greene of Vermont, Guernsey, Helgesen, Hinds, Hobson, Johnson of Utah, Johnson of Washington, Kiess of Pennsylvania, J. B. Knowland, Kreider, La Follette, Miller, Mott, Murdock, J. I. Nolan, Paige of Massachusetts, Parker of New Jersey, Patton of Pennsylvania, Peters, Platt, Plumley, Porter, Powers, Rogers, Shreve, Sinnott, Sutherland, Ten Eyck, Thompson of Illinois.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Chairman, I was very much interested in the speech of the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN], who fired the opening gun in this fight. He made a very strong argument, from his standpoint, against the prohibition provision contained in this bill relative to the manufacture and sale of wine and beer.

In the course of his remarks he admitted that he believed the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of whisky would be a national disaster. I do not undertake to quote his words verbatim. He closed his speech, strange to say, with a quotation from the Scriptures, which he read in support of his argument in behalf of the sale of intoxicating drinks. In concluding his speech the gentleman read from St. John, second chapter, first to tenth verses, inclusive. I am not a pronounced or recognized student or scholar of the Scriptures, but since hearing him I have deemed it proper to put some other passages of Scripture in the RECORD, which the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] perhaps for want of time did not insert. Let me read. I will insert proper references in the RECORD:

Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink, that puttest thy bottle to him and makest him drunken. (Habakkuk ii, 15.)

Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his color in the cup, when it moveth itself aright.

At the last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder. (Proverbs xxiii, 31, 32.)

Who hath woe? Who hath sorrow? Who hath contentions? Who hath babbling? Who hath wounds without cause? Who hath redness of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed wine. (Proverbs xxiii, 29, 30.)

Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning that they may follow strong drink; that continue until night till wine inflame them. (Isaiah v, 11.)

Woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink; which justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him! (Isaiah v, 22, 23.)

Awake ye drunkards, and weep; and howl, all ye drinkers of wine, because of the new wine; for it is cut off from your mouth. (Joel i, 5.)

Nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God. (I Corinthians vi, 10.)

Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging; and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise. (Proverbs xx, 1.)

Mr. Chairman, I desire to put these scriptural quotations in the RECORD in answer to the scriptural quotation read by my friend, the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN].

Mr. CANNON. Which is the older in point of time?

Mr. RUCKER. I or the gentleman from California? He is.

Mr. CANNON. No; which is the older scriptural quotation?

Mr. RUCKER. I want to say that I knew in this splendid audience, composed of nearly the entire membership of the House, there would be some not conversant with the Bible. I have no reference to the gentleman from Illinois. [Laughter.]

Mr. CANNON. Some of the quotations are from the Old Testament and others from the new.

Mr. RUCKER. The gentleman has had ample time to study Scriptures. Some of these quotations are from the New Testament, current and everlasting, and are to-day appealing to me and you in behalf of humanity. [Applause.]

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BESHLIN].

Mr. BESHLIN. Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of the bill, particularly the prohibition clause. Personally I favor moving forward the date to January, 1919, and if I have an opportunity I shall offer an amendment to that effect. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself one minute. I would like to inquire of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN] how many more speeches he has?

Mr. HAUGEN. I have promised the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] 10 minutes, and I am not sure about the others. I rather think they intend to give in their time.

Mr. LEVER. I would like to say to the gentleman from Iowa, and to others who have sought time on this side, that I would be very glad indeed if the gentleman could conclude in 10 minutes on that side, and we will try to do so on this, although we will have to insist that some of the gentlemen take a little less time than we promised them. I know that gentlemen want to get home, and unless you can cut some of this time——

Mr. DEWALT. Will the gentleman permit me a moment?

Mr. LEVER. Yes.

Mr. DEWALT. I asked for time, but I will record my sentiments by my vote and not speak.

Mr. LEVER. The gentleman's position is always big and fair. The gentleman from Texas wants only two minutes of time, and I yield that much to him.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GALLAGHER], intimated that I was going to vote for prohibition because my district was overwhelmingly in favor of it. If I were equally unfair, I might intimate that inasmuch as the gentleman stated there were—I have forgotten how many—hundreds of saloons in his district, over which, he said, he could walk in one hour, possibly that might be the reason for his sentiments against prohibition expressed upon the floor of the House, and also when he says that he has seen so much drunkenness upon Capitol Hill and that he is willing to confine it to the business elements of this hill. And by that, I take it, he so condemns in his indictment the membership of the House.

I am not that unfair. I might, if I wanted to be unfair, such as he was when he said there was so much dishonesty in the prohibition cause, call attention to the fact that nowhere has it ever been shown in the history of this country that the prohibition element of this country had used $156,000 at one time in an attempt to debauch the governor of a State; and at no time can it be shown that the prohibition element in this country, Anti-Saloon League, or any other part of it, has ever attempted to use $375,000 for establishing a newspaper to run in the Capital of the Nation with whole page advertisements and leading editorials in behalf of the liquor traffic.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

Mr. McARTHUR. I object.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I regret to state that there will not be any more extension of remarks on the other side.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD].

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, when the Congress enacted the food-conservation bill, of which this bill is an amendment, a year ago last August, it delegated to the President such authority in the control of the further manufacture of liquors that the people approved of that action. Under that law it actually forbade the further manufacture of alcoholic liquors, and left it in the discretion of the President whenever in his judgment it was necessary to conserve food, to restrict the further manufacture of maltous and vinous beverages. That was generally acceptable to the people, but the Anti-Saloon League, not willing to accept that rational solution, precipitated this fight. When this bill was originally under consideration in the House an amendment seeking to compel the President to exercise the authority forbidding the further use of grain in the manufacture of maltous beverages was presented and voted in the bill. The bill went to the Senate. The Anti-Saloon Leaguers got busy. They began to proselyte throughout the country, to cause messages by the hundreds to be sent to Senators, and as the result there passed without a roll call the amendment that we have under consideration, that forbids the further manufacture of beer after May the first next, and the further sale of any kind of liquor, whether it is maltous or alcoholic, after June 30 next.

I contend that the statesmanlike position in the consideration of this question was the decision of Congress last year when we referred it to the President to determine what should be the policy as to the further manufacture of maltous and vinous beverages. For when we pass this amendment, which under the hysteria of the moment is going to be passed through pressure of the Anti-Saloon Leaguers, then you are going to confiscate hundreds of millions of gallons of whisky in bonded warehouses for which the liquor dealers of the country have given their bond and which they were assured they would have the privilege to take out of bond within eight years. With the increased tax on whisky its consumption is rapidly diminishing. To adopt this amendment absolutely prevents the further manufacture and sale of beer next year. Everyone knows that this puts a premium on the illicit manufacture of whisky and the surreptitious use of habit-forming drugs. Beer can not be readily manufactured in small quantities. It is accordingly a whisky and habit-forming-drug proposition.

The President, under Executive order last week, under the authority of this particular law of a year ago, put a ban for the present upon the further manufacture of maltous liquors. It provides that there shall be no more sugar, glucose, corn, rice, or other foods used in the manufacture of beer or near beer after October 1, and that between October 1 and December 1 beer and near beer may be manufactured out of the supply of malt and hops then in existence. But it says nothing, and rightly says nothing, against the sale of the beer now in storage or prevents the further manufacture of beer when it is no longer necessary to conserve food. The brewers of this country have accepted the decision of the President that it is needed as a war measure.

But there has been an insidious attempt on the part of the Anti-Saloon Leaguers to cast odium upon the brewers of this country because, perchance, the brewers and brewery workmen by ancestry trace their lineage to the alien enemy. I have heard Anti-Saloon Leaguers in my own community during the campaign try to besmirch the loyalty of the brewers in this great crisis, and even now the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON], blatant prohibitionist that he is, seeks to cast odium upon them because they have loaned $375,000 to Mr. Arthur Brisbane to aid him in acquiring the ownership of the Washington Times.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Not at this moment. I will when I have completed this statement. I am not acquainted with Mr. Arthur Brisbane, but I know from statements of reputable people that he has for years believed that the one way to solve the liquor question was to have maltous beverages and wine substituted for whisky. That has been his fundamental belief for years and years; and I know further that one of the leading brewers of Milwaukee, whose character Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer has sought to besmirch by trying to label him as disloyal, said to me in private conversation, months before our Government entered into war, that he had no use for the government of the Kaiser. More than this, the brewers have contributed largely to the liberty-loan funds and to the Red Cross fund, and are loyal to the core in support of the Government. And yet we find A. Mitchell Palmer, the representative of the administration in Pennsylvania, who went out of his way to try to defeat several Democratic Representatives in this House who are a distinct credit to this body, in order to bolster up his cause, charging disloyalty to the brewers of this country, because, perchance, they contributed to the fund loaned to Mr. Brisbane in a newspaper venture here that would, perchance, reflect Mr. Brisbane's views.

Now I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. BLANTON. So far as Mr. Brisbane is concerned, I believe he is a loyal, patriotic American citizen. But the question I want to ask the gentleman from Wisconsin is, Does the gentleman believe that the loan of $375,000 without security is a business transaction?

Mr. STAFFORD. Of course it is when you loan that money to a man with the standing of Mr. Brisbane for the purchase of a paper of the standing of the Washington Times from Mr. Munsey, who had invested his all in it. There is no question about it. Of course if the gentleman had the slightest knowledge of the Washington Times, he would not doubt it.

It is just like the transaction where Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, through his representatives, acquired the ownership of Harpers. There is nothing to the discredit of the brewers in it. There has been nothing antagonistic to the Government in the expression of Mr. Brisbane's views, and from the very start of the war he has been standing by the Government. And yet Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer has gone out of his way, without knowledge of the facts, to cast odium upon as loyal and patriotic a class of men as can be found in America.

That is the character of the campaign that has been waged by the Anti-Saloon Leaguers. They are trying to destroy this industry that has the backing of the majority of the people of this country by trying to link them up, because of ancestry, to the allied enemy cause. It is unfair, it is un-American, and it is bound to react against Mr. Palmer and every person like him who indulges in such unfair tactics.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. I want to say to the gentleman that seven years ago Mr. Brisbane, at a public meeting in New York at which I was also a speaker, spoke in favor of wine and beer.

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes. Now, what does this amendment propose to do? So covert is it that it is not limited to the war. It seeks to restrict the sale until the demobilization of the troops, seeking by indirection to do that which Congress has no right to do. The brewers of the country yield to the judgment of the President and the judgment of Mr. Herbert Hoover, even though the latter is permitting to-day the sending without restriction of millions of bushels of barley to Great Britain and other countries to be manufactured into beer.

I know that Mr. Hoover is familiar with the conditions in Great Britain, because he has lived there for years. Perhaps he knows those conditions better than he knows the conditions in industrial plants in this country, and Mr. Hoover, if he is going to be consistent in his policy in issuing this order, based on conservation of foodstuffs, will impress upon the imported cereals

that go to Great Britain the condition that they must not be used in the manufacture of malted beverages.

Moreover the leaders of industry know that beer is a valuable aid to workmen in the processs of industry and manufacture. Not until I had worked in a foundry, elbow to elbow with the laboring man, breathing the dust and the sulphurous gases, did I know what it meant to them to have a glass of beer, and what its sedative value was.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, may I have three minutes more?

Mr. HAUGEN. I yield to the gentleman three minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for three minutes more.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have worked among the toilers, and I know how they view it. You may laugh, you who have never brushed elbows with the toilers; but it will be the good fortune of our country if there will be no dissension amongst the industrial workers. I know they are true Americans. Those who know our institutions will accept this order as a necessity of the war. But they will also expect that the Food Administrator will treat the British workmen in the same way as he treats the American workmen and refuse to allow those materials to be sent abroad for the production of maltous liquors. The practical and rational solution of this problem is to leave it to the President to determine when war conditions demand the change. To make it mandatory by law is prescribing the will of dry States upon an unwilling majority in our industrial States.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I rise to express my surprise at the statement made by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] concerning the Washington Times in view of the fact that only on yesterday I read in the papers the following:

MY DEAR BRISBANE: When you were at the White House offices today I forgot to ask you to send me the Chicago Herald and Examiner regularly to my offices here.

I am sure you are going to make the same good Democratic fight in Chicago that you have been making in your paper in Washington, and I want to see just how you do it.

Sincerely, yours,

J. P. TUMULTY,
Secretary to the President.

Now the gentleman sees how he does it. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 1: Strike out the following:

"*Provided*, That no part of the money hereby appropriated shall be used in paying salary or expenses of any man who on account of employment in which he is or may be engaged under the provisions of this act has been or shall hereafter be certified by the Secretary of Agriculture, or by any other official of the Department of Agriculture, for deferred classification, or by action of any other Federal official or authority has been or may hereafter be placed in a deferred class under act No. 12, Sixty-fifth Congress, entitled 'An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States,' approved May 18, 1917, or under any act amendatory thereof that has been or shall hereafter be enacted."

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. LEVER. Will it be necessary as we proceed with the reading of the Senate amendments to act on each as it is read? For instance, as to this amendment No. 1—would it be in order now to make a motion to disagree, or will it be understood?

The CHAIRMAN. The vote need not be taken on the amendment unless somebody offers an amendment to the amendment.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, as I understand the precedents of the House, I believe the Chair ruled just that way. Each Senate amendment must be considered by itself as an entirety.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the opinion of the Chair.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. McLAUGHLIN offers the following: "That the House disagree to Senate amendment No. 1 and the conferees on the part of the House be, and are hereby, instructed to adhere to such disagreement."

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I do not think that that is in order at this time. An amendment instructing the conferees in Committee of the Whole is not in order, and I make a point of order against it.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is of the opinion that the conferees can not be instructed in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Then, Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee disagree to the Senate amendment numbered one.

Mr. LEVER. Let me say to the gentleman from Michigan that the recommendation of the Committee on Agriculture is that all Senate amendments be disagreed to except the Senate amendment which deals with the prohibition question. So, I think, the gentleman's motion, while it may be in order, is not necessary.

Mr. STAFFORD. The Committee of the Whole must take some action on these amendments. The committee does not take any notice of the report of the Committee on Agriculture, it rests with the chairman or somebody to make the motion. The gentleman from Michigan has moved to disagree.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me if this was being considered in the House as in the committee, amendment by amendment, these amendments would have to be disposed of singly if anybody demanded it. By unanimous consent we might vote on them wholesale.

Mr. LEVER. In order to save time, Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all the Senate amendments, except Senate amendment 13, which deals with the prohibition question, be disagreed to in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. STAFFORD. That is not in order; the Senate amendments have to be read and submitted to the committee.

Mr. LEVER. I ask unanimous consent to read all Senate amendments, and then I will make the request to disagree with them as a whole.

Mr. HAUGEN. Will it then be in order to move to concur in certain amendments and disagree to others. I think under the rule each amendment has to be considered by itself.

Mr. MONDELL. A parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MONDELL. Assuming that the House disposes of the prohibition amendment, and then all the other amendments are read without action, will it then be in order at the end of the reading to make a motion to disagree to all the Senate amendments?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is of the opinion that each amendment must be dealt with as it is read and, if possible, before the committee rises, the motion about which the gentleman asks can be made. That is the custom.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I imagine that we would save time by proceeding in the regular way, and let gentlemen move to agree or disagree to the amendments as they are read.

Mr. TOWNER. There must be some action taken on each amendment. Without unanimous consent these amendments must be disposed of in their order. It is the duty of the chairman to move to disagree or agree to every amendment as it is read.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan has moved to disagree to Senate amendment No. 1. The question is on that motion.

The question was taken, and the motion was agreed to.

The Clerk read Senate amendment No. 2 as follows:

Page 2, line 23, strike out the following: "production of beef cattle, $105,000."

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I move to disagree to Senate amendment No. 2.

The motion was agreed to.

The Clerk read Senate amendment No. 3 as follows:

Page 3, lines 1 and 2, strike out the following: "making cottage cheese on the farm, $52,950."

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I move to disagree to Senate amendment No. 3.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I make the preferential motion to concur in the Senate amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin makes the preferential motion to concur.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, just a word. When that proposition was under consideration originally, I take it the strong sentiment of the committee was in favor of denying the Agricultural Department any appropriation to educate the farmers' wives in the manufacture of cottage cheese. The reason it was incorporated here was because of the motion made by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HUTCHINSON] in dividing up the appropriation seriatim.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, there has been a good deal of fun and ridicule poked at the proposition. There is more in the proposition than gentlemen seem to understand. When this proposition was on the floor at the original passage of the bill, I submitted to the committee figures which showed that the making of cottage cheese could be made an important industry in this country. This small appropriation has been asked for for educational purposes, and I hope the motion will be voted down.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, there is not a housekeeper in America that does not know how to make cottage cheese. There is no more reason for the appropriation of money to employ people to educate other people in the making of cottage cheese

than there is in attempting to fly to the moon. It is ridiculous, outrageous, unjustified, and unjustifiable. The appropriation will be used for no good purpose. Every one knows exactly how to make cottage cheese. There is not a home in America that does not make it at some time or other. Why anyone needs to be educated in it and why we should add to the burdens of taxation by making an appropriation to employ people to do that work is more than I can tell, and I hope the motion of the gentleman from Wisconsin will be adopted.

Mr. MEEKER. If they are going to take away beer, what is the use of cottage cheese?

Mr. MADDEN. It is good food and most people know how to make it and most of them know how to eat it.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. STAFFORD) there were 53 ayes and 66 noes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

The CHAIRMAN. Those in favor of taking this vote by tellers will rise and stand until they are counted. [After counting.] Seventeen gentlemen have arisen; not a sufficient number. On this question the yeas are 53 and the noes are 66.

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. CALDWELL. Is it necessary now to make a motion to disagree?

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. I made the motion to disagree.

The CHAIRMAN. The motion is lost which was equivalent to a motion to disagree.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment 4, page 3, line 3, strike out the figures "$1,058,975" and insert "$901,025."

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I move to disagree to the Senate amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 5. Page 3, line 4, strike out the word "seeds" and insert in lieu thereof the words "seed wheat and beans."

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I move to disagree with the Senate amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 6. Page 3, line 17, strike out the word "seeds" and insert the words "seed wheat and beans"

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I move to disagree to the Senate amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 7. Page 3, line 20, strike out all the language from line 20, on page 3, down to and including line 19, page 4.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I move to disagree to the Senate amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 8. Page 4, line 20, strike out the word "fourth" and insert the word "third."

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I move to disagree to the Senate amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 9. Page 4, line 21, after the word "food" insert the words "including eatable nuts"

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I move to disagree to the Senate amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 10. Page 4, line 25, strike out the words "general administration of extension work, $35,000."

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I move to disagree to the Senate amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 11. Page 5, line 1, strike out the words "home economies" and insert in lieu thereof the words "home economics."

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I move to disagree to the Senate amendment.

The question was taken, and the Chair announced the noes seemed to have it.

On a division (demanded by Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi) there were—ayes 73, noes 5.

So the motion was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 12. Page 5, line 8, after the figures "$6,100,000" strike out the remainder of the paragraph.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I move to disagree to the Senate amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 13. Page 5, following line 17, insert the following:

(13) That after June 30, 1919, until the conclusion of the present war and thereafter until the termination of demobilization, the date of which shall be determined and proclaimed by the President of the United States, for the purpose of conserving the man power of the Nation, and to increase efficiency in the production of arms, munitions, ships, food, and clothing for the Army and Navy, it shall be unlawful to sell for beverage purposes any distilled spirits, and during said time no distilled spirits held in bond shall be removed therefrom for beverage purposes except for export. After May 1, 1919, until the conclusion of the present war and thereafter until the termination of demobilization, the date of which shall be determined and proclaimed by the President of the United States, no grains, cereals, fruit, or other food product shall be used in the manufacture or production of beer, wine, or other intoxicating malt or vinous liquor for beverage purposes. After June 30, 1919, until the conclusion of the present war and thereafter until the termination of demobilization, the date of which shall be determined and proclaimed by the President of the United States, no beer, wine, or other intoxicating malt or vinous liquor shall be sold for beverage purposes except for export. The Commissioner of Internal revenue is hereby authorized and directed to prescribe rules and regulations, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, in regard to the manufacture and sale of distilled spirits and removal of distilled spirits held in bond after June 30, 1919, until this act shall cease to operate, for other than beverage purposes; also in regard to the manufacture, sale, and distribution of wine for sacramental, medicinal, or other than beverage uses. After the approval of this act no distilled, malt, vinous, or other intoxicating liquors shall be imported into the United States during the continuance of the present war and period of demobilization, except wines which may be imported until May 1, 1919: *Provided*, That this provision against importation shall not apply to shipments en route to the United States at the time of the passage of this act.

Any person who violates any of the foregoing provisions shall be punished by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by fine not exceeding $1,000, or by both such imprisonment and fine: *Provided*, That the President of the United States be, and hereby is, authorized and empowered, at any time after the passage of this act, to establish zones of such size as he may deem advisable about coal mines, munition factories, shipbuilding plants, and such other plants for war material as may seem to him to require such action whenever in his opinion the creation of such zones is necessary to, or advisable in, the proper prosecution of the war, and that he is hereby authorized and empowered to prohibit the sale, manufacture, or distribution of intoxicating liquors in such zones, and that any violation of the President's regulations in this regard shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than one year or by fine of not more than $1,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment: *Provided further*, That nothing in this act shall be construed to interfere with the power conferred upon the President by section 15 of the food-control act, approved August 10, 1917 (Public No. 40, 65th Congress).

The Clerk read as follows:

House Committee amendment as follows: on page 7, line 2, after the word "demobilization" insert the words "except wines which may be imported until May 1, 1919."

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I move to concur in amendment No. 13 with the committee amendment which has been read by the Clerk.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. KAHN. Would it be in order now to offer a further amendment saying that the sale of wines and beer may be continued till the 31st of December, 1919?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is of the opinion that the committee amendment should be acted on first.

Mr. KAHN. Well, a query: If the committee amendment is adopted, or, rather, if the motion of the gentleman from Mississippi is adopted, does not that foreclose further amendments?

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me any further amendment to the bill, if the amendment recommended by the committee is adopted, would be an amendment in the third degree and would not be in order.

Mr. CANNON. A substitute would be in order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair does not agree with the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, as I understand, this is not an amendment to a House provision; it is a substantive amendment to the original proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has already indicated he did not entertain the opinion which the gentleman from South Carolina does.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. LEVER. Does the Chair hold this amendment would be amendable even if the committee amendment is adopted?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is inclined to think——

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry. The motion of the gentleman from South Carolina, as I understand it, was to concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment. Now, if that is done, are not all other amendments barred?

The CHAIRMAN. The motion made by the gentleman from Mississippi was to concur with an amendment.

Mr. LEVER. Let me call the Chair's attention to this: The motion is to concur in a Senate amendment with an amendment. Now, then, if that motion is carried you have concurred in an amendment and that settles the proposition in dispute between the two Houses; it is not open any further; you have concurred with an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will hear the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi read.

Mr. McKENZIE. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. RUBEY. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi has not been read and we will read that and see what it is.

Mr. SABATH. It is the committee amendment that has been read.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. The Clerk read the amendment from the Clerk's desk a few minutes ago when I offered it.

The CHAIRMAN. The amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi is, at page 7, line 2, after "demobilization," insert the following: "Except wines, which may be imported until May 1, 1919."

Will the gentleman from California submit his amendment?

Mr. McKENZIE. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. Let us hear this read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. KAHN: Page 6, line 10, after the word "after" strike out "June 30" and insert "December 31."

Mr. McKENZIE. Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to submit a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to reserve a point of order on that amendment, if it is offered as an amendment.

Mr. McKENZIE. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair finds on investigation that a motion to amend has precedence of a motion to concur. So the question arises first on the committee amendment as it is printed in the bill.

Mr. McKENZIE. Mr. Chairman, I want to submit a parliamentary inquiry. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER] moved to concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment. Now, what I want to submit to the Chair is whether or not we can not have a division of that question and vote first upon the committee amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is of the opinion that the question is divisible.

Mr. McKENZIE. Then I ask for a division of the question.

Mr. IGOE. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The first question is on the amendment which is found on page 7, "except wines, which may be imported until May 1, 1919."

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. CALDWELL. After the committee amendment is voted on, will it then be in order to consider the amendment of the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] or any other gentleman?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is of the opinion that the next business in order——

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Chairman, I beg pardon for making this suggestion to the Chair. It occurs to me that the Chair is mistaken in holding that this is a divisible motion. There can not be any question about it, I think, for this reason: This is a preferential motion.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will interrupt the gentleman by saying that he finds the question has already been ruled on in these words:

A motion to recede and concur is divisible.

Mr. TOWNER. This is a motion, as the Chair will observe, not to recede from a disagreement, but to concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment, which is a preferential motion, and it can not, as I believe, be divided. This is the position in which we are now. Of course, if the Chair holds that other amendments can be considered if this motion is adopted, then the very object and the very determination of this question is lost. There is only one motion that can be considered now, and that is the motion to agree to the Senate amendment with the amendment. Now, if gentlemen have other amendments in view, there is only one way in which they can be considered, and that is to vote down this proposition. Then they can offer their preferential motions. But, in so far as this motion is concerned, I hold it is indivisible, and there is no right afterwards to file an amendment to concur with other amendments, because we have concurred with everything in this amendment except this proposition that is now stated by the gentleman.

Mr. DECKER. I would like to ask the gentleman, for information, when we can vote on the proposition simply to concur. How can we reach that?

Mr. TOWNER. There is no method except to vote down this motion which has been made. Then any gentleman can move to concur or can make a motion to concur with another amendment. That is the only method.

Mr. CALDWELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TOWNER. Yes.

Mr. CALDWELL. Is there any possible way by which the amendments of the other gentlemen can be reached?

Mr. TOWNER. Certainly. The method by which that can be done would be to vote down this motion.

Mr. KEATING. A preferential motion. I move to recede and concur in the Senate amendment.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. There is no recession under it.

The CHAIRMAN. A motion to recede is not in order.

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit a unanimous consent request.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. IGOE. I would like to know if the gentlemen who desire to offer amendments to this section may be permitted to offer them before the motion to concur is placed before the House?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair holds that a motion to amend takes precedence of a motion to concur.

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Chairman, I submit this as a parliamentary inquiry. I did not take any time in the general debate on this proposition, but I have a motion to submit as an amendment to the Senate amendment, one that is offered in good faith, and I want to know when I can get an opportunity to do it.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, may I say to my friend from Missouri that there is only one way out of this parliamentary situation and that is to vote down the amendment of the committee. I shall undertake to demonstrate that we ought not to do that, but that is the only way to get out.

Mr. IGOE. I have no objection to the particular amendment the gentleman is offering.

The CHAIRMAN. The vote comes on the Senate amendment and then on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN].

Mr. BURNETT. The Senate amendment as amended.

Mr. LEVER. The committee amendment. Mr. Chairman, the vote is on the committee amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair intended to say, and thought he did say, that the vote comes on the committee amendment to the Senate amendment. That is the first vote.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. WALSH. Under what rule does the Committee of the Whole vote to concur or not to concur?

The CHAIRMAN. It is the recommendation of the House.

Mr. WALSH. Then the motion ought to be stated that way. The Committee of the Whole can not vote to concur on anything. They vote on the amendment, and then they vote on the recommendation which they shall make to the House.

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Chairman, if that is correct——

Mr. CANNON. The motion was to concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment. That was offered by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER]. There is a division called. Now, the vote would first be on the amendment that he offered.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair thinks the gentleman from Illinois is right.

Mr. CANNON. Then the next amendment may be offered. However that is disposed of, it is still amendable with another amendment. Otherwise you can not work out the will of the House or the will of the committee in recommending to the House. So that it necessarily follows that the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN], when this amendment is disposed of, favorably or unfavorably, has the right, before the motion to concur, it seems to me, to offer another amendment and have that disposed of, leaving the amendment to concur to await the action of the House on the amendment of the gentleman from California or any other amendment that may be offered to the Senate amendment. Otherwise the hands of the House are tied.

Mr. RUBEY. Mr. Chairman, under the five-minute rule I would like to discuss this proposition for about one minute.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. RUBEY. Mr. Chairman, as I understand it, the proposition before the House now is the amendment offered by the Committee on Agriculture, which is embraced in the words

"except wines, which may be imported until May 1, 1919." I do not believe that we ought to accept that amendment. I hope that this House will vote down not only this amendment but all other amendments and pass the prohibition proposition exactly as it came from the Senate. [Applause.] I am going to vote against the committee amendment for that reason, as I shall vote against every other amendment that is proposed, unless it is something that appeals to me very strongly. It has got to be pretty dry. [Laughter.]

Now, Mr. Chairman, the impression seems to be abroad in this House and elsewhere—I have seen it in the newspapers—that this amendment was placed in here by the Committee on Agriculture for the reason that there are some treaty agreements between this country and some of our allies and that it is necessary to put in this amendment in order that our treaty obligations may not be abrogated. I ascertained this afternoon that there are no treaty agreements of any kind that the Senate provision violates in any way whatever. When I found that out I felt that it was not right for us to accept the amendment offered here, and I am therefore opposing it. I hope that it will be voted down, and I also hope that every other amendment will be voted down.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RUBEY. I will.

Mr. DENISON. It was reported in the papers that the Secretary of State or some representative of the President came before the committee and wanted this amendment put in. Is that true or not?

Mr. RUBEY. It is true in part only. The Secretary of State sent some communications to the Committee on Agriculture.

Mr. DENISON. Does the gentleman from Missouri want to be put in the position of opposing the administration in a matter of this kind?

Mr. RUBEY. It is true that Secretary Lansing filed with the Committee on Agriculture communications from certain ambassadors urging that the importation of wines be not interfered with. The point I make, however, is this: That it was not upon the ground of any treaty obligations, and therefore it does not appeal to me.

Mr. DENISON. But I am sure that the gentleman from Missouri does not want to oppose the administration on a matter of this kind.

Mr. RUBEY. "The gentleman from Missouri" has a mind of his own, and he is not opposing the administration. I repeat, Secretary Lansing transmitted to the Committee on Agriculture communications which were received by him from the ambassadors from certain countries—Italy and Spain and one or two others—and asked the committee to consider them. The committee did consider them, and decided to report this amendment. But I hope the amendment will not be agreed to.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I want to state in a very few words the reasons which actuated the Committee on Agriculture in advocating this amendment. Letters were written to the Secretary of State by the ambassadors from Portugal, Spain, Italy, and France, asking that this action be taken for the reason that they believed that their countries should be placed upon the same basis as other countries with respect to this matter. The Secretary of State transmitted copies of those letters written by those various ambassadors to the Committee on Agriculture, with a communication from him in which he expressed the desire that they might be complied with.

The only reason why the amendment was proposed—and it would not have been proposed otherwise—was because we believed it was best under all the circumstances to comply with these requests, especially when they came from two of our allies who are fighting with us the battles across the sea.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing these letters. [Applause and cries of "Vote!"]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks by inserting the letters referred to. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Following are the letters referred to:

ITALIAN WINES—READ AT CONFERENCE.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 4, 1918.

The Hon. ASBURY F. LEVER,
Chairman Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose herewith for the information and consideration of your committee a copy of a communication from the Italian ambassador at this Capital, in which, referring to the provision of the bill (H. R. 11945) prohibiting all importation of wines immediately after the approval of the said bill, he requests, for the reasons stated in the communication, that the provision of the bill in this regard be modified so as to permit the importation of wines to at least May 1, 1919, in order that Italian wine producers and exporters may have the same period of time within which to adjust their business as is allowed to American producers.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,
ROBERT LANSING.

(Inclosure from Italian ambassador, Sept. 3, 1918.)

(Very urgent.)

REGIA AMBASCIATA D'ITALIA,
Washington, September 3, 1918.

His Excellency the Hon. ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State, Washington.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: A bill now pending before Congress, H. R. 11945, contains, among others, the following provisions:

"After May 1, 1919, until the conclusion of the present war, and thereafter until the termination of demobilization, the date of which shall be determined and proclaimed by the President of the United States, no grains, cereals, fruit, or other food product shall be used in the manufacture or production of beer, wine, or other intoxicating malt or vinous liquor for beverage purposes. After June 30, 1919, until the conclusion of the present war and thereafter until the termination of demobilization, the date of which shall be determined and proclaimed by the President of the United States, no beer, wine, or other intoxicating malt or vinous liquor shall be sold for beverage purposes except for export. * * * After the approval of this act no distilled, malt, vinous, or other intoxicating liquors shall be imported into the United States during the continuance of the present war and period of demobilization."

The provisions in question, by prohibiting all importation of wines immediately after the approval of said bill, will unavoidably cause great losses to Italian wine producers.

While, in fact, American wine producers would be allowed a certain period of time for necessary adjustments before prohibition as to their production would take effect—that is, until May 1, 1919—Italian producers would see this market closed to them immediately on approval of the bill in question, so that no time would be given them to dispose of that part of their production of the current year for which in most cases they have already standing arrangements with importers of this country.

I can not conceal that in view of the importance the wine industry has in the economic life of Italy the provisions mentioned might have serious consequences at a time when it would be most advisable to avoid them.

Insasmuch as the provisions in question would not become operative, in so far as their purpose is concerned—that is, the prohibition of the sale of all alcoholic beverages until July 1, 1919—may I ask you to use your good offices to obtain that the time for the enforcement of said provisions with regard to importation of wines be postponed at least to May 1, 1919, so that Italian wine producers and exporters may have the same lapse of time to adjust their business that is to be allowed to American producers.

Assuring you of my deep appreciation for the interest which I am sure you will take in this matter, I avail myself of the opportunity to renew to you, my dear Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my highest consideration.

MACCHI DI CELLERE.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1918.

Hon. ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Your letter of the 4th instant, inclosing a copy of a communication from the Italian ambassador, relative to the importation of Italian wines, is received.

I shall give this matter careful consideration when the bill (H. R. 11945) to which this matter, in the form of a Senate amendment, is attached goes to conference.

Thanking you, I am,
Sincerely, yours,

PROHIBITION—FRANCE.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 18, 1918.

Hon. ASBURY F. LEVER,
House of Representatives.

SIR: In connection with the agricultural bill now pending before Congress (H. R. 11945), I have the honor to inclose a copy of a note from the French ambassador calling attention to the serious consequences which the provisions of the bill might have in the economic life of France at a time when it would be most advisable to avoid them, and I beg that you will give your earnest attention to this statement from the representative of one of our cobelligerents in the war.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,
ROBERT LANSING.

(Inclosure from French ambassador, Sept. 7, 1918.)

SEPTEMBER 7, 1918.

Mr. SECRETARY OF STATE: A pending bill (H. R. 11945), which has just been adopted by the Federal Senate, contains certain articles relative to wines and spirits which are of a nature to affect unfavorably in a large degree an important branch of French export trade. This pending bill contains notably two clauses which embody a difference of treatment between American producers and foreign producers to the disadvantage of the latter.

In the first place, while the importation of alcoholic beverages must cease until the end of the present war from the date of the passage of the law, all national production of these beverages is authorized until May 1, 1919.

The adoption of such a measure would, in fact, assure to the American manufacturer a kind of monopoly, to the disadvantage of foreign exporters whose stocks are reduced and who in addition have already in their disfavor the difficulties inherent to maritime transportation. There would be presented here an inequality of treatment which nothing would appear to justify. As long as the manufacturer of alcoholic beverages is permitted in the United States, I feel that I may request, for the producers in my country, a corresponding privilege; that is to say, the ability of importing their merchandise.

Next, although the pending bill forbids the sale until June 30, 1919, of alcoholic beverages destined for consumption, exception is made as regards the wines necessary for religious and medicinary purposes.

Now, either the collector of internal revenue to whom is left the power to regulate these sales will authorize the manufacturer of wines for these two purposes, and in this case no reason would be apparent why

the French products, certain ones of which have from a medicinal point of view acquired a merited reputation, would not benefit from an equality of treatment with the native products, or these wines would be taken from the stocks existing on May 1, 1919, and there would be from that point of view also injustice done in not according to the French exporters the same delay in time as to the local producers to build up their reserves.

The regulation of the sale of alcoholic beverages in the United States works a considerable injury to French commerce. I do not doubt your excellency will deem that it is equitable that at least the prescribed restrictions may not result in creating special privileges and an indirect protection for the benefit of anyone. I therefore have recourse to your excellency and request you to be good enough to bring the preceding considerations to the attention of the competent committees in order that at least equality of treatment be assured in the legislative provisions now under consideration.

I beg you to accept, Mr. Secretary of State, the assurances of my great consideration.

J. JUSSERAND.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1918.

Hon. ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Your letter of the 18th, inclosing a copy of one from the French ambassador relative to certain Senate amendments to the food-production bill for 1919 is received.

Under proposed amendments the importation of all wines will be permitted until May 1, 1919. Other matters mentioned in the letter of the ambassador will be considered when the bill goes to conference.

Yours, sincerely,

———— ————

WINES—SPANISH.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 16, 1918.

Hon. ASBURY F. LEVER,
House of Representatives.

SIR: In connection with the Agricultural bill now pending before Congress (H. R. 11945), I have the honor to inclose a copy of a note from the Spanish ambassador calling attention to the serious consequences which the provisions of the bill might have in the economic life of Spain at a time when it would be most advisable to avoid them, and I beg that you will give your earnest attention to the ambassador's statement.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,
ROBERT LANSING.

(Inclosure from Spanish ambassador, Sept. 9, 1918.)

EMBASSY OF SPAIN AT WASHINGTON,
September 9, 1918.

The Hon. ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State of the United States.

MR. SECRETARY: The amendment introduced by Senator SHEPPARD in the "Agriculture appropriation bill" forbidding the sale of wines and liquors in this country after July 1, 1918, and prohibiting the importation into the United States of those products from the date of the approval of the act, but allowing home producers to manufacture them until May 1, 1919, will, if adopted, cause very serious injury to the economic interests of Spain, protected by agreements in force on the subject.

I take the liberty of bringing this to your excellency's notice with a request that you kindly use your good offices toward averting the adoption of the measures above indicated, which would be so injurious to the interests of the country which I have the honor to represent.

Thanking you in advance, etc.

(Signed) JUAN RIANO.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1918.

Hon. ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Your letter of the 16th inst. inclosing a communication from the Spanish ambassador relative to the importation of wines is received.

The proposed amendment to the food-production bill will permit the importation of all wines until May 1, 1919.

Yours, sincerely,

————— ————.

WINES—PORTUGUESE.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 16, 1918.

Hon. ASBURY F. LEVER,
House of Representatives.

SIR: In connection with the Agricultural bill now pending before Congress (H. R. 11945), I have the honor to inclose a copy of a note from the Portuguese minister calling attention to the serious consequences which the provisions of the bill might have in the economic life of Portugal at a time when it would be most advisable to avoid them, and I beg that you will give your earnest attention to this statement from the representative of one of our cobelligerents in the war.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,
ROBERT LANSING.

(Inclosure from Portuguese minister, Sept. 13, 1918.)

LEGACAO DE PORTUGAL NOS ESTADOS UNIDOS,
Washington, September 13, 1918.

SIR: You are fully aware of the great hardship that the immediate cessation of the importation of wines into the United States would impose at a very critical moment on wine-producing countries; and I note that, owing to your enlightened influence, certain modifications have already been introduced into the measure drafted in connection with this matter.

I venture, therefore, to hope that you will kindly cause the period during which Portuguese wines may be imported into this country to be extended to May 1 next, as has been proposed in respect to the wines of other allied nations.

Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

ALTE.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1918.

Hon. ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Your letter of the 16th instant inclosing a communication from the Portuguese minister in reference to the importation of wines is received.

The proposed amendment to the food-production bill will permit the importation of all wines.

Yours, sincerely,

————— ————.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee amendment is in these words: "Except wine, which may be imported until May 1, 1919." The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. CANNON. Has the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER] anything to say?

Mr. LEVER. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER] is in charge of this bill, and he has given to the committee the reasons which actuated the committee in placing this amendment in the bill.

As he said, the ambassadors of these various countries—Portugal, Spain, Italy, and France—wrote to the Secretary of State to use his good offices with the committee or with the House to allow the importation of wines into this country until May 1, 1919, setting out in these letters the fact that unless this was done it would create serious embarrassment to large industries in those countries. The committee felt that we ought to agree to that.

Mr. CANNON. Is that the gentleman's opinion, and has the committee so recommended?

Mr. LEVER. Yes.

Mr. CANNON. If I may have a word, it seems to me that when our allies and neutral nations make this appeal, when it receives the approval of the administration, and when the committee makes the recommendation, the amendment ought to be agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. RUBEY) there were 103 ayes and 61 noes.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 6, line 10, after the word "after," strike out "June 30" and insert in lieu thereof "December 31."

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the amendment is not in order for the reason that the action of the committee just now is tantamount to a concurrence with the Senate proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair thinks not.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has overruled the point of order.

Mr. BLANTON. I make a different one.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman can not make a further point of order after the original has been ruled on.

Mr. BLANTON. I make the point of order that the amendment offered by the gentleman from California is not germane in that the purpose of the Senate amendment 13 is to prevent the sale of intoxicating liquors during this war. The distinguished gentleman from California has admitted on the floor of this House that it is not only the intention of this Government, but it is the expectation of this Government to bring the war to a close before the first day of December, 1919. [Laughter and applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair overrules the point of order.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, the amendment just adopted by the committee proposes to limit the sale of native American wines after June 30, 1919, and will allow a great quantity of foreign wines to come here to compete with the native wines. There are hundreds of millions of dollars involved in the wine industry of this country. This year's vintage alone in California will be valued at many, many millions of dollars. If you propose to limit the sale of wines to June 30 of next year, you should not have allowed a lot of foreign wine to come in and compete with the wine made in California and other wine-producing States.

Mr. BORLAND. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Mr. BORLAND. The foreign wines are only to come in to May 1, 1919.

Mr. KAHN. And the sale of native wines is stopped by this legislation on June 30, two months later. It is physically impossible to sell even the native wine in the period limited by the bill. This amendment just adopted will mean the "dumping" into this country of enormous quantities of foreign wines and so prevent the native wine makers from disposing of their vintages. I submit by extending the time to December 31 there

will be a better opportunity for the native wine makers to dispose of their products. Not alone will they be deprived of their vineyards in the future under this legislation, but even the crops they are now harvesting will probably entail a heavy loss. The crops are just ripening; the wine crushing has just begun and will not be finished until the 1st of December. It will take months for the wine to properly ferment, and I submit that unless this amendment which I have submitted is adopted the wine makers will not only lose practically the value of their vintages, but also the money which they have expended within recent months, amounting to practically $15,000,000, for the harvesting and production of this year's vintage. I submit that it is not fair to an industry that has been fostered by our Government, an industry that has also been especially fostered by the State of California, to put such burdens upon it. The wine makers should be given a reasonable time to dispose of this year's crop. My amendment will do that very thing.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, the only question involved is a question of dates. The gentleman from California wants to strike out "after June 30" and insert "December 31." Therefore it is a question whether the House wants to extend the time six months more or not. If anybody complains of this in view of the sentiment throughout the land, and they have expended their money, nobody is to blame but themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California.

The question was taken; and on a division [demanded by Mr. KAHN], there were—65 ayes and 112 noes.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 5, line 19, after the word "after," strike out the following: "and thereafter until the termination of demobilization, the date of which shall be determined and proclaimed by the President of the United States."

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to the whole section because I think it is unnecessary and unwise, and more particularly because I believe it is unconstitutional. The gentleman from Ohio discussed one feature of the legal questions involved, but, I suppose, not very much attention will be paid to it.

The only power Congress has to pass this legislation is in pursuance of the exercise of the war power under the Constitution. I believe this is the only time it has been voted in either House that this war power should be exercised beyond the period of the war. And I am unwilling to allow this section to pass without voicing my protest against it. I hope that the committee will strike out this language, at least, because I believe it goes entirely beyond the power of Congress, establishes a dangerous precedent even if we had the power, and it ought not to be allowed to remain in the bill.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. IGOE. Yes.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. If I remember correctly the act taking the railroads over extended some 18 months after the war.

Mr. IGOE. Exactly; but I will say to the gentleman that there is a distinction between that act and this, and I will point it out to him. We do not take over a single railroad after the termination of the war. We hold roads already taken and pay compensation for their use after the termination of the war and for a period not exceeding 18 months, but this provision written in this bill not only prohibits the use of property during the war, but prohibits its use after the termination of the war and until the demobilization as declared by the President, and when that will be or when that demobilization will be complete no one can tell from the language of this bill.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. IGOE. I will.

Mr. BLANTON. Is it not true that in passing upon regulatory measures the Supreme Court of the United States by way of dicta has held that the Government of the United States has the right to prohibit absolutely the sale of liquor by statute?

Mr. IGOE. No; it has said nothing of the kind.

Mr. BLANTON. In passing upon——

Mr. GORDON. Never held any such thing.

Mr. IGOE. The gentleman from Texas is wrong, I will not say again, but he is wrong this time because whatever authority we have exercised over the liquor traffic has been exercised under the commerce clause of the Constitution. We are passing this legislation under the war power of the Constitution and we can not extend it any further than the termination of the war itself, and let me suggest to the gentleman what an unreasonable exercise of that power it would be to carry all of these war measures not only to the end of the war, but until every soldier who has been enlisted in this war has returned to civil life. There is not a man in this House, I believe, who would sanction or approve of such a policy, and it is for that reason I offer this amendment in the hope that notwithstanding the request of my colleague from Missouri [Mr. RUBEY] that we vote for this section just as it stands, that this House will use a little judgment and confine it to the period of the war.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further amendments?

Mr. GORDON. I desire to offer the following amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 8, at the end of line 2, insert the following: "*And provided further*, That on July 1, 1919, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue shall cause an inventory and appraisement to be made of the spirituous liquors then on hand and in bond which has been deposited under the laws of the United States, and payment therefor at such appraised value to the owners thereof shall be made by the Secretary of the Treasury out of any funds in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated or by bonds or Treasury notes of the United States theretofore authorized to be issued and sold.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order against the amendment that it is not germane to the section.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is sustained.

Mr. GORDON. May I be heard just a minute on that?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman did not indicate a wish to be heard.

Mr. GORDON. The Chair did not indicate how he was going to rule. If the Chair pleases, I can state my point in a few words. It seems to me that if it is in order for this body to pass a law providing for the taking of property then in the custody of the United States and prohibit the owner from withdrawing that property—in other words, if the Government, having made a contract which permits the withdrawal of that property at any time within eight years after its deposit, it seems to me that if we can terminate the right fixed by the contract that we at least could pay the value of the property, or of its use, which we thereby appropriate at its appraised value, and whether you agree with the policy of paying for property you take or not, it would seem to me that it is entirely pertinent and germane to the bill before the House.

The CHAIRMAN. Without discussing the merits of the proposition at all, the Chair can not but believe that the amendment is subject to the point of order and that it is not germane.

Mr. BESHLIN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 5, lines 18 and 19, after the word "after" in line 18, strike out "June 30, 1919," and insert, "December 31, 1918."

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that debate on this amendment and all amendments to this paragraph may close in five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. CALDWELL. I object.

SEVERAL MEMBERS. Too late!

The CHAIRMAN. The objection made by the gentleman from New York came entirely too late. The Chair had announced the result and had recognized the gentleman from Pennsylvania for discussion.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, it is difficult to hear the Chairman make these requests at this distance.

Mr. CALDWELL. The only reason I objected is because the gentleman from Illinois was trying, I understood, to say something in reference to this provision. We all want to hear from the gentleman from Illinois on all subjects here, because he knows as much about anything that goes on as anybody else.

The CHAIRMAN. There was a great deal of confusion in the House at the time and the Chair will submit the question again. Is there objection?

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto may close——

Mr. CANNON. I did not desire five minutes, but I wanted to offer an amendment to strike out certain lines which have been enacted into law.

Mr. CALDWELL. Then I withdraw my objection.

Mr. LEVER. I ask unanimous consent that all debate close in five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent that debate on this amendment and all other amendments to this section shall be closed in five minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. CANNON. Not all other amendments.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the way the gentleman from South Carolina put his request.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I desire to move to strike out certain lines at the end of section 7, on page 7.

Mr. LEVER. Does the gentleman from Illinois want to discuss that?

Mr. CANNON. I want to call the attention of the committee to it.

Mr. LEVER. Let us make it 10 minutes.

Mr. CANNON. It has already been enacted into law. What do you want it here for?

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent for 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 10 minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BESHLIN].

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania has three other amendments here that he sent to the Clerk's desk. Does he desire a vote upon them?

Mr. BESHLIN. No. They all relate to the same subject matter.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the proviso beginning with the word "*Provided*," in line 10, page 7, and the balance of the amendment, closing with the word "imprisonment," in line 23.

Now, just a word. I will not take the five minutes. That proviso should be stricken out, because it is already the law by a joint resolution that was passed by the Senate and the House without amendment and signed by the President—that is, the power to create zones about munition plants, and so forth.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Is it in the language of this proviso?

Mr. CANNON. My recollection is that it is. Therefore it should be stricken out here.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. CANNON offers the following amendment: Page 7, line 10, beginning with the word "*Provided*," strike out all down to and including the word "imprisonment," in line 23.

Mr. CANNON. Read the words of the proviso that are proposed to be stricken out.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Provided, That the President of the United States be, and hereby is, authorized and empowered, at any time after the passage of this act, to establish zones of such size as he may deem advisable about coal mines, munition factories, shipbuilding plants, and such other plants for war material as may seem to him to require such action, whenever in his opinion the creation of such zones is necessary to, or advisable in, the proper prosecution of the war, and that he is hereby authorized and empowered to prohibit the sale, manufacture, or distribution of intoxicating liquors in such zones, and that any violation of the President's regulations in this regard shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than one year, or by fine of not more than $1,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken; and the Chair announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 35, noes 65.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I ask for tellers.

Tellers were ordered; and Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi and Mr. CANNON took their places as tellers.

The committee again divided; and the tellers reported—ayes 58, noes 62.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent now to put the text of the law in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the leave will be granted. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The following is the law referred to:

[Public resolution No. 40—65th Congress.]

Joint resolution (S. J. Res. 172) authorizing the President to establish zones in which intoxicating liquors may not be sold, manufactured, or distributed.

Resolved, etc., That the President of the United States be, and hereby is, authorized and empowered, at any time after the passage of this joint resolution, to establish zones of such size as he may deem advisable about coal mines, munition factories, shipbuilding plants, and such other plants for war material as may seem to him to require such action, whenever in his opinion the creation of such zones is necessary to, or advisable in, the proper prosecution of the war, and that he is hereby authorized and empowered to prohibit the sale, manufacture, or distribution of intoxicating liquors in such zones, and that any violation of the President's regulations in this regard shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than one year, or by fine of not more than $1,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

Approved, September 12, 1918.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER].

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Chairman, is the motion of the gentleman from Mississippi debatable now?

The CHAIRMAN. The debate has been closed by unanimous consent.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman in charge of the bill a question before that motion is put, and that is, that should it appear in the progress of the conference that a deadlock ensues, will the gentleman come back to the House for instructions before they let the bill die in conference?

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. We do not intend to let it die in conference. We intend to pass this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER] to concur in the Senate amendment as amended.

The question was taken; and the Chair announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 139, noes 29.

So the motion was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Line 3, amendment No. 14, strike out the word "fifth" and insert in lieu thereof the word "fourth."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the motion to concur.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, may I submit this request, that we read these amendments, and if there is no objection let the Chair announce that they are disagreed to and we will save time thereby?

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, what is the motion?

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. I ask unanimous consent to disagree to these amendments.

Mr. SABATH. I desire to make a preferential motion.

Mr. STAFFORD. I demand the regular order.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Illinois offer an amendment to Senate amendment 14?

Mr. SABATH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will send it up to the desk.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I move that we agree to the Senate amendment with an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. SABATH moves to amend Senate amendment No. 14 as follows: After the "$500,000," on line 15, page 8, insert: "For taking over and payment of wines, vinous liquors, and distilled spirits in bond or in possession of retail or wholesale dealers and rectifiers after June 30, 1919, and for the repayment of prepaid taxes on all wines, vinous liquors, and distilled spirits in possession of retail and wholesale dealers and rectifiers, $250,000,000, or so much theerof as may be required; and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue is hereby authorized to prescribe rules and regulations, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, for the payment of all such wines, vinous liquors, and distilled spirits taken over under this provision."

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that that amendment is not germane to the paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi makes the point of order that the amendment is not germane to the paragraph. The Chair will hear the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, this Senate amendment provides for a certain appropriation, namely, for obtaining market news on fruits and vegetables $500,000 is appropriated. My amendment provides for an appropriation of $250,000,000 to refund the tax which has been paid to the Government by the different rectifiers and wholesalers and retail dealers on wine and liquors that remain in their possession after June 30, 1919.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WALSH. Has the gentleman read Senate amendment No. 14?

Mr. SABATH. Yes; in a way.

Mr. WALSH. Well, if he has, he will see that it simply substitutes the word "fourth" for the word "fifth."

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. It just changes the number of the section.

Mr. WALSH. The rest of it is not open to amendment.

Mr. SABATH. It is Senate amendment No. 14, nevertheless.

Mr. WALSH. It does not apply to the rest of the section.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. I make the point of order that it is not germane to the section.

The CHAIRMAN. That portion of the bill deals altogether with an appropriation for gathering information. The amendment of the gentleman from Illinois is to appropriate $250,000,000 with which to buy these liquors. The Chair thinks the amendment is clearly out of order, and therefore sustains the point of order.

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Chairman, it is very evident that we will not be able to pass this bill to-night. I want to ask the chairman if he can not move to rise in a little while?

Mr. LEVER. Let me say this: There is other legislation to be passed upon, one or two more bills, and then there may be a three-day recess, as I understand from the majority leader. We can pass this bill to-night in a very few minutes, in my judgment. We have finished the only really disputed points here in the House, and I trust gentlemen will stay with us just a few minutes longer and we will get through. [Applause.]

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEVER. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Why does not the gentleman make a motion that the committee recommends that amendments 14 to 31 be disagreed to, and upon the vote upon that motion move that the committee rise?

Mr. LEVER. We undertook to do that, as the gentleman knows, at the very beginning of the bill.

Mr. WALSH. At that time the discussion and difference of opinion over the prohibition amendments were pending. Those are now out of the way, and I think the motion would be carried.

Mr. LEVER. Then, Mr. Chairman, I move that the Senate amendments, Nos. 14 to 31, be disagreed to.

Mr. STAFFORD. Well, Mr. Chairman, the amendments have to be read.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. That can only be done by unanimous consent.

Mr. LEVER. Then I will ask unanimous consent. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, that the Senate amendments from 14 to 31, inclusive, be disagreed to without reading.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise and report the recommendations of the committee to the House.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi moves that the committee do now rise and report its recommendations to the House, that Senate amendment numbered 13 be agreed to, and that all the other amendments be disagreed to.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. That Senate amendment numbered 13 be agreed to with an amendment, and that all the other amendments be disagreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky, chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee, having had under consideraion the bill (H. R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," had directed him to report the same back to the House with the recommendation that Senate amendment No. 13 be agreed to with an amendment and that all the other amendments be disagreed to.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON], Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reports that that committee, having had under consideration the bill H. R. 11945, had directed him to report the same back to the House with the recommendation that the Senate amendment No. 13 be agreed to with an amendment and that all the other amendments be disagreed to.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. And that the conference asked for by the Senate be agreed to. I submit that as a supplemental report.

Mr. STAFFORD. That is no part of the report.

The SPEAKER. That is not a part of the instructions.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I demand the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on concurring in the recommendations of the committee.

Mr. MONDELL. A parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MONDELL. The statement just made by the Chair does not seem to be in accordance with the procedure of the House as indicated in Hinds' Precedents, volume 5, section 6193. If that particular paragraph is followed it will be necessary for the House to take up the various amendments in order to pass them.

The SPEAKER. The procedure is exactly like that in any other case, and the business of the Chair is to ask if a separate vote is desired on any amendment.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the Chair allow me to read?

The SPEAKER. Certainly.

Mr. MONDELL (reading)—

On March 1, 1831, the House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 528) making appropriations for the support of the Government for the year 1831.

After some time therein the committee rose, and the Chairman reported the said amendments with amendments.

The Senate amendments were then taken up in order. When the Committee of the Whole had amended, the House voted on the question of concurring with the Committee of the Whole in agreeing to the amendment proposed to the Senate amendment; and where the Committee of the Whole, instead of amending, had agreed or disagreed to the Senate amendment, the question was put on concurring with the Committee of the Whole in this agreement or disagreement.

Finally, after the amendments of the Senate had been gone through, the question was put on concurring with the Senate amendments as amended.

The SPEAKER. That is precisely what the Chair said.

Mr. MONDELL. The Chair's statement, as I understood it, was that the question was on concurring in the recommendations of the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. The Chair was starting to put the question whether a separate vote was desired on any amendment when the gentleman intervened.

Mr. MONDELL. It seems to me that it is necessary to take up these amendments.

The SPEAKER. There is nothing more sacred about these amendments than the amendments to any ordinary bill.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a separate vote on the amendment to the Senate amendment No. 13, regarding prohibition.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any other amendment?

Mr. BLANTON. I demand a separate vote on amendment 13.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California has demanded a separate vote on amendment 13. Is a separate vote demanded on any other? If not, the Chair will put them in gross.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, is not the question on the recommendation of the committee to disagree to the amendments?

The SPEAKER. The question is on the recommendation of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union to disagree to all the amendments except to Senate amendment 13.

The question was taken, and all the other amendments were disagreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on the amendment to Senate amendment 13.

The question was being taken when Mr. BLANTON rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. BLANTON. Is it in order to ask for the yeas and nays on this question?

The SPEAKER. It is.

Mr. BLANTON. I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Speaker, there seems to be a misunderstanding whether we are voting on the whole proposition to concur with an amendment. Is this on the amendment allowing the importation of wine?

The SPEAKER. The question is on the importation of wine as written in the bill.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, the Chair stated that the question was on the recommendation of the committee.

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. IGOE. Did not the Committee of the Whole report back Senate amendment 13 with an amendment? Is not that what we are voting on? The Committee of the Whole adopted an amendment which the Committee on Agriculture voted to incorporate in section 13, and then they reported section 13.

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment to be voted on be again reported.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment to Senate amendment 13: Page 7, line 2, after the word "demobilization," insert the words "except wine, which may be imported until May 1, 1919."

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. IGOE. Was not that amendment incorporated, including the amendment in Committee of the Whole, and was not the Senate amendment as amended reported to the House and not that committee amendment?

The SPEAKER. The Committee of the Whole simply recommended to the House of Representatives that the language just read be incorporated in the Senate amendment.

Mr. IGOE. The recommendation was that the Senate amendment as amended be adopted. How can there be a separate vote on that particular amendment, which was simply an amendment offered in Committee of the Whole to a Senate amendment? How can there be a separate vote on that that is a part of the entire section?

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Speaker, if I may have the attention of the Chair a moment, I think the matter before the House is a very simple one. Where the Senate amends a House bill and it comes back to the House with amendments it requires consideration in the Committee of the Whole, and the House has to go back into the Committee of the Whole to consider them de novo. In the present bill before the House there were sundry amendments made to the bill by the Senate, and the Committee on Agriculture considered those amendments and made a recommendation reporting the bill to the House, and the House in Committee of the Whole considered each one of these amendments. All of the amendments have been disposed of except the prohibition amendment put on by the Senate. The House committee recommended to the House that the House concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment providing that wines might be imported after a certain time. When the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union began to consider the amendments the question was to consider the amendment proposed to the amendment by the House committee, to wit, giving an exemption to the importation of wine until May 1. The committee recommended that the amendment be concurred in with an amendment, but the committee's action is simply advisory or recommendatory to the House, and the House has not yet acted on it. Now, the question is whether the House will concur in the recommendation of the committee to concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment. Now, if the House adopts such motion, that is the end of the matter. If the House refuses to concur in such amendment permitting the importation of Italian wine, then the question would come straight on concurring in the Senate amendment without amendment. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment recommended by the committee to Senate amendment No. 13.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BLANTON. If we vote in favor of this amendment now, does it carry with it the adoption of Senate amendment No. 13?

The SPEAKER. It does not.

Mr. BLANTON. When it does I ask for the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER. When the time comes it will be sufficient. The question is on this amendment recommended by the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union to Senate amendment No. 13.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced the noes seemed to have it.

On a division (demanded by Mr. LEVER) there were—ayes 59, noes 131.

So the amendment to the Senate amendment was rejected.

The SPEAKER. Now the amendment recurs to agreeing to Senate amendment No. 13.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. I move to concur in Senate amendment No. 13.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. LONDON. There is not before the House any recommendation of the committee that Senate amendment No. 13 be adopted by the House. No such recommendation has been presented by the committee to the House and it is too late to make that recommendation now, or rather too late to make that motion now.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi has just made that motion.

Mr. LONDON. I know, but the recommendation of the Committee of the Whole House to the House was that we adopt amendment No. 13 with a certain amendment. In other words, I contend that the motion can not be divided now.

The SPEAKER. Well, the House itself divided it just by this vote which was taken. When a report comes in from the Committee of the Whole House the House can do as it pleases with it. The question is on concurring in Senate amendment No. 13.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The question was taken; and the Chair announced the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. BLANTON. I ask for a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 171, noes 34.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, there is not a quorum——

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman raise the point of no quorum?

Mr. GALLAGHER. I think we ought to have a quorum.

Mr. BLANTON. I raise the point.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the count just made by the Chair showed a quorum present.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BLANTON. Is it in order to ask for the yeas and nays on this question?

The SPEAKER. Not until the Chair ascertains whether there is a quorum here.

Mr. GOOD. If the gentleman will withdraw his point of no quorum he can.

The SPEAKER (after counting). Two hundred and thirty-two gentlemen are present, a quorum. [Applause.]

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I demand the yeas and nays on the vote.

The SPEAKER. A quorum is present and the gentleman from Texas demands the yeas and nays. Twenty-nine gentlemen have arisen, not a sufficient number. [Applause.]

So the Senate amendment No. 13 was concurred in.

On motion of Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi, a motion to reconsider the vote by which Senate amendment 13 was agreed to was laid on the table.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to agree to the conference asked by the Senate and that the conferees be appointed.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent that the conference asked by the Senate be agreed to. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the conferees.

The Clerk read as follows:

Messrs. LEVER, LEE of Georgia, CANDLER of Mississippi, HAUGEN, and MCLAUGHLIN of Michigan.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. GRIFFIN, by unanimous consent, was granted leave of absence, for two days, on account of important business.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the bill (H. R. 12429) to authorize the health officer of the District of Columbia to permit the disinterment of the bodies of Eliza Hill Bowles, Bernice Worthen Bowles, and Bessie Vivian Bowles.

CONSERVATION OF MINERALS, ETC.—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I present a conference report for printing under the rules.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 11259) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the disposition of those ores, metals, and minerals which have formerly been largely imported or of which there might or may be an inadequate supply.

The SPEAKER. Ordered printed under the rule.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. VOIGT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks on the bill which was passed Saturday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SINNOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the War Finance Corporation and Capital Issues Committee.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 8 o'clock and 8 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, September 24, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Secretary of Commerce, submitting supplemental estimates of appropriation required by the Bureau of Standards for the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1292); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of communication from the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, submitting supplemental estimates of appropriation required for salaries and expenses for the District of Columbia (H. Doc. No. 1293); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. CLARK of Florida, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 12881) to increase the cost of the public building at Eldorado, Kans., reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 801), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 8828) authorizing the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Yonkers, N. Y., reported the same with an amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 802), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GODWIN of North Carolina: A bill (H. R. 12990) to authorize the Kingsdale Lumber Corporation to construct a bridge across Lumber River near the town of Lumberton, N. C.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SMITH of Idaho: A bill (H. R. 12991) to add certain lands to the Targhee National Forest; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. FREAR. Resolution (H. Res. 455) providing for investigation of the National Security League; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GANDY: A bill (H. R. 12992) granting a pension to Fred E. Savage; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JAMES: A bill (H. R. 12993) granting a pension to Tony Verrosso; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MORIN: A bill (H. R. 12994) granting an increase of pension to Edward W. White; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. DALE of New York: Memorial of the National Federation of Postal Employees, favoring the passage of H. R. 152, to establish a $3 minimum wage for civilian employees of the United States; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. DILLON: Petition of citizens of Vermilion and of Winner, S. Dak., urging immediate war prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROBBINS: Petitions, letters, and telegrams, urging war-time prohibition, from the following: Petitions—William Griffin, superintendent Reunion Presbyterian Sunday School, Mount Pleasant, Pa.; Mrs. Laura Brooks, secretary Woman's Bible Class, Grace Lutheran Church, Butler, Pa.; George A. Mitchell, secretary Whiteside Bible Class, Second Presbyterian Church, Butler, Pa.; Miss E. Florence E. Graham, secretary Young Ladies' Bible Class, Butler, Pa.; Mrs. Emma Colborn, representing Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Scottdale, Pa.; Mrs. B. F. Buzzard, secretary, and Mrs. A. S. Johnston, president, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Vandergrift, Pa.; Harry Overnte, secretary Cowandburg Sunday School, Irwin, R. D. No. 4, Pa.; S. Fulmer, president, and John L. Ruth, secretary, church council, Church of God, Mount Pleasant, Pa.; Mrs. C. B. DeYoung, for Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Greensburg, Pa.; L. Belle Sherbondy, superintendent, and Mildred E. Lash, secretary, Sewickley United Brethren Sunday School, West Newton, Pa.; Albert M. Markle, Caleb H. Greenawalt, Monroe J. Lash, Daniel W. Lash, Ray Pore, Clarence Lash, Maggie E. Shoaf, Mrs. M. J. Lash, Mrs. Samuel Swank, Rachael Swank, Maud A. Lash, Blanche Sherbondy, G. M. Hartung, C. L. Templeton, C. C. Hartung, C. A. Powell, Foster Brown, and Frank T. Hartung, official board of the Brownsdale Methodist Episcopal Church, Renfrew, Pa.; George S. Moser and about 50 others, of the First Presbyterian Church and community of East Butler, Butler County, Pa.; Mrs. M. E. Kilpatrick, Valencia, Pa. Telegrams—J. F. Anderson and Albert Weihe, Butler, Pa.; R. P. McClelland, Irwin, Pa.; F. R. Sloan and J. B. Cooper, Evans City, Pa.; Mrs. John W. Grossman, president Broadway Township Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Keister, Pa.; M. J. Gibson, Butler, Pa.; R. L. Leonardvres, Butler, Pa., for Pollock Bible Class, First Baptist Church, composed of 44 voters; East Unity Sunday School, Emlenton, Pa. Letters—Mrs. James G. Runkle, Butler, Pa.; V. O. Whitford, Butler, Pa.; Frank A. Reed, Butler, Pa.; Alice A. Kincaid, Butler, Pa.; Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Smith, Butler, Pa.; the Always Ready Sunday School Class (45 members), Butler, Pa.; Litlth E. Albert, Butler, Pa.; Ralph C. Albert, Butler, Pa.; G. V. Glenn, East Butler, Pa.; H. A. Grufen and Mrs. Margaret Grufen, 163 Brady Street, Butler, Pa.; Albert Weihe, Butler, Pa.; W. J. Daugherty, chairman of Com. Men's Bible Class, Grace Lutheran Church, Butler, Pa.; W. J. Daugherty, Butler, Pa.; Leo H. Anderson, Butler, Pa.; C. E. Cummings, Butler, Pa.; R. D. Daugherty, Butler, Pa.; H. T. Hitch, Butler, Pa.; Don. Hindman, evangelist, Young Men's Christian Association, Butler, Pa.; Mrs. F. W. Limberg, 345 Cliff Street, Butler, Pa.; F. W. Limberg, 345 Cliff Street, Butler, Pa.; Mrs. M. G. McCandless, Butler, Pa.; Mrs. Birdie McKay, Butler, Pa.; T. C. Brison, Cabot, Pa.; Miss Irene M. Kennedy, Cabot, Pa.; Mrs. T. C. Brison, Cabot, Pa.; M. F. Kreider, Cabot, Pa.; Mrs. Margaret A. Conway, 116 Zeigler Avenue, Butler, Pa.; J. R. Nicholas, Butler, Pa.; F. E. Puff, Butler, Pa., R. F. D. No. 5 (Rockdale Farm); W. J. Stone, Queen Junction, Pa.; J. C. Logan, Cabot, Pa.; Mr. and Mrs. H. A. Montag, Butler, Pa.; Mrs. Elizabeth Bell, Butler, Pa.; Dale G. Cooper, Butler, Pa.; Frank Brown, Webster, Pa.; W. H. Wall, Butler, Pa.; James G. Runkle, Butler, Pa.; Ellen Courson, Baldwin, Pa.; E. S. Craig, New Alexandria, Pa.; M. C. Loughry, Greensburg, Pa.; M. C. Loughry, S. L. Blanck, William Bray, and E. L. Pearce, Greensburg, Pa.; R. C. Dodds, Cabot, Pa.; Clara E. Bartley, Butler, Pa.; Mrs. Katharine Bartley, Butler, Pa.; Mrs. Charles A. Kinch, Butler, Pa.; Charles Kinch, Butler, Pa.; J. Franklin Pineo, Butler, Pa.; Mrs. W. H. Wise, West North Street, Butler, Pa.; C. P. Eberle, Butler, Pa.; B. G. Elliott, 582 Third Street, Butler, Pa.; Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Graham, Butler, Pa.; B. E. Boyd, Scottdale, Pa.; Mr. and Mrs. S. O. Reiter, Butler, Pa.; E. H. Davy, Butler, Pa.; Fred H. Bierer, C. E. Murphy, Mrs. M. D. McClelland, East Butler, Pa.; Edward G. Bartley, Butler, Pa.; Mrs. E. G. Bartley, Butler, Pa.; Rev. J. H Whiteman, Belle Vernon, Pa.; E. E. Finley, Belle Vernon, Pa.; W. W. Braddee, Belle Vernon, Pa.; Rev. Roy C. Ehrhart, Butler, Pa.; James H. Teters, East Butler, Pa.

By Mr. VARE: Petition of W. M. Steppacher & Bro. (Inc.), of Philadelphia, Pa., requesting the passage of S. J. Res. 63; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *September 24, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we thank Thee for every tie that binds us to the great liberty-loving nations of the earth. We bless Thee that in this time, when our friendship has been forged in the hot furnace of a great world war, there come out of it evidences of sympathy and of brotherhood that find their just expression in terms of the beautiful. We bless Thee that Thou hast given to us an opportunity to pay our infant debt to the great Republic of France, and that we can report upon her shores legions of brave and heroic American soldiers who stand by her in the day of her danger and peril.

We pray Thee to bless all our allies. Help us with them, standing shoulder to shoulder in this greatest crisis of the world's history, to press forward under the divine guidance and with the divine blessing to accomplish the end to which we have committed our resources, that of establishing a world of freemen and of glorifying the name of the God of freemen. We ask Thy blessing upon us. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I present a petition in behalf of the Colorado Medical Women's War Service League, an organization composed of the leading women physicians of the State of Colorado, indorsing woman suffrage. I ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petition was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COLORADO MEDICAL WOMEN'S WAR SERVICE LEAGUE,
Denver, Colo., August 6, 1918.

Resolutions adopted at a called meeting of the Colorado Medical Women's War Service League, Denver, July 18, 1918.

Whereas there are no arguments for or against votes for women that do not apply as well to votes for men, and experience has shown that women use the ballot at least as wisely as men; and

Whereas one of the divine purposes of this war is the achievement for all nations and for women as well as men of the fundamental principles of true democracy—"that government derives its just powers solely from the consent of the governed"; and

Whereas the past four years have demonstrated anew that neither men alone nor women alone can win a war, and that if together they are to win this war conservation and right use of time, money, and effort in this country is as essential as the conservation of food for the needs and success of our Army: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we call upon the Senators of the United States to act at once, consistently with their admitted knowledge that the coming of equal rights for women is inevitable, by passing the so-called Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to the end that this Nation be kept in line with progress toward universal justice, and to the end also that such time, money, and effort now being devoted to the battles for and against the principles of democracy and justice as applied to women may be released for use in the winning of the world war for the safety of mankind.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to Colorado's Senators for use in this cause.

THE COLORADO MEDICAL WOMEN'S WAR SERVICE LEAGUE.

Mr. NELSON presented a memorial from D. C. Shepard, of St. Paul, Minn., relative to the proposed revenue bill, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the memorial of C. J. Olson, of Baudette, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed tax on shoes retailing for over $12 per pair, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Minneapolis, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed tax on clothing retailing at $50 a suit or over, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a memorial of the Continental Supply Co., of Minneapolis, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed tax on nonbeverage alcohol, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. HALE:

A bill (S. 4957) to establish the Lafayette National Park in the State of Maine; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. SHIELDS:

A bill (S. 4958) granting an increase of pension to John F. Haynes (with accompanying paper); to the Committee on Pensions.

COST OF PRODUCTION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

Mr. NORRIS. I submit a resolution calling on the Secretary of Agriculture for certain information and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The resolution (S. Res. 310) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of Agriculture be instructed to furnish the Senate with all information in his department showing the cost of production of the following agricultural products: Wheat, barley, rye, buckwheat, corn, kafir corn, rice, apples, potatoes, cotton, beef cattle, hogs, hay, and sheep.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection?

Mr. KING. Does the Senator object to having the resolution go to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry?

Mr. NORRIS. I will say to the Senator that all the resolution does is to call for such information as the Secretary of Agriculture may have. I do not see any necessity for its going to the committee. I might have brought it up in the committee this morning.

Mr. KING. Does the Senator state that it will not require any investigation by the department?

Mr. NORRIS. It will not require any investigation probably more than to collect the information the Secretary has and send it to the Senate.

Mr. KING. I shall not object, Mr. President.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had approved and signed the following acts and joint resolution:

On September 10, 1918:

S. 936. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to convey to the city of Bozeman, Mont., certain land for alley purposes.

On September 11, 1918:

S. 4597. An act extending the time for the construction of a bridge across the Monongahela River at or near the city of Fairmont, W. Va.

On September 12, 1918:

S. J. Res. 172. Joint resolution authorizing the President to establish zones in which intoxicating liquors may not be sold, manufactured, or distributed.

On September 13, 1918:

S. 934. An act authorizing the State of Montana to select other lands in lieu of lands in section 16, township 2 north, range 30 east, within the limits of the Huntley irrigation project and the ceded portion of Crow Indian Reservation, in said State; and

S. 2180. An act to approve mutual cessions of territory by the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota and the consequent changes in the boundary line between said States.

THE MEAT-PACKING INDUSTRY (H. DOC. NO. 1297).

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, ordered to be printed, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress summary of the report of the Federal Trade Commission on the meat-packing industry.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 24, 1918.*

The VICE PRESIDENT. The morning business is closed.

SENATOR THOMPSON'S VISIT TO THE BATTLE FRONT IN FRANCE.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. President, the all-important question before the country is to win the war. There is no other issue, political or otherwise. How to win it quickly and completely is the great problem, and is the only question of difference between men or parties worthy of consideration at this time. All other economic, domestic, and international questions sink into insignificance as compared with this. Realizing that the best way to understand conditions at the front and the needs and requirements of the Army and Navy to accomplish the desired purpose is to go personally on the ground, during the last recess of Congress I went on an official mission to the war zone in France and England.

I first visited all of the principal ports in France, including Brest, St. Nazaire, Bordeaux, Boulogne, and Calais, in order to observe the landing and disposition of the troops and supplies, and then endeavored to follow them to and through the various training camps and distributing points until they finally reached the trenches at the front.

In order to better understand the conditions and the exact situation at the front, I visited most of the principal points along the battle front for a distance of 426 miles, from Nieuport, Belgium, on the north, to Belfort, near Switzerland, on the south, including the following well-known places: La Panne, the present capital of Belgium; Nieuport, a destroyed seaport and summer resort within about 300 yards of the German lines,

where we were shelled out of the city; the ancient city of Furnes, which has been almost entirely evacuated several times during the war and suffered the worst bombardment in its history last March, when the remnant of its civil population fled in terror across the fields to the children's colony at Leysele; the city of Dunkirk, which holds the record for being bombed, having met that fate over 400 times, and a portion of the population still remain in the city, which shows the tenacity with which the people stick to their homes and their silent contempt for and indifference to the German air raiders.

At La Panne, where we staid two nights, the German air raiders from Zeebrugge and Ostend pass over every night on their way to bomb Dunkirk and Calais, and usually drop a few bombs on the city; but it seems not to alarm the people. Even when Paris is bombarded by the big gun "Bertha," which occurred several times while we were in the city, business and traffic goes on undisturbed and nobody pays any attention whatever to it, except when the bomb hits, which makes a tremendous noise that can be heard all over the city, the people on the street usually take out their watches and remark that the next one will probably be along in about 20 minutes. We saw the famous old city of Ypres, which has stood out so long and so firmly against the Hun all through the war, although now entirely deserted and destroyed. On the day we were there civilians were not permitted in that vicinity, for the big Amiens drive had just begun, but we had the good fortune to be accompanied by an English officer who had charge of a battery at this point.

We later visited at different times Mount Cassel, the highest point in northern France, which overlooks the country for miles around; St. Omer; Amiens; Montdidier; Soissons; Fismes; Rheims; Chalons; Bar-le-duc; Verdun; Toul; Nancy; Luneville; Wesserling, Gerardmer; the old German city of Thann; and Belfort, as well as many smaller and less important places along the line in the vicinity. Belfort is the only city in that locality which held out against the Germans in 1870, and to commemorate its strength Bartholdi, the sculptor who made the Statue of Liberty which stands in New York Harbor, carved in red granite a mammoth lion which lies just outside the forts, apparently, ready to defend the city with all its fierceness. We made our headquarters at Paris, going to the foregoing places as opportunity presented, and also to other interior headquarters and distributing points, including Tours, Chaumont, Abbeyville, Montreuil, Versailles, Angers, and Rennes, and also various training camps, including Coetquidon, where, my colleagues will be interested in knowing, I spent two very pleasant days with Col. Luke Lea, former United States Senator from Tennessee, but now of the One hundred and fourteenth Field Artillery, and who was ordered to the front in the region of the present fighting the day I was there and no doubt participated in the great advance.

I also visited various training and flying schools, both in France and England, including the largest flying school in the world at Issoudun, which has about 5,000 enlisted men and about 800 officers and a total student membership of about 2,000, all of whom are American young men, including a number of Kansas boys. Here they are given about six weeks' final training and taught to use all kinds of planes, including the three different types required for all flying squadrons, namely, the fighting, or scouting, plane, called in the United States service the pursuit plane; the battle, observation, or reconnoissance plane; and the bombing plane. The fliers are divided into three classes and are permitted to choose service with the character of plane they are best able to handle.

I also inspected the largest aviation assembling plant in the world at Romorantin. Here is where most of the Liberty motors are being installed in the De Haviland 4 and De Haviland 9 planes, commonly referred to as the D. H. 4 and the D. H. 9. Some criticism on this side of the Atlantic has been made for the delay in the delivery of this character of planes, the erroneous statement being made on the floor of the Senate as late as last July that there was only one Liberty motor battle plane in Europe. The truth is, delivery of these planes was not expected earlier than the 1st of July, while, as a matter of fact, the first Liberty motor plane arrived, was set up complete, and christened on May 18, 1918, and they have been arriving over there at the rate of five to ten per day ever since.

Every transport on our way over to France—12 in number—carried Liberty motors and planes. Complaint was also made because we did not have as many as 10,000 or 20,000 planes over there, when, as a matter of fact, if they had been there they could not have been used, because there was not sufficient hangars or aerodromes to take care of them, or ample flying stations or fields from which to fly and land; and neither was there a sufficient number of fliers, or competent men in the aviation service to properly take care of the planes, or sufficient supply of gasoline or lubricating oil. The first five Liberty planes had the misfortune to land within the German lines by mistake, so the importance of having suitable grounds on which to land, and to know where to land, can readily be seen. It requires about 50 experienced men and 3 extra planes behind the lines to keep one man flying. While, of course, there was some delay in the development of this wonderful Liberty motor, which is not to be wondered at, but having produced the best motor in existence rather than adopting some inferior motor, it has certainly been worth whatever loss has been caused by the delay and will prove a greater benefit in the long run. The fact is, that the allies predominate in the air as they do in man power and in artillery. It is, indeed, gratifying to know, however, that the delay has ended and that planes are now arriving at the distributing points in France about as rapidly as they can be taken care of. I enjoyed a flight over France in one of the completed and thoroughly equipped Liberty D. H. 4 planes. These planes are regarded by experts to be the best all-purpose plane in existence, one that can be used fairly successfully for all three purposes required in a flight, to wit, battling, observation, and bombing. They are each modernly equipped, carrying a pilot who is armed with a Marlin machine gun capable of shooting 600 shots per minute, and the propeller in front of him so synchronized with the gun as to permit the pilot to fire right between the blades without hitting them, and also carrying an observer armed with a Lewis machine gun, which has a greater shooting ability, because it has an independent train and can be pointed in any direction. The D. H. 4 Liberty plane weighs about 3,800 pounds, equipped with pilot and observer, and carries 500 pounds of bombs, equally divided, hanging from each wing, and so arranged that the operator may drop the bombs in 50-pound packages, or, if he prefers, can drop the whole 500 pounds at one time. Each plane is also equipped with wireless-telegraph outfit, besides other modern devices for navigation and communication.

The Liberty motor is acknowledged to be one of the best, if not the best, motors ever made for flying purposes. A plane so equipped has greater speed, being a maximum of about 135 miles per hour, and can fly higher, which is one of the greatest advantages in a flight, than any other plane of this type yet manufactured.

It was also my privilege to visit the Handley-Page plant, in England, and on September 1 to enjoy a flight over the city of London in one of the large Handley-Page bombing planes, the type commonly known as 0-400, which can carry 20 passengers besides the pilot, and 2,000 pounds of bombs besides machine-gun equipment, fore and aft as well as in the center. The wings of this plane measure 100 feet spread from tip to tip, and the body is 65 feet in length, and the plane weighs without equipment 3½ tons and can carry in addition almost its own weight, so that it weighs when fully equipped about 6 tons and costs about $30,000. It has two 350-horsepower motors, both the Rolls-Royce and Liberty motors being used, placed on each side of the nose of the machine instead of directly in front, with platforms built so that the motor can be cranked or repaired in the air. It carries 300 gallons of gasoline and can travel about 800 miles without landing.

While this may seem like a big story, yet this plant is now turning out another plane twice as large and with more than twice the capacity, carrying 50 passengers, over 2 tons of bombs, and will be able to fly from London to Berlin, bomb that city, and return home without leaving the air. I would not give these facts, except I know they are well known to the enemy by reason of the fact that the very first Handley-Page plane put into commission on trial by the British landed within the German lines by mistake, and Germany immediately began to duplicate it. This, however, was a good thing for Mr. Page, for after a long, hard struggle to get recognition from his own Government for the production of this wonderful machine, as soon as it was adopted by Germany, it was immediately approved by the British, and now they can not be manufactured fast enough. I had the good fortune to witness several airplane battles at Chateau-Thierry, Verdun, Belgium, and along the English front near Amiens.

I also visited various flying schools in England, principally at Chattis Hill, near Winchester, where I took another airplane flight and flew over to a large flying school at Lecombe Corner, some distance away, and back again. We have 72 different flying schools in England in connection with the English aviators, both American and English flyers being trained and fitted for service, and from which place the flyers are sent to the front in France as they become proficient.

Special attention is given to the training of all young men for the service they are to perform before they are placed in danger. Every possible precaution is taken to protect them by

our Government. There are six rest camps in England where those who disembark on English shores rest up before going to France to enter the training camps there. I learned of at least 14 different kinds of schools in France, as follows: Artillery, airplane and aero photography, observers, transportation facilities, blacksmithing and repairs, gas schools, machine-gun and automatic rifle, Signal Corps, French mortar, pigeon schools (training the handling of, and caring for, pigeons for messenger service), Engineers, camouflage, Army school of the line, and General Staff College.

While every young man is first put through general training for the work of his enlistment, yet even after he has gotten to the front, should he develop any special aptitude for a different class of service, he is taken out of the ranks and sent back to that school which will specially fit him for the particular service to which he is best adapted.

On August 4 I had the good fortune to be with the American troops on the battle field of Chateau-Thierry, the "Gettysburg" of this war, while the battle was raging and the Germans were being pushed over the Vesle River. The battle on that day was in and around the city of Fismes, and I had the special privilege, through the courtesy of the commander of Battery B of the One hundred and first Massachusetts Field Artillery, to send my respects to the Kaiser in the form of a 3-inch shell from a "French 75" gun. The shell was reported by the observer to have fallen about 5 miles away upon the enemy in the vicinity of a small place called Perle, within the German lines just north of the Vesle River. Here we saw the enormous movement of about 300,000 American and French troops, supplies and equipment, from the position they held the day before, pursuing the Germans in hot haste, who were retreating across the Vesle River and passing over the valley to make another stand near the Aisne River. This great movement of troops included hundreds, if not thousands, of trucks of supplies, ammunition wagons, big guns, infantry and cavalry, which were getting in position for another battle. We saw the awful destruction and desolation, the dead buried and the wounded hastily cared for and put in ambulances for the hospitals, and also the burying of many fine horses. The Germans left many dead and thousands of prisoners, and a great quantity of equipment, shells, and ammunition. Enemy shells fell all around, and we saw the little village of Mount St. Martin, about half a mile away, completely destroyed by German shells. I have here a map showing the location of all the German divisions and the names of their commanders at the time of this battle, from which it will be seen that Germany threw in against us 43 divisions, or about 430,000 of their choicest crack troops.

A rather amusing incident which might have resulted more seriously happened at this place. We were endeavoring to reach the city of Fismes, which we heard had been captured by the Americans, and while running along at a rather rapid rate of speed in an Army automobile, we passed the ambulances and were driving forward among the men, who were lying down along the roadside to prevent being seen by Germans or hit with shells. They evidently took our American military car for an officer's car, as nothing was said to us until an American sergeant ran out in the road and inquired in a loud voice: "Where in hell are you fellows going?" We told him we were going to Fismes, and he replied: "The hell you are; we have been trying to get there for days and have not made it yet." At that another officer came out and ordered us back to the line occupied by the ambulances, which we had passed about 2 miles back. Upon inquiry we learned we had gotten within about 1 mile of the German battle line.

Everything indicated that the Germans fully intended to bombard Paris at some point near Chateau-Thierry, for they had built railroads all along the road clear up to this point, and had piled heavy ammunition in cords along the railroad and in the timber and at every secreted point. It was estimated that at least 1,000,000 rounds of heavy ammunition in the form of 3, 6, and 8 inch shells, and some even larger, were left upon the field of battle. Here I was able to secure some valuable relics fresh from the hands of the Germans in the form of guns, bayonets, and helmets, now on exhibition in my committee room in the Capitol, which many of my colleagues have seen. This was the only time when I saw the American soldiers tired out, caused by their endeavor to keep up with the Germans in their retreat. They had gotten far ahead of their Army kitchen, and it was about 2 o'clock in the afternoon of that day before it caught up with them, and they had not had anything to eat since about 4 o'clock the day before.

I was interested in the kind and quality of the food served upon the battle field, and I noticed that it was indeed a very substantial meal, consisting of coffee, two fine large potatoes with jackets on, a large piece of roast beef with fine gravy, a big plate of beans, and plenty of good bread, butter, and sugar, and a dessert of rice pudding. At the hotels it was difficult to get sugar, butter, or potatoes, but we were very glad to see that this food actually reached the soldier in the field.

We endeavored on this day to reach the grave of Lieut. Quentin Roosevelt, that brave and daring son of our distinguished ex-President, but it was still within the German lines. We returned a week later, and on August 11 were privileged to pass through the deserted and destroyed city of Fismes, and on the road to Rheims, just northeast of the village of Chierges, south of Chamery, and immediately west of what is known as the Reedy farm, we found the grave of Lieut. Roosevelt and attended the first religious service over the grave, conducted by Chaplain Thomas E. Swan, of the One hundred and twenty-fifth (Michigan) Infantry, who in civil life is rector of the Saginaw (Mich.) Episcopal Church. The Germans had carefully marked the grave, about in the manner they usually mark the graves of their own officers, by erecting a cross, with the simple inscription, neatly painted, "First Lieut. Quentin Roosevelt, July 14, 1918." The American soldiers later constructed a smooth wire fence around the grave, and erected a more substantial cross, with the following inscription: "Here rests, on the field of honor, First Lieut. Quentin Roosevelt, Air Service, U. S. A., killed in action July 11, 1918." I have here a picture of the grave, including myself and others standing at the head of the grave, which I will be glad to show any of my colleagues who may be interested.

On August 6 we visited the British headquarters and saw the great preparation for the big drive near Amiens, which the English began in earnest about August 8, when we were at the city of Ypres and were between the firing lines of the British and German artillery and could hear the shells pass over our heads going in both directions, sounding like a railroad train emitting steam passing over a bridge some distance away. The English artillery officer who was with us, however, was able to distinguish every shell, and would frequently cry out, "There goes a French 75," or "That is a German 77," or "That is an English 6, naval gun," which was rather a new and strange amusement for us. The only building standing in the old city of Ypres with four sides and any kind of a roof is No. 13, near the old railway depot, in which we went to take shelter from shrapnel which fell in that vicinity now and then. The last civilian to leave Ypres was the good Pere Delaire, who was curé of the Church of St. Pierre at Ypres, who stayed all through the bombardments, caring for the wounded and ministering to the dying, refusing to leave until he was absolutely driven out by the military authorities. He took with him several hundred little Belgian boys and girls, and he is now taking care of 131 little girls at Wisques, who are in charge of the Catholic sisters at that place. The little boys, by the aid of the American Red Cross, were sent farther south into France *out of danger*. Here I saw a little blue-eyed tot, 6 years old, whose father and mother fled from the Germans in 1914 and came to Ypres. Her father, a plain farmer, was killed there by a shell, and her mother fled with this little girl, who was then only 2 years old, to Poperinghe, where a shell came down upon the house in 1916 and cut off her mother's arm and wounded the little girl almost from head to foot along her entire body, but by the most faithful and skillful care her life was saved.

The Queen of Belgium is doing a wonderful work in connection with saving the Belgian orphan children, the wounded soldiers, and the destitute widows. At Vinckem she has established two schools, where there are now over 500 children brought together from the firing lines of the allies in Belgium. These children were exposed to gas and shell attack and in many cases their homes were destroyed and their parents killed. The Queen has also established a home there, by the aid of the American Red Cross, to care for the Belgian children under 4 years of age; and she has also established various hospitals for the soldiers at her own expense, in which she shows her great humanity and democracy by personally ministering to the sick and wounded.

At Vinckem or Wulveringhem, which are adjoining places, we visited the great hospital of the Belgian Red Cross, known as the "l'hopital ocean," evacuated from La Panne. This is the hospital of Dr. Depage, one of the most famous surgeons of the world, whom I had the pleasure of meeting. Our most distinguished American doctors who have visited Ocean Hospital say that it is one of the very best in the world.

Mrs. Depage, who lost her life upon the *Lusitania*, is buried on a hillside on the seashore near La Panne, in sight of this famous hospital, in accordance with her wishes, by reason of her great interest in the hospital and life work in connection with her distinguished husband. There is also located at this place the "Home Du Soldat," which is a large recreation hall

for convalescent soldiers from the hospitals and for the soldiers in the camps near by. The Belgians, in all their distress, have not even neglected their little civil population in free Belgium, where at Leysele they have established a hospital for them in a small schoolhouse after it was shelled and bombed out of St. Idesbalde. Here sick civilians are placed, especially the more serious cases of diphtheria, typhoid, and tuberculosis, and also civilians who are wounded by bombs, shell fire, or gas. The Belgian minister of interior has also just built a new civil hospital in the barracks in what is called the "Doorntje," at the frontier near Hondschoot. In La Panne we visited the little baby hospital of Madame Rolin of the Belgian Government, for which the Red Cross gave the barracks enough money to organize and support it. The American Red Cross for Belgium have aided materially in all these enterprises by reason of the lack of funds in the Belgian treasury.

We saw the Bains Militaires where one German shell caused 70 casualties. The bravery and fortitude of the Belgian people is well illustrated by the true story of a little hunchbacked girl who worked at mending soldiers' uniforms and who was the only support of her aged mother and little sister, and who had both legs cut off above the knee by this shell, and when her old mother went almost into hysterics over their sad fate she told her not to cry, because she could still sit in a chair and could be a dressmaker and support her and her sister. Too much can not be said in praise of the fortitude and courage of the Belgian people. Complaint is heard now and then from those who seem to think that the Belgians are not as helpful as they might be, or who fail to appreciate the exact situation they are in. Bear in mind the Belgians occupy a different position in this war than any other people in all history. They first saved the day for France and England by holding the German beasts at bay until the stronger powers were ready for the affray. Most of their country was devastated and destroyed and nearly all their civil population—7,000,000 men, women, and children—were made prisoners more than four years ago, and most of them still remain such. Only a small strip of their country about 25 miles in length and on an average of only about 6 miles in width remains as free Belgium, but it is still ruled and controlled by the King and the army, who, right under the guns of the enemy, refuse to leave their beloved land. In other words, practically all the citizens are prisoners and the army and the head of the Government is at large fighting to liberate the citizenry. Remarkable as it may seem, the Belgian Army is as large to-day as it ever was, and it alone is holding its entire front line with the aid of the inundations of water through the great system of canals flowing from the Yser River. The army maintains its strength from the men who continually escape from occupied Belgium. Their bravery and patriotism is shown by the fact that it is well known that only 25 per cent of the men who attempt to escape are able to do so, yet the ranks are daily replenished.

So Belgium is doing more than her part, no matter what criticism may be made against her. We must also remember that the men of the Belgian Army for over four years have been within walking distance of their homes and can not go there, and most of them have not heard a single word from home for all that time, and they at the same time know that their homes and families are in the hands of the terrible Hun. This is enough in itself to weaken the morale of most any army and to cause them to hope for an early conclusion of the war on the best terms they themselves can secure; but the Belgians are apparently unmoved by the situation and will without question hold out loyally with their allies to the very end. In any event, this brave and unconquerable little nation of heroes will always have the credit of administering the first blow to the German Army, from which it never recovered.

We visited the famous old city of Verdun, where the French early in the war held out for so many months against the army of the Crown Prince. This is one of the best natural fortified cities in the world to-day, and illustrates under the present mode of warfare how important it is to have natural fortifications of hills or mountains, for there is no other fortification that can possibly withstand the terrible heavy fire of modern artillery.

Near Verdun, by looking from one of the observation posts, one can see out over what is termed "Dead Man's Hill," where so many men fell on both sides of the battle for months when neither side had time or opportunity to bury the dead, and this stretch of territory has been "No Man's Land" ever since. As a result, there are skulls and skeletons piled in heaps and strewn promiscuously over the field, so as to make the ground appear white as if covered with dust from human bones. It certainly presents a weird and shocking sight, and one is reminded of the scenes presented in Dante's Inferno, and is forcibly impressed with the vastness of the human sacrifices made in this awful struggle.

Verdun marks one of the early military mistakes of Germany. Regardless of Germany's much boasted staff organization, she has made more military mistakes and egregious blunders than all of the allies combined. The halo of invincibility which used to hover about the crown of the German staff is vanishing. Foch, Pershing, Haig, and Petain are blowing it away, and that perhaps is the most important result of the two months of continued victory which the allied armies have now enjoyed. Almost every calculation of the German staff has proved to be wrong.

The new staff organization of the American Army promises to be the best system ever conceived for any army, as we have adopted the very best features of the English and French as well as the German Army organizations, and have had the good sense to eliminate the mistakes they made, embodying in itself a coordination of all the best features shown by the experience of all the other staffs.

We have 1,750,000 men in France and have the foundation laid for many millions more if necessary. This ought to cause the Senators who denounced Secretary Baker in January last for saying that he expected to have a million men in France by July 1 to apologize before the public. His estimate was increased more than one-half. These pretended military critics should admit for once that Secretary Baker was right and that they were wrong. Regardless of all the wonderful scientific inventions for destruction of life and property, the final success of the war still resolves itself into a question of man power, which the United States is fortunately able to furnish.

Around Toul I had the pleasure of meeting the first Kansas soldier boys in the front-line trenches, where I found the original Three hundred and fifty-third all-Kansas Regiment, commanded by Col. Babcock, which forms a part of the Eighty-ninth Division, commanded by Gen. Winn. They were holding a part of the front-line trenches in the region of the present fighting. I had already seen the One hundred and tenth Ammunition Train, commanded by Col. Travis, comprised principally of Kansas boys, during the Battle of Chateau-Thierry. A little later, on August 21, 22, and 23, I enjoyed a visit with the soldiers of the Thirty-fifth Division, composed largely of Kansas boys, being the first Kansas volunteers of the old National Guard. The Seventieth Infantry Brigade is commanded by Gen. Martin and the One hundred and thirty-seventh Infantry Regiment is commanded by Col. Clad Hamilton, both of Topeka. Gen. Traub, the division commander, a Regular Army officer, told me that while he had commanded many regiments of soldiers yet he was free to say that the boys of this division were the finest lot and most efficient and courageous soldiers he had ever had under his command.

Gen. Martin is a great favorite with all the men and has the very highest standing as a commanding officer. This division is holding a sector of the front-line trenches, all on German soil in Alsace-Lorraine. I would not give the names of these divisions and commanders except that I know the enemy is fully aware of what I have said, through her spy system. Our armies know, through what we are pleased to term our "intelligence system," the approximate location, together with the names of the commanders, of every division of the German Army. The gaining of this information, when applied to us, we call it the "intelligence system," but when applied to the enemy we call it the "spy system." This map, made up from such intelligence, shows approximately the location of every German division along the firing line at the time of the battle of Chateau-Thierry and at the commencement of the drive by the British near Amiens. It certainly demonstrates a thorough and intelligent system on our part; and the fact that when the Twenty-sixth Division of our Army was replaced by the Thirty-fifth Division the Germans put up a sign opposite the position on which were the following words, "Good-by, Twenty-sixth Division; welcome, Thirty-fifth," shows that they also know what is being done on our side of the line.

It was indeed a pleasure to observe the bountiful crops everywhere in France and England. Nearly every farmer raised some wheat, and the production seemed marvelous, and every strip of ground, no matter how small, even along the railroad tracks, was planted to some kind of food crops. All the farm work is performed by the women, children, old men, and cripples who have been wounded and discharged from the service. There appeared to be food and supplies enough for the civil population and the armies to last for many months, even though we should fail to supply a single pound. There was also plenty of substantial food to eat in the country and no particular difficulty to obtain the necessaries of life at a reasonable price, no

higher than in most places in the United States, but nowhere in either France or England were the prices of food products as high as in the city of Washington.

The spirit of our American boys is certainly fine. They all appeared well, happy, and thoroughly contented. The only impatience or dissatisfaction shown was in their delay to get to the front. Everybody in the service after he is over there a short time wants to get right to the front. There was some complaint regarding the delay in receiving the mail, and I was glad to be able to render some service in helping to straighten out that difficulty, so that, instead of its taking two or three months to exchange letters at home, I fully hope and expect in the near future that it will require less than half that time. A noted general once said that, second to food, mail was next in importance to preserve the morale of an army, and special attention must be given this subject until it is properly worked out so that every soldier may get his mail at the very earliest possible moment, just the same as he requires his food on time.

There was also some complaint among the American soldiers about not receiving their pay on the day it was due, but I found in most cases it was because the soldier was away from his regiment on pay day; but I was glad to take up this matter with the authorities and I am now reliably informed that a system has been adopted, or will be soon, by which a soldier can draw his pay, with proper papers, wherever he may be on pay day. This will be a decided advantage, and if it has not already been adopted, it should be at the earliest possible moment, as no American soldier boy under any circumstances should be put in a position of having to borrow money or beg while there is something due him from his Government.

As I have already indicated, the American Red Cross are doing a wonderful work and also the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, and the Salvation Army. There is quite a spirit of rivalry among these various organizations, and each has its champion, and sometimes there is a little complaint against one and sometimes another, except that the opinion is unanimous on the Christian and merciful work done by the Salvation Army where its members, including the women, go right to the front and supply little necessities without price and minister to the wounded and dying without publicity or the hope of reward in this world. While some contend that this humanitarian work should all be united under one general head, yet from all I could see and learn they all fill a particular place, and knowing that too much of this kind of work can not be done, there would seem to be an advantage in as many organizations going forward with it as possible, and the little friendly rivalry between them only aids in their efficiency.

Too much can not be said in praise of the good work of the many wonderful hospitals throughout France and the great skill of the many surgeons, as well as the extreme care, patience, and devotion of the thousands of nurses. There are what are called three-line hospitals. First, the front line on the battle field, the second a little farther back behind the battle field, and the third still farther back in the interior in perfect safety. I was told by those in charge of the third-line hospitals, who carefully kept their records in each case, that of the patients who reached the third-line hospitals alive they lose only 1 per cent by death, and that they were able to actually put back into service 80 per cent of those treated for wounds. They are greatly in need of many more nurses, assistant nurses, and skilled surgeons, and a special effort should be made to supply them. I saw an advertisement in France calling for 50,000 more nurses, which shows the great necessity therefor. Wives and sisters of soldiers between the ages of 21 and 25 years are now admitted for nurse service and graduate nurses are rarely ever limited as to age. They are all under Army control and regulations and may be tried, disciplined, and court-martialed just the same as a soldier, and there is no reason why the United States should not adopt the same rule as our allies and grant military rank to those who enlist, the same as they do for soldiers. English skilled nurses receive the rank of first lieutenant. The pay averages about $60 per month for overseas work, with clothing and board furnished.

After this special opportunity for observation and a fair consideration of the situation and conditions personally on the ground from almost every angle, the best message I can bring to the people of this country is the fact that the morale of the allied armies is at its best and highest point, and the morale of the German and Austrian armies is at its worst and lowest point since the commencement of the war. Undoubted evidence exists that the spirit of the German troops, taken as a whole, was never lower; and this is only natural in view of the destruction of the hopes of brilliant victory and almost immediate peace with which they were buoyed up by their leaders early in the year. I think it can safely be said that the final turning point has arrived, and that for the first time since the beginning of the war it has filtered through the slow and stubborn minds of the rank and file of the German army that they are fighting a hopeless cause, and for the first time our allied armies are convinced beyond all doubt that they are fighting a winning cause, and that victory is all but within their grasp. The principal reason for this, I am proud to say, as freely expressed by our allies themselves, is the entrance of the United States into the war. We entered the war just at the right time, at the psychological moment to do the most good. The allies were extremely tired and discouraged, but the sight of hundreds of thousands of American boys coming to their aid with their fresh, vigorous, and courageous manhood, gave them exactly the assistance they needed, for renewed courage and positive hope of final victory. It is conceded by all that we put, to use slang phrases which are most forcible and expressive, the "pep" into the war, and "started the ball to rolling" toward Berlin. While there are many men of high standing, with full knowledge and large control of affairs, who believe that the war can be ended this year, yet the consensus of opinion is that it will still require about one year longer of most active, aggressive, and vigorous warfare to bring about that complete and overwhelming victory which the allied armies and the people of the respective allied countries now demand. It can be no makeshift, compromise, or halfway peace, but must be final and conclusive and destroy forever Kaiserism and militarism throughout the world. America will then have performed her duty to the liberty-loving people of the world, and will have maintained her reputation among them, as that bright and shining star which appeared in the heavens at the most critical time in all history, shining forth in radiant light the words of the Savior of the world with such brilliancy that they may be seen the world over by all future generations, "Peace on earth, good will toward men."

CALLING OF THE ROLL.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Harding	Nelson	Smith, Ariz.
Bankhead	Jones, N. Mex.	New	Smith, Ga.
Benet	Jones, Wash.	Norris	Smith, Md.
Brandegee	Kellogg	Nugent	Smith, S. C.
Calder	Kendrick	Page	Smoot
Chamberlain	Kenyon	Penrose	Sterling
Culberson	King	Phelan	Thomas
Cummins	Kirby	Pittman	Thompson
Curtis	Lewis	Pomerene	Trammell
Dillingham	Lodge	Ransdell	Wadsworth
Drew	McCumber	Robinson	Walsh
Fernald	McKellar	Shafroth	Warren
Fletcher	McNary	Sheppard	Wilfley
Gulon	Martin, Va.	Shields	Williams
Hale	Myers	Simmons	

Mr. LEWIS. I announce the absence of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. VARDAMAN], occasioned by illness, and that of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. HENDERSON], on official business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Fifty-nine Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

RECESS.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, as arrangements have been made for the ceremonies at 1 o'clock in connection with the presentation of the vases by the French Republic, I am going to move for a recess; but I will state the reason for the roll call. I think this is a national occasion, and it is very important that there should be as many Senators as possible present in recognition of this international event.

As we shall take a recess for that purpose, and I know of no pressing business, I move that the Senate recess until 12 o'clock meridian on Thursday next.

The motion was agreed to.

GIFT FROM THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The hour of 1 o'clock having arrived, the Chair will request Mr. MARTIN of Virginia, Mr. LODGE, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. BRANDEGEE, Mr. POMERENE, and Mr. MCCUMBER to repair to the Vice President's room and escort the French ambassador to the Chamber.

The French ambassador, M. Jusserand, preceded by the Sergeant at Arms and the Secretary of the Senate, was escorted to the Chamber by the committee named by the Vice President, and he was seated on the right of the Vice President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the Senate resolution heretofore adopted.

The Secretary read Senate resolution 305, submitted by Mr. POMERENE on the 17th instant and agreed to by the Senate on that day, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate of the United States has received with deep satisfaction the communication of the ambassador of the French Republic to the United States conveying the desire of the French Government to present to the Senate two vases from the National Manufacture of Sevres.

Resolved, That this offer is accepted with the highest appreciation of the gift and of the spirit in which it is presented, and that the 24th day of September, 1918, at the hour of 1 o'clock post meridian, is hereby set apart for the purpose of formally and officially accepting such gift.

Resolved, That the French ambassador be notified of this action of the Senate and requested to attend as the representative of his Government.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Gentlemen of the Senate, the ambassador of the French Republic to the United States. [Great applause.]

ADDRESS BY M. JULES J. JUSSERAND, AMBASSADOR OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC TO THE UNITED STATES.

M. JUSSERAND. Mr. President and gentlemen of the Senate, as a token of gratitude for the reception granted by this assembly to a few representative Frenchmen sent last year in order to welcome America to the ranks of the active defenders of right, these vases are offered to the Senate. Commemorating a modern event, they are themselves modern and come from that Sevres manufacture, near Paris, where mementos of America abound, recalling the perpetual friendship between our two countries, busts of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Lincoln, Lafayette. [Applause.]

The decision of the President and of Congress to take part in the war had sent a thrill of joy throughout France, not simply because of the aid but because of the justification. Our faith that our living and our dead had made their manifold sacrifices for a supremely great and just cause received its most telling confirmation when, from across the ocean, the voice of this great Nation was heard above the din of battle, saying, from now on "until the last gun is fired," until right triumphs, not for a time but for all times, we take our place by your side. [Applause.]

Our great thinker, Pascal, once drew up this aphorism: "Justice without force is powerless; force without justice is tyrannical." We wanted the mission sent to you last year to represent both; and it was led, therefore, by Mr. Viviani, minister of justice, whose winged, fiery words are still remembered on these shores, and by one who, at a solemn hour in the history of the world personated what President Wilson has described in one of his memorable addresses as "Force; force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world," Marshal Joffre, the winner of the Marne.

Of the two ways of expressing one's self, that of Marshal Joffre, of Marshal Foch, who started from the same Marne a pursuit that is not near its end, of Marshal Haig and his admirable Britishers, of Gen. Pershing, who has given back to France a portion of France, and of their companions in arms in Italy, Palestine, the Balkans, Siberia, is the only one our enemy understands—he has never tired of saying so himself—and since we want to be understood we mean to use no other. [Applause.]

We have to deal with a strange enemy; I shall not say a monstrous enemy, though, in fact, such he is. He can devise, he can not understand. [Laughter and applause.] That unique enemy can devise liquid fire, poisonous gases, poisonous propaganda, noxious germs to be sent by his diplomatic pouch to neutral countries, as happened in Norway and Roumania—after which he wonders he has no friends—an accurate shelling of Rheims, burning of Louvain, sinking of the *Lusitania* and hospital ships, perfectly appointed wagons to carry off loot, the efficient slavery of civilians.

He sometimes reproaches us for not knowing when we are beaten; along this line, let us confess it, we are beaten; along this line, and along no other, heaven be praised, and never shall be. [Applause.]

He can devise; he can not understand; he has no eyes to see, no heart to feel. He can not pretend that, while preparing his onslaught, he lacked informers in any country of the world. They were mostly of his own blood, and he concluded from what they said that when "der tag" would come Belgium would be found benumbed in fright, France in decay, England in indifference, America in business. The answer was Liege, Marne, Ypres, St. Mihiel. [Applause.]

They forgot in their calculations one imponderable item—sentiment. They could not understand that sentiment is a force, the greatest of all, in our days; that sentiment leads the world and has caused one nation after another, in Europe, in North, Central, and South America, in Asia, in Africa even, to come and say, "Till the end we are with you." Sentiment is the force behind those particular guns that shall win the day.

Of the value of this force we French are better aware than anyone, for it happened to us to sow the seed on these shores long, long ago, without thinking of the future, and behold, like the grain of mustard seed, it has grown and waxed a great tree. [Applause.]

They can not understand. Our attitude during the many years between the two wars was as unprovocative as it well could be, from which they just concluded that we must be in decay. Our policy was publicly expressed and acted upon, but they would not believe and could not understand. In an address of April 13, 1912, one of our statesmen on an occasion of international significance said:

> France will neither attack nor provoke, but in order to be assured that she herself will be neither attacked nor provoked, she must have land and sea forces capable of commanding respect.

This statesman was then prime minister and is now President of the French Republic, M. Raymond Poincaré.

The doors are shut, the curtains are drawn; with hushed voices select accomplices decide that "der tag" has come for the greatest crime in the world's history. No outsider can hear or see; no one shall know. Yet all the world knows, for the crime has cried to heaven, and the dark date of the Potsdam council, July 5, 1914, will be execrated throughout ages.

Any pretext would be good enough to justify the decision, for the true justification was to be success; and force moreover needs, they think, no justification. For the Serbs the pretext resorted to was the assassination of an Austrian Prince by an Austrian subject; for the Belgians, necessity which, as all burglars are aware, "knows no law"; for France, a pipe-dream accusation of our having shelled Nuremberg from the air. Force was so much to be the justification of it all, and so little care was considered necessary that, in their tragedy, the Germans played the epilogue before the prologue, and one day before they declared war on us because of Nuremberg they had begun hostilities. Their declaration is of Monday evening, August 3. On Sunday, the 2d, their horsemen had penetrated more than 7 miles on French territory, killed Corp. Peugeot, head of a small platoon from the Forty-fourth Infantry, a young man of 21, in times of peace a public-school teacher; their own leader, Lieut. Camille Mayer, was killed by us, and his tomb at Jonchercy will testify forever as to what the dawn of "der tag" was like.

The Kaiser thereupon solemnly declared in Berlin, "The sword has been forced into our hands," and all the echoes in Germany dutifully repeated and continue to repeat, "The sword has been forced into our hands; the sword has been forced into our hands." We knew from that moment what to expect.

In the dust and smoke of the immense fight the skies are sometimes beclouded and we do not know the time of day, but we feel that we are moving toward the evening of "der tag" and that evening will see the doom of those men who, even at this late hour, as unable as before to understand, still exercise their faculty of devising and methodically ravage, defile, and destroy the parts of France which they have to abandon, cunningly arranging bombs with time fuses that may kill people returning to their ruined homes. The hour of their doom is coming. [Applause.]

They now pretend their eyes begin to open and they "babble" of peace, the peace of wrong of course, the only one they can understand, not the peace of right; they still admire their Treitschke, who said:

> Small States have no right to exist, for they lack the essential state element—force. They have therefore no rights.

The four treaties they have signed this spring testify to this, being treaties not of peace but of bondage.

The honest nations of the world feel differently. They feel that "the small States of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great, powerful nations expect and insist upon." So spoke President Wilson. We feel with him. France has never thought of fighting for her own Alsace-Lorraine only; she fights and will fight to the end for the liberation of all the Alsaces-Lorraines still in servitude and in bondage throughout the world. [Applause.]

We are now at one of the grandest periods in the history of the world. We see sights never to be seen again; not only scenes of horror, but scenes of splendor. To those latter scenes American contribution is one of which you and your descendants may well be proud forever. Seeking, to use again the terms of your President, no conquest, no dominion, no indemnities, no material compensation, acting as "one of the champions of the rights of mankind," your Nation has stood the severest tests and offered a wonderful example. It is enough to say to her, "It is for justice; it is for liberty; it is in order that suffering people in far-away lands may cease to suffer," and the Nation to a man, to a woman, to a child answers at once, agreed and content. Not even laws, but recommendations, mere suggestions, are obeyed, for the cause is in their

eyes a sacred one and all that can help it has for them something sacred. Immense loans are oversubscribed; the abstention from certain foods, the giving up of certain perfectly honest enjoyments are accepted with alacrity. How could it be otherwise when those men and women offer without flinching to the great cause the blood of their blood, the heart of their hearts, their own sons, to fight their battles over there. [Applause.]

And is it not a peerless honor for this country, the fact that the laws implying the greatest sacrifice or effort are passed by a unanimous vote? The law, for example, extending the draft age to 18 and to 45. A unanimous vote was recorded the other day in the House for a law increasing taxation by some $4,000,000,000.

What is now the time of day? Is "der tag" nearly spent? Foch, Haig, Pershing, and their peers will tell us when they think fit. [Applause.] All we need to know is that we are in, all of us, "until the last gun is fired," and why are we in? We are in, as I take it, in order to give its proper value to a document about as sacred to us French as to you Americans, and which recalls for us common souvenirs. It is to make good for the world the Declaration of Independence. [Applause.]

I shall add only one word, and a personal word. I want to express my thanks and say that I shall ever consider it as one of the greatest honors in a long career to have been privileged to address this august assembly. [Prolonged applause.]

ADDRESS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Mr. Ambassador, who among the sons of the Republic can distill into the attar of language the love of the American people for France? Not I. [Applause.] Who, in a few figures of speech, can compute the debt of gratitude we owe the French people as with accumulated interest it has been transmitted from sire to son for sevenscore years? Not I. [Applause.] Who hopes that, whatever other crime our country may be compelled to face at the bar of impartial justice, it may not be ingratitude? All of us. Who hopes that, from "the Tiger" to the loneliest orphan in the stricken homes of France, there is not one who has a dream of the shadow of a doubt that we are with them to the end [applause], with them until the lilies shall bloom on all her soil, with them till justice wipes away all their tears and fears and avenges, though it can not obliterate, all the scars of all their wrongs? Every red-blooded American. [Applause.]

Dear Mr. Ambassador, beloved of the American people for your own sake as well as for your country's, the ghosts of innocent women, helpless children, and feeble age are calling to God, to America, and to civilization. Rest content. They do not call in vain. [Applause.]

I am not striving to weave a beautiful garment. I am only seeking to dress a great truth in the clothing of speech, however tawdry and misfit it may be. That truth is found in a story told of Mahomet. His first wife, Kadijah, was a widow. But she made of the camel driver the founder and head of a great religion. Then she died, and in his old age the prophet married the young, charming, and beautiful Ayesha. Consistently with human nature, she would sit upon Mahomet's knees, pull his gray beard, and petulantly ask, "Am I not a better wife than Kadijah?" Worn out at last, the prophet made answer, "No, by Allah; there can be none better, for she believed in me when all men despised me." Since far off 1776 we have grown rich and powerful and many seek our favors and many are our friends, but none can get closer to our hearts than France, for she believed in us when all men despised us. [Applause.]

Mr. Ambassador, you know us better than we know ourselves. Yet still I hope your judgment coincides with mine. All the conscious days of my life I have watched the attitude of this people toward war and warriors. It has been an intense hatred of war as an abstract proposition and a flaming, never-dying enthusiasm for it when it had for its concrete objects justice, truth, liberty, and fraternity. [Applause.] It has been a supreme contempt for the warrior who has waded through slaughter to a throne, and a never-ending burning of incense before the shrines of those who died for man. That sentiment accounts for our whole-hearted entry into this war. I am just an average American and my thoughts on these great questions, I venture to assert, meet the approval of my fellow countrymen. I never owned or wanted a counterfeit presentment of Napoleon; but I wish I might have seen Charles Martel. I thrill at the seraphic face of the Maid of Orleans. I look with love each day at the photograph of Joseph Joffre. [Applause.] And I hope the good God, ere my race is run, will let me grasp reverently the hand of Ferdinand Foch. He will conquer and survive, for, never fear, Bethlehem must triumph over Berlin. [Applause.]

I accept, in the name of the Senate of the United States, this touching and beautiful gift of the French Republic. I bid you convey to your Government our genuine appreciation of this thoughtful and unexpected courtesy. This legislative body had no small part in another far-off and, happily, almost forgotten war, in making a Union of indestructible States. May I express the hope and belief that it will be the purpose and endeavor of this Senate to maintain an indissoluble friendship with the people of France till the heavens are rolled together as a scroll. [Prolonged applause.]

I venture to assume that the ambassador will be glad to meet the Senators of the United States.

M. Jusserand took his place at the left of the Vice President's desk and the Members of the Senate were respectively presented to him by the committee which had been appointed by the Vice President.

On the conclusion of the ceremonies (at 1 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.), the Vice President, under the previous order, declared the Senate to be in recess until Thursday, September 26, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, *September 24, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Oh, Thou great Father Soul, whose benign influence is ever going out to Thy children, to uphold, sustain, and guide them to right thinking and right living, help us to receive abundantly of Thy grace, that we may love mercy, do justly, and walk humbly before Thee, after the similitude of the Lord Jesus Christ our Savior. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

BOND ISSUE.

The following is the conference report and statement on the bill (H. R. 12923) to supplement the second liberty bond act, as amended, and for other purposes, the statement having been inadvertently omitted from the RECORD of September 23, 1918:

CONFERENCE REPORT (NO. 805).

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12923) to supplement the second liberty bond act, as amended, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1 and 2, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 3: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken out by said amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 5. That subdivision (b) of section 5 of the trading-with-the-enemy act be, and hereby is, amended to read as follows:

"'(b) That the President may investigate, regulate, or prohibit, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, by means of licenses or otherwise, any transactions in foreign exchange and the export, hoarding, melting, or earmarkings of gold or silver coin or bullion or currency, transfers of credit in any form (other than credits relating solely to transactions to be executed wholly within the United States), and transfers of evidences of indebtedness or of the ownership of property between the United States and any foreign country, whether enemy, ally of enemy, or otherwise, or between residents of one or more foreign countries, by any person within the United States; and, for the purpose of strengthening, sustaining, and broadening the market for bonds and certificates of indebtedness of the United States, of preventing frauds upon the holders thereof, and of protecting such holders, he may investigate and regulate, by means of licenses or otherwise (until the expiration of two years after the date of the termination of the present war with the Imperial German Government, as fixed by his proclamation) any transaction in such bonds or certificates by or between any person or persons: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this subdivision (b) shall be construed to confer any power to prohibit the purchase or sale for cash, or for notes eligible for discount at any Federal reserve bank, of bonds or certificates of indebtedness of the United States; and he may require any person engaged in any transaction

referred to in this subdivision to furnish, under oath, complete information relative thereto, including the production of any books of account, contracts, letters, or other papers in connection therewith in the custody or control of such person, either before or after such transaction is completed.'"

And the Senate agree to the same.

CLAUDE KITCHIN,
HENRY T. RAINEY,
LINCOLN DIXON,
J. W. FORDNEY,
J. HAMPTON MOORE,
Managers on the part of the House.

F. M. SIMMONS,
HOKE SMITH,
H. C. LODGE,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT.

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12923) to supplement the second liberty-bond act, as amended, and for other purposes, submit the following written statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

Amendment No. 1: This amendment is merely a clerical change; and the House recedes.

Amendment No. 2: This amendment is also a clerical change; and the House recedes.

Amendment No. 3: The bill as it passed the House amended the trading-with-the-enemy act by giving the President authority to investigate, regulate, or prohibit any transaction in bonds or certificates of indebtedness of the United States and the hoarding and melting of gold. The Senate eliminated this provision. The House recedes from its disagreement to the Senate amendment with an amendment giving the President the authority to investigate, regulate, or prohibit the hoarding or melting of gold, and also to investigate and regulate, by means of license or otherwise (until the expiration of two years after the termination of the present war), for the purpose of strengthening, sustaining, and broadening the market for bonds and certificates of indebtedness of the United States, of preventing frauds upon the holders thereof, and of protecting such holders, any transactions in bonds or certificates of indebtedness of the United States by or between any person or persons. However, this power is limited so that this section shall not be construed to confer any power to prohibit the purchase or sale for cash, or for notes eligible for discount at any Federal reserve bank, of bonds or certificates of indebtedness of the United States.

Amendment No. 4: This amendment is merely a change in section number; and the Senate recedes.

Amendments Nos. 5, 6, and 7: The Senate recedes from its amendments to section 5200 of the Revised Statutes, thereby restoring the House provision.

Amendment No. 8: This amendment is merely a change in section number; and the Senate recedes.

CLAUDE KITCHIN,
HENRY T. RAINEY,
LINCOLN DIXON,
J. W. FORDNEY,
J. HAMPTON MOORE,
Managers on the part of the House.

CONFERENCE ON AGRICULTURAL STIMULATION BILL.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct the attention of the Chair and of the House to the action taken last evening upon this agricultural stimulation bill (H. R. 11945). On September 6 the Senate requested a conference with the House of Representatives on the bill and amendments. Yesterday the House concurred in one of the Senate amendments.

The SPEAKER. With an amendment.

Mr. WALSH. The amendment was defeated. They concurred in one of the Senate amendments, and then the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER] asked unanimous consent to agree to the conference asked by the Senate. It seems to me that the proper request to have been made was to ask for a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses, because the House had already concurred in one of the Senate amendments, and that amendment was not in dispute. The Senate simply asked for a conference upon the bill and amendments, and we could not agree to the conference upon an amendment which had been concurred in.

The SPEAKER. Of course the conferees have absolutely no control or jurisdiction over that amendment whatever.

Mr. WALSH. But the request of the Senate was for a conference on the bill and amendments.

The SPEAKER. Is that not what the House agreed to?

Mr. WALSH. Well, the House agreed to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Well, the Senate had already asked for a conference and the House agreed to it. What else could be done?

Mr. WALSH. The House can not agree to a conference asked for by the Senate on a bill and amendments when the House has already concurred in one of the amendments.

The SPEAKER. Now, why not?

Mr. WALSH. Because that amendment is not in conference.

The SPEAKER. Well, the conferees have no more jurisdiction over amendment No. 13 than they have over the operations of the man in the moon.

Mr. WALSH. But the Senate asked for a conference upon that amendment.

The SPEAKER. Of course. Here was the way of it: Ordinarily they would not have gone through this clumsy performance of getting these amendments into the committee to be considered. The rule is that if the amendment involved an appropriation, which was the case here, then, unless there is unanimous consent to the contrary, they go to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union. Now, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER] and the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER] skirmished around here the other day for several minutes and tried to avoid going into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union. But somebody—I do not know whether it was the gentleman from Massachusetts or not—objected to everything that they asked, and finally the Chair referred the matter to the committee. They came back here with a report, and that went, of course, to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union. But I can not grasp the distinction that the gentleman from Massachusetts is endeavoring to make. It is too fine.

Mr. WALSH. If the Chair will permit me, I do not want to make any too fine distinctions. But assuming that the action of yesterday had been reversed and the House had concurred in all the amendments and disagreed to only one, would the Chair then hold that we should agree to a conference asked by the Senate on the bill and amendments?

The SPEAKER. Unquestionably. If there is anything left in controversy, it goes to the conferees.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, may I make a suggestion?

The SPEAKER. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. The Senate no doubt wanted to retain these papers, and the House asking for the conference, retained the papers. They added this amendment and asked for a conference with the House upon it, and the papers will remain with the Senate. That is the technicality that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] is wrestling with.

The SPEAKER. Of course, it is a very unusual proceeding for the House, making an amendment, immediately to ask for a conference. That is sometimes done toward the end of Congress because of lack of time. But anything in controversy between the two Houses must go to a conference. Now, when they go to the conference, simply the matters that are left in controversy are considered, and if the conferees undertook to modify this amendment 13 the Chair would hold it was out of order.

AMERICAN RED CROSS MILITARY HOSPITAL NO. 3.

Mr. CHANDLER of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. CHANDLER of Oklahoma. While in France I collected some facts and data in reference to American Red Cross Military Hospital No. 3, and I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing the same.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing certain data which he gathered in France as to American Red Cross Military Hospital No. 3. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The following are the data referred to:

AMERICAN RED CROSS MILITARY HOSPITAL NO. 3,
4 RUE DE CHEVREUSE, PARIS.

The American Red Cross Military Hospital No. 3 came into existence officially by the publication early in November, 1917, of paragraph 2, General Orders 54, American Expeditionary Forces.

Prior to this time the details of the arrangement between Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, who owned the buildings and who proposed to maintain the hospital at her own expense as a part of her contribution to the prosecution of the war, and the military authorities had been completed.

Capt. Walter W. Manton, Medical Reserve Corps, of Detroit, Mich., the first commanding officer, reported for duty, and began the work of organization and equipment of the hospital in the latter part of October. He pushed the work preparatory to the formal opening energetically and successfully.

During this period he worked continuously with Mrs. Reid, who was at that time in Paris, and devoted much time, thought, and money to the task.

It is a strange coincidence that Capt. Manton was at the time of my visit a patient in the hospital recovering from a severe gunshot wound of the left forearm, received while with his regiment on the front at the beginning of the present offensive.

The buildings occupied by the hospital are located in the Latin quarter of the city of Paris and are not only interesting because they have been a center of the social life of the quarter before the war, but also because of their historic associations.

The older portion of the buildings dates back more than 300 years. When this portion of Paris was the hunting park of the Luxemburg, this old building was the hunting lodge of the Duc de Chevreuse. There is a tradition that there is an underground passage running from the east wing of the old building to the Luxemburg Palace, situated a few blocks to the northeast.

Located within the hospital grounds is the famous "St. Luke's Chapel of the Latin Quarter," which has been renovated and is now in use as one of the hospital wards.

During the greater part of the nineteenth century the buildings were occupied by a boys' school.

In the early nineties the buildings were taken over by the American Art Students' League, "established by Mrs. Whitelaw Reid and Mrs. William Newell in 1891 for the use and advantage of American girls studying in Paris." From this time up to the beginning of the present war the club formed the social center of the Latin quarter.

It provided not only sleeping quarters and studies but a fine circulating library, a popular restaurant and tea rooms, and a beautiful art gallery and exhibition room.

Just prior to the war a large modern building was erected providing much more commodious quarters.

Soon after the outbreak of the war the buildings and grounds were placed at the disposal of the French Red Cross, who converted it into a military hospital, L'Hospital Auxiliaire No. 53, of about 60 beds.

After the entry of the United States into the war Mrs. Reid offered the buildings and grounds for use as a hospital of officers of the allied armies.

The hospital was opened and received its first patient on the 12th of December, 1917.

At this time there were accommodations for 50 patients in single and double rooms. It was beautifully and artistically, even luxuriously furnished, has ample recreation facilities, a large, well-equipped library and reading room, which is kept well supplied with American, English, and French magazines, periodicals, and daily papers.

In addition, there is a large reception room containing a Steinway concert grand piano, and a lounge room provided with games, card tables, pianola, and victrola.

Every effort has been made and no expense has been spared to equip all parts of the building comfortably and in a homelike manner.

In January Maj. (now Lieut. Col.) Warren L. Babcock, M. R. C., superintendant of Grace Hospital in Detroit, Mich., was appointed commanding officer in succession to Capt. Manton. He carried on the plans already formulated by Mrs. Reid and Capt. Manton and continued to urge the construction work and the alterations on to completion. During his administration the staff was gradually augmented, first, by the assignment of Capt. Henry R. Carstens, M. R. C., of Detroit, Mich., as chief of the medical service, and Maj. W. Schier Bryant, M. R. C., of New York City, as chief of the nose, throat, and ear service. About February 1 Maj. Samuel Lloyd, of New York City, was assigned as chief of the surgical service. During Maj. Babcock's service the average number of patients daily was about 30.

In April Maj. Samuel Lloyd (now lieutenant colonel) was ordered to relieve Maj. Babcock, who was assigned to the command of Base Hospital No. 6 (Massachusetts general), and Col. Lloyd is at present the commanding officer and chief of the surgical service.

This officer has been a member of the Medical Reserve Corps since its establishment. He is the senior professor of surgery and senior surgeon of the New York Post-Graduate Medical School and Hospital, and has also served as special professor of surgery at the Army Medical School at Washington. He was the first to detail the principles and to advocate the methods upon which all the modern surgery of the chest, now such an important part of war surgery, is based. He organized the New York post-graduate unit, now Base Hospital No. 8, raised the money necessary and equipped it for service. The first six months of his service abroad were devoted to planning and constructing the immense hospital at Savonay.

Since he has commanded No. 3 the hospital has tripled in capacity, and this has been done without overcrowding or relaxing the effort to make the hospital not only a place of care for the wounded officers but to provide a homelike and happy atmosphere.

Mrs. Reid has spared neither time nor money to bring this about, and in this she has been ably seconded by the commanding officer and his whole staff of medical officers, nurses, and corps men.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

A message, in writing, from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House of Representatives that the President had approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the following titles:

On September 10, 1918:

S. 936. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to convey to the city of Bozeman, Mont., certain land for alley purposes.

On September 11, 1918:

S. 4597. An act extending the time for the construction of a bridge across the Monongahela River at or near the city of Fairmont, W. Va.

On September 12, 1918:

S. J. Res. 172. Joint resolution authorizing the President to establish zones in which intoxicating liquors may not be sold, manufactured, or distributed.

On September 13, 1918:

H. J. Res. 325. Joint resolution amending section 8 of the amendment to the act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917;

S. 934. An act authorizing the State of Montana to select other lands in lieu of lands in section 16, township 2 north, range 30 east, within the limits of the Huntley irrigation project and the ceded portion of Crow Indian Reservation, in said State; and

S. 2180. An act to approve mutual cessions of territory by the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota and the consequent changes in the boundary line between said States.

On September 19, 1918:

H. R. 12098. An act to protect the lives and health and morals of women and minor workers in the District of Columbia, and to establish a minimum-wage board, and define its powers and duties, and to provide for the fixing of minimum wages for such workers, and for other purposes.

On September 21, 1918:

H. R. 8004. An act authorizing the resurvey or retracement of lands heretofore returned as surveyed public lands of the United States under certain conditions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a letter to a constituent of mine in answer to certain false charges, which state, among other things, that I voted against the declaration of war against Germany, voted against everything with which to fight the war, and that I voted to exempt my own salary from the income tax.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arizona asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD——

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, has the Security League gone so far that it has reached the State of Arizona by circulating these false reports about Members?

Mr. HAYDEN. The false charges that I have just mentioned were not made by the National Security League, but that organization has circulated other misleading statements in my State, to which I shall allude.

Mr. STAFFORD. The same kind of reports were circulated in Wisconsin, by which the Security League, or others, tried to defeat the sitting Members.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN]?

Mr. SABATH. What is the gentleman's request?

Mr. HAYDEN. I made a request for unanimous consent to extended my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a letter which I have written to a constituent of mine in reply to certain false and misleading charges, among which are that I voted against the war, that I voted against everything to carry on the war, and that I voted to exempt my own salary from the payment of the income tax.

Mr. SABATH. Knowing all those charges to be false, and knowing the gentleman to be one of those Members who always voted right, I withdraw my objection. [Applause.]

Mr. WALSH. Then I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects.

THE MEAT-PACKING INDUSTRY (H. DOC. NO. 1297).

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House a message from the President. The Clerk will read the message.

The Clerk read as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress summary of the report of the Federal Trade Commission on the meat-packing industry.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *24 September, 1918.*

The SPEAKER. Ordered printed and, with the accompanying document, referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. HILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on my record of votes in Congress and the political situation in the district that I have the honor to represent.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Colorado asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on his votes in Congress and the political conditions in the Denver district in Colorado. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, are these simply the gentleman's own remarks?

Mr. HILLIARD. Yes.

Mr. DYER. Further reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman if it is his intention to incorporate in these remarks speeches which he has made and which are already in the RECORD?

Mr. HILLIARD. No; not at all.
The SPEAKER. Is there objection?
There was no objection.

DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order on Calendar Wednesday, next Wednesday, be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that Calendar Wednesday business in order to-morrow be dispensed with. Is there objection?

Mr. RAKER. Reserving the right to object——

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I wish to inquire of the leader of the majority if there is any program for the remaining days that has been arranged before we take the three-day recess that he announced might be taken?

Mr. KITCHIN. I wish Calendar Wednesday to be dispensed with to-morrow so that we can finish what is known as the Nolan bill, on which I understand the Committee on Rules has given a rule. Then, the Post Office Committee has a bill with respect to telegraph and telephone lines, and Judge SIMS has a bill regarding electrical power. I believe that is the important legislation that is on hand, and I would like to get one day for unanimous consent, if we can get it, this week.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. May I suggest that the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BURNETT] also secured a rule on a bill readmitting aliens who are serving with our allies?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. I thought, in order to get those bills through this week, or perhaps to reach them next week, it would be necessary to remain in session.

Mr. STAFFORD. Can the gentleman give any assurance to the Members, many of whom have left the city and others of whom are about to leave the city, that these bills will be the only bills to be considered, except conference reports and appropriation bills to be presented in the near future?

Mr. KITCHIN. Those are all that I know of now that are very urgent and which should be passed before we undertake to take a three-day gentleman's recess.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is there no way by which an understanding can be had so that the membership can know that these will be the only bills that will be considered? I think the House will be inclined to expedite those bills if we knew that those are the only bills to be considered and we could conclude them this week and get away.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. There are quite a number of measures of more or less importance on the Unanimous Consent Calendar. Before arrangements are made for the recess I think an opportunity should be given for their consideration.

Mr. KITCHIN. If we can dispose of these bills this week we may have a unanimous-consent day this week; or if not, then on Monday next.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I would like to make this inquiry of the gentleman from North Carolina: In the event that the business of the House is cleaned up, as indicated, and an agreement is made to recess for three days at a time, when is it the intention to call the House back?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say that that recess agreement in all probability would hold good until the election.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Until after the election?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. Of course it would be understood in the agreement that if any emergency should arise we would be called back.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. If the Senate completed the consideration of the revenue bill we would be called back?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; then we would be called back.

Mr. KEARNS. How about the appropriation bill?

Mr. KITCHIN. As I said the other day, I see no necessity for the Members returning on account of the appropriation bill. They are now having hearings on it, and if the full committee reports a bill for $5,000,000,000 or $6,000,000,000 or $7,000,000,000 we will understand it is necessary for the prosecution of the war, and I see no reason for the Members returning on account of it when they have no objection to the passage of the bill.

Mr. KEARNS. Will the recess begin in time for Members to leave when the fourth liberty-loan campaign begins?

Mr. KITCHIN. I can not say as to that.

Mr. DYER. The Committee on Rules has already agreed to three rules for expediting legislation. The gentleman from North Carolina, of course, does not undertake to try to control the Committee on Rules and does not know how many rules they will bring in here. But they might bring in a hat full of rules. They have already brought in three.

Mr. KITCHIN. Of course it is the right of the Committee on Rules to bring in rules for consideration of bills, and in that event we could not take a recess because one man would be able to prevent the making of a gentleman's agreement.

Mr. GARNER. If the gentleman from Tennessee does not get unanimous consent for the consideration of his bill, which he has already reported unanimously——

Mr. DYER. He says he has already got a rule.

Mr. GARNER. I am referring to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MOON]. I understand he has already got a rule for the consideration of the bill he has on hand.

Mr. DYER. That will be four.

Mr. MADDEN. The bill which the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MOON] has is a very simple matter and ought to be passed in five minutes.

Mr. MOON. If the gentlemen will give me as much time as they are now taking up, we will pass it.

Mr. DYER. Let the gentleman ask unanimous consent now.

Mr. MOON. I am going to in a minute.

Mr. LOBECK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. LOBECK. There has been a statement that the House might adjourn under an agreement with the Senate.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; but we can not tell what the Senate will do.

Mr. LOBECK. Would not that be preferable to three days' recess?

Mr. KITCHIN. I am not in a position to say whether the Senate would agree to it or not.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Does the gentleman intend to include in the legislation that might be brought in any important legislation suggested by the administration?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; if there was any legislation which the administration thinks is urgent and important, the Members, of course, will be called back.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I would like to inquire whether the gentleman from North Carolina has had any talk with the Members of the Senate as to when we might take a recess?

Mr. KITCHIN. I have talked with Senators on both sides. I think the general impression is that it will take five or six weeks, at least, before they can pass the revenue bill.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. And, in the meantime, when will the recess of the House begin?

Mr. KITCHIN. As soon as we dispose of the matters to which I have called attention.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Those will take this week and a portion of next week, will they?

Mr. KITCHIN. I should think we ought to pass these bills this week, but if we do not we will have to stay here until we do.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman state when the military deficiency bill will be brought in?

Mr. KITCHIN. Some time the latter part of next week.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I am inclined to think, as I feel now, that we ought not to leave here until a bill of such tremendous importance is disposed of.

Mr. KITCHIN. We are not making the recess agreement now.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I understand that; but the gentleman suggested that it might be well to pass that bill without bringing Members back, and I doubt the advisability of it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Does the gentleman from Ohio recall any large appropriation bill reported by the Appropriations Committee that required a quorum, or in the consideration of which a quorum was called for?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I have discovered the remarkable fact that the larger the bill the smaller the attendance.

Mr. STAFFORD. There is a complete unanimity on the part of the House to pass the large appropriation bills.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I think that is true, too, but that does not necessarily mean that the House should not be in session and a quorum present. I would be glad to discuss the matter with the gentleman from North Carolina and listen to his persuasive arguments.

Mr. KITCHIN. We will take that up at the time we discuss the matter of taking a recess.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

Mr. RAKER. Reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the gentleman from North Carolina this question: There is a bill on the calendar for Wednesday that would be in order

when the committees are called to-morrow. What would be the disposition of this if the gentleman's request is granted? This bill was introduced by the gentleman from California [Mr. KETTNER], H. R. 10587. It has passed the Senate and been reported unanimously by the Committee on the Public Lands, and it provides for a water supply for the city of San Diego, which is very necessary indeed. If Calendar Wednesday is dispensed with, would there be a chance to get up the bill before we adjourn?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; by unanimous consent only.

Mr. RAKER. The committee would be called to-morrow and could not some way be devised by which if we dispense with Calendar Wednesday we could get up this bill?

Mr. KITCHIN. I know of no way unless the House gives unanimous consent to consider it after the war measures are passed. If it is a meritorious bill, there should be no objection.

Mr. RAKER. It was passed by the Senate and has been reported by the Committee on the Public Lands, and it is indeed urgent.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is this the bill, I will ask the gentleman from California, which the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. CARTER] made some objection to and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CRAMTON] objected to because of the appropriation of a large amount of Indian lands?

Mr. RAKER. I think the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CRAMTON] made an objection to it, but I do not think the gentleman from Oklahoma did.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is a bill that is contested.

Mr. RAKER. Not necessarily contested, but if contested we want Calendar Wednesday to contest it in. It is really a necessary piece of legislation, urged by the department. I do not like to object to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina, but I would like to have this bill disposed of. Would the gentleman consider a proposition that it be given a privileged status following the war legislation and appropriation bills?

Mr. KITCHIN. I should say that that would be a matter, if Calendar Wednesday is dispensed with, for which the gentleman might ask unanimous consent. I could not guarantee to take it up, of course.

Mr. RAKER. Would the gentleman ask now that it be given a privileged status?

Mr. KITCHIN. If I did that some other gentleman who had a bill would want me to ask unanimous consent to give it a privileged status. There are other important bills on the calendar for Calendar Wednesday. I have asked to dispense with Calendar Wednesday in order to expedite these bills that I have mentioned which are urgent.

Mr. RAKER. This is an urgent bill.

Mr. KITCHIN. I mean urgent for the whole country.

Mr. RAKER. This is urgent for the whole country. San Diego is without water supply; they have to go to an outside source to supply the Army and the Navy activities that are now there. It is urged as a real necessary piece of legislation. If the gentleman will assist me in getting unanimous consent for its privileged status I will not object.

Mr. KITCHIN. I have no objection, and under the circumstances recited I think the House ought to give the gentleman a privileged status for his bill.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is, Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

Mr. RAKER. For the present I will object.

TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH SERVICE.

Mr. MOON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 12976) providing for the protection of the users of telephone and telegraph service and properties and funds belonging thereto during Government operation and control.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill H. R. 12976.

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from California rise?

Mr. NOLAN. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, there is a rule to be reported on a bill here, and there are a great many Members of the House who have remained here in order that that bill may be disposed of.

The SPEAKER. It will not take 10 minutes to dispose of that.

Mr. NOLAN. If the gentleman will couple with his unanimous request——

Mr. GARNER. It will not take a half an hour.

Mr. MOON. It ought not to take over 30 minutes.

Mr. WALSH. How can the gentleman promise that?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can agree to withdraw it if it takes more than that.

Mr. MOON. Mr. Speaker, I do not think this bill would take 20 minutes, but I can not possibly foresee how long gentlemen might want to discuss it. I imagine if there is any disposition to get through with public business quickly we will get through this bill very quickly and the gentleman from California will then have his opportunity. Now this is a very important measure, I want to say, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, this bill provides that the present telegraph and telephone employees of the country shall be subject to the laws that govern the employees of the Post Office Department. To-day they are not subject to any laws. If they default or take any money belonging to the telegraph or telephone service they can not be punished by the Government of the United States, and there ought to be a law passed immediately to cover that case.

Mr. NOLAN. Let me make this suggestion. This rule is ready to be reported, and a great many Members are here waiting until the bill is taken up. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that it follow House bill——

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. KNUTSON. Was not there unanimous consent given the gentleman from Iowa to proceed for 20 minutes?

The SPEAKER. Yes; subject to the transaction of business on the Speaker's table, and if this bill is taken up the gentleman from Iowa would have to wait.

WEEKLY AND MONTHLY COMPENDIUM.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to present a privileged report on House resolution 434.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 434.

Resolved, That the preparation and publication of the Weekly Compendium and Monthly Compendium, compiled and edited by W. Ray Loomis, assistant superintendent of the document room of the House, is hereby authorized to be continued, published, and distributed as heretofore; and the Clerk of the House is hereby directed to pay out of the contingent fund of the House, until otherwise provided for, extra compensation to said Loomis at the rate of $125 per month, from and after December 31, 1917, the date when the preparation and publication of said compilations began.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I reserve a point of order on the resolution.

The SPEAKER. What is the point of order?

Mr. STAFFORD. I believe it is not privileged; that this resolution relates to the question of printing and should properly be reported by the Committee on Printing.

Mr. PARK. It relates to services coming out of the contingent fund of the House, which makes it privileged.

Mr. STAFFORD. Now, as I gleaned from hearing the resolution read, I do not have it before me, it involves an authorization of some publication that has not heretofore been authorized. The gentleman from Georgia presents this as privileged, saying that it involves expenditures out of the contingent fund. That does not necessarily mean that everything involving expenditures out of the contingent fund shall be privileged. It involves matters relating to the jurisdiction of other committees, and, as I heard it read, the resolution authorizes a publication that has not heretofore been authorized and properly should go to the Committee on Printing. The Committee on Accounts should not take jurisdiction of matters that relate to the Committee on Printing, even if it involves expenditures out of the contingent fund.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution again.

Mr. PARK. I would ask the Clerk to read the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the preparation and publication of the Weekly Compendium and Monthly Compendium, compiled and edited by W. Ray Loomis, assistant superintendent of the document room of the House, is hereby authorized to be continued; and the Clerk of the House is hereby directed to pay out of the contingent fund of the House during the sessions of Congress, until otherwise provided for, extra compensation to said Loomis at the rate of $125 per month, from and after January 31, 1918, the date when publication of said compilations began.

The SPEAKER. The point of order made by the gentleman from Wisconsin is well taken. The resolution involves nonprivileged matter which vitiates the privilege of the resolution.

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, if I am not too late, the suggestion of the gentleman from Wisconsin that this is a matter for the Printing Committee is not well taken for the reason that the case involved does not provide printing at all, it is merely editing——

The SPEAKER. What is the use of putting it in unless it is printing?

Mr. BARNHART. Well, the Clerk of the House—it is a Clerk of the House publication——

The SPEAKER. No; the resolution says preparation and publication.

Mr. FOSTER. If the Speaker will permit, it provides for continuation.

The SPEAKER. Part of that resolution would be privileged, there is no question about that.

Mr. SANFORD. Mr. Speaker, the printing and publication of this Compendium is now authorized. The Clerk of the House under his general authority has the right to publish these things.

The SPEAKER. Then what is the use of this resolution?

Mr. SANFORD. The reason is the committee saw fit to go back and allow this compensation from the date of the beginning of the first publication; that is the only purpose of this wording. We thought it wise to do it by this resolution so it would appear to the House why we went back to February 1.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not care to hear any more about it. The resolution as it stands is not privileged. If they cut this stuff out they might bring it back in the shape that it is privileged, and then it will be privileged.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. To submit a privileged report from the Committee on Rules.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire whether or not under the order of the House previously made the gentleman from Iowa is not entitled to recognition, in view of the fact that the order was that he should proceed after the reading of the Journal and the disposition of business on the Speaker's table. Of course, I recognize the right of any member of the Committee on Rules to present a rule at any time, but would not the gentleman, in view of the prior order of the House, withhold the presentation of the rule until the gentleman from Iowa may be privileged to make his address?

Mr. DYER. Will the gentleman yield? There are some other gentlemen besides the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD]. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] has also the same status.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is an order of the House, made yesterday. I have no desire to block the consideration of this matter in any way. That was the order made, and the gentleman from Iowa is here ready to proceed. It rests with the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLY] and the author of the bill, the gentleman from California [Mr. NOLAN].

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I will withdraw it, in case it may be considered after the speeches.

CLOAKROOM ASSISTANT (H. REP. 806).

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. SANFORD] is recognized to offer a privileged resolution.

Mr. SANFORD. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution No. 388.

Resolved, That there shall be paid, out of the contingent fund of the House until otherwise provided by law, for the services of two assistants to the messengers in charge of telephones in the majority and minority cloakrooms, compensation at the rate, respectively, of $1,500 per annum, payable monthly: *Provided*, That said assistants shall be in lieu of two pages at the rate of $2.50 per diem during the session now provided in the current legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, as I understand the present arrangement, we merely have one annual employee in each cloakroom, respectively, at a salary of $1,800 a year. Now it is proposed to make the session employees permanent and pay them at the rate of $1,500 per annum, two for each cloakroom.

Mr. SANFORD. It is for the purpose of taking those positions that are now occupied in each cloakroom by a page and making them assistants to the messengers. That is the position occupied by Mr. Holt in one cloakroom, and in the other cloakroom by some one else, whose name I do not know.

Mr. STAFFORD. One additional employee in each cloakroom?

Mr. SANFORD. One in each cloakroom.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

AUGUST BUEHNE (H. REP. 808).

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution from the Committee on Accounts.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution No. 412.

Resolved, That there shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House $500 to August Buehne for extra services rendered the Members of the House of Representatives during the first and second sessions of the Sixty-fifth Congress as employee detailed from the Government Printing Office.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER].

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I think the Members of the House know Mr. Buehne. He formerly lived in Illinois and has been for a long time in the employ of the Government Printing Office and detailed to the House to deliver documents. This man, as I personally know, works long hours—more than eight hours a day. His salary, I think, is $900 a year. I think the service he renders, the long hours he puts in at his work, should entitle him to this extra compensation.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is he detailed by the Government Printing Office during the year to the House Office Building?

Mr. FOSTER. During the entire year. And he looks after the delivery of documents, and all that, that go to the Members of the House.

Mr. STAFFORD. How many other employees, if the gentleman is able to inform the House, are detailed out of the Government Printing Office?

Mr. FOSTER. I think the two men out here, known as the RECORD clerk and assistant RECORD clerk Mr. "Andy" Smith and his assistant, are also detailed from the Government Printing Office to look after the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. STAFFORD. Are there any other employees besides those two? There are three messengers who gather up our manuscripts, that are detailed from the Government Printing Office.

Mr. FOSTER. Those two men are detailed, and we have always paid them extra compensation, and I think rightly, because they only get a small salary at the Government Printing Office, and we know what hard work they do.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is the gentleman certain that this employee only receives $900 a year from the Government Printing Office?

Mr. SANFORD. Nine hundred and fifty dollars.

Mr. FOSTER. Nine hundred and fifty dollars a year. And he has drawn that salary for a great many years.

Mr. STAFFORD. And this is virtually an honorarium to him because of his work in the House Office Building?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. What does this man do?

Mr. FOSTER. He delivers documents and speeches, and so forth, that come from the Government Printing Office to Members of the House.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Does he do any more laborious work than other men receiving the same salary?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; he does. He works longer hours. Other men work eight hours a day, but he puts in many more hours a day than that.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Was he not detailed at his own request?

Mr. FOSTER. I suppose that is true; but if he is performing good service we ought not to hold that against him.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. He could quit if he did not like the job.

Mr. FOSTER. All the employees of the Government could quit if they did not like their jobs.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. What is the gentleman's name?

Mr. FOSTER. August Buehne.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. He is a very busy man. I see him there both morning and night.

Mr. LOBECK. He is one of the most faithful men in the House Office Building.

Mr. FOSTER. I think he is.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

ARTHUR LUCAS (H. REP. 807).

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, I also offer the following resolution from the Committee on Accounts.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 409.

Resolved, That the Clerk of the House of Representatives be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of the contingent fund of the House, $140 to Arthur Lucas for special janitor services rendered during the first and second sessions of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I only want to make a single statement. Arthur Lucas has been an employee for many years, I think 42 years, and a very valuable one, in this room over here. My office is in the northwest corner of the building. It requires care and attention. This man has cared for it ever since I have had that office, and he cared for it while Mr. Payne had the office. He keeps it clean and does everything that is necessary for a janitor to do.

Mr. GOOD. And he carries the mail.

Mr. CANNON. Oh, yes. This appropriation has been made, I think, for many years to this employee, who certainly earns his $10 a month.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Is the gentleman absolutely certain that this appropriation has previously been made to this employee?

Mr. CANNON. Oh, yes.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. My information is to the contrary, I will say to the gentleman.

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman's idea is a mistake. It was made in the last Congress.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. There are four of these employees, two in the cloakroom upon this side of the House and two in the cloakroom on that side of the House. They are all drawing the same salary and performing the same service, with the exception of the service just mentioned by the gentleman. They are getting $70 a month each and $10 additional, or $80 each month. I do not think it is exactly equitable and fair to make a distinction between these four employees, two in the cloakroom on that side and two in the cloakroom on this side. Of course, the gentleman may be entirely correct, and doubtless is, that if this employee is doing a little extra service in cleaning up the gentleman's office somebody ought to be paid for it. But I submit that that matter could easily be arranged with the Doorkeeper, upon application, and a detail could be made from these four men, so that the work could be equitably distributed without extra expense. The only objection I have to it is this, that it creates a distinction between these four empolyees which it seems to me should not obtain. They all get the same salary now. They are all carried on the roll as the same kind of employees, and when you undertake to give one of them $140 bonus it seems to me it is making a distinction that ought not to be made.

Mr. CANNON. Do the other employees perform janitor service in addition to their other duties?

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. I am not informed as to that. I do not think they do.

Mr. CANNON. This man does perform janitor service, and has performed it and has been paid for it ever since I have occupied that room, and I am informed that was the case while Mr. Payne occupied it. He earns his $10 twice over, and if he is not paid from the contingent fund I suppose I will have to have the room cared for, and I can pay for it out of my own pocket.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Of course, there is no one who wants or expects the gentleman to pay for it out of his own pocket, because it is an office that is here in the Capitol, and of course the Government will provide a janitor to take care of it. I submit that there are janitors here in this Capitol to-day who could be assigned to that extra service without putting any undue burden upon them, because many of them are not as busy as they could be through the day.

Mr. CANNON. I suppose in the House Office Building the rooms are cared for by janitors, and the janitors are paid for that service, are they not?

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. They are cared for by janitors and the janitors are paid. I am not contending—and I want the gentleman to so understand it—against a janitor for this office, but I am contending against the proposition of making a distinction between four employees who are carried on the roll under the same title and paid for the same service. As I said, I feel quite sure that the Doorkeeper could detail from these four men a man and give him a week's or a month's service, and then another a week's or a month's service, and so on, and they could do this work without extra expense to the Government and without performing any great amount of labor themselves. It is only for the reason that I think it makes an inequitable distinction between these four janitors that I have stated what I have.

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. CANNON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. RUCKER. The gentleman from Tennessee speaks of the same salary being paid four janitors. That is one of the vices of the whole thing. You can not equalize the services of men by paying every man the same price. I know in the cloakroom if the salary was $180, you ought to pay $150 to one man and $30 to the other to put them on an equality. The gentleman from Illinois says that the services have been performed and not paid for.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. The Doorkeeper told me that he has janitors that can do that work. I think the janitors ought to be made to do their duty and clean up the room of the gentleman from Illinois without further expense to the Government. I do not think the resolution should be adopted.

Mr. RUCKER. It looks to me a little embarrassing; the services have not been paid for, and they ought to be paid for.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken, and the resolution was agreed to.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

Mr. STEELE, by unanimous consent, was given leave to withdraw from the files of the House without leaving copies the report (No. 777) on bill H. R. 12801, by the Judiciary Committee, Sixty-fifth Congress, no adverse report having been made thereon.

"JUDGE NOT, THAT YE BE NOT JUDGED."

The SPEAKER. By special order, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I have reduced what I have to say to manuscript, and it will take me 25 minutes. I therefore ask unanimous consent for five additional minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is recognized for 25 minutes.

IN VIOLATION OF THE SPIRIT OF THE LAW, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, THROUGH THE ORGANIZATION OF STATE CLUBS WHICH MAKE NO REPORTS, IS LEVYING AND COLLECTING ASSESSMENTS OF 5 PER CENT ON THE SALARIES OF POSTMASTERS AND OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND MAKES NO REPORT TO THE PUBLIC.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, Democrats at the other end of the Capitol appear greatly disturbed because of alleged violations of the corrupt-practices act in the recent senatorial primary election in the State of Michigan.

One unfamiliar with the record of the Democratic Party regarding the violations of election laws and the failure of the party in power to prosecute such violations might easily be misled by these effulgences of Democratic leaders. Naturally would an innocent one assume that these investigators and the party they represent are pure in heart and would be shocked at any political wrongdoing of any kind, or even an intimation of such, much less to be parties to violations of election laws. It is interesting, therefore, to investigate and see if the Democratic Party and its leaders measure up to such a high political and moral standard.

THE LAW SHOULD APPLY EQUALLY TO BOTH PARTIES.

If the corrupt-practices act or the Criminal Code has been violated by any Republican in Michigan or elsewhere those guilty of such violations should be punished. Is it too much, therefore, to ask that if these same laws have been violated by Democrats that they be likewise punished? Was the corrupt-practices act intended only to apply to Republican candidates and the Republican Party, or was it intended to apply with equal force to Democratic candidates and to the Democratic Party?

A DISTINCTION WITHOUT A DIFFERENCE.

In the State of North Carolina a great contest is being waged for a seat in the United States Senate. Senator SIMMONS is a candidate for reelection. Because he located one cantonment in North Carolina, constructed at a cost to the Government of more than $4,400,000, and has secured the location of another camp at Fayetteville, N. C., it is urged that he should be reelected to the Senate. The Greensboro Daily News, an administration paper of great prominence, contains an article by Theodore Tiller, Washington correspondent, with the following headlines: "Senator SIMMONS is given large share of credit for the camp—His talk with Baker probably decided the matter." The article gives credit to the Senator for the location of the new camp at Fayetteville.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the gentleman is not in order in criticizing a Senator and calling him by name.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. STEELE). That is not in order.

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman was not criticizing a Senator in regard to the business of the Senate.

Mr. DYER. I respectfully dissent from the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. POU. I make the point of order that the gentleman is not in order in calling by name a Senator of the United States and discussing his record and his official record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The point of order is sustained.

Mr. GOOD. If it is immoral for the wife and family of Truman H. Newberry, who have large independent fortunes of their own, to contribute to the nomination of Commander Newberry, of the third naval district, for a seat in the Senate, and to defeat the nomination of Henry Ford, how much more immoral is it for a United States Senator to reach into the Treasury of the United States and grab eight or nine millions of the people's money for the building of cantonments in his own State, and then use that grab, or allow it to be used, as an argument for his reelection?

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the gentleman from Iowa is violating the rules of the House by criticizing the record of a United States Senator and calling him by name.

The SPEAKER resumed the chair.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has an absolute right to discuss what a Senator does outside of the Senate. [Applause.]

Mr. POU. This is the official conduct of a Senator.

The SPEAKER. Where did he perform his duty?

Mr. POU. In the Senate.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is mistaken, as far as the Chair could gather it. The Chair was on the floor listening to these speeches supposing it would be a very quiet day. [Laughter.] Here is the rule: "No Member of the House can discuss what a Senator does or says in the Senate." Outside of the Senate a Senator is as fair game as anybody else. [Applause.] If the gentleman criticizes what the Senator said or did in the Senate, it is out of order. If he criticizes what he did in the Secretary of War's office, it is in order.

Mr. RUCKER. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. RUCKER. If he reached his hand in the United States Treasury to establish a cantonment in North Carolina somebody must have reached his hand into the Treasury to establish one in Iowa or Kansas.

The SPEAKER. The Chair can not answer that, he does not know. [Laughter.]

VIOLATIONS BY DEMOCRATIC OFFICIALS GO UNPUNISHED.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, if the Democrats in the body at the other end of the Capitol are to investigate violations of the corrupt-practices act in the State of Michigan, I desire to direct their attention, and the attention of the public, to flagrant violations, not only of the provisions of the corrupt-practices act, but also of the Criminal Code by Democratic committees and Democratic officials. While these violations are known to the Department of Justice and to the executive departments wherein these officials who have violated the law are stationed, the Democratic committee that violated the law remains unpunished, and the Democratic officials who likewise violated these solemn provisions of the law not only remain unpunished, but are permitted to continue in the enjoyment of the emoluments of their offices.

A FLAGRANT VIOLATION IN IOWA.

I have here a letter written by the secretary of the Iowa Democratic Club to Miss Clara Behle, of Norway, Iowa, who happens to be the postmistress of that thriving village. This letter reads as follows:

IOWA DEMOCRATIC CLUB,
Shenandoah, Iowa, August 25, 1917.

Miss CLARA BEHLE,
Norway, Iowa.

DEAR MISS BEHLE: I am writing you this letter for the purpose of raising a little necessary money, and, in order to comply with an old-fashioned law, I am sending it under a special-delivery stamp.

These war times are rather hard on us, and we need your absolute cooperation in order to exist. People who owe us excuse the debt by saying that they can't make ends meet on account of the war. They don't get by with this to their grocer, and, inasmuch as the game of politics is one of the largest businesses in the United States, and inasmuch as we are running politics in Iowa on a business basis, they shouldn't try that line of argument on us. But they do, and it keeps us going night and day in order to get the funds to run on.

Besides this, we have a great many other things to look after. We are looking after your interests in Washington. We are gathering information here in our own great State that will be of great value in years to come. Besides this, we are paying the national committee about $13,000 this year. All of this stuff is making us gray headed. You owe us $33 for this year. I am sure you understand this proposition, because our representative, Mr. Plum, explained it to you when he called on you on April 4.

I have not written you sooner in regard to this matter because I wanted to give you all the time possible, and I knew that as soon as we needed the money you would send it in.

I wish you would write to me a little more frequently so that we can keep a little better acquainted.

With kind regards and hoping to hear from you soon, I remain,

Sincerely, yours,

L. W. DRENNEN, *Secretary.*

Failing to respond with a check or draft in payment of an assessment made upon her, this same committee within 10 days wrote her a further letter reading as follows:

IOWA DEMOCRATIC CLUB,
Shenandoah, Iowa, September 4, 1917.

Miss CLARA BEHLE,
Norway, Iowa.

DEAR MISS BEHLE: This is to call your attention again to my letter of August 25, which you have failed to answer in any way.

I wish you would let me hear from you right away, because I make out my yearly report on September 15, and I would like to know your attitude toward this matter before that date. I hope you realize the importance of this.

With very kind regards, I remain

Sincerely, yours,

L. W. DRENNEN, *Secretary.*

THE LAW EVADED KNOWINGLY AND PURPOSELY.

The corrupt-practices act provides that a political committee that contributes to the election of Members of Congress in two or more States must file its report with the Clerk of the House of Representatives. A clever device, indeed, to evade the letter of the publicity law—to organize State Democratic clubs which will contribute to the Democratic National Committee and to the Democratic Congressional Committee, and then these committees in turn assist in the election of Congressmen in every contested district. Who contributes to the funds of the State Democratic clubs no one will ever be able to discover. Where, I ask, has there been any report made of the collections by the Iowa Democratic Club? How will the public ever know who contributed the $13,000 paid into the treasury of the Iowa Democratic Club and by it turned over to the Democratic National Committee?

The Iowa Democratic Club has made no report to the secretary of the State of Iowa. That club has made no report to the Clerk of this House. That club was organized apparently for the sole purpose of evading publicity law. It desired to do something which the State Democratic committee wanted done, which the Democratic congressional committee wanted done, something which the Democratic national committee wanted done. What was it if not to raise money in a manner to avoid publicity? These committees wanted contributions that could not be published to the world. And I want to say to you that this Iowa Democratic Club is a rather formidable organization. It has one director from each congressional district. Many of these directors are men of more than State reputation. I find that W. W. Marsh, treasurer of the Democratic national committee, is on the board of directors from the third congressional district.

In violation of the spirit of the law the Democratic Party, through the organization of State clubs, which make no reports, is levying and collecting assessments of 5 per cent on the salaries of postmasters and other Government officials, and makes no report to the public. How much these clubs are collecting from favorite Government contractors and profiteers the public will never know.

THE IOWA CASE A FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF LAW.

The letter written by the Iowa Democratic Club to this postmistress is not only a violation of the spirit of the corrupt practices act, but it is a flagrant violation of section 119 of Chapter V of the Criminal Code, which prohibits, under a penalty of $5,000 or imprisonment for not more than three years, or both, the solicitation of campaign funds in any building or room occupied by the Government. Miss Behle was postmistress of Norway, and was in the post office when solicited.

VIOLATORS PROTECTED, NOT PUNISHED.

But the officers of the Iowa Democratic Club, and the officers of Democratic clubs in other States, who are violating the law will not be punished, and these violators of law know it. If their offenses are investigated by Democrats at the other end of the Capitol, the executive departments, including the Department of Justice, will pay no more attention to the report of violations by Democrats than they have heretofore paid to cases where such violations have been expressly brought to their attention.

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS ASKED TO CONTRIBUTE.

In this connection, I have a letter written by the financial chairman of the Democratic national committee, addressed to a man in Oregon, interested in profitable Government contracts

for building ships. The letter, omitting the name of the man to whom addressed, which I have had to promise to do, is as follows:

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
PERMANENT HEADQUARTERS,
429–441 Woodward Building,
Washington, D. C., August 29, 1918.

_____ _____,
Portland, Oreg.

DEAR SIR: It is incumbent upon every citizen to make an extraordinary effort to uphold the policies of our great President, which can be done only by election to the Senate and House of Representatives those who are 100 per cent American, in accordance with the aims of the administration.

A broad, comprehensive educational campaign is being conducted throughout the country. It is necessarily expensive.

You are now given an opportunity to do something real, and we hope you will make an early contribution, with the knowledge that what you do will help place the national administration in a position to increase its efforts in the prosecution of the war.

Sincerely,

F. A. MCNAMEE,
Financial Chairman.

This letter is not intended for Federal, State, or city officeholders or employees.

Incidentally let me remind the House that while President Wilson is contending that "politics is adjourned," the Iowa Democratic Club says, "The game of politics is one of the largest businesses in the United States," and that it is playing the game. The Democratic national committee, not to be outdone by its Iowa offspring, is sending these gentle reminders to all persons interested in Government contracts.

The postscript added to this letter is, indeed, a weak excuse for sending it to a Government official. Certainly no lawyer of any standing would contend that that postscript attached to a letter written to a postmaster or other Government official, which does not detract from its value as an appeal to the faithful for funds, exempts the writer from liability under the provisions of the Criminal Code.

VIOLATIONS GO UNPUNISHED.

It is unnecessary for the Democrats at the other end of the Capitol to go to Michigan to find violations of the Criminal Code or of the provisions of the corrupt-practices act, so far as campaign contributions are concerned. It is not necessary for them to go outside of the bailiwick of their own party. The attention of the administration has been called to these violations by Democratic Government officials. Have you heard of any of them being sent to jail? This subject is gently dealt with in the report of the Civil Service Commission for the year ending June 30, 1917. I would like to quote at length from this report, but time forbids. I would suggest that this investigating committee send for the members of the Civil Service Commission and ask them to explain their nonpartisan indictment in this respect of officials of the present administration. I read only briefly from page 15 of this report, as follows:

A number of complaints of violations of the provisions of the Criminal Code relating to the political assessment of Federal officers and employees were investigated during the year, and as a result an indictment has been secured in one case and three other cases have been referred to the Department of Justice with request that criminal proceedings be instituted. One investigation disclosed what appeared to be a serious violation of the law, the evidence showing that an officer of the Government collected political assessments from a number of subordinate employees by threatening that if they failed to contribute the matter would be reported and they would lose their positions. The evidence was presented to the grand jury, but an indictment was not returned. Recommendations were made for the removal of this official, on which action is still pending. In the case where an indictment was secured, mentioned above, the evidence showed that an official of the United States had solicited and received political contributions from other officers and employees. Recommendation was made for his removal from the service, but no action as yet has been taken.

Several complaints of political discrimination in appointments were investigated by the commission. In many cases it was found that the charges were unfounded, but in a few cases it appeared that, although unknown to the department concerned, political consideration had affected the action taken. The commission recommended the removal of the persons so appointed, but was not successful in having its recommendations carried into effect.

THE HYPOCRISY OF IT.

Just think of a Democratic high official going around among the thousands of employees under him, collecting political assessments, telling such employees that if they failed to contribute to the Democratic Party they would be dismissed from the service, and when the attention of the administration is called to it it not only fails to prosecute such brazen violation, but refuses to discharge the violator of the law when requested so to do by the Civil Service Commission.

I am wondering now if St. Matthew had in mind these pure-minded, nonpartisan Democratic investigators of violations by Republicans when he wrote—

Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

[Applause on the Republican side.]

The corrupt-practices act was enacted by a Republican House and a Republican Senate, and was approved by President Taft August 19, 1911.

Yet the Democrats in Congress have in several of their publications claimed credit for the enactment of that law. When the bill was before this body it received the support of the Democratic side and had the warm and enthusiastic indorsement of the late Senator James of Kentucky, who was then a Member of this House. His speech in support of that measure is so eloquent, his sentiment so lofty, that I want to quote briefly from his speech made on the 25th of June, 1910:

If publicity has any virtue in this world it is to give to the voters the names of those that are back of the candidacy and contributing to the election of the respective men asking the suffrage of the people. Publish the names and amounts of those who contribute. Let this be done before the election.

Let the voter with ballot in hand have the opportunity to see the forces that are furnishing the campaign boodle. Let the man who, around a cheerless and humble fireside, almost shivers in the cold see if the Coal Trust is contributing to one of the candidates. [Applause.] Let the ballot holder in his cottage or cabin in which no light scarcely ever burns see if the Oil Trust is furnishing money to one of the parties. [Applause.] Let the ragged man whose family, scantily clad, left at home when he goes in to cast his ballot see if the Wool Trust, the Clothing Trust, or the Shoe Trust are giving their money to help elect a supposed and self-proclaimed friend of the people. Let the hungry man whose family has been denied meat by the greatly increased price know before he determines his choice whether the Meat Trust is financing one of the candidates. [Applause.] * * * Let the bill be a publicity bill in reality, and whether the amount contributed is sufficient to buy a king's ransom or is a widow's mite, publish it to the world. [Applause.] If the money is tainted, do not take it; but if you take it have the courage to say that you took it. [Applause.]

DEMOCRATS STRONG FOR THE LAW, THE FIRST TO VIOLATE IT.

How Democrats roared in their promises then and how they whisper in their performances now! No fair-minded person, keeping in mind your utterances then would suspect that the Democratic Party, which attempted to stand sponsor for this legislation would be the first great political party to violate the law both in letter and in spirit. But such is the case. No fair-minded person would suspect that high Democratic officials would be the first to refuse to prosecute flagrant violations of the law and refuse to remove Democratic officials for such violations, but such is the case if the report of the Civil Service Commission is accepted.

Now, apply the test of James of Kentucky to your plan of raising campaign funds by withholding the names of donors, through the creation of Democratic State clubs, which make no reports. Thirteen thousand dollars is raised by the Iowa Democratic Club and turned over to the Democratic National Committee, and no one but the officers of this club is to know who are the contributors to this club. How much will be raised in like manner by the Democratic Club of New York and similar clubs in every southern State, where millions in profits have been made by Government contractors, and who the contributors to this slush fund are no one is permitted to know. How, under your plan of secrecy, can there be any publicity? How, I ask, under this illegal plan can "the humble voter, with ballot in hand, see the forces that are furnishing the campaign boodle"? How can "the man who around a cheerless fireside, almost shivering in the cold, see if the Coal Trust is contributing to one of the candidates"? James of Kentucky said:

If the money is tainted do not take it, but if you take it publish it to the world.

Now, you are without either conviction or courage.

TIME FOR THE PARTY IN POWER TO CLEAN HOUSE.

This deplorable condition must be corrected. These flagrant violations of the law must cease. While we are fighting for Democracy abroad let us preserve it at home. This can not be done if violations of these election laws continue to exist. Can the party in power expect its adversary to strictly obey a law which it openly violates and refuses to prosecute its own offenders?

The remedy is in your hands. Democratic officials whose sworn duties are to enforce the election laws must cease to be the principal violators. Confine your investigation to the flagrant violations by your own party and stop violating both the letter and the spirit of the law, and by a wholesome example you will force a healthy respect for the law and obedience to it on the part of your adversaries.

Therefore, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." [Applause.]

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. HAYDEN. To renew my request for unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arizona asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD concerning his record in Congress, votes, and so forth. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The gentleman from Alabama is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask for an additional five minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

PARTISAN POLITICS.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I regret exceedingly that the Republican leaders have determined to inject partisan politics into the solemn issues of this hour. [Laughter on the Republican side.] The minority leader [Mr. GILLETT] raises the sectional issue and also the partisan issue, and he accuses the Democratic administration of issuing an order to voters in Wisconsin, and here is what he said:

When you issued that advertisement: "To the Wisconsin soldiers at Camp Grant: President Wilson, your Commander in Chief, desires all loyal Americans to vote for J. E. Davies," etc.

Mr. FREAR, of Wisconsin, first mentioned that circular here, and I stated that the Democratic administration was not responsible for it, and Mr. FREAR said that he did not and would not say that the administration was responsible for it, and yet we find the Republican leader here charging that circular floating about in Wisconsin to the great American forces in charge of the war program. This same gentleman, the Republican leader, urges the voters of the country to elect a Republican Congress, because at the end of the war he suggests that the Republicans should have control in order that the great industries of the country may be properly looked after.

And this startling suggestion comes from the standpat gentleman from Massachusetts. He invites us to return to the old days of Mark Hannaism, of Aldrichism, of Penroseism, of Craneism. In the effort to array the North against the South these Republican leaders cry that the South is in the saddle. Well, the patriots of the South have helped the patriots here from the North to relieve the country from the curse of Republican boss rule. If the South is responsible for the great Federal reserve act, the people of America should thank God for CARTER GLASS, of Virginia, the chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, for his great service to the country. One of your leaders, Mr. Root, said at that time that the passage of that bill would produce a panic in the United States; but Wall Street, for whom he spoke, could not prevent the passage of that great measure. The 21 men in Wall Street, who were at that time controlling the money supply of the country, with Democrats in control were powerless to defeat that meritorious measure. If you gentlemen had been in control it never would have passed, and the greatest panic that ever cursed the world would now hold us in its deadly grasp. When you were in power 21 men in New York controlled the money supply of 100,000,000 of people. Do these former hungry bosses of the Republican Party think that the intelligent voter would return to those bitter days of privilege and plunder?

I know what you are striving for. You are playing politics behind the screen. You are voting for measures here, some of you, because you are afraid to oppose them. You are trying to get control of the House and the Senate in order that you may shift the burden of the war from the shoulders of the mighty rich to the backs of the masses. That is what you are trying to do. Of course you will not admit it, and those who are furnishing the slush funds back of you will not admit it. What you want to do is to do away with the excess-profits tax. Your leader, Mr. FORDNEY, made a motion to strike out or recommit for the purpose of striking out the excess-profits tax and 186 of you voted for it, and if you had succeeded you would have defeated the Government out of $3,000,000,000 in war tax and compelled us to raise that amount from those now paying their fair share. That is the record of the Republican Party. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD] talks about a few cantonments going to the South. Why, gentlemen, we are spending more money in the State of Pennsylvania alone for war purposes than the cost of every cantonment and camp in every Southern State, and yet Republicans get up here and have the gall and the un-American spirit to charge that the South has been singled out for special favors when you know that the North is getting millions and millions of dollars for war purposes where the South is getting only a few thousand dollars.

Now, what is your purpose in all this? Do you think that appeals to sectional prejudice contribute to unity of purpose and the solidarity of the American people? The gentleman from Iowa attacks a Senator, a southern Senator, and complains that a cantonment is being established in his State for political purposes. Now, gentlemen, you know and I know that these cantonments have gone to the South mainly, as I said here Saturday, because of the desirable climate. It is a better place for the boys, your boys and ours, to spend the winter. They can work and train nearly every day in the winter, and because of the climate it costs less money to winter them in the South. But you are trying to make politics out of it. My God, I thought, as the gentleman from Iowa spoke, that if the boys from Iowa, that brave regiment fighting side by side with the dashing, daring regiment from my State—and these boys, comrades in the cause of liberty, love each other like brothers—and if they could have heard his appeals to sectional prejudice here to-day they would say, "We repudiate this man; he does not speak the American language." [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Gentlemen, this election will about finish up the old bosses of the Republican Party. I want to make you a prediction now. We will carry this House by 50 or more majority just as certain as you live and God reigns. [Applause on the Democratic side.] We are going to trim up the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD]. [Applause on the Democratic side.] I have seen majorities larger than his cut down by such performances as he has indulged here to-day, and history repeats itself.

Mr. Speaker, there is no sectional feeling now with us in the South. We are a loyal part and parcel of this great country, and gentlemen, these men who appeal to sectional prejudice do not represent the great patriotic heart of the North. [Applause on the Democratic side.] We are Americans all. We settled our differences by the arbitrament of the sword, and side by side boys of my State with boys of your State are dying for our liberties on the battle front in France. And I want to say to these men, hungering for the loaves and fishes of office, who would shape their creeds for their cravings and swallow their convictions for a job, these men who would destroy American solidarity in order to control the taxing power of the Republic, that they do not understand the temper and spirit of the patriotic people of America. The American voter is not with you in this miserable game. He will repudiate you in November. You have deliberately tried to inject into this campaign a sectional issue.

You have elected a man chairman of your congressional committee who injected it into the presidential campaign of 1916. Are you working for American solidarity, unity of purpose, and concerted action, or are you putting partisan success above the welfare of your country? Do you ever have a kind word for the South, a great section of the American Union? No. You are trying to create a feeling of prejudice in the North against the South. That is what you are doing, and you are doing it for a political purpose. [Applause on the Democratic side.] That is what you are doing. You can not deceive anybody about that. Some of you, here and elsewhere, are trying to belittle the President's Cabinet, and you are trying to belittle the President. You stand here and speak for hours, and not one of you has ever attacked the Kaiser—not one of you. [Applause on the Democratic side.] But you find time to criticize and embarrass the President, who carries the country's flag against the Kaiser. You try to discredit him, but you never lay your hands on the Kaiser, because you have got some Potsdammers in your district that you do not want to offend. [Applause on the Democratic side.] That is the truth, and I regret to have to speak it so plainly.

But the Bible tells us that the truth is the light, and "by their fruits ye shall know them." And you now have the gall to boast that you have supported the administration. Why, nearly all your party voted against the first three revenue measures passed. One hundred and five of you voted against tabling the McLemore resolution. Seventy-six of you voted for the Cooper amendment; 160 of you voted against the Shipping Board bill. And then you have the gall to stand here and criticize us and the Democratic administration about not speeding up things, and you are standing in the way of every progressive step. And the Kaiser was smiling at you then. And now you say, "We are supporting the administration and you are not." But your record tells a different tale.

Ninety-seven of you voted against the espionage act. We wanted to put the men in jail who were filling their dirty sheets with slanderous and seditious attacks upon the Government and the boys in uniform, and 97 of you voted to shield them. That is the record of your vote. One hundred and forty of you voted against the first revenue bill—nearly all of your party—just a handfull voted with the administration. Suppose you had been in power then? Why, that revenue bill would never have passed. What sort of a bill would we have? Why, we would have a consumption tax revenue law, and then the man in overalls would have paid as much tax as Rockefeller. Under our plan Rockefeller now pays $38,000,000, and under your plan to strike out the excess profits tax Rockefeller would not have paid more than $3,000,000.

The old bosses of your party now trying to come back are the agents of special interests. You can not get away from that. [Applause on the Democratic side.] One hundred and ninety-two—listen to this—voted against the second war-revenue bill. One hundred and ninety-two! Nearly all of you. Poor, old

boss-ridden Republican Party! Statesmanship has about died out of Republican leadership in this body. There are a few good Americans over there, but they are slaying them in the treadmill of the moneyed candidates of the Republican Party. Foss, of Illinois, the only great American in the race for the Senate, is a poor man, but Mark Hanna's son-in-law, who spent $105,000 for billboard advertising in the home State of Lincoln, wins out with flying colors, and Foss lies prostrate on the field.

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HEFLIN. For a question.

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. I would like to ask if the Kaiser was smiling when a certain Senator was leading the fight against the armed-ship resolution, and your leader here was leading the fight against the declaration of war?

Mr. HEFLIN. The Senator who did that has been defeated by his patriotic Democratic constituency.

And what have you done with BRITTEN and MASON? You have indorsed them, and one of them introduced a resolution to exempt boys of German and Austrian blood from service to that flag on a foreign field, and he now bears the indorsement and commission of your party to come back. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

And Mr. MASON, "BILLY MASON," the nuxated-iron gentleman of Illinois, has returned with an indorsement and commission from the Republicans from the State at large, from the State of Lincoln. God of our fathers, think of that! In the one-hundredth year of her statehood, Illinois stands with bowed head. Thompson sweeps Chicago, BRITTEN is renominated, and MASON comes in with flying colors, bearing a commission from the State at large. The American people owe it to Illinois to call upon her to do something to redeem herself this year. [Applause on the Democratic side.] And I believe the patriots of Illinois, the rank and file of the party of Lincoln, will repudiate those mistakes at the polls. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Why, Mr. MASON introduced a resolution here to stop the boys at the ocean side and leave the President without an army. You could not take them over unless each one would say, "I will consent to go." Then where is Mr. BRITTEN with his exemption for the boys of German and Austrian descent? Both exempt from service if they desired it. The Commander in Chief could not take them over with other American boys unless they should choose to go. I give these nuts to my friend from Ohio [Mr. COOPER] to chew upon. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Alabama yield to the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. HEFLIN. I can not yield; my time is short. If you will secure for me another 30 minutes, I will yield to you as often as you like.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. HEFLIN. No, Mr. Speaker. Mr. McCormick, the son-in-law of Mark Hanna, spends $105,000 for billboard advertisements. Think of that, gentlemen! Have we reached the time when these great moneybags can put up seats in the Senate for sale and traffic to the highest bidder? Foss, where is he, this big American, destroyed by the power of the purse? He is the only man on that side, as I now recall, who has thoroughly and powerfully arraigned the Kaiser and his brutal autocracy, and you have defeated him and renominated MASON and BRITTEN, who have opposed and embarrassed the administration. Do you believe that the American people are going to turn over this Government to such leadership? Newberry, of Michigan, spent $178,000 just for advertisements. Think of that. Two men from Wall Street contributed $25,000 each. Why? Why, they wanted to get in control of the taxing power of the Republic. That is what they want. They want to shift this tax burden from the back of the man most able to bear it to the back of the man least able to bear it. That has always been the desire and purpose of the bosses of the Republican Party.

Yet you say you are supporting the administration. One of your men in another body, without cause or excuse, said that the President did not intend to turn back the railroads or the telegraph lines or the telephone lines; that he was going to hold all those, and that when the soldier returned he would not find an occupation. Can you say he was supporting the administration? No. Whether he knew it or not, he was giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama must not comment on Senators. That is against the rule.

Mr. HEFLIN. I thought the Chair held that you could just speak in a general way about them?

The SPEAKER. No. You can not speak in a general way or in a particular way about anything that happens in the Senate.

Mr. OLDFIELD. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. OLDFIELD. I heard the gentleman from Alabama make a statement about a man in another body. He did not say "the Senate."

The SPEAKER. But everybody knows what is meant. You can not beat the devil around the stump in any such fashion. [Laughter.]

Mr. OLDFIELD. It has been done here for many years.

The SPEAKER. It does not matter whether it was done for a hundred years. It makes no difference.

Mr. HEFLIN. Since some think that I meant Senator SHERMAN, of Illinois, I will say no more about it. [Laughter.]

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I call the gentleman to order and ask that his words be taken down.

The SPEAKER. What words?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. The words he just uttered.

The SPEAKER. What are the words?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. "Some gentlemen think I refer to Senator SHERMAN, so that I shall say nothing about it."

Mr. HEFLIN. I could ask that his words be taken down.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Minnesota insist on the words being taken down?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. I want the gentleman to strike the words out of his speech.

Mr. HEFLIN. I will not strike them out; you may have the House strike them out if you can, but I do not propose to shield any Republican in his attacks upon those in charge of the war program.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama will proceed in order.

Mr. HEFLIN. Now, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Minnesota is one of the men who, when I was getting after certain gentlemen for suspicious conduct, persisted in interrupting me, when I was exposing their doings and defending the flag. [Applause.]

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. I will never undertake to disturb the gentleman when he is defending the flag by his acts, but when he is defending it with words I do want to heckle him a little.

Mr. HEFLIN. I offered my services to the Commander in Chief; did the gentleman from Minnesota offer his?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. I gave mine. The gentleman's services must have been of no value, because the Commander in Chief did not utilize them. [Laughter.]

Mr. HEFLIN. Did he utilize yours? The Commander in Chief said that he needed me here more than in the ranks as a soldier. [Applause.]

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HEFLIN. I can not yield any more to the gentleman from Minnesota. He said that I was worth more here to combat the doctrines of the gentleman and those like him.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. The gentleman's services must have been absolutely valueless——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota must not interrupt the gentleman who has the floor unless he has his consent.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. I beg the Speaker's pardon, but the gentleman was out of order in referring to me.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota has his remedy. If the gentleman from Alabama exceeds the rule, he can have the words taken down.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. He has exceeded the rule every time he has got on his feet.

Mr. McARTHUR. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of no quorum.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can not raise that in the midst of the speech of the gentleman who has the floor.

Mr. HEFLIN. I am not surprised that the gentleman from Milwaukee should make the point of no quorum.

Mr. STAFFORD. I did not make the point of no quorum, but I wish to say that the question of a quorum is always in order. I hope the gentleman from Oregon will withdraw his point of order and allow the gentleman from Alabama to proceed.

Mr. McARTHUR. I will withdraw the point, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Chair would like to make a remark himself. The gentleman from Alabama had the floor for 25 minutes. The gentleman from Oregon popped up and made the point of order; he had no recognition from the Chair, and it is the business of the Chair to try to keep order in the House and to keep it from being converted into a vaudeville performance.

Mr. HEFLIN. I know, Mr. Speaker, that I am making the situation rather warm for some gentlemen on that side because they are just now beginning to see and appreciate how the people at home are going to look at their performance here. Do you think you can win an election in the United States now on a sectional issue when boys from all over the country are fighting side by side for our liberty? If you can, then there is no hope for a great national spirit of real Americanism. God bless the memory of the lamented McKinley. He came to Atlanta during the Peace Jubilee in 1899, and holding up an old Confederate flag said, "I want you to have the flags that we took from you during the war. We do not want to hold them; you are loyal members of the great American family, and I love you all." [Applause.]

I saw Confederate soldiers standing there with tears running down their faces, and they said "God bless President McKinley." [Applause.] But I see in this morning of the twentieth century, when our very existence is at stake, when our boys from every section are fighting and dying, some of you descend to the un-American plane of sectional prejudice for an issue at a time like this. [Applause.]

God forgive you, for you know not what you do. Is it that you are so hungry for the loaves and fishes? Is it that you yearn so for the taxing power? Is it that you put power above patriotism and your success at the polls above the welfare of your country? Do you think you can deceive the people into thinking that Wilson would not know how to run the country after the war is over? God Almighty have pity on you. Why, he took the country when you had literally ruined it, when 21 men controlled the money supply and 100 trust magnates controlled the labor of the country and intimidated it at the polls, and the two together could demoralize the whole business of the United States. Wilson cleaned house and put the American household in order, and by doing it he enabled our financial institutions to survive the shock and storm of a world war. No panic can be produced here now. The world war could not produce it; and Wilson enacted a law that enabled the country to do that, and do you think now that you can make the people believe that he is not able to handle the affairs of the country when the war is over?

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HEFLIN. I ask for two minutes more.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. HEFLIN. Not now. My good friend from Chicago is one who has voted pretty well sometimes, and I know he does not indorse some of these fellows up there that I have been talking about.

Now, Mr. Speaker, when this war is over, when the war is finally ended, the nations of the earth will look to one man, and to one man above all others, to lead in the readjustment and reconstruction of the world, and that man will be Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States. [Applause.]

Let me say this, in conclusion, the country is going to give him a Democratic House and a Democratic Senate. Roosevelt asked for a Republican House and Senate for McKinley during the War with Spain, and so did ex-President Harrison. Lincoln asked for it in his day, and the people gave it to McKinley and Lincoln. Wilson is asking for it now, and he is going to receive it in the November election; and I pray God that no man will come back to either body who talks any other than 100 per cent Americanism. [Applause.]

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following privileged resolution from the Committee on Rules which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 227 (H. Rep. 809).

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of H. R. 152, entitled "A bill to fix the compensation of certain employees of the United States"; that there shall be not exceeding two hours of general debate, to be equally divided between those supporting and those opposing the bill. At the conclusion of such general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. After the bill shall have been perfected in the Committee of the Whole House the same shall be reported to the House with such recommendation as the committee may make, whereupon the previous question shall be considered as ordered upon the bill and all amendments thereto for final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, before I move the previous question I would like to see if the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL] will agree on limitation of debate on the rule.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I should be very glad to limit debate on the rule, say, to 10 minutes, 5 on a side.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the time limit for debate on the rule be fixed at 10 minutes, 5 minutes of that time to be controlled by myself and 5 by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL], and that at the end of that time the previous question shall be considered as ordered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent that the time limit for debate on the rule be 10 minutes, 5 to be controlled by himself and 5 by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL], and that at the end of that time the previous question shall be considered as ordered. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that a mere statement of the situation regarding this measure will be enough to convince the House that the adoption of this rule is a matter of justice and square dealing. The Nolan minimum-wage bill was introduced in the Sixty-third Congress and considered. It was introduced in the Sixty-fourth Congress and given a hearing, which required 423 pages in the printed report. These hearings went into the necessity of establishing a minimum wage, and the bill was reported unanimously by the Committee on Labor and was put on the calendar, but never came up for consideration on the floor of the House. On the first day of the Sixty-fifth Congress, the present Congress, April 2, 1917, it was introduced. On the agreement that the House entered into that only war measures should be considered the committee took no action during the extra session, but at the first opportunity during the regular session it held hearings on this measure and reported it unanimously on the 14th day of January, 1918, after exhaustive hearings were held. On the regular Calendar Wednesday it was called up by the chairman of the Committee on Labor [Mr. MAHER], and then a point of order was made against the measure on the ground that a previous unanimous-consent agreement proposed by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] precluded any consideration of it because the House had decided not to take up any measure which was not on the calendar before December 12, 1917, until a certain bill—H. R. 269—should be considered. It was a very complicated point of order, but the Speaker properly decided, I think, that it applied to this measure. The Committee on Labor lost its day in court, the first and only occasion of that kind in this Congress. So from that day to this, some eight months time, the Labor Committee has not had an opportunity for the consideration of a single measure.

Now, the adoption of this rule will remedy that injustice, correct that wrong, and I am sure that everyone in the House will admit that the Committee on Labor should at least have its just right to consider this measure.

Now, as to the merits of the legislation itself, let me say just a word. There has been no general revision of the compensation scale for Government employees since 1854. Add to that the further fact that the dollar has been cut in two in purchasing power in the last five years and you have abundant justification for this measure. After all, the sole test of the dollar is what it will buy, and, judged by that standard, the compensation of these Government workers has been greatly reduced in these recent years. If $60 was a proper compensation five years ago, even the $90 provided by this bill will not be an increase in real wages.

This measure seeks to provide a basis, a minimum wage. I am convinced that there is a limit below which you can not go and still permit an American to live as an American should live. I am convinced that there are many instances in the Government service to-day where the compensation paid faithful workers is below that limit. Such a condition is intolerable and demands instant remedy.

The very first consideration of justice is that the least among us all shall have sufficient payment for his daily toil to provide food, clothing, shelter, and some recreation and education for his children. Every investigation made by private organizations and by governmental agencies proves that an annual income of less than $1,080 will not provide these fundamentals of American living. Indeed, in many cases the limit has been placed much higher, so that the figure set in this bill is in no way an exaggerated one.

In many industrial centers to-day the minimum wage for common labor is $4 and $5 a day. Even the Government is bringing new and untried workers to Washington at $1,100 and $1,200 a year. But in the meantime the faithful workers of years' service are required to attempt to make ends meet on a much smaller sum. It is not just, it is not fair, and I am sure this House will act justly in this attempt to correct such injustices.

Finally, these employees depend absolutely upon this Congress for action. They can not strike nor use the other methods open to the employees of private concerns. They have no other hope than in the justice of legislators, and they have placed their case before this body and patiently awaited action during the last trying years. I am convinced that this measure will be passed by an overwhelming majority, and its passage will be an act of real justice. [Applause.]

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, this is a fair rule for the consideration of this bill. If any change whatever should be made in the rule it should be cutting down the time for general debate, so that bill could be read under the five-minute rule and considered for passage at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman will yield in that particular, the bill only consists of two paragraphs, and under the general rules of the House in the Committee of the Whole House there might be only five minutes' debate to each paragraph. I think there should be some opportunity given for discussion of this important measure, which will involve a considerable charge on the Treasury.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Two hours is a good deal of time for considering the bill in general debate.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is a very liberal provision, I will say to the gentleman, considering the general debate that is usually permitted under the rules presented by the Committee on Rules.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. The bill provides a minimum wage of $3 a day. The wonder is that a family can live where the head gets but that amount of money, especially in a city like this, or any other large city in the country. I can understand how in a small place, where a man has his own home and garden and pays no rent, he could get on with a lesser wage. I sincerely hope this bill will pass and that there will be maintained throughout the country a high standard of wages, so that the high standards of living may be maintained. The pride of this country and its power to-day are due to the fact that for years it has maintained a higher wage scale than any country in the world and therefore the highest standards of living. Its men everywhere are equal to every test to which they are put. The American, wherever he is tested along with other men, does honor to his country and reflects credit upon the manner in which he has lived. I hope the rest of the world will soon bring up their standard of wages and living to our standard, so that the whole world in the future will have a higher plane of living maintained by higher scales of wages. I have never been an advocate of low wages or of low prices for the product of wages. The only way in which an economic system or of a social status of high order can be maintained is upon a high scale of wages and good prices for the products of labor; that will maintain a high plane of living.

I sincerely hope that this resolution will be agreed to and that the bill will have the consideration of the House and become a law at an early hour.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the rule.

The rule was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 152, with Mr. POU in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 152, which the Clerk will report by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 152) to fix the compensation of certain employees of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 152) to fix the compensation of certain employees of the United States.

Be it enacted, etc., That after the beginning of the first fiscal year following the passage of this act the minimum compensation of any person employed by the United States or by the government of the District of Columbia shall be not less than $3 per day; or if employed by the hour, not less than 37½ cents per hour; or if employed by the month, not less than $90 per month; or if employed by the year, not less than $1,080 per annum: *Provided*, That persons employed on a monthly or annual salary basis and who regularly perform less than a full day's service shall receive compensation at the rate of not less than 37½ cents per hour: *Provided further*, That the provisions of this act shall not apply to persons enlisted in the military branches of the Government nor to persons receiving quarters and subsistence in addition to their compensation, nor to the employees in the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, the Territory of Hawaii, the Territory of Alaska, and the Panama Canal Zone, nor to persons holding appointments as postmasters: *Provided further*, That the provisions of this act shall apply only to those persons who have been continuously in the employ of the Government of the United States or in the employ of the government of the District of Columbia for a period of not less than two years, and who shall have attained the age of 20 years.

SEC. 2. That upon the passage of this act the heads of departments in which are employed persons as defined in section 1 of this bill shall issue new appointments at the increased rate of compensation herein provided.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. MAHER] is recognized for one hour.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] or the gentleman from California [Mr. NOLAN] control the hour in opposition, so that he may distribute the time to those in opposition to the bill, if there are any in opposition to it.

The CHAIRMAN. A gentleman opposing the bill would be entitled to control an hour.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that these gentlemen, representing the minority of the Committee on Labor, either one of them, control the hour.

Mr. NOLAN. If time is allotted to me no one would have it in favor of the bill.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The gentleman from California [Mr. NOLAN] is a member of the committee, and it is his bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California have an hour's time in opposition to the bill.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I am not opposed to the bill, but it seems to me that if there is anybody opposed to the bill they ought to have control of the time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California, as the Chair understood it, has announced that he would yield part of the time to gentlemen.

Mr. NOLAN. I would yield all the time, and would not use any of it to those in opposition to the bill, if I had charge of the opposition.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. NOLAN] control one hour of the time. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. MAHER] is recognized for one hour.

Mr. MAHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. NOLAN].

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, this bill was originally drawn by a small organization of Federal employees in the city of San Francisco in 1913. This organization represented the men in the Customs Service, Internal-Revenue Service, and all branches of the Federal service, particularly those that were in the custodian force. The men that are receiving the lowest wages paid by the Government of the United States are the men who are working throughout this country in the large cities in every branch of the Government service. This bill has been indorsed by each successive convention of the American Federation of Labor since 1913. It has received the indorsement and commendation of practically every organization in this country that has been interested in the question of a living wage. At this point I insert a few of the indorsements recently received from various organizations:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The thirty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at St. Paul, Minn., June 10–20, 1918, declared that Congress should take favorable action on the Nolan bill (H. R. 152) for establishing a minimum wage for Government employees.

Pursuant to the action of the convention we are bringing the subject to your attention with the request that you give your active support to securing the passage of the bill. The bill was reported favorably by the Labor Committee on January 18, 1918, and the Committee on Rules is expected to report a special rule making its consideration possible immediately after the passage of the pending revenue bill. A similar bill was unanimously reported favorably by the Labor Committee of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

While the cost of living is constantly mounting and wages are everywhere advancing for persons in private employ, it is regrettably the fact that the United States Government is paying thousands of its employees less than a fair living wage.

At the beginning of this year more than 60,000 Government employees were receiving less than $3 per day, the pay for some thousands of the grades having been fixed over 60 years ago (Rept. 239, 65th Cong., 2d sess.; hearings on H. R. 11876, 64th Cong., 1st sess.), with scarcely any increase since that time, excepting the percentage increases in the appropriation bills for 1918 and 1919. Yet the cost of living has advanced nearly 100 per cent in the past five years. For thousands of these employees the maintenance of a reasonable, wholesome standard of living is impossible on the wages the Government allows them.

Unskilled labor is now nearly everywhere receiving at least $3 per day, and in many cases a higher wage. Industries throughout the country are constantly advancing wages to enable their employees to meet the increasing cost of living, but these thousands of Government employees have thus far been neglected and given less than is justly due them.

It is not possible that Congress, or any Congressman, intends that the Government shall take an unfair advantage of any of its employees and pay them not only less than prevailing rates of wages but less than a fair living wage.

Trusting that H. R. 152 will receive your active support looking to its early enactment into law, I am,

Yours, very truly,
FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary American Federation of Labor.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF POSTAL EMPLOYEES,
OFFICE OF SECRETARY-TREASURER,
Washington, D. C., September 20, 1918.

Hon. J. I. NOLAN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In behalf of the National Federation of Postal Employees, I am writing to urge your support of H. R. 152 (the Johnson-Nolan bill), which seeks to establish a minimum wage of $3 a day for all civilian employees of the United States. This bill has twice been recommended to the House for passage by the Labor Committee; it has been indorsed by many organizations of wage earners; and its principle—the establishment of a wage scale that insures better living conditions for thousands of underpaid employees—has the indorsement of the people of the United States.

This minimum-wage bill is expected to come up for consideration when the pending revenue measure has been passed, and I earnestly solicit your active support of it.

Very truly, yours,

[SEAL.] THOS. F. FLAHERTY,
Secretary Treasurer.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA,
Washington, D. C., September 23, 1918.

MY DEAR SIR: The National Women's Trade Union League, in behalf of thousands of women workers, asks your support for the Nolan minimum-wage bill for employees of the Federal Government and the District of Columbia (H. R. 152), which is expected to come before the House of Representatives for consideration Tuesday or Wednesday of this week.

While readjustment of the wage scale in the Government service is needed for men and women alike, we urge upon your attention the fact that the greater number of low-paid Government workers, and consequently the greater proportion of those affected by this bill, are women. Most of these women, moreover, have dependents.

In the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, where 4,000 women are employed on skilled and semiskilled work, the basic wage of 1,800 of them falls as low as $2.37 per day, and for about 1,800 more it is $2.56 per day and less. The war bonus of $120 per year added to this gives these workers a maximum of only $2.88 per day.

In the Library of Congress and the Public Library of the District of Columbia hundreds of women with technical training in library science are receiving no more than $2.88 per day and some receive but $1.83 per day.

Hundreds of teachers in the District of Columbia are paid less than $2.88 per day.

Charwomen and janitresses in the various Government departments receive as little as $26 per month, and rarely more than $55 per month for full-time service.

We submit that such rates as these are not a living wage, much less a fair compensation for the work performed, and we ask you to compare them with the rates fixed by the National War Labor Board and every other wage-adjustment board in the United States to-day. The Government, through all its administrative agencies, is applying to private industry the principles of an adequate living wage and equal pay for equal work by women and men. The Federal workers whose pay is fixed by Congress are the numerous and striking exception to the general application of these principles.

We ask Congress, therefore, to relieve the existing condition of injustice and hardship by passing the Nolan minimum-wage bill at once.

Sincerely, yours,

AGNES NESTOR,
Chairman National Legislative Committee.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES,
Washington, D. C., September 21, 1918.

DEAR SIR: On Tuesday, September 24, it is expected that the House of Representatives will have before it for consideration the Nolan bill (H. R. 152) providing a compensation of not less than $3 a day—37½ cents an hour, $90 a month, $1,080 a year—for employees of the Federal Government and of the District of Columbia.

The Nolan bill would give immediate relief to the poorest paid Government employees, those whose need is imperative in the face of the greatly increased cost of living. The simple justice of the wage provided by the Nolan bill as a minimum is indicated by the following figures:

Cost of maintaining a family, average for 24 American cities (for Washington, D. C., add 6 per cent)	$1,650
Cost of bare existence for a stockyard's family (figures supplied by Chicago Bureau of Applied Economics)	1,178
Yearly budget, United Charities of Chicago, for destitute family in stockyards district	1,107

It is sometimes claimed that the lower salaries are paid to employees without dependents. Of the employees listed in the latest available census reports as receiving $900 or less, over 60 per cent were married. Of the 4,000 women employed in one bureau alone—Engraving and Printing—70 per cent have dependents.

At the last annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in St. Paul, Minn., in June, 1918, a resolution was adopted without a dissenting vote advocating the immediate passage of the Nolan bill.

The National War Labor Board, acting under the authority of the President, is requiring private employers throughout the United States to pay their employees an amount at least sufficient to maintain the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort. This amount has usually been fixed at more than $3 a day for unskilled labor.

The Nolan bill provides a very modest minimum wage for Government employees. We urge you to give it your fullest support.

Very truly, yours,

LUTHER C. STEWARD, *President.*

In 1916 the two great parties were asked to include the provisions of this bill in their platform. The American Federation of Labor and other representatives went to Chicago and to St. Louis, and the Democratic platform of 1916 carries a provision for a living wage, which was based upon the bill that is now before the House for consideration and indorsed by the American Federation of Labor. Instead of indorsing the bill or indorsing a minimum-wage bill, the Democratic platform carried an indorsement for living wage, which was based upon this measure.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] told you of the efforts to have this bill considered early in the present Congress. Due to the fact that lack of unanimous consent prevented its consideration, its friends have been very patient from time to time, stepping aside for every other measure, particularly war legislation. The only war character to this bill and the only people that have got to battle are the people that will be benefited, and they have got the battle of life to win with the small compensation received from the Government of the United States.

Now, in the Sixty-fourth Congress extensive hearings were held on this bill, so much so that the hearings embraced 420 pages. The testimony is not of people who are interested in this thing for any philanthropic purpose but the testimony of Government employees from different sections of this country.

They told their story, the story as it affected them in their everyday life; the story of their homes, and their efforts to try to make both ends meet on the small compensation that the Government was allowing them. At this point I insert some excerpts from the testimony and an analysis of the hearings published in the Washington Times, Sunday, April 16, 1916, in an article by Theodore H. Tiller, entitled "Tragedy of underpaid United States workers":

THE REAL TRAGEDY OF THE $2-A-DAY MAN.

Much has been written in a general way about the under pay of Government employees. Even in the higher grades the compensation is not commensurate with the service. The real tragedy of serving one's Government, however, lies in the stories of the men and women who receive $2 a day and less.

Why do they not resign and seek other employment? the ultrapractical one probably will ask. That same question arose during the hearings. It was answered, and there was shown the psychology of a situation that shapes the ambitionless careers of thousands of Government employees to-day.

"We haven't the nerve to give up one job and go after another," admitted one witness.

"Jobs are hard to get; if we lose a day's time it counts with the man who skimps to make ends meet."

"I am too old; they won't have me," wrote another, in recording that for a score of years he has worked for $2 a day—no more, no less—and is in a run that leads inevitably to an unnoticed death "in Government harness."

"I have been expecting I would get a raise year after year," explains another, and thereby makes known the gradual transformation of the optimist into the pessimist.

DISHEARTENED BY EXPERIENCES OF THOSE ABOUT HIM.

The truth is the average Government employee, becoming disheartened by the experience of those about him, hesitates to tackle something new, to let go the small sure thing that he has to reach out for the elusive bigger opportunity.

Many of the men and women in the Government departments to-day are the products of the small town. The House committee was informed that they come to Washington with a false idea of the advantages and possibilities of the Government service. Their conceptions of the cost of living is built on the pattern of small-town life.

As a rule debt overtakes them sooner or later here; some marry when the salary is not large enough for two. Nearly all lack the determination to go back and explain that working for Uncle Sam isn't what it is represented to be. They live in hope that something will turn up, but it seldom does.

One of the witnesses before the labor subcommittee told of the chief clerk of one of the departments who testified several years ago about superannuated employees in his department.

When he was asked by a congressional committee if there were inefficient clerks who should be discharged, the chief clerk said:

"I had rather sever my connection with the Government than discharge any of these old employees. Never again will I do it. Once I had to discharge three old clerks. One of them committed suicide, another died of a broken heart, and the third is in the poorhouse awaiting death."

* * * * * * *

MESSENGER'S STORY TYPICAL OF THEM ALL.

A story typical of those related during the hearings on the Nolan bill was that of Harry Goldman, an assistant messenger in the War Department. For years he has drawn $2 a day. He is the father of the little girl who knows now that there isn't any Santa Claus.

Goldman appeared to be a clean-cut, intelligent fellow. He talked without affectation: there was the ring of sincerity in his simple statement. His was not a "grand-stand effort." The pathos of his narrative caused members of the subcommittee to look rather helplessly at one another. A trace of moisture could be seen in the eyes of some in the committee room.

Once upon a time Goldman was in the Navy. He proudly received an honorable discharge and believed it would aid him in getting a position anywhere. At the first private establishment to which he applied he was called a "Navy bum" and told to move on. Yet he said he had never tasted intoxicants and had no mark against his Navy record.

Finally he drifted into the messenger service at $2 per day. He pays $15 a month for a flat near Twenty-fourth and F Streets. His only white neighbors, he said, are those occupying "the part of the house downstairs."

NEAR EXHAUSTION FROM STUDY AND WORRY.

Goldman is of a nervous type. He went to night school until study and worry brought on nervous exhaustion. Then the doctor said "move to the country."

"But we can't go to the country," he said. "I can't manage it. All the time we plan for something and say we will do it next week—but the time never comes.

"I will tell you a little incident, not to influence you, but just that you may know about the worries.

"We have a little girl 6 years old. All along until last Christmas she believed in Santa Claus, it's a nice thing for children to believe in Santa Claus. Well, she had been worrying us a long time to get her a tricycle, and from year to year we thought we could do it, but we

never could. Last year we thought we could make it when she asked us to have Santa Claus bring her one. But we found out again that we couldn't, and the only thing to do was to tell her so. I was unable to get it because of the extra expense of doctor's bills.

"We simply couldn't do it. It was a case of telling her there wasn't any such thing as Santa Claus. So we told her—we let her know that there wasn't any Santa Claus, and now she knows."

There was an embarrassing pause and silence in the committee room. Goldman continued:

"Of course, I realize that this has nothing to do with this bill, but I just wanted to show you how much denial there must be when a man has to live and support a family on $60 a month."

Mr. and Mrs. Goldman have four in the family now. Another baby came a few months ago. The baby's skin, he said, had never known the touch of talcum powder.

CLOTHES MADE OVER FROM THOSE OF MOTHER.

"Our little girl," he continued, "has never had any new clothes; all her clothes have been made over from things my wife has worn. My wife makes one hat out of another hat; I don't know how she does it, but she does.

"Our doctor's bills have been high, but the doctors here are considerate if you pay them a dollar along. Prescriptions, though, are cash, and they cost from 65 cents up now.

"The women are all thinking about this bill. My wife has asked me many times if it will go through.

"She woke me up the other night at midnight saying, 'Harry, I can't sleep.'

"'Count sheep,' I said.

"'I can not sleep for wondering whether the Nolan bill will go through,' she said. I told her I hoped it would, but I couldn't tell. Then we lay there and talked about the bill and finally she went to sleep."

Goldman told the committee that not infrequently he turns off the heat in his house, even in coldest winter, to save coal bills.

"But summer will soon be here, and we won't need any heat," he said, with a smile of optimism that all had to admire.

That is just one of the many domestic tragedies that soon will be printed in a document of the Congress that appropriates for the salaries of the employees of the greatest Republic on earth.

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GIVEN 25-CENT RAISE IN 10 YEARS' SERVICE.

Charles Williams, night fireman at the White House, started in more than 10 years ago, while Theodore Roosevelt was President, at $1.50 a day. Within 10 years he has received a raise of 25 cents a day. His was a matter-of-fact statement:

"I have got five boilers to look after. I have got the kitchen range to look after. I have got the coal to wheel in on my shift, which would be the 4 o'clock shift, but when the man comes on the 12 o'clock shift he can not wheel the coal because it makes too much noise.

"On the 4 o'clock shift a man has got to get in all the wood and coal into the kitchen for the use of the family that night, and even the fireplace work. All they pay is $1.75 a day.

"I have no Sundays off. I have no holidays off. During the summer months I have to work eight straight hours through, and if I lose an hour or two, or a day, I am docked for it. Really, I work about six days' overtime for the Government and do not get a cent. I work seven days a week and frequently overtime, and I get nothing for the overtime.

"Sometimes I can pick up some jobs on the outside—such as pipe covering.

"My wife kept a boarding house and broke her health and now is losing her eyesight, and that is a great deal of expense. I have buried two children.

"I am under the Department of Public Buildings and Grounds. I have asked them for a raise, but I am told that they had no money. That is all the excuse I get. I have to have some technical knowledge to look after those White House boilers. There are two steam boilers and three hot-water boilers."

* * * * * * *

John M. Mohl, classified as a laborer at the National Museum, but assigned to do electrical work, presented to the committee a letter he wrote to the Washington Times suggesting that "if Secretary of State, William J. Bryan, can not live on $12,000 a year, how can it be expected that a Government employee with a family can live on less than $75 a month at the present rate of prices of the necessities of life?"

RECEIVES ONLY $55 AFTER 18 YEARS.

Mr. Mohl said he received only $55 a month, although he had been at the Museum for 18 years, and had constantly sought promotion through hard work and appeal. A daughter, he said, had been forced to go to work in a department store in order to help the family along.

"I am not much fit for anything except a watchman," said Joseph W. King, of the Interior Department, who gets $720 a year.

"The Public Printer said he couldn't have men in the service who didn't pay their bills. You are supposed to pay even if you don't have the money to pay——

"There is no incentive for a man living like me to bring children into the world. We have a boy, and my wife and I love children, but she says it will be a blessing if we do not have more. At the present time there is no future for my boy; I have kept him out of school purposely, because it requires clothes and things like that, and I have put it off for a year or two. He is 6 now. We know married couples that will not have children. They can not afford to when the man makes only $2 a day.

"There are many men in the Government service who would like to come here, but they find it humiliating. It is humiliating to me. It isn't pleasant for a man to come here and say he is working for so little that he has to accept charity and to show the clothes he has received through charity."

Miss Florence Etheride, temporary treasurer of the Federal Employes' Union, submitted to the committee a letter she received from a $720 employee at the Naval Observatory. His name will not be printed because of the sacrifices he has made, which he enumerated as follows:

"I have lost my savings; I have lost my home; I have lost my wife; I have next to lost my children, and I have almost lost courage to continue the struggle."

He told how he had started to purchase a home with the savings accumulated while in the Army. Failing to meet his payments, the house was taken from him. He continues:

"As the cost of living increased year by year our financial difficulties increased in proportion, in spite of strictest economy. We had to discontinue attendance upon church because we could not contribute to the minister's salary. Our children stayed away from Sunday school because we did not have the pennies they wanted to give. Many a time they stayed away from public school because their shoes had worn out.

"The constant strain of the struggle finally became too much for my wife. She became dissatisfied and left home and children for a time. She returned home to try again, but found it too hard. Conditions were no different.

"She finally could not resist temptation, so we are living apart. I had to put the children in an orphanage. Every time I visit them they cry and ask me to take them home. Poor little things, they do not know their home is gone."

A watchman wrote that he had walked to and from work for 10 years in all kinds of weather because the nickels counted with a man who gets only $2 a day.

LETTER FROM $900 MAN WHO HAS HIS TROUBLES.

Another letter came from a $900 clerk, who said that clerks of this grade, as well as the $660 and $720 grade employees, have their sorrows. This clerk has an invalid mother. Both, he says, have been used to better things, but have gradually gone down the hill "to the class kown as 'submerged,' because of financial stringencies."

"My case simply shows the picture of a Government clerk fitted by education and former associations for refined surroundings, yet living, practically, in a hovel in a negro neighborhood, struggling for a bare existence, physically tired all the time, and no chance for rest or recreation," he says.

Twenty-five years ago, said Mr. King, he was in the Government service at $1,400 a year. He left it for a while, and when he came back the best he could get was a $720 job. Harking back a quarter of a century, he said:

"When I was here then I could buy things for half and less of what I pay now. I could buy 3 pounds of round steak or 3 pounds of pork chops for 25 cents; beef liver was 5 cents a pound, and a soup bone, big enough to make soup for a hotel, was 10 cents. A house that you could rent them for $15 costs you $25 or $30 now. We pay $27.50 for a house where there is a little bit of a front yard—not big enough to amount to anything—and a back yard not big enough to whip a dog in."

Another Government Printing Office employee, a skilled laborer at $626 a year, said:

HUSBAND, WIFE, AND BOY LIVE IN ONE ROOM.

"I have a wife and a boy. The three of us live in one room with a little side room, a box affair, where we cook and store things. It costs us $17 a month; my food costs me $23 to $25 a month, and so on. I owe doctors' bills. I owe a grocery bill of $50 to one man, but when he saw the conditions under which I was struggling he just let it go.

"We haven't been to a theater in seven years. We have been to moving-picture shows twice in five years. My boy doesn't get a penny for anything; neither does my wife. I have accepted a good many things from various sources—from people who know of my condition. The clothes I have on were given to me.

"My boy was sick last winter with the whooping cough. The ladies in the office had to donate the money for medicine. I owed a grocery bill last winter. The bill was sent in to the Public Printer because I could only pay a dollar a week on it.

"I am mentally dazed and bewildered through the multitude of conflicting duties and requirements of the threefold responsibility of office work, housekeeper, and sick nurse—all through insufficient funds."

A humorous touch to an otherwise tragic story was given when Thomas F. O'Connor, laborer at the Pension Bureau, related the difficulties of rearing a family of eight children on $55 a month.

"Yes; they are all living," he said. "I asked the chief clerk of the Interior Department some time ago if he could do anything for me, and he said it was my own fault that I had so many. Well, I knew that. He did not have to tell me that."

DOESN'T SEE ANY SIGNS OF HELP COMING.

"Well, T. R. agreed with you on the big family," commented Chairman Maher, of the subcommittee.

"Yes; but I don't see any signs of help coming," said Mr. O'Connor.

"Talking about clothes," he added, "I have not had a suit of clothes that I bought myself since 1902. Except for somebody helping me out I haven't had a suit in more than 12 years. I saw the piece in the papers about the gravedigger. Talking about the gravedigger, I have him skinned all to pieces I think—10 in a family and $55 a month.

"The oldest one is 18 years. There is one working now. There are six going to school. Of course $55 doesn't go far, and people in the office get me work outside."

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FINEST CEMETERY, BUT PAY THERE IS LOWEST.

"This is said to be the finest cemetery in the world," said the petition, "but it has the lowest pay. Our per diem men get $1.50 and the monthly men from $40 to $60 (the $60 being for the overseer).

"The superintendent receives $100."

This petition recalled the appearance before the committee of Arthur Holliday, a gravedigger, who came in his muddy clothes and shoes to tell the committee how he tries to get along on $40 a month. He pays $8 a month house rent, and his wife takes in sewing, "while a rich lady in Washington helps us out sometimes." Holliday was a big, powerful fellow, but he confessed he had had little education and is tied down to his job of digging clay in the cemetery where a Nation's heroes are buried.

"This is not the time to change places," he said, discussing "another job." He wisely added:

"If you let one job get away from you, you may not get another. That is why I have been holding on and asking for a raise, but they keep putting me off. How can a man live on $40 a month?"

"I can not answer that," frankly said Chairman MAYER, of the subcommittee.

There was just a line or two from a widow classed as an "unskilled laborer" in the Department of Agriculture. She wrote that her husband died of consumption. He left three sickly children. She is trying to support them on $30 a month. Her "salary" once was $40 a month, but she was reduced last July.

WANTED TO KNOW IF HE WAS SINNER OR MARTYR.

An uncle wrote asking:

"Is my nephew a sinner or a martyr?"

A number of years ago, he said, his nephew came to Washington and obtained a $2-a-day job. Children came, and the family began to run into debt. The "loan sharks" fastened upon the husband and father

and harassed him more and more as he went more deeply into their clutches. Even a raise in salary did not extricate him. He took to drink, deserted his family and became a wanderer on the streets, a "bum" in the parlance of those who travel the highways. Now he thinks he can come back, but his uncle says:

"He is the logical victim of a system of compensation handed out by the United States Government."

Pleading that the committee will not make public her name, "because my husband might lose his job," which pays $40 a month, a wife wrote, among other things:

"We have meat on Sunday. We have fire only in the kitchen stove. When my boy asks me why I will not heat up the bedroom I have to tell him we haven't any coal. We never get a street car ride. My little boy has one suit, which he wears to school and everywhere else.

TRYING TO FEED FAMILY OF EIGHT ON $70.

"If you consider us a part of the Government, why not give us the opportunity to be a respectable part?" asked J. M. Black, who wrote that he is endeavoring to provide for a family of eight on $70 a month.

A messenger in the War Department, recently stationed with the troops on the Mexican border, writes from Douglas, Ariz.:

"I have been for 15 years a messenger at $60 a month. After going through the mill of writing your life history for the examination papers, after waiting for years for an appointment, after swearing allegiance to the United States Government on a half-dozen formidable documents, and after being then placed on probation for six months, it is certainly a brilliant achievement to "land" a messenger job paying the princely salary of $60 per month. A brainless Mexican peon can make more than that here on the border around a smelter or mine."

Fourteen watchmen in the Treasury Department compiled a statement of their average living expenses, eliminating clothes, amusements, household furnishings, and doctors' bills, estimated from actual experience that it requires an average of $52.50 per month for family to exist. Some of these watchmen have served, it was stated, at $720 a year for more than 20 years. They get 30 days annual leave, but only 10 days sick leave, and no holiday allowances.

Another communication was signed by 19 employees of the Marine Hospital Service at Baltimore. Their salaries range from $300 to $720 per annum, with only one man receiving the higher figure.

Outdoor workmen under the office of the Public Buildings and Grounds, in this city, revealed that they are paid $1.60 per day, but they lose "rainy days." Clear weather means low pay; rainy spells mean reduced wages or none at all.

Thirty-eight park watchmen under the same office get $840 a year. They are quasi policemen, but they have no police fund. Joseph E. Showhan, who filed the petition, shows that many of these park employees are supporting large families.

Still farther down the wage scale was J. A. Collins, laborer, in the Library of Congress, one of the most magnificent and costly buildings in the world. He struggles along on $450 a year and says: "Sometimes we suffer for the necessities of life."

"I can not let go of this $720 job because I am too old to get work elsewhere," is the brief but touching statement of a Department of Interior employee.

Miss Lula V. Harris, chairman of the committee representing the examiners of the numbering division, Bureau of Printing and Engraving, called attention to the fact that these examiners, doing a highly important work, receive $700 a year.

Sixty men in the rag-laundry division of the bureau receive $1.84 a day and are sometimes furloughed without pay, according to a petition filed with the House committee.

"I want to marry, but I haven't the courage to get married on $60 a month," wrote another employee of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. "Many of us come from small towns, and until we get to Washington we don't know how little you can do on what the Government pays."

Louise C. Neavitt, writing in behalf of the girls in the Government Printing Office, who receive $1.75 a day, but who are given a "promotion" of 10 cents per day after seven years' service, says:

"I know a widow supporting herself and three children on $1.75 a day. She gets up at 5 in the morning and goes to bed about 11 at night. She isn't a grouchy mother, either. If she can smile on this wage, what would she do were she to receive $3 a day?"

From the workmen at the Animal Industry Farm at Beltsville, Md., came a plea for the Nolan bill. They receive $40 a month.

George L. Cain, president of the National League of Government Employees, who lives at Lynn, Mass., testified in favor of the bill, declaring that:

"In the State penitentiary at Stillwater, Minn., there are convicts who are able to make monthly as much or more than some Government employees are earning. More than $80,000 was paid out to convicts in that penitentiary last year."

NO CHRISTMAS GIFTS FROM UNCLE SAM.

"But there are no Yuletide gifts to the employees of the United States," he said, "neither do they have a pension system."

Officials of a number of associations formed by classified service employees were before the committee. Thomas F. Flaherty, secretary-treasurer of the National Federation of Postal Clerks, said that the glowing circulars about the civil service sent out by some correspondence schools are responsible for the influx to Washington of many men and women who think there is a career in the Government service.

The customhouse guards at the port of New York receive $840; the Woman Binders' Union of the Government Printing Office (the binders receive $2.20 a day); the unskilled laborers of the Internal-Revenue Bureau, who get $660 a year; laborers and custodians of the Baltimore customhouse, receiving from $300 to $720 a year; and many other underpaid employees, drawn from every branch of the great Government establishment, were represented before the committee.

No story told was of hope and contentment. Want, discouragement, disillusionment, heartaches, the fight against odds constituted the keynotes of this congressional hearing on the parsimony of a great Government and the penalties inflicted by such a policy on thousands of helpless and apparently forsaken employees.

Now, a great many of these salaries have never been reclassified or revised since 1854. Most of the custodian force, which comprises the watchmen, the firemen, the elevator men, and other employees in the Government service throughout the country that take care of the public buildings, have had no revision of their salaries since 1854. The only advance that has been made and the only advance that could be made without a general bill of this kind has been made with the annual increase of $120 a year. That is the only consideration these men have ever got since 1854. That applies to thousands here in the city, in the District of Columbia, and a great many more in every part of the United States.

There has been consideration given to those that are taken care of under lump sums in the District appropriation bill and other bills here in the District. A few years ago we were paying $1.50 and $1.75 to common labor employed by the District Commissioners. Now they receive from the District Commissioners a minimum of $3.25 a day, plus the $120 a year increase, or $10 a month, which makes their minimum pay $3.65 per day here in the District. It is impossible to get the kind of labor you need for this sort of work unless you pay this money. They need to live. The struggle is terrific, and it is up to Congress now to do something permanent.

Now, some people question the wisdom of legislating for a minimum rate of pay. Each and every one of the executive departments engaged in mechanical work or in contracting for war work has come to the conclusion that it is better to have a set minimum and hew close to that line than to have half a dozen methods of payment and have a number of departments bidding against one another, which creates a continual labor turnover at a great cost to the Government. In lieu of that they have established a minimum rate and recommend that it be made general throughout the country, so that the Shipping Board and the War Department and the Navy Department and other departments will not be competing against one another for men, thereby increasing the cost to the Government and having this continual labor turnover, which means nothing but loss of production and greater financial outlay. The Government itself is working out the policy now of a universal wage rate for all of its employees in the mechanical establishments and all of the employees of those they contract with. The War Labor Policy Board, representing all the departments, is now engaged on that work. So is the wage-adjustment board of the Shipping Board. So is the Railroad Wage Commission.

The President recently held up a revision of the wages in the shipyards by the Wage Adjustment Board on the theory that it was a poor policy for the Government of the United States to pay one wage to a machinist and a boiler maker in the shipyard and a different wage to the machinist and boiler maker on the railroads or in other war industries. He has called all of the representatives of these different wage-adjustment boards in the various executive departments together for one specific purpose, and that is to fix a minimum wage in all of our Government activities that these various wage boards have to do with. You can call it a minimum wage or a maximum wage, but it is a standard wage to be applied to all industry in this country, and so far as possible it is the expectation that those engaged in other industries outside of the essentials will follow in line and adopt it, so that there will not be any turn over of labor in this country, due to war conditions or thereafter.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am interested in the gentleman's statement. Did I understand him correctly as to the board of department officials who were seeking to revise the schedule of pay of those in the departments when I understood that those are in the mechanical departments of the Government?

Mr. NOLAN. I am referring to these boards connected with the arsenals and the navy yards.

Mr. STAFFORD. I thought the gentleman said—maybe I did not catch him correctly—that there was a board in existence to revise the pay of all the department employees.

Mr. NOLAN. No. The wage adjustment award is automatically put into effect in the Navy Department and in the arsenals, because the character of work in the shipyards is similar to that in the navy yards and arsenals.

Mr. STAFFORD. No one who is acquainted with the conditions prevailing in the departments here and in the Government service generally fails to recognize the need, the pressing need, of some revision of salaries, because those salaries have been in existence on the present scale for years and years.

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes.

Mr. STEVENSON. Is this intended to cover the railroad employees also?

Mr. NOLAN. No; that is not my understanding. This bill, of course, was drawn before we took over the railroads.

Mr. STEVENSON. This covers all persons employed by the United States or the government of the District of Columbia?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes.

Mr. STEVENSON. While the United States is operating the railroads, this bill without excluding language would cover them.

Mr. NOLAN. It would apply generally. I think the employees on the railroads render a very important service.

Mr. STEVENSON. But there are very many subsidiary employees about the stations who are employed on very minor duties, where it would be a tremendous hardship to the railroads to require them to pay $90 a month for that service.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes.

Mr. LONDON. So far as railroad employees are concerned, they would be excepted under this law by the provision which requires that they should be two years in the employ of the Government.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman permit a question there?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is a moot question whether the railroad employees are employees of the Government. That is a rather close question. The Committee on Appropriations excepted from the $120 horizontal raise the railroad employees because it was believed they were outside the realm of strictly Government employees.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question, for information strictly?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes.

Mr. BLACK. In the present conduct of the Post Office appropriation bill they reclassified all the postal employees, making the compensation of the first class $1,000 a year. As I understood it, that met absolutely all the demands of the postal employees, and the only thing they further ask is that we make that a permanent reclassification. As I understand your bill, those of class 1 will be automatically advanced to $1,080?

Mr. NOLAN. As I understand it, those in the Postal Service referred to are those in the first year.

Mr. BLACK. Oh, no. That is first-class substitutes. They may serve a part of a year or a part of a month, while as substitutes they would not serve the whole year. The first year of the appointment they will be in class 1.

Mr. NOLAN. They must be in the service two years.

Mr. BLACK. They are in the Government employ as substitutes——

Mr. NOLAN. It says they must be continuously employed.

Mr. BLACK. Probably that would exclude the first class.

Mr. NOLAN. And they must have reached the age of 20 years. I think they would have to be, under the provisions of this bill, two years in the Postal Service.

Mr. BLACK. What I was anxious to avoid was a new classification for postal employees, and there would have to be unless the two-year proposition would exclude them.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes.

Mr. BANKHEAD. What was the reason for putting in the limitation that they must be employees who have been in the service two years?

Mr. NOLAN. That was a committee amendment put in in the Sixty-fourth Congress. There are a great many messengers who go into the Government service at the age of 14 to 16 years. The idea was, generally speaking, that this bill should apply to those who go into the permanent civil service at 18, and they ought to be in the service two years before being entitled to the higher compensation; that during the two years they should be employed at the entrance salary and not paid the higher rate, and so that limitation was put in.

Mr. BANKHEAD. That is a satisfactory explanation.

Mr. ROSE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NOLAN. I will.

Mr. ROSE. I want a little information. I am not familiar with the methods of employment of those who do janitor service in and about the public buildings. Since I have been occupying an office in the House Office Building I have been observing those who perform such service. I have ascertained that they received the enormous wage of 25 cents an hour, beginning in the morning at 6 o'clock, and are required to pay their street car fare to and from their homes. I am interested to know whether this bill would provide an increase of salary for them?

Mr. NOLAN. The minimum is 37½ cents for one hour of work for those who perform less than the regular day's service.

Mr. ROSE. I was interested in knowing whether they come under the provisions of this bill.

Mr. NOLAN. Yes; the charwomen do.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NOLAN. I will yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I notice in the report one of the chief considerations is to provide a wage sufficient to enable parents to bring up their children in a decent and healthful condition of mind and body. With that in view, may I ask if the bill makes any discriminatory wage to people—to single persons or to married persons?

Mr. NOLAN. It does not. I will say that that is a question which, to my knowledge, has at various times been raised. Nobody has successfully worked out a method where it could be applied equitably and justly, due to the fact that you are exacting the same sort of service from single and married men, or from men with or without dependents and from women with or without dependents. The idea is if you can not give each and every individual who performs the same service the same consideration, as far as conditions and wages are concerned, it is liable to disturb rather than benefit.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Could not you work out some such plan as the allotment to the soldiers of this war—a certain wage and so much additional for each child and the wife?

Mr. NOLAN. It might be worked out on that basis, I will say to my friend from Virginia, but we thought if we established a minimum it would be sufficient. Take the soldiers, for instance. We start out on the theory of $30 a month for the private and 20 per cent additional for foreign service. Then they take the family and work out the allotments. We worked it out at $90 a month, or $3 a day, believing that that is as little as any individual could get along with, and certainly not any too much for a man with a family.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The result of the gentleman's answer, then, is that it is impracticable to work out a uniform scheme making a just discrimination.

Mr. NOLAN. Yes; as far as I know no business, industrial or commercial institution in this country has ever tried it successfully, and I am sure if they could work it out advantageously it would have grown instead of diminished.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Another question. In reading the report the chief consideration for the wage is the great increase in the cost of living due to the abnormal conditions under which we are now living?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes. This was worked out before the war and conditions have become more abnormal since that time.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Would it not be wise to consider whether or not we should in an abnormal period fix a rate of wages for a normal period. Would it not be better to confine it to the existance of the war and then say when the war is over——

Mr. NOLAN. The bill was introduced in 1913, prior to the war, when the cost of living was going up gradually, and it has become abnormal since that time. Let me refer to the statement of the gentleman from North Carolina in his presentation of the revenue bill before the House and leave it to the judgment of the House as to when we are going to get back to normal conditions. As I understood the gentleman from North Carolina, his prophecy was that even after the war is over, even after demobilization takes place, the expenditures of this Government would be somewhere near three or four billion dollars annually as compared with a billion before we entered the war.

Now, I do not profess to be a student of economics, especially the higher economics, and I just want to comment upon a certain statement which he made. He predicted this country would see 50-cent corn, 70-cent wheat, and 10-cent cotton, practically putting us down where we were in the nineties in this country. Now, I leave it to your judgment how are we going to raise three or four million dollars after this war is over on 50-cent corn, 70-cent wheat, and 10-cent cotton? I spoke to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] a while ago, instead of looking at the report, and found out that five and one-half billion dollars out of this $8,000,000,000 revenue bill is being raised from excess-profits and income taxes. It leaves two and one-half billion dollars to be raised from internal-revenue taxes and every other method of taxation the committee could think of. Now, prior to our entrance into the war our annual receipts from income taxes were something like $80,000,000 a year, which means we have got to carry on these excess-profits taxes and income taxes or some other form of taxation or else we can not get enough money to run this Government. You can not do it on 50-cent corn, or 70-cent wheat or 10-cent cotton.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The price of cotton is fixed abroad.

Mr. NOLAN. Cotton is a staple and the price is a world price. All prices of staples are world prices. You have to have revenue——

Mr. MONTAGUE. If we spend all we receive, where are we to reduce taxation?

Mr. NOLAN. You have got to have high prices to produce your revenue.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Just a suggestion on this line. If we increase the civil pay roll of all officers, how does it make high prices for the products sold in this country?

Mr. NOLAN. I do not say the increased pay rolls do it.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Salary or wage?

Mr. NOLAN. I say you have got to have high prices to get great revenues.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Can we legislate high prices?

Mr. NOLAN. No. Take, for instance, your revenue bill. You start here and say you have to have so much money, and you fix the expenses of the Government, so much money for bonds, interest, and redemption, or else we will have to repudiate our bonded indebtedness, and we are not going to do that as a Nation. Now, to get that we have to levy taxes; you have got to levy taxes on industry, on commodities; you have got to levy taxes on incomes and excess profits, and for the Government to tax these profits and incomes business and industry must get high prices, which means high living costs. We are never going to go back, with three or four billion dollars fixed expenditures in this country, to 50-cent corn or 70-cent wheat or 10-cent cotton, and I hope the time will never come when we go back to those prices, because nobody can live on the farm and produce things at that price. So I say you are going to have, compared with prewar conditions in this country, abnormal conditions with regard to prices, and when prices are high wages must be high accordingly, and the prosperity of the country demand you give the people consideration. We should be in industry fair to the workers as regards hours, wages, and working conditions, and the Government of the United States should be the first to set the example for the private employer to follow. To bear out the statement regarding abnormal prices that these underpaid employees here and elsewhere are called upon to meet, I insert a table compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor:

AUGUST 29, 1918.

The Department of Labor authorizes the following:

Below is shown what the same food that cost $1 in July, 1918, cost one month ago, one year ago, and five years ago in Washington, Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and San Francisco:

	July, 1918.	June, 1918.	July, 1917.	July, 1913.
Washington	$1.00	$0.98	$0.92	$0.54
Baltimore	1.00	.98	.83	.54
Philadelphia	1.00	.97	.83	.57
New York	1.00	.98	.86	.59
Chicago	1.00	.97	.90	.59
San Francisco	1.00	.98	.82	.63

The next table shows what food that cost $1 in July, 1913, cost in July, 1918:

	July, 1913.	July, 1918.
Washington	$1.00	$1.85
Baltimore	1.00	1.84
Philadelphia	1.00	1.77
New York	1.00	1.68
Chicago	1.00	1.69
San Francisco	1.00	1.58

Summarizing the figures, the purchasing power of $1 in July, 1918, as compared with July, 1913, five years previous, had shrunk to 54 cents in Washington and Baltimore, 57 cents in Philadelphia, 59 cents in New York and Chicago, and 63 cents in San Francisco.

Stating this in another way, the increase in the cost of food during the five-year period was 85 per cent in Washington, 84 per cent in Baltimore, 77 per cent in Philadelphia, 68 per cent in New York, 69 per cent in Chicago, and 58 per cent in San Francisco.

In the one-year period from July, 1917, to July, 1918, food advanced 22 per cent in San Francisco, 21 per cent in Washington and Philadelphia, 20 per cent in Baltimore, 17 per cent in New York, and 11 per cent in Chicago.

I just want to call attention to this. There must be some justification for legislation of this kind and there ought to be some well-founded principles in asking for it. Now, the tendency of the time is to fix a living wage, and in fixing that they generally fix a minimum wage.

Mr. BLACK. Will the gentleman yield for a question right there?

Mr. NOLAN. I will.

Mr. BLACK. There is a provision in your bill that says it shall apply to those who work by the month or year and they should put in a full day's work. Now, I want to know what a full day's work is; how many hours?

Mr. NOLAN. A full day's work in the District of Columbia, generally speaking, is understood to be seven hours. Throughout the country it is an eight-hour day. Now, most of the custodian force and those in public buildings work are on a 30-days basis with two weeks off a year. They do not get Sundays or holidays off and their pay is fixed by the month.

Mr. BLACK. Now, charwomen, for instance, who have charge of a building, are they rated as monthly or annual employees?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes; if they work four hours a day they get $1.50 for the four hours.

Mr. BLACK. Are they paid now by the hour?

Mr. NOLAN. Some are paid by the month; a short while ago some received as low as $240 per annum.

Mr. BLACK. If they are paid by the month they would not get this $3, or $1,080 per annum.

Mr. NOLAN. No; not under the terms of this bill.

Mr. BLACK. I want to know why they do not get the $1,080.

Mr. NOLAN. If they perform a full day's service, they do.

Mr. BLACK. That is what I had in mind, and I propose to offer an amendment when we get to it that defines what a full day is, which is eight hours.

Mr. NOLAN. Of course, in the District here we have had quite a controversy over that, and the President vetoed a bill which carried an eight-hour provision—not less than eight hours a day—but the general order of employees here work seven hours a day. I think in the mechanical departments they work eight hours.

Mr. BLACK. Does the gentleman think we ought to include any employees who work less than seven hours, we will say, to get this $1,080?

Mr. NOLAN. No; a person employed monthly or on an annual-salary basis, who is required to perform less than a full day's service, shall receive compensation at the rate of not less than 37½ cents an hour.

Mr. BLACK. I would really like to see this definite and clear.

Mr. NOLAN. I am not a lawyer, but the lawyers on the committee feel that covers the case thoroughly. We went over that, as we wanted it to be clear on that particular point, so there would not be any opportunity for contention, and they get the benefit of the 37½ cents an hour if they perform less than a full day's service.

Mr. BLACK. But if they work here by the month they do not give any amount of time and, whether they work one or two hours, they get $480 if I am correct.

Mr. NOLAN. I can not tell you just exactly the system in vogue here for keeping time, but I presume there is some system. In the House Office Building, when the charwomen come over there, they come at a certain time in the morning and they finish at a certain time before we arrive. And in the evening it is the same; they have a head charwoman, who keeps tab on them. And it would be a very poor system if they did not have some check on them.

Mr. SLOAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NOLAN. I yield.

Mr. SLOAN. Will the gentleman explain fully, so that our people out in the country will understand it, why seven hours constitutes a full day's labor in the District of Columbia and eight hours elsewhere? I am not saying this in the way of criticism, but, as a matter of explanation to about 100,000,000 people, I think that distinction ought to be made clear.

Mr. NOLAN. I will say to my friend from Nebraska that I was opposed to the so-called Borland rider, and I thought we discussed that for hours and days here. It was eventually passed and sent to the President, and was vetoed, the reason being given that a change of conditions was not thought desirable; that these people had been brought into the service during the last 20 years, with the understanding, advertised by the Civil Service Commission, that seven hours constituted a day's labor in the District of Columbia, and if they changed the conditions now it was a violation on the part of the Federal Government of its contract. He elaborated on that, and more so than I could, I will say to the gentleman.

Mr. SLOAN. More than you could, or probably would.

Mr. NOLAN. I am trying to get now what you might call——

Mr. SLOAN. Trying to establish by authority what you would not affirm on your own responsibility.

Mr. NOLAN. I am trying to establish by law something that will benefit the under dog.

Mr. SLOAN. One would be a little more "under" than the other in this case; those outside of the District a little more "under."

Mr. NOLAN. That can be corrected, and it has been attempted to correct it by legislation, which failed. I am now trying to establish a living wage, a minimum wage.

Mr. SLOAN. Do you think that a seven-hour basis in the District of Columbia is proper while it is eight hours a day in your glorious State of California?

Mr. NOLAN. Well, I will say to the gentleman, that is a long story, and I would like to have time to discuss it, and I can not discuss it in connection with this bill.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. NOLAN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. CANNON. I notice the exception is that the provisions of this bill shall apply only to those persons who have been in the employ of the Government of the United States or in the employ of the Government of the District of Columbia for the period of the past two years. I think "the past two years" ought to be stricken out and also "who shall have attained the age of 20 years."

Now, there is another provision here that it shall not apply to postmasters. Well, there are about 40,000 fourth-class postmasters.

Mr. NOLAN. I will take the last one. The statement was made to our committee that a great many of the fourth-class postmasters have some little business in connection with their postmastership, and that the postmastership does not take all of their time. Now, we figured, as the gentleman from Texas here stated, that the question of postmasters is entirely a matter that ought to be taken care of elsewhere. Inasmuch as there was a classification bill here before the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, that committee would give these postmasters consideration.

Mr. CANNON. To which I agree. But you say "postmasters." Now, the fourth-class postmasters, I think, have the power to appoint deputies in the service of the United States, and a deputy would be entitled to more pay than a fourth-class postmaster.

Mr. NOLAN. If he put in the full hours' service in the Postal Service he probably would get 37½ cents an hour for each hour he worked.

Mr. CANNON. And there is the power in 40,000 postmasters, each one of them, to have a deputy, and some of them two.

Mr. NOLAN. I think the administration would see that postal revenues were not used for this purpose.

Mr. CANNON. If you make it to apply to postmasters it ought to apply to deputy postmasters. Do you not think so?

Mr. MADDEN. If the gentleman will yield, I will say that fourth-class postmasters have no deputies and have no power to appoint them.

Mr. CANNON. I beg the gentleman's pardon. If he has not, then the law has been changed.

Mr. MADDEN. Third-class postmasters have, but fourth-class postmasters have not.

Mr. CANNON. If a fourth-class postmaster is sick for a month there is an official there, and he is a deputy, and made such by the postmaster.

Mr. NOLAN. The reason the two-year limitation was put in by the committee was because of the fact that a good many of the employees are below the age of 18 years—messengers and the like of that—and they felt that inasmuch as this was permanent law it was intended to benefit those who had been in the employ of the United States for at least two years.

Mr. CANNON. Do the House employees and the Senate employees come under the provisions of this bill?

Mr. NOLAN. If they are employees of the United States, I think they would.

Mr. CANNON. In one sense they are employees of the United States. They are employees of Congress. They are not in the civil service.

Mr. NOLAN. It says any person employed by the United States or by the Government of the District of Columbia.

Mr. CANNON. Very well. I think it does not apply to the employees of the House and Senate.

Mr. NOLAN. I would not be able to give my friend a legal opinion on that. I do not know how that has been generally applied. I know they applied the $120 a year annual increase to the House employees.

Now, on the question of a minimum wage, there have been many decisions of the War Labor Board, who are conducting hearings regarding industry throughout this country, wherein they fix the wages, under a general proposition, at 45 cents an hour, or $3.60 for an eight-hour day.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I do not think that all of the time under the control of the gentleman was used by him.

Mr. NOLAN. I did not want to take all the hour.

Mr. STAFFORD. We have been using 15 minutes of the gentleman's time.

Mr. NOLAN. I would like to take 15 minutes of the hour that has not been used on the other side.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the gentleman will proceed for 15 minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. NOLAN. Let me develop this minimum proposition first.

Mr. HASTINGS. I just wanted to ask this question: About how many employees would this bill affect? In other words, how many regular employees of the Government of the United States are there who now receive less than $3 a day? I did not have time to look over the report carefully. I glanced over it hurriedly, and I do not find it.

Mr. NOLAN. It is in the recapitulation of the total estimates. That is on page 15 of the report. After the bill was reported and I was commissioned to make the report, in May, 1916, I got from each and every executive department and independent establishment of the Government—and the originals are on the table here—a statement of the number of employees benefited and the cost. You will find that it shows that at that time, in 1916, there were 66,000 employees of the Government of the United States and the District of Columbia that would benefit by this bill, and so far as we can possibly estimate—although the War Department at that time stated that their figures were high rather than low, because we have since then excluded the Philippines and insular possessions—it would amount to somewhere from twenty-two to twenty-four millions, all told, the first year. Since then you have given to all of these employees $120 a year increase, which amounts to over $7,000,000. My information is that there are few employees coming into the Government service now who receive less than $3 a day.

Mr. HASTINGS. Then there would not be a great increase?

Mr. NOLAN. It is figured that between fifteen and sixteen million dollars would be the cost of this bill the first year.

Now, I want to call your attention to the annual report of the United States Steel Corporation for the fiscal year ended December 31, 1917. On page 26 of that report, under the subheading of "Employees and pay roll," it tells the average number of employees in the service of all companies in 1917, in comparison with 1916. The total number of employees in 1916 was 252,668. The total number of employees in 1917 was 268,058. The total salaries and wages paid in 1916 was $263,385,502; in 1917 it was $347,370,400. The average salary or wage per employee per day of employees, exclusive of general administration and selling force—and I call your attention to that; that is the reason I am quoting these figures—the average of all salaries exclusive of general administration and selling force, which are the highest salaried employees of the Steel Trust, in 1916 was $3.29, and for 1917 the average of those employees was $4.10.

Now, they give the average of the total force, including the administrative force, as $3.36 for 1916 and $4.16 for 1917.

You might say that that is no indication of what they are paying for the minimum wage, but their present minimum wage, or the minimum wage in the early part of this year, may be gathered from a newspaper article concerning wages paid by the United States Steel Corporation, which employs some 200,000. This article says that they pay their day laborers $3.80 per day, compared to $2 per day paid in 1915. That is almost double what common labor received in 1915. Since this article was published they have advanced wages by 20 per cent, and the pay is now something over $4 a day.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes; I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. NORTON. This is proposed to be permanent law?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes.

Mr. NORTON. And it will hold good after the war is over, when wages will decrease very materially?

Mr. NOLAN. Was the gentleman here when I made my statement about that?

Mr. NORTON. No.

Mr. NOLAN. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] the other day, in discussing the revenue bill, when he presented it to the House, stated he figured that the annual expenditures of this Government after the war would be something like $4,000,000,000, and that our excess-profits taxes and income-tax sections are expected to yield $5,500,000,000. He said we would then get back to 70-cent wheat and 50-cent corn, and lower prices for other commodities, and I stated that I would like to know how any student of economics would get $4,000,000,000 from such prices as those. People have got to have money to purchase the staples of life, at least, and those staples are going to be high, because manufactured articles will be high, and the reflex from staple articles and manufactured articles goes right down the line into everything that goes into the cost of living. So that I do not think we will ever get back in this country to the time when we are going to get down to low wages. Even the farmers will have to pay considerably

above what they paid for prewar labor, and almost as much as they pay now, if we are going to raise this sort of revenue.

Mr. NORTON. I trust that after the war those who are engaged in productive occupations will receive more than they ever received before.

I want to call the gentleman's attention to this: Has he taken into consideration the fact that this permanent law will affect all Government employees, and contract work on river and harbor improvements, where labor employed by private concerns is not receiving as high a minimum wage as this?

Mr. NOLAN. I will state to the gentleman that I do not know of any instance in any section of this country where for some years past you could go and get a man for much less than $3 a day. To give an illustration, here is what is going on in the District of Columbia. I have marked a few items in last night's Washington Times. The Washington Railway & Electric Co. wants men, beginning at 43 cents an hour for the first three months, 46 cents an hour for the next nine months, and 48 cents per hour thereafter, making an eight-hour day about $4. The same rate of pay for the employees of the Capital Traction Co., and they can not get men. They have let down the bars in every direction, employing men as old as 50 years. Going over here you find a driver offered $18 a week for a horse and wagon. Another place, labor for warehouse work $4.18, apply at the American Railway & Express Co. Labor on a theater building, 40 cents per hour. Here is another, $19 a week, time and a half for Sundays and holidays—Corby Co. Here is one instance where they want colored dishwashers, $60 a month; good treatment; no Sunday work.

If we are going to have—and I am satisfied we are—high prices, this is not based on abnormal conditions. It will be a fair rate, a living wage for Government employees after the war.

I want to call the attention of the House that after the war is over we are going to give a preferential status, as we should, to the soldiers fighting our battles in France, and their dependents; and if I had my way I would let down the bars of the civil service and give the men absolute preference. I want to see the man that has lost an arm or a leg and is a cripple get these watchmen's positions, messengers, and such positions as they can fill, and see that they get a living wage.

Mr. NORTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes.

Mr. NORTON. That is a worthy sentiment on the part of the gentleman.

Mr. NOLAN. I know that the gentleman agrees with me.

Mr. NORTON. Entirely. But is the gentleman in favor of paying relatively more to Government employees than is paid to men who are doing private work in private occupations for the same kind of work?

Mr. NOLAN. Under the competitive system wages are largely determined according to circumstances. Whether we like it or not, the law of supply and demand works in abnormal and normal times, whether abnormally good or abnormally bad. Whether organization takes place or not it is bound to have an influence. I do not want to see the Government of the United States go below the standard, and I think the rate they ought to stand up to is the rate in this bill, and give every man a chance to make a living and a fair chance to bring up his family in a decent and a healthful manner. If this will have an effect on the private employer to pay a living wage it will be of great benefit.

Mr. NORTON. The gentleman would not want $2 paid in private life and compel those people who can not get more than $2 a day to help pay the taxes to pay the employees $3 a day.

Mr. NOLAN. I want to see these men which you say can not make any more—I say a man is worthy of his hire, and I hope the time will never come when a contractor will attempt to pay less than the social conditions require to give a man and a woman a proper chance to educate their families and take care of them honestly and decently. If that is so, we will have a better citizenship, and that is the principle that underlies this minimum-wage bill.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NOLAN. I will yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. RAGSDALE. In speaking of preference that should be made in behalf of the soldiers when they return, I was struck with the allusion to the military branch of the Government here, in which you provide that this act shall not apply to the military service.

Mr. NOLAN. The idea was not to conflict with the regular pay that is provided for the Military Establishment, because it would raise automatically the pay of the enlisted man in the service.

Mr. RAGSDALE. The gentleman does not say that. It says that the provisions of "this act shall not apply to persons enlisted in the military branches of the Government, nor to persons receiving quarters and subsistence in addition to their compensation." You make two classes, first the military branch and then you discriminate by making another class those receiving quarters and subsistence.

Mr. NOLAN. Yes; this is for those who receive pay and receive no subsistence, clothing, or quarters. I submitted the bill to the War Department and made certain exceptions as to the Philippine Islands, and it was those who receive nothing else from the Government but the monthly or day pay. That is the only reason for discriminatory classes.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Does the gentleman think it is right for the Government to come in here and except the service of the military branch of the Government at this time, and then write a law that is discriminatory against them upon the advice and approval of anybody?

Mr. NOLAN. The gentleman mistakes the purpose of this bill.

Mr. RAGSDALE. I am not talking about the purpose, I am talking about the result of it. Here are men getting $30 or $40 a month working in this branch of the Government, and at the same time other men under similar conditions get $90 a month.

Mr. NOLAN. It is understood, at least a year or two ago, from those conversant with the facts, the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, that the cost—subsistence, quarters, rations, clothes, and so forth—was about $1,200.

Mr. RAGSDALE. But the gentleman has not applied it in here to those who get that, because he makes two classes of people: First, those who are enlisted in the military branch of the Government only—that makes another class—and persons receiving quarters and subsistence.

Mr. NOLAN. Exactly the point I wanted to make.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, and I will reserve the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection. [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman take a few minutes to answer a question?

Mr. NOLAN. I will take five more minutes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I do not know whether the gentleman has covered this question, because I was not in the room all the time, but I would like to know how broad the term is, "any person employed in the Government." Will it include, for instance, railroad service, telegraph and telephone service, including telegraph girls and messenger boys?

Mr. NOLAN. Who have reached the age of 20 and been employed by the Government two years after they are employees of the Government of the United States. I am not a lawyer and I could not give a legal opinion on it. When this bill was written we had not taken over the railroad or the telephone service of the country, and of course that was not the idea; but if they are in the employ of the Government and have been employed by the Government for two years——

Mr. LONGWORTH. I think it is a safe guess that the railroads and telegraphs and telephones will be under the control of the United States for two years after the war.

Mr. NOLAN. If they are employees and are in our service two years—that is, continuously—and have reached the age of 20 years, then they would receive the benefits of this bill.

I now yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. A moment ago the gentleman made the statement about the wages paid by the United States Steel Corporation. I want to call attention to the fact that the Steel Corporation has a subsidiary in my district which employs perhaps 20,000 men in that district, and they are paying their coal miners less than $4 a day, and their common labor, of course, is much below that.

Mr. NOLAN. I said $3.80. I do not know as to coal miners.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Who are working by the day. Of course, the miners who work upon the tonnage basis, some get more and some get less, according to what they do, but those who are working on the day basis get as low as—I do not remember the figure, but I think it was $3.84 per day, and the scale ran down from that to something about $2.50 a day. I do not call attention to this for the purpose of refuting any arguments the gentleman makes, but to expose that method that the Steel Corporation is guilty of at this time.

Mr. NOLAN. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. I wanted to ask the gentleman why he provides here that the provisions of this shall not apply to certain persons. You do not make it apply to rural car-

riers, but you make it apply to those holding appointments as postmasters.

Mr. NOLAN. It excepts postmasters.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. But does not except rural carriers. There are certain rural carriers in the country who operate a triweekly route. What do you do with those? They get about $600 now.

Mr. NOLAN. Persons employed on a monthly or annual salary basis who regularly perform less than a full day's service shall receive a compensation at a rate of not less than 37½ cents an hour.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. Did the gentleman's committee consider that in reference to rural carriers?

Mr. NOLAN. We considered that if a man is employed at less than a full day or a full month he is put into the hourly rate.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NOLAN. I will.

Mr. STAFFORD. Would it not be advisable, in view of the fact that the Post Office Committee has taken such good care of its employees and the further fact pointed out by the gentleman from Mississippi that there are rural carriers employed at least six days in a week on routes only 8, 9, or 10 miles where the service only requires a few hours, which under this law might be considered a full day's work and would receive the full amount, that postal employees should be excepted from this bill?

Mr. NOLAN. I thought possibly under that proviso they would be paid at the 37½ cent an hour rate.

Mr. STAFFORD. No; that would not compensate them sufficiently. I take it that the rural carriers of the country if paid 37½ cents an hour then their salaries would be reduced one-half.

Mr. NOLAN. It says not less than 37½ cents, and will not reduce the salary of any employee or interfere in any manner with the employees of the Postal Service or any other branch of the Government service now receiving above the rate set in this bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. Take, for instance, a short route. There are a few cases where the routes are no longer than 8, 9, or 10 miles.

Mr. NOLAN. I will say to the gentleman substitutes are now receiving 40 cents an hour.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am speaking of the rural carriers regularly employed each day, and your bill will raise the salaries of rural carriers in those cases by some four or five hundred dollars. It is not planned to reach those cases at all.

Mr. MONDELL. This bill would not reduce anybody's salary.

Mr. NOLAN. No.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman stated in his opinion all persons now in the railroad or telephone, telegraph service, or whatever it may be that the Government has taken over, are included. That was not so when the bill was originally introduced.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. NOLAN. I will take a minute more. I will take just five minutes more, though I will probably not occupy that much time.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Is it now the desire and intention of the committee that they should be?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes; I think that those employees who are, after all, paid from the revenues, and I think every revenue-producing arm of the Government can be and will be operated so it will take care of the fixed expenses. Now, the telephones and telegraphs together and the railroad corporations, they are income-producing public utilities.

It can be fixed so that if we are going to operate them they will be operated on the same basis as your Postal System, and pay their way. We have recently corrected some abuses in regard to a deficiency in second-class postal rates, and that is as it should be. They ought to pay for themselves, and I think in the administration of the telegraph and telephone and the railways rates will be so arranged that they will pay the fixed expenses of salaries, wages, and anything else, and after two years any of those employees should be entitled to the benefits of the bill.

Mr. DENISON. I ask the gentleman if the railroads and telegraphs do not have to pay more than pay their way? They are expected eventually to pay some interest to the stockholders and bondholders.

Mr. NOLAN. I am in hopes we will do one thing or another before the two years will have passed, whereby they will come within the provisions of the bill. We all hope the European war will be over, and then we are going to determine what will happen.

Mr. DENISON. We have already determined that.

Mr. NOLAN. We have in a way. Every institution in this country makes fixed charges for raising wages. It is up to us to see that we have got money enough to pay them. The Director General of the Railroads raised passenger and freight rates, and stated it was for the purpose of paying the higher wages fixed by the Railroad Wage Board.

Mr. DENISON. Congress has already determined that after a certain time they will go back to the owners.

Mr. NOLAN. Who knows what another Congress might do by that time?

Mr. ESCH. In the original draft of the railroad-control bill there was a section making railroad employees Government employees, and we eliminated that from the bill because various representatives of various brotherhoods did not wish to have it incorporated, because if incorporated it made each employee subject to the compensation act.

Mr. NOLAN. Under the terms of this bill that would not be unless it was amended.

Mr. ESCH. We have the Wage Board, under the Director General's office, that takes care of that matter, anyhow.

Mr. NOLAN. I have here the original award of the Wage Commission.

Mr. TOWNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NOLAN. I will.

Mr. TOWNER. I wanted to call attention to the fact that it was the theory and the purpose of the Postmaster General to merge the telephone and telegraph systems into the general Postal Service. In other words, to postalize the telegraph and telephone systems. There are very many of the various branches of the Postal Service that do not pay their way and some that more than pay their way, and so it does not make any particular difference whether or not these different branches are merged in the general Postal Service.

Mr. NOLAN. The present revenue bill provided a method of taking up the slack in one particular where a certain service of the Government was rendered to the publishers, and it was very costly, and we tried to modify that so the annual deficit would not be so large.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time, and I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY].

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I have been a Member of this House for nearly 20 years. I have never intentionally made a misstatement of facts about any Member of this House. I never have in that time attempted to take from any other Member of this House any laurel in order to build up my own reputation.

A truth half told is worse than a falsehood itself. Once upon a time a minister and an infidel were arguing Scripture. The infidel said to the minister, "I can show you in the Bible where it says, 'There is no God.'" The minister said, "You can not do anything of the kind." The infidel immediately produced a Bible and held it up and said, "Look there. It says, 'There is no God.'" "Oh, yes," the minister said, "but, you hypocrite, take your thumb off the upper line." And when he did, the passage read, "The fool hath said in his heart there is no God."

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] a few minutes ago on the floor of this House said that if the Republican Party came back into power—and I was not on the floor at the time he made the statement, but the information was given to me—that if the Republican Party came back into power the Republicans of this House would follow Mr. FORDNEY, of Michigan, in legislation, and that Mr. FORDNEY had moved to strike out the excess-profits tax. He did not say when or where or in what bill. I want to call the attention of the House to what I did.

On February 1, 1917, before our Government had taken a part in this great war, there was a revenue bill before the House, and I did move to recommit that bill, and here is what my motion to recommit had to say:

> I move to recommit the bill H. R. 20573 to the Committee on Ways and Means with instructions to that committee to report the bill back to the House immediately with the following amendment: "Strike out all of title to excess-profits tax, being sections 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, and 207, reading as follows."

That was before the war. To prove to you that I was correct then and that my good bosom friend from Alabama was wrong, I voted for that motion to recommit, and Mr. HEFLIN voted against it. I contended then that I was correct in my views, and I am going to insist now that I was correct, and prove, by the remarks of a man speaking for the administration before the Ways and Means Committee a few weeks ago, to my bosom friend from Alabama, that he was wrong then and that I was right, and that I am right now and that he is wrong. Here is what Secretary McAdoo said before the Ways and Means Committee on August 14, 1918, when giving his views upon the preparation of the present revenue bill now before the Senate.

I most loyally supported and voted for every provision in that bill, and I voted for the bill:

Mr. McADOO. The excess-profits tax must rest upon the wholly indefensible notion that it is a function of taxation to bring all profits down to one level with relation to the amount of capital invested and to deprive industry, foresight, and sagacity of their fruits. The excess-profits tax exempts capital and burdens brains, ability, and energy.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan is recognized for five minutes more.

Mr. FORDNEY. I thank the gentleman very much. I read further:

The excess-profits tax falls less heavily on big business than on small business, because big business is generally overcapitalized and small business is often undercapitalized.

Mr. McAdoo said that in time of peace an excess-profits tax is indefensible. [Applause.] When I made the motion to strike from the bill the excess-profits tax provision this Government was not at war with any nation in the world. Further:

But though these great defects in the excess-profits tax lead me very strongly to recommend that you should seek additional sources of taxation in the war-profits tax and not in an increase of the excess-profits tax, I have from the beginning favored the continuance of the existing excess-profits tax, with its inequalities and its injustices, because this is not a time when the Treasury can afford to dispense with any existing source of revenue.

Therefore, let me say to the House and to my good friend, I have never used wind to get votes at home. I have never played to the galleries in the 20 years of my service in this House. I have never made a false statement intentionally against any man. [Applause.] I have never attempted to tear down any man's chimney in order to get material to build mine higher. [Applause.]

I submit to the gentleman from Alabama that the administration is with me, and here is the evidence. I was correct then. So says the Secretary of the Treasury. I am correct now. So says the Secretary of the Treasury. [Applause.] Put that in your pipe and smoke it. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the remainder of the time given to me.

Mr. MAHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, under the cloak of protecting the American laboring man the House voted yesterday for a prohibition bill. I then stated that the laboring man did not seek that protection at the hands of certain gentlemen; that, on the contrary, they were opposed to the measure then pending. To-day, Mr. Chairman, we have a real measure before us that tends to do justice to the American laboring man, and I regret exceedingly that so few of those men who were so busy yesterday in behalf of the cause of labor, to which, however, labor objects, are not here to-day helping the cause of this real meritorious labor measure.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. Not now. Later on.

Mr. MONDELL. I want to assure the gentleman that most of the men who voted for the prohibition amendment are here.

Mr. SABATH. I do not yield to the gentleman. I hope that the statement of the gentleman is true, and that we will find these gentlemen voting for this bill and at all times voting as solidly for the labor measures as they have voted for the prohibition measures, but I doubt it and have good reason questioning the gentleman's statement.

Mr. MONDELL. I assure the gentleman that they will.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, we shall shortly see.

Mr. Chairman, I congratulate the chairman of the Labor Committee and I congratulate the membership of the committee on reporting this bill to the House. Two years ago my committee succeeded in recommending a bill having for its purpose the same object. I then tried to amend it to include all the underpaid laboring men, because it did not go far enough, because it included only a certain class of Government employees. Therefore, I repeat that I must congratulate the Committee on Labor, and especially the chairman of that committee, in bringing in the bill before us to-day. It is a bill that is entitled to the favorable vote of every well-meaning and honest Member of this body.

I have noticed that the report accompanying this bill gives an extract from the report of Prof. Keen, of the University of Washington, as to the cost of living. We who pay some attention, and are obliged to pay some attention, to the cost of living do not need this report. We must recognize the fact and are aware that the cost of living, due to the war, has tremendously increased, and to-day it is absolutely impossible for the poorer class of laboring men even to exist, not to live, upon the small salaries they are receiving.

Having that in view, and being familiar with the conditions, I introduced last session a resolution and a bill providing for the increase of salaries of all Government employees from 10 per cent up to 25 per cent, and I regret exceedingly that we have not been able to provide that needed increase for those employees. But, on the other hand, I am mightily pleased to have the chance and the opportunity to-day to vote for this Nolan bill. I think it is a measure which will produce a great deal of good. I think it will have a tendency not only to do justice to the Government employees, but it will also have a tendency to increase the low wage to laboring men the country over. For that reason I hope this measure will be enacted without delay, not only in this House, but also at the other end of the Capitol; that it will become a law without much ado or great delay. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the remainder of my time to the committee.

Mr. MAHER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman on the other side use some of this time?

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. STEVENSON].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Chairman, I am not opposed to the principle of this bill, but I am opposed to it, broadly stated, as it is. In the first place, it embraces every employee of the railroads, telephones, and telegraph. The gentleman from New York made the point awhile ago that they would not be affected at present, because they have not been two years in the employ of the Government. That is true, but there is no limitation on the life of this bill.

Mr. NOLAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEVENSON. Yes.

Mr. NOLAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH] informed the House that the railroad employees were particularly excepted as Government employees in the original railroad bill.

Mr. STEVENSON. They are not embraced as Government employees?

Mr. NOLAN. No.

Mr. STEVENSON. Is that true of the employees of the telephone and telegraph?

Mr. BLACK. It is not; and in the hearings on a bill we recently had the Solicitor of the Post Office Department gave it as his unofficial opinion that they would be employees, although he admitted that he had not looked into the matter.

Mr. STEVENSON. That is certainly one thing that should be guarded against. Then there is the other proposition, that it shall not be allowed to extend beyond the period, certainly not more than a year after the termination of the war. The gentlemen say it can be revised after the war. I think it is better to fix it so that it will have to be revised after the war, and not wait until you can get both Houses and the President to agree on the revision.

The gentleman from California stated awhile ago that it was predicted that we would have 10-cent cotton and 50-cent wheat and 50-cent corn after the war.

Mr. NOLAN. That was not my prediction.

Mr. STEVENSON. And that we would have to raise a great deal of revenue, and he did not see how it could be raised. If we are going to keep up the salaries above what they ordinarily are, that will not be one way of raising revenue with cheap corn, cheap cotton, and cheap wheat. The gentleman was right when he said that this will have a tendency to raise the wages of everybody who works, including farm labor. Take the proposition to-day, and, while I do not know much about raising other commodities, I do cotton, and every pound of cotton has to be picked. The colored women do it, and they do it better than anybody else. They do twice as much as any charwoman around here. They pick, on an average, 100 pounds a day, and it takes 15 days of labor to gather one bale of cotton; at $3 a day, you would pay $45 for gathering a bale of cotton, and you would have $5 left for the cotton when it was sold at 10 cents. You do not want to get matters arranged so that it would jack up wages to such an extent that it would stop the raising of cotton. It is the same way with regard to labor that goes into the corn and into the wheat field, and therefore it ought to be limited to the termination of the war. I agree that people are suffering from the low wages that are paid them here, and they ought to have relief. Nobody can live in the city of Washington decently on much less than $90 a month. Therefore, in so far as that part is concerned, I am in favor of the bill, but I am opposed to it being unlimited.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEVENSON. Yes.

Mr. RAGSDALE. The bill specifically prohibits the war workers from getting the benefit of the bill.

Mr. STEVENSON. If they have to be here two years before they get the benefit of it, I take it that in justice this Government will give it to them before they have been here two years. If they do not, it will not accomplish the purpose for which it is intended.

There is another provision which applies to those who receive quarters and subsistence in addition to the compensation, that they shall not come into this class.

Now, the Government provides dormitories for housing. If you leave that provision in, it will apply to those living in the dormitories.

Mr. NOLAN. No; they are not receiving them as quarters; they are paying for them. The Government is providing them, but they pay rent.

Mr. STEVENSON. It will be just as well to make it clear and have no discrimination against people working, but we should limit it to one year after the war is ended.

Mr. MAHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL].

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, as a member of the Committee on Appropriations, my attention has been repeatedly called to the very low salaries that the Federal Government pays in many lines of employment. That is true not only now when the cost of living is abnormally high, but it has been true for many years in the past. The Federal Government has inadequately paid many of its public servants even when the cost of living was much lower than it is at this time. That being the case, how important it is when the cost of living has doubled that we shall by legislation fix a reasonable, minimum wage, and from which these salaries can be graded upward.

The Committee on Appropriations of the House and the Congress has endeavored to at least partly meet the situation. Ten per cent advance last year in salaries of low-paid employees, a flat raise of $120 a year this year, provision made in the current appropriation bill whereby some increases could be paid to employees of the Bureau of Printing and Engraving, who have been scandalously underpaid for years, some increase in the pay of the employees of the Asylum for the Insane and elsewhere, but generally there has been no considerable increase in years. We have reached the time when a minimum of $3 a day certainly is low enough, as a minimum above which we can adjust Federal salaries all along the line. I have some doubt of the wisdom in the provision in this bill which excludes from its benefits those who have not been employed for two years, although I understand there may be some good reason for that. If in the administration of this law, which only establishes the minimum wage, administrative officers are fair and reasonable, there will be a general advance of wages even to those who are not directly affected by the legislation. In view of that fact, unless the committee having the bill in charge agrees to it, I do not know that I shall offer an amendment which I have contemplated, striking from the bill the provision which excludes from its benefits those who have been two years in the employ of the Government. We have been very slow in advancing the wages of Government employees. We have had good service from them almost universally. They have been loyal, they have been faithful, and this is rather tardy justice to those loyal and faithful employees who have been receiving less than a living wage.

Mr. NOLAN. I desire to ask the gentleman how many requests has he over on his side?

Mr. MAHER. One.

Mr. NOLAN. I have only one on this side and I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SMITH], the ranking minority member of the Committee on Labor.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, if our national prosperity and progress depends upon one thing more than another it is upon labor. I believe that the man or woman who works should receive sufficient compensation for his labor, which will not only permit him or her to purchase something to eat and wear but will permit them to lay up something in the due course of time to provide for a rainy day and give them a Christian burial. I think it is admitted and generally understood that it is difficult at the present time for a person who labors to make both ends meet and pay 50 cents for a pound of butter, 50 cents for a pound of beefsteak, 50 or 60 cents for a dozen eggs, pay twice as much for sugar, pay more for clothes, and get along now when he barely earned wages enough to subsist before high prices took place. The wage provided in this bill would just pay for board and lodging at a hotel here in Washington. I was a laboring man a considerable portion of my life and know wages were not too high then. If a person does a day's work he should get a living wage. It is not to the discredit of any person because he has to work. Labor is the principal asset of a majority of our people.

Mr. GORDON. Will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I will.

Mr. GORDON. What is the minimum average wage now of Government employees?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Well, I do not know, I will say to the gentleman, but the minimum——

Mr. GORDON. Did the committee investigate that question to see what it was?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes.

Mr. GORDON. How did you determine this would make a reasonable pay? If you did not know what wages are now, then certainly you do not know how much this increase should amount to.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; we took into consideration the cost of living, and we know that the people who are working for this wage——

Mr. GORDON. You knew they wanted it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan (continuing). Can not live but rather subsist upon the wage they are receiving. Why, I have heard that a man or woman sweeping the floor in one of the factories in Michigan and doing janitor work is paid $5 a day.

Mr. MADDEN. And they are sweeping up parts of the Ford machine so as to make new machines.

Mr. NOLAN. I would state to the gentleman the Committee on Labor held hearings to the extent of 423 pages, and we got from the department estimates. The total estimate of the number of employees, as well as the total cost, is in the hearings.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. And that wage, I understood, was about $1.60 a day, and that testimony was taken two years ago before the cost of living was so high. This is a meritorious bill. I think they will earn the wages specified, and I think if we are going to retain their employment and their services that it is necessary to give them this increase. I think I would reduce the 21 years of age to 18 years. We now enlist men to do the most severe service that is possible to impose upon them at the age of 18 years.

Mr. GORDON. And at the minimum wage—$1 a day.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. At $30 a month and their keep. It was estimated before the war that each soldier cost the Government more than $1,000 per annum. With prevailing high prices, I think it costs more than that now.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. FIELDS].

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Chairman, I am for this bill because I believe that it is right, but there is one provision of it I am not for, and that is that part of the bill which confines the benefits of the bill to those who have been in the employ of the Government for two years or over. The activities of the Government have increased in the District of Columbia. They have advertised for people, appealed to their patriotism to come here from all parts of the country and accept these positions, and as the various activities increase, as the higher priced salaries increase, so must the positions paying lower salaries increase, because these positions are essential to the maintenance of the whole establishment. I say it is unfair to appeal to the patriotic workers of this country to come here and help win the war and then say that they can not receive as much compensation as the man who has been in the service for over two years.

Mr. BLACK. Will the gentleman yield for just one moment?

Mr. FIELDS. Yes.

Mr. BLACK. Most of these clerks who come to Washington come here under civil service; and is it not a fact that practically all of them get more than $1,000 now who are coming?

Mr. FIELDS. The bill, of course, does not apply to that class.

Mr. BLACK. I am calling the gentleman's attention to it.

Mr. FIELDS. I am talking about the labor. It costs one man as much to live in the District of Columbia as another.

Mr. MADDEN. Oh, no.

Mr. FIELDS. I mean in the same class of work. I am speaking as to labor; I am speaking of elevator men or clerks or laborers on the street or in whatever capacity they may be. It costs one of them just as much as it costs the other to live. The one is as patriotic as the other if he performs his task as well, and to say that a man who has been here two years shall be given an increase and the other man who is laboring by his side shall be denied that increase is class legislation. It is unfair; it is unjust. And if some other Member does not offer an amendment, I propose to do so at the proper time, striking out the words that provide for that discrimination. I am willing that it shall apply to those above 20 years. I think it would be proper to put it down to 18 years, for the two indi-

viduals who work side by side, performing the same service, should receive the same consideration. I am absolutely opposed to any such discrimination, and I hope that this House will not stand for it.

Mr. LONDON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FIELDS. Yes.

Mr. LONDON. I agree with the gentleman, and I desire to make this statement: It seems to me that the committee in adopting this two-year provision tried to overcome the objection of those members of the committee who argued that the allurements of a $3 minimum wage would bring a rush of employees from all over the country. I do not believe there was much to that argument of the minority, but the committee inserted that provision in order to overcome that objection. I entirely agree with the gentleman, though, that it should go out.

Mr. GORDON. Is there not something in the proposition that a man that has been employed in the same service for two years is worth more money? That principle is recognized in the Post Office Department, and they get an automatic increase of $100 a year for the first four years.

Mr. FIELDS. Many men have come from similar classes of service in the country to perform these duties. They are just as skilled; they are just as efficient; they are as strong and as willing, and they are of as much benefit as the men who have been here for a number of years.

Mr. SLOAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FIELDS. I will.

Mr. SLOAN. I was interested in what the gentleman said about the discrimination. I understand this applies to the seven-hour laborers in the District of Columbia the same as it does to the eight-hour laborers elsewhere. Does the gentleman stand for that discrimination?

Mr. FIELDS. If the bill provides too much pay you should decrease it on all alike. You should not give to one man a certain salary and to another one, who is laboring by his side and doing the same service, a less salary. It is unfair and unjust.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MAHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LONDON].

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Chairman, the question asked by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN], as well as the question to which the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON] has addressed himself, overlooks the principal object of a minimum wage law. There is a certain minimum below which a worker can not be permitted to go. There is a certain compensation which can not be diminished without destroying the capacity of a human being to live the life of a man. That is the basis of minimum wage legislation. I do not know whether this bill accomplishes it, because it does not provide for a minimum compensation that one is to receive for service. It provides for a minimum rate of compensation. This is particularly true as far as persons who are employed by periods less than a whole year are concerned. This bill contains the desire for minimum wage legislation, it contains the principle. I do not believe it accomplishes a minimum compensation. The only thing valuable about it is that it fixes a certain standard, a certain basis, below which no man can safely exist. That is all there is to this minimum wage bill, and I hope there will be no opposition to it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. MAHER. Mr. Chairman, I ask for the reading of the bill under the five-minute rule for amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Debate has concluded, and the Clerk will read the bill for amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That after the beginning of the first fiscal year following the passage of this act the minimum compensation of any person employed by the United States or by the government of the District of Columbia shall be not less than $3 per day; or if employed by the hour, not less than 37½ cents per hour; or if employed by the month, not less than $90 per month; or if employed by the year, not less than $1,080 per annum: *Provided*, That persons employed on a monthly or annual salary basis and who regularly perform less than a full day's service shall receive compensation at the rate of not less than 37½ cents per hour: *Provided further*, That the provisions of this act shall not apply to persons enlisted in the military branches of the Government nor to persons receiving quarters and subsistence in addition to their compensation, nor to the employees in the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, the Territory of Hawaii, the Territory of Alaska, and the Panama Canal Zone, nor to persons holding appointments as postmasters: *Provided further*, That the provisions of this act shall apply only to those persons who have been continuously in the employ of the Government of the United States or in the employ of the government of the District of Columbia for a period of not less than two years, and who shall have attained the age of 20 years.

Mr. MONDELL, Mr. BLACK, Mr. FIELDS, and Mr. BLANTON rose.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] is recognized.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wyoming offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MONDELL: Page 2, line 9, after the word "persons," strike out all the remainder of line 9 and all of lines 10, 11, and 12, down to and including the word "and."

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, at the beginning of the consideration of this bill I had in mind offering this amendment. After discussing the matter somewhat with some members of the committee, I had concluded not to offer it. But after thinking of it further, I have concluded that, in the interest of fairness, the bill should be amended as I now suggest.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the amendment be again reported.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment will be again reported.

The amendment was again read.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, the effect of my amendment is to strike from the bill that provision in it which excludes from its benefits those who have been employed by the Government less than two years. The proviso as amended then reads:

That the provisions of this act shall apply only to those persons who shall have attained the age of 20 years.

It leaves that part of the proviso as it was, but it strikes from the bill the provision that excludes from its benefits those who have not been employed two years.

Now, Mr. Chairman, there may be some arguments, I have no doubt but what there are, in favor of the provision as it stands in the bill. But against that is the unanswerable argument that there is no justice in paying one wage to a person who has been employed two years or more and a lower wage to one doing the same work but who has been employed less than two years. We should apply the same rule to all who are doing the same class of work under the same conditions.

Mr. DENISON. Is not this difference in wages, depending on the difference in length of service, recognized in the wages paid to postal clerks all through the system?

Mr. MONDELL. Oh, that is true; because that is a class of work requiring considerable skill; but the postal clerk receives a pretty fair wage at the beginning. He receives a very fair wage at the start, a much better wage after he has become more proficient—after he has acquired more skill.

We are fixing a minimum wage, and, assuming that $3 is as low as the minimum should be fixed, on what theory, then, shall we refuse to the man or the woman who has been employed less than two years what we declare to be the reasonable minimum?

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman a question for information?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Why is the age fixed arbitrarily at 20 years?

Mr. MONDELL. I suppose it was so fixed by the committee on the theory that there are employed by the Government quite a number of people under 20 years of age——

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Who are doing just as good work as the employee who is over 20.

Mr. MONDELL. They may be in certain cases, yet in many other cases they are learning their work; they are getting something of an education in the public service.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Does not the gentleman's argument also hold good——

Mr. MONDELL. That is not my provision. It is in the bill as presented. If the gentleman desires to offer an amendment to that, he can do so.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I thought that the gentleman, inasmuch as he is opposed to the discrimination, might perhaps offer an amendment.

Mr. MONDELL. I think the gentleman from Michigan will agree that what might be considered a fair minimum wage for a person of mature years, and possibly one with family responsibilities, might be more than a fair minimum wage for a younger person, without those responsibilities and without those expenses. I assume that was the thought of the committee when they approved that provision.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I see that element in it.

Mr. MONDELL. A young person under 20 who has not had experience or training, the committee evidently thought, should not come under the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wyoming has expired.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment of the gentleman from Wyoming.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas is recognized.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MADDEN. Are amendments in order at any time, or are we considering amendments as we reach the language in the bill?

Mr. WALSH. We are acting under the five-minute rule.

Mr. MADDEN. Are we in committee?

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me?

The CHAIRMAN. Amendments are in order affecting the paragraph under consideration.

Mr. FIELDS. With the permission of the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer an amendment to the amendment, so that it may be pending, not to come out of the time of the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. BLACK. I did not yield for that purpose. I think the gentleman had better follow me, and offer his amendment then.

Mr. FIELDS. All right.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Chairman, I want to call the attention of the House in a very brief statement to the situation that would arise if the amendment of the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] were adopted. During the present session of Congress we passed the Post Office appropriation bill, which, among other things, reclassified all of the postal employees. In the former classification act the lowest grade was $800, the next grade $900, and the next grade $1,000, and from that on up to $1,200. In the reclassification plan adopted at the present session we provided that hereafter the compensation of grade 1 shall be $1,000, and grade 2 $1,100, and grade 3 $1,200, and on up to $1,500 for the sixth grade. That was the identical classification plan the letter carriers' organization favored, that the railway mail clerks' organization favored, and that the postal clerks' organization favored, and they were absolutely satisfied with it so far as I have ever heard, and all that they ask now is that we make it permanent law at the next session of Congress. But if the amendment of the gentleman from Wyoming is adopted, then grade 1, that now receives $1,000 a year, will receive $1,080 as soon as the law goes into effect. And what will we be confronted with at the next session of Congress?

We will be confronted with the situation that inasmuch as we have provided to pay grade 1 $1,080, that therefore grade 2 ought to be $1,180, and grade 3 ought to be $1,280, and grade 4 ought to be $1,380, and so on up. And what would it cost to make this additional increase of $80 per grade? If my memory serves me correctly, we have about 85,000 employees now in those three different employments in the Postal Service, viz: Letter carriers, postal clerks, and railway mail clerks, and the total cost of that one item alone, if we add $80 to the salary of each employee, would be $6,800,000. And so I submit that an amendment of this kind ought not to be adopted.

When the gentleman from California [Mr. NOLAN] made his able speech in presentation of this bill I called the situation which I have just mentioned to his attention, and he gave a very satisfactory explanation by stating that the bill carried a provision reading as follows: "*Provided further*, That the provisions of this act shall apply only to those persons who have been continuously in the employ of the Government of the United States for a period of not less than two years." The foregoing provision saves the bill from the complication just referred to. There may be other complications of that kind, but, happening to be a member of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, I recalled these particular instances. I think it would be very unwise for the House to adopt the amendment of the gentleman from Wyoming, which seeks to eliminate from the bill the provision which makes the minimum-wage requirement apply only to those Government employees who have been in the service for more than two years.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLACK. I will.

Mr. MONDELL. Would the gentleman like to have the postal employees excepted from the amendment?

Mr. BLACK. I certainly would, if the House is going to adopt your amendment. But I do not think we ought to adopt it. I think the bill is wisely written in the respect which the amendment seeks to change and ought to remain as it is. [Applause.]

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer an amendment to this amendment.

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL], which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky offers an amendment to the amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. FIELDS offers the following amendment to the amendment offered by Mr. MONDELL: Page 2, line 9, strike out all of line 9 after the word "who," and all of lines 10, 11, and 12, and on line 13 strike out the word "twenty" and insert in lieu thereof the word "eighteen," so that the proviso will read: "That the provisions of this act shall apply only to those persons who shall have attained the age of 18 years."

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Chairman, I offered the last part of the amendment to strike out the word "twenty" and insert in lieu thereof the word "eighteen" for the reason that the Government has adopted the policy of placing upon the boys of 18, 19, and 20 the labors performed by men. The most arduous labor that is performed anywhere, the military service of the country, is now laid on the shoulders of boys of that age. The country has said that they are able to perform that duty as well or better than men, and having taken that position we can not now consistently discriminate against the boys of that age who labor.

In reply to the remarks of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLACK], I want to say that very few people affected by this bill are in the clerical positions of the Post Office Department or elsewhere. Most of the men to whom the provisions of this bill will apply are the laboring men of the District of Columbia and in Government operations throughout the country. No private institution in the country anywhere adopts a system of that character.

The private industries of the country could not run with a wage system of that sort. Suppose a manufacturing plant in my district or in yours should post a notice that it will pay those that have been with it two years or more $3 a day and those coming into the service from this time shall receive only $2.50 or $2.75 a day. Do you suppose they would get any laborers? And if they did, if circumstances forced some men to come in and take their places by the side of men that had been there two years, performing the same labor that the new employees must perform, rendering the same profit to the manufacturer as other men were rendering, would it be right to pay one $2.50 and the other $3 a day? It would not.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FIELDS. I will.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. If my friend from Kentucky will look in the paper, he will see that thing in the street railways—that they are paying men so much the first year and so much the second and so much the third.

Mr. FIELDS. That is in a class of labor that requires skill, and it takes time to acquire it. But there are men who have acquired a knowledge of the work that they are to do before they come, and they render just as good service to the Government the first day they work as the man who has been in the employ of the Government for years. Gentlemen, we can not afford to discriminate in that way. It is unfair and it is unjust.

The high cost of the laboring man has come within the last year. The great demand for labor in the Government activities of the country has developed within the last 18 months, and most of these men who have come in since this great rush started have gotten experience and serve the Government as well, do just as efficient work as the man who has been in the service for years, and yet they are discriminated against by this bill, if it passes without the amendment which I have offered, or its equivalent. Such discrimination is not right. It makes me mad to think of it. [Applause.]

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, Members who are offering these amendments are proceeding upon a wrong theory. This bill was never intended as a war-emergency measure or to take effect to-day to meet present-day conditions. It is a proposition to establish a principle, the principle of the living wage. If gentlemen will read the bill, they will find in the very first section that after the beginning of the fiscal year next after the passage of this act it takes effect. If the bill passes the House and goes to the Senate and passes there before the 4th of next March, it does not go into effect until the beginning of the next fiscal year, and that will give the Appropriations Committee an opportunity to investigate the cost of it and make appropriations accordingly.

If you adopt the amendment of the gentleman from Wyoming, you might as well adopt the amendment of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. FIELDS]. If this were a temporary measure, if it were for the existence of the war, the arguments would be good. This measure will have a beneficial influence. The people that are coming here today are not the people employed at low salaries. I will say also that the great mass of the employees in the District of Columbia, when we had the bill under consideration, were getting $1.50 and $1.75, and since that time I have

made careful inquiry into it and they are now receiving in the District of Columbia, the laborer on the streets $3.25 a day plus 40 cents provided in the annual increase of $120. They had trouble and went out on a strike, but they have fixed the wages now so that they get, as I say, $3.25 for an eight-hour day, plus 40 cents, which makes $3.65.

There are a class of employees in the District of Columbia that will get the benefit of it. They are the watchmen, elevator operators, the firemen, and a lot of other employees. The most of them have been here over two years and will get the benefit of this bill. You can not hire men to-day in the District of Columbia for the amount of money provided in this bill.

Mr. LOBECK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes.

Mr. LOBECK. It will apply to every customhouse in the country where watchmen are engaged?

Mr. NOLAN. Absolutely; but gentlemen are talking about men coming here to-day. The idea of the bill is to provide permanent legislation to give some consideration to these employees who have seen long service. We had before our committee one man from the Printing Office down here, a laborer, in 1916, who 30 years before came from the city of Cleveland and received compensation for his services of $2 a day.

And the day he came before our committee, 30 years after, he was receiving the same pay of $2 a day. That is the situation we are trying to take care of in this bill. If it was an emergency measure, we would have an emergency provision, but this is permanent legislation. We are trying to do something of permanent benefit to the lower-paid employees. The two-year limit was placed in and the 20-year age provision, because we felt that those who go into the Federal service go in generally at 18 years of age and we wanted to prohibit the payment of this money, $3 a day, $90 a month, to messenger boys of 16 years of age and under and we are trying to establish permanently a living wage. It is not for to-day or to-morrow, but it is for all time. That is the principle underlying this bill.

Mr. FIELDS. I will say my amendment does not apply to the 16-year-old boy.

Mr. NOLAN. I say that if the amendment of the gentleman from Wyoming is adopted we might as well adopt the gentleman's amendment, but the idea of the committee, it was not in the original draft of the bill, was to give some consideration to those who have been longest employed.

Mr. BURNETT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NOLAN. I will.

Mr. BURNETT. This bill was no doubt drafted before the beginning of the present fiscal year. Does the gentleman propose to offer an amendment so as to make it effective at once because otherwise it will be postponed until the 1st of July of next year and will not meet the emergency.

Mr. NOLAN. I will say to the gentleman the sooner it goes into effect the better I would be satisfied. I have not any illusions about its speedy passage in the Senate. They will be engaged upon the war-revenue bill and if we can get it through before the 4th of March I think it will be looking to a permanent benefit and everybody will be satisfied to get it. Those who are interested have not asked for this amendment.

Mr. FIELDS. I want to submit this observation to the gentleman. Probably the organizations have not, maybe a few men who have been employed less than two years have not gone into the organization, but a man does not have to belong to an organization to get my ear if his cause is right, for I have just as much interest in a man who does not belong to an organization as a man in an organization.

Mr. NOLAN. My time is running along.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. NOLAN. One minute more. I will say there is no one in this House who questions my sincerity or my interest in the welfare of the man down below.

Mr. FIELDS. I am not questioning that.

Mr. NOLAN. But we are trying to do the big thing in this. I have the kindliest sympathy in the world for everybody who has come in within the last two years, but what I am interested in is that when this bill eventually passes that those in the Government employ sometime will get the benefit, and if we load the bill down it is going to meet with more determined opposition.

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman's opinion is that this amendment should be defeated?

Mr. NOLAN. I think the bill ought to be left as it is.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Mr. Chairman, I can not agree with the author of this bill that there is any difference between the substitute offered by the gentleman from Kentucky and the proposal of the gentleman from Wyoming. There is a radical difference, because one seeks to apply the minimum wage to those of 18 years and above, and the bill as reported by the committee to those only above 20 years of age. I wish to call the attention of the committee to the fact that there are hundreds of high-school students who are brought into the Bureau of Standards to receive advanced education who receive a nominal salary as low as $540 or $660, who receive this nominal salary in return for the education they receive, who would be entitled to the $3 a day minimum if 18 years was the limit, who would not be entitled to it if 20 was the limit. I think the committee—and I believe the chairman will bear me out—fixed 20 years so as not to apply to these messenger boys. We have around the Bureau of Pensions, for instance, a large number of messenger boys who came into the service at 16 and have remained there. They receive only $480 a year, and when they reach the age of 20 or thereabout they are promoted to the position of messengers. Well may we pay those men that take the position of messengers higher salaries, but I do not think any person here wishes to pay that character of employment the minimum wage of $3 a day. They have no families dependent upon them. Over in the Library of Congress we have a large number of young ladies who come into service there who receive instructions in the way of library operation at a nominal salary of $600 and $660 a year, under 20 years of age. It is not contemplated paying these young ladies who are single the minimum wage. This bill will undoubtedly apply to many who have no families dependent upon them, but we can not avoid that because it is a general measure. In the Committee on Appropriations I attempted this last session to have some permanent increase of salary made of these lower-paid officials who will be benefited by this bill, particularly messengers who receive $840; assistant messengers, $720; watchmen, $720; firemen, $720; and laborers, $660. Some consideration was given to my proposition, but it was the opinion of the subcommittee that no legislation increasing salaries permanently should be enacted at this session. My personal opinion is these men are underpaid and would be underpaid even with the $120 horizontal increase. I do not think any person, considering the large number of employees in the service under 20, can vote for the substitute offered by the gentleman from Kentucky. As to the question whether the employees should be two years in the service, that is another question. I am merely directing attention to the maximum age limit.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. FIELDS].

The question was taken and the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL].

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 2, line 8, after the word "postmasters" strike out the colon, insert a comma, and add the following: "assistant postmasters, rural carriers, postal clerks, carriers in the City Delivery Service, or railway mail clerks."

Mr. NOLAN. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. NOLAN. This takes care of the classified service in the Post Office Department?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. NOLAN. The committee will accept the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN].

Mr. BUTLER. Let us have it read again.

Mr. ALMON. Mr. Chairman, I offer a substitute to the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the substitute.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ALMON as substitute for the Madden amendment: Page 2, line 7, strike out all of lines 7 and 8, as follows: "nor to persons holding appointments as postmasters," and insert in lieu thereof the following: "nor to any postal employees of the United States."

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I believe I was recognized on my amendment, was I not? And I would like to have the whole paragraph read with the amendment included, so that the Members will understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will read as requested.

The Clerk read as follows:

That the provisions of this act shall not apply to persons enlisted in the military branches of the Government nor to persons receiving orders and subsistence in addition to their compensation, nor to the employees in the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, the Territory of Hawaii, the Territory of Alaska, and the Panama Canal Zone, nor to

persons holding appointments as postmasters, assistant postmasters, rural carriers, postal clerks, carriers in the City Delivery Service, or railway mail clerks.

Mr. MADDEN. Now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I wish to call the attention of the House to the fact that this amendment provides for exemption from the provisions of this law all the men who have been classified in the Postal Service. In 1907 postal employees were classified into six different grades. The first class received $600, the second class $800, the third class $900, the fourth class $1,000, the fifth class $1,100, and the sixth class $1,200. The recent classification makes the first class $1,000, the second class $1,100, the third class $1,200, the fourth class $1,300, the fifth class $1,400, and the sixth class $1,500. In the Railway Mail Service they are classified as follows, namely, beginning at $1,100 and going up to $2,000. This will leave the classification act, which protects and provides for the postal clerks, the carriers, the rural carriers, and the railway mail clerks, intact, and it will enable the Post Office Committee in its annual appropriation bill to make proper provision for the compensation of these men. It will enable us to make the temporary legislation which was enacted by this session of Congress permanent in the next session of the Congress, as it was the intention to do. If the legislation proposed does not exempt these classes of men it will complicate the situation so that in the end they will be the losers by the classification act which is already on the statute books.

Now, to men below those who are in the carrier forces, such as janitors, laborers, and so forth, the pending bill will apply, and we have no objection to that, but it ought not to apply to the men that I have referred to. And the proposal of the gentleman in his substitute for the amendment I have offered will not only exempt the men without specifying the classes to which they belong, but it will also exempt the laborers and the janitors. And I do not think they ought to be exempted from the provisions of the pending bill. So, as a matter of fact, the substitute for the amendment which I have presented ought not to be adopted, while the amendment itself should.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WINGO. I do not recall right now, and I would like to ask the gentleman what is the lowest salary of a third-class postmaster?

Mr. MADDEN. It is $1,000.

Mr. WINGO. Under the present arrangement?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr WINGO. What is the maximum of a fourth-class postmaster?

Mr. MADDEN. The maximum of a fourth-class postmaster goes up to $1,000, and when he reaches $1,000 he becomes a third-class postmaster.

Mr. WINGO. And a postmaster now getting $1,000 has to give all of his time, practically, to the office?

Mr. MADDEN. The salary of the postmaster is based on the receipts of the office, and if this should apply to him it would make a new basis for calculations in the postal system.

Mr. WINGO. And your theory is to leave untouched that branch of the service which has been very scientifically classified, based upon experience?

Mr MADDEN. That is the point; and leave the laborer and other classes of work that are not scientifically adjusted to the provisions of this bill.

Mr. HOUSTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. I will.

Mr. HOUSTON. What class of employees embraced in your amendment are not now getting $1,000?

Mr. MADDEN. There are not any

Mr HOUSTON. Then what will be the effect of your amendment?

Mr. MADDEN. To exempt them so as to continue them in their own classification. However, I beg the gentleman's pardon. There are some rural carriers with 7 or 8 mile routes that are not getting $1,000 a year, but they ought not to get the compensation carried in this bill, because they are required to work only two or three hours a day. They ought not to be included.

Mr. HASTINGS. The gentleman will recall that when the Post Office bill was pending I tried to get an amendment to his amendment to take care of the village carriers. Now, I looked it up at that time, and I saw that they were getting $63.75 a month. I think we increased it 10 or 15 per cent, so that they get $73 or $74 a month—less than $75.

Mr. MADDEN. Twenty per cent, I think.

Mr. HASTINGS. Now they get $75 or $76 a month. Would your amendment include village carriers?

Mr. MADDEN. No; carriers in the City Delivery Service.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MADDEN. I ask unanimous consent that I may have two minutes in order to answer the gentleman's question.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. I wish to inquire of the gentleman if he would except from the purview of the pending measure special-delivery messengers, who are paid on the pro rata basis of 8 cents per letter?

Mr. MADDEN. Special-delivery messengers are not employed by the Government, either by the month or by the day, or by the hour. They are employed as messengers and compensated for the carriage of each letter, and they are not considered as Government employees in the strict meaning of the term. That was ruled upon in the case of an injury, for example, of a special-delivery messenger. When we had the compensation act applying to postal employees under consideration it was provided that postal employees injured in the line of duty should be paid a compensation of full pay for a year during the disability and half pay for the second year, and the family of the employee, in case the employee died from the injury, was to be given $2,000. In the case of a special-delivery messenger coming under the injury clause of the bill, it was ruled that he was not in a technical sense an employee of the Government, and hence did not fall under the provisions of the law.

Mr. STAFFORD. The bill under consideration is very broad in its phraseology. It says, "Any person employed by the United States shall receive not less than $3 a day." But I want to direct the gentleman's attention to another class of employees as to which I have some doubt, and that is those who are in charge of contract stations. They are Government employees, receiving on an average of from $300 to $1,000 a year.

Mr. MADDEN. They enter into a contract with the Government of the United States.

Mr. STAFFORD. Would this bill cover them?

Mr. MADDEN. No; it would not cover them.

Mr. STAFFORD. But they are employees.

Mr. MADDEN. They are contract employees.

Mr. STAFFORD. They are Government employees.

Mr. MADDEN. They may be, but not in the sense that this bill provides for. Those people to whom the gentleman refers enter into a contract with the Government of the United States to conduct the business of the sale of stamps in drug stores and other places at a fixed compensation per annum, depending entirely upon the volume of the sales. If the sales amount to a certain sum they get a certain compensation. If they amount to less than that they get less, and if they amount to more they get more. But this bill would not cover them.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. ALMON. Mr. Chairman, I offered this substitute with the idea that the recent legislation fixing the compensation of postal employees was reasonably satisfactory to all the postal employees except fourth-class postmasters and village delivery carriers.

But with the explanation of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN], calling attention to certain other postal employees who are not embraced in the provisions of the recent compensation law, and in view of the fact that the compensation of fourth-class postmasters can not be taken care of and provided for by this measure, and in view of the further fact that the gentleman's amendment provides for and takes in and permits under the provisions of this law an increase in the compensation of village delivery mail carriers, I ask unanimous consent to withdraw my substitute.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. ALMON] asks unanimous consent that his substitute may be considered as withdrawn. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BLACK: Page 2, line 1, after the word "hour," insert the following language: "*Provided further*, That the language 'a full day's service' as herein used shall be construed to mean that eight hours shall be deemed a day's work, and the same shall be the measure or standard of a day's work for the purpose of reckoning the compensation for the service of all employees included within the terms of this act."

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the House, under our present law, as I understand it, the Government employees who live outside of the District of Columbia work

already an eight-hour day, and under the provisions of the bill, in cases where they receive the minimum wage of $90 a month, or $1,080 a year, they would receive that amount of compensation based on an eight-hour day of labor. As to them, that would be the standard measurement of their pay and they would therefore receive the rate of 37½ cents for each hour they actually worked—$3 a day.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLACK. In just a moment, please; when I have completed this statement I shall be glad to. Now, the rule is different here in the District.

In the District of Columbia, while there have been a good many assertions to the contrary, yet we all know that most of the employees work only seven hours a day. When the Borland amendment was several times before the House we often heard it said that most of the Government clerks in Washington are working eight hours a day, anyhow. Now, if that statement be true, then they will not be affected by my amendment at all.

I want to call your further attention to the fact that this amendment which I have offered is not the Borland proposition at all, because it does not require any department to change its hours of labor, but it simply follows the language of that provision of the Adamson law that we passed in September, 1916, and says that you shall use eight hours as the standard of measurement for reckoning the compensation of an employee, and therefore if a Government employee here in the District of Columbia only works seven hours a day he would get a minimum wage of $2.62½. That is to say, it does not change any employee's compensation if it is above the minimum now, but if it is below that and he is to get the benefit of a minimum wage, then he must work eight hours to get the full $3 a day, and if he only works seven hours, then he would not receive the full day's pay, but compensation at the rate of $2.62½ per day.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLACK. Yes; I yield.

Mr. MADDEN. Of course, this law is being made to cover all the Government employees throughout the United States, and therefore it should be uniform.

Mr. BLACK. I agree with the gentleman that it should be uniform. My purpose is simply to establish a uniform eight-hour day for Government employees who are to be the beneficiaries of this minimum-wage law. My amendment provides practically the same definition for a standard eight-hour day as was contained in the Adamson law, and I have defined it so that when you come to use the yardstick for measuring a day's pay you will use the eight-hour yardstick.

Now I yield to the gentleman from Wyoming.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman has answered the question I intended to propound to him. As I understand it, his amendment would exclude from the benefits of this law practically all of the Government employees in the District of Columbia.

Mr. BLACK. Not at all. It excludes nobody.

Mr. MONDELL. It would exclude all those who did not work eight hours.

Mr. BLACK. Oh, no. Let me read the amendment I have offered. If you will turn to page 2, line 1, you will see that I am correct. Insert the following language——

Mr. MONTAGUE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLACK. In a moment. You will see that it does not exclude anybody. It says:

Provided further, That the language, "a full day's service," as herein used, shall be construed to mean that eight hours shall be deemed a day's work, and the same shall be the measure or standard of a day's work for the purpose of reckoning the compensation for the service of all employees included within the terms of this act.

Now I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. MONTAGUE. If a man works less than eight hours then he comes under the other provisions of 37½ cents an hour.

Mr. BLACK. That is correct.

Mr. WALSH. I did not hear the remark of the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. BLACK. The gentleman from Virginia asked if it was not true that any Government employee working less than eight hours would come under the hourly compensation for 37½ cents an hour, which is correct.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLACK. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. In what way does the gentleman's amendment differ from the Borland amendment? The gentleman knows what happened to the Borland amendment.

Mr. BLACK. I think if the gentleman from Illinois will pause to consider the two propositions for a moment that he will grasp at once the distinction. The Borland amendment provided that no Government employee should be paid under the particular appropriation unless he worked eight hours a day. I do not make any such provision. The amendment I have offered does not make any flat requirement that eight hours shall be worked, but simply says that the yardstick for measuring shall be eight hours, and therefore if an employee does not work eight hours he will be paid 37½ cents per hour for the time that he does work. That seems absolutely equitable to me, and I do not see how any fair-minded man can oppose it.

Mr. NOLAN. I will tell the House what this yardstick will do. I thought the Borland amendment was disposed of by the President's veto. The gentleman's yardstick would apply to those who come under the provisions of the bill. In other words, the low-paid employee of the District of Columbia who works seven hours would be required to work eight hours to get $3 a day, and those who got beyond $1,080—and they are here by the thousand as compared with the small number of lower-salaried persons—could still work seven hours a day and get their compensation.

Mr. BLACK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes.

Mr. BLACK. Was it not contended by the opponents of the Borland amendment that practically all the Government employees in the District of Columbia now work eight hours a day?

Mr. NOLAN. Oh, no; the gentleman is wrong. It was contended that all of the employees of the District of Columbia were subject to any orders that the department chief might make requiring them to work eight hours a day. All the employees except in mechanical establishments in the District of Columbia work seven hours a day. Your amendment to the minimum-wage bill would make the fellow down below—and I know the gentleman does not want to discriminate between the $1,080 employee and the $1,800 employee——

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. BLACK) there were—ayes 14, noes 65.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment: After the word "military," in line 2, page 2, insert the words "or naval." The purpose of offering that——

Mr. NOLAN. Let me interrupt the gentleman. If that will clarify it any in the opinion of the gentleman, very well. The committee thought that military branch covered both the Army and the Navy. If it makes it any more definite, we have no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 2, line 2, after the word "military," insert the words "or naval."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 2, line 13, after the word "years," insert the words: "*Provided further,* That the provisions of this act shall be operative for and during the period of the existing war."

Mr. MONTAGUE. Mr. Chairman, my reason for offering the amendment is that the bulk of evidence, as I read it in the report, bases the increase of salary on the increase of the cost of living. It is to make the salary or wage commensurate with the cost of living, and the increased cost of living is largely, if not wholly, attributed to the war conditions now prevailing. I think, gentlemen of the committee, it is an unwise policy to make a permanent basis of a war standard or war measurement of wage or wage conditions. It is very unfortunate at this hour and this day that we are asked to fix and project into the future permanent policies; policies for peace but policies arising out of war. We do not know what will occur when this war is over. We do not know what retrenchments, if any, will have to be made; what expenditures will have to be paid. I think it is unwise to travel under present disturbed and abnormal conditions any further than we can see. For that reason I have submitted the amendment for the consideration of the committee. If we deal with the immediate necessities, and they are many, the inexorable exigencies, and they are immeasurably great, confronting us, we will best discharge our duty.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Chairman, if the proposition was one to increase wages based upon war conditions I admit that the gentleman's position would be well taken. However, this minimum-wage law that is proposed is one that can well stand on its merits under any conditions that are likely to exist after this war closes. Of course, we can modify any existing law, the gentleman from Virginia well knows. If at any time modification or change is justified, it can be made. But there is no question, Mr. Chairman, that now we can well enact this minimum-wage law with the expectation that it will be permanent because of

its moderation, because of the fact that it only establishes such a minimum wage as under almost any circumstances ought to exist. Mr. Chairman, we ought to understand that the Government is the largest employer of labor in the world to-day, not only in this country but in the world. We ought to set such standards of justice to the employees of the Government as would not be a disgrace or a reflection upon the Government as an employer.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Will the gentleman permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. TOWNER. Certainly.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I just wanted to make myself clear in that respect to the gentleman from Iowa. It was for that very reason we might establish a just standard that animated my amendment. I fear in a period of this sort we could not reach an approximate continuous standard of justice.

Mr. TOWNER. The gentleman's position is justifiable, and if we were establishing any exaggerated standard I would entirely agree with him, but I am trying to make it clear that it is so reasonable, that the minimum is so small, that under any possible existing condition there is no necessity for now limiting the minimum fixed in the bill to the termination of this war. Now, I was about to say that it is an unfortunate fact that the great corporations are dealing much more justly, much more generously, in many instances with their employees than the Government of the United States is to-day. They are giving to their employees higher wages, better conditions. They are giving to their employees pensions, housing provisions, and profit-sharing privileges that make the Government service not the best service, not the most just to the laboring men and laboring women who are employed by it. And when a proposition of this kind is so moderate in establishing a minimum wage law it seems to me that we would do an injustice to the laboring men of this country, to the laboring men especially who are employed by the Government, if we should place any limitation whatever upon it. For that reason I think the committee ought to vote down the amendment of the gentleman from Virginia.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Virginia.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 2, line 1, after the colon, following the word "hour," insert the following: "*Provided further*, That the minimum compensation of any person employed as a teacher in the schools of the District of Columbia shall be not less than $4 a day with full pay during vacation."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the point of order on the amendment.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, if there is any class of employees in the world who should be paid a decent living wage it is the teachers into whose daily charge is placed the training of our children. I was told by a lady teacher in the District this morning that on last Saturday she was loyal and patriotic enough to resign a position paying her $125 a month to resume her place in the schools yesterday morning at a salary of only $86, and that salary is paid only during the school session and not during vacation. Is there a man in this House, a Member of this Congress, who approves of such unjust, niggardly treatment, who can look a teacher of children in the face and say, "I will permit such a condition to continue to exist. I will permit you trained instructors to continue to draw only $86 a month, and that, too, for only nine months a year," when inexperienced, untrained girls and boys can go into any department of this Government to-day, whether they show any facility for business or not, and draw a salary of at least $83 a month? Why, I have had inexperienced young people from my district come here without any experience in business life whatever and immediately enter the Government employ upon a salary that pays them at least $83 a month. I think it is a shame and a disgrace that we should permit our teachers to be paid such a measly, little, indecent compensation.

Mr. ALMON. If it is a shame and a disgrace to do that in the District of Columbia, is it not a shame and a disgrace to do it in Texas or any other State?

Mr. BLANTON. Yes; it is, and for 20 years in Texas I have been fighting for decent living wages for the teachers of my country.

Mr. REED. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLANTON. I will.

Mr. REED. What days would you apply this $4 to in the year when the teacher labors for five days?

Mr. BLANTON. She is employed by the month; therefore she would get $120 a month as a minimum wage for 12 months in the year; and no one should ask a teacher to watch over, educate, train, and care for our children nine months of each year for a less wage than that. A man can not vote against a proposition like this and look the teachers of the land in the face——

Mr. KEARNS. Is the gentleman sure he has put a correct interpretation upon the language of his amendment? It was $4 for 30 days——

Mr. BLANTON. Because the other provisions of the bill, where there is monthly employment, would make the $4 applicable to the whole 30 days.

Mr. KEARNS. Why not say it, then—a minimum of $120 a month?

Mr. BLANTON. The balance of my amendment makes it clear, during vacation as well.

Mr. KREIDER. I think the gentleman is entirely mistaken. I think, if his amendment would prevail and the wages should be based on that amendment, she would get $80 a month and no more.

Mr. BLANTON. No; she would get $4 per day, by the month, totaling $120 per month, because she is paid by the month.

Mr. KREIDER. This provision says $4 a day. Twenty days constitutes a month for a teacher, and that is $80 a month; and that is all you would get by your amendment.

Mr. BLANTON. My amendment, under the terms of the bill, clearly and distinctly provides for a minimum wage for teachers of $120 per month the year round, vacation and all, and I regret that my time is exhausted.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the gentleman from Texas.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. RAGSDALE: Page 2, line 13, after the word "years," insert "*Provided*, That the provisions of this act shall not apply to any person unless the head of the department in which he or she is employed shall certify that the service they perform is necessary and is being satisfactorily performed."

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Chairman, I only want to take a moment. The civil-service law at this time provides a remedy for the evils the gentleman speaks of. If you want to provide an opportunity for favoritism, put an amendment of this kind into law. I think what you need in the civil service here in the District of Columbia—and I am not speaking of any place else, because I do not know anything about it—is that, instead of bringing more employees here into the District of Columbia as war workers, you have a readjustment and see that they perform a fair day's service around these departments. Then you would accomplish something. I am not looking, as one who favors this bill, to making any sinecures. Any employee that does not perform a decent day's work for the compensation received, whether that compensation be small, intermediate, or large, ought to be discharged. The sooner we have readjustment the better, but do no put a provision in this bill that will cause discrimination and favoritism.

Mr. RAGSDALE. How else can you remedy the condition about which I have spoken than in the manner which I have suggested?

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RAGSDALE].

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. BLANTON. To offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BLANTON offers the following amendment: Page 2, line 1, after the colon, following the word "hour" insert the following: "*Provided further*, That the minimum compensation of any teacher in the schools of the District of Columbia shall not be less than $1,440 per year."

[Cries of "Vote!" "Vote!"]

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, I do not intend to use up any time of the committee except to place the responsibility for this question upon the membership of this House.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Texas.

The question was taken, and the Chair announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. BLANTON. Division, Mr. Chairman.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 4, noes 35.

Mr. BLANTON. I demand tellers, Mr. Chairman.

Tellers were refused.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk concluded the reading of the bill.

Mr. MAHER. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise and report the bill to the House with amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and the bill as amended do pass.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the Chair, Mr. POU, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill (H. R. 152) to fix the compensation of certain employees in the United States, and had directed him to report the same to the House with certain amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

Mr. MAHER. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the bill and amendments to final passage.

The previous question was ordered.

SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE FOR TO-MORROW.

The SPEAKER. The Chair designates Mr. HAMLIN, of Missouri, to preside as Speaker pro tempore for to-morrow.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had agreed to the reports of the committee of conference on the amendments of the House to the bills of the following titles:

S. 4194. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors;

S. 4543. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors; and

S. 4722. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. THOMPSON, indefinitely, on account of making liberty-loan speeches;

To Mr. DOMINICK, for one week, on account of illness in his family;

To Mr. HELVERING, for four days, on account of illness;

To Mr CANNON, for Wednesday, September 25, 1918;

To Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH, indefinitely, on account of assisting in the liberty-loan campaign; and

To Mr. JACOWAY (at the request of Mr. TAYLOR of Arkansas), for three days, on account of important business.

MINIMUM-WAGE BILL.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendments.

Mr. BLANTON rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. BLANTON. To make a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BLANTON. At this time is it in order to make a motion to recommit?

The SPEAKER. No. That comes after the third reading. The question is on agreeing to the amendments.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

Mr. BLANTON rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Texas rise?

Mr. BLANTON. To make a motion to recommit this bill back to the Committee on Labor, with instructions to report it back forthwith with the following amendment: On page 2, line 1, after the colon following the word "hour," insert the following——

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Speaker, I make a point of order.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman from Texas opposed to this bill?

Mr. BLANTON. I am not.

The SPEAKER. Is anybody in the House opposed to it who wants to make a motion to recommit? If not, the Chair will recognize the gentleman from Texas. Now the gentleman can state the instruction.

Mr. BLANTON. With the following amendment: On page 2, line 1, after the colon following the word "hour," insert the following: "*Provided further*, That the compensation of any teacher in the schools of the District of Columbia shall be not less than $1,200 per annum."

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion.

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Speaker, the rules require that a motion to recommit must be reduced to writing.

Mr. BLANTON. I have the amendment already here in writing.

Mr. RAGSDALE. We have not time to wait. I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The rules provide for that, of course.

Mr. BLANTON. I have it here in writing, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RAGSDALE] makes the point of order that there is no quorum present.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw it.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina withdraws his point of order. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BLANTON moves to recommit the bill to the Committee on Labor with instructions to report it back forthwith, with the following amendment: On page 2, line 1, after the colon following the word "hour," insert "*Provided further*, That the minimum compensation of any person employed as a teacher in the schools of the District of Columbia shall be not less than $1,200 per annum."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to recommit.

Mr. MAHER. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to this motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. BLANTON. A division, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas demands a division. Those in favor of the motion to recommit will rise and stand until they are counted. [After counting.] Eighteen Members have risen in the affirmative. Those opposed will rise and stand until they are counted. [After counting.] Eighty-nine gentlemen have risen in the negative.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will wait until the Chair announces the vote. On this vote the ayes are 18 and the noes are 89.

Mr. BLANTON. I make the point of no quorum, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Only 103 gentlemen have risen—not a quorum. There is an automatic call of the House. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absentees, and the Clerk will call the roll. Those in favor of the motion to recommit will, when their names are called, answer "yea;" those opposed will answer "nay."

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 71, nays 200, answered "present" 4, not voting 155, as follows:

YEAS—71.

Ashbrook	Dupré	Kinkaid	Reed
Austin	Dyer	Kreider	Sanders, La.
Bland, Ind.	Eagle	Lazaro	Sells
Blanton	Ellsworth	Little	Siegel
Booher	Estopinal	London	Smith, Mich.
Bowers	Fairchild, B. L.	McAndrews	Smith, T. F.
Carew	Farr	McLaughlin, Mich.	Snook
Carlin	Gallagher	Martin	Swift
Claypool	Goodwin, Ark.	Meeker	Taylor, Colo.
Cleary	Harrison, Va.	Miller, Wash.	Waldow
Cooper, Ohio	Hilliard	Montague	Watson, Va.
Crosser	Holland	Mudd	Williams
Delaney	Hollingsworth	Neely	Wilson, Ill.
Denison	Igoe	Nichols, Mich.	Wilson, La.
Dewalt	James	Parker, N. Y.	Wingo
Dill	Kearns	Ragsdale	Woodyard
Dooling	Kelley, Mich.	Rainey, J. W.	Zihlman
Dunn	Kelly, Pa.	Raker	

NAYS—200.

Alexander	Burroughs	Crago	Fess
Almon	Butler	Curry, Cal.	Fields
Anderson	Byrnes, S. C.	Dallinger	Fisher
Ayres	Byrns, Tenn.	Darrow	Focht
Bankhead	Campbell, Kans.	Decker	Fordney
Barnhart	Campbell, Pa.	Denton	Foster
Beakes	Candler, Miss.	Dillon	Frear
Beshlin	Cannon	Dixon	French
Black	Cantrill	Donovan	Fuller, Ill.
Blackmon	Carter, Mass.	Doolittle	Fuller, Mass.
Borland	Chandler, Okla.	Eagan	Gandy
Brand	Clark, Fla.	Edmonds	Garrett, Tex.
Brodbeck	Classon	Elliott	Glynn
Browne	Coady	Elston	Good
Brumbaugh	Collier	Esch	Gordon
Buchanan	Connelly, Kans.	Evans	Gray, Ala.
Burnett	Cox	Fairfield	Green, Iowa

Gregg	Lonergan	Platt	Stafford
Griest	Longworth	Polk	Steagall
Hadley	Lufkin	Porter	Stedman
Hamilton, Mich.	Lunn	Pou	Steele
Hardy	McArthur	Quin	Steenerson
Harrison, Miss.	McClintic	Ramseyer	Stephens, Miss.
Haskell	McCulloch	Rayburn	Stephens, Nebr.
Hastings	McFadden	Riordan	Sterling, Pa.
Hawley	McKenzie	Robbins	Strong
Hayden	McKeown	Roberts	Sumners
Helm	McLemore	Rodenberg	Taylor, Ark.
Hensley	Madden	Rogers	Temple
Hersey	Magee	Romjue	Tillman
Hicks	Maher	Rose	Timberlake
Houston	Mansfield	Rubey	Tinkham
Huddleston	Mapes	Sabath	Towner
Hull, Iowa	Mason	Sanders, Ind.	Vare
Hull, Tenn.	Mondell	Sanders, N. Y.	Venable
Juul	Moon	Saunders, Va.	Vestal
Kahn	Moores, Ind.	Schall	Voigt
Keating	Morgan	Scott, Mich.	Volstead
Kehoe	Morin	Sears	Walsh
Kennedy, Iowa	Nelson	Shallenberger	Wason
Key, Ohio	Nicholls, S. C.	Sherley	Watkins
Kincheloe	Nolan	Shouse	Weaver
King	Norton	Sims	Welty
Kitchin	Oldfield	Sinnott	Whaley
Knutson	Oliver, Ala.	Sisson	Wheeler
Kraus	Osborne	Slemp	Wilson, Tex.
Larsen	Overmyer	Sloan	Winslow
Lee, Ga.	Overstreet	Smith, Idaho	Wood, Ind.
Lesher	Padgett	Smith, C. B.	Young, N. Dak.
Lobeck	Park	Snell	Young, Tex.

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—4.

Dowell	Garner	Garrett, Tenn.	Greene, Vt.

NOT VOTING—155.

Anthony	Flood	Kettner	Rowland
Aswell	Flynn	Kiess, Pa.	Rucker
Bacharach	Foss	La Follette	Russell
Baer	Francis	LaGuardia	Sanford
Barkley	Freeman	Langley	Scott, Iowa
Bell	Gallivan	Lea, Cal.	Scott, Pa.
Bland, Va.	Gard	Lehlbach	Scully
Britten	Garland	Lever	Shackleford
Browning	Gillett	Linthicum	Sherwood
Caldwell	Glass	Littlepage	Slayden
Caraway	Godwin, N. C.	Lundeen	Small
Carter, Okla.	Goodall	McCormick	Snyder
Cary	Gould	McKinley	Sterling, Ill.
Chandler, N. Y.	Graham, Ill.	McLaughlin, Pa.	Stevenson
Church	Graham, Pa.	Mann	Stiness
Clark, Fla.	Gray, N. J.	Mays	Sullivan
Connally, Tex.	Greene, Mass.	Merritt	Sweet
Cooper, W. Va.	Griffin	Miller, Minn.	Switzer
Cooper, Wis.	Hamill	Moore, Pa.	Tague
Copley	Hamilton, N. Y.	Mott	Talbott
Costello	Hamlin	Oliver, N. Y.	Templeton
Cramton	Haugen	Olney	Thomas
Crisp	Hayes	O'Shaunessy	Thompson
Currie, Mich.	Heaton	Paige	Tilson
Dale, N. Y.	Heflin	Parker, N. J.	Treadway
Dale, Vt.	Heintz	Peters	Van Dyke
Davis	Helvering	Phelan	Vinson
Dempsey	Hood	Powers	Walker
Dent	Howard	Pratt	Walton
Dickinson	Humphreys	Price	Ward
Dies	Husted	Purnell	Watson, Pa.
Dominick	Hutchinson	Rainey, H. T.	Webb
Doremus	Ireland	Ramsey	Welling
Doughton	Jacoway	Randall	White, Me.
Drane	Johnson, Ky.	Rankin	White, Ohio
Drukker	Johnson, S. Dak.	Reavis	Wise
Emerson	Johnson, Wash.	Robinson	Woods, Iowa
Fairchild, G. W.	Jones	Rouse	Wright
Ferris	Kennedy, R. I.	Rowe	

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The following pairs were announced:

Until further notice:

Mr. GALLIVAN with Mr. GOULD.

Mr. ASWELL with Mr. DAVIS.

Mr. KETTNER with Mr. IRELAND.

Mr. DOUGHTON with Mr. HAYES.

Mr. HAMILL with Mr. MCKINLEY.

Mr. SULLIVAN with Mr. TINKHAM.

Mr. BLAND of Virginia with Mr. HEATON.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE with Mr. COOPER of West Virginia.

Mr. TALBOTT with Mr. BROWNING.

Mr. VAN DYKE with Mr. PURNELL.

Mr. SLAYDEN with Mr. LANGLEY.

Mr. RANDALL with Mr. FOSS.

Mr. BELL with Mr. COPLEY.

Mr. TAGUE with Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island.

Mr. OLIVER with Mr. SWITZER.

Mr. DALE of New York with Mr. BRITTEN.

Mr. VINSON with Mr. MOTT.

Mr. LEA of California with Mr. GRAY of New Jersey.

Mr. FERRIS with Mr. DALE of Vermont.

Mr. ROBINSON with Mr. STINESS.

Mr. SCULLY with Miss RANKIN.

Mr. LINTHICUM with Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania.

Mr. HUMPHREYS with Mr. WHITE of Maine.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY with Mr. BACHARACH.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee with Mr. REAVIS.

Mr. JACOWAY with Mr. GRIEST.

Mr. CALDWELL with Mr. GEORGE W. FAIRCHILD.

Mr. PHELAN with Mr. DOWELL.

Mr. ROUSE with Mr. STERLING of Illinois.

Mr. SHERWOOD with Mr. HUTCHINSON.

Mr. THOMAS with Mr. SANFORD.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma with Mr. WARD.

Mr. THOMPSON with Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois.

Mr. STEVENSON with Mr. SNYDER.

Mr. PAIGE with Mr. GREENE of Vermont.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I voted "nay" on the motion to recommit, but I am paired on the bill with the gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. REAVIS. I do not know how he would vote on the motion to recommit, and I think perhaps I ought to withdraw my vote and answer "present."

The Clerk called the name of Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee, and he answered "Present," as above recorded.

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

A quorum being present, the doors were opened.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. MAHER and Mr. NOLAN demanded the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 252, nays 16, answered "present" 6, not voting 156, as follows:

YEAS—252.

Alexander	Edmonds	Lazaro	Rose
Almon	Elliott	Lee, Ga.	Rubey
Anderson	Ellsworth	Lesher	Sabath
Ashbrook	Esch	Little	Sanders, Ind.
Austin	Estopinal	Lobeck	Sanders, La.
Ayres	Evans	London	Sanders, N. Y.
Bankhead	Fairchild, B. L.	Lonergan	Schall
Barnhart	Fairfield	Longworth	Scott, Mich.
Beakes	Farr	Lufkin	Sears
Beshlin	Fess	Lunn	Sells
Blackmon	Fields	McAndrews	Shallenberger
Bland, Ind.	Fisher	McArthur	Sherley
Blanton	Foster	McClintic	Siegel
Booher	Frear	McCulloch	Sims
Borland	French	McFadden	Sinnott
Bowers	Fuller, Ill.	McKenzie	Slemp
Brand	Fuller, Mass.	McKeown	Sloan
Brodbeck	Gallagher	McLaughlin, Mich.	Smith, Idaho
Browne	Gandy	McLemore	Smith, Mich.
Brumbaugh	Garland	Magee	Smith, C. B.
Burnett	Garrett, Tex.	Maher	Smith, T. F.
Burroughs	Glynn	Mansfield	Snell
Butler	Good	Mapes	Snook
Byrns, Tenn.	Goodwin, Ark.	Martin	Stafford
Campbell, Kans.	Gray, Ala.	Mason	Stedman
Campbell, Pa.	Green, Iowa	Meeker	Steele
Cannon	Gregg	Miller, Minn.	Stephens, Nebr.
Cantrill	Griest	Miller, Wash.	Sterling, Pa.
Carew	Hadley	Mondell	Strong
Carlin	Hardy	Montague	Sumners
Carter, Mass.	Harrison, Miss.	Moon	Swift
Chandler, N. Y.	Harrison, Va.	Moores, Ind.	Taylor, Ark.
Chandler, Okla.	Haskell	Morgan	Taylor, Colo.
Clark, Pa.	Hastings	Morin	Temple
Classon	Hawley	Mudd	Tillman
Claypool	Hayden	Neely	Timberlake
Cleary	Hensley	Nelson	Tinkham
Coady	Hersey	Nichols, Mich.	Towner
Connelly, Kans.	Hicks	Nolan	Vare
Cooper, Ohio	Hilliard	Norton	Venable
Cox	Holland	Oldfield	Vestal
Crago	Hollingsworth	Osborne	Voigt
Crosser	Huddleston	Overmyer	Volstead
Curry, Cal.	Hull, Iowa	Overstreet	Waldow
Dallinger	Hull, Tenn.	Padgett	Walsh
Darrow	Igoe	Park	Wason
Decker	James	Parker, N. Y.	Watkins
Delaney	Juul	Platt	Watson, Va.
Denison	Kahn	Polk	Weaver
Denton	Kearns	Porter	Welty
Dewalt	Keating	Pou	Whaley
Dill	Kehoe	Price	Wheeler
Dillon	Kelley, Mich.	Rainey, J. W.	Williams
Dixon	Kelly, Pa.	Raker	Wilson, Ill.
Donovan	Kennedy, Iowa	Ramsey	Wilson, La.
Dooling	Key, Ohio	Ramseyer	Wilson, Tex.
Doolittle	King	Reed	Wingo
Dowell	Kinkaid	Riordan	Winslow
Dunn	Kitchin	Robbins	Wood, Ind.
Dupré	Knutson	Roberts	Woodyard
Dyer	Kraus	Rodenberg	Wright
Eagan	Kreider	Rogers	Young, N. Dak.
Eagle	Larsen	Romjue	Zihlman

NAYS—16.

Black	Gordon	Nicholls, S. C.	Saunders, Va.
Byrnes, S. C.	Helm	Oliver, Ala.	Sisson
Candler, Miss.	Houston	Quin	Steagall
Collier	Kincheloe	Rayburn	Young, Tex.

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—6.

Garner	Greene, Vt.	Ireland	Ragsdale
Garrett, Tenn.	Hamilton, Mich.		

NOT VOTING—156.

Anthony	Ferris	Kennedy, R. I.	Rucker
Aswell	Flood	Kettner	Russell
Bacharach	Flynn	Kiess, Pa.	Sanford
Baer	Focht	La Follette	Scott, Iowa
Barkley	Fordney	LaGuardia	Scott, Pa.
Bell	Foss	Langley	Scully
Bland, Va.	Francis	Lea, Cal.	Shackleford
Britten	Freeman	Lehlbach	Sherwood
Browning	Gallivan	Lever	Shouse
Buchanan	Gard	Linthicum	Slayden
Caldwell	Gillett	Littlepage	Small
Carnway	Glass	Lundeen	Snyder
Carter, Okla.	Godwin, N. C.	McCormick	Steenerson
Cary	Goodall	McKinley	Stephens, Miss.
Church	Gould	McLaughlin, Pa.	Sterling, Ill.
Clark, Fla.	Graham, Ill.	Madden	Stevenson
Connally, Tex.	Graham, Pa.	Mann	Stiness
Cooper, W. Va.	Gray, N. J.	Mays	Sullivan
Cooper, Wis.	Greene, Mass.	Merritt	Sweet
Copley	Griffin	Moore, Pa.	Switzer
Costello	Hamill	Mott	Tague
Cramton	Hamilton, N. Y.	Oliver, N. Y.	Talbott
Crisp	Hamlin	Olney	Templeton
Currie, Mich.	Haugen	O'Shaunessy	Thomas
Dale, N. Y.	Hayes	Paige	Thompson
Dale, Vt.	Heaton	Parker, N. J.	Tilson
Davis	Heflin	Peters	Treadway
Dempsey	Heintz	Phelan	Van Dyke
Dent	Helvering	Powers	Vinson
Dickinson	Hood	Pratt	Walker
Dies	Howard	Purnell	Walton
Dominick	Humphreys	Rainey, H. T.	Ward
Doremus	Husted	Randall	Watson, Pa.
Doughton	Hutchinson	Rankin	Webb
Drane	Jacoway	Reavis	Welling
Drukker	Johnson, Ky.	Robinson	White, Me.
Elston	Johnson, S. Dak.	Rouse	White, Ohio
Emerson	Johnson, Wash.	Rowe	Wise
Fairchild, G. W.	Jones	Rowland	Woods, Iowa

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following additional pairs:

Until further notice:

Mr. HOWARD with Mr. PAIGE.

Mr. GODWIN of North Carolina with Mr. ELSTON.

On this vote:

Mr. PAIGE (for) with Mr. GREENE of Vermont (against).

Mr. PHELAN (for) with Mr. RAGSDALE (against).

Mr. SCULLY (for) with Mr. WEBB (against).

Mr. TREADWAY (for) with Mr. GARNER (against).

Mr. IRELAND. Mr. Speaker, I have a general pair with my colleague, Mr. KETTNER, and I wish to withdraw my vote of "yea" and answer "present."

Mr. IRELAND's name was called, and he answered "Present."

Mr. LUFKIN. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues, Mr. TREADWAY and Mr. GALLIVAN, of Massachusetts, are detained in Massachusetts. If they were here, they would vote "yea."

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make the same announcement on behalf of Mr. OLNEY, who is unavoidably absent.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Mr. Speaker, I was recorded as voting "yea." I am paired with Mr. PHELAN, of Massachusetts. I wish to withdraw my vote and answer "present." If Mr. PHELAN were present, he would vote "yea," and I would vote "nay."

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I desire to vote.

The SPEAKER. Was the gentleman in the Hall listening?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I was making a desperate effort. I got here just at the edge; I was just in and just out, and I was making a desperate effort to get here. That is the truth about it. I was not clear in, I want to say.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can not vote except "present."

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I will vote "present."

The name of Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan was called, and he answered "Present."

Mr. NEELY. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, Mr. LITTLEPAGE, is unavoidably absent and he asked me to say that if he were present he would vote "yea" on this vote.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say that Mr. SCULLY and Mr. HAMILL, of New Jersey, are away attending the primary election in that State to-day and send word that if they were present they would vote "yea" on the passage of this bill.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

On motion of Mr. NOLAN, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. JOHN W. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks on this bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. JOHN W. RAINEY] asks unanimous consent to revise and extend his remarks on this bill. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with business in order on to-morrow, Calendar Wednesday.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to do away with Calendar Wednesday business for to-morrow. Is there objection?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Reserving the right to object, may I inquire what business it is expected will come up?

Mr. KITCHIN. We want to consider the bill that the Post Office Committee has reported with respect to telephone and telegraph lines. Then there is the bill from the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, one on which there has been reported a rule. Then they desire to go into, as soon as possible, the rule to take up the consideration of the Sims emergency power bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Reserving the right to object, may I make a further inquiry of the gentleman? In view of the fact that so many are desirous of leaving, can the gentleman inform us what the program is for the next week or two?

Mr. KITCHIN. We hope to get through with these bills, and we hope we can get a gentlemen's recess agrement after we finish them; and we can finish them this week, and so have unanimous consents on next Monday. Then, I think, we will be in a position to consider a gentlemen's agreement for three-day recesses until the Senate is ready to pass on the revenue bill.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Is it contemplated in the program of legislation to take up for consideration the bill that has been reported by the Committee on the Judiciary to amend the espionage act?

Mr. KITCHIN. I have not heard of that.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. I will say to the gentleman that I am very much interested in that. I think it is a very serious piece of legislation and one that the House ought to seriously consider if it takes it up at all.

Mr. KITCHIN. That has not been called to my attention, and I had not that in contemplation. Of course we could not make a gentlemen's agreement recess except by unanimous consent of the House.

Mr. MAGEE. I would like to ask the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] if we could not have a day for the consideration of bills on the Private Calendar?

Mr. KITCHIN. If we could get through with these bills this week, we could.

Mr. MAGEE. How can we tell anything about it?

Mr. MADDEN. Stay here and watch it.

Mr. KITCHIN. The reason we want to dispense with Calendar Wednesday is to go on with these bills and get them passed as early as possible, so that we can get away.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman permit?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. STAFFORD. I think the aim of the leader of the majority was, when he presented the revenue bill, to get that bill out of the way and then take up for consideration the bills that were to be reported under the rule of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU] and then conclude business at once.

Mr. KITCHIN. We want to do that and then try to arrange a gentlemen's agreement, but if every man is interested in a bill and wants it passed before we take a recess, we can not get a gentlemen's agreement.

Mr. MADDEN. You can not have a gentlemen's agreement, if I may be permitted to inject a remark, until you pass the appropriation bill that is pending. [Cries of "Regular order!"]

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that next Monday is not Unanimous-Consent Calendar day and for suspension of the rules. It is the fifth Monday.

Mr. KITCHIN. My thought was we might get unanimous consent.

The SPEAKER. If you get it, it is all right.

Mr. RAGSDALE. I am going to object to Unanimous-Consent day here until a bill now pending before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce is considered by the House that gives relief, to which they are entitled, to men who are injured

by the railroads. Under the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury and Director General of the Railroads, and sundry other titles which he has, that gentleman has issued a rule, and I do not know what he draws from, that men may not collect judgments when passed upon favorably by courts of final resort in this country, until he has approved them. There is a bill which has been introduced here by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. STEVENSON] that seeks to correct that.

Mr. MADDEN. Is he superior to the courts?

Mr. RAGSDALE. Under the rule he has made I understand he reserves the right to himself to review any of the cases that have been passed upon by courts of final jurisdiction and to determine whether or not he will pay these judgments even when they are passed upon by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. MADDEN. Who does this?

Mr. RAGSDALE. The Director General of the Railroads.

Mr. KITCHIN. I am now asking to dispense with Calendar Wednesday.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] asks unanimous consent to dispense with Calendar Wednesday business for to-morrow. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules I offer the following rule——

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin raise the point of no quorum?

Mr. STAFFORD. I do.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 8 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, September 25, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a tentative draft of legislation to provide suitable additional hospital and sanatorium facilities for the care and treatment of soldiers and sailors and others entitled to treatment by the Public Health Service (H. Doc. No. 1294); to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Acting Secretary of War submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation required by the War Department for contingencies of the Army, fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1295); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

3. Letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Public Printer, submitting additional estimates of appropriation, required by the Public Printer for public printing and binding, and for leaves of absence, Government Printing Office, 1918 (H. Doc. No. 1296); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. DEWALT, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill (S. 4871) to authorize the Philadelphia, Harrisburg & Pittsburgh Railroad Co., its lessees, successors, and assigns to construct a bridge across the Susquehanna River, from the city of Harrisburg, Dauphin County, Pa., to the Borough of Lemoyne, Cumberland County, Pa., reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 804), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. PADGETT, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 12982) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a large dry dock and appurtenant lands, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 810), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. COOPER of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 12995) granting the consent of Congress to the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a combined bridge and dam across the Mahoning River, in the State of Ohio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12996) granting the consent of Congress to the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Mahoning River, in the State of Ohio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12997) granting the consent of Congress to the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Mahoning River, in the State of Ohio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 12998) to amend section 3528 of the Revised Statutes; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BARNHART: A bill (H. R. 12999) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Thomas Newton Swearingen, and to grant him an honorable discharge; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COADY: A bill (H. R. 13000) granting a pension to Emma Hall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HENSLEY: A bill (H. R. 13001) granting an increase of pension to Joseph R. McKeever; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. A bill (H. R. 13002) granting an increase of pension to Charles O. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DENTON: A resolution (H. Res. 436) to pay to W. Ray Loomis extra compensation for compiling the Weekly Compendium and Monthly Compendium; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. CANTRILL: A resolution (H. Res. 437) providing for the consideration of H. R. 12917; to the Committee on Rules.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. CAREW: Resolution of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, concerning the housing problem; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: Petition of the Federal Guards Relief Association for increase of pay; to the Committee on Labor.

Also, petition of the National Women's Trade-Union League, for the Nolan minimum-wage bill (H. R. 152); to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. RAKER: Letter of Frank Morrison, secretary American Federation of Labor, urging the passage of House bill 152; to the Committee on Labor.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, *September 25, 1918.*

The House was called to order at 12 o'clock noon by Mr. HAMLIN as Speaker pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

We thank Thee, our Father in heaven, that the great war in which we are engaged is not a war of one man nor of any set of men, but is preeminently a war of the people, in which sectionalism, sectarianism, and party affiliations have been reduced to the lowest minimum; lost in the higher and purer principles of patriotism, in which the people are ready and willing to sacrifice means and men to secure liberty and human rights for all men and for all nations, great or small, that militarism and autocracy shall be swept from the face of the earth, to Thy glory and to the good of all men.

We thank Thee for the signal success of our arms, and those of our allies, east, west, north, and south.

Continue, we beseech Thee, to favor liberty, truth, and justice. In His Name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

LETTER FROM AN AMERICAN SOLDIER IN FRANCE.

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Indiana asks unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to send to the Clerk's desk, to be read in my time, a letter received this morning from one of the brave boys who are now fighting in France.

Mr. GARNER. What is the request, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Indiana asks unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes, with the request, which was granted, to have a letter read at the desk in his time. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

AMERICAN RED CROSS,
Convalescent Camp, August 24, 1918.

Hon. RICHARD ELLIOTT.

DEAR FRIEND: I suppose you think I am slow in writing to you as I promised when in your office along about the 21st of April. If you will remember, I am the marine that you wrote the will for on that date, for which I am very grateful. I hope I can some day fully repay you for this kindness.

A few hours after my visit to your office I was on my way to a port here in France. I wasn't here but a short time until I got my first introduction to the Fritzies. We gave a good account of ourselves, as I guess you read in the papers along about the first part of June. They brought up the Prussians (the picked troops of Germany), but they all looked the same to us. What was left of the Huns in this sector had to say "the marines are some fighters." They call us "devil dogs." It was but a short time after I got at the front that I realized this game was a man's job, but the Americans have proven they are equal to the occasion. The day of the Germans starting or taking the offensive is a thing of the past.

Along the middle of June I got some of the poison gas, which has kept me from the front ever since. At present I am getting along fine. My eyes bother me some, but I think they will soon be all right and that I will soon be allowed to return for another crack at them. I don't think they will put over much gas any way soon, unless they invent some device to shoot from their backs, as they are constantly on the retreat.

I read an American-printed paper every night. The way the people over in the States are buying liberty loans, thrift stamps, assisting the Red Cross, and doing everything possible to prosecute this war to a successful conclusion certainly makes us boys feel good. We know they are all in back of us. I have had a lot of wonderful experiences since here that I hope I will have the opportunity of telling to you some day.

I must close for this time. With best wishes, I am,

Yours, respectfully,

PVT. THOS. H. FELTZ,
Ninety-sixth Company, Sixth Marines,
Convalescent Camp, Hospital Center,
A. P. O. 785, Allerey (S.-et-L.),
American Expeditionary Force.

O. K.

JACK ALLAN,
Lieutenant, Seventh Infantry.

[Applause.]

MINERALS AND METALS FOR WAR PURPOSES—CONFERENCE REPORT (NO. 803).

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill H. R. 11259, respecting minerals and metals for war purposes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Conference report on the bill (H. R. 11259) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of those ores, metals, and minerals which have formerly been largely imported, or of which there is or may be an inadequate supply.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the conference report be read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois asks that the conference report be read. The Clerk will proceed to read the report.

The conference report was read, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11259) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of those ores, metals, and minerals which have formerly been largely imported, or of which there is or may be an inadequate supply, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate, and agree to the same, with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by the Senate insert the following:

"That by reason of the existence of a state of war, it is essential to the national security and defense, and to the successful prosecution of the war, and for the support and maintenance of the Army and Navy, to provide for an adequate and increased supply, to facilitate the production, and to provide for an equitable, economical, and better distribution of the following-named mineral substances and ores, minerals, intermediate metallurgical products, metals, alloys, and chemical compounds thereof, to wit: Antimony, arsenic, ball clay, bismuth, bromine, cerium, chalk, chromium, cobalt, corundum emery, fluorspar, ferrosilicon, fullers' earth, graphite, grinding pebbles, iridium, kaolin, magnesite, manganese, mercury, mica, molybdenum, osmium, sodium, platinum, palladium, paper clay, phosphorus, potassium, pyrites, radium, sulphur, thorium, tin, titanium, tungsten, uranium, vanadium, and zirconium, as the President may, from time to time, determine to be necessary for the purposes aforesaid, and as to which there is at the time of such determination, a present or prospective inadequacy of supply. The aforesaid substances mentioned in any such determination are hereinafter referred to as necessaries.

"SEC. 2. That the President is authorized from time to time to purchase such necessaries and to enter into, to accept, to transfer, and to assign contracts for the production or purchase of same, to provide storage facilities for and store the same, to provide or improve transportation facilities, and to use, distribute, or allocate said necessaries, or to sell the same at reasonable prices, but such sales made during the war shall not be at a price less than the purchase or cost of production thereof: *Provided*, That no such contract of purchase shall cover a period longer than two years after the termination of the war.

"The President is further authorized, upon finding that importation into the United States of any of the necessaries covered by this act is likely to result in a loss to the United States on any necessaries which it may have acquired hereunder, to ascertain, fix, and proclaim such rate of duty upon such imported necessaries as shall be sufficient to adequately protect the United States from any such loss.

"The funds provided by section 6 hereof shall be used in carrying out the powers granted by this section, and all moneys received by the United States from or in connection with the disposal of such necessaries, shall be used as a revolving fund for further carrying out the purposes of this act. Any balance of such moneys remaining when the object of this act has been accomplished, shall, as collected, received, and on hand and available, be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

"SEC. 3. That the President is authorized to requisition and take over any of said necessaries and to use, distribute, allocate, or sell the same; and also to requisition and take over any undeveloped or insufficiently developed or operated idle land, deposit, or mine, and any idle or partially operated smelter, or plant, or part thereof, producing or, in his judgment, capable of producing said necessaries, or either of them, and to develop and operate such mine or deposit or such smelter or plant, either through the agencies hereinafter mentioned, or under lease or royalty agreement, or in any other manner, and to store, use, distribute, allocate, or sell the products thereof: *Provided*, That no ores or metals, the principal money value of which consists in metals or minerals other than those specifically enumerated in section 1 hereof, shall be subject to requisition under the provisions of this act. Whenever the President shall determine that the further use or operation by the Government of any such land, deposit, mine, smelter, or plant, or part thereof, so acquired, is no longer essential for the objects aforesaid, the same shall be returned to the person, firm, or corporation entitled thereto. The United States shall make just compensation, determined by the President, for the taking over, use, occupation, or operation by the Government of any such necessaries, or any such land, deposit, mine, smelter, or plant, or part thereof. If the compensation so determined be unsatisfactory to the person, firm, or corporation entitled thereto, such person, firm, or corporation shall be paid 75 per cent of the amount so determined and shall be entitled to sue the United States to recover such further sum as added to said 75 per cent will make up such amount as will be just compensation, in the manner provided by section 24, paragraph 20, and section 145, of the Judicial Code.

"The President is authorized to require statements and reports, to examine books and papers, and to prescribe such rules and regulations as he may deem appropriate for carrying out the purposes of this act. The fund provided by section 6 hereof may be used in carrying out the purposes of this act, and all moneys received by the United States from or in connection with the use, operation, or disposal of any such necessaries, land, deposit, mine, smelter, or plant, or part thereof, shall be used as a revolving fund for further carrying out the purposes of this act. Any balance of such moneys remaining when the

objects of this act have been accomplished shall, as collected, received, and on hand and available, be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

"SEC. 4. That any person who shall neglect or refuse to comply with any order or requisition made by the President pursuant to the provisions of this act, or who shall obstruct or attempt to obstruct the enforcement of or the compliance with any such requisition or order, or who shall violate any of the provisions of this act, or any rule or regulation adopted hereunder, shall, upon conviction, be fined not exceeding $5,000 or be imprisoned for not more than two years, or both.

"SEC. 5. That the sum of $500,000 is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be available until June 30, 1919, for the payment of all administrative expenses under this act, including personal services, traveling and subsistence expenses, the payment of rent, the purchase of equipment, supplies, postage, printing, publications, and such other articles, both in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, as the President may deem essential and proper.

"SEC. 6. That the sum of $50,000,000 is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, which, together with all moneys received from time to time under the provisions of this act, all of which shall be credited to said appropriation, shall be used as a revolving fund for carrying out the objects of this act, and for the purpose of making all payments and disbursements, including just compensation under section 3, by this act authorized: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the purposes described in the last preceding section: *Provided further*, That a detailed report of all operations under this act, including all receipts and disbursements, shall be filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House of Representatives on or before the 25th day of each month, covering the preceding month's operation. Any balance of said revolving fund remaining when the objects of this act have been accomplished, shall, as collected, received, and on hand and available, be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

"SEC. 7. That the President is authorized to exercise each, every, or any power and authority hereby vested in him, and to expend the moneys herein appropriated or provided for, or any part or parts thereof, by and through such officer or officers, department or departments, board or boards, agent, agents, or agencies as he shall create or designate from time to time for this purpose. He may fix the reasonable compensation for the performance of such services, but no official or employee of the United States shall receive any additional compensation for such services except as now permitted by law: *Provided*, That no person employed under the provisions of this act shall be paid any salary or compensation in excess of that paid for similar or like services rendered in executive departments of the Government.

"SEC. 8. No person having a pecuniary interest in any transaction in pursuance of this act shall have any official connection under this act with such transaction. Any person violating this provision shall forfeit to the Government all proceeds which he shall have received from such transaction, and upon due conviction of such violation shall be fined not exceeding $10,000 or imprisoned not exceeding 10 years.

"SEC. 9. That the President is authorized, if in his judgment such action be necessary or useful for the objects of this act, to form one or more corporations under the laws of any State, Territory, District, or possession of the United States, for the purpose of carrying out the powers or any of the powers hereby authorized. The capital stock of any such corporation shall be such as the President may determine, but the total capital stock for all corporations so formed shall not exceed in the aggregate the appropriation of $50,000,000, made by section 6 hereof. Said appropriation, or any part thereof, may be used by the President in subscribing on behalf of the United States, through such person or persons as he may designate, to the capital stock of such corporation or corporations, and the capital and assets of any such corporation or corporations, together with all additions thereto under sections 2 and 3 hereof, may be used in carrying out the objects of this act. The directorate and organization of such corporation or corporations shall be such as the President may prescribe, and such corporation or corporations shall have all such charter powers as may be deemed necessary or desirable by the President to enable it or them to accomplish the objects of this act. The capital stock of any such corporation or corporations shall be held and voted for the exclusive benefit of the United States, through such person or persons as the President may designate.

"SEC. 10. Upon the proclamation of peace the President shall proceed as rapidly as possible to wind up and terminate all transactions under this act, and to dispose as fast as practicable of all property acquired thereunder, and after said proclamation of peace no contracts shall be made, property acquired, or other transaction performed under this act except such as shall be necessary for the purpose of this section and incidental thereto, and two years after such proclamation of peace this act shall cease to have effect and all powers conferred thereby shall end: *Provided*, That the termination of this act shall not prevent the subsequent collection of any moneys due the United States, nor shall it affect any act done or any right or obligation accrued or accruing or any suit or proceeding had or commenced before such termination, but all such collections, rights, obligations, suits, and proceedings shall continue as if this act had not terminated, and any offense committed or liability incurred prior thereto shall be prosecuted in the same manner and with the same punishment and effect as if this act had not terminated.

"SEC. 11. That employment under the provisions of this act shall not exempt any person from military service under the provisions of the selective draft law approved May 18, 1917, or any act amendatory thereto.

"SEC. 12. That if any action or provision of this act shall be declared invalid for any reason whatsoever such invalidity shall not be construed to affect the validity of any other section or provision hereof."

And the Senate agree to the same.

M. D. FOSTER,
EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
M. M. GARLAND,
Managers on the part of the House.
CHARLES B. HENDERSON,
T. J. WALSH,
MILES POINDEXTER,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT.

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on amendment of the Senate to H. R. 11259, providing for the control of ores, metals, and minerals which have formerly been imported or of which there is or may be an inadequate supply, submit the following statement in explanation of the action taken by the conference committee, we respectfully submit the following report as to the action of the managers on the part of the House:

The Senate struck out all the House bill and agreed to an entire amendment providing much the same as the House bill but in different language.

The Senate amendment as to the ores, metals, and minerals to be included was the same as in the House, except the Senate struck out "sea salt" and inserted "sodium"; this includes all the compounds of sodium, of which sea salt is one.

The Senate amendment also accomplished the same purpose as the House bill by making it shorter in many of its provisions. The main difference between the House and Senate bills is the Senate authorized the President to form one or more corporations for the purpose of buying and selling these necessaries. This does not require the President to form these corporations, but only gives him the power to do so if he thinks best. The other important difference between the House and Senate was that in the House bill it provided for the fixing of minimum prices. The Senate would not agree to such a provision, and it was stricken out, but did provide that the Government may contract for these necessaries and at prices agreed upon; also that these necessaries can be requisitioned, bought, sold, and allocated.

Another important provision agreed to in conference is that it restores the amount to be appropriated as a revolving fund to buy and sell these necessaries. Fifty million dollars was provided in the House bill as reported out from the committee; this was reduced to $10,000,000 by the House. It is believed by the conferees that if the Government is to buy and sell these metals and minerals, the amount of $50,000,000 would not be too much. This appropriation of $50,000,000 is a revolving fund, and when the war closes this money goes back to the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts and can not be used for any other purposes.

An amendment agreed to by the conferees provides that during the war these necessary minerals must be sold for not less than cost of purchase or production, but it does not apply after the war closes as there may be some of these minerals still in the hands of the Government, and it might be advisable to sell them at less than cost in order to close up the business, and it might be economy to take less than cost rather than conduct the business indefinitely.

These are the main differences as pointed out between the two bills.

Your conferees believe that with these changes practically the same purpose is accomplished in the amendment as printed in the conference report as was provided in the House bill.

M. D. FOSTER,
EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
M. M. GARLAND,
Managers on the part of the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for one hour.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, this bill passed the House and went to the Senate, where the Senate struck out all of the House bill and proposed another bill, which was shorter, and while in many of its sections it has the same effect, yet in some respects there has been a radical change.

For instance, the Senate bill provides that this work shall be under the direction of the President. The House bill provided that it should be done under the Secretary of the Interior, and that the Bureau of Mines should act as the agent of the Secretary of the Interior.

Now, the Senate bill also provides that the President may form one or more corporations——

Mr. MONDELL. Before the gentleman leaves that particular point, will he yield for one moment?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. While the House bill has been very radically modified in the respect that the gentleman has just mentioned, I assume that in any event operations under the law will be carried out through the Secretary of the Interior and through the Bureau of Mines under the Secretary?

Mr. FOSTER. I think and hope that will be the case.

Mr. MONDELL. Unless these corporations which the gentleman proposes to discuss shall take the work over?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes. In that case there would be some one in charge of the corporation under which the law would be administered.

Mr. MONDELL. It would seem logical and proper, however, that these operations should be carried on through the Interior Department and the Bureau of Mines in the main, would it not?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes. That would be my judgment. Yet I could not answer as to what the President would do.

Mr. MONDELL. Nothing has developed to indicate any opposition anywhere to the conduct of these operations and the administration of this law by the Secretary of the Interior and the Bureau of Mines?

Mr. FOSTER. No. Everything indicates that that would be done. I think under the Overman Act it is possible for the President to do that anyhow. Congress has given him the power in reference to these matters, and then it is provided that if the President desires to do so and thinks best he can place this work under some other department.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman, when I interrupted him, was about to discuss the question of these corporations. What was the argument presented to the conferees indicating the advisability of having such corporations?

Mr. FOSTER. I understand the President insisted very strongly that in the administration of this law it might be necessary to form these corporations—not that he was going to do it, but that if he thought it necessary to do so he should be given that power. And for that reason it was put in in the Senate, under the belief that there might come a time when it would be necessary to form these corporations, one or more, and have them transact the business of such buying and selling as might be necessary.

Mr. MONDELL. The bill as it left the House carried $10,000,000. The conferees agreed upon an appropriation of $50,000,000. That is quite a considerable boost, even in these days of large expenditures.

Mr. FOSTER. It is. I will say to the gentleman that when the House committee considered this bill they were convinced that the law could not properly be administered under it unless they had sufficient money. This is a revolving fund, you will understand, which can not be used for any purpose except to buy and sell these necessaries. The amount was reduced in the House to $10,000,000.

Mr. MADDEN. Does it authorize the development of new mines?

Mr. FOSTER. It authorizes the development of mines now undeveloped or insufficiently developed.

Mr. MADDEN. So that this could be used for wildcat investigations?

Mr. FOSTER. No. If there is an undeveloped mine and they know there is a substance there that the Government could get and needs, it could be developed. It was thought best that that should be done.

Mr. MONDELL. Under the provisions of the bill, as the conferees agreed upon it, an operation could be undertaken which would be in the nature of developing an entirely undeveloped property?

Mr. FOSTER. An undeveloped property.

Mr. MONDELL. If property was found that was not opened up it could be opened and developed.

Mr. FOSTER. And the committees, both of the Senate and the House, believe that they should have the right if there was a mineral in a mine that was not developed to develop it and get it out for use in time of war.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. Certainly.

Mr. MADDEN. Is there any provision that requires a corporation that may be organized to ascertain before any money is invested in land that the mineral they seek may be found there?

Mr. FOSTER. No; it is not in the bill, but it is to be taken that the Government would not go out wildcatting. It is only those mines where it is known that there are minerals necessary for war purposes. We have to leave some latitude, and we could not say how much or how little.

Mr. MADDEN. There should be a certainty that certain minerals are to be found in the locality.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; but no sane man would go out and undertake to prospect for minerals under this bill. For instance, it has been said, I do not know whether there is anything in it or not, that there is a tin mine undeveloped, an abandoned one, and they might want to investigate it.

Mr. McKENZIE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. I will.

Mr. McKENZIE. I have had one little misgiving in regard to this bill, and that is the possibility that the public might be taken in or deceived by promoters in the sale of stock. I understand that the Government under this law will take the products of various mines opened under the provisions of this law at a price that will guarantee mine operators the cost, at least, of the operation.

Mr. FOSTER. No; the guarantee price is out of the bill.

Mr. McKENZIE. Is there anything in the bill that will prevent a corporation composed of men who have been given a contract by the Federal Government to open up a mine to then come out to the public and say this particular project has the approval of the Government and therefore if you buy stock in this mine you can not lose? Is there any protection against that fraud on the public?

Mr. FOSTER. No; but there is a law against it on the statute books now. A man may go out and say, "Here is mineral from a mine that the Government is buying and we want you to invest in this stock," and there is nothing in the bill to prevent it. If a man is gullible enough, if the gentleman feels that it might come to his constituents, there is nothing to prevent people from being gulled.

Mr. McKENZIE. If the gentleman will permit, I have no sympathy with the individual who will permit another individual on the same level taking him in and selling him a gold brick; in other words, I am not in favor of having men put under guardianship, but there is a vast difference between that proposition and having some one come to you and say that the President of the United States, or the Government of the United States, is behind this, and the innocent purchaser might rely on that, and I think he ought to be protected.

Mr. FOSTER. That would be a fraud.

Mr. McKENZIE. Is there anything in the bill to take care of it?

Mr. FOSTER. No; but there are laws on the statute books to punish that sort of a fraud; that would be the same as any fraud.

Mr. McKENZIE. Is there anything in the bill as reported that would provide any punishment of those who would perpetrate that fraud?

Mr. FOSTER. No; and the committee did not feel that they ought to go into that phase of the situation, and I do not think the committee could.

Mr. TOWNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. TOWNER. As I remember, the original bill reported by the House committee provided for a fund of $50,000,000 as a revolving fund.

Mr. FOSTER. The original bill provided for $50,000,000, and the House reduced it to $10,000,000.

Mr. TOWNER. And after a somewhat elaborate discussion in the House that amount was reduced to $10,000,000, the House

believing that $50,000,000 was an unnecessary amount. Now, in this bill as it is amended and agreed to by the conferees the original amount of $50,000,000 is reinserted.

Mr. FOSTER. That is true. In the committee on the part of the other body which has to do with this bill, after exhaustive hearings which continued for a long time, it was shown to be necessary to have this amount of money to carry on this work and buy and sell. The gentleman realizes that they must have a large quantity of material if they allocate it among these different industries and concerns throughout the country. It was believed by the committee of the House that they would need that amount of money. This is a revolving fund that can not be used for any other purpose, and after the work is completed all the money must go back into the Treasury. None of these minerals can be sold during the war time at less than cost—for less than it takes to produce or purchase them.

Mr. TOWNER. Yes; but it takes so much more taxes, so many more liberty bonds, to produce the $50,000,000 than it would the $10,000,000. I remember very well that the matter was all gone over in the House as to what would be needed and why it could not be used and why it was not necessary to use $50,000,000 as a revolving fund. And the House came to the conclusion almost unanimously that it ought to be reduced.

Mr. FOSTER. The House reduced it to $10,000,000, but after further consideration and hearings by the Senate committee it was deemed inadvisable to have a less sum than $50,000,000. As I have said before, this can not be used except for one purpose, and then it must go back into the Treasury.

Mr. TOWNER. Of course we in the House do not know the additional facts and statements that were made to the Senate and the conferees, but the gentleman knew what the feeling of the House was, and I sincerely hope that the reasons were strong enough to justify the House conferees in receding from the action of the House in regard to that matter.

Mr. FOSTER. The House conferees took into consideration the reasons set forth by the Senate hearings for the $50,000,000. The Senate hearings contained the statements of those who will administer the law and those who will have charge of it, and they deemed it necessary to have this amount of money; they said they could not get along without it. The gentleman will understand that in buying the necessary minerals it will take a large amount of money. Take into consideration manganese, which will amount to millions of dollars; chrome, which will amount to a lot of money.

You take tungsten and all the other metals provided for in this bill. If the Government controls them it will require a large sum of money. For instance, take sulphur. Sulphur is now at a high price, but the Government must have it and in order to get sufficient sulphur and to buy it, it will require a great deal of money to do it.

Mr. TOWNER. Of course we realize that, but $10,000,000 for that purpose is a good deal of money. The Government does not hold its purchases, it only purchases from time to time and immediately disposes of what is purchased, as the gentleman says, to equitably distribute and prevent monopolization.

Mr. FOSTER. There is a provision in this bill for storage.

Mr. TOWNER. But the storage probably would be a very temporary thing, and in most of the cases it would not be stored at all.

Mr. FOSTER. We do not know how much will be stored.

Mr. TOWNER. I want to call the gentleman's attention to another thing. The language of this bill does not prevent wildcatting, as I read it, because it allows the President to take over at any time—and, of course, the President takes these things over upon the advice of somebody else—it allows him to take over undeveloped land or deposits or mines and to develop them and operate them. Certainly if undeveloped land is taken over it must be taken over upon the supposition, upon the representation, that it contains ores. As I understand the gentleman, when he first was making the explanation, money was only to be used for further development of lands that had been already opened up——

Mr. FOSTER. No.

Mr. TOWNER. As I understand it, that is not the case because here the provision is for the development of undeveloped land.

Mr. FOSTER. This was thoroughly discussed in the House when the bill passed. This is not a new provision.

Mr. TOWNER. I know; but the House is very much more loath to allow $50,000,000 to be expended in development of undeveloped land for the discovery of unknown minerals for the purpose of locating them than it would be $10,000,000.

Mr. FOSTER. This provision, I will say to the gentleman, might be abused; it is the same with everything; we have to trust somebody. Now, if it should be necessary in some undeveloped land in which it is known there is necessary mineral or metal for the prosecution of this war and the man who may own that land does not develop it and will not deevlop it, the Government ought to have the right to take that mineral if it is necessary to go there and get it out of the ground.

Mr. TOWNER. I think we would have the right to do it now.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think so.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield me five minutes?

Mr. FOSTER. I will. How much time have I, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has occupied 20 minutes.

Mr. FOSTER. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL].

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, we all realize that this may be properly classed as extraordinary, even dangerous, legislation. We are granting very wide and very broad powers to the President. We are proposing the entry of the Federal Government into the operation or regulation of a wide variety of private enterprises. We are only justified in granting those powers and embarking on these enterprises on the theory that it is absolutely essential to the conduct and successful and vigorous prosecution of the war. The House passed the bill on that theory. Whatever may be our individual opinions in regard to it, the administration is of the opinion that legislation of this character is essential. In my opinion there is very considerable ground for that view, though I realize that much depends upon the wisdom with which the law is administered. Tremendous abuses may grow out of this kind of legislation, much favoritism may result, large losses may result to the Federal Government, but it seems essential that we should take those chances in view of the opinion of those who are responsible and ought to be qualified to speak that the action proposed is necessary. Now, with regard to the matter of developing comparatively new property, it is true that losses might result from such development. Such development might be unwisely undertaken, but this is also true, that a considerable number of the metals mentioned in this bill have been developed and produced to a very limited extent in our country. The existence of deposits of some of those minerals or deposits of substances from which they can be extracted is no doubt known, and I have no doubt it may be necessary for the Government to encourage and aid in the development of what is practically undeveloped property or property that has simply been prospected to a point that the presence of mineral has been proved. If care is exercised in that respect there ought to be no serious losses, and much good may result from it in furnishing the minerals as they are needed at the present time and in bringing about a very helpful development for the future. Now, with regard to the increase of the appropriation from $10,000,000 to $50,000,000, I think the House was, after careful consideration, convinced that a smaller sum than $50,000,000 would be adequate. I am rather inclined to the opinion it will not be necessary to spend anything like $50,000,000 in the administration of this measure. I hope it will not be. I think it should be conservatively administered. I am not disposed to criticize the conferees for agreeing to the larger sum, and yet it is a very wide departure from the expressed view of the House. We can only approve the measure in the hope that conservatism—a conservatism that has been absent, I regret to say, in some other operations—will govern and control in the execution of this law. It can, no doubt, be made useful and helpful—we trust it will be—to the end that we shall secure the benefits of increased production of these minerals without entailing great losses on the Treasury or improperly interfering with orderly development with private capital.

Mr. MEEKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. I will.

Mr. MEEKER. From the knowledge the gentleman might have of this whole situation, is it his opinion that this additional $40,000,000 should be allowed?

Mr. MONDELL. Well, my personal opinion is that it is very doubtful whether so large a sum of money would be necessary for all of the legitimate purposes of the legislation; however, we must resolve our doubts in this matter, as we have resolved all of our doubts since we began this war, in favor of the judgment of the men who are responsible.

Mr. MEEKER. Does not the gentleman believe that if we were to appropriate $10,000,000 and they would come back later and demonstrate they actually needed more money they could get it?

Mr. MONDELL. Personally, I think that would be the very much better plan, namely, to have appropriated $10,000,000, and then have provided for a limit within which appropriations could be made as needed. That would appear to be a more business-like arrangement.

Mr. FOSTER. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] five minutes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, the Senate bill and the conference report which follows the Senate bill are far more conservative in the interests of the Government than the bill as it passed the House. The bill as presented by the House carried as its fundamental principle the feature of guaranteeing the price of the products of all these mines. No person with a knowledge of mining but would know that in order to develop new mines with a high price to be guaranteed that would encourage development as the House bill provided, for two years after the end of the war, that it would result in large and untold profits to the owners of the present developed mines, which would have to be borne ultimately by the taxpayers of the country. There is a question in my mind whether this bill will ever be of any direct value to the Government in winning the war, especially if the war terminates within one year, because the agencies provided for in this bill will not have any effect whatsoever in developing these mines until nearly a year hence. The mere question of the amount is not so vital, if it is necessary, as is the principle. The House bill was vicious in providing a guaranteed price on these certain metals regardless of the cost of production, and having the guaranteed price fixed on that character of ore, which was necessary to further develop the ores of this country so as to develop a supply that was necessary in this country.

I question the policy of those back of this bill, and particularly those connected with the Geological Survey, who wish to develop their powers by going about the country exploiting mines. It was shown in the report that many of these metals could be obtained at much less cost from Canada, but that these prospectors in Government employ wish to develop mines in this country so as to obtain the exclusive supply from the United States. I have never believed in the idea of home-market production, of developing mines that are so inferior that it would impose a tremendous cost upon the consumer, when those same metals could be obtained from near-by countries at a cost considerably less. And yet that is the very logic of the advocates of these geological prospectors who are supporting this bill.

As I said at the outset, the Senate bill is far superior and much more conservative than the House bill. The conference report, which is submitted for our consideration, is more conservative than the Senate bill. It safeguards the interests of the Government in several particulars. If we are to launch upon this policy of providing funds to a corporation of $50,000,000, to build railroads, extend them into unknown parts, to develop mines for the production of minerals of which we know we will not have any available supply for more than a year hence, merely to shut off the supply from Canada and Mexico or from Brazil, why, then, this bill is much better than the House bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. STAFFORD. I ask for one minute more.

Mr. FOSTER. I yield one minute more to the gentleman.

Mr. STAFFORD. I could not subscribe to the vicious principle in the House bill that would guarantee a price that would levy a tremendous burden upon the consuming public of this country and which would bring millions of profits for the duration of the war and for two years thereafter to all the present owners of developed mines, where they happen to have a good proposition. And therefore I voted against it and spoke against it.

This bill is conservative, as I said, leaving it to the President and taking it out of the realm of the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, who would be really the head of the Bureau of Mines, and throwing upon the President the full responsibility of determining, by any agencies he may see fit to determine, what mines are really necessary to be developed.

As I said before, if the war should end within a year I question whether any value will come from this bill, but if it does not end in that time, then perchance there may be some few instances where the Government in this time of stress and strain may receive some few minerals that will be of value to the Government in its activities.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I wanted to ask the gentleman from Illinois some questions.

Mr. FOSTER. I will be glad to answer them.

Mr. WALSH. The bill as it passed the House provided that the provisions of the act should cease to be in effect six months after the war was over?

Mr. FOSTER. That is correct.

Mr. WALSH. Now, the measure as now presented extends that time two years?

Mr. FOSTER. No. Under the House bill they had two years in which to close up the business, which is provided in this bill, but in six months the operations under that act should cease. They could not buy any more of these necessaries then. So the conference committee agreed on a provision which said that on the proclamation of the President as to when the war shall have closed. That is the difference. So the time that the conferees agreed to is shorter than either of the others.

Mr. WALSH. But the time is extended to two years within which——

Mr. FOSTER. To close up the business.

Mr. WALSH (continuing). Matters shall be closed.

Mr. FOSTER. They realized there might be some things to be done to close up the business. We put in this important provision which says that during the war they could not sell these necessaries for less than production; but when the war shall have closed they do not have to do so. That only applies during the war, because the Government might have some of these minerals on hand, and it would be more economical to close it up and take a loss than it would be to continue the business. And so that is provided.

Mr. WALSH. Now, then, this language is used in one or two sections of this act, namely, "When the objects of this act have been accomplished." Now when will the objects of this act be accomplished?

Mr. FOSTER. The objects of this will be final when the money for whatever may be left on hand when the war closes is finally returned to the Treasury. That would be the final act.

Mr. WALSH. But the money is not to be returned to the Treasury until the objects of the act have been accomplished.

Mr. FOSTER. Of course, that means as they get the money they would turn it back into the Treasury. It says "as received."

Mr. WALSH. No. I beg the gentleman's pardon. Section 3 provides, "Money as received shall be used as a revolving fund." That is on the top of page 3 of the conference report. And further: "Any balance of such moneys remaining when the objects of this act shall have been accomplished shall, as collected, received, and on hand and available, be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts."

Mr. FOSTER. Let me call the gentleman's attention to section 6. It is provided there that "Any balance of said revolving fund remaining when the objects of this act have been accomplished shall, as collected, received, and on hand and available, be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts."

Mr. WALSH. It says "Any money received after the objects of the act shall have been accomplished."

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; and it says "as collected."

Mr. WALSH. That is rather unusual language, and that is what prompted my question. I would like to ask the gentleman one or two other questions.

Mr. FOSTER. Very well.

Mr. WALSH. In the original House bill the President was required to cause a detailed report to be made to Congress on the first day of each regular session. That has been eliminated.

Mr. FOSTER. No. The gentleman is mistaken about that. It reads:

Provided further, That a detailed report of all operations under this act, including all receipts and disbursements, shall be filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House of Representatives on or before the 25th day of each month, covering the preceding month's operations.

Mr. WALSH. That is a financial report. This other report, required in the House bill, was to contain a statement of all persons employed, the salary or compensation allowed each, the aggregate amount of the different kinds of property purchased, a statement of all receipts and expenditures, and the general character and estimated value of the property on hand. Now, under this provision we do not get any information of that nature—under the provision put into the bill by the Senate or the conferees.

Mr. FOSTER. I understand that Congress could get that information at any time it is called for.

Mr. WALSH. Yes; and it could get the information required at any time Congress called for it. But it is in there.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman let me make an inquiry in that connection?

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Can the gentleman from Illinois tell me why they eliminated the restriction in the House bill leaving the limitation on the maximum salary that could be paid to any person over $4,500 and for clerical services over $1,800?

Mr. FOSTER. The Senate insisted that it should provide for like service as is now provided by law. It has been said that in some cases—in the case of a technical man, for example—it might be necessary to pay a higher salary. That might occur only in rare instances.

Mr. STAFFORD. Of course when you are going to form a $50,000,000 corporation we all agree you might not be able to

find the right kind of a man for perhaps $4,500, or a highly accomplished scientific man for $4,500.

Mr. FOSTER. It is to secure the services of some technical man. That is the reason.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. I yield first to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH].

Mr. WALSH. May I ask the gentleman if the provision which was the subject of the motion to recommit, to strike out the price-fixing power, and which came within 6 votes of carrying, has been eliminated by the conferees?

Mr. FOSTER. It has.

Mr. WALSH. Now, if the gentleman will permit, I notice that this measure passed the House on the 30th day of April, at which time the distinguished chairman of the committee presented at length the great emergency that was confronting us, the great need of securing control and a supply of these various minerals. Have the operations of the Government in the manufacture of war materials been at all delayed or obstructed or hindered by the delay in the passage of this bill?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know whether they have been obstructed or delayed, but there has been a very serious shortage, which it was thought would cause serious trouble—a shortage in some of these minerals.

Mr. WALSH. The shortage at that time was a shortage in shipping.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; it was, as I stated at the time. It was the intention of the Shipping Board to gradually reduce the ships for this purpose until August, when it would be reduced to 10 per cent, so that there would not be the trouble that there is now. Now, there is only 10 per cent of the former tonnage available.

Mr. WALSH. One question more.

Mr. FOSTER. Very well.

Mr. WALSH. The provisions of section 9 would permit one or more corporations to be formed and the entire stock of the corporation to be placed in the hands of Mr. Baruch or any of these other mining gentlemen who appeared before the committee, would it not?

Mr. FOSTER. Whoever the President might designate. It is in the hands of the President.

Mr. WALSH. I say, he might place it in the hands of one person. I did not ask what he could do, but I said it was possible.

Mr. FOSTER. I take it that the President would use his best judgment and select some one who in his judgment was capable of administering the law in the interest of the Government.

Mr. WALSH. The business of this corporation?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. KREIDER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. KREIDER. In the organization of the corporation or corporations is it intended that these corporations should be formed and the public be given an opportunity, or invited, to subscribe for a portion of the stock?

Mr. FOSTER. No. The Government would own the controlling interest and the controlling part of the corporation. Probably there will be no stock taken outside of what the Government has.

Mr. KREIDER. There will be none outside?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not imagine there will be. I doubt very much if there would be. But the Government always would have the control of it. Of course, after the war closes, under this bill there might be some loss, for the reason that it might be cheaper to close up the business and get out of it than it would to continue it and hold this for a longer time.

Mr. KREIDER. Do I understand that it is the intent of the framers of this bill that these corporations should be organized in the several States, where they would find the mineral deposits, under the laws of the States?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I do not know that that would be the case. It might be that they would form one corporation and take out a charter in one particular State.

Mr. MILLER of Washington. And do business as a corporation?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; do business as a corporation throughout the United States.

Mr. KREIDER. In the development of these mineral deposits throughout the country frequently mines are opened which prove to be extremely valuable. It might be possible that under these corporations mines would be opened, and, as I understand, the corporations would cease to do business within two years after the expiration of the war, a specified period. What method, if any, is to be pursued in disposing of the property?

Mr. FOSTER. The bill provides that the President might sell the property and turn the money into the Treasury. No contracts can be made after the proclamation at the close of the war. As to that, whatever business there may be that can not be closed up right away will be continued. For instance, there might be a suit that would be continued for some time, but the property would be sold and the money turned into the Treasury.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I understand from the report, the Government is to withdraw from the business within two years after the close of the war, and it will have to sell and dispose of its storage facilities and the property and everything under the authority of this act.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is really more restrictive than the House bill.

Mr. FOSTER. The Senate had a provision making it six months, but the conferees concluded that when the proclamation at the close of the war came the President should be authorized to dispose of the property and it should be closed up.

Mr. NORTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. I will.

Mr. NORTON. I take it that the administration of the law will be under the Bureau of Mines. Has the Bureau of Mines advised the Committee on Mines and Mining of their plan of carrying out this legislation?

Mr. FOSTER. It has not.

Mr. NORTON. You make a blanket appropriation to be worked out in the future?

Mr. FOSTER. No; but I do not know how else we could provide for it than we have in this bill.

Mr. NORTON. The department has not at this time any definite plan to increase the production of these minerals, has it?

Mr. FOSTER. The plan might be different in each particular mineral, but it would be to do what was necessary to encourage the supply that was short.

Mr. NORTON. I think that some investigation must have been made already to determine that there is a shortage.

Mr. FOSTER. Certainly; the department has done that.

Mr. NORTON. The committee understands that no plan has been thought out by the department as to how it will increase the production of these minerals.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know what the department has thought out; I am not advised as to that.

Mr. NORTON. Your committee was asked to enact this legislation without being given any idea as to how it should be carried out?

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, no; we had extensive hearings in the House committee and also in the Senate committee on this bill.

Mr. NORTON. I have not read the hearings, but did it develop that it was the plan of the Bureau of Mines and Mining, which will have the legislation in charge, to take over mines and operate them?

Mr. FOSTER. If it was necessary to secure the minerals; yes.

Mr. NORTON. They have the authority to do it if it is necessary?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; but they do not know that it will be necessary to take over any mines in the United States, and we hope it will not be.

Mr. NORTON. What is the idea as to the production of these minerals—to stimulate it?

Mr. FOSTER. In buying them at a price that will be profitable to those who mine them, and, possibly, if necessary, to go out and help do some research work, which it would have the right to do under the appropriation of $500,000. They might visit a miner and advise him the best way to get out the mineral.

Mr. NORTON. They would not want a fund of $50,000,000 to carry that out.

Mr. FOSTER. They could not use one cent of the $50,000,000 for that purpose.

Mr. NORTON. What I have in mind is this: It seems to me that if the Bureau of Mines comes in here and asks for legislation of this kind, this really gigantic legislation, they ought to have in mind some definite plan, and ought to know with due definiteness how the production of minerals is to be increased, how it is to be stimulated, and how it is to be secured.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know as I can say anything more in reply to the gentleman as to these minerals than what I have said. Of course, of those minerals that they have plenty of

they do not want to do anything. Those that they are short of they may want to go out and buy at a price that will encourage production.

Mr. MILLER of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. I will.

Mr. MILLER of Washington. If they do not know and have no idea what they are going to do, how did the committee arrive at the conclusion that $10,000,000 was not enough money?

Mr. FOSTER. I will say that the importations might be taken charge of, all that come into the country, and it will be necessary to allocate them. It might be necessary for the Government to do that for the prosecution of this war. All the foreign imports might be taken by the Government and would have to be paid for.

Mr. MILLER of Washington. And they want enough money on hand to do it, if necessary.

Mr. FOSTER. We thought so; and the department is very positive as to that.

Mr. MILLER of Washington. I see, on pages 20 and 21 of the bill, an enumeration of the ores and metals. I think it is a fact that it is not possible under the terms of this bill to develop any mineral substance, ores, or metals, except those enumerated in the bill.

Mr. FOSTER. That is right.

Mr. MILLER of Washington. Does not the gentleman think it advisable to have a provision in the bill for the development of additional minerals that scientific demonstration may establish as useful?

Mr. FOSTER. The committee included all the metals and minerals that it thought was necessary to carry on the war.

Mr. MILLER of Washington. Under any possibility.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; and we have some in here that might not be necessary. We took in more than we thought was necessary as a precaution.

Mr. MILLER of Washington. The committee feels that it has all that were needed.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. KREIDER. We included all that we thought could possibly be needed by the Government.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. In section 2 there is a provision in the last four lines as follows:

That such sales made during the war shall not be at a price less than the purchase or cost of production.

Mr. FOSTER. Does the gentleman want to know why that is there?

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. I want to make an inquiry with reference to the last part of it. Now, this amended act permits the Government to go into the business of producing any of these minerals. Suppose the Government should take over nine idle mines and it would produce these minerals at the cost, say, of $1 a unit. Suppose the tenth mine that is taken over the operation of the mine costs $2 a unit. Now, under the terms of this bill the Government would not be permitted to sell the product of the tenth mine at anything less than $2 a unit. Is that the construction which the gentleman gives to the act?

Mr. FOSTER. I believe they will take into consideration all the minerals produced. Possibly they might have one mine producing at the cost of $1 and another mine at the cost of $1.50, and so on. That might be, but after averaging all together if they find the cost is $2 they would sell for $2. We were fearful of this provision because we thought of it the same as the gentleman does, but we found many western people who are fearful that something might happen if the Government should be permitted to sell a certain material at a low price and put some mines out of business. That is the only reason that it is put in there so as to prevent that very fear, and we ran up against a serious proposition when we got to it.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. The gentleman can readily see if a private firm were compelled not to sell any of their production for less than cost of production it would greatly hamper the private firm, and it seems to me when the Government goes into the business of producing these minerals to say to the Government, "You can not sell the product for less than the production cost," would hamper them in the sale. In other words, these sales will be made to firms engaged in the manufacture of munitions, and, while they have a quasi public function, they are in reality private individuals and firms. Now, these firms will be the only market for the sale of these products, and if the Government is to be so hampered that it can not sell the product of any mine at a price less than the production cost, it seems to me it will mean they will have the production of these mines on hand.

Mr. FOSTER. If the Government is to produce some of these metals and minerals, the gentleman can readily see that the Government would not want to lose the money on them.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. I know they would not want to do so.

Mr. FOSTER. They were fearful throughout the West that the Government might get in competition with these private mines, and as a result of that competition they might put them out of business. They were insistent on this, and they absolutely refused to stand for anything less than this. We rewrote the provision from the original proposition, and they agreed to it, and they would not agree to anything else.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. If the language of the bill will bear the construction the gentleman mentioned a while ago, that you can take all of the cost of production and divide the price over all of the different mines, then that would not be so objectionable. It seems to me the language in the bill says that any such sales made during the war shall not be less than the price when they buy it or the cost of production when they produce it. That relates to the production of the mines owned by the Government.

Mr. FOSTER. So it is, and that was the fear, that the Government might go in and be in competition with some mines and might put them out of business entirely.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. That provision with regard to guaranty was stricken from the bill?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. And the provision in reference to the prevention of waste was stricken from the bill?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; stricken from the bill.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. And the provision with reference to hoarding was stricken from the bill, and the control by the Government of distribution was stricken from the bill?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; they have the right to requisition.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. They can control the disposition by buying and selling?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. But there is no power in this bill now to control the distribution?

Mr. FOSTER. No; that is one reason why they will need more money than under the original bill.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. I think there is no question that the way the bill is framed now there will be more money needed. In other words, as I gather from the reading of the bill, the purpose is to authorize the Government to go into the mining business in so far as undeveloped mines are concerned and go into the market and purchase for the purpose of increasing production?

Mr. FOSTER. That is right. We have not the right of control as was contained in the House bill.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. The House bill had in mind the encouragement of private industry, and this bill has the provision for Government business.

Mr. FOSTER. That is it.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. In section 4 there is a provision that any person who shall neglect or refuse to comply with any order or requisition made by the President pursuant to the provisions of this act shall upon conviction be fined not exceeding $5,000. What is the purpose of that provision?

Mr. FOSTER. The purpose of that is they might find some one whose product they have requisitioned, and he might refuse to comply with any order. Now, there ought to be some way of compelling him to do so.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. What order does the President have the power to make under the terms of this bill?

Mr. FOSTER. He can make an order to requisition the products of a mine or——

Mr. KREIDER. Or the mines themselves?

Mr. FOSTER. Or the mines themselves.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. This being a criminal section of the law, before a man would be subject to punishment for a crime it must be definite. Does the gentleman think it is sufficiently definite?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my time may be extended 20 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that his time may be extended 20 minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. Does the gentleman think that provision is sufficiently definite?

Mr. FOSTER. I am not a lawyer. I will state that on the conference committee there were some lawyers who have a reputation for learning in that profession, and they thought that this would be definite enough. That was their opinion.

It says:

That any person who shall neglect or refuse to comply with any order or requisition made by the President pursuant to the provisions of this act, or who shall obstruct or attempt to obstruct the enforcement of or the compliance with any requisition or order, or who shall violate any of the provisions of this act or any rule or regulation adopted hereunder, shall, upon conviction—

And so on.

There is on this committee a very eminent mining lawyer, Senator WALSH of Montana, who, I think, bears the reputation of being a first-class man in that respect.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. And it was the opinion of the conferees that this was sufficiently definite?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. It occured to me that it was not sufficiently definite for a criminal statute, and if there was some real remedy desired, it ought to be made more definite.

Mr. NORTON. Will the gentleman from Illinois yield?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. NORTON. Does the gentleman have any information before him showing the production or the shortage or estimated shortage of ferrosilicon?

Mr. FOSTER. Whether there is a shortage or not?

Mr. NORTON. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. If the gentleman would read the statement and hearings I think he would get all this information.

Mr. NORTON. The statement?

Mr. FOSTER. If he would read the hearings. As to ferrosilicon, I do not know what the shortage is, if any.

Mr. NORTON. Or, generally, has the committee reported, or has there been submitted to the committee, figures showing the production or an estimated shortage of these various metals?

Mr. FOSTER. When the bill passed the House the committee filed all that, and it is in the RECORD—the uses, the shortage, and all about them.

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana. The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO] put that in the RECORD.

Mr. WINGO. If my colleague will permit, I will direct the attention of the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. NORTON] to this fact. If he will go back and read the debate on this bill, which extended over several days, he will find that I filed a statement in detail in the RECORD on each one of these metals, showing production, source, and use of each.

Mr. NORTON. I thank the gentleman for that. It occurred to me that there are a number of minerals here of which there is a very large abundance at the present time.

Mr. FOSTER. That is true. You take sodium; salt is a compound, and of that there is an abundance, and the Government would not undertake to take control of salt; and yet sea salt is an important compound of sodium, which is imported into this country and which is very necessary to have.

Take, for instance, sulphur. There is an abundance of sulphur in this country, and yet there might come a time when you would want to do something with it. And it is put in here in order that we may control all these minerals, if necessary, that are needed to carry on this war.

Mr. JUUL. I desire to ask the gentleman from Illinois concerning section 5, line 4. It reads:

That there shall be established such headquarters and offices for the administrative force authorized herein at such place or places west of the Missouri River as the President may deem proper.

Mr. FOSTER. That is out now.

Mr. JUUL. You say it is out now?

Mr. FOSTER. It is not in the bill.

Mr. JUUL. I was going to ask the gentleman what would be the object in excluding that piece of the United States lying north of the Missouri River from having offices?

Mr. FOSTER. I think the gentleman is correct. The managers on the part of the House thought it ought not to go in the bill and the Senate agreed to strike it out.

Mr. JUUL. The fact of the matter is that on the Missouri River, from Williston, N. Dak., the territory extends far south, and it would keep that portion of the United States from having offices.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Will the gentleman from Illinois permit me a question?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. SLAYDEN. It seems to me a rather extraordinary authority is granted here. As I understand this bill, it authorizes the Government through its agents to take over under lease or on royalty, or in any other manner, a mining property which in the judgment of the officials is not being operated or has not been operated. Does this committee believe it should be so? That is an extraordinary power.

Mr. FOSTER. It is a wide power.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Many people own mining properties that have never been profitable to them, perhaps because of lack of capital or scarcity of labor which made it impossible to operate them, but they are wanting to do it and trying to do it, and if the Government finds that condition exists it proposes through its officials, if necessary, to take the property away from those people. Is that true?

Mr. FOSTER. For the prosecution of the war. A man might have valuable mines that contain necessary minerals for the prosecution of the war. This gives the Government the right and power to go there and get that mine and get those necessary minerals.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Copper is one of the things.

Mr. FOSTER. That is not in this bill at all.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Copper is one of the things that the Government does require in time of war, and Germany would give her very soul for plenty of it right now. It is true the Government does not propose to take over the copper mines. But the Government has done this thing, which I think is entirely unfair: It has compelled the copper producers to sell their product under the market value.

Mr. FOSTER. I think the copper producers of the country have not lost any money, I will say to the gentleman from Texas, on the price that the Government has fixed for copper.

Mr. SLAYDEN. That is not the question. I think the gentleman will admit that the producer of any useful commodity, produced in an honorable way, is entitled to the market value.

Mr. FOSTER. He is entitled to reasonable compensation.

Mr. SLAYDEN. He is entitled to the market value, in my judgment. That is the way I view cotton, and my friend from Arkansas, Mr. WINGO, and my friend from Tennessee, Mr. GARRETT, no doubt, agree with me in that particular.

Mr. FOSTER. That is a question that we can not settle here.

Mr. SLAYDEN. For some time copper has been quoted in London at £122 per ton, which figures out to be 30 cents a pound, as I make it, while producers in this country were compelled to sell their copper at 23½ cents a pound.

Mr. WINGO. I beg the gentleman's pardon. The producers of copper have been given a price which they themselves know is highly remunerative. I have been protesting against allowing them more than they were entitled to if the English price was made the basis.

Mr. SLAYDEN. It was not fixed by themselves. They protested against the price. The English price, less freight, would be more profitable to the producers.

Mr. FOSTER. They may not be getting all they want, but they are getting all they ought to have.

Mr. SLAYDEN. I do not think they are getting all they ought to have. I think they should get the market value.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the adoption of the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the adoption of the conference report.

The conference report was adopted.

On motion of Mr. FOSTER, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the conference report was adopted was laid on the table.

READMISSION OF CERTAIN ALIENS (H. REP. NO. 812).

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU] has a rule on a matter that I wish to have taken up.

Mr. STAFFORD. Why not ask unanimous consent?

Mr. BURNETT. In order to save time I will do that. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, for the present consideration of House joint resolution 331.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of House joint resolution 331.

Mr. WALSH. I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I present a privileged report from the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee presents a privileged report from the Committee on Rules, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 432 (H. Rep. 812).

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall proceed to the consideration of H. J. Res. 331, entitled "Joint resolution authorizing the readmission to the United States of

certain aliens who have been conscripted or have volunteered for service with the military forces of the United States or cobelligerent forces," under the general rules of the House.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, does the gentleman from Kansas desire time?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I have had requests for 10 minutes. I would like to have about 10 minutes. I may not use all of it.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the debate on this resolution may be limited to 10 minutes, one-half to be controlled by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL] and one-half by myself, and at the end of that time the previous question shall be considered as ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that the debate on this rule be limited to 10 minutes, one-half to be controlled by himself and one-half by the gentleman from Kansas, at the end of which time the previous question shall be considered as ordered. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I will ask the gentleman from Kansas to use some time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Kansas is recognized.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, this rule makes in order House joint resolution No. 331, introduced by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BURNETT], providing for the readmission of aliens who are serving with the United States Army or with our allies. These men are those who have not perfected their citizenship and taken out their first papers, and under the statute as it now stands they could not be readmitted if they made application for reentrance into the United States in case they were maimed, blind, or wounded in any way. The resolution provides for the discussion of the House joint resolution, which it was the hope of the Committee on Rules would pass the House expeditiously.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. There was no opposition in the committee to the resolution. It seemed fair to these aliens that they should be readmitted, having offered themselves, or having been conscripted in our Army, or conscripted by their own government to participate in the war on the side of our allies.

Now, I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman in his time permit me to ask the gentleman from Alabama, in charge of the bill, whether in the consideration of the resolution opportunity will be offered to consider amendments?

Mr. BURNETT. I do not know the provisions of the rule but——

Mr. STAFFORD. The resolution is to be considered under the rules of the House. It is within the power of the gentleman to move the previous question.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. If the gentleman yields for the purpose of offering an amendment, then he loses the floor.

Mr. STAFFORD. I desire to debate this question in good faith. I wish to present an argument to the House.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. That rests with the gentleman.

Mr. BURNETT. I would not be inclined to cut off any legitimate and bona fide amendment, such, I have no doubt, as the gentleman would make if he offered any; but I would like to have some kind of an agreement that at the end of an hour's time the previous question should be considered as ordered.

Mr. STAFFORD. There is no disposition on the part of anyone to delay the consideration of the resolution. I have given some consideration to this joint resolution, and I wish to present one phase of it to the House. I think it is worthy of consideration. I only want to have time and opportunity to present an amendment for that purpose.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I think the matter can be adjusted. I ask unanimous consent that amendments may be offered at the end of the hour, and at the end of the hour it may be in order to vote on amendments under the rules of the House.

Mr. STAFFORD. I would like to have opportunity to discuss the amendment before the vote is taken. I understood from the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER] that the half hour under his control is already taken.

Mr. POU. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin may have 10 minutes at the end of the hour in which to present and discuss any amendment which he may wish to offer which shall be held to be in order by the Speaker, and that at the end of that time the previous question shall be considered as ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee has five minutes under his control.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman from North Carolina is presenting a unanimous-consent request to the House.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The gentleman from North Carolina was momentarily detained from the Chamber. I would like to yield five minutes that I have to the gentleman from North Carolina.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from North Carolina is recognized.

Mr. POU. I will use that five minutes, Mr. Speaker, in asking unanimous consent that at the end of the hour the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BURNETT] will have the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] may have 10 minutes to offer such amendments as may be held to be in order by the House, and at the end of that 10 minutes additional the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and all amendments.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that in case the rule is adopted the debate on the bill shall run for one hour, under the control of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BURNETT], at the end of which time the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] may have 10 minutes in which to offer and discuss an amendment.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my request for unanimous consent.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the adoption of the rule.

The resolution was considered and agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the joint resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House joint resolution 331.

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 331) authorizing the readmission to the United States of certain aliens who have been conscripted or have volunteered for service with the military forces of the United States or cobelligerent forces.

Resolved, etc., That, notwithstanding the provisions of section 3 of the immigration act of February 5, 1917, excluding from the United States aliens who are likely to become a public charge, or who are physically defective, or who are contract laborers, or who have come in consequence of advertisements for labor printed, published, or distributed in a foreign country, or who are assisted by others to come, or whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another or by any corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign government, or who are stowaways, or who are illiterate, aliens lawfully resident in the United States when heretofore or hereafter enlisted or conscripted for the military service of the United States or of any one of the nations cobelligerent of the United States in the present war; and aliens lawfully resident in the United States who have enlisted for service with Czecho-Slovak, Polish, or other independent forces attached to the United States Army or to the army of any one of the cobelligerents of the United States in the present war, who may during or within one year after the termination of the war apply for readmission to this country, after being honorably discharged or granted furlough abroad by the proper military authorities, or after being rejected on final examination in connection with their enlistment or conscription shall, within two years after the termination of the war, be readmitted; and that any alien of either of the foregoing descriptions who would otherwise be excluded under said section of the immigration act on the ground that he is idiotic, imbecile, feeble-minded, epileptic, insane, or has had one or more attacks of insanity, or on the ground that he is afflicted with constitutional psychopathic inferiority, tuberculosis, a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, or mental defect, shall be readmitted if it is proved that the disability was acquired while the alien was serving in the military forces of the United States or of any one of the nations cobelligerent of the United States in the present war or in an independent force of the kind hereinbefore described, if such alien returns to a port of the United States within two years after the termination of the war; and that the head tax provided in the immigration act of February 5, 1917, shall not be collected from aliens readmitted into the United States under the provisions of this resolution.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to reach some kind of an agreement so that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] may not be precluded from offering his amendment. We have requests for time on this side, and I desire to divide the hour, one half to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER], the ranking member, and the other half hour I ask to be controlled by the gentleman from Illinois, Judge SABATH. I will state the purpose of the joint resolution. I am willing at the expiration of the hour to give the gentleman from Wisconsin 10 minutes in which to offer and discuss his amendment, if I may have 5 minutes in reply, and at the end of that time the previous question may be considered as ordered.

Mr. WALSH. I shall object to that.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that the debate may proceed for one hour, one half to be controlled by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER] and the other half by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH], and at the end of that time the gentleman from Wisconsin may have 10 minutes to offer and discuss an amendment and the gentleman from Alabama shall have 5 minutes to reply.

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, I do not think the gentleman ought to try to make a unanimous-consent agreement here for the benefit of just one Member of the House. There may be other amendments that may be desired and the

gentleman ought not to try to put this resolution through under an agreement that there can be only one amendment. Time is not pressing; we have the rest of the day, if necessary, to discuss amendments, and to simply permit the gentleman from Wisconsin to offer one amendment and discuss it for 10 minutes and then vote on the entire measure it seems to me ought not to be asked. It is not giving the opportunity that may be desired on the part of other gentlemen to offer amendments. I do not want to obstruct or delay the passage of this resolution, because I expect to support it.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, did I understand the gentleman from Alabama to say that it was his intention to give one-half of his time to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] and one-half of the time to be controlled on this side by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER]?

Mr. BURNETT. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. Why not ask unanimous consent that the time be extended to an hour and a half, and to be divided in the way the gentleman suggests?

Mr. SIMS. I will object to that to start with.

Mr. MONDELL. I will say that I think that is the quickest way to dispose of it.

Mr. SIMS. But there are other bills to come up.

Mr. WALSH. Yes, and there are two more days in the week.

Mr. SIMS. The Rules Committee have brought in a rule.

Mr. WALSH. You will have to have a quorum here.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of the chairman and the gentleman from Tennessee to the fact that gentlemen on the other side are ready and willing to proceed with this resolution. It will take half an hour to call the roll of the House. Why not give this extra time to the resolution? In my opinion it will be the quickest way to dispose of it.

Mr. MONDELL. I suggest to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] this is the most expeditious way to get to his bill. We are all anxious to get to his bill.

Mr. WALSH. To get at it, the gentleman means. [Laughter.]

Mr. SIMS. I understood the request was to add an hour and a half to what had already been asked.

Mr. MONDELL. No; the request was that instead of an hour we have an hour and a half.

Mr. SIMS. Oh, I misunderstood it; I have no objection to that.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

Mr. MONDELL and Mr. WALSH objected.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the debate continue for one hour and a half, one-half of the time to be controlled by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER] and one-half by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH], and at the end of that time the previous question be ordered on the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that the time for general debate be limited to one hour and a half, one half to be controlled by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER] and the other half by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH], and at the end of that time the previous question be considered as ordered on the bill.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman does not have to have that last part in the request.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. I object to the last part of it, because the gentleman has that under his control.

Mr. BURNETT. All right, Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the request as to the previous question.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the first part of the request that there be an hour and a half debate? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. SANDERS of Louisiana, indefinitely, on account of illness;

To Mr. LONDON, for the rest of the week; and

To Mr. TILLMAN, for three weeks, on account of liberty-loan speeches.

READMISSION OF CERTAIN ALIENS.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BURNETT].

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, I only desire a little time to make a brief explanation of the resolution and then I shall ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

On the 29th of June of this year we passed the House joint resolution which provides for the readmission of lawfully resident aliens who enlisted in our armies, notwithstanding certain provisions that would exclude them under the general immigration law. In addition to that it was provided that lawfully resident aliens who joined the Czecho-Slovaks and Polish and other independent forces might also be readmitted. Those that joined the Czecho-Slovak forces must have filed a declaration of intention to become citizens. Since that time several treaties have been consummated and others are in process of consummation by which aliens of cobelligerent nations may be conscripted here if they do not elect to return to their own countries within a certain time after the ratification of those treaties. The President during the recess wrote to me, calling attention to some of the hardships and injustices of the act as it stood then, asking for an interview in regard to some changes that the State Department desired to propose. On my return I saw the President and had a consultation with him and also with representatives of the State Department, and a bill was prepared by the State and Labor Departments which added to the law we had already passed, those who joined cobelligerent forces, in order that those who returned to their countries and joined the forces of our cobelligerents might have the same right to return as those joining our own forces have. That provision was sent down as an amendment by the State Department and had no time limit for admission of the alien, and the bill as reported is not exactly as the State Department's bill, but it contains the principle that the State Department and the President insisted on. It simply puts those who join cobelligerent forces on the same footing as those who join our forces, and that is the principal change in the law that we passed on the 29th day of June.

The other modification is that it removes the obligation upon the Czecho-Slovak forces to have their first papers before having the privilege of readmission, but since that time the Czecho-Slovak people have become a recognized belligerent by this country it was thought by the committee that we should put them upon exactly the same footing with those who enlisted in our own Army. Another modification of the law that was discussed and agreed upon by the committee. Under the old law they must have applied for readmission within 12 months after the termination of the war. It was thought by the committee that our armies having increased so much, and are still increasing so much on the other side, that after the expiration of the war there would probably be a very serious congestion and that a good many good men, men who had made good soldiers, could not get back within one year for lack of transportation. Therefore that was amended so that the admission must be applied for within 12 months, but they might be actually admitted within two years. Now, that is the first part of it.

Mr. JUUL. Will the gentleman yield for a brief question?

Mr. BURNETT. I will.

Mr. JUUL. Now, what would be the objection to giving the soldiers out of this country the same length of time to apply that you give them to return? You give them one year to apply and they might be away up in northern Russia and away from transportation and have no means of reaching this country, no means for filing a request of any kind. Why not give the same length of time for applying as you do for returning? It could do no harm if they could prove they are entitled to return, and it might——

Mr. BURNETT. If the gentleman will read the latter part of the bill, he will find those who have incurred any disabilities in the Army—that is, if they incur disabilities, wounds, diseases, incur tubercular troubles, or anything else of like kind—they do not have to make application within one year, but are given two years within which to apply for admission at the ports, and if they do so they can then be admitted. We greatly liberalize the admission of those who incur disabilities in the service. The original law provided that they had to make application and come in within 12 months. Now, in order to liberalize that we require of those who have not incurred disabilities in line of service to make their application within 12 months and be admitted within 12 months more, and those who have incurred disabilities are allowed two years' time for making application for readmission.

Mr. JUUL. Might not they be absolutely in inaccessible places, away from the mails, lying sick and absolutely be unable to comply with the 12 months' requirement——

Mr. MADDEN. They could apply to their commanding officer.

Mr. BURNETT. Oh, yes; there will be liberal rules in regard to that. They can make application to our consular officers or make application to their commanding officers. We do not want to lay down any cast-iron rule as to whom application should be made or the form of the application. We want to make it as liberal as possible.

We thought, however, that those who had not incurred disability in line of service ought, by an application to return, show

some desire to do so, and then have one year more to carry out that desire.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman permit?

Mr. BURNETT. I will.

Mr. STAFFORD. I wish to direct the gentleman's attention to the last section of the bill, which exempts from the immigration law the restriction of disability, of imbecility, insanity, or tuberculosis acquired by an alien while serving in cobelligerent forces. For instance, a Britisher who was residing in this country at any time during the war, and, as instanced by the representative of Great Britain to the United States in his letter to the Secretary of State, joins the Canadian or British forces and is disabled while in the performance of his duty with the forces of his native country, or in connection with the Canadian forces, and becomes afflicted with insanity, perhaps, or becomes idiotic, disabling him completely, yet under the provisions of this section you will impose upon the United States, just because at the time before his enlistment he was a resident of the United States, though a British subject, the burden of maintaining him here even though he was performing his full duty as a British subject with either the Canadian or the British forces. Is that an obligation of the United States where a British subject or any alien living in this country joins his native colors and becomes disabled in line of duty, and is this country of ours to be burdened with the obligation of supporting him and the foreign government relieved of its own obligation of supporting him and caring for its own citizen by reason of a disability incurred in line of duty in its own forces? Does the gentleman intend to place that obligation upon the United States? That certainly is what is done by this provision, and the amendment I propose to offer when I am given that privilege is to overcome that situation.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, that is the very purpose. There is no use to deny that. There will be very few instances of that kind; and surely, if we are engaged in a common world war for democracy, an alien should be readmitted who in good faith has acquired a bona fide residence here—is a legal resident of this country, if he elects—and I would rather they would go and join that way, and I think we ought to encourage them to elect to go and join their own forces instead of joining ours. For this reason, if for no other, that we absolve ourselves from granting him compensation and pension if he elects to go and join his own forces, I think there are other good reasons why we ought to encourage him to do it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, I would like five minutes more.

Mr. SABATH. I yield five minutes more to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. BURNETT. Then, certainly, Mr. Speaker, if they are invited by the treaties to elect within 60 days to leave this country, their families perhaps being here, and join the cobelligerent forces and fight with our cobelligerents in the same cause, we ought to permit them to do so, and then, if they wish to do so, to place themselves in the same condition that they were as residents before they elected to go. And the obligation the gentleman refers to is the same obligation we assume in the admission of thousands of aliens already here and did before the war began as to public charges. If they are thought liable to become public charges they are inadmissible, but if they become public charges after a certain length of time, then our country takes care of them under the present immigration law.

And surely we ought not to say that where men have left this country, and possibly left their families, and have become afflicted or wounded on the other side in line of service, that they shall not come back merely because they are liable to become a public charge.

I think that is right, Mr. Speaker. Representatives of the State Department, as I have said, and of the Labor Department appeared before our committee and urged it, and you will find in the report that it is important in order to consummate and carry out the treaties in course of consummation and some that have already been consummated.

Mr. SABATH. If they joined our armies and became disabled they would be entitled to compensation or to pension?

Mr. BURNETT. Exactly.

Mr. SABATH. And by joining cobelligerent armies they are not entitled to any pension or any compensation from this country in case of disability?

Mr. KNUTSON. And we are relieved of just that much responsibility?

Mr. SABATH. And the fact is the country will be better off from a financial point of view.

Mr. BURNETT. We can take the chances on some of them being public charges on account of being relieved from the very trouble that the gentleman from Illinois and the gentleman from Minnesota have pointed out.

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD], and I ask unanimous consent that he may be permitted to proceed out of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] may speak for 20 minutes and proceed out of order. Is there objection?

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I think we were going to discuss this resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I think it will be interesting for the Members of this House, also the public, to note that some 10 days ago the heads of the four great railway brotherhoods of the United States, speaking in behalf of the thousands of members of these organizations, filed a formal, ringing protest with the Director General of Railways. This protest demanded the abrogation of certain recent rulings of the Director General of Railways held by the representatives of the brotherhoods to be in contravention of the constitutional rights of members of these organizations, and of the principle of collective bargaining in which the administration has been engaged with such zeal in pressing upon private employers.

This protest first attacks the recent pronunciamento of the Director General of Railways which prohibits railway employees from taking a hand in politics, from serving as members or officers of political committees, or from holding appointive or elective offices. It is pointed out by the railway brotherhood heads that this ruling violates the most ordinary rights of citizens, and, indeed, inhibits on their part the performance of what is regarded by intelligent citizens of this Republic as their plain duty. It is set up in this protest by the officers of the railway brotherhoods that now that railway employees have been brought within the jurisdiction and control of officials politically chosen, it is more than ever their duty to take a hand in the selection of their servants in authority. It is not understood by the employees of the railways of this country why an administration which is having so much to say about the democratic control of industry should be so insistent upon prohibiting the employees of railways from taking the ordinary citizen's part in choosing the officials who are to make and enforce the laws that control these properties. They are also unable to understand why they should be prohibited from accepting designations as party organization officials, especially at this time, when the Secretary of War, with all his great responsibilities, seeks and accepts election as a member of the Democratic State committee in the State of Ohio, or why they should be estopped from actively participating in campaigns when no less than four members of the present Cabinet, by supposed inspiration from higher up, have written campaign letters indorsing the Tammany candidate for governor of New York, and that, too, in full knowledge of the fact that the present governor of that great State—Gov. Whitman—has given to the country one of the greatest exhibitions of loyalty that was ever witnessed in this country; in fact, in more than one instance has he invoked the law of the State of New York to protect our country and our Army against the insidious influence of citizens within the State, and has instituted prosecutions against this character of malefactors when the Government of the United States itself has refrained from instituting the same. And the employees of these railways do not understand why they should be prohibited from taking the smallest part in politics when the head of the Government himself is making a partisan public appeal in behalf of a Democratic candidate for United States Senator in the State of Kentucky, as he has done heretofore frequently in other States. That railway employees should be prohibited from sitting in municipal, State, or National legislative bodies is declared by the railway organizations in this protest to be an act of gross injustice.

In many railway centers railroad men are in the majority among the voters. That they should be a proscribed class as respects participation in their own local governmental affairs is unthinkable in a republic. Particularly does such an inhibition come with ill grace from public officials who are themselves in office by virtue of politics, and who even in this day of adjourned politics are in the political game up to their ears, as everyone realizes who possesses the most elementary knowledge of conditions and who exercises even the slightest observation.

Another ruling very vigorously protested against by the organized railway employees of the country is the order prohibiting railway men from participation in any business which comes in competition with that of patrons of the railway lines. In many localities railway men have formed cooperative organiza-

tions for the purpose of lessening the cost of living and relieving themselves from the exactions of the petty profiteers, who in this day of crusading against big business escape censure, possibly because of their superior voting strength. This cooperation under the recent ruling of Secretary McAdoo is prohibited. Many of these men have invested their savings in coal yards, garages, and many other local establishments. In this they are doing merely what citizens in other lines of employment are freely permitted to do. This is now prohibited, and railway men are required to dispose of their holdings in such business ventures and will be required to make heavy sacrifices in order to comply with the same.

If the private employers of labor were to attempt to establish such rulings and enforce them, they would encounter the fierce opposition of all employees, both organized and unorganized. They would also be opposed by the public in general, and some labor bureau, either in the State or Nation, would reach out its iron hand and smite the plutocrat who would thus dare to trample upon the constitutional prerogatives of free men. But that against which these railway chiefs protest most vigorously, as many who voted for the Adamson law two years ago were apprehensive would happen, is the refusal of the Railway Administration to recognize the principle of collective bargaining; that is, dealing with the representatives of the railway employees in *settling* wages and conditions. It is proposed by the Railway Administration to set up instead the arbitrary rule of a wage board of its own creation, upon which, the railway chiefs complain, the railway workers are not represented. What we are calling collective bargaining in industry at this time, it may be added, is not collective bargaining at all. There is no bargaining between the parties in interest. There is simply the arbitrary interference of an outside governmental agency, which tells both employer and employee what shall and what shall not be done. There have been instances in which strikes have been started by men who were later sent to arbitrate the very strikes they set in motion. The parties in interest have been left out of the situation, a thing tolerated only because of the exigencies of war, which has been too often employed as an excuse for anything and everything. But with this excuse removed, the existence of such a system would be unthinkable. Now, for the first time in this railway situation, labor is beginning to taste the bitter fruits from a tree of their own planting. By that legislation the rights of labor and the rights of capital were both overthrown, and it was decided that questions between them should be politically determined. In other words, if labor was in power, capital would be denied a voice; if capital should be in control, labor would be left out of the accounting. Labor leaders were warned at the time that this legislation meant the end of collective bargaining and the beginning of political settlement of industrial disputes, with the rights of capital denied now, perhaps the rights of labor denied next, and in both cases the injured party being refused an opportunity for a hearing in any properly organized court. As capital could be held to the employment of a certain individual, so that individual could be bound to his employment, and thus would be established the beginning of a new slavery rather than a new freedom.

This protest, couched in stronger and more indignant terms than I can suggest, was filed with the Director General of Railways week before last. Is it not remarkably strange that a matter of this importance has not reached the public? Is this a sample of the pitiless publicity to be expected under the new freedom? Mark the change that has occurred since the railway chiefs were received at the White House with such great pomp and éclat, and a pen provided for the head of each brotherhood, to be used in signing a wage act that was then claimed to represent the final triumph of labor over plutocracy, and which was going to usher in, as we were told, the bright and happy millennium of Government ownership.

The situation in which the railway employees find themselves does not differ materially from that prevailing in the Postal Service. There, an administration, which has seized the telephone and telegraph lines as an act of reprisal for refusing to recognize affiliated unionism, declines to accept the principle of collective bargaining it so benevolently imposes upon the private employer in total disregard of his wishes or his welfare. The administration of Postmaster General Burleson has been marked by a continuous battle between the organizations of employees and the department. The American Federation of Labor has twice adopted resolutions directing President Gompers to bring about a change in these conditions, but it has been discovered that Mr. Gompers is quite deaf in the ear into which any complaint against his administration associates is poured, and consequently nothing has been done. To this very department the telephone and telegraph lines, in coventry for their refusal to unionize their establishments, are turned over, and to-day the union telegraphers are more uncertain of their status than in the days of private ownership. A formal written demand by the postal employees upon the department to declare its attitude on the question of collective bargaining has been answered by an ambiguous argument which leaves the whole question in a cloud of uncertainty. This demand and decision, too, have in some way escaped the eyes of the once vigilant news gatherers of a free and untrammeled press. Rather do they prefer to chronicle the vainglorious boastings of the Director General of Railways as to the alleged benefits which are flowing to the people as a result of a 25 per cent increase in freight rates and a 50 per cent boost in passenger fares. Another thing that seems to have escaped the press is the decision of Federal Judge Evans, of Louisville, Ky., rendered a few days ago, in which it is held that the Secretary of the Treasury is acting in usurpation of authority in taking over the railways, because the law authorizes the Secretary of War only to do this thing purely as a war measure. Why is it that matters of such moment can not find a place in the public press of the country?

The wage earners of this country are discovering, and destined still further to discover, that the politician is not a better, a wiser, a safer, or a fairer employer than the man of affairs who has built up the business these politicians have seized and are now operating. When wageworkers were in the employ of the business man they had the Government to appeal to for a redress of grievances. Now that they are in the employ of the politician they discover that there is no appeal, there is no place to arbitrate, and the right to strike is denied. If they had been willing to listen to the advice of their real friends at the time they were demanding that their differences with their employers be politically settled, and had insisted upon making that settlement themselves, they would not now be confronted with their present embarrassment, an embarrassment that is destined to be intensified rather than mitigated as we progress further into the intricacies of political possession of industry.

In my opinion one of the greatest problems that the future has in store after this war is over, when it is tried to rearrange and reorganize the economic conditions of this country, will be to unscramble these scrambled eggs.

In the name of the thousands and thousands of patriotic, law-abiding, liberty-loving railroad men in my district in the State of Indiana and throughout the United States, and in the name of the thousands and thousands of equally patriotic but underpaid and overworked postal employees of the country, and in the name of the democracy that we are supposed to enjoy and for which we are now fighting to give to the world, I demand that these arbitrary and autocratic requirements of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Postmaster General be abrogated and that the Government employees affected thereby be given the rights of citizenship to which they are entitled. [Applause.]

I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Missouri use some more time?

Mr. MEEKER. I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SIEGEL].

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, I was looking around the Chamber to see whether or not the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] was present. He raised an objection to this resolution. I would like to call his attention, if he were here, to a couple of real live cases which I saw on the other side, which would perhaps make him change his mind as to whether it is necessary to offer any amendments to this resolution.

At base hospital No. 1, just outside of Paris, I saw a boy named Wilner, who had been less than three years in this country and had made his first declaration in order to become a citizen. He had had one foot amputated. I inquired of him what he intended to do after he had gotten his wooden foot, and his answer was, "I am not going back home until I get some more Boches."

On another occasion Gen. Edwards told me the story of a lad who had been about two years in this country, a tailor boy in Brooklyn, who had gone in and brought down several Boches, and when he was found his gun was jammed, the point of the bayonet was turned, and three dead Boches were lying at his side. Those boys had gone into the service, although aliens, when the country required men to serve, but they were full Americans in the full sense of the term.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. They were serving in our armies?

Mr. SIEGEL. Yes; they were serving in our armies. But the way our law stands to-day, unless this resolution goes through, those boys could not come back to the United States because they are technically aliens.

Only a few months ago we passed a bill here for the purpose of naturalizing a large number of men who had enlisted in the Army. At that time there were approximately 123,000 of them.

At the present time there are 260,000. We have naturalized in our camps here a large number, and there are thousands and thousands of these men with our forces who have not been naturalized yet on account of the fact that the machinery is not yet in full operation.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. SIEGEL. Certainly.

Mr. RAKER. The men who are abroad in our forces are being naturalized now. Six weeks ago a committee was sent over, and they are actively engaged, and I suppose that one-half or three-fourths of those men have been naturalized by this time, as I am advised by the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization.

Mr. SIEGEL. Several gentlemen have asked me that question. But while the commission has started to perform its work, it will have to work for months and perhaps a year to spread out everywhere in France, because there is not a hamlet or a crossroads or a village in France where our boys will not be found hammering along on some part of the line. Let me add that the Naturalization Bureau is working as expeditiously as it is possible and doing all that it can with its limited means.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIEGEL. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Regardless of the fact whether they are naturalized or not, they have done what every American ought to do—fight for the liberty we are trying to preserve?

Mr. SIEGEL. Yes. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. MADDEN. And we ought to extend to them every privilege that is exercised and enjoyed by native Americans?

Mr. SIEGEL. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIEGEL. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman at the beginning of his remarks referred to a statement made by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD], who is not now present. I understand his query was in regard to men who were serving with our forces, whether it was equitable and proper that we should extend these privileges to men who may have been on our shores for only a short time and then returned to their native country and fought under their own banners.

Mr. SIEGEL. Yes. I think it is right and proper that those men should be readmitted, for this reason: Either we believe or do not believe that the allies are all fighting for the same common cause, for the principles of liberty and humanity and justice, which we are. If so, every man is fighting for the same cause, and we believe they all ought to receive the same treatment.

Mr. MONDELL. That was the contention of the gentleman from Wisconsin. It is at least entitled to consideration, of course.

Mr. SIEGEL. We have endeavored in every possible way to get these men to enter the forces of their own country if they did not enlist in our forces.

Mr. BURNETT. Our treaty gives them 60 days in which to do it?

Mr. SIEGEL. Yes. That was the purpose of the bill that the gentleman introduced, in asking these men to go into their own armies.

I am confident this resolution will pass. But leaving aside the question of this resolution, I may say that we are all interested in learning to-day that our soldier-Congressman, my colleague, in Italy, Mr. LAGUARDIA, has received the Italian War Cross for gallant services rendered the allied cause in Italy. [Applause.] And I may say that I saw him running one of these Caproni three-motor 650 horsepower machines near Milan, and that he had with him a force of young Americans training with him from all over the United States. And our friend from Pennsylvania, Mr. FARR, will be interested in knowing that two men from his city, Mr. Robinton and Mr. Lewis, although injured severely, insisted on going back and flying once more, after recovering from their wounds. [Applause.]

Now, there has been considerable comment made on the mail system in France, and if I had the time I would like to discuss it in great detail, as I know we are all deeply interested in getting news to and from the boys over there. I want to say this in brief: That I took that matter up most thoroughly and spent some hours with Col. Howe, and I find that a complete new system is being adopted over there and a postal regiment organized, consisting of men who had been in the Postal Service in the United States.

The only man who was not in the postal service was Col. Howe himself, and he came from Boston and is, as I am reliably informed, a prominent and successful business man who has practical ideas combined with military experience. The trouble has been—and we tested it, taking out about 200 different packages of mail that arrived in one day—that many letters are improperly addressed. We found 21 per cent of those letters had been wrongly addressed in the States. Whether there was a mistake in the War Department in organizing the same numbers for regiments of artillery and ambulance corps and sanitary trains and infantry organizations is not a matter that we can discuss now, as that condition can not be remedied. This is what occurs very frequently: A man will write John Jones or John Smith, Two hundred and eighth Regiment, American Expeditionary Force, France, without stating the branch of the service. You have Two hundred and eighth Infantry, Two hundred and eighth Artillery, Two hundred and eighth Ambulance Corps, Two hundred and eighth Sanitary Trains, and other kinds of units. Twenty-one per cent of these letters are wrongly addressed.

Another cause of trouble is mail has been received at only one place in France, but the new idea is to have it sent from the United States to four different ports instead of one, and they will be notified where the ship is bound, when the mail is going to be received, and where railroad trains must be provided and to be sent to these ports to receive the mail.

A further trouble is, that many boys in writing home have not given their correct addresses. We find some boys when they were at Tours, in France, writing home and saying that they were in Toul. Many letters arrived in Toul that did not belong there. Some of the boys desired to have their folks at home believe that they were in an active sector when, as a matter of fact, they were in practically no danger.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIEGEL. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Can the gentleman explain why a person who is in active military service, stationed in Paris, detailed to the military paper published there known as the Stars and Stripes, should not receive a letter from this country addressed to him in care of the headquarters at Paris?

Mr. SIEGEL. I know that the gentleman is referring to his former secretary, Mr. James Britt. I saw and spoke to him there. The trouble may be that the gentleman put a 2-cent stamp instead of a 3-cent stamp on his letter. That has happened frequently.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIEGEL. Yes.

Mr. KNUTSON. I have written a number of letters to boys across there and put no stamp on, and yet they have been received.

Mr. SIEGEL. That is true; but, as far as Mr. Britt is concerned, I know he has been getting a lot of letters lately.

Mr. WALSH. Assuming that the sender of a letter put on a 3-cent stamp, can the gentleman explain it?

Mr. SIEGEL. I have heard no complaint from the boys stationed in Paris, except in the cases of Mr. James Britt and another Army field clerk, who has not received any letters from his Representative.

Mr. WALSH. Can the gentleman explain why letters sent by this same gentleman in Paris to this country should not be received?

Mr. SIEGEL. I can not explain it. I have received letters from that same gentleman.

Mr. WALSH. I understand that he has sent me six letters, and none of them have been received here, and I have sent him a dozen and he has not received them.

Mr. SIEGEL. It is true that some mail has been lost at sea. It has not amounted to much, but there has been some. Some Members' letters miss certain steamers. Under the new system various transports are to carry the mail.

The foreign branch in New York is to be notified by the military authorities when the transports are leaving, so that the mail can be taken on board. Last year, when Christmas packages were to go, at my suggestion the naval vessels carried the mails. It is hoped that they can carry mail this year, so that the boys may receive the Christmas packages in time. I may say that over 10,000 packages were found a few weeks ago in a warehouse, which had been sent out last year, in October or November, and had not been delivered. They were stored in this warehouse in Paris and had been lying there the entire time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SIEGEL. I ask for five minutes more.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FOSTER). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIEGEL. There are four ports in France where the mail will be received hereafter. At one particular and important port the great trouble has been that we lacked a lighter. As a

result of a suggestion made on the other side a lighter is to be purchased, so that first-class mail will not be detained two days. Second-class mail will be sent to another port, where it can be more expeditiously handled. The two other ports where mail will be received are the proper ports for receiving first-class mail as well.

We have heard considerable complaint about the mail coming back here. I discovered "over there" some lieutenants who were politely taking their time in censoring the mails. I had a striking example of it. A letter was written on the 8th of August to me, addressed to my hotel in Paris, censored on the 16th, and reached me on the 23d. An order has been issued that all mail must be censored within 24 hours by these lieutenants who are censoring letters written by the men. That would account for a good deal of the delay in mail being sent over here.

On board the ship on which I came over we brought a little over 6,000,000 letters. In accordance with the suggestion made on the other side by some of the Members of the House as well as myself, who were over there at the time, letters for the West are now being put into directed mail bags so that when they arrive at our own ports the bags are immediately sent to the railroad depots and sent on their way. A better delivery is now going on and there is no reason in the world why mail from the other side can not reach people in the east of the United States in 16 or 17 days, and the Far West within 20 days.

The men on the other side are showing their faith in the justice of our cause. They are going into the fight with a spirit that shows they realize what we are fighting for. They are willingly making every sacrifice, and when I saw them going in with gas masks on, alert and singing, I saw before me cosmopolitan America, representative of all the nations of the world, going forward to fight the world's great battle for lasting freedom and justice. They have the right to look to America to give them quicker mail service, and to respond most generously in providing them with more cigarettes, chocolate, and athletic goods. They expect the people of this country to show them their faith in the cause, to oversubscribe the fourth liberty loan, and to show their love for their country by being willing to sacrifice all they possess in order that the fight may be won quickly and in a manner that will bring a complete victory. [Applause.] I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, it is with keen regret that I have heard this afternoon on the floor of this House reference made to the fact that natives of Italy have come here solely for the purpose of earning money and then returning to that country with their gains. Such talk was frequently heard here about two years ago, and then facts and figures showed that the men from Italy were doing all that could possibly be expected from them, and that they worked conscientiously and very hard in order to obtain a livelihood. I called attention to that fact a number of times and directed the attention of this House to the large percentage of immigrants and immigrants' children who were attending our schools, high schools, colleges, and universities. Many of these remarks are made by men who have given no study to Italy, because a visitor to that country realizes at once that it is so wonderfully great in its treasures of art, so beautiful in its magnificent scenery, so full of the glories of nature that the man who only thinks of materialism and money can not grasp its value to the world at large. A country which has been praised so highly by Byron, Shelley, Sand, Landor, and Browning, possessing as it does all that stands for sweetness of song and music, is worthy of the deepest thought and consideration.

In a few years from now Italy will have awakened fully to the realization that it is bound to and should have a large share of the world's trade. It is going to turn from art, painting, music, and song to manufacture, mining, and commerce. It has twice saved the allies, and from Italy came Columbus and Marconi, the former discovering America and the latter giving us the wireless, both of which have been events which the people of all nations can never forget. Fighting on a battle front covering over 400 miles and losing a million men up to date, receiving less help than what it has asked for, yet continuing most faithful in every respect and in every way to the cause of the allies, Italy is bound to win the admiration of all thinking men and women who are not blinded by passion or prejudice. Every kind of courtesy which could possibly be extended to men was bestowed by the representatives and citizens of Italy to the Members of Congress who visited that country. The ties of friendship and good feeling which now exists between this country and Italy have been cemented more strongly than ever during the past year, and when the days of peace come we can look forward to one of the largest trades that ever went on between two nations and their citizens. Let us commence to look at what is best in a people and to recognize their value to the world at large instead of constantly harping on things which are of no value and which might in some slight degree tend to weaken the morale of our allies at a time when unity and harmony are so important factors in continuing the great successes which have attended our arms during the past two months under the most auspicious skies. It has truly been said by Edward Hale that there are some people who have three kinds of troubles, namely, all they ever had, all they have now, and all they expect to have. That applies most particularly to those gentlemen who can not realize the new change in conditions which confront us in the international sphere in which we have become the leaders.

Mr. Speaker, love of country is born with the individual. No greater love can man have, for he who loves his country showers upon her the same affection which he shows to his own mother at every opportunity. The greatest privilege which an American citizen has at the present time is to perform the full duties and obligations of such treasured citizenship. They imply a readiness and willingness to serve the Republic in every capacity he possesses. He exemplifies it by being willing to fight for her, physically, if he is able to do so, and financially at all times. He does not measure the amount of service he renders; he typifies by deed that which he would have his fellow Americans do; he believes in building up and not destroying; he demonstrates at every opportunity that to America he owes everything and that at her command he is prepared to surrender all that he has, whether life or treasure or both, in order that the country may win the struggle in which we are engaged. He knows full well that criticism of an ally at a time like this is bound to do harm, and he guards his remarks in order that what he says may be helpful criticism instead of a detriment.

Mr. Speaker, I hope to see every American citizen as a subscriber to the fourth liberty loan. The sooner we realize that where the treasure is there the heart is bound to be, the greater will be the interest taken by citizens in their Government and lead to closer study on their part of the problems which we are going to face when the economic reorganization and reconstruction period comes after this war shall have been won by us. A dawn of another day is coming, and then throughout the length and breadth of America we shall see a unified people, proud to be part of this great Republic, working for the common good of all men, standing at all times for liberty, justice, freedom, and humanity everywhere, leading the world in progressive reforms, arousing the nations of the world to the full realization of what real peace means, and that at all times demonstrate to all who may come here that this is a land of opportunity for those who, with the benefits of citizenship, are at all times prepared to carry with them the obligation to serve America in her hour of need. To that task we can all dedicate ourselves and pledge our children and their descendants to the same course.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. RAKER].

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, while the House joint resolution 255 was before the House it was amended so as to take care of the provision, and, as I believe, as far as it ought to be taken care of as now suggested by the gentleman from Wisconsin, wherein they struck out the last proviso of the bill, "that if any alien readmitted to the United States in pursuance of the term thereof shall at any time become a public charge the expense of maintenance and care shall be paid out of the Treasury of the United States." Eliminating that, it left the bill absolutely equitable and relieved the party from that proviso, for under the laws of that State all would be treated and provided for equitably. The committee in reporting this joint resolution reenacts House joint resolution 255 so as to make it actually equitable and just, making no distinction of those who enter our Army and those who enter the army of the cobelligerents, but by extending the time in which they could make their application and extending the time in which they can be readmitted after the close of the war. The suggestion made that there should be a limitation here, an inhibition or a prohibition against those who enter the cobelligerent armies and a distinction between those who enter the armies of the United States, I can not believe is exactly right under the law as it now stands and under the treaties which we have finally consummated between England and the United States. Greece and undoubtedly Italy will follow in a short time. Is not that correct?

Mr. BURNETT. France has already agreed with us, but Italy has not.

Mr. RAKER. Italy has not, but will undoubtedly in a short time.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I understand the plenipotentiaries have agreed, but that the separate governments have not ratified the treaties.

Mr. RAKER. So they will all be the same. Now, the language is entirely different, because these men before could not be drafted. Those volunteering went into our own Army. Now they are given a certain length of time in which to designate the fact that they will enter the armies of their native country. If they do not, then they will be drafted in our Army and our citizens in the several countries will be drafted in the same way, so they will all have a place in the service—Americans in the armies of other countries and aliens in the armies of the United States.

Mr. ROGERS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAKER. I will.

Mr. ROGERS. I notice about the middle of the second page of the resolution there is a provision as to certain aliens—

Who may during or within one year after the termination of the war apply for readmission to this country and shall, within two years after the termination of the war, be readmitted.

Is the purpose of the additional year to allow them to get over here? It would not be sufficient if the application date of one year should control——

Mr. RAKER. The purpose was if a man during the war at any time should make his application or he should make his application one year after the war, then he would have his two years within which to be admitted to the United States.

Mr. ROGERS. But does not he have to apply at a port of entry of the United States?

Mr. RAKER. Well, I do not think so.

Mr. ROGERS. Is it possible, in other words, for one of these men to apply while he is still in France or Italy?

Mr. RAKER. Now, that is the view of the committee, and we made it that way especially, so that a man could apply at any place and then his rights would not be affected.

Mr. ROGERS. But ordinarily I understand under the immigration laws the question of admission is not passed upon until the alien presents himself at a port of the United States?

Mr. RAKER. We believe this will permit the party to make his application at any place, and within the designated time in this bill he may come to this country and the department will make rules and regulations so as to carry it out, because the representatives of the various departments were before the committee and we discussed this very question. This resolution covers the entire field now, is equitable and just to all, and should, and no doubt will, soon be placed upon the statutes as one of the necessary war measures.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD].

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, in my absence from the Chamber at luncheon I am advised that the gentleman from New York [Mr. SIEGEL], a member of the committee, who was present when I directed an inquiry to the chairman of the committee, failed to understand my position and misrepresented it——

Mr. SIEGEL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I am quite surprised that the gentleman did not understand what my position was in the query propounded to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BURNETT].

Mr. SIEGEL. Now, the gentleman himself has frankly stated that he was not present. I think he will find, if we had the stenographer's minutes as taken down, that he had not been misrepresented in any way.

Mr. STAFFORD. I was advised as I came into the Chamber by the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] that the gentleman from New York had misrepresented or misunderstood my position, and through the courtesy of the gentleman from Wyoming my position was set forth correctly. Now, since the gentleman from Alabama has presented the views of the committee as to allowing aliens who at the time of joining the forces of cobelligerents resided in the United States and have become disabled in the service of their native countries, I am not so strong in my position as to whether the amendment I had proposed to offer should be presented. I certainly wish to broaden the present law, so as to permit not only aliens of Czecho-Slovak countries who have declared their intention to become citizens and have joined those forces, but I wish to permit all aliens who have joined not only the military forces of the United States, but also the military forces of cobelligerents, to return to this country within a certain period of time and be exempt from the provisions of the contract-labor law and those other provisions which are carried in the first part of this bill, but I have serious doubt in my mind whether it is the duty of the United States Government to take upon itself the obligations of supporting for all time an alien who joins the cobelligerent forces and becomes disabled through imbecility or insanity and seeks to return to this country to be supported by it ever after.

Mr. BANKHEAD. What sort of support does the gentleman refer to?

Mr. STAFFORD. This last clause exempts men who have become idiotic, epileptic, or insane as a result of their services in their native forces, in the cobelligerent service, and permits their admission to this country if they resided here at the time of their enlistment in cobelligerent forces.

Mr. SABATH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. It is that character of support that will necessarily be thrown upon the local municipalities. Take this instance, there can be no objection on the part of any alien who has never declared his intention whatsoever, who goes and joins his native forces, the cobelligerent forces, such as Italy or Great Britain, who, at the expiration of two years, wishes to return to this country, if he is free from such permanent taint.

There is no objection to that, whether he comes into this country with his passage paid or not, or because of any other objections that are waived in the first part of the bill. But take, for instance, this case: There have been hundreds and thousands of Italians without any claim to citizenship who, at the call of their native country, left this country and joined the Italian forces. If they are injured and become permanently disabled with imbecility or insanity and the like, then these foreigners under this bill are to be permitted to return to this country, and our Government maintain them as a public charge. I say that burden should be imposed upon their native country, and that is the phase I am presenting.

Mr. BANKHEAD. What remedy has the gentleman in mind to relieve that situation?

Mr. STAFFORD. I want to strike out, line 2, page 3, after the words "United States," "or of any one of the nations cobelligerent of the United States in the present war."

Mr. SABATH. That is the present law.

Mr. STAFFORD. I beg your pardon, that is not the present law. The present law does not permit an alien who has joined the native forces of his own country and who becomes disabled in line of duty in those native forces to return to this country.

Mr. BURNETT. He means you strike that out and leave the law substantially as it is.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman does an injustice to the resolution that he reports. He stated in his opening remarks that it comprises two features; that the first part enables aliens, regardless of whether they have declared their intention, which is the present law, to become privileged to come back to this country. The second provision relates to those who have become disabled through imbecility, insanity, or the like in line of duty to be returned to this country in spite of their disability. Am I not correct in that explanation of this bill?

Mr. RAKER. The words the gentleman suggests there comprise new legislation in this bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is. There is no question about that.

Mr. JUUL. I want to ask the gentleman if it is not a fact that the reason for their leaving this country is the war, and if it was not for the war there would not have been any of these disabilities which the gentleman describes. Now, when they return disabled they return because they have performed services in some organization in which we are just as much interested as if it were our own organization.

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes; they performed a service that they owed in this great war to their native country, of which we are receiving the benefit. As an instance, thousands of Italians left this country before we became involved in war. They went to Italy in response to the call of their Government, and rightly so, to assist their native country in defense from an invasion by the enemy. After they have enlisted and become permanently disabled, or become insane, you are to permit their return and have the burden of support thrown upon this country, when they were only doing that which was directly in their line of duty. Why should the United States bear that burden?

Mr. JUUL. I would like to ask the gentleman, if it was not for the war, is it not a fact that they would have remained in this country and completed their citizenship and have been entitled to all the rights and privileges which this bill seeks to give them?

Mr. STAFFORD. It is a question between the United States and the foreign governments. Upon whom is the obligation? Is the obligation upon the United States when a foreigner in this country goes and joins his native forces and is disabled in line

of duty for this country to support him and take care of him? Carry this amendment to the logical extreme, and you would permit any alien, whether he has resided in this country or not, who had been injured and permanently disabled to come into this country and be supported by the United States Government.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MEEKER. I yield two minutes more to the gentleman.

Mr. MONDELL. I understand the gentleman's position to be this: That inasmuch as we are not proposing to take over the care of the allied soldiers generally, we should make no different rule because, perchance, a man should have come here and resided here for a short time for the purpose of accumulating money and then returned home?

Mr. STAFFORD. Not only that, but there have been thousands of Canadians who have crossed the border for a temporary domicile and afterwards returned and joined the Canadian forces.

There have been Britons residing here who have joined the British forces. Suppose they are injured in the defense of their country and carrying out their duty as citizens of their own country, permanently disabled and insane, so that they will never be able to recover, are we to relieve the British Government while they are disabled in the performance of their duty in connection with their forces of the burden of supporting them for all time when there is no legal obligation upon this country for that support?

We are doing much, indeed. No one is raising any protest against allowing aliens who are not disabled and who had been residing here, and joined the cobelligerent forces, to come in here freely. We are going further than the resolution of last June, and rightly so. There is no objection to that phase. I think there is grave doubt as to our carrying the great obligation of injury to foreigners, injury received in line of duty in connection with their forces directly connected with their native country.

Mr. JUUL. Will the gentleman give me a quarter of a minute?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. JUUL. Does the gentleman realize there are thousands of men who have left the United States and who, instead of fighting with the nominal country, have been fighting with the allies against the country? For instance, the Poles under Austria and the Poles under Prussia can not go back to their own country.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman will permit me right there——

Mr. JUUL. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. They will all be provided for in the first clause.

Mr. JUUL. But if the amendment which the gentleman proposed is agreed to, they will not be provided for.

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes; they are provided for in this first provision. Any alien who enlists in the Czecho-Slovak organization or who enlists in the United States Army or in the army of the cobelligerents will be provided for.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. Does not the gentleman know that thousands of these Czecho-Slovaks, wishing to aid the cause of democracy, were obliged to join the French, the Italian, and the Russian forces, and to-day there are 25,000 Czechs in the French Army, and many in the Italian Army, and many in the British Army?

Mr. STAFFORD. They are all privileged to return to this country, as the first part of the provision provides, on condition, I am frank to admit, they are not permanently disabled. If they are permanently disabled, I am frank to admit that they will be excluded; but I shall change the form of my amendment so as to permit these special classes to be admitted even in case they have incurred disability in line of service. As their native country may exclude them, we should not raise a bar to their returning here, I agree.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield one minute to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON].

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for one minute.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to read an item from the Dallas News, as follows:

TEXAS HAS SENT 200,000 MEN INTO NATION'S SERVICE.

AUSTIN, TEX., *September 21.*

Texas has furnished approximately 200,000 men for the great American Army fighting for world freedom and peace. A total of 114,208 have been formally inducted into the Army through draft, of which 81,208 were white and 32,281 were negroes. Voluntary enlistments and inductions aggregated 42,452. The old Texas National Guard sent 15,000 soldiers and the new National Guard of Texas, about to be Federalized, will supply 16,000. This makes a grand total of 187,660 and does not include those who went into the Navy and with the marines. The latter two classes are expected to bring the total to 200,000.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SLAYDEN].

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, it might as well be admitted frankly that the purpose of this resolution is to enable the State Department to complete its negotiation of treaties with certain countries, Italy, for example, by which the services of citizens of that kingdom who are in this country may be secured by inducing them to go into the Army with the promise of the privilege of returning after the war.

Now, it has been explained already, but it may be well to explain it again to those Members who do not recall the resolution which passed some weeks ago, that this proposes to extend the privileges of readmission to this country to certain aliens who were lawfully residents here before the war who have not gone into our Army or into the army of the Czecho-Slovaks or other independent forces. The Secretary of State stated his position in reference to this matter in letters to various Members and to the chairman, who has clearly explained it all in a paragraph on page 2 of the report:

> Especially is that true since we have negotiated and are negotiating treaties with cobelligerent nations by which we may draft their subjects into our armies unless, within a specified time, they elect to return to their own countries.

And presumably to go into the military service, because they will be forced into it if they do not go into it voluntarily.

Now, if they went into our Army and were disabled, does any one doubt that we would pension them for that service when the war is over or provide for them in some way? But if they go into the Army of their own country we do not incur the obligation of pensioning them. We simply permit them to come back here, and we overlook perhaps certain physical defects in doing it. From the point of view of economy, for the saving of the money of the people, it is better for us to do this than to encourage them to go into our own Army and thus impose on ourselves the ultimate obligation of pensioning them.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. SLAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is it not a fact that if they do join our Army now, the very next day after joining they can take out citizenship papers?

Mr. SLAYDEN. Yes; but we do not want to force people to become citizens.

Now, I want to comment for a moment on another argument advanced by the gentleman from Wisconsin a moment ago. He spoke of it as matter of disparagement when he said foreigners come over here and accumulate a little money and then go back to their own countries to live. I have no objection to that, and I do not see the force of the argument. If a man comes over here and gives his services to somebody for so much money, presumably it is a profitable transaction for the man who employs him as well as the man who has earned the money; and if the man who has earned the money wants to go back to Italy or to France, and if my friend from California [Mr. RAKER] were not here, I would say to China, I would be perfectly willing to let him do it, and it might be that I would be more willing that he should do that than that he should stay here. I think we can rely on our own people hereafter for population, and I am not willing to encourage all kinds of people from all parts of the world to come here. But if a man does come and renders good service for fair pay, he is entitled to go and spend his earnings wherever he pleases.

I hope the wishes of the State Department in this matter may be respected, and that we may relieve them from any embarrassment in negotiating treaties where it is alleged and truthfully alleged that there is discrimination against certain people. I hope there will be no vote against this resolution. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I have, if I am not mistaken, 10 minutes left. After I have used 15 minutes, I would be glad if the Chair would call my attention to it. Before I proceed, however, I want to yield two minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO].

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Arkansas is recognized for two minutes.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, I do not care to discuss the pending measure, but arose for the purpose of reading to the House an extract from a letter written by Lieut. Wendel Robertson to his mother. At the outbreak of the war this splendid young man, a resident of Fort Smith, Ark., enlisted for training as an aviator and has rapidly won recognition and distinction by his services. You will recall the death of Lieut. Dave Putnam, the American ace of aces, which occurred in action on the Lorraine front Wednesday, September 12. Lieut. Robertson and Lieut. Putnam were members of the same flying squadron and were together in the same air battle in which Putnam was killed, but Robertson was so fortunate as to come through the battle alive. On August 6 Lieut. Robertson wrote to his mother a letter, the extract from which I shall read. I was deeply moved by the heroic sentiments expressed and believe you will appreciate the noble spirit that breathes through this simple yet sublime message from a boy to his mother.

If anything does happen to me, and you know it is not impossible, I don't want you to feel too bad, for you see I want you to see things in this light.

I have up to now had a rather wonderful life. I have had everything given me and have given nothing in return. The life I am leading now is by far the most comfortable of any combatant in the war, so if it be so ordained that I die I will be merely paying my debt to the countless millions before me who have suffered for me, and if I do die it will be a wonderful end. The clean sport of the game right to the end.

I don't want you to be depressed by what I have written, for its simply the thing we have all faced since I have been in the Army. I have not written about it before, and I shan't again, but I do want you to feel about it as I do. Death is nothing to be feared if met in the midst of war. I don't visualize him as a grim specter riding a raging storm, but rather as a high priest who solemnly confers the black robe of immortality.

[Applause.]

That is the spirit, Mr. Speaker, of the boys over there. [Applause.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, within a few days after the declaration of war by our country against Germany thousands of resident Bohemians (Czechs), Poles, Slovaks, Croatians, Jews, and Italians, who as yet had no chance or opportunity to be naturalized—and therefore were resident aliens—enlisted in our Army; a great number of them, desirous for immediate service abroad, crossed over to Canada to join the British-Canadian Army, and still others crossed the seas to join the French, Italian, Serbian, Greek, and Russian forces, their aim being to get across and on the firing line. The only fear they entertained was that they could not get over soon enough to fight against the German and Austrian despotism and for the cause of democracy. [Applause.]

Thousands upon thousands of these former resident aliens are now heroically fighting on all fronts in the French, British, Italian, Czecho-Slovak, and the Serbian Armies. [Applause.] Each and every one of these men a volunteer for this great and noble cause, and whenever we find men who are brave and courageous enough to offer to sacrifice their lives for a cause of righteousness, justice, humanity, and democracy for which we ourselves are fighting, they are surely entitled to consideration. Every one of them, it matters not of what nationality, are made of the right stuff and deserving of consideration and recognition we can extend them and surely entitled to the privileges which this resolution aims to grant them—the right to again enter upon our shores without being subjected to our strict immigration restriction laws. These men did not hesitate, they did not wait, but were ready, leaving their homes and many their dear ones to fight for freedom and liberty. True, many of them had a double reason, namely, to help their mother country and, secondly, to help their adopted country in its cause for world democracy, but they offered themselves for a noble cause, and their strength of character and bravery should not be questioned or impugned. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, it is indeed deplorable that their motives should be questioned, that there should be any criticism of any of these brave men or objection against this meritorious resolution, and I sincerely hope, after due consideration on the part of the gentlemen who have seen fit to criticize, that they will reconsider and see the justice of this legislation. These men, including those who left before the declaration of war, have demonstrated by their action the proper spirit for the cause of freedom and liberty, and consequently those that survive, though they may have suffered disabilities in their service, which under normal conditions would preclude them from entering, are deserving and should be received by us with open arms.

Mr. Speaker, knowing how bravely they responded and under what conditions thousands of these men left the United States to join the cobelligerent forces, early in February of this year I introduced this resolution, but, unfortunately, notwithstanding my earnest plea and efforts for its adoption the committee believed that the time was not at hand for its passage, and refused to give it favorable consideration, but amended it to exclude those in the cobelligerent armies and in this mutilated form was reported and passed. But, Mr. Speaker, since that time the Department of Labor, as well as the Department of State, have earnestly recommended its passage as originally introduced, thereby bearing out my previous contention that this legislation should be enacted in behalf of these brave and deserving patriots.

Mr. JUUL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. For a question.

Mr. JUUL. Is it not a fact that but for the passage of this resolution, or a similar one, any or all of these men who have left here can not come back if they have lost an arm or a leg or an eye?

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman is correct. They can not come back unless this resolution be adopted.

Now, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, it was trying for me at the last session and the beginning of this session to convince the majority of the membership of this House as to the Czecho-Slovak movement, many questioning my assertions and doubting that such a body as the Czecho-Slovak Army existed, and questioned the advisability of giving or granting them the recognition that I have so earnestly pleaded and strongly recommended. To-day no one questions the existence of this brave and determined army, of its bravery and heroism, and its superhuman accomplishments. [Applause.] It is well known not only to you but to the entire world. [Applause.] Yet even to-day and every day I am asked who are the Czecho-Slovaks, and therefore I shall avail myself of the opportunity to at least partially acquaint you and the country of who they are and for what they stand. The Czechs are the Bohemians. In the Bohemian language called Czechs.

Czecho-Slovaks are the Slavs of northwestern Austria-Hungary, consisting of two branches, namely, Czechs (Bohemians) and Slovaks. Czechs live in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, which for years has been oppressed and misruled by Austria-Hungary. They number 7,000,000. Slovaks, 2,500,000 in number, inhabit Slovakia, in Hungary, which is everywhere contiguous with Moravia and Silesia.

These Czecho-Slovak lands measure 50,000 square miles, and have 12,500,000 inhabitants, of which 9,500,000 are Czecho-Slovaks. They have struggled against German and Magyar violence for 1,000 years. They were an independent State till the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Hapsburgs destroyed the last vestige of their independence. Czecho-Slovaks, however, never yielded, always insisting upon their rights. This war gave them the opportunity against Austria-Hungary that they have been waiting for. They are dying by the thousands for their liberty.

The men of military age fled from the Austrian Army to Russia, France, and Italy, where they organized independent Czecho-Slovak armies, which fight under the allied high command for the common cause of liberty and for the independence of the Czecho-Slovak State. They are marching through Siberia, forming the so-called eastern front, where they are engaged in a death struggle with the German and Magyar brutality and the bolshevik treason.

Czecho-Slovaks are giving their lives for their independence, for the great ideals of humanity, as proclaimed by President Wilson. [Applause.]

To better acquaint the American people with the Czechs (Bohemians) I will insert an article by Mr. Charles Pergler entitled "Should Austria-Hungary exist?" which not only gives a brief history of Bohemia and why it should be free, but also why Austria-Hungary—and I add Germany—should be overthrown, and in its place there should arise Czecho-Slov, Jugo-Slav, and United Free Poland, and other independent States:

SHOULD AUSTRIA-HUNGARY EXIST?

[By Charles Pergler.]

Metternich once called Italy a mere geographical expression. This statement was never really true of Italy, but it may be applied to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Who ever heard of anyone calling himself an Austrian? Even Francis Joseph, the late Austrian Emperor, once asserted that he was a German prince. There is no Austrian language, no Austrian literature, no Austrian nationality, no Austrian civilization. Still, States do not come into being without the aid of powerful social, economic, and political factors. Austria's main justification for existence may be found in Asiatic invasions; that is, of the Huns (Magyars) and later of the Turks. German Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia became a federation of independent States, bound together only by the person of a common king, for the purpose of more efficiently resisting Turkish pressure, when in 1526 the Hapsburgs were called to the Bohemian throne by the free choice of the Bohemian people and confirmed all the ancient rights and privileges of Bohemia.

One of the most important acts in the reign of Ferdinand the First, the first of the line of Hapsburg kings of Bohemia, was the destruction in 1547 of the autonomy of Bohemian cities, and the execution of the leaders in a movement for the establishment of liberty for all religious beliefs in Bohemia and the reestablishment of the elective character of the Bohemian crown, which Ferdinand abolished. After that, the his-

tory of Bohemia was largely a struggle between the Hapsburgs, aiming at Germanization and violating their oaths to maintain the independence of the Bohemian State, on the one hand, and the Bohemians, seeking to preserve their independence, on the other hand. The struggle culminated in a revolt signalized by the defenestration of Prague in 1618, when the representatives of Bohemian nobility threw from the window of the royal castle the representatives of the Hapsburg king. This incident was followed by the dethronement of the Hapsburg dynasty and the election of the Elector Palatine to Bohemian kingship. However, in the struggle which succeeded the act, the revolutionaries were defeated at the battle of White Mountain in 1620; but even then Bohemia was not completely derived of her independence, although her sovereignty was somewhat restricted by an edict of the king. Complete destruction of Bohemian independence came during the eighteenth century, especially during the reigns of Maria Theresa and her son Joseph, whose aim was to make of Austria a purely German State, and to destroy the identity of the various small nationalities comprising the empire.

Notwithstanding the policy of forcible Germanization, the rise of the spirit of nationality could not be prevented, and in 1848 not only did the Magyars demand self-government, but the Bohemians also came forward with a program asserting certain political rights. The abortive revolution was followed by a period of the most rigorous absolutism. But almost 20 years later it was realized that a policy of repression of all non-German nationalities was impossible. In 1867 the Magyars were granted independence, and the present dual monarchy came into existence.

There is no statute of limitations against the rights of nations; but Austria-Hungary can not even enter a plea of waiver against the Bohemian claims, because the Bohemians never ceased to protest against the existence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in its present form, and never waived their rights to the restoration of their independence. The late Emperor Francis Joseph on two distinct occasions admitted these rights and promised to revive them. Especially after the defeat of France in 1870 by Prussia, he was inclined for a short time to follow a federalistic Slav policy.

On the 12th of September, 1871, in a solemn declaration addressed to the Bohemian Diet, he made the following promise: "Having in mind the political standing of the Bohemian crown and the glory and power it has given us and our ancestors, and realizing the faithful support always given our throne by the Bohemians, we gladly recognize the rights of this kingdom and are ready to renew this recognition by our coronation oath." But when Bismarck assured him that Prussia had no aggressive intentions toward Austria, he violated his promise to the Bohemians without that decent regard for the opinions of mankind which all gentlemen have. We know to-day that Bismarck's conciliatory attitude toward Austria was dictated by purely German interests and by his expectation of making Austria a Prussian tool for the conquest of the East, and especially for securing to Germany the heritage of the moribund empire of the Sultans.

Since the beginning of the modern constitutional era even Austria has been forced to assume a thin veneer of civilization, which consists in at least a semblance of parliamentary institutions and well-sounding constitutional provisions. Thus the nineteenth section of the constitution of Austria provides: "All races of the State enjoy equal rights, and every race has an inviolable right to assert its nationality and to cultivate its language; the equal rights of all languages in the country, in schools and public life, are recognized by the State." This provision is nothing but a grim jest. The Germans of Bohemia are in a decided minority, and yet they are the privileged nation. Moreover, in all the administrative offices of Bohemia the equal rights of the Czech language have never been recognized, and as regards school facilities the Czechs have always been discriminated against. In communities with German officials in the saddle it has been next to impossible to obtain adequate Czech schools, and frequently such schools as existed were maintained in quarters that were no better than stalls. The Germans of Austria have always treated the Czechs as inferiors, although they themselves do not equal them in culture, since in spite of being the favored nation they have about 6 per cent of illiterates, while the Czechs have only a little over 2 per cent. Even now 11,000,000 Germans in Austria have five universities, while 10,000,000 Czechs and Slovaks have but one university.

Conditions among the non-German nationalities in Austria were bad enough in times of peace. To-day, after three years of war, they beggar description. The meager right to use the Bohemian language in administrative offices in Bohemia has been abolished and German has been established as the official language (Staatssprache). On the railroads the humblest laborer can not obtain any position unless he has a command of the German language. The present minister of railroads, Dr. Foerster, has ordered that railroad officials, even among themselves, shall not use the Czech language, but must speak German. A conversation in Czech is treated as a gross breach of discipline.

When we come to the Hungarian part of Austria we meet a condition which, if anything, is still worse. For 3,000,000 Slovaks there does not exist in Hungary a single adequate Slovak school conducted in the Slovak language. Even before the war the Slovak press was systematically persecuted and Slovak papers were subjected to unimaginable chicanery. It is an interesting fact that there are more Slovak papers in the United States than in Hungary. These American papers the Hungarian Government considers a menace to the Hungarian State, and accordingly refuses them postal privileges.

The Hungarian Government is mainly in the hands of the Magyar nobility, and the Hungarian parliament is merely a parliament of this nobility. There are scarcely a million voters in Hungary, yet during the lives of men now living there has never been a Hungarian election that was free from violence and corruption, and that was conducted without the aid of soldiery. Although the Magyars form only 51 per cent of the population, they hold 405 out of 413 seats in the Parliament. Even these Magyar deputies do not really represent the Magyar people, for suffrage in Hungary is restricted to a relatively small number of the privileged. Seventy per cent of the lands of Hungary is in the hands of the nobles, and as a result Hungary is a country of chronic hunger.

It is evident that Austria bases her mission on the maxim "divide et impera" instead of reconciling the various nations on the Danube, uniting their interests, and binding them closer together. She might have been, and should have been, a Federal State wherein all nationalities living under Hapsburg sovereignty would have enjoyed equal treatment and equal rights. The present war shows, however, as indeed did the wars of 1859 and 1866, that Austria-Hungary is wholly unable to carry out her true historical mission and to rule justly the Bohemians and the other Austrian nationalities.

It must be remembered that in spite of all the obstacles placed before it, the Bohemian nation, during the last half of the nineteenth century and thereafter, rose higher and higher in the economic scale and in culture. Other Slav nationalities in Austria-Hungary have experienced a similar awakening. After the Balkan States defeated Turkey in 1912 and 1913 the Austrian and Magyar oppressors began to fear that the contest they were waging against the Slavs in Austria would ultimately end in their own defeat, unless they once more adopted the most extreme measures to prevent the legitimate growth of Slav nationalities within the empire, as well as beyond its boundaries. The present war is therefore but the intensification of a struggle the Austrian and Hungarian Governments had long been carrying on against their Slav subjects.

The result of the Balkan wars was that in 1913 the German Government asked the Reichstag for an increase of military appropriations. In his speech in support of the measure, delivered on the 7th of April, 1913, the former German chancellor, Bethmann von Hollweg, made a statement which deserves to be quoted:

"For the future it is decisive that in place of European Turkey, whose life as a State has become passive, have appeared States that show a remarkable vigor. We all have an interest in seeing this power prove itself of the best in peace as it has done in war, and to see the Balkan States grow in close economic and cultural contact with their neighbors and with the group of western powers. Thus they will also be factors making for progress and European peace. But in spite of this, one thing is certain, if it should ever come to a European war wherein Slavs and Germans stand against each other, then it would mean damage to the Germans if, in the present system of equilibrium, the southern Slav States should take the place hitherto occupied by European Turkey."

These are thoughts couched in diplomatic language, but it is obvious that even then the German chancellor had in mind the bugaboo of a racial conflict between Slavs and Germans. Only a month after the speech of the chancellor there was published in the Frankfurter Zeitung a Vienna letter entitled "Oesterreichische Katastrophenpolitik." The writer speaks of the fact that owing to Serbian growth Austria had been twice compelled to increase its military budget and indicates that the real instigator of all these alleged troubles is Russia; that there is just one way of stopping all this, "to destroy the tools of pan-Slavism, to subjugate the small neighbors, to destroy the Russian Empire, and to form a number of buffer States under an Austrian and German protectorate between the remnants of the Russian Empire and central Europe."

We find here a very frank confession that internal conditions in Austria require severe measures; that it has been impossible to solve the Bohemian question, the Polish-Ruthenian question, and other similar problems; that these matters endanger Austria's very existence, and that even if all this should lead to a European war the central powers would have nothing to fear, because they are stronger than Russia and her friends. It is even admitted that in this event Austria would have nothing to lose. With the growth of Slav nationalities within her borders she would be doomed to inevitable destruction in the course of time, while in a war she might have a chance to save herself. A sudden catastrophe would be preferable to terror without end.

When Roumania entered the war the "Pesti Hirlap," an influential Budapest paper, declared that Austria-Hungary must decide between Slavism and Germanism—this in an Empire the larger part of which is Slav. It is not an exaggeration to say, therefore, that this is a war by Austria against her own dependent nationalities. From this it logically follows that Austria has lost her right to exist. She is a State without a purpose, unless this purpose be the oppression of the majority of her own subjects.

The Bohemians now claim complete independence. As early as November 14, 1915, the Bohemian foreign committee, representing Czecho-Slovaks, issued in Paris a manifesto demanding an independent Bohemian-Slovak State. During the recent session of the Austrian Parliament the club of Czech deputies openly demanded independence for Bohemia, the new State to include the Slovaks. Bohemians living in France, England, and Russia are fighting in the armies of the allies. There has been a Bohemian-Slovak army cooperating with the Russians; it consisted of former Austrian prisoners of war who surrendered voluntarily in order to reenlist with the Russians and fight against Austria for the independence of their native land. Moreover, the Bohemian-Slovak brigade has been mentioned as having won special distinction on Galician battlefields.

A small group of English pacifists and well-meaning American theorists, who do not understand that no comparison whatever is possible between the United States and Austria-Hungary, still seem to think that the latter can become a Federal State. This might have been possible prior to the rise of the present spirit of nationalism, had Austrian statesmen been farsighted enough to realize that the only salvation for Austria was to be sought in making of her a union of free nationalities. But now it is too late.

A glance at a few figures will sufficiently demonstrate this: The whole population of the Empire is 52,000,000—28,000,000 in the Austrian half of the monarchy; 22,000,000 in the Hungarian part; and 2,000,000 in Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to the latest census, that of 1910, the population of Austria is divided as follows: Germans, 9,950,225; Czechs, 6,435,983; Poles, 4,967,984; Ruthenians, 3,518,854; Slovenes, 1,252,940; Serbo-Croats, 783,334; Italians, 768,422. The Germans, although numbering not quite 10,000,000, control the destinies of the 18,000,000 of non-Germans. In Hungary, according to the same census, there are 10,050,575 Magyars, 3,949,032 Roumanians, 2,937,435 Germans, 1,967,979 Slovaks, 2,939,638 Serbo-Croats, 472,587 Ruthenians. It should be remembered, of course, that the official census is grossly inaccurate and misrepresents matters in favor of the Germans and Magyars. There is little doubt that there are in the Empire almost 8,000,000 Czechs and almost 3,000,000 Slovaks. In any event, the Germans and Magyars together do not exceed 20,000,000, and rule over 32,000,000 Slavs and Latins, who in this war are forced to fight the battles of their oppressors.

"Home rule all around" might be possible if the Dual Monarchy should be preserved in its entirety, but this would mean a continued violation of the principle of nationality and the violation of the right of the several nations to choose the sovereigns which are to rule over them. The Italians have a claim to the Trentino and a part of the Adriatic coast; the Roumanians [illegible]im Transylvania; the Serbs are entitled to Bosnia-Herzegovina; C[illegible]dia and Dalmatia should form, with Serbia and Montenegro an independent Jugo-Slav State; and the Austrian Poles should be united with Russian Poland. These claims can not be disregarded, but if they are duly observed the Czecho-Slovaks will be left alone with the Germans and Magyars in a smaller Austria, which will continue to cooperate with Germany in her imperialistic endeavors, and constitute a foundation for another attempt to realize the Mittel Europa scheme.

The only solution of the problem appears to be the joining of the fragments of those races which already have a national state to the parent races; the creation of an independent Bohemian State and of an independent Hungary—reduced, of course, to its proper ethical

boundaries. The Austrian-Germans in the purely German Provinces of Austria should be left to decide their own destinies; they could either form an independent State, or else be absorbed into the German Empire. This arrangement, by the way, would not strengthen Germany, as some claim, since it must be remembered that if the principle of nationality is carried out to its logical conclusion, Germany will lose at least a part of Alsace-Lorraine and Schleswig-Holstein, as well as Poland, so that what she may gain on the one hand she will lose on the other. Moreover, the present stand of Germany against the whole world is made possible because she has control of the 32,000,000 Slavs and Latins within the Austrian Empire; once these peoples are liberated, Germany will lose this reservoir of human material, be correspondingly weakened, and her imperialistic designs thwarted.

The future Czecho-Slovak State will have a population of more than 12,000,000, of whom 10,000,000 are Czecho-Slovaks. It goes without saying that the rights of the minority would have to be protected, although the fact is that the Slav races have never been known for their attempts to impose their language and culture upon other peoples. This seems to be exclusively the trait of the Germans, who always couple their designs of economic penetration with a policy of denationalization of the people of the territories they control, or intend to control.

From an economic point of view, Bohemia would have an assured future, for she possesses all the natural resources necessary to an economically self-sustaining State. While she may not have an outlet to the sea, the example of Switzerland shows that a port is not especially necessary for an independent State. Again, the principle laid down by President Wilson as to economic rights of way for landlocked States would apply to Bohemia as well as to the need of Russia to obtain access to a warm-water port. Bohemia, because of her geographical position as a link between western Europe and the eastern Slav world, is destined to be of great political and economic importance. The fact that Bohemia was able for many centuries to oppose Germanization, although surrounded on all sides by powerful enemies, is the best proof of her capacity to oppose the future Pan-German plans of expansion toward the east, and to serve as a bulwark of permanent peace.

Whatever arguments for the dismemberment of the Empire may be offered in the future, none will be more weighty than the fact that each of the component States or nationalities making up the Austro-Hungarian monarchy forms by itself a distinct economic entity capable of a healthy growth and development. On the other hand, a compulsory union under the leadership of the incapable and decadent House of Hapsburg threatens them all with political, financial, and economic ruin. Wealthy and full of resources separately, together they form the most poverty-stricken country in Europe.

It is interesting to glance at a few statistics indicating the state of the Austro-Hungarian national wealth and its relation to the national wealth of other countries. In 1914 the national wealth of Austria-Hungary was estimated at $25,000,000,000 and the debt at no less than $3,898,094,000. The distribution of the debt was as follows: Hungary, $1,338,348,000; Austria, $1,515,871,000; common, $1,043,675,000.

This means that for every six dollars of national wealth there was almost one dollar of national debt. A comparison of the financial condition of other countries at the same time with that of the dual monarchy shows that of the six leading nations of the world Austria-Hungary was in the worst financial condition. Experienced financiers asserted that under normal conditions a national debt of $6,000,000,000 would be the utmost that the Austro-Hungarian monarchy could bear without complete economic ruin. Long before the war industries had begun to feel the burden of government taxes. The textile industry was completely ruined. Other industries were slowly but surely on the road to a complete extinction. There was a general apprehension that capital would soon be withdrawn from the monarchy and invested in more favorable regions. The industrial life was not only affected by the foreign policy of the monarchy, but likewise by the abnormal internal situation, which sapped the energies and vitality of all of the races that were herded together under a single government.

During the war Austria's debt must have increased enormously. According to some estimates, it has at least quadrupled, which, of course, under the corrupt system prevalent, is quite possible. If we make an allowance for depreciation in the national wealth due to war conditions, we have a situation where the national debt is not far below the national wealth. The conclusion is obvious. Austria-Hungary is on the verge of a complete bankruptcy. Unless it be split up into its component elements it offers practically no security to those who have given it their hard-earned funds.

Should the monarchy be preserved after the war, all the unnatural conditions leading to such a fatal result would be preserved intact. The nationalities which for hundreds of years have waged so keen a warfare against each other would no longer be content to live under the rule of the Hapsburgs. A continual internal strife would be the outcome, and as one of its effects Austria-Hungary would continue in its weak and unhealthy economic situation, being largely dependent on the support of Germany. Moreover, in the dual monarchy the parts occupied by Austrian Germans are the weakest and poorest of all. Other portions are continually called on to make up for the deficits that arise in them. For example, Bohemia pays no less than 62.7 per cent of the Austrian taxes, whereas its population is no more than 40 per cent of the total. This disproportion must lead to an antagonism between the various nationalities.

Previous to the war there was always a chance that the industrial development of the country would compensate for the growing interest charges and the growing debt. But after the war, if Austria-Hungary should still exist, industrial and commercial depreciation is bound to set in. The natural markets for Austro-Hungarian products—the Balkans—would be permanently lost to Austria-Hungary, for she is primarily liable for the misery which has befallen the small Balkan States. The commerce of Austria-Hungary would practically die out. Germany, during the war, has accumulated enormous supplies of manufactured products which she intends to release at once upon the conclusion of peace at very low prices in order to reconquer lost markets. But as the allied nations are well prepared to combat this influx of German-made goods, Austria-Hungary and Turkey would remain the only markets open to conquest by German commerce. And since the dual monarchy is in such bad financial straits, and since her industries are so crippled, German products would have no difficulty in driving her products out of the market. Her industries would virtually cease to exist, for they are in no position to combat German capital. The very thing which Austro-Hungarian statesmen feared before the war would inevitably take place. This commercial conquest would then be followed by political domination and this in turn by a conquest of Bulgaria and Turkey; and the road from Berlin to Bagdad would then be safe.

But the allies would find no profitable markets in Austria-Hungary after the war, as that country would be a poor buyer. It would be in no position to give sufficient guaranties of prompt payment. The present claims of foreign creditors would become a dead loss in many instances.

On the other hand, if the central powers are defeated and Austria is in consequence dismembered, the new independent States formed as a result and such countries as Italy and Rumania, which will regain their conationals, will, of course, have to bear the curse of their previous connection with Austria-Hungary. They will have to shoulder heavy economic burdens. But these burdens will be of a temporary nature. Most of these nationalities will recover with ease, and all of them, with the exception of the Magyars and the Germans, will seek to establish relations with the allies. They will likewise offer the greatest possible resistance to commercial conquest by Germany, and will constitute a natural barrier against German aggression in the Balkans. These States will be unwilling to waste their resources in military establishments, thereby getting rid of the heaviest burden which European States of to-day must bear.

The Czecho-Slovak State that would thus be created will be rich in natural resources, will have many well-developed industries, and a sound banking system. It will meet the immediate difficulties with ease, for its wealth will no longer be used to support the decadent dynasty of Vienna, and to make up for the recurrent deficit of other portions of the monarchy. The old antagonism between the Czecho-Slovaks and the Germans and Magyars is the most reliable guaranty of the opposition of the Czecho-Slovaks to German expansion in the East. It is well known that the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary is in accord with the aims of the allies, who have stated that the liberation of subject nationalities and their free development was one of their aims. A Czecho-Slovak State will also fit into an economic program following the war.

A policy of compromise with reference to the Austro-Hungarian problem would be the most serious blunder American statesmanship could commit. This would be akin to the blunder of European statesmanship which has permitted the Turk to remain in Europe for so long a time. For be it remembered that the Austro-Hungarian problem is the Turkish question in another form. Just as Turkey gradually disintegrated, so Austria is gradually disintegrating. Since 1866 she has been simply a German vassal State, and it is Berlin that makes possible the German and Magyar domination. This is a situation which requires not palliative measures, but a radical operation, to wit, a complete removal of this festering sore from the center of Europe. If war is the continuation of politics, the strategy of war must be brought into accord with the political objectives sought. The military mistakes of the allies in southeastern Europe were due to their failure to realize the importance of the Balkan and Austrian problems. Their view of these problems of late has been rectified. It will be well for America not only to learn to avoid the purely military mistakes of the allies but also to learn from them the necessity of clear political thinking in international matters. A condition of such clear political thinking is an appreciation of the real nature of the structure which goes by the name Austria-Hungary; that is not even a State, since it has become a tool of Germany; that at most it is a Government and a very poor one at that; that it is an anachronism, a survival of mediaevalism, an organization without a ruling idea, purely dynastic and artificial; that it has no place in the modern world; that its very existence is a denial of the principles for which America to-day stands.

Mr. Speaker, I am indeed happy that it is not any more necessary for me to plead for the recognition of the Czecho-Slovak cause. Recognition was given them by our Government on the 3d of this month, when the President authorized the Secretary of State to issue the following proclamation:

The Czecho-Slovak peoples having taken up arms against the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires, and having placed organized armies in the field which are waging war against those Empires under officers of their own nationality and in accordance with the rules and practices of civilized nations; and

The Czecho-Slovaks having, in prosecution of their independent purposes in the present war, confided supreme political authority to the Czecho-Slovak National Council,

The Government of the United States recognizes that a state of belligerency exists between the Czecho-Slovaks thus organized and the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires.

It also recognizes the Czecho-Slovak National Council as a de facto Government clothed with proper authority to direct the military and political affairs of the Czecho-Slovaks.

The Government of the United States further declares that it is prepared to enter formally into relations with the de facto government thus recognized for the purpose of prosecuting the war against the common enemy, the Empires of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

That this recognition was deserved is agreed by all who have followed the wonderful and unbelievable achievements of the Czecho-Slovak Army and the splendid services rendered by the Czecho-Slovak National Council.

Mr. Speaker, being also familiar with the oppression, suffering, and sacrifices of the Jugo-Slavs, as well as with their efforts, aspirations, and achievement and the services which they have rendered, I hope and trust that their recognition will not be delayed but will shortly be forthcoming. I am satisfied it will not only strengthen and aid their cause, but that it will materially aid the cause of the allies and the cause of democracy; being united as they now are, they are cooperating and rendering great service. I regret that very few Americans are familiar with the Jugo-Slavs, their movement, the country, and the people who compose it; of their just cause, and how important it is for the stability of Europe that they be recognized as an independent State. For your information, and with the permission of the House, I embody as part of my remarks the following article by Dr. H. Hinkovic, member of the Croatian and delegate to the Hungarian Parliament, which sets forth

clearly what is meant by Jugo-Slavs and why it is of great importance that they be recognized:

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THE JUGO-SLAV PROBLEM.

[By Dr. H. Hinkovic, member of the Croatian and delegate to the Hungarian Parliament.]

The Jugo-Slavs are the southern Slavs. "Jug" is the word for "south" in all Slavic languages. In history the Jugo-Slavs appear under three names—Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes. But these are not three different nationalities. Sprung from the same stock, speaking the same language, inhabiting a continuous territory, having identical customs, and, above all, identical aspirations, the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes are one single nation, designated by one common name—Jugo-Slavs.

The Bulgars do not look upon themselves as Slavs.

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However, in spite of themselves, they are Slavs, or, rather, slavisized. Still they remain Tartars in spirit; they stay outside the Jugo-Slav family. Thus our appellation "Jugo-Slavs," embracing as it does the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes to the exclusion of the Bulgars, has no real ethnical significance. It is a purely political expression.

It was during the lapse of time from the fifth to the seventh century that the Jugo-Slavs migrated from the trans-Carpathian regions into their present home.

They number about 13,000,000. Five million live in Serbia and Montenegro, 7,500,000 in Austria-Hungary, and about 700,000 are living—for the greater part temporarily—in the two Americas and the British colonies and dominions. Others are settled in northern Albania; in Greece they reach as far south as Saloniki; in Bulgaria as far as the River Iskra and the Perin Mountains. About 40,000 Jugo-Slavs dwell in the Kingdom of Italy.

The western part of the Jugo-Slav territory in Austria-Hungary is occupied by the Slovenes, the center by the Croats, the east by the Serbs. But this is only a general statement. As a matter of fact, the Croat and Slovene element, on the one hand, and the Serb and Croat, on the other, are intermingled in the various countries.

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The whole of Jugo-Slav history is full of struggles against Germans, Magyars, Turks, and Venetians. These perpetual conflicts with their invaders and oppressors have prevented them from achieving their unification.

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The nearer we come to our own day the stronger grows the national spirit and the more ardent the desire for union.

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The whole national life of the Jugo-Slavs have become impregnated with the Jugo-Slav idea. But the more this idea progressed the more it excited the persecuting fury of the Germans and Magyars, who—with good reason, by the way—looked upon it as highly dangerous to their hegemony.

The last 30 or 40 years of Jugo-Slav history are nothing but a fierce and unremitting fight on the part of the Austro-Hungarian authorities against the irresistible Jugo-Slav movement.

THE HOSTILE POLICY OF THE HAPSBURGS.

A few facts will make it clear what a diabolical policy the Hapsburgs have pursued with regard to the tendency toward unification displayed by their Jugo-Slav subjects.

A mere glance at a map shows that the Jugo-Slav lands under the Hapsburg rule form one continuous, unbroken, territorial block. Now, this block is shared between the two halves of the monarchy and incidentally subdivided under 11 administrations and 14 different legislations.

These 11 separate administrations are: (1) Croatia-Slavonia, (2) Rijeka (Fiume, "corpus separatum"), (3) Dalmatia, (4) Istria, (5) the city and district of Trieste, (6) Gorica-Gradiska, (7) Carniola, (8) Carinthia, (9) Styria, (10) the southern Slav districts incorporated in Hungary proper, and (11) Bosnia-Hetzegovina. Croatia-Slavonia having complete autonomy in home affairs, justice, public instruction, and ecclesiastical matters, has an independent legislation with regard to these. The southern Slav districts in Hungary, being under direct Hungarian rule, share the legislation of Hungary proper. Rijeka has but a municipal council. All provinces belonging to Austria send deputies to the Vienna Reichsrat, while Croatia-Slavonia has for her common affairs with Hungary a common legislation in the Parliament of Budapest, this parliament being both a provincial diet for Hungary and a common diet for all the countries of St. Stephen's Crown, i. e., Hungary proper and Croatia-Slavonia. Besides this, there are the Austrian and Magyar delegations for the common affairs of the whole monarchy.

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The object of this parceling out was to divide the Jugo-Slav nation, which is one, by a series of water-tight compartments, so as to estrange us each from the other and to prevent our unification.

The result was finally the very opposite of what was intended. The more the Jugo-Slav have been artificially divided the more they became conscious of the absolute necessity to unite. Seeing on the one hand the continuous block of their territory, and on the other the cunning contrivance of their enemies to separate them, it was quite natural that the eagerness of the Jugoslavs for their union at last became irresistible.

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THE NEW ERA.

Meantime, most important events had taken place in Serbia in 1903. The accession of Peter Karagiorgjevic to the Serbian throne hastened the amazing renaissance of the little kingdom, moral, military, and economic. And it became apparent that Serbia was destined to play the part of the Jugo-Slav Piedmont.

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ANTI-JUGO-SLAV CAMPAIGN.

The possibility of Jugo-Slav unification outside Austria-Hungary—a direct menace to the territorial integrity of the dual monarchy, which it prepared itself to obviate by taking action against the two centers of the movement, one of which lay within its borders among the Austro-Hungarian Jugo-Slavs, and the other without, viz, the Kingdom of Serbia. Thence the pitiless persecutions of the former, and the implacable war, both diplomatic and economic, upon the latter.

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Austria-Hungary was conducting a remorseless campaign, on the one hand, against her own Jugo-Slav subjects, and, on the other hand, against Serbia, both with the object of crushing the movement for Jugo-Slav unification. The achievement of this unification would perforce destroy the hegemony of the Germano-Magyars, and these were not in the least disposed to abdicate. Moreover, from the point of view of foreign politics, the territorial integrity of the Hapsburg monarchy was endangered by the attraction Serbia possessed for the Jugo-Slavs who were oppressed by the Germano-Magyars. Finally, and above all things, Serbia was blocking the way for Austria-Hungary's expansion toward Salonica. This way leads through the valleys of the Morava and the Vardar. Serbia had therefore to become an Austrian vassal or to disappear.

But it was not only in Austria-Hungary that the storm was brewing against Serbia; the home of the tempest lay farther off.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY PUSHED ON BY GERMANY.

To-day one can clearly see Bismarck's idea, when he refused to touch Austria after the victory of Sadowa. Prussia proposed to absorb her completely later on. Germany was thrusting Austria toward the Ægean, but she considered her only as an extension of her own hand. In this spirit, and as the first stage on the road to the east, she caused Bosnia-Herzegovina to be allotted to Austria by the treaty of Berlin.

Germany was therefore to a very great extent more or less interested in everything that happened in Austria-Hungary and in all that concerned her. The Jugo-Slav movement, which threatened her domestic peace, might weaken Austria-Hungary's military strength, which Germany was planning to make use of at the proper time. Therefore Germany desired the war with Serbia in order to preserve Austria from the loss of military strength with which she was threatened by the Jugo-Slav movement, and also in order to eliminate, by the crushing of Serbia, the principal obstacle to her pan-German ambition.

Serbia has been reproached with being the cause of the war. This is true, in so far as, by her geographical position and as the standard bearer of the Jugo-Slav movement, she was an obstacle to the Pan-German Berlin-Bagdad scheme.

PAN-GERMANISM.

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One of the aims of Pan-Germanism is its expansion toward the southeast. Salonica and Constantinople are only preliminary stages. It aspires toward horizons more distant—toward Bagdad, the Persian Gulf, toward Egypt and India.

Serbia was the first dike encountered by the German tide. Twice running she, the tiny David, had hurled the Austrian Goliath back across her frontiers. But in the end, without help at the right time, she could not but succumb to the united attack of four bandits—the German, the Austrian, the Magyar, and the Bulgar. * * *

Obviously, a dike will have to be rebuilt. I do not say the dike, because the former dike, Serbia before the war, has proved inadequate.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY MUST BE BROKEN UP.

First of all, before reconstructing the dike, the force of the current which it will be called upon to resist must be diminished. Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria must be forcibly detached from Germany's grip. These two States have lost their independence, and at the present moment they are merely vassal States of Germany. Especially Austria-Hungary. Germany has laid her hand upon the army, the diplomacy, the economic life, and even upon the civil administration of the empire of the Hapsburgs. This empire contains 12,000,000 Germans and 10,000,000 Magyars, while the remainder is Slav and Latin. Moreover, these remaining 29,000,000 are implacable foes of Germany. In spite of this, they are forcibly enrolled in the Austro-Hungarian armies, and are fighting for a cause which they detest.

If Austria-Hungary remains, this monstrous phenomenon will repeat itself in yet another war. In order to render it impossible, these 29,000,000 must be amputated from the Austro-Magyar, i. e., from the German, block.

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BULGARIA MUST BE REDUCED.

Besides Austrophils and Magyarophils there are also Bulgarophils among the allies, who would be quite disposed, in the event of a separate peace, to confirm the Bulgars in the possession of all they filched from the Serbs and under such odious circumstances.

By diplomatic subterfuges, of which they are past masters, the Bulgars are—even after their felony—keeping up friendly feeling among the allies. Conformably with their spirit of duplicity, they invariably keep two irons in the fire. They are with the Germans, but if German affairs turn out badly, they will repudiate Ferdinand and sacrifice Radoslavov.

But the Bulgarian people are in perfect concord with their sovereign. Has a single voice from among the people been raised against the war? Let no one be misled by the "Realists" of Sofia. Ferdinand suits the Bulgars admirably, and the Bulgars are well worthy of their King.

The Bulgars manifested themselves as the vanguard of Germany, and are therefore as dangerous and pernicious as herself. A separate peace by which they would keep Macedonia, or simply their ancient frontiers would enable them to assail Serbia again on the first opportunity, and eventually Greece and Roumania. For theirs is a vast ambition. They dream of an empire, washed by three seas, and investing them with the hegemony in the Balkans. Their plan is for the Balkans what the Pan-German plan is for Europe and the world. They fancy themselves in the rôle of Balkan emulators of the Prussians. As a matter of fact, they are only a tentacle of the foul octopus of the Spree.

Why should the Bulgars be favored to the detriment of the Serbs? Why continue the clumsy policy of endeavoring to gain more than doubtful friends at the expense of the Serbs, who have sacrificed themselves for the cause of the allies?

Have morality, right, and justice truly lost all their value? You have Serbia and Bulgaria before you—honesty and crime—self-sacrifice and felony. And you would say to the bandit: "Keep what you have stolen" and to his victim "He did well to rob you." Is the generous blood of millions of human beings shed in order to sanction a moral code like this?

It is obvious that to strengthen Bulgaria would be to strengthen Germany, who makes use of Bulgaria for her Berlin-Bagdad scheme. The hegemony in the Balkans, which the Bulgars covet, is closely bound up with Pan-Germanism. Bulgaria must therefore be reduced to a state in which she can neither be a danger to the Balkans nor the catspaw of Germany.

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A REESTABLISHED SERBIA WOULD NOT BE SUFFICIENT.

There are some who imagine that a restored Serbia would be equal to this task. The mere resurrection of Serbia would be a reconstitution of the situation before the war. Why are we plunged into this

horrible struggle? Because Serbia opposed herself to pan-Germanism, which aimed at Constantinople and through Austria-Hungary at Salonica. Serbia was too weak to resist. How can we imagine that she would be stronger after the agony that has laid waste her lands and killed off nearly a quarter of her population? Serbia, merely restored, would be incapable of surviving.

Then again, there is the suggestion made of an aggrandized Serbia, as a recompense for her superhuman sacrifices for the common cause and the tragic misfortunes that have befallen her. But even an aggrandized Serbia would not survive. Something more than a restored or aggrandized Serbia is required.

THE JUGO-SLAV PROGRAM.

The Jugo-Slav program is drawn up in the Declaration of Corfu, July 20, 1917. Its makers are the Serbian Government and the Jugo-Slav committee as representatives, the former of Serbia and the latter of the Jugo-Slavs in Austria-Hungary. The Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, proclaim the declaration, compose by blood, language, and all vital interests one and the same nation. This virtually already united nation desires ardently the liberation of those unfortunate members who languish under the Austro-Magyar domination. All Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes wish to form, on the broadest democratic basis, one independent State, embracing the whole Jugo-Slav race. The constitution of this new State is to be laid down by a constituent assembly, elected by universal suffrage, with direct and secret ballot.

The constitution "will be the source and the consummation of all authority and of all rights by which the entire life of the nation will be regulated."

The declaration is based on the principle of nationality and the right of self-determination of every people.

The act of Corfu has been communicated to all allied powers. (Lord Robert Cecil acknowledged, November 28, 1917, in the House of Commons, that His Majesty's Government received the communication of this document "with great interest and sympathy.") Its high importance is obvious. Serbia indorsed the Jugo-Slav program as her war aim. She officially accepted the rôle of a Jugo-Slav Piedmont and notified her allies of this. She became the diplomatic spokesman of the Austro-Hungarian Jugo-Slavs and the representative of the whole future united Jugo-Slav commonwealth. Potentially this State is already in existence, and the Corfu declaration is its certificate of birth. * * *

THE "KNOCK-OUT" FOR GERMANY.

Jugo-Slav unification assumes the deliverance of Serbia and the collapse of Austria-Hungary. Fortunately for us, these are also the conditions of a true victory of the allies and a safe future for Europe. It becomes more and more obvious that the war will be decided where it began—in the Balkans. * * *

JUGO-SLAVIA.

Only an integral victory can bring to the Jugo-Slavs their deliverance and union, and to the world lasting peace and freedom. An independent Czecho-Slovakia and Poland will be the first line of defense against pan-Germanism, and Jugo-Slavia will be the second. The more complete the State of Jugo-Slavia the more efficient will be her resistance.

Mr. Speaker, after the collapse of the military power of Russia, the Jugo-Slav Army in Russia was removed from the Russian chaos, and by way of Archangel, England, France, and the Mediterranean was sent to the Saloniki front. The Prince Regent of Serbia, commander in chief of the Serbian Army, ordered the formation of a special Jugo-Slav division, in which the former subjects of Austria-Hungary were placed and in which those Jugo-Slavs fought ever since. This division uses not only the Serbian flag but also the Croatian and Slovenian flags, and is thereby to be considered to be the first unit of the future army of Jugo-Slavia.

Shortly after the above Jugo-Slav Army left Russia for the Saloniki front, another strong Jugo-Slav volunteer contingent left Russia by way of Siberia, Vladivostok, and the Suez Canal for Saloniki. This contingent numbered, upon its arrival at the destination, 4,800 men and officers.

From the begining of the war a great number of Jugo-Slavs who were forced to serve in the Austrian Army but who surrendered to the Serbians joined the Serbian Army as volunteers and fought with it. Thousands of these volunteers perished during the Serbian retreat through the Albanian Mountains. After this tragic collapse, the remnants of these volunteer troops were reorganized and also sent to the Saloniki front.

Three thousand and five hundred Jugo-Slav volunteers came from Russia by way of Roumania and joined the Serbian Army. They also participated in the great retreat through Albania and are now, in large majority, fighting on the Saloniki front. To these are to be added the contingents from both Americas and from Australia. The United States sent about 5,000 Jugo-Slav volunteers, South America 300, and Australia and New Zealand 550. All these volunteers are fighting in the Jugo-Slav division and many more are attached to other units of the Serbian Army. They all represent the true revolutionary spirit of the Jugo-Slavs in Austria-Hungary, who are in revolt against their oppressors.

During the campaign of last September in Macedonia the Jugo-Slav division was in action and scored a great success, taking the massif of Kozjak, one of the most important points in the present offensive. Accordingly, we can consider the recent campaign in Macedonia as an actual proof of the successful belligerency of the Jugo-Slavs.

On the Italian front 30,000 Jugo-Slavs surrendered to the Italian armies. These prisoners of war are now being organized into a Jugo-Slav army, and the organization is almost accomplished. It is, indeed, the result of the work of the Jugo-Slav committee. Hatred against Austria-Hungary and boundless devotion to the ideals of national independence and unity and its bearer, the Jugo-Slav committee, thoroughly pervades this army, which is anxiously awaiting the moment when they will enter, in victorious advance, the Jugo-Slav lands.

The third front on which the Jugo-Slavs are now fighting is the eastern, or Russian, front. The bulk of the Jugo-Slav troops left Russia when the Bolsheviks came to power, but various small Jugo-Slav units remained in Russia, where they have now a great chance to perform a historic task. About 5,000 Jugo-Slav volunteers, starting from Odessa, on the Black Sea, continued fighting and succeeded in reaching the northern sea. In reaching Samara these Jugo-Slavs put an end there to the Bolshevik anarchy and installed their own authority, but soon after they left for Archangel. Many thousands of Jugo-Slavs are now cooperating with the Czecho-Slovaks, and are under the command of Col. Marinkovitch, fighting against the Bolsheviks. A contingent of 3,000 Jugo-Slav volunteers participated at the capture of Vladivostok.

It is with deep feeling and satisfaction that I learn the foreign-born Jugo-Slavs are now heroically fighting under the Stars and Stripes with the American Army against the power in whose dominion they were born.

Not only do I believe in the recognition of the Jugo-Slavs, but also the recognition of United Poland. You, perhaps, are informed of the history and struggle of the Polish people, of the heroic deeds of the Polish Army, and of the unjustifiable partition of Poland by Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia; but I desire at this point to insert an article by Stanislas Kozicki, entitled "The Poles under Prussian rule," which I hope will serve to enlighten the Membership of the House of the importance of the recognition of United Poland:

THE POLES UNDER PRUSSIAN RULE FROM THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

[By permission of the Leonard Scott Publication Co.]

Lord Denbigh's admirable propaganda in Parliament and on the platform has greatly helped to bring home to Englishmen the true nature and scope of German war aims in the East. But there is a point in connection with this problem which still perhaps requires to be explained—the question of Poland. The term Mittel Europa concisely but adequately describes the nature of German imperialistic ambitions in central and eastern Europe; it is not, however, clearly realized that a restored, united, and independent Poland would be the end of such ambitions, yet such is the fact, and it is not too much to say that Poland, with all that word implies, cooperating with all those other nations whose lot is bound up with her own, is the sole true effective and complete answer to Mittel Europa. Poland or Mittel Europa, that is in reality the issue, and the world has not to choose between the two.

The Polish question at this moment presents to a careless observer a somewhat confused appearance. All the belligerent powers agree that the restoration of an independent Polish State must be one of the conditions of a settlement. In reality, however, a chasm divides the two camps. The central powers propose to build the new Poland out of the territories taken from Russia. They might even agree to add to this new Polish State the Polish territory belonging to Austria, but they are inflexibly opposed to the surrender of the Polish territories which now belong to Prussia. On this point Germany refuses to make any compromise whatever. The powers of the entente, upon the other hand, in their declarations speak of reuniting all Polish territories. The reference of Mr. Lloyd-George, on the 7th of January, 1918, to an "independent Poland comprising all those genuinely Polish elements who desire to form part of it," and that of President Wilson, on the 9th of January, 1918, to "territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations," can not mean anything else than that the Polish territories of Prussia must form part also of the future Polish State. Again, in the important note issued by the prime ministers and foreign ministers of the entente assembled in London and published in the Times of March 19, 1918, the following words occur:

"Why waste time over German pledges when we see that at no period in her history of conquest—not when she overran Silesia, not when she partitioned Poland—has she exhibited herself so cynically as the destroyer of national independence, the implacable enemy of the rights of man, and the dignity of civilized nations?

"Poland, whose heroic spirit has survived the cruelest of national tragedies, is threatened with a fourth partition, and to aggravate her wrongs the devices by which the last trace of her independence is to be crushed are based on fraudulent promises of freedom."

In thus speaking of Silesia and the partitioning of Poland by Frederick the Great, the allied prime ministers come to the very root of the whole question—the future of the Polish territories seized by Frederick the Great and belonging now to Prussia. Upon the future of these territories the whole Polish question turns. It is therefore essential to form a clear idea upon this subject—what the Polish population of Prussia actually is and how it is distributed.

The Polish population of Prussia is distributed over four Prussian Provinces: (1) Silesia; (2) Posen; (3) West Prussia; and (4) East Prussia. Each of these Provinces has a different historical past, a different social structure, and a different racial percentage. The Germans who are to be found in them settled among the Polish population, which had inhabited these territories from time immemorial, in different numbers and at different epochs. It is therefore necessary to consider each of the four Provinces separately.

(1) SILESIA.

Let us consider first the Province of Silesia. Here the actual number of the Poles is larger than in any other of the Polish Provinces of Prussia. Here, too, the pressure upon the Poles has been the heaviest. This Province was taken from Poland in the fourteenth century, and is divided at present into three "regencies."

Two of these regencies are completely Germanized. As Polish now can be considered only that part of Silesia called the Regency of Opeln—that is, Upper Silesia. Even in this part the upper classes are principally German. The Germanization of Upper Silesia, which had

always maintained its Polish character, began immediately after Frederick the Great seized it from Austria in 1742. The means employed by Frederick the Great to Germanize this district are astonishing. One example will suffice. It was actually verboten for people to marry who did not speak German. German policy thus brought it about that the upper classes lost their nationality and became Germanized. In spite, however, of all the efforts of Frederick the Great and his successors the peasantry remained Polish, and from this peasantry in the second half of the nineteenth century there began to arise a Polish bourgeoisie and professional class. The vast majority of the peasants and the workmen in the mines and factories continue to be Polish to this day, and have defeated every attempt at denationalization. According to the German census of 1910, the Germans in the Regency of Opeln formed 40 per cent of the population. But it is certain these figures are exaggerated. The Germans had passed a law regarding public meetings which permitted the use of Polish only where Poles were in a majority of over 60 per cent. Thus the figures of the census were reduced to the lowest possible level in order to suit the administration of this law. But, even accepting German statistics, if we take away three districts on the German frontier in which there is a large percentage of Germans, in the remaining 21 districts the Germans form but 33 per cent of the population—according to German statistics themselves. Authoritative Polish statisticians, however, estimate the Germans as forming only 20 per cent of the population. In the year 1910 the actual number of Poles in the Regency of Opeln, acording to German official statistics, was 1,258,000; according to Polish statistics, 1,560,000. This population is composed almost entirely of peasants and workmen. It is a genuinely Polish element, indigenous to the country, and has inhabited this territory without a break from prehistoric times.

(2) POSEN.

[Total population (1910), 2,099,831.]

The Province of Posen contains almost as many Polish inhabitants as Upper Silesia, and is called by Poles "the Grand Duchy of Poznan." Here Polish society has maintained its old structure. The Polish population of Upper Silesia consists mainly of peasants and workmen, but in Poznan there is a Polish landed nobility and a large Polish professional class. Moreover, in the second half of the nineteenth century a strong Polish middle class arose in the towns. The Jews have emigrated, as from other parts of Germany. Poznania is to-day the only part of Poland where a strong Polish middle class occupied in trade and small industries exist. The northern part of this Province—the regency of Bromberg (Bydgoszcz)—was annexed to Prussia by Frederick the Great in the first partition of Poland, 1772. The systematic Germanization of this district was inaugurated by him. He seized the property of the Polish State and of the church and planted German colonists throughout. After the French Revolution, Poznania (with the exception of a few districts on the German frontier) was incorporated in 1807 into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, but was given back definitely to Prussia at the Congress of Vienna. Soon after its incorporation into Prussia the Germanization of this Province was again set afoot, and after the Franco-German War it was carried on with redoubled energy by Bismarck. The German Government, under his inspiration and guidance, elaborated a drastic program of Germanization; it founded in 1886 the commission of colonization, to which it gave enormous sums of money; it Germanized the schools and the whole administration and instituted laws of exception which culminated in the notorious law for the compulsory expropriation of Polish landed property. A little later, too, in 1894, at the instigation of Bismarck, though now in retirement, was founded the famous political society, the Ostmarkenverein, for advancing German "kultur" among the Poles. The members of this society were nicknamed "Hakatists," from the first letters of the names of their leaders, Hansemann, Kennemann, and Tiedemann. In spite, however, of all the huge efforts made since the time of Frederick the Great to Germanize it, Poznania remains to-day a strong Polish Province, and the Poles of Poznania are perhaps the most energetic and the most conscious of their nationality of all the Poles of Poland.

Until the year 1890 no reliable statistics of nationality existed. Only the statistics of religious denominations can give us some insight into the situation before this date. In Poznania nearly all the Catholics are Poles, the Germans in Poznania being almost entirely Protestants. In 1816, 65 per cent of the population of Poznania was Catholic; in 1867, 62 per cent; in 1880, 66 per cent; in 1890, 67 per cent. In 1890 the first reliable statistics of nationality were published by the German official authorities, and according to them the Germans formed 39.5 per cent of the population. In 1910 it was estimated officially at 38.4 per cent. The diminuation of the percentage of Germans, which runs parallel to the increase of the Poles, is due to the fact that the birth rate is higher among Poles than among Germans.

The total number of Poles in the Province of Posen is 1,291,000, or 61.5 per cent. These are German official figures, but in accepting them we must remember that the German Government has many means of influencing Poles who are employed by the Government, or by German proprietors and employers, to inscribe themselves as Germans in the census. Authoritative Polish statisticians reckon that out of 141,000 persons inscribed as German Catholics in the census of 1910 half may be considered Poles. In this case, the Polish population would form 65 per cent. If, moreover, we take away three districts on the German frontier which have a German majority, this percentage would be very greatly increased.

A change in political conditions would make a further difference. Poznania swarms with German officials. All the Germans connected with German rule in Poznania, who are almost invariably imported from other parts of Germany, all the officials, school-teachers, and State railway employees, all the "Beamten" class, would leave the country. The deduction of German bureaucracy from the statistics of Poznania would be no small one, and the German element, which is at present largely artificial and imported, would be reduced to its natural proportions.

(3) WEST PRUSSIA.

[Total population (1910), 1,703,474.]

The greater part of this Province, formerly called Royal Prussia, as belonging to the King of Poland, was annexed by Frederick the Great at the first partition, 1772, to the remainder by his nephew, Frederick William II, in 1793. No part of ancient Poland is so necessary to Poland as this Province, for it is here that Poland has access to the sea.

The whole seacoast from Leba to Dantzig is inhaoited by Polish fishermen and farmers who, despite all oppression, have not lost their national character. After annexing it, Frederick, seeing its immense importance to Prussia, made every effort to Germanize the country. There were already a considerable number of German colonists here, established in old times by the Teutonic knights and by German monasteries. But the Poles formed the vast majority of the inhabitants, and Frederick set to work to Germanize them. This effort has been continued by all his successors up to the present time. It is for this reason that the Germanization of this territory is more advanced than that of the Grand Duchy of Poznan. The Germans are convinced that West Prussia is an issue greater even than Posen in the battle between Germans and Poles; perhaps the supreme question in the struggle. West Prussia means for Poland access to the sea. Germany intends to block that access to the sea at any cost. If she lost West Prussia, her control on Poland would be gone and the Baltic would cease to be a German lake.

According to German statistics of 1858, the Germans formed 69 per cent of the Province of West Prussia. In 1890, 64.7 per cent; in 1910, 64.5 per cent. The total number of Poles in West Prussia is, according to German official statistics, 604,000. Here also Polish statisticians reckon that a number of Polish Catholics have been inscribed as Germans, and they estimate the Poles as forming 42.5 per cent of the whole population.

To show the general unreliability of German statistics in regard to this Province, it is sufficient to mention the fact that in the year of 1890 the official statistics gave the number of Poles as 34.4 per cent, and the number of voters for Polish candidates to the Reichstag on the basis of universal suffrage as 39.5. Yet it is certain that no Prussian ever voted for a Pole. The contrary is more often the case, as there are sometimes Poles insufficiently acquainted with politics or so intimidated by oppression as to vote for a Prussian.

If, however, we deduct from this Province certain districts on the German frontier, where Germanization has been greatest, the rest of the Province would have a Polish majority. The districts with decisive Polish majorities cover 60 per cent of the territory of the whole Province.

(4) EAST PRUSSIA.

[Total population (1910), 2,064,175.]

This Province, formerly called Ducal Prussia, was, in the Middle Ages, inhabited by the Prussians or Borussians, a race akin to the Lithuanian. These Lithuanian people were the original inhabitants. In the thirteenth century they were still pagan, and were continually making aggressions upon Poland. In 1226 Conrad, Duke of Massovia, a fief of Poland, took the fatal step of applying for assistance against them from the Teutonic Knights. This order, founded in 1190 for the defense of Christianity and its propagation, but confined to persons of German nationality, accepted the invitation. It set foot in East Prussia in 1231, but understood its evangelical mission in a peculiar way. The conversion of the heathen and the extermination of the heathen were to them synonymous terms. They offered the natives Germany or the sword, and, working in close cooperation with the German merchants of the Hanseatic League, succeeded by 1283 in Germanizing almost the whole of East Prussia from the Vistula to the Niemen. The savagery of these German Knights roused protests even in the Middle Ages. Roger Bacon, the famous Oxford Franciscan friar, who died in 1294, wrote of them in his Opus Majus, part 3, chapter 13, quoted by Mr. A. J. Little in his interesting book, Studies in English Franciscan History, as follows:

"The Saracens and pagans in many parts of the world are becoming quite impossible to convert, and especially beyond the sea, and in Prussia and the lands bordering on Germany, because the brethren of the German House (i. e., the Teutonic Knights) ruin all hopes of converting them, owing to the wars which they are always stirring up, and because of their lust of domination. There is no doubt that all the heathen nations beyond Germany would long ago have been converted but for the brutality of the brethren of the German House, because the pagan races have again and again been ready to receive the faith in peace through preaching. But they of the German House will not allow it, because they want to subjugate them and reduce them to slavery, and by subtle persuasions they have for many years deceived the Roman Church. This is notorious, otherwise I would not make the charge."

Such men were the spiritual ancestors of the German Commission of Colonization. They were the Hakatists of the Middle Ages, and many of the Prussian Junkers of to-day are lineally descended from members of this order.

In place of the exterminated Prussians, the Province was colonized by Germans in the north, by Lithuanians in the east, and by Poles in the south. When the Poles defeated the Teutonic Knights at Grunwald in 1410, the Poles and Lithuanians together formed about half the whole population. There were a number of Polish nobles in the Province, and a large Polish population in the towns. In 1525 a great event took place in the history of the Teutonic Order. The grand master, Albert, a Hohenzollern, became a Lutheran, married a daughter of the King of Denmark, and was invested by the King of Poland with the secularized and hereditary Duchy of East Prussia. His son, Duke Albert Frederick, succeeded him; but, born an imbecile, his imbecility soon developed into insanity and the succession passed to the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg. East Prussia remained for a long time a fief of the Polish Crown, for which the dukes did homage; but in 1660 the dukes threw off their allegiance to Poland and acquired sovereign power. Not long after, in 1701, the reigning duke crowned himself at Konigsberg as the first king in Prussia—West Prussia was still Polish—and became a sovereign European prince. From that date the Hohenzollerns began to expel the Polish element and systematically to encourage German immigration.

The Poles form at present 17 per cent of the total population of the Province. They are concentrated mainly in the southern portion along the frontier of Russian Poland, the Regency of Allenstein or Olsztyn. The majority of these Poles are Protestants, and they are the object of unceasing attempts at Germanization on the part of the Government.

The total number of Poles in East Prussia is, according to German statistics, just over a quarter of a million—260,000.

These Poles live in a compact body in the south of the Province, in Mazuria, a district full of lakes, made famous by the fierce battles in 1914.

Although the percentage of Poles in East Prussia is small, two facts must be carefully borne in mind: (1) The Province of East Prussia is economically dead, being cut off from its Polish hinterland. It is more sparsely inhabited than any other Province of the kingdom of Prussia; there are only 144.1 inhabitants to the square mile, while in Westphalia there are 528.6; (2) owing to Prussian laws of exception, the German majority in this comparatively desert land is largely artificial.

No Pole is allowed to settle in East Prussia. Here, as in all the Polish Provinces of Prussia, permission from the Government must first be obtained to build a house. Needless to say, in the case of a Pole, such permission is never given. But if East Prussia were connected with its natural hinterland, and if Poles and Lithuanians were allowed

freely to settle there, it would probably become from purely natural and economic causes a thriving Province with a predominantly Polish and Lithuanian population.

The same applies with still greater force to Dantzig in West Prussia. Dantzig was forcibly annexed by Frederick William II in the second partition of Poland, 1793. It is at present a small decayed town of 150,000 inhabitants. Its trade has been deliberately killed in favor of Hamburg and Bremen. If Dantzig were restored to Poland there is no reason why, in 50 years' time as the chief Poland seaport, it should not become a city of a million inhabitants.

To sum up. The total population of the four above-mentioned Provinces in 1910, according to official German statistics, was 6,554,755. Out of this total, 3,421,965 were Poles; 3,062,725 were Germans. Reliable Polish statisticians estimate that the Polish figures are 560,000 short, and that the Poles number almost exactly 4,000,000, out of a total population of 6,554,755. In the event of these provinces passing under Polish rule, and taking into account the departure of German officials and persons connected with the German Government, who number 5 to 6 per cent of the population, the percentage of Poles in these provinces, i. e.: (1) The Regency of Opeln, or Upper Silesia; (2) the Province of Posen (without certain Germanized districts in the west); (3) West Prussia (without certain Germanized districts in the west); and (4) the Regency of Allenstein (Olsztyn) in East Prussia, would amount to 70 per cent.

This is almost the same percentage as that of the Czechs in Bohemia and Moravia.

We thus see from all this that, in the question of the Polish population in Prussia, we have to deal with at least 4,000,000 Poles, settled compactly on a territory on which they form 70 per cent of the population.

The question of these 4,000,000 Poles is therefore, even if we regard their number alone, a highly important one. Their number is almost equal to that of the Kingdom of Serbia before the war, not far short of the population of Bohemia, much greater than that of Norway, and nearly equal to that of Sweden. The liberation of these Poles from Prussian rule would in itself, even if no other question were involved, be one of the greatest achievements of the war.

But there is much more. It is not a question of these Poles forming a separate State. Their claim, just in itself, is part of a greater, but a simpler, problem. The Poles of Prussia are striving, not merely for their liberation from the iniquity of Prussian rule, but for unity with their brethren. All that they demand is to be reunited with their brother Poles in one great independent State. From the point of view of number, the Poles occupy the sixth place among the nations of Europe, just below the Italians and above the Spaniards, and the State they would form would comprise at least 35,000,000 people. Now the Poles of Prussia, like all the Poles, aspire to a united Poland. Such is the one supreme desire of every Pole; and as the union of Italy and her liberation from Austrian domination was the greatest achievement of the nineteenth century, so the union of Poland may be the greatest of the twentieth.

It is almost impossible, I think, for an Englishman—difficult even for an Italian—to realize what the union of Poland means to a Pole. The Poles have had not one oppressor only; they have actually had three. To be ruled by one alien Government is a sufficient evil. It is a greater to be partitioned among three. By the partition, family life in Poland is severed and torn asunder, members of the same family may be Prussian, Austrian, or Russian subjects, subjected to different laws in regard to the very constitution of the family and society itself. By the partition, brothers and cousins may fight their own relatives in three different armies. By the partition, trade among Poles is checked and hindered; they are divided by the high walls of three different tariffs. On the deepest grounds, social, military, and economic, the Poles aspire to the political unity and independence of their nation.

Some men, however, raise the question, Surely, it would be sufficient if two parts of Poland were united and the third left out? Can not the Poles be content with a little Austrian Poland, under some Hapsburg, to which Russian Poland or part of it may be added under the same aegis? The partitions, say these men, shall be undone. Russia and Austria shall renounce their annexations, their share in the old plunder. Prussia alone, who initiated the partitions, and who, under Frederick the Great, was the chief author of the murder of Poland, shall keep her possessions. The Pole is asked to renounce Prussian Poland, to betray his compatriots, and to be content with a Poland formed out of her Austrian and Russian Provinces alone.

Such a renunciation is impossible. What would an Englishman think of an England partitioned among Prussia, Austria, and Russia? Would he think it sufficient or be content if two parts of England recovered their independence while the third pare, the south, the oldest part of England, the heart of England, Kent and Wessex, remained in the possession of Prussia? What would the unity and independence of England be, if, while two-thirds were reunited, London and the mouth of the Thames remained in German hands? No Englishman would be content. Nor will a Pole. For if the Thames means much to an Englishman, as the Seine to a Frenchman, the Vistula means yet more to a Pole. It is Poland's greatest and, in a deep sense, her only river, with which the most intimate associations of her history are bound up. It is Polish through and through, from its source to its mouth. Both Cracow—the Oxford of Poland—and Warsaw, her capital, lie upon its banks. At the mouth of it stands Dantzig. Now, Dantzig is to Poland what London, as England's chief port, is to England, and it is impossible for Poles to rest content while access to the sea is blocked to them, and Dantzig, their historic seaport, remains in German hands.

But if the complete reunion of Poland is necessary on general grounds, if it is the heart's desire of every Pole to see the end of Prussian rule, the complete reunion of his country, with access through his own great river to the sea, there are two special reasons why the union of these 4,000,000 Poles with the rest of Poland is indispensable.

First, Poznania is the cradle of the Polish race. Poznan is just as dear to a Pole as Krakow or Warzawa.

In addition to the social, economic, and military reasons for union spoken of above, there are the traditions of history. Sentiment plays no small part in politics, and there exists a sentiment which a great French writer has finely called le culte des morts. Poznania is sacred soil. It is the land where our ancestors lie buried.

Again, it must not be forgotten that the Poles of Prussia number among them some of the most energetic members of the Polish race. The general level of education is high. There are no illiterates among them. There is a strong middle class, and the Polish peasants on these territories are the best agriculturists of Poland. It is unthinkable, for these reasons, that the Poles of Prussia should be left under Prussian rule, or debarred from union with their brothers in one great Polish state. But there is a further consideration. Of all Poles, among the Poles of Prussia the consciousness of nationality is widest spread.

There is a well-known story of a Polish deputy who, visiting one day the cottage of a Polish peasant in Prussia, saw a portrait of Bismarck on the wall. "Are you an admirer of Bismarck?" asked the deputy. "Yes," said the peasant. "I owe Bismarck much. It was Bismarck who taught me to be a Pole."

Prussian persecution has not been without its natural effect. The oppressive laws of Prussia, from the time of Frederick the Great down to Bismarck, the commission of colonization, and the affair of Wreschen have had but one result; they have sharpened and intensified the national resistance. The Poles of Prussia are to-day the most Polish of the Poles. Ground by the teeth of wild beasts—to them may surely be applied a famous saying—they have become some of the purest members of the Polish nation.

As Mr. Geoffrey Drage, in his address to the Royal Statistical Society, March, 1918, admirably said:

"Perhaps the efforts of Marcinkowski to educate a professional and commercial middle class, and those of Wawrzyniak and Jackowski to build up an economic imperium in imperio, and internal commonwealth or peasant republic of cooperative institutions, as the foundation of a future Polish state would have failed had not Bismarck in a moment of supreme folly laid hands on the national religion and the national language and permanently estranged the Polish people. * * * The Kulturkampf was the beginning of the stern schooling, continued with a vast and vain expenditure to expropriate the Polish landowners, large and small, which has left the Prussian Poles the soundest economic Polish unit. * * * If Prussian Poland may be called, as I have elsewhere termed it, the heel of the German Achilles, it is also the one solid foundation which the European powers can give to the new Polish state. * * * It is the stern rule of the Prussian schoolmaster and the tyranny of the Prussian administrator and Prussian drill sergeant which have fitted the Prussian Poles to lead their fellow countrymen and head the flowing Slav tide, which has been for decades slowly but surely advancing into the German Empire. Moreover, of all Polish lands, German Poland has suffered least in population and wealth in the great war, and is best suited, economically and otherwise, to form the nucleus of a new government."

We have so far looked at the matter, the complete reunion of Poland, from a purely Polish point of view—the desire of the Poles for unity. We may conclude by looking at the matter under a larger aspect. Is it in the interest of Europe?

In order to answer this question we must first consider what precisely the inclusion or noninclusion of these territories in the future Poland means in regard to the real independence of the country. If these territories were restored to Poland and disannexed from Prussia, Poland would be strong. She would have a real political and economic independence. With coal from her coal fields in Silesia, she could build up her own industries. With her seaport Dantzig, her trade with England and other countries, which was great in the past, would no longer be throttled by Germany. If, on the other hand, these territories should be left in Prussian hands and Prussia be allowed to keep her share of the partition, if the wrong done by Frederick the Great be left unrighted, Poland, shorn of one-third of her territory, without coal for her industries or access to the sea and surrounded by German military outposts, would be weak. Her independence would be a sham. Nominally independent, at least in regard to two-thirds of her territory, under some Hapsburg prince, she would in reality be a mere dependency of Berlin.

Our choice then lies between a strong Poland, strong and self-sufficing by the inclusion of her Prussian territories, and a weak Poland, weak by the incompletion of her unity. Which is in the interest of Europe, a weak Poland or a strong? The question may be put in other terms. A strong Poland means an independent Poland, able to make an independent line in foreign policy. A weak Poland means a German Poland, wholly subordinate to Germany and German influence, a mere extension of the German Empire. Which is in the interest of Europe, a German Poland or an independent Poland?

It should be carefully noted that there is no dispute between the belligerent powers as to the necessity of reconstituting Poland. All alike have promised the restoration of Poland. The whole controversy turns upon the nature of that restoration and in particular upon the question of the Prussian Provinces, whether, in other words, the new Poland should be strong or weak, independent or German. This is the real issue. Now, it is manifestly in the interest of Europe and Great Britain that Poland should be strong and independent.

We touch here upon the old question of the balance of power. If the Polish territories of Prussia are left in Prussian hands, and if as a consequence the new Poland, nominally independent, is in reality a dependency of Germany, the power of Germany will be enormously increased. Poland, instead of acting as a barrier against German "Drang nach Osten," would form simply a bridge for new expansion to Russia and the Balkans. She would be simply part of the German Mittel Europa system, which means the domination by Germany of the whole of central and eastern Europe from Berlin to Constantinople and to the Suez Canal.

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Consider what an independent and completely reunited Poland would mean to Europe.

In the first place, the power of Prussia would be broken, and, with the breaking of Prussia, Germany would cease to be an imperialist, aggressive power. Prussia rose to power upon the ruins of Poland. The destruction of Prussian militarism and the restoration of Poland are synonymous terms.

Secondly, the Baltic would cease to be a German lake. Poland on the sea at Dantzig would spell the freedom of the Baltic, and the Scandinavian States—Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland—would recover a real political and economic independence.

Lastly, the whole question of Mittel Europa would be changed. Too much stress is sometimes laid on Mittel Europa in its negative aspect. Too little attention paid to the question on its positive, constructive side. But it is not enough to say that Mittel Europa must be combated. We must put forward an alternative, a new and better plan, more conductive to the liberties of Europe and the interests of the entente. The corner stone of such a plan is a united and independent Poland with access to the sea at Dantzig. In close alliance with a free and independent Bohemia, including all the Czechs and Slovaks, the using the same port, Dantzig; with a greatly increased Serbia, uniting all Jugoslavs under her ægis; with Italy, her unity completed, and her security attained upon the Adriatic; with a new and greatly extended Roumania, including within her territory all the Roumanians at present separated from

her; and with a free Greece, free from German domination—such a belt of States would form an unbreakable barrier against German aggression; and instead of a bureaucratic despotism under German control, called Mittel Europa, central and eastern Europe, from the Baltic to the Black Sea and from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, would become the home of free peoples. These names alone ring true, and are a sufficient answer in themselves, with all their manifold, rich historic meaning, to the bare geographical despotic term of Mittel Europa.

Even the Magyars and the Bulgarians, deprived of German support, might no longer consent to throw in their lot with Berlin.

Such is the difference in its consequences between an independent and a German Poland. An independent Poland, completely reunited, with her Prussian territories restored, means the end of Prussian militarism and the breaking of the aggressive force of Germany. It means the freedom of the Baltic. And instead of a German Mittel Europa, Poland would form the corner stone of a free Europe.

Poland, or Prussia, freedom or Mittel Europa, Europe must choose; and surely no Englishman will do otherwise to-day than pursue the old policy of Canning.

But if the division of power in every sphere is indispensable to the cause of human liberty, if the concentration of power in a single hand, call it Mittel Europa or by any other name, is fatal to the interests of both Europe and the British Empire, if the unity and independence of Poland, with access to the sea at Dantzig is essential to the equilibrium and liberty of Europe, there is yet another reason why the inclusion of these 4,000,000 Poles in Prussian Poland is an interest of Europe. The supreme need of Europe after this war is for a stable and lasting peace. Now, if the rights and aspirations of these 4,000,000 Poles are thwarted, one of the roots of a new war will be left in Europe. If the injustice of the congress of Vienna is repeated, from which Europe is suffering to-day, a new war, in no long time, will burst forth again. Let us remove such a danger now by a complete and not a partial settlement. We can not afford to tinker with these questions. The complete reunion and independence of Poland with access to the sea at Dantzig, while it would form the corner stone of national liberty throughout central and eastern Europe, would also be the surest guaranty of a just and lasting peace.

We talk much to-day of a league of nations. But it is necessary to distinguish. A league of nations may be either a good thing or an evil. Peace can not be imposed by force; it must be based upon justice. A peace based upon force alone, at the expense of justice, is simply the consecration of iniquity and revolts the human conscience. Europe does not want a repetition of the Congress of Vienna, which stifled nationality in Europe, and does not need to be reminded that the holy alliance was founded to impose by force and to perpetuate the iniquitous decisions of that congress.

A league of nations, devoted like the holy alliance of 1815 to imposing injustice on the world by force, calling it peace, would be a moral abomination. The holy alliance of the past was in the main an alliance between three powers to keep down Poland, to perpetuate the iniquity of the partitions. We do not want a new holy alliance, call it a league of nations or by any other name, if founded, like the last, upon the dismemberment of Poand.

Peace must be based upon justice. It may or may not be true that perpetual peace is but a dream, that war can never be wholly eliminated from this planet. If that be so, it is all the more necessary for statesmen and nations to extirpate, so far as in them lies, the roots of war, to seek for a just settlement which shall not deride the rights and aspirations of the nations.

Injustice has ever been the fruitful source of human misery; nor can any human being estimate the amount of misery caused to Europe by the crime of Frederick the Great. Upon the destruction of Poland, Prussia rose, and we may date this war from her partition.

If that crime be now undone, and if a new league of nations be formed, based not like the old holy alliance upon the partition but upon the union of Poland, such a league would be blessed by all mankind, and afford—for the Polish is perhaps the most central of all European questions—the surest guaranty of future peace.

STANISLAS KOZICKI.

Mr. Speaker, by recognizing United Poland, the Jugo-Slav, and Czecho-Slav as independent States or nations, we will not only be helping their cause but the cause of the allies and the cause of world democracy. To them it will be an encouragement to still greater efforts and activities and to a closer cooperation. Not only in their suffering countries but also in this country will the millions of peoples of these nationalities show their appreciation for the aid and assistance accorded to their brothers across the sea, to their mother country, and their cause and struggle for independence. I feel the recognition of the Jugo-Slav and United Poland will also bring a closer and more harmonious cooperation between the Czecho-Slovak, Polish, and Jugo-Slovak peoples, who, after succeeding in establishing full cooperation, are bound to bring about the complete elimination of Austria-Hungary in a short time. It is for that reason that I plead for the recognition of these nations and at the same time appeal to the people of those nationalities residing in our country to do all in their power to aid and assist in bringing about that cooperation across the sea, as well as in our own country, so that there will be a perfect union of these nations that they may fight harmoniously side by side for the cause which is so near and dear to them and for which our own country has offered the lives of thousands upon thousands of its bravest citizens. Of course, I fully appreciate the sacrifices and services they have already rendered our country and am proud of their accomplishments, and have the utmost confidence that they will continue to demonstrate and prove to this country and to the world that they merit and are deserving of our confidence, our aid and assistance, and recognition of their independence.

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. FESS. In view of the very indefinite conception of our own people as to who the Czechs are, I wish the gentleman would, for the sake of the record, indicate the high rate of literacy and the low rate of illiteracy and the standard of the University of Prague, which I think is one of the greatest in the world.

Mr. SABATH. The University of Prague is one of the oldest in Europe, and I am proud to say that, notwithstanding the efforts made on the part of the Austrian Government to eliminate the Czech language, over 99 per cent of the Czechs are literate and less than 1 per cent are illiterate. Most of the education of these people has been secured through private Bohemian organizations which for years, in opposition to the Austrian Government, have maintained separate and private schools in every hamlet in Bohemia.

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield for a further question?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FESS. As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, would the gentleman hesitate to say whether our country is using any propaganda to get the people in Austria to know the feeling in America as to our desire for them to have their liberty?

Mr. SABATH. Not as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs but as a Member of the House, and one who has been closely affiliated and who has watched the Czecho-Slovak, Jugo-Slav, and Polish movements, I will state that each and every one of these organizations, in conjunction with our Bureau of Public Information, is endeavoring to acquaint the people of Austria with what is transpiring and the efforts we are making in their behalf. As you know, I have advocated the Slavic cause, believing that it will not only be to their interest but to the allied cause, feeling that the stronger the Czecho-Slovak, Jugo-Slovak, and Polish Armies become the weaker Austria will become. That I was not mistaken in my contention is now admitted by all, even those who at first doubted my assertions.

It was for the purpose of encouraging this movement that I introduced various resolutions, endeavoring thereby to bring home to these peoples the truth that, though at war with Austria, we were not at war with them, but on the contrary were their friends and fighting for their deliverance and independence, to encourage them in their efforts and in their fight for freedom. My aim was to bring home to them that we did not look upon them as our enemies, but as our friends. [Applause.]

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman care to state whether in his judgment there is any progress in Austria toward what we want to see accomplished?

Mr. SABATH. Yes; not only in Austria, but in Hungary as well, the people are waiting for the chance and opportunity which I hope will shortly present itself. I hope the moment they have been waiting for is at hand and that soon the word will be given which will forever eliminate the Hapsburgs and end the oppressions inflicted upon them by the Hapsburg and Hohenzollern tyrants. [Applause.]

Mr. SLOAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. SLOAN. Are not the conditions over there such that we may expect when our armies march to Vienna that we will meet a friendly favoring army to cooperate with us in taking that ancient capital?

Mr. SABATH. I can assure you, sir, that you will not be disappointed. I hope by that time the German as well as the Austrian Armies will be defeated and eliminated, and that our Army will meet with the victorious allied forces, in conjunction with the Czecho-Slovak, Jugo-Slav, and Polish Armies, to enter that old Austrian capital. [Applause.] We can and have a right to expect that and if the recognition is given to the Jugo-Slav and Poland, I am convinced that the progress of our Army will be quickened and it will have the satisfaction of meeting within a short time the Czecho-Slovak, Jugo-Slav, and Polish Armies and take possession of that ancient capital, Vienna, witness the overthrow and elimination of the Hapsburg dynasty, and then, together, continue their glorious march to Berlin and unfurl in both of these capitals the flags that represent justice, equality, freedom, and liberty. [Applause.]

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, is the amendment of the gentleman pending?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. It may be regarded as pending if he so desires.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to offer this amendment during general debate and have it considered as a pending amendment at the conclusion of general debate.

Mr. MEEKER. Would the gentleman from Alabama prefer that the gentleman from Massachusetts offer his amendment now?

Mr. BURNETT. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. I have a few amendments to offer.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

Mr. BURNETT. That the amendment be offered within that time.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to offer an amendment to be voted upon at the conclusion of general debate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 3, line 2, after the word "or" insert "who have enlisted for service with Czecho-Slovac, Polish, or other independent forces attached to the United States Army or to the army."

Mr. STAFFORD. So it will read——

The Clerk read as follows:

Shall be readmitted if it is proved the disability was acquired while the alien was serving in the military forces of the United States or of any one of the nations or who have enlisted for service with Czecho-Slovak, Polish, or other independent forces attached to the United States Army or to the army," etc.

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire how much time I have?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has eight minutes.

Mr. MEEKER. May I ask if the chairman of the committee will allow that time to be consumed, so that he can close debate if he so desires?

Mr. BURNETT. What is that?

Mr. MEEKER. I presume the gentleman would like to close debate.

Mr. BURNETT. Yes.

Mr. MEEKER. I ask unanimous consent, inasmuch as I some time ago had offered to give time to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JAMES], that he be permitted to proceed for three minutes and then be permitted to extend his remarks in the RECORD. That will save two minutes of time for the chairman.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair understands the gentleman is yielding the gentleman three minutes?

Mr. MEEKER. Yes; and I request that he be permitted to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JAMES] be permitted to revise and extend his remarks. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, I intend to offer, on page 2, line 9, if I have an opportunity, after the word "Czecho-Slovak," the word "Jugo-Slav," and after the word "Polish," the words "Slavic Legion." It may be, and I think it is, that the present wording of the bill takes in both of these Army units, but think it better to make it more definite.

We do not hear so much these days, Mr. Speaker, about the scum of southern Europe as we used to hear. This war has proven what many of us have claimed, that if war came the foreign born would fight as loyally for the United States as our native born.

Many of our foreign born who became American citizens refused to go back to fight for the land of their birth, but they have not refused to fight for the land of their adoption.

These men of the Jugo-Slavs, these men of the Czecho-Slavs, and the Poles, are fighting to-day with a "noose around their necks." As is well known, these natives of Austria-Hungary know that in case of capture they will not be treated as prisoners of war but as deserters from the Austrian Army.

They also know that if word gets back to Austria and Hungary that they are fighting against Austria-Hungary, that their mothers and fathers and other relatives will be punished as well.

One of the glorious pages of the war is the march of the Czecho-Slavs through Russia and Siberia, but the fighting done by the Jugo-Slav Army will fill just as glorious a page when the world knows what these men did.

After the collapse of the military power of Russia, the Jugo-Slav Army in Russia—formed principally of men who had deserted from the Austro-Hungarian Army—was removed from the Russian chaos and by way of Archangel, England, France, and the Mediterranean was sent to the Saloniki front.

The Prince Regent of Serbia, commander in chief of the Serbian Army, ordered the formation of a special Jugo-Slav division, in which the former subjects of Austria-Hungary were placed, and in which these Jugo-Slavs have fought ever since.

This Jugo-Slav division uses not only the Serbian flag but also the Croatian and Slovenian flags, and is thereby to be considered to be the first unit of what we all hope will be the future army of Jugo-Slavia.

Shortly after the Jugo-Slav Army left Russia for the Saloniki front, another strong Jugo-Slav volunteer contingent left Russia by way of Siberia, Vladivostok, and the Suez Canal for Saloniki. This contingent numbered upon its arrival at its destination 4,800 men and officers.

From the beginning of the war a great number of Jugo-Slavs who were forced to serve in the Austrian Army but who surrendered to their brothers, the Serbians, joined the Serbian Army as volunteers and fought with it. These men also fight with a noose around their throats. Thousands of these brave volunteers perished during the Serbian retreat through the mountains of Albania. After this tragic collapse the remnants of these volunteer troops were reorganized and also sent to the Saloniki front.

Three thousand five hundred Jugo-Slav volunteers came from Russia by way of Roumania and also joined the Serbian Army. They also participated in the great retreat through Albania, and are now, in a large majority, fighting on the front at Saloniki.

To these must be added the contingents from both North and South America and from Australia. The United States has sent about 5,000 Jugo-Slav volunteers, many have gone from South America, and 550 from far-off New Zealand and Australia. These men all represent the true revolutionary spirit of the Jugo-Slavs in Austria-Hungary, who are in revolt against their oppressors and have been for hundreds of years.

During the campaign of this month in Macedonia the Jugo-Slav division was in action and scored a great success, taking the massif of Kozjak, one of the most important points in the present offensive. Accordingly, we can consider the recent campaign in Macedonia as an actual proof of the successful belligerency of the Jugo-Slavs.

On the Italian front 30,000 Jugo-Slavs surrendered to the Italian armies. These prisoners of war are now being organized into a Jugo-Slav Army, and the organization is almost accomplished. Most of this work has been accomplished through the Jugo-Slav committee.

Hatred of Austria-Hungary and boundless devotion to the ideals of national independence thoroughly pervade the army, and they are all anxiously waiting for the day when the advancing Serbian and Jugo-Slav Armies will clear Serbia of the enemy and then march victoriously through the other Jugo-Slav lands.

The Jugo-Slavs are fighting on still another front, the eastern or Russian front. The bulk of the Jugo-Slav troops left Russia when the Bolshevists came to power, but small Jugo-Slav units remained in Russia, where they now have a great chance to perform a historic task.

About 5,000 of them started from Odessa on the Black Sea, continued fighting, and succeeded in reaching the northern sea. On reaching Samara these Jugo-Slavs put an end there to the Bolshevik anarchy and installed their own authority, but soon afterwards they left for Archangel.

Many thousands of Jugo-Slavs are now cooperating with the Czecho-Slovaks in Russia and are under the command of Col. Marinkovitch, fighting against the Bolshevists. A contingent of 3,000 Jugo-Slav volunteers participated at the capture of Vladivostok.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, there are thousands of foreign-born Jugo-Slavs who are now fighting in our armies under the Stars and Stripes against the power in whose dominion they were born.

When the Slavic Legion is formed, as per page 27 of the last Army appropriation bill, there will be thousands more of Jugo-Slavs fighting under the American Flag.

I agree with what the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] said a little while ago, that the Jugo-Slavs should be acknowledged the same as the Czecho-Slavs, and seeing that the conflicting claims of Italy and the Jugo-Slavs have been adjusted, I trust and hope that their recognition will come at a very early day.

I hope that the United States will be the first to recognize their aspirations. It will mean a good deal for us, not only over here but over there.

I have here a copy of a resolution that I introduced some time ago which explains what the Jugo-Slavs are striving for and what they hope to obtain:

House resolution 384.

Whereas the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, known under the collective name of Jugo-Slavs, a people inhabiting part of the southeastern region of Europe, occupying principally Serbia, Montenegro, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, part of Istria, Carniola, Gorizia, southern Hungary, southern Styria, and Carinthia, part of the Littoral, which for centuries past have been known as a people of culture and one possessing all the qualities and conditions necessary for the creation of a strong State and for the realization of national progress, and which, thanks to these qualities, have in the past had their own independent States; and

Whereas the Jugo-Slavs, more by intrigue and fraud than by force of arms, were subjugated by the Germans and Magyars, who still hold all the power in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, by which the Jugo-Slavs are economically exploited, deprived of all political rights, and culturally neglected; and

Whereas the Jugo-Slavs, through the geographical situation and the natural wealth of the countries they inhabit, and particularly through their many qualities, which prove them to be a people of great moral and physical force—as they have demonstrated in the present war—appear to be predestinated to become the living wall against the Germanic invasion of the East: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the national aspirations of the Jugo-Slavs shall find not only earnest and sincere sympathy from the United States of America but also the well-deserved help in their struggle for national liberation and unification, in order that by joining the ranks of the free peoples they may become the defenders of peace and participants in its benefits, a peace which shall guarantee to all the peoples the right of national existence, freedom, and progress.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAMES. I will yield to my friend.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. I know the interest of the gentleman from Michigan in the worthy aspirations of the heroic Serbians, Croatians, and the other Jugo-Slavs, and I thoroughly agree with him.

Now, is it not a fact that the formation of a strong and independent Jugo-Slav State would break the spine of that gigantic imperial enterprise which Germany calls mittel Europa? Would not the recognition of the Jugo-Slavs by the United States Government be a most important step toward the establishment of conditions after the war which will remove a real threat to our own welfare and security?

And is it not also a fact that the immediate formation of the Slavic Legion and its assignment to the Balkans or Saloniki front would be of immense value at this time?

Recognizing that the gentleman speaks with authority on these little-understood questions, I should like to have his views on this phase of it.

Mr. JAMES. There is no doubt but that the formation of a Jugo-Slav nation would do more than any other one thing to absolutely destroy all dreams of a "mittel Europa," as it would separate Germany and Austria from their allies, Turkey and Bulgaria. As I have often said, we might as well go further and drive Turkey out of Europe and cut down the size of Bulgaria.

If we go ahead with our plans for a Slavic Legion, which I believe the War Department is now working on, and if we send them to the Saloniki front—the logical front to send this Slavic Legion—it will be of untold value for the United States and the allies in starting "a back fire" in Austria and Hungary. When this Slavic Legion get into Austria, though enemy soil, they will be in the lands of their friends, many of whom will be glad to join in the fight. On account of the late successes in the Balkans, if there was a call for volunteers for the Slavic Legion now it would create great enthusiasm among the Jugo-Slavs, and thousands of them would volunteer at once. I believe that now "is the time to strike."

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I think that in all justice these men, who are fighting for the same glorious cause and for the same rights and principles as we are, ought to be readmitted, and I am sure that this bill will be passed by a unanimous vote.

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ROGERS].

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ROGERS: Page 3, line 1, after the word "disability," insert "did not arise from his own misconduct and," so that it will read "or mental defect, shall be readmitted if it is proven that the disability did not arise from his own misconduct and was acquired while the alien was serving in the military forces of the United States," etc.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I am in cordial sympathy with the purpose which underlies this resolution. The question is, whether its language goes further than is desirable. I have read with approval the letter of the Secretary of State, which is made the basis of the committee report. The Secretary's letter, dated September 6, says:

I am sure you will agree with me that it would work a serious injustice on the aliens who will doubtless return to their own country for military service under the provisions of these conventions if after the termination of the war they were to be confronted with the provision of the existing immigration law which would prevent their readmission to the United States because of wounds or other disabilities incurred in the line of service in the common cause.

In other words, the Secretary of State wants to arrange by this legislation for the readmission of otherwise inadmissible aliens only if they shall have incurred wounds or other disabilities in the line of service in the common cause. It is an extraordinary relief which the Congress of the United States proposes by this legislation to hold out to men who go abroad, who fight in foreign armies, and who desire to return to the United States in spite of the provisions of our immigration laws. I believe it is a proper relief, but a relief which should be carefully safeguarded.

Now, the question comes naturally and inevitably whether we shall extend this relief to everybody for every kind of disability which he picks up on the other side, or whether we shall limit the relief, as the Secretary of State desires, in favor of men who have been wounded or who have incurred disabilities in fighting for the cause which America has made its own. I submit that the Secretary of State is right and that the bill is wrong. And it is to overcome what seems to me this very vital defect in the bill that I have offered this amendment.

Suppose an alien goes abroad and fights in the Italian Army and contracts venereal disease, or becomes a syphilitic. That has no relation to the work of a soldier, nor to the cause for which we struggle to-day. Yet this bill as it stands will allow that man to come back to America. Let us limit the relief. Let us say, as my amendment proposes, that he may come back provided the disability did not arise from his own misconduct.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have another amendment which I will ask unanimous consent to present at this time for consideration after the debate is over.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the Clerk will read the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ROGERS: Page 2, line 15, after the word "authorities," insert "to return to the United States."

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, the provision as it stands allows the alien to come back to the United States provided he has been honorably discharged or provided he has been granted a furlough. He may have a furlough of 3 days, or 6 days, or 20 days. He may take the period of his furlough to sneak off to the United States in violation of his military obligations. The amendment which I have just submitted simply requires that the furlough itself shall be the kind of furlough which authorizes him to return to the United States. No other furlough should give him the relief of this bill.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. He would be a deserter if he got a furlough for 3 days or 6 days or 20 days and tried to come across.

Mr. ROGERS. If he got a furlough for 30 days he might succeed in getting to the United States in the period of the furlough. The purpose of the committee, as I understand from conversation with members, is that in case a furlough is given to the soldier to enable him to return to the United States for special medical treatment, there shall not be any barrier in the law. My suggestion is that the law should state in terms that the furlough, if it is to avail the alien, shall expressly authorize him to return to the United States.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment, and also a committee amendment, to correct an error in the spelling of the word "Czecho."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the first amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SABATH: Page 2, line 5, after the word "military," insert the words "or naval."

Mr. SABATH. And the same amendment, on page 3, line 2, after the word "military," insert "or naval."

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The gentleman had also a typographical amendment. Let him get that out of the way.

Mr. SABATH. I ask unanimous consent to change the spelling of the word "Czecko" by inserting an "h" instead of a "k." That is on line 8 of page 2, the last word.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SABATH: Page 2, line 8, in the word "Czecko," strike out the letter "k" and insert in lieu thereof the letter "h."

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the modification be made.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that the modification indicated be made. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, I would like to offer two amendments and have them considered as pending.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I want to say a word.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the first amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. STAFFORD: Page 3, line 2, after the word "or," insert "who have enlisted for service with Czecho-Slovak, Polish, or other independent forces attached to the United States Army, or to the army."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read the next amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ROGERS: Page 3, line 1, after the word "disability," insert "did not arise from his own misconduct and."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the amendment.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. ROGERS) there were 11 ayes and 34 noes.

So the amendment was rejected.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read the next amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ROGERS: Page 2, line 15, after the word "authorities," insert "to return to the United States."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question now is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the resolution.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. STAFFORD) there were 50 ayes and no noes.

So the resolution was passed.

On motion of Mr. BURNETT, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the resolution was passed was laid on the table.

Mr. BURNETT, Mr. STAFFORD, and Mr. ROGERS were given leave to extend their remarks in the RECORD.

PROTECTION OF THE TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH SERVICE.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MOON], chairman of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, may be recognized to call up the bill H. R. 12976 for consideration under the general rules of the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MOON] be recognized to call up a bill, H. R. 12976, from the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads at this time for consideration under the general rules of the House. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, is this one of the measures for which a rule has been granted by the committee and was to be in order following this resolution?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. It is one of the measures concerning which the Committee on Rules has reported a resolution.

Mr. WALSH. And this is the regular order in which it was to be considered?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. There was no arrangement in the Committee on Rules touching the order. There was an agreement made among different Members after the resolution had been agreed upon, and it was agreed, I will say to the gentleman from Massachusetts, that this should be next in order. It was agreeable to everybody.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman does not expect to bring up any other rule after this is considered to-day?

Mr. SIMS. Oh, we may bring a rule up.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I could not give the gentleman any assurance as to that; I do not know.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there any objection to the request? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MOON].

Mr. MOON. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the Clerk report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 12976) providing for the protection of the users of the telephone and telegraph service and the properties and funds belonging thereto during Government operation and control.

Mr. MOON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the first reading of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to dispense with the first reading of the bill. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, if there will be no reading of the bill, then I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That whoever during the period of governmental operation of the telephone and telegraph systems of the United States by the Postmaster General, under the act of Congress approved July 16, 1918, and the proclamation of the President dated July 22, 1918, shall, without authority and without the knowledge and consent of the other users thereof, except as may be necessary for operation of the service, tap any telegraph or telephone line, or willfully interfere with the operation of such telephone and telegraph systems or with the transmission of any telephone or telegraph message, or with the delivery of any such message, or whoever being employed in any such telephone or telegraph service shall divulge the contents of any such telephone or telegraph message to any person not duly authorized or entitled to receive the same, shall be fined not exceeding $1,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both.

SEC. 2. That whoever shall steal, purloin, embezzle, or without authority destroy any money, property, record, voucher, or valuable thing whatever of the moneys, goods, chattels, records, or property of any telephone or telegraph system operated by the Postmaster General under the act of Congress approved July 16, 1918, and the proclamation of the President dated July 22, 1918, shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

SEC. 3. That whoever shall receive, conceal, or aid in concealing, or shall have or retain in his possession with intent to convert to his own use or gain any money, property, record, voucher, or valuable thing whatever of the moneys, goods, chattels, records, or property of any telephone or telegraph system operated by the Postmaster General under the act of Congress approved July 16, 1918, and the proclamation of the President dated July 22, 1918, which has been embezzled, stolen, or purloined by any other person, knowing the same to be embezzled, stolen, or purloined, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both, and such person may be tried either before or after the conviction of the principal defendant.

SEC. 4. That whoever shall forcibly break into, or attempt to break into, any telephone or telegraph office, or any building used in whole or in part as such telephone or telegraph office of any telephone or telegraph system operated by the Postmaster General under the act of Congress approved July 16, 1918, and the proclamation of the President dated July 22, 1918, with intent to commit in such telephone or telegraph office or building, or part thereof so used, any larceny or other depredation, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

SEC. 5. That whoever shall assault any person having lawful charge, control, or custody of any money or property of any telephone or telegraph system operated by the Postmaster General under the act of Congress dated July 16, 1918, and the proclamation of the President dated July 22, 1918, with intent to rob, steal, or purloin such money or property, or any part thereof, or shall rob any such person of such money or property, or any part thereof, shall be imprisoned not more than five years; and if in the effecting or attempting to effect such robbery, he shall wound such person having custody of the money or property, or put his life in danger by the use of a dangerous weapon, shall be imprisoned not more than 10 years.

Mr. MOON. Mr. Speaker, by joint resolution, known as public resolution No. 38, approved July 16, 1918, the President of the United States was authorized to take possession, assume control, and operate all telephone and telegraph and marine cable lines and radio systems of the United States for the purpose of the war and during the period of the war. By his proclamation of July 22 possession was taken of the telegraph and telephone means of communication, and they are now being operated by the Government of the United States. This action on the part of the Congress and the President changed the status of the property of the telephone and telegraph companies, the title of the property being thereby separated from the right of possession, the possession being in the Government and the title remaining still in the telephone and telegraph companies. It is the judgment of the law officers of the Government that under this situation there is not sufficient, if indeed there is any, protection through Federal authority to the property of the telephone and telegraph companies, and this bill has been introduced for the purpose of protecting the users of those instrumentalities and also for the protection of the property itself. The first section of the bill provides that which is not provided now in any Federal law. It prohibits the tapping of the wires and prohibits the making known of any communication that is caught over the wires that is not authorized by law. The House will readily see the importance of this, particularly as to certain matters; that of preventing the public from securing Government information that comes through these systems of communication not only in our own country but from foreign countries. The first section of the bill covers questions of that character. The second section of the bill—I will not attempt to state numerically the sections but what they contain and give the substance of the bill—another section provides for a penalty for embezzlement of any funds that belong to the companies or to the Government and the larceny or purloining of any of the property of the Government. Still another section provides for the prevention under penalties of any person forcibly entering any building or office that is in whole or part used and occupied by telegraph and telephone companies for the purpose of the commission therein of a felony.

Still another section provides that when places of that sort are entered and an assault is made upon the employee of the

Government that a penalty shall be attached to that offense. The bill has been read in full to the House, and I need not undertake to explain in detail the sections or give the exact language of them. The importance of the passage of a law of this sort is altogether apparent to every Member of the House. It is true that against the simple crime of larceny or embezzlement of postal funds, and so forth, the State law would afford a measure of protection and so would the Federal laws as to those things within the territory where the Federal Government has exclusive jurisdiction. While that may be true as to property in general still it is not desirable that the Federal Government within the States shall have to call upon the State authorities to protect its property or its employees or its interests. It should be done by a Federal statue and not in any sense left to doubt. The law officers of the Government are of the opinion that it is too serious a question to leave to doubt or to State protection. This is about all I think it necessary to say in reference to the bill. If any gentleman desires to discuss it I will retain the floor and yield him time for that purpose; if not, I will move the previous question on the passage of the bill.

Mr. ESCH. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. MOON. I will.

Mr. ESCH. The original act providing for the taking over of these lines of communication covered not merely the telegraph and telephones but also the cable companies and wireless?

Mr. MOON. I stated that in the beginning.

Mr. ESCH. This bill only makes the penalty so far as telegraph and telephone companies are concerned?

Mr. MOON. Yes.

Mr. ESCH. Is it a fact that the cable companies and the wireless companies are under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Navy?

Mr. MOON. I think they are.

Mr. ESCH. That would be the reason why your committee did not feel they would have jurisdiction over the matter?

Mr. MOON. Yes. We deal only with postal matters.

Mr. ESCH. Does the gentleman know whether there is any law now providing similar penalties with reference to the conversion of property, or larceny, and so forth, in connection with cable and wireless companies?

Mr. MOON. I do not know of any.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman permit?

Mr. MOON. I will.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is it not a fact that the wireless systems are under the control of the Government to-day?

Mr. ESCH. They have been for the last two years.

Mr. STAFFORD. And that the Secretary controls these matters, and they are being administered by officers and enlisted men of the Navy and not by civilians?

Mr. ESCH. Yes; under the Navy Department.

Mr. STAFFORD. And will be subject to the penalties of naval regulations?

Mr. MOON. I want to say this bill is strictly an administration measure, amended in some respects by the committee, but the material features are those as suggested by the administration in a tentative draft of the bill and intended to cover telegraph and telephones under the Post Office Department.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. MOON. Yes.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Does not the gentleman think that wherever the United States have taken over the administration of anything, even if it be the railroads, embezzlement by the officers of the United States and interference with them ought to be provided for by one law instead of giving the right to the postmasters? It is not post-office business which is put in the hands of the Postmaster General, but he is only a special agent to take care of these telegraph and telephone companies.

Mr. MOON. That may be true; but our committee deals alone with matters provided in this bill.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Does not the gentleman think it ought to have gone to the Committee on the Judiciary on the question of crime, anyhow, or else have gone to the committee that passed this law, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce?

Mr. MOON. I did not understand the gentleman.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Is not this an addition to the law passed by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and enforcing the provision, and should it not have been reported by them?

Mr. MOON. I do not know as to the jurisdiction of the committee. It is possible that the bill should have been sent to the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, and possibly to the Committee on the Judiciary, but it was not.

Mr. MADDEN. Is intelligence commerce?

Mr. MOON. Oh, no; intelligence is not commerce; in a jurisdictional sense under our rule the Post Office and Post Roads Committee has jurisdiction over telegraph and telephones, and should propose laws and pass on them in committee under the existing facts; but that question can not be made now, of course.

Mr. SIEGEL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOON. I will.

Mr. SIEGEL. In view of the fact that cable messages are being received by the telegraph offices the same as usual, section 1, it seems to me, should be amended so as to include cablegrams, and not use the words in line 3, page 2, of this bill, "with the delivery of any such message." In other words, if a messenger boy was held up while carrying a cablegram and the message taken away from him, you could not prosecute him, while if he carried a telegram you could.

Mr. MOON. Yes, possibly.

Mr. SIEGEL. It seems to me that the words "cable message" should be included.

Mr. MOON. That is part of the telegram, anyway, when committed to telegraph wires.

Mr. SIEGEL. Use the words "the delivery of any such message" or "transmission of any such message," leaving out the word "cablegram."

Mr. MOON. I take it, as a matter of law, that when you speak of telegraph you do not mean merely a message that is sent from New York to Washington over the wire, but it might include all communications by wire or cable, by radio or any other way, so far as that is concerned.

Mr. SIEGEL. This is what occurs. Whenever the cablegram is sent here and delivered to a messenger boy, and the cablegram is taken away from that messenger boy, although in the employ of the United States at the present time, there could not be any prosecution.

Mr. MOON. I think "cablegram" and "telegram" would be the same so far as that is concerned, if that question should arise. But I want to suggest to the gentleman that this bill has had very close scrutiny by the law officers of the Government, and it has been presented here as they desire it to pass. Of course, we have a right to make any changes in it we desire to make, regardless of their views, but I imagine it is sufficiently protected. Every telegraph message is not a cable message, but every cable message is also a telegraph message, for the reason that it must go onto the wires after it is received from the cable, unless it is, possibly, at the point of reception.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. Will the gentleman from Tennessee yield for another question?

Mr. MOON. I will.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. In every criminal case it is necessary to prove the venue; it is necessary to prove that the court trying it has territorial jurisdiction over the offense committed. Now, this first section of this act forbids and punishes not only the tapping of wires but leakage, and the giving out of information obtained through them. Ought not there to be in view of the difficulties in proving the venue in criminal prosecutions a section in this bill providing that in view of the difficulty of making that proof, providing that any Federal court of general jurisdiction in any district through which the Telegraph system was operative might have jurisdiction of the prosecution of the offense?

Mr. MOON. No.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. It might be almost impossible to prove that the leakage incurred in any particular Federal district, and I believe the act ought to be made enforceable, and it is not enforceable as to leakage unless you have some such provision in it. It is not an uncommon provision in criminal law.

Mr. MOON. I think the venue in any criminal case ought to be at the place of the commission of the crime. While the Government's rights must be respected, the rights of a citizen must also be respected. It would not be just to a citizen of the United States to try him a thousand miles from his home or residence; to try him in not one but in every jurisdiction, if necessary, under the Federal indictment. The Federal indictment might lay a general dragnet in that way. It might indict a man in a dozen places for the same offense, and he could be tried in any of them.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. He could only be tried in one.

Mr. MOON. No. He could be tried, for instance, in the southern district of New York, and if it turned out that the offense was committed in Pennsylvania, you could get him down there; and you could indict him in Pennsylvania and in New York and in Washington and anywhere; and while you could convict him only in one place, you could put him to the inconvenience of undergoing trial in a number of places. I think the proper thing would be for the Government not to lay drag-

nets for citizens, but for the Government to know its business and find indictments where the offense has been committed, so that a man could be tried by a jury of his peers.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. Let me suggest that a leakage might occur between Baltimore and Richmond, Va., and——

Mr. MOON. Then let the Government find out where the leakage is and punish it.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. It will practically make the act unenforceable unless you make some such provision.

Mr. MOON. I do not think so, and the law officers of the Government do not think so.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if no gentleman desires to occupy time I will move——

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, would the gentleman answer one or two questions?

Mr. MOON. If I can.

Mr. WALSH. I think the gentleman can. It may be due to a misunderstanding of his statement that I am asking the question. Do I understand the chairman of the committee to say that the law officers deemed the passage of this or a similar law necessary in order to properly operate the telegraph and telephone service?

Mr. MOON. Yes. The Solicitor of the Government for the Post Office Department was before the committee and was heard on the bill, and he regarded it as absolutely imperative that it should be enacted.

Mr. WALSH. So that if there is any interference with Government business going over the telegraph wire relating to the war, without this law the parties guilty could not be punished?

Mr. MOON. No; not under that first section, if at all.

Mr. WALSH. I do not agree with the gentleman. But I want to ask the gentleman another question. I notice for tapping a telegraph wire or willfully interfering with the operation of a telephone or telegraph by anybody they are liable to a fine not exceeding $1,000 and imprisonment for not more than one year.

Mr. MOON. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Whereas if they receive or conceal or retain in their possession any property or valuable thing in connection with the telegraph system or telephone system they can be punished by a fine of not more than $1,000 and imprisonment for not more than five years. Why is that discrepancy between the punishments there?

Mr. MOON. I suppose it is because one offense involves a greater degree of moral turpitude than the other.

Mr. WALSH. Then why should not the monetary punishment be increased as well? The fine in each case is the same.

Mr. MOON. Those questions of fixing punishment are largely arbitrary. There is no rule by which you can determine that sort of a question. That is the judgment of the committee.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman will agree that this is a criminal law?

Mr. MOON. Yes. That is what it is.

Mr. WALSH. Then I am inclined to agree with the gentleman that the committee jurisdiction rests with the Committee on the Judiciary. It may be too late to raise that question now.

Mr. MOON. It is too late to raise that question now.

Mr. WALSH. I did want to ask the gentleman one further question, and that is why the language is continually used in this act "of any telephone or telegraph system operated by the Postmaster General"?

Mr. MOON. It is because the Postmaster General is the man who operates them for the Government.

Mr. WALSH. The Postmaster General is the man who operates them?

Mr. MOON. Yes. The power was conferred upon the President, of course, to assume the control and operation of these instrumentalities; but, of course, the President is expected to operate them through an agent, and he conferred that power on the Postmaster General.

Mr. WALSH. Now, then, in that case, if the transfer of jurisdiction over these telegraphs and telephones were made from the Postmaster General to somebody else——

Mr. MOON. It is Government operation by the Postmaster General.

Mr. WALSH. Well, suppose the President should take it out of the hands of the Postmaster General and place it in somebody else's control. Would this law operate?

Mr. MOON. I do not know whether it would or not, but I think it would. I do not think there is any danger of his taking it out of the hands of the Postmaster General during the life of this administration.

Mr. WALSH. We can not tell what might happen. If anything should happen to the distinguished Postmaster General—which I trust will not——

Mr. MOON. The gentleman can not be serious about that. When you say "Postmaster General" you do not mean Mr. Burleson personally.

Mr. MADDEN. We might have Mr. MOON made Postmaster General.

Mr. WALSH. Yes. Then we would not need any law on the subject. [Applause.]

Mr. MOON. The words "Postmaster General" do not mean the incumbent in that office at this time. That is a continuing office under the law, and whoever occupies it would be Postmaster General.

Mr. WALSH. It might be transferred to somebody else.

Mr. MOON. Congress might repeal the whole thing. But while it stands it is all right.

Mr. SNOOK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOON. Yes.

Mr. SNOOK. Referring to section 2 of the bill, as I take it this bill provides for punishment of larceny of any of the property.

Mr. MOON. Yes; it provides against stealing, purloining, or embezzling, or without authority destroying any money or property.

Mr. SNOOK. The various States have laws providing for the punishment of larceny. What effect will that have upon the laws enforced in the different States?

Mr. MOON. None whatever. The State's jurisdiction is not impaired in the least by this. There are two sovereignties to which the offender against the law may answer. He may be indicted under a State law for stealing and be punished, and he also might be indicted under the Federal law and be punished, and he might get two punishments.

Mr. SNOOK. But if he is indicted under the Federal law, that would supersede the State law.

Mr. MOON. No, I think not; the State could punish him if it wanted to. Larceny is an infraction not only of the State law but under the Federal law.

Mr. SNOOK. Suppose a man was indicted by a Federal grand jury and also by a State grand jury in the county; if there was a clash of authority, would the Federal authority prevail?

Mr. MOON. The general practice between the State and Federal courts is that where both have jurisdiction, for the court that first takes jurisdiction to punish, and then the further practice has been that where a man once convicted and punished is convicted by the other jurisdiction punishment is not inflicted, or merely nominal punishment. So as a matter of judicial operation a man is seldom punished twice for the same offense, although he offends against two jurisdictions or two sovereignties and can be punished by both. This would not interfere with the State authority.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOON. Yes.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I want to call the gentleman's attention to the latter part of the first section, line 4, page 2—

whoever being employed in any such telephone or telegraph service shall divulge the contents of any such telephone or telegraph message to any person not duly authorized or entitled to receive the same, shall be fined—

And so forth. I want to call attention to the fact that this language does not require a bad intent necessarily. The disclosing of the message may be accidental or negligent merely. For illustration, take a telegraph message being left at the wrong place, misdelivered; there would be a violation of this statute. Then, I want to call attention to the fact that it is the practice now to deliver telegraph messages by telephoning them. For illustration, a message is received at a station where the addressee has a telephone. The employee usually telephones the telegraph message to the addressee. It might be given to an unauthorized servant or it might be overheard by a third person. This would make the employee guilty of a crime with heavy penalties.

Mr. MOON. If there was no criminal intent, that would be considered; and I think it would be covered by other language in the section necessary to the operation of the service.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. There is no provision for bad intent mentioned in this language.

Mr. MOON. There never was a criminal statute that could be enforced unless it had embodied in it the spirit of criminal intent to be proven before conviction.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. If an employee discloses a telegraph message accidentally, it would be a violation of the law.

Mr. MOON. Not if he referred to it where reference was necessary and proper in the service; there would be no criminal intent.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. It is a serious matter, I want to say to the gentleman, to make a felony attach to the mere divulging

of a telegram or a telephone message when the disclosure injures nobody and which may be done without any particularly bad intent.

Mr. MOON. So far as the penalty is concerned, it is like all other penalties attached to the Federal statutes—it is within the discretion of the court under the law. The court can fine a man one cent or imprison him one minute if he thinks that is the proper punishment for that sort of an offense under this bill.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Surely the gentleman does not think we ought to leave that to the pleasure of the court.

Mr. MOON. If the gentleman wants to know my opinion about matters of that sort, I will say that I think no judge, State or Federal, ought to have the power under any circumstances to inflict punishment of any kind. That ought to be done by the jury, and the jury alone, as is the law in a number of States.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. But the gentleman would give the judge such power in this case.

Mr. MOON. We can not change this bill and reform the judicial system at the suggestion of anybody who may make a mere hypercritical criticism of the bill.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. That is true; but it is incumbent on us to protect citizens from severe punishment for trifling offenses.

Mr. MOON. It may be done every day; we are not attempting to cure that situation in this bill. Mr. Speaker, I now move the previous question.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman withhold that? Would the gentleman object to making the penalties uniform?

Mr. MOON. No. The penalties are fixed as the department desires them, and I do not think there ought to be any change.

Mr. WALSH. In other words, the department's word has preference over the wishes of the majority of the House?

Mr. MOON. No; if the majority wishes to change them it can do so.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman is not willing to yield for an amendment.

Mr. MOON. I do not want to lose the floor and lose the right to call for the previous question. If by unanimous consent it is agreed that your amendment shall be voted on, and then the previous question be considered as ordered, I have no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair would like to have the gentleman speak louder.

Mr. MOON. I said that I had the floor and I would not yield it for an amendment unless it was unanimously agreed that the amendment should be voted on without debate and the previous question then ordered.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman wants to do all the debating on the measure.

Mr. MOON. If the gentleman wants time I will not say a word and let him take it.

Mr. WALSH. I believe the gentleman from Wyoming has an amendment he would like to offer.

Mr. MONDELL. I would like to discuss one or two features of the bill.

Mr. MOON. I will yield to the gentleman time. I said in the beginning that if any gentleman wanted time I would be glad to yield to him, that I did not want to discuss the bill five minutes myself, but I want to keep the floor. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Wyoming.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I want to ask the gentleman if he has seriously considered the possible effect of his legislation which seems to make it a felony to listen in on a telephone line? I am afraid that in some of the country districts—possibly not in the district of my friend, but in many country districts—if that law is enforced, a large part of the population will be in jail.

Mr. MOON. I do not know whether it will or not; perhaps it ought to be in some places.

Mr. MONDELL. I would not say that of the gentleman's district.

Mr. MOON. And I would not say it of the district of the gentleman from Wyoming.

Mr. MONDELL. But listening in on the phone line is the regular rural evening occupation in some localities, I am told.

Mr. MOON. The gentleman's argument is that injustice might be done; but the courts, I am sure, would take care of each case according to the circumstances surrounding it. We could not legislate against real crime along the line the gentleman suggests.

Mr. MONDELL. Oh, I have no disposition to have the bill amended so as in any way to prevent the punishment of a crime. I simply made that suggestion to the gentleman as one of the possibilities of the legislation. Perhaps in those cases the courts would recognize the established custom and hold that listening to conversations did not come within the purview of the law.

Mr. MOON. Is that in Wyoming—is that the established custom in Wyoming?

Mr. MONDELL. It is, I am told, in some States. I will not say it is in Wyoming. I have not been able to understand just why the words "by the Postmaster General" and the words "and the proclamation of the President dated July 22, 1918," were inserted in this bill in various sections. It seems to me it adds nothing to the bill.

Mr. MOON. That is for proper identification.

Mr. MONDELL. Well, it seems to me it adds nothing to the legislation. There is sufficient identification of the law under which we are operating the lines without that language.

Mr. MADDEN. It adds words.

Mr. MONDELL. Yes; it adds words and provides additional facts that must be established before a conviction can be had.

Mr. MOON. It does not add any additional fact.

Mr. MONDELL. The insertion of the language I have referred to necessitates the establishment before conviction of the fact that the line is being operated by and under the Postmaster General and that it is being operated under the proclamation of the President. Why burden the courts with that sort of thing? It adds nothing to the legislation. If the bill read in the first section, for instance—

That whoever during the period of Government operation of the telephone and telegraph systems of the United States under the act of Congress approved July 16, 1918, shall—

And so forth, it would be clear, definite, and brief.

Mr. MOON. I want to say to the gentleman from Wyoming that at best his criticism is only as to tautology in the bill, it is not a legal criticism of it.

Mr. MONDELL. I think it is rather more than tautology.

Mr. MOON. I do not know; I do not assume what a Federal court would hold about anything, but I should think they would take judicial knowledge of this staute which permits the President of the United States to operate these instrumentalities and also judicial knowledge of the proclamation that took them over in pursuance of the statute and would not have to prove that as a fact.

Mr. MONDELL. I assume there may be some other and additional proclamation relative to the management and control of these lines. What will happen then?

Mr. MOON. Oh, the gentleman is supposing something.

Mr. MONDELL. I am not assuming that the President will operate the lines under any other management than that of the Postmaster General, but he may. It does seem to me it is not wise in the enactment of a law to insert language which adds nothing to the legislation and might by a shift of administration render the legislation void.

Mr. MOON. Well, it takes nothing from it.

Mr. MONDELL. Well, it has this effect——

Mr. MOON. I said before, all the criticism the gentleman had is as to the repetition of the words in each section.

Mr. MONDELL. Well, a little more than that I take it.

Mr. MOON. Each one of these sections is a separate law to itself; each one pronounces different penalties for different offenses.

Mr. MONDELL. I understand.

Mr. MOON. And if it is necessary in one it is not improper in all.

Mr. MONDELL. But it is not necessary in any.

Mr. MOON. I think it is.

Mr. MONDELL. In bringing an indictment under this act as it now reads and in securing a conviction it would be necessary to show that these telegraph and telephone lines, in addition to being operated under the law referred to, are being operated by the Postmaster General and under the proclamation of the President. It would be necessary to prove those facts. What good reason is there for creating such a situation?

Mr. MOON. It is not necessary to prove them at all; if so, it is easy to do.

Mr. MONDELL. I think it would be necessary and it might be overlooked in bringing and proving a case.

Mr. MOON. No; I think not.

Mr. MONDELL. As a layman I would not presume to differ from so good a lawyer as my friend from Tennessee.

Mr. MOON. I do not claim to be any better lawyer than a good many laymen. I give my judgment for whatever it is worth. There is no use of our discussing the question that it is a mere repetition and tautology.

Mr. MONDELL. If the gentleman would allow an amendment to be offered striking out the language I have referred to

wherever it occurs in the bill, we could soon test the view of the House.

Mr. MOON. I will not agree to that; it is not necessary.

Mr. MONDELL. The House would be inclined to have it stricken out, in my opinion. Is the gentleman willing to put it to the acid test?

Mr. MOON. What does the gentleman call the acid test?

Mr. MONDELL. That is the usual term nowadays in regard to tests. I want an opportunity to test the opinion of the House. Evidently the gentleman does not want to test it.

Mr. MOON. Mr. Speaker, how much time have I remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has 20 minutes.

Mr. MOON. I will yield five minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON].

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, very properly we view with apprehension and aversion the creation of new crimes. We are creating many new crimes in these times, and wherever it is necessary to create them in order to protect the Government or in carrying on the war I am sure we are all willing to do it, although we do it reluctantly. Yet the creation of a new crime which has no relation to the carrying on of the war and no relation to the business in hand particularly, which will merely tend to correct an evil which has always existed, which would exist to an equal extent in time of peace as it does now, it seems to me should be carefully considered. We propose by section 1 of this bill to make it a crime to divulge the contents of a telegram or telephone message by any employee of the Government. Heretofore such messages might be divulged without the act being punished as a crime. If the offense denounced had anything to do with protecting Government business, or would in any way tend to impair the operation of the telephone and telegraph systems, much could be said in favor of the provision, but it is not aimed at Government business, nor is it aimed at the guarding of Government secrets; it is designed for the protection of private secrets, social and business secrets, confidential matters between private parties, and other things of that kind.

Mr. STEVENSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I will.

Mr. STEVENSON. Is it not provided in the law that a man who opens a letter in transmission through the mails and reads business secrets of anybody is guilty of an offense, and is not this just the same thing?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. That depends upon the circumstances. Not in every case where you open a letter without the adressee's consent is a crime committed. Reading or disclosing the contents of a letter is never a crime.

Mr. STEVENSON. I mean while it is in the custody of the United States.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. The gentleman is diverting me from the particular thing in hand, and that is the disclosing of telegraph or telephone messages, which are entirely different things from letters.

Heretofore such things might be divulged without punishment. Hereafter, if this bill becomes a law, they can not be divulged without punishment. On the contrary, the punishment will be extremely severe. That is the matter we have confronting us. When we are passing a law like this we ought to be absolutely sure of what we are doing and what the provisions of the law mean. No such law should be passed unless it provides that there must be a wicked intent, a malevolent intent, in the disclosure.

Mr. MOON. If the gentleman will permit, suppose a telegram is sent to him which is of the utmost importance, containing business secrets, either by a telephone or telegraph, and the person having charge of it deliberately turns that message without authority or divulges its contents to some person else other than you have authorized to receive it, ought he not to be punished for that sort of thing?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Yes; but the offense, it must be admitted, is more or less of a trifling nature, so far as its criminal aspect is concerned, and a year in jail and $1,000 fine does not fit the offense. The gentleman has stated a very extreme case. Criminal statutes are not framed, if they have any foundation in reason or philosophy, to meet only the most extreme cases. They are designed to apply to the usual case. On the other hand, let us suppose another case, in which a social message of the most trifling moment was divulged. For illustration, suppose a telephone operator, a young lady, should overhear a conversation between a young man and a young lady, in which he invited her to the theater or asked leave to call, and the telephone operator should disclose it, does the gentleman think that for merely disclosing that kind of message she should go to jail and pay a heavy fine?

Mr. MOON. There is no grand jury that would indict in a case of that sort.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. The gentleman is a lawyer, and he realizes we ought never to throw a citizen on the mercy of a grand jury. Congress has the duty of passing the laws, and we should not delegate our functions to judges and grand juries.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I would like some more time.

Mr. MOON. The gentleman has had sufficient time.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I am going to vote against the bill as it now stands.

Mr. MOON. I do not care if you do.

I want to say in this connection that the gentleman knows, if he has looked into this measure, that it is impossible for us to say on the face of the section that we do not want communications sent by telegraph or telephone to the Government of the United States or to its officers anywhere, and that are looking for the protection of the Federal Government, communicated or repeated for the benefit of the German Empire.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. If that is the only purpose of this provision of the bill, it should be amended so as to clearly make such an act a crime and so as not to make criminals out of those who may innocently divulge a message of no importance whatever.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield me a half minute?

Mr. MOON. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; was read a third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is, Shall the bill pass?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, on that I ask for a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 37, noes 4.

So the bill was passed.

On motion of Mr. MOON, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

EMERGENCY WATER-POWER LEGISLATION.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on to-morrow morning, after the reading and approval of the Journal, the bill H. R. 12776 be taken up for consideration, and there shall be not to exceed four hours of general debate. At the conclusion of such general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. After the bill shall have been perfected in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union the same shall be reported to the House with such recommendation as the committee may make, whereupon the previous question shall be considered as ordered upon the bill and all amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] asks unanimous consent that on to-morrow morning, after the reading of the Journal, the bill H. R. 12776 shall be taken up for consideration; that there shall be not to exceed four hours of general debate on the bill, after which it shall be taken up under the five-minute rule in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and after it is perfected the committee shall rise and report the bill back to the House, and that the previous question shall be considered on the bill and all amendments thereto to final passage without any intervening motion except the motion to recommit. Is there objection?

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, what does the gentleman mean by four hours of debate on the bill?

Mr. SIMS. Not exceeding four hours.

Mr. MONDELL. He does not mean that it is to be confined to the subject matter of the bill?

Mr. SIMS. I was going to say that I have just read the rule that has been reported, and I do not understand that the rule, if adopted without amendment, would confine it to the subject matter of the bill. But I do hope that such may be the case.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, what is the purpose of the gentleman from Tennessee?

Mr. SIMS. The only reason I am doing this is to save time so that we can use on general debate the time that we would use in discussing and passing the rule.

Mr. MONDELL. It is understood that the debate is not necessarily confined to the bill?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I want to say now, in order to stop this coming before the Committee on Rules and taking its time for two hours in considering bills of this kind, that I object.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules I offer the following privileged resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from North Carolina offers the following privileged resolution, which the Clerk will report.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of no quorum.

Mr. SIMS. Let the rule be reported.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Minnesota withdraw his point of no quorum?

Mr. ANDERSON. I will not withdraw it. I do not think we should consider a bill of this importance at this stage of the evening.

Mr. POU. We do not propose to consider the bill but to consider the rule.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently there is no quorum present.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. WALSH. Division, Mr. Speaker.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 26, noes 23.

Mr. ANDERSON. I ask for tellers, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. A call of the House is ordered.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Minnesota was on his feet demanding tellers before the Chair had completed his announcement.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has no kind of objection to ordering tellers. He thinks the gentleman from Minnesota is too late. Still the Chair will order tellers. The gentleman from Minnesota and the gentleman from——

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, I submit to the Chair that it is too late when the roll call has begun.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. There is no cause for controversy about that. As many as desire tellers will rise and stand until they are counted. [After counting.] Twenty-two gentlemen have arisen—a sufficient number. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] and the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU] will take their places as tellers.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I suggest that the Chair appoint Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Minnesota and the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] will please take their places as tellers.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, we are in the House, and one-fifth of a quorum of the House is needed. I respectfully appeal to the Chair that 22 is not a sufficient number in the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair was a little bit in error. We are not in the Committee of the Whole. We are in the House. There were only 22. It takes one-fifth.

Mr. MADDEN. It takes one-fifth of those present.

Mr. WALSH. The other side, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will call the attention of the House to the rule in reference to ordering tellers. It provides:

> The House shall divide; those in the affirmative of the question shall first rise from their seats and then those in the negative; if he still doubts, or a count is required by at least one-fifth of a quorum, he shall name one from each side of the question to tell the Members in the affirmative and negative, which, being reported, he shall rise and state the decision.

At the present time the Chair is informed that a quorum is 216. A fifth of that would be 44. Only 22 having risen, tellers are refused. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify the absentees, and the Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin moves that the House do now adjourn. The question is on agreeing to that motion.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. STAFFORD. A division, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. A division is demanded.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 22, noes 25.

So the motion was rejected.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The House declines to adjourn. The Clerk will call the roll. This is just a call of the House.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Anthony	Austin	Barnhart	Borland
Ashbrook	Baer	Bell	Bowers
Aswell	Barkley	Bland, Va.	Britten
Browne	Ferris	Lea, Cal.	Rouse
Browning	Fields	Lehlbach	Rowe
Brumbaugh	Flood	Lever	Rowland
Butler	Flynn	Linthicum	Russell
Byrns, Tenn.	Fordney	Little	Sanders, La.
Caldwell	Foss	Littlepage	Sanford
Campbell, Pa.	Francis	London	Saunders, Va.
Cannon	Fuller, Mass.	Longworth	Scott, Iowa
Cantrill	Gallivan	Lufkin	Scott, Pa.
Caraway	Gard	Lundeen	Scully
Carew	Gillett	Lunn	Shackleford
Carter, Mass.	Glass	McClintic	Shallenberger
Carter, Okla.	Godwin, N. C.	McCormick	Sherley
Cary	Good	McKinley	Sherwood
Church	Goodall	McLaughlin, Mich.	Shouse
Clark, Fla.	Gordon	McLaughlin, Pa.	Slemp
Classon	Gould	McLemore	Small
Coady	Graham, Ill.	Maher	Smith, Mich.
Connally, Tex.	Graham, Pa.	Mann	Smith, T. F.
Cooper, Ohio	Gray, N. J.	Mason	Snyder
Cooper, W. Va.	Green, Iowa	Mays	Steele
Cooper, Wis.	Greene, Mass.	Meeker	Steenerson
Copley	Gregg	Merritt	Stephens, Miss.
Costello	Griest	Miller, Minn.	Sterling, Ill.
Crago	Griffin	Montague	Sterling, Pa.
Cramton	Hamill	Moore, Pa.	Stiness
Crisp	Hamilton, N. Y.	Mott	Sullivan
Crosser	Harrison, Miss.	Mudd	Sweet
Currie, Mich.	Hayden	Neely	Swift
Curry, Cal.	Hayes	Nelson	Switzer
Dale, N. Y.	Heaton	Nichols, Mich.	Tague
Dale, Vt.	Heintz	Oldfield	Talbott
Darrow	Helvering	Oliver, N. Y.	Taylor, Colo.
Davis	Hicks	Olney	Templeton
Dempsey	Holland	O'Shaunessy	Thomas
Denison	Hollingsworth	Padgett	Thompson
Dent	Hood	Paige	Tillman
Dewalt	Howard	Park	Tilson
Dickinson	Humphreys	Peters	Tinkham
Dies	Husted	Phelan	Treadway
Dill	Hutchinson	Platt	Van Dyke
Dominick	Jacoway	Polk	Venable
Dooling	Johnson, Ky.	Porter	Vinson
Doremus	Johnson, S. Dak.	Powers	Walton
Doughton	Johnson, Wash.	Pratt	Ward
Drane	Jones	Price	Weaver
Drukker	Kahn	Purnell	Welling
Dyer	Kelley, Mich.	Rainey, H. T.	White, Me.
Eagle	Kennedy, R. I.	Ramsey	White, Ohio
Elliott	Kettner	Randall	Wilson, Ill.
Ellsworth	Key, Ohio	Rankin	Wilson, Tex.
Elston	Kiess, Pa.	Reavis	Winslow
Emerson	Kitchin	Riordan	Woodyard
Estopinal	La Follette	Robbins	
Fairchild, B. L.	LaGuardia	Robinson	
Fairchild, G. W.	Langley	Rose	

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SIMS) there were 180 ayes and 10 noes.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, I call for tellers.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Oklahoma demands tellers. All those in favor of taking the vote by tellers will stand until counted. Not a sufficient number, and tellers are refused.

Accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, September 26, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for an additional clerical force in the office of the Auditor for the Navy Department for the remainder of the current fiscal year (H. Doc. No. 1298); to the Committee on Appropriations.

2. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting estimates of appropriations for rent of buildings for Government officials East St. Louis, Ill.; Evansville, Ind.; Harrisburg, Pa.; Huntington, W. Va.; and Newport, R. I. (H. Doc. No. 1299); to the Committee on Appropriations.

3. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting estimate of appropriation for repair of Auditors' Building, formerly Bureau of Engraving and Printing (H. Doc. No. 1300); to the Committee on Appropriations.

4. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting estimate of appropriation for the construction of a two-story vault in the north court of the Treasury Building (H. Doc. No. 1301); to the Committee on Appropriations.

5. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of a bill to provide for the reimbursement of civilians for the seizure of arms and ammunition by United States troops during the labor troubles in Colorado during 1914 (H. Doc. No. 1302); to the Committee on Claims.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. ASHBROOK, from the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 12998) to amend section 3528 of the Revised Statutes, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 811), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. STEELE, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 12801) to amend section 1 of Title VII of the act entitled "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 15, 1917, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 813), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. JAMES: A bill (H. R. 13003) to prevent the wearing of ribbon, badge of membership, or button signifying membership of the United Spanish War Veterans by those not entitled to same in the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GANDY: A bill (H. R. 13004) extending the time for commencing construction of bridge and for maintenance of pontoon and pile bridge by the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co. across the Missouri River at or near Chamberlain, S. Dak., and providing additional requirements for bridge to be constructed; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FOSTER: Resolution (H. Res. 439) providing for the consideration of H. R. 12404; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GANDY: A bill (H. R. 13005) granting a pension to Fred E. Savage; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 13006) granting an increase of pension to Tillie Wester; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. CRAGO: Resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of the Lithuanian people of Philadelphia pledging loyalty and support to the United States in this war for justice; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Letter of William C. Tenjost, president of the Retail Liquor Dealers' Association of the State of New York, protesting against the passage of the prohibition bills before Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. OSBORNE: Petitions of Charles A. Carroll and other citizens and of Samuel Lindenbaum and other citizens, all of Los Angeles, Cal., in favor of the bill (H. R. 5531) to provide a pharmaceutical corps for the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *September 26, 1918.*

(Legislative day of Tuesday, September 24, 1918.)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Chamberlain	Fernald	Hale
Baird	Colt	Fletcher	Harding
Bankhead	Culberson	France	Hardwick
Beckham	Cummins	Frelinghuysen	Henderson
Benet	Curtis	Gerry	Johnson, S. Dak.
Borah	Dillingham	Goff	Jones, N. Mex.
Brandegee	Drew	Gronna	Jones, Wash.
Calder	Fall	Guion	Kellogg
Kendrick	Nelson	Robinson	Trammell
Kenyon	New	Saulsbury	Underwood
King	Norris	Shafroth	Vardaman
Kirby	Nugent	Sheppard	Wadsworth
Knox	Overman	Sherman	Walsh
Lenroot	Owen	Shields	Warren
Lewis	Page	Simmons	Watson
Lodge	Penrose	Smith, Ariz.	Weeks
McCumber	Phelan	Smith, Md.	Wilfley
McKellar	Pittman	Smith, Mich.	Williams
McNary	Poindexter	Smith, S. C.	Wolcott
Martin, Ky.	Pomerene	Smoot	
Martin, Va.	Ransdell	Sterling	
Myers	Reed	Thompson	

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. TOWNSEND] on important business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-five Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11259) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of those ores, metals, and minerals which have formerly been largely imported, or of which there is or may be an inadequate supply.

The message also announced that the House agrees to the amendment of the Senate numbered 13 to the bill (H. R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," disagrees to the residue of the amendments of the Senate, agrees to the conference asked for by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. LEVER, Mr. LEE of Georgia, Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi, Mr. HAUGEN, and Mr. MCLAUGHLIN of Michigan managers at the conference on the part of the House.

The message further announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 152) to fix the compensation of certain employees of the United States, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills, and they were thereupon signed by the Vice President:

S. 4194. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors;

S. 4543. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors; and

S. 4722. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.

SUPPLY OF MINERAL OILS (S. DOC. NO. 280).

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, there are two reports on the table which have come in from the Director of the Bureau of Mines in response to requests for information concerning the production of oil. One request was made by the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] and the other by myself. I thought they had been ordered printed, and I ask now that they be printed and lie on the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

INTRACOASTAL CANALS (S. DOC. NO. 279).

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President, there is a report on the desk of the Vice President, made by the Secretary of Commerce, in answer to a resolution which I introduced regarding the acquisition by the Government of certain canals. I ask that the report may be printed. I understand that there are certain illustrations in it, which under the rule will cause the matter to be referred to the Committee on Printing. I am not sure that that is correct. The report should undoubtedly be printed. I do not see the chairman of the Committee on Printing present.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to the Senator that I was going to ask the unanimous consent of the Senate that the illustrations be printed with the report. I will do so now if the Senator has no objection.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I am very anxious that the report, which is a very important one, shall be printed, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed, together with the illustrations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, what is the order of business?

The VICE PRESIDENT. There is no order of business. This is a recess.

Mr. BORAH. Out of order, and by unanimous consent, I ask leave to submit certain petitions upon the suffrage amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The petitions will be received and noted.

Mr. BORAH presented petitions of sundry citizens of Ashton, Moscow, Kellogg, Idaho Falls, Almira, Gray, Lund, Wayan, Pocatello, Twin Falls, Lewiston, Blackfoot, Mackay, Shoshone, and Boise, all in the State of Idaho, praying for the submission of a Federal suffrage amendment to the legislatures of the several States, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WADSWORTH presented a memorial of the Anti-Suffrage Party of New York, and a memorial of the Women Voters' Anti-Suffrage Party of New York City, N. Y., remonstrating against the adoption of the proposed suffrage amendment to the Constitution, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. FLETCHER presented petitions of sundry citizens of Palm Beach County; of the Florida Equal Suffrage Association of Fort Lauderdale; of sundry citizens of Pensacola, Miami, Tallahassee, Orange Park, Summer School, Orlando, Palmetto, and Jacksonville, all in the State of Florida, and the petition of Catharine Waugh McCulloch, of Chicago, Ill., praying for the submission of a Federal suffrage amendment to the legislatures of the several States, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented memorials of the Anti-Suffrage Party of New York City and of sundry citizens of New Haven, Conn.; Hartford, Conn.; Jaffrey, N. H.; Westfield, N. J.; Canton, N. Y.; New York City, N. Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; and Cincinnati, Ohio, remonstrating against the adoption of the proposed suffrage amendment to the Constitution, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GERRY. I ask unanimous consent to have the telegram which I send to the desk inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROVIDENCE, R. I., *September 23, 1918.*

Hon. PETER G. GERRY,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Following resolution unanimously adopted by the Democratic Party in convention assembled at Providence the 23d day of September, 1918:

"Urge upon the Senate of the United States the immediate passage of the Federal amendment for woman suffrage and recommend that the Senators from this State support said amendment, and further ask that this resolution be forwarded to Washington to be read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD."

JOHN I. DEVLIN,
Chairman of Convention.
PATRICK S. QUINN,
Democratic National Committeeman.
JOSEPH CUNNINGHAM,
Secretary of Convention.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan presented a petition of sundry women students of the Michigan State Normal College, and a petition of sundry women students of the Western State Normal School, of Kalamazoo, Mich., praying for the submission of a Federal suffrage amendment to the legislatures of the several States, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. LODGE presented petitions of sundry citizens of Pittsfield; of the Central Labor Union of Lynn; and of the Massachusetts State Branch, American Federation of Labor, of Boston, all in the State of Massachusetts, praying for the submission of a Federal suffrage amendment to the legislatures of the several States, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. COLT presented resolutions adopted by the Republican State convention of Rhode Island in session September 24 at Providence, R. I., favoring the submission of a Federal suffrage amendment to the legislatures of the several States, which were ordered to lie on the table.

STATISTICS OF COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION.

Mr. FLETCHER. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably without amendment the bill (S. 4924) to amend section 336 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the annual report on the statistics of commerce and navigation of the United States with foreign countries, and I submit a report (No. 575) thereon.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be placed on the calendar.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. PENROSE:

A bill (S. 4959) to increase the rates of pay of officers of certain grades; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 4960) providing for the promotion of certain officers in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CALDER:

A bill (S. 4961) to grant railroad rates at 1 cent a mile to men in the military or naval service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

MINERAL PRODUCTS—CONFERENCE REPORT (S. DOC. NO. 281).

Mr. HENDERSON submitted the following report, which was read and ordered to lie on the table and be printed:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11259) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of those ores, metals, and minerals which have formerly been largely imported, or of which there is or may be an inadequate supply, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by the Senate insert the following:

"That by reason of the existence of a state of war, it is essential to the national security and defense, and to the successful prosecution of the war, and for the support and maintenance of the Army and Navy, to provide for an adequate and increased supply, to facilitate the production, and to provide for an equitable, economical, and better distribution of the following-named mineral substances and ores, minerals, intermediate metallurgical products, metals, alloys, and chemical compounds thereof, to wit: Antimony, arsenic, ball clay, bismuth, bromine, cerium, chalk, chromium, cobalt, corundum emery, fluorspar, ferrosilicon, fuller's earth, graphite, grinding pebbles, iridium, kaolin, magnesite, manganese, mercury, mica, molybdenum, osmium, sodium, platinum, palladium, paper clay, phosphorus, potassium, pyrites, radium, sulphur, thorium, tin, titanium, tungsten, uranium, vanadium, and zirconium, as the President may, from time to time, determine to be necessary for the purposes aforesaid, and as to which there is at the time of such determination, a present or prospective inadequacy of supply. The aforesaid substances mentioned in any such determination are hereinafter referred to as necessaries.

"SEC. 2. That the President is authorized from time to time to purchase such necessaries and to enter into, to accept, to transfer, and to assign contracts for the production or purchase of same, to provide storage facilities for and store the same, to provide or improve transportation facilities, and to use, distribute, or allocate said necessaries, or to sell the same at reasonable prices, but such sales made during the war shall not be at a price less than the purchase or cost of production thereof: *Provided*, That no such contract of purchase shall cover a period longer than two years after the termination of the war.

"The President is further authorized, upon finding that importation into the United States of any of the necessaries covered by this act is likely to result in a loss to the United States on any necessaries which it may have acquired hereunder, to ascertain, fix, and proclaim such rate of duty upon such imported necessaries as shall be sufficient to adequately protect the United States from any such loss.

"The funds provided by section 6 hereof shall be used in carrying out the powers granted by this section, and all moneys received by the United States from or in connection with the disposal of such necessaries, shall be used as a revolving fund for further carrying out the purposes of this act. Any balance of such moneys remaining when the object of this act has been accomplished shall, as collected, received, and on hand and available, be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

"SEC. 3. That the President is authorized to requisition and take over any of said necessaries and to use, distribute, allocate, or sell the same; and also to requisition and take over any undeveloped or insufficiently developed or operated idle land, deposit, or mine, and any idle or partially operated smelter, or plant, or part thereof, producing or, in his judgment, capable of producing said necessaries, or either of them, and to develop and operate such mine or deposit or such smelter or plant, either through the agencies hereinafter mentioned, or under lease or royalty agreement, or in any other manner, and to store, use, distribute, allocate, or sell the products thereof: *Provided*, That no ores or metals, the principal money value of which consists in metals or minerals other than those specifically enumerated in

section 1 hereof, shall be subject to requisition under the provisions of this act. Whenever the President shall determine that the further use or operation by the Government of any such land, deposit, mine, smelter, or plant, or part thereof, so acquired, is no longer essential for the objects aforesaid, the same shall be returned to the person, firm, or corporation entitled thereto. The United States shall make just compensation, determined by the President, for the taking over, use, occupation, or operation by the Government of any such necessaries, or any such land, deposit, mine, smelter, or plant, or part thereof. If the compensation so determined be unsatisfactory to the person, firm, or corporation entitled thereto, such person, firm, or corporation shall be paid 75 per cent of the amount so determined and shall be entitled to sue the United States to recover such further sum as added to said 75 per cent will make up such amount as will be just compensation, in the manner provided by section 24, paragraph 20, and section 145, of the Judicial Code.

"The President is authorized to require statements and reports, to examine books and papers, and to prescribe such rules and regulations as he may deem appropriate for carrying out the purposes of this act. The fund provided by section 6 hereof may be used in carrying out the purposes of this act, and all moneys received by the United States from or in connection with the use, operation, or disposal of any such necessaries, land, deposit, mine, smelter, or plant, or part thereof, shall be used as a revolving fund for further carrying out the purposes of this act. Any balance of such moneys remaining when the objects of this act have been accomplished shall, as collected, received, and on hand and available, be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

"SEC. 4. That any person who shall neglect or refuse to comply with any order or requisition made by the President pursuant to the provisions of this act, or who shall obstruct or attempt to obstruct the enforcement of or the compliance with any such requisition or order, or who shall violate any of the provisions of this act, or any rule or regulation adopted hereunder, shall, upon conviction, be fined not exceeding $5,000 or be imprisoned for not more than two years, or both.

"SEC. 5. That the sum of $500,000 is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be available until June 30, 1919, for the payment of all administrative expenses under this act, including personal services, traveling and subsistence expenses, the payment of rent, the purchase of equipment, supplies, postage, printing, publications, and such other articles, both in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, as the President may deem essential and proper.

"SEC. 6. That the sum of $50,000,000 is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, which, together with all moneys received from time to time under the provisions of this act, all of which shall be credited to said appropriation, shall be used as a revolving fund for carrying out the objects of this act, and for the purpose of making all payments and disbursements, including just compensation under section 3, by this act authorized: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the purposes described in the last preceding section: *Provided further*, That a detailed report of all operations under this act, including all receipts and disbursements, shall be filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House of Representatives on or before the 25th day of each month, covering the preceding month's operation. Any balance of said revolving fund remaining when the objects of this act have been accomplished, shall, as collected, received, and on hand and available, be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

"SEC. 7. That the President is authorized to exercise each, every, or any power and authority hereby vested in him, and to expend the moneys herein appropriated or provided for, or any part or parts thereof, by and through such officer or officers, department or departments, board or boards, agent, agents, or agencies as he shall create or designate from time to time for this purpose. He may fix the reasonsable compensation for the performance of such services, but no official or employee of the United States shall receive any additional compensation for such services except as now permitted by law: *Provided*, That no person employed under the provisions of this act shall be paid any salary or compensation in excess of that paid for similar or like services rendered in executive departments of the Government.

"SEC. 8. No person having a pecuniary interest in any transaction in pursuance of this act shall have any official connection under this act with such transaction. Any person violating this provision shall forfeit to the Government all proceeds which he shall have received from such transaction, and upon due conviction of such violation shall be fined not exceeding $10,000 or imprisoned not exceeding 10 years.

"SEC. 9. That the President is authorized, if in his judgment such action be necessary or useful for the objects of this act, to form one or more corporations under the laws of any State, Territory, District, or possession of the United States, for the purpose of carrying out the powers or any of the powers hereby authorized. The capital stock of any such corporation shall be such as the President may determine, but the total capital stock for all corporations so formed shall not exceed in the aggregate the appropriation of $50,000,000, made by section 6 hereof. Said appropriation, or any part thereof, may be used by the President in subscribing on behalf of the United States, through such person or persons as he may designate, to the capital stock of such corporation or corporations, and the capital and assets of any such corporation or corporations, together with all additions thereto under sections 2 and 3 hereof, may be used in carrying out the objects of this act. The directorate and organization of such corporation or corporations shall be such as the President may prescribe, and such corporation or corporations shall have all such charter powers as may be deemed necessary or desirable by the President to enable it or them to accomplish the objects of this act. The capital stock of any such corporation or corporations shall be held and voted for the exclusive benefit of the United States, through such person or persons as the President may designate.

"SEC. 10. Upon the proclamation of peace the President shall proceed as rapidly as possible to wind up and terminate all transactions under this act, and to dispose as fast as practicable of all property acquired thereunder, and after said proclamation of peace no contracts shall be made, property acquired, or other transaction performed under this act except such as shall be necessary for the purpose of this section and incidental thereto, and two years after such proclamation of peace this act shall cease to have effect and all powers conferred thereby shall end: *Provided*, That the termination of this act shall not prevent the subsequent collection of any moneys due the United States, nor shall it affect any act done or any right or obligation acquired or accruing or any suit or proceeding had or commenced before such termination, but all such collections, rights, obligations, suits, and proceedings shall continue as if this act had not terminated, and any offense committed or liability incurred prior thereto shall be prosecuted in the same manner and with the same punishment and effect as if this act had not terminated.

"SEC. 11. That employment under the provisions of this act shall not exempt any person from military service under the provisions of the selective-draft law approved May 18, 1917, or any act amendatory thereto.

"SEC. 12. That if any action or provision of this act shall be declared invalid for any reason whatsoever such invalidity shall not be construed to affect the validity of any other section or provision hereof."

And the Senate agree to the same.

CHARLES B. HENDERSON,
T. J. WALSH,
MILES POINDEXTER,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

M. D. FOSTER,
EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
M. M. GARLAND,
Managers on the part of the House.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

H. R. 152. An act to fix the compensation of certain employees of the United States was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I should like to inquire of the Chair whether the regular order of morning business is to be proceeded with?

The VICE PRESIDENT. This is a recess. There is no regular order of morning business.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Then I ask unanimous consent to take up for consideration House joint resolution 200, Order of Business 123.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 200) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The pending amendment is the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi [MR. WILLIAMS].

Mr. BORAH. May we have the amendment read?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the pending amendment.

The SECRETARY. The amendment pending is that offered by the senior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], in line 9, before the word "citizens," to insert the word "white," so as to read:

SECTION 1. The right of white citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, the world is passing through a period of change. Things that were new yesterday are to-day old and to-morrow will doubtless become obsolete. New principles and untried policies are passing through the processes of experimentation, and the mutations coming with lightning rapidity challenge our attention and present the world in the perspective as a cosmic phenomenon, kaleidoscopic in character. It reminds one of the cyclone that rushes through the country razing to the ground houses and forests, mingling the débris with the boiling, onrushing clouds, scattering woe and want, and leaving in its wake misery on every hand. After a while it will run its course. The twisting winds shall cease to twirl; they will assume their normal velocity; and the force which wrought widespread destruction but a few moments before will be changed to the gentle zephyr passing over the landscape, drinking in the perfume from the fragrant flower, or fanning the dimpled cheeks of joyous, innocent childhood. The frowning front of the cloud of war will pass away, and the rainbow of peace shall shine forth to quiet the troubled soul.

In the midst of this desolation and devastation, the deadly work of the typhoon of war, it is well—aye more, wisely prudent—that the American people, in the quiet of their homes, should take an inventory of their national assets and liabilities, indulge in serious thought, and make ready, in so far as possible at this time, for the great work of reconstruction and rehabilitation, which must engage our attention after the war is over.

In time of war let us prepare for peace, for in the performance of that great work we shall have need of all of the moral forces and mental strength which the wisest of men and women who make up the composite citizenry of this Republic can contribute. This we must do if we would perform properly our part in saving the world from a lapse into the barbarism of the Dark Ages. America must continue to lead the world in civic righteousness and democratic reform.

Offensive warfare universally brings about a recrudescence of brute force in government, and its general effect is to stifle the nobler impulses of the human soul. There was never a war in all the ages of the world that could not have been averted if the leaders on either side had been sufficiently wise, brave, patriotic, unselfish, and true to the highest ideals. I am quite sure, however, that there are instances in the world's history where wars were forced upon people, and self-preservation and the preservation of governmental existence made it necessary to engage in war. In such cases, which we will call defensive warfare, for a righteous cause, in individual cases the dross is separated from the gold and it also works for national exaltation and individual excellency. But at best war is a brutal business, "only splendid murder, the mad game the world so loves to play," if I may be permitted to quote Dean Swift; it is contrary to the teachings of the Prince of Peace, an impeachment of the world's Christianity, and violative of all the principles of altruism.

One of the unfortunate, very unfortunate, incidents to all wars is the disposition of even so-called righteous men and women to condone the violations of the moral law to a degree which almost amounts to suspension of the moral law. Constitutions are also set aside and Necessity becomes the final arbiter. To win is the goal to which and for which men fight; and particularly is that true in the desperate conflict now being waged upon the broad theater of the world. The unconquerable spirit which bids us fight until victory for the allied cause is achieved fires the heart and animates the soul of every patriotic American to-day. America entered this war, we were told by the President of the United States, to uphold the rights of her citizens upon the high seas and in defense of an ideal; and having entered, every citizen of the Republic will willingly lay his all as a fitting sacrifice upon the altar of his country's cause.

We must, however, not fall below or go beyond the first high purpose. We can not afford to lose sight of the real motives that moved us as a Nation in the beginning.

President Wilson's famous address to the Senate on the 22d day of January, 1917, contains the definition of the aim and end of America to which in after years posterity can point with pride. The brutality and wickedness of our adversary must not be permitted to betray us into doing the things which we condemn in others and to demand more at the hands of the vanquished than we started out to achieve.

Justice is not measured by the weakness of our adversary, and righteousness must not be determined by the superior strength of our arms. In the prosecution of this war courage and heroic devotion to duty must characterize our conduct if we would win the war, and the spirit of generosity, love, and charity for our fellow man must crown and glorify our acts in the hour of victory. God grant that out of this desperate conflict the principles of liberty and justice, of righteousness and Caucasian equality may emerge, reinvigorated and purified, to bless and lead the world to higher and better things.

But, Mr. President, after all of this sacrifice and suffering, blood letting, and money wasting, what will it profit the United States if we gain democracy for the whole world and still deny the application of its beneficent principles to the best part of our own citizenry? In reality, there can be no world-wide democracy in the true sense of the term as long as liberty has her favorites and justice is dispensed by the hand of partiality.

I have entertained for many years a very sincere desire to see the white women of America invested with the right of suffrage. I have not shared, and do not at this time share, the apprehension of many of my fellow countrymen, who, overwhelmed, unconsciously perhaps, with the vanity of their own sex superiority, that woman's possession of the ballot would lower the standard of feminine excellency, rob her of those refinements of manner and gentleness of soul which are the flowering of good breeding, the perfume of loving hearts, and the crowning virtue of her sex—qualities which all men reverence and worship in the perfect woman. I have not believed at any time that giving to woman the privilege of the ballot would be hurtful to her personally or result detrimentally to my country. The truth about the matter is, Mr. President, I believe, that the inherent virtues and superior moral and mental qualities of woman will rather purify the ballot, elevate the standard of citizenship, and, therefore, contribute largely to the sum total of virtue in government. All of which will necessarily elevate the standard of statesmanship in the Republic, which is so much needed at this time. I believe the responsibility which the adoption of this amendment by the American people shall put upon woman, the character of the work which she will be called upon to perform, will strengthen the moral fiber, develop the latent qualities of her heart and mind, and add to her personal charms, rather than detract from them.

Although woman has lived in a circumscribed sphere, with no power to reach out and do things—"do the things that others pray," as Edwin Markham expressed it—nevertheless, it is my judgment that we are indebted to her in a larger measure for what America has accomplished in the art of government and in the elevation of mankind generally than we are to man himself.

I would rather rely upon the intuition of woman to lead me in the right path, I would rather trust the promptings of her unselfish heart, than the boasted ratiocinations or the painful, logical processes of man. Woman usually thinks in straight lines, because her mind follows the promptings of her loving heart. In matters involving the welfare of humanity—the protection of the home, the God-given maternal instinct, the mother heart seldom deviates from the right course.

She understands instinctively that a right beginning is necessary to a successful ending. She knows that as the "twig is bent the tree's inclined." She understands well that—

You may talk of reformations, of the economic plan,
That shall stem the social evil in its course;
But the ancient sin of nations must be got at in the man.
If you want to cleanse a river, seek the source.
Ever since his first beginning, man has had his way in lust,
He has never learned the law of self-control;
And the world condones his sinning, and the doctors say he must,
And the churches shut their eyes, and take his toll.
* * * * * * *
It can never end through preaching; it can never end through laws;
This social sore no punishment can heal;
It must be the mother's teaching of the purpose, and the cause,
And God's glory, lying under sex appeal.

Her head and heart working in conjunction can more nearly approximate the real value of the human being to the State and to God. She understands that the most valuable thing beneath the stars in the sight of the Ruler of the Universe is a human being, and that all else, all governments, are made for man rather than man for government. She lives in an atmosphere of idealism, "and in spite of the stare of the wise and

the world's derision she dares to travel the star-blazed road—to follow the vision."

She never permits herself to be tied by precedent or proscribed by custom; she hates an ancient lie as she despises a new error. She realizes that—

To sin by silence, when we should protest,
Makes cowards out of men. The human race
Has climbed on protest. Had no voice been raised
Against injustice, ignorance, and lust,
The Inquisition yet would serve the law,
And guillotines decide our least disputes.
The few who dare must speak and speak again
To right the wrongs of many. Speech, thank God,
No vested power in this great day and land
Can gag or throttle. Press and voice may cry
Loud disapproval of existing ills;
May criticize oppression and condemn
The lawlessness of wealth-protecting laws
That let the children and childbearers toil
To purchase ease for idle millionaires.

The best citizen is not necessarily the one who has the biggest bones or the strongest thews. The strength that counts does not always consist in bodily vigor. Napoleon was a stronger man than Jack Johnson, and Jefferson Davis and Abraham Lincoln were more powerful than John L. Sullivan and Jim Jeffries.

The characterization of woman by man as "the weaker vessel" has never found approval in my mind, and it is not justified by history. Aspasia was not inferior mentally to Pericles, and Queen Victoria surpassed all of her successors in the art of statecraft to a degree which amounts to a contrast rather than a comparison. Naturally woman is as strong mentally as man. She is superior in the matter of physical endurance, and in spiritual exaltation she towers above her brother as high as the sun hangs above the earth. She is the custodian of the morality of the race and the preserver and savior of racial purity of Caucasian manhood of America. In brute force, I admit, as a matter, of course, she is man's inferior; and wherever or whenever brute force predominates and superiority is arrogated by man to himself for his own selfish purposes man has universally denied woman equality of privilege and rights under the law. It has been but a few years since man denied to woman the right to use, even without his consent, the products of her own toil and to own and control property which belonged of right to her. But the world has grown bigger, better, and wiser, thank God, and tyranny has given place to justice.

The self-assumed obligation which women have so splendidly absolved by the great service they have rendered to humanity and to our Government in this desperate conflict, which fills the world with woe, has compelled American public sentiment at last to grant her political status. No; she is not "the weaker vessel"—

For I tell you at this hour the worth of this world's future depends upon her power.
And down the stream of ages as life's flood tides are told,
The record of its excellency is marked by the place that woman holds.

And she has made her place in the political world by force of will, pertinacity of purpose, and the inherent justice of her cause. Man has never done anything, he has never invented an engine, written a poem, painted a picture—in a word, achieved anything worthy of being remembered—but that there was behind him, sustaining him with her prayers, inspiring him with her love, and guiding him with her unerring intuition, some true, noble woman.

The influence of woman is needed at the ballot box to-day more urgently than ever before; and while I would very much prefer, because it is more in keeping with the original plan upon which our Government was established, that the privilege of voting should be given her by the respective States, I know the tardiness of State action, caused in many instances by local prejudices, has already too long delayed the consummation of this great desideratum, and it will delay it further. There is no reason or excuse for postponing the issue another day. The whole civilized world has suddenly become aroused to the injustice which humanity has suffered as the result of man's stupidity in withholding the right of suffrage from woman.

The sentiment has grown. It is sweeping over the world to-day with the irresistible force of the moving tide. It has in it the potency of truth and the certainty of eternal justice. You might as well undertake to exhaust the circumambient air with a hand pump or fight back the all-pervasive rays of the rising sun as to attempt to defeat this world-wide movement for cleaner politics, purer government, and a more enlightened civilization. It is as reasonable, certain, and sure as the law of gravitation. I have infinite reverence for antiquity, and for the wisdom of our forefathers I have great respect, but—

New conditions teach new duties;
Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward, still and onward,
Who would be abreast of truth.
Lo, before us gleams the campfire,
We ourselves must pilgrims be;
Launch our *Mayflower* and steer boldly
Through the desperate winter sea,
Nor attempt the future's portals
With the past's blood-rusted key.

I, along with other southern statesmen, have been deterred from rendering this great service to humanity and to my country and at the same time doing tardy justice to woman because of the presence of the overshadowing race problem which exists in its most acute form in the Southern States—a problem which falls like a blight, a poisonous dew, upon the fair section of this Republic which I have the honor in part to represent in this Chamber. And if I may be permitted to diverge at this point, I wish to say, Mr. President, conditions that will grow out of this war will enhance a thousandfold the difficulties incident to that problem. I was in hopes that the white men of the South would appreciate the necessity for prompt, effective action in treating the race problem and unite in an effort to eliminate the negro as a race from politics by law before woman should be invited to take part actually in the government of the Republic. But in that hope I have been disappointed. The white men of the South, especially the mentally myopic, selfish, soulless little politicians have been so dilatory and in some instances so indifferent to the gravity of the question that I have almost despaired of any immediate action on their part. There is, however, one thing certain. I shall not wait longer.

Mr. President, I am convinced that the enfranchisement of woman will bring verve and vigor, intelligence and sound judgment to the support of such measures as may be necessary for the solution of the great race problem, a problem which I would impress upon the Senate, although more acute in the Southern States, is as national in its nature and scope as ever emanated from the pregnant womb of time. I believe that the enfranchisement of woman, I repeat, will accelerate the processes which will lead to a proper settlement of this great issue.

I understand, Mr. President, that to give woman the ballot by the adoption of the pending amendment will involve to a certain extent a change in the machinery of our Government. But this amendment to the Constitution will be made in the regular constitutional way; and whatever changes are made will be made by the people themselves. There is nothing revolutionary or radical about the proposition at all. It is true that it involves the delegation of certain powers which heretofore have been exercised by the States, though in part only, and I would now prefer that the States should continue to exercise those powers. But I do not apprehend that any serious harm will result from the adoption of this amendment; and if any harm should possibly result, I think the known good will so much overbalance any possible evil that may grow out of the change—I am so certain of that that I shall, with great pleasure, resolve the doubt in favor of the pending amendment and vote for the resolution, inspired, I trust, by the highest sense of duty to my State, the Nation, and the world.

Mr. President, I should be uncandid if I failed to state in this presence that I realize also when I cast my vote for this amendment the force of the objection urged by some of my colleagues from the South that it is going to bring to the ballot box, along with the negro men, a few negro women. I also understand that the negro woman will be more offensive, more difficult to handle at the polls than the negro man, for "verily the female of that species is more deadly than the male." But when I realize that five white women will be added to the electorate where only two or three negro women can possibly be brought to the ballot box, the difficulties are minimized—the antidote will neutralize the poison.

There is another phase of this question which has not been overlooked by me; and the gravity of it calls for close and careful attention on the part of the southern white people. The military negro out of harness is a menace to the peace and prosperity of any country governed by the white man. As stated before, this war is going to intensify the difficulties which must be met at first by the southern white people. The arrogance and impudence of the ex-negro soldier will greatly enhance the white man's burden. The discussion of this matter, Mr. President, should not excite the ire of the northern statesman or offend the pretended patriotism of the average private citizen. It is an issue that must be met, and the sooner the American people realize that fact the better for the country. But the women of the South and of the North will help to bear this increased burden. Every thoughtful white man living beneath the

folds of the Stars and Stripes, whether his place of residence be north, east, west, or south, knows that the white man and the negro can not live peaceably together in the same country on terms of political and social equality; and they also know that political equality where the races are nearly equally divided in the States means, ultimately, social equality; and social equality means race amalgamation; and race amalgamation means race deterioration, which is followed in turn by the disintegration and death of the white man's civilization.

Thomas Jefferson, the wisest political philosopher the world has ever known, in my judgment, saw the dangers involved in such an experiment a century ago; and Abraham Lincoln—that patriot with the soul of a seer and the eye of the prophet, who possessed the unusual capacity of correctly estimating the times in which he lived—verified and confirmed the apprehensions of Jefferson. God Almighty never intended that the negro should share with the white man sovereignty and dominion in this country; and it is wicked—a crime against the white race and an injustice to the negro—to attempt it. It never has been done successfully in any country, and never will be done. The Southern States of America present the only instance in the world's history where two races, equal in number, differing radically in racial traits and qualifications, have lived in the same country side by side for a half century, invested with equal political rights, without amalgamating, or one race expelling or exterminating the other. That has been accomplished in the South by the white men of the South by force of superior mentality and taking the matter in hand, often in violation of the letter and spirit of the Federal Constitution, and keeping up racial barriers and guarding with drawn sword the portals of the homes wherein dwells the purity of the Caucasian race.

It involved another thing which we might as well admit here—the setting at naught by mere State legislative expedients of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The fight in the future on this question must be made along racial lines; and the fight must be made, and will be made. Do not forget that. This problem must be solved upon scientific *principles*, and I believe the white women of America, whose intuition and high sense of preservation is so much keener than man's, will see the necessity for prompt and radical action upon this issue and therefore hasten the proper settlement of the problem.

There is not a normal white woman in the South who does not feel the dangers involved in physical proximity with the negro as a race. She knows it is a menace to the peace and purity of the white man's home, and therefore a menace to the white man's civilization, and as woman always instinctively looks out for the best interests of the home, the preservation, the education, and the development of the child, we can rely upon her to take the proper interest in this question of paramount importance when it becomes a political issue; and I think we can rely upon woman to do this without regard to the geography of her residence.

Mr. President, if the resolution proposed by the senior Senator from Mississippi, providing for the insertion of the word "white," shall be agreed to it will be a long step in the right direction and simplify very greatly the problem which the Nation must ultimately be called upon to solve. In a government deriving all of its just powers from the consent of the governed, just laws, responsive to the demands of the people, will require as a condition precedent homogeneity of race, consentaneity of judgment, and a common goal for all effort.

I do not think in this Republic any man or woman, other than the members of the Caucasian race, should be permitted to vote or perform the supreme function of citizenship; and I feel that way about it, not only for the protection of the Caucasian race and the preservation of the white man's civilization, but for the protection and promotion of the better interests of the negro and yellow races as well. It is an historical fact that the negro has never shown any sustained power of self-development. He has never created a language or a civilization. As a matter of fact, the only civilization that he has ever enjoyed has been engrafted upon him by a superior race; and that civilization, thus engrafted, universally lasts only so long as the negro is under the control and domination of the race that trained him.

Of course I have no hope that the amendment proposed by the senior Senator from Mississippi will be adopted. It ought to be adopted, and I am glad the Senator has proposed it. I wish he had proposed it 10 years ago, and had supported it with all the force of his great mentality and his usual enthusiasm, but I do not think it is going to be agreed to now. Whether agreed to or not, however, I expect to vote for it, and, in the event it shall be defeated, to vote for the original amendment also.

To say that woman is the mental inferior of man is only to proclaim the ignorance of the person making the statement. I repeat, woman has risen to equality mentally with man in every emergency in the world's history. It is a singular fact, worthy of the consideration of this honorable body, that those nations that have accomplished most in art, in literature, in science, and have risen to the highest plane of civilization have shown the greatest respect and adoration for woman. That is true alike in ancient and modern times. The late erudite and eloquent Senator from Mississippi, the Hon. H. D. Money, a few years ago in this Chamber said:

"I have noted the struggle those people made in that the highest form of civilization with which we are acquainted in ancient history—the Greek. The Greeks were not only physically the most beautiful people who ever lived but by far the most acute and subtly intellectual. They have furnished to the world the greatest epic poem that was ever written, the greatest tragedy, the highest principles of human philosophy, the greatest specimens of oratory that were ever uttered, and the wittiest comedies that ever have been written. They have given us forms of government and examples of individual devotion to the State; they have given us the greatest examples of self-abnegation and public spirit. * * *

"The struggle of those people to maintain their liberties, considering their extreme advancement, especially in the golden age, the age of Pericles, the classic age of the Greeks, is one that fills the inquiring mind of the student with melancholy. Here was a nation of people, as proud of their history and personally of themselves, as has ever been known. They had achieved progress in sculpture, in painting, in architecture, in poetry, in philosophy, in eloquence, and oratory, and in rhetoric, which, as some English critic once said, 'Was not only the admiration but the despair of succeeding peoples.' They made every effort that men could make to keep in their grip the loosening bands of their political freedom. Their orators thundered their eloquence in the agora, their philosophers taught in the sacred grove of the academy. Socrates gave his disciples those profound lessons that reach to the immortality of the soul and the first vital principles of human action and human life, the copy of other philosophers since his day. * * * Their women were so wise that no Spartan warrior ever thought of taking any action without consulting with his wife; and we are told that when Cleomenes received the Persian ambassador, the ambassador laid before him first the request that everybody should leave the chamber, and they were ordered out.

"The ambassador said, 'Send away the child,' referring to Gorgo, the 9-year-old daughter of Cleomenes. The king responded, 'She is only 9 years old; let her play.' The ambassador began his speech—a very seductive speech. It tempted the Spartan king with splendors he had never dreamed of—magnificent presents and honors from him whom the Greeks were pleased to call 'the great king.' After a while the girl stopped from her play and said to her father, 'Get up, father, and leave the room or this stranger will corrupt thee,' and the king told the ambassador to leave the hall. The daughter was afterwards the wife of Leonidas, who fell at Thermopylæ, and the sister-in-law of Pausanias, who won the greatest battle the Greeks ever fought—the battle of Platæa, where the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and a few Legæans destroyed 300,000 Persians under Mardonius and their Theban and other allies.

"The influence of the Spartan women over the Spartan men is illustrated by the answer of this same Gorgo to one who said to her, 'Sparta is the only country in the world where the women rule the men.' She replied, 'And the Spartan women are the only ones who give birth to men.'"

Mr. President, Spartan women were no greater, more learned, more beautiful or refined than the women of America. The wisdom of woman has been demonstrated in every emergency in the world's history. The penetrating intuition of Pontius Pilate's wife, who had probably but once looked upon the pure, sad, majestic face of the Galilean Carpenter, caused her to warn her husband not to do Him wrong. How many a man has had his life utterly ruined and finished with failure when, if he had followed the advice of a wise, good woman, he would have had it crowned with glorious success? The inspiring, beneficial influence of woman in the home will be felt alike at the ballot box.

We must not forget the self-sacrificing conduct of woman, her willingness to immolate her precious self on the altar of her country's cause, in order to serve her race in the great emergency which overshadows the world to-day. We have but to look around us to see what woman is doing in this day of trial. In all the industrial walks of life she is taking the place of her husband, her father, and her brother, and she is doing the work well. When we consider further the fact that she is wholly in-

experienced in such work which the exigency of the hour calls her to perform the success which crowns her every effort appears almost marvelous.

When we shall have won this war and our stainless flag comes back flaunting triumphantly in the air we shall be as much indebted to the women for the victory as to the men. There is no argument that can be advanced against giving woman the ballot. Prejudice and ignorance may loudly inveigh against it and the assertion of superiority may fall from the lips of bigotry, but to the serious student of public questions history is teeming with the examples of woman's wisdom and heroism too numerous to be mentioned in this discussion, which amply answer every objection.

They talk to me of woman's sphere
As though it had a limit;
There is not a place in earth or heaven,
There is not a task of mankind given,
There is not a blessing or a woe,
There is not a whispered yes or no,
There is not a life or death or birth,
That has a feather's weight of worth
Without a woman in it.

My estimate of woman is well expressed in the words employed by a distinguished author who dedicated his book to a "Little mountain, a great meadow, and a woman." "To the mountain for the sense of time, to the meadow for the sense of space, and to the woman for the sense of everything."

Mr. President, I deem myself fortunate to be a Member of the Senate which will, I trust, pass the joint resolution which will give the people of America an opportunity to vote woman the privilege of the ballot—a privilege so splendidly deserved, and yet so long delayed and withheld from her. I hope that her brave fight for political liberty and equality of opportunity is to be crowned at this session with the splendid success which will be achieved by the passage of this joint resolution by the Senate. It is the fulfillment of the dream that has glorified the brain and stimulated the efforts of the great forward-looking men and women who have stood out among their fellows—Apennine in character, intellectual Pikes Peaks above the shrub-covered hills of mediocrity. I am reminded that woman is about to enter the promised land of equality which the dreamers of her sex have described vividly for more than a half century. Mr. President, the dream has always been the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night to lead peoples out of the wilderness of oppression and over the highways of difficulties. The dreamer stands within the shadow of the night, and looks beyond it toward the coming light, and sees far off, with trance-prophetic eyes, the consummation of the centuries.

May great good grow out of this reform; may justice and truth mark the way of our Nation's future; may the wise and humane ideas which spring indigenous to the mind of woman help to save our Republic from the pitfalls into which other republics of the past have fallen. I believe that the influence of woman alone is capable of saving the world from the blood lust and greed for gain which seems now to poison the soul and dim the mental vision of mankind. If the women of the world had been consulted, there would have been no war, and if the women of the future are permitted to participate in the governments of the earth, peace and prosperity, equality of opportunity, enlightened justice, and good government will bless the world. The parliament of man and the federation of the world will come only through an understanding, mutual respect, and confidence of the people of the different countries of the earth. There can be no permanent world peace except that which shall be based upon human love, and the principles taught and bodied forth in the life of the Man of Galilee.

There is a destiny that makes us brothers,
None goes his way alone,
All that we send into the lives of others
Comes back into our own,

Mr. President, I think to confer upon woman the right of suffrage is the highest form of moral conservation. It is the one bright star that twinkles above the horizon of our Nation's future. It is a covenant with the future, a guaranty that the criminal blunders of the past shall not be repeated, and that this Republic shall henceforth be dedicated to the service of mankind, which is the most acceptable service to God, rather than to the service of Mammon. And that will answer the question—

When wilt Thou save the people?
Oh, God of Mercy, when?
Not kings and lords, but nations;
Not thrones and crowns—but men:
Flowers of Thy heart, O God! are they.
Let them not pass like weeds away!
Their heritage a sunless day.
God save the people!

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, the question of how I should record my vote on this joint resolution has given me great concern. I am compelled to admit an unrelenting conflict between my own conviction as to the merits of extended suffrage and what I regard as my duty as a representative of a State. My own judgment is against the joint resolution. But since 1914 by legislative action the State of North Dakota has become a general suffrage State. The political platform of each and every party has declared for this Federal amendment. The State legislature, by an almost unanimous vote, has requested its congressional delegation to vote for it. Here is the State record on the subject of woman suffrage, and I give it that it may throw light on the position I shall be impelled to take in the matter:

The question of extending the right of equal suffrage to women was submitted to the people of the State of North Dakota in the fall election of 1914. The proposition was then defeated by a good, fair majority.

At the very next term of the Legislature of the State of North Dakota, beginning in January, 1917, that body passed—and, as I am informed, by a large majority—an act which extended the right of suffrage to women to include the election of presidential electors and county, city, and township officers.

On what theory or process of reasoning these legislators acted in granting to women the right to vote to fill the highest and most important official positions in the United States, and also the lower official positions, and withheld the right to vote for the intermediate positions—extended the right to vote for President of the United States and withheld the right to vote for the governor of their own State—would require one more skilled in psychological phenomena than myself to decipher. I can only account for it on the grounds that there was, way back in the masculine consciousness, a reluctance to disrupt and shatter the social structure builded through centuries of human progress and so admirably conforming to the different powers and functions of each sex, and so, under the pressure of feminine solicitation, always a most potent power, they sought to salve the sense of repugnance by yielding just a little at a time. This law of four-fifths suffrage is a most grotesque one. During the same term of the State legislature in 1917 a concurrent resolution to the Federal Congress and the Senators and Representatives therein was passed, I am informed, by a nearly unanimous vote of both houses of the Legislature of North Dakota. This resolution reads as follows:

Be it resolved by the Senate of North Dakota (the House of Representative concurring therein) as follows:

Whereas there is now pending before the National Congress of the United States an amendment to the Federal Constitution known as the Susan B. Anthony national suffrage amendment; and
Whereas the Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota believes that the same should be submitted to the States of this Union as an amendment to our Federal Constitution: Now, therefore, be it
Resolved, That the State of North Dakota through its legislative assembly does herewith respectfully petition and urge the National Congress of the United States to favorably consider and early approve the said Susan B. Anthony national suffrage amendment; and be it
Resolved, That the secretary of state be instructed to send a copy of these resolutions to the Senators and Representatives of the State of North Dakota in Congress.

At the next ensuing term of the legislature and on the 29th day of January, 1918, the following resolution was passed by the North Dakota Legislature:

Whereas the House of Representatives of the United States has passed a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending equal suffrage to the women of our Nation; and
Whereas the proposed amendment is now before the Senate of the United States for consideration; and
Whereas all the political parties in the State of North Dakota have declared in their platforms for equal suffrage; and
Whereas equal suffrage has been indorsed by the President of the United States: Therefore be it
Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of North Dakota (the Senate concurring therein), That our Senators in Congress be urged to vote for the equal-suffrage amendment; and be it further
Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to the President of the United States, and to the Secretary of State for the United States of America.

This resolution passed the house by a unanimous vote and passed the senate by a vote of 34 to 6. I especially note in this resolution what seems to be a growing sentiment in favor of extended suffrage. And this is emphasized in the third paragraph of the preamble which reads: "Whereas all the political parties in the State of North Dakota have declared in their platforms for equal suffrage." Conceding the right of the State to have its sentiment expressed through the legislature to the United States, when it is certain that the sentiment has had due and proper deliberation in the State, I have attempted through other sources to ascertain the sentiment of the public irrespective of that of the legislature. Since our entrance into this war, I am convinced that many sections of the State where the vote was strongest against the extended suffrage have, because of some influence which I shall not attempt to analyze,

changed their viewpoint on the subject. I had hoped that before this matter should come up in the Senate again I might have had another expression from the people of the State themselves.

This, however, is the record of the State as it stands to-day, and while the question of public sentiment is not free from doubt, I can not remove from my mind the conviction that the people of the State to-day are as a whole in accord with their legislators whose actions, so far as I can learn, have never been criticized, but whose course in most cases has received the stamp of approval by reelection.

And, Mr. President, I feel that as a representative of the State I should vote their views rather than my own on the subject. However, I should do myself an injustice and should be guilty of a lack of candor and frankness if I did not freely admit that in casting a vote in the affirmative on this resolution I am registering what I believe to be the conviction of my State rather than my own judgment as to its wisdom and propriety.

To my mind this is not a political but a sex question, pure and simple. It is not a question involving a superior or inferior mental endowment, but rather a question of the division of labor, duties, and responsibilities between the two sexes. I dare say that the average girl of 21 understands the principles of this Government as well as the average boy of 21, and that if the privilege and duty of exercising the right of suffrage were imposed upon all alike, it is probable, other things being equal, that the girl of 60 will keep pace with the boy of 60.

If it be alleged that the bent of the girl's mind is naturally toward society or adornment to the exclusion of the more serious side of national life, I fear she can truthfully retort that our young men, as a rule, have far more accurate information on the baseball scores than on the drift of political affairs. That the one sex might be influenced more by the emotions and less by calmer reflection than the other is probably just as true as that the mind of the one is more emotional and the other more reflective. But to my mind the real question lies far more deeply embedded in the stratum of human nature.

Mr. President, from the time the cave man by skill or daring competed with the beast of the forests in the battle for food and brought to his cave the product of his strength and valor, from the time he stood at the mouth of his cavernous abode with club and ax of stone to guard against robber tribes or carniverous beast, from the time the cave woman fed her little brood safe behind his sheltering arm, up to the present crest of human enlightenment these two beings, man and woman, have been developing distinct and separate characters, harmonizing their lives, and deepening and intensifying their sentiments of admiration and love toward one another, man with the greater physical strength, firmness, courage, and endurance, the provider and defender; woman, frail of form and more tender of sentiment, the beautifier of the home, maintaining and blessing the world at the shrine of motherhood.

Mr. President, our characters are not builded in our schools but in our homes, and perfected in all the avenues of active life with all their duties and responsibilities. And talk as much as you will, preach to the limit of endurance, there is one truth that deep down in our hearts will ever remain unshaken. That unassailable truth is this: Each sex finds in the divergent nature, character, and mental traits of the other that which quickens admiration, enhances esteem, deepens the sympathies, better secures the sanctity of home, and assures the happiness of humanity.

And while, Mr. President, I have no fear that womanly character or manly character, which the Lord has been millions of years in developing, can be changed in any brief period by changes of laws or conditions of life; while I regard as worse than childish the fear that mothers will lose the sentiment of motherhood, the strongest, deepest, holiest tie on earth, will lose that natural instinct which has made it possible for the human family to survive and on which it must ever depend, and will thereby neglect their children or household duties by widening their sphere of activity or increasing their responsibilities; while I believe the real masculine nature will still regard it a privilege as well as a proud duty to provide for and protect, and real feminine nature will still realize its deepest joy as the recipient of that masculine sentiment, my own observation has taught me that common vocations converging and leading the masculine and feminine minds into and along channels of common thought and sentiment, and even common earning capacity, relieving the one from any dependence and the other from the consequential duty which such dependence imposes, the disarrangement of the old plan of provider on the one hand and home maker on the other, dulls these sentiments and weakens that magnetic attraction which is the soul of home.

So, too, Mr. President, I have little patience with the argument that women need the ballot to protect them against their masculine kin. I know, as every man must know, that no woman has ever found or ever will find in her own sex a kindlier consideration, a truer friendship, or a more sympathetic deference than that which she ever receives from men. The records of our courts, with their men jurors, with their almost universal acquittals of women charged with offense, even though their hands be encarmined, speak such volumes against this assertion that I can not understand how in candor it could ever be made. In our courts she ever finds in masculine nature an asylum of protection, even though she may have committed great wrong. While the mind may be convinced beyond any doubt, the masculine heart finds it almost impossible to pronounce the word "guilty" against a woman.

And, Mr. President, fathers, sons, and brothers guarding the lifeboats until every woman, from the highest to the lowest, has been made safe, waving adieu with a smile of cheer on their lips, while the wounded vessel slowly bears them to a strangling death and a watery tomb, belie the charge.

To-day, on the fields of France, our soldiers are battling, suffering, dying for the sacred cause of all humanity. And he who declares that these fathers, brothers, sons are incapable of defending, or can not be trusted to defend and protect every interest of wife, mother, and sister slanders our American manhood.

I repeat, Mr. President, the question is not one of comparative abilities of the two sexes or of the necessity of the one to defend herself against the other. It is a question of division of labor in the scheme of human advancement. Her eye may be as true, her aim may be as sure, but the soldier's sword could never be fashioned to fit her hands, and the fact that she bears her part in every war, nursing the wounded, rearing the young, the fact that she shares in common with the fighting men in all the sufferings and agonies of war and must suffer in common the results of defeat, carries no argument that she should, therefore, in common with men shoulder the musket or charge over the trenches. Her work and her duties, while none the less important, are and must forever be of a different character.

Closely associated with this feature is another, to my mind even more important. The political field always has been and probably always will be an arena of more or less bitter contest. The political battles leave scars as ugly and lacerating as the physical battles, and the more sensitive the nature the deeper and more lasting the wound. And as no man can enter this contest or be a party to it and assume its responsibilities without feeling its blows and suffering its wounds, much less can woman with her more emotional and more sensitive nature.

But, Mr. President, you may ask why should she be relieved from the scars and wounds of political contest? Because they do not affect her alone but are transmitted through her to generations yet to come. And whether the child's heart pulsates beneath her own or throbs against her breast, motherhood demands above everything else tranquility, freedom from contest, from excitement, from the heart burnings of strife. The welfare, mental and physical, of the human race rests to a more or less degree upon that tranquillity. To so shield and guard her is a husband's and father's most sacred duty, and to so relieve her, in my opinion, is the obligation of human society.

While, Mr. President, I do not think that extending the suffrage to women will as a rule do more than increase the total vote, provided the same proportionate number of all classes of women avail themselves of the ballot, their abhorrence of war may throw the weight of public sentiment against a very just and necessary war. The masculine mind will look further ahead and give greater weight to remote consequences to country than will the feminine mind. The greatest danger to any country is that it should yield to unjust encroachment upon its rights by another and so yielding become gradually weaker and weaker until in the end it is subverted by the other. I confess, Mr. President, some fear that in this extended suffrage we may weaken that firm, national policy upon which the progressive welfare of the Nation depends

When the seas are calm and the winds but play it might not matter what hands guided the ship of state. But when the black and ominous clouds of war are gathering, when the sound of the tempest is heard afar, or the storm comes rushing on I feel—yes, I know—we need the masculine hand and the masculine heart, with all its unyielding firmness—yes, with all its belligerency—at the helm. And I can not but feel that it would be a real danger to a nation if, at such a time of stress, out of the darkness should come a voice equal in control, "I want to stand by my country, but I can not vote for war."

Mr. President, these are my personal convictions. But my State has spoken through its legislative enactment, granting the

right of women to vote for the highest office in the land. It has spoken through its resolutions, which have twice passed its legislature by an almost unanimous vote, requesting its Members of Congress to support this amendment and submit the question to the judgment of three-fourths of the States of the Union. It has so spoken through the declarations of the platforms of every political party in the State; and I can not but feel that, with this record and as one of the sovereign States of the Union, it has a right to insist that its wish rather than the judgment of a single representative be recorded on this proposed amendment. And, therefore, yielding my own convictions to what would appear to be the almost universal sentiment of my State, I shall cast the vote of the State rather than my own conviction on this resolution.

Mr. RANSDELL. Mr. President, I believe firmly in giving to women the right of suffrage on perfect equality with men and shall vote for the pending amendment to the Constitution, which provides that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of sex.

My views on this subject were formed several years ago, and have been matured and strengthened by the most careful study and deliberation. On July 31, 1913, I said in the Senate that "I was in favor of the joint resolution giving the right of suffrage to women and would do what I could to secure its adoption." (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 63d Cong., 1st sess., p. 2947.)

Since then I have been a member of the Committee on Woman Suffrage and have joined in several reports favoring the pending amendment. My position as a strong advocate of woman suffrage has been frequently stated publicly and privately during the last five years and was well known in this city and throughout my State.

It is a source of deep regret that my views on suffrage differ from those of many friends in Louisiana and elsewhere, for whose opinions I have the highest respect. In particular do I regret that the Legislature of Louisiana recently memorialized Congress in opposition to this measure. Members of that legislature were inspired by the loftiest motives, and I have no criticism of their action. They performed their duty as they saw it, and I shall do mine as I see it.

It gratifies me extremely to know that in voting for woman suffrage I am in company with those loyal southern Senators, CULBERSON and SHEPPARD, of Texas; JONES and FALL, of New Mexico; ASHURST and SMITH, of Arizona; GORE and OWEN, of Oklahoma; ROBINSON and KIRBY, of Arkansas; MCKELLAR, of Tennessee; and VARDAMAN, of Mississippi, not to mention CHAMBERLAIN, of Oregon, and PITTMAN, of Nevada, who are sons of Mississippi by birth and rearing.

Two other southerners whose names are highest on the roll of fame are also ardent suffragists; CHAMP CLARK, of Kentucky and Missouri, one of the wisest and most patriotic men in America; and that great son of Virginia and New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson, whose heart is as loyal to the South as to every other portion of the Republic, who embraces the whole world in his grasp of subjects affecting the welfare of the human race—by long odds the ablest statesman on earth. Mr. CLARK recently introduced a resolution at a meeting of the national Democratic congressional committee indorsing the pending amendment, and it was adopted unanimously. President Wilson has repeatedly announced his approval of this amendment, and only a short while ago gave out a public statement earnestly appealing to the Senate to vote in favor of it. I have several times discussed the question with him and know personally there is no stronger supporter of suffrage for women by amendment to the Federal Constitution than our President. He is a safe leader and no harm will come to the South or to any part of the Union from following him.

Some of our southern friends insist that there is grave danger in giving negro women the right to vote, and for that reason they oppose the Federal amendment, while willing for women to vote under State laws. I can not believe there is such a menace from this source as warrants the whole Nation in refusing to adopt the suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution. In my judgment the situation as to negro women can be handled as has been done with negro men for the past 25 years. Negroes in the South are prosperous, happy, and contented. They are acquiring homes, are rapidly becoming educated, are mastering all of the trades and some of the professions, are good, law-abiding citizens, and are working out the salvation of their race in peace and amity with their white neighbors and friends. As a rule they do not attempt to vote in States where there are a great many negroes, like South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana, but are satisfied with their lot and are as well cared for as any laboring people on earth—infinitely better than those of Mexico, South America, Europe, and Asia. It is inconceivable that these conditions will be destroyed or even interfered with by permitting women to vote.

The whole Nation is united now as never before. There is no longer any South, North, East, or West, but we are one great, patriotic, loyal people bound together by ties which can never be broken, and there is not the slightest danger that Congress will ever attempt to pass sectional election laws that would ruin any part of the Republic. This particular phase of the subject has given me the greatest solicitude, because so many of my friends take a different view; but I have worked it out to the very best of my ability with the same earnestness and sincerity of purpose which influences them, and I trust they know me well enough to feel that if I were in doubt I would not insist upon following my own opinion, which is that the passage of this amendment will prove very helpful to the South and to the Nation.

The Creator never intended man to be superior to woman and to enjoy rights and privileges denied to her. Man established for himself by brute force in the early dawn of civilization the higher place he has occupied in the political and business world, but his action in so doing was not founded on justice, and should be righted, like all other wrongs.

To refuse suffrage to women because of their sex while giving it to men is legislative unfairness which no one can justify. Suffrage is not a natural right. Neither man nor woman has an inherent right to vote because he or she is 21 years of age, but votes because the law permits it. Minors, insane persons, and those convicted of felony are not permitted to vote anywhere in the Union; and the right to vote is denied in 35 of our sovereign States to women who are college presidents, lawyers, doctors, bankers, heads of business firms, ministers of the gospel, college graduates, and leaders in every movement for human betterment, while most of these same States give suffrage to illiterate men who can not read the ballots they are voting nor speak the English language, and many of whom at this crucial moment, when the liberty of mankind is at stake, are avoiding military service because of sympathy with our enemies. Surely this is not giving women the "square deal" of which good Americans boast so proudly.

Males and females are equal before the law in their responsibility for crime, payment of taxes, and most of the obligations of citizenship, and they should be equals in lawmaking. Certain duties, such as military and jury service, have not been imposed upon women, as a rule, but there is no reason why they should not be as good jurors as men; and the function laid by nature on women, of bearing, rearing, and training patriotic citizens and soldiers is more onerous and important to the Nation's welfare than mere military service. Moreover, soldiers can not fight well unless properly clothed, fed, munitioned, and nursed, and all these essentials to war fall very heavily upon women. They are doing a noble part in the present world war, and their services are just as necessary to success as are those of our heroic soldiers.

Suffragists have the best of the argument on all sides. The opposition is due to sentiment rather than to sound reason. Practically I see no valid objection to woman suffrage, and feel certain that none of the womanly qualities of the gentler sex will be lost by voting. Women in several of our States and in many countries of the world have voted for years, and there is no evidence that they are less womanly than before or have been changed in any way; they are just the same.

Women are permitted to vote in Louisiana's sister States—Arkansas and Texas. They vote in 13 States of the Union and in every English-speaking country on the globe, with the single exception of the United States. Is it possible that this great, free country, which is spending countless billions of wealth and giving many thousands of its best young lives to "make the world safe for democracy" is going to longer deny this plain, simple act of justice to the better half of its citizens? I can not believe it, and am firmly convinced the Senate will demonstrate by its vote to-day that we are practicing at home the democracy we preach for mankind.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I do not rise to discuss the particular amendment which is now before the Senate, but to offer as briefly as possible and in as condensed a way as possible the reasons which prompt me to oppose this joint resolution.

I am opposed to the joint resolution for the following reasons:

First. If and when woman suffrage is desired, it may be obtained through the States. There is no question about that, and my convictions of a lifetime compel me to insist that is the only safe or wise method to pursue.

Second. The joint resolution proposes the most impracticable, if not impossible, way to get woman suffrage, because involved in this procedure are dangerous precedents. Federal control of elections, race problems, and the necessity for conducting campaigns for ratification in at least 36 States, while in some States,

if not in all, campaigns for submission of the proposition to the people of those States must be considered.

Third. The proposal to enfranchise 2,000,000 additional voters of the same class as provided under the fifteenth amendment, and at the same time and thereby accentuate and add to the strength of Federal control of elections in the States, does not commend itself to my judgment and conscience.

Fourth. I am not willing to have States outside the South vote upon the States in the South laws that will tax and complicate problems and burdens which the States so voting do not understand or have to contend with. I take the same position with regard to States in the South putting upon other States laws which may be oppressive to them.

Fifth. The fifteenth amendment was a mistake, and it is so recognized by other sections of the country. I do not believe we remedy that by repeating it.

Sixth. The most controlling reason I offer is that which reaches to the foundation principle of the Republic, to wit, each State has, and it is vital that each State preserve, the absolute right to say who shall vote for its State officers.

Without keeping this principle of local self-government inviolate, the Republic, as the fathers saw it, can not endure. That doctrine, sometimes discarded, somewhat worn, the doctrine of State rights, to my mind, is still vital and indispensable.

"The principle of local rule and a representative agency to carry the expression of that local power into national affairs" was settled by the wisdom of the framers of the Constitution. The late Justice Harlan well declared:

> Any serious departure from that principle would bring disaster upon the American system.

If I say to California and Washington what the measure of their electorate, respectively, shall be, what argument shall I present to those States if they undertake to say "You shall pass no law prohibiting the marriage of people of the white and negro races in Florida"?

If Florida assumes to dictate the laws upon which the electorate may exercise the privilege of voting for officers in New York and Massachusetts, what answer have I if those States undertake to say to Florida "We propose to determine who shall own real estate in Florida"?

On the other hand, if Washington and California undertake to dictate the qualifications of voters in Florida or to take away from Florida the right, always recognized and undisputed, to control and determine the question of franchise, what can they say if Florida, New York, and Massachusetts then say, "We insist that by amendment to the Federal Constitution you shall not discriminate against the Japanese and Chinese entering your schools or owning your lands"?

How would these States like to have the thousands of Japanese and Chinese women there given the suffrage? My contention is that is their problem, and we should leave it to them.

It is fundamental that the States are vital parts of our system of government, and as such their powers must be maintained as essential to the preservation of our liberties. They possess, and we must so recognize, all governmental powers not granted to the General Government, expressly or by implication, and that are not inconsistent with their own constitutions or with the Constitution of the United States or with a republican form of government.

Justice Miller, one of our greatest jurists, said:

> In my opinion the first and equal observance of the States and of the General Government as defined by the Constitution is as necessary to the permanent prosperity of our country and to its existence for another century as it has been for the one whose close we are now celebrating.

This joint resolution contains a second section, providing that—

> The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

We had Federal officers in charge of the polls at one time in Florida; do we want them again? I hold that the people of Florida, directly interested, are capable of prescribing the manner of conducting elections and the proper system of holding them in that State, and I am not willing to transfer to other authority the power to fix a different time, to require a different ballot, to provide a different registration system, or to put on us a primary law which our people would find highly objectionable and would be unable to change.

Seventh. The Constitution originally provided and still provides for the House of Representatives to be apportioned according to population. Section 2 of the fourteenth amendment—happily a dead letter—provides that the basis of representation shall be reduced under certain conditions in the proportion which the adult males whose voting privilege is "in any way abridged" bears to the whole number of male citizens. If this joint resolution is adopted and ratified by 36 States, we still have a House of Representatives based upon the total population—men, women, and children—elected by men and women, and subject to reduction in membership with respect to the qualifications of one-half the electors who choose its Members.

Eighth. The platform of the Democratic Party of 1916 declares:

> Women suffrage: We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country BY THE STATES upon the same terms as to men.

That platform is existing party law.

Ninth. The State Democratic executive committee, at its meeting in Jacksonville in February last, voted down overwhelmingly a resolution calling on the Senators and Representatives from Florida in Congress to vote for the joint resolution respecting woman suffrage.

Tenth. The question of woman suffrage is one for the people of each State to settle for themselves.

The sole sovereignty of this Government was intended from its inception to rest in the people. The people of Florida have affirmed a constitution which expressed their view. If they desire to change or modify it on this question, it is for them to determine. No other State helped make that constitution and all other States have no business to change it. Only the people of Florida have that right.

This covers the present issue and the whole of it. There can be no other for consideration until the legislature, if that is done, submits a proposed amendment to the State constitution to the people of Florida.

It will be noted that I am not basing my opposition to the submission of this proposed amendment on the merits or demerits of woman suffrage, but rather on the grounds, for the reasons stated, I believe it proposes an unwise and unjustifiable encroachment of the Federal power, upon the wisely reserved powers of the State.

One thing more. It has been urged, upon the floor of the Senate and elsewhere, that we are not asked to pass upon the merits of this question, but merely to submit the proposed amendment to the legislatures—not the people, but the legislatures, bear in mind—of the several States for their ratification or rejection. I can not agree with this view any more than I could vote for any ordinary matter of legislation before this body on the theory that we were merely "submitting" it to the President for his approval or veto. Every State has a voice in the election of the President; three-fourths of the State legislatures would determine this matter.

The Constitution of the United States provides two ways in which amendments may be submitted—by a vote of two-thirds of the Members of each House, or by a convention called by Congress upon application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the States. In the latter case the duties of Congress are limited to the calling of the convention and providing whether the amendments submitted by them shall be ratified by the State legislatures or by conventions in the several States. We have no discretion whatever as to the wisdom or policy of calling such a convention and no control of the amendments it might propose. We could only obey the plain mandates of the Constitution and call the convention, upon application by the required number of States. But where an amendment is sought, as in this instance, through the initiative of Congress, I hold that each Member of the legislative branch is chargeable with all the responsibility that attaches in matters of ordinary legislation; and more, because the Constitution is the fundamental law of the land and itself limits our right to initiate amendments to those cases which we deem "necessary," not merely cases involving only questions of expediency or temporary policy, and once we pass this resolution, it is beyond our recall. Unless the proposed change is one which this body believes to be a "necessary" one to make to the Federal Constitution, we have no right to adopt or pass it; and when we do so, we send it to the legislatures of the several States with the sanction of the Congress of the United States, whatever the mental reservation of any individual Member.

My objection primarily to the joint resolution as it now stands is, as I have heretofore attempted to make clear, that it proposes a radical change in the fundamental relations of the State and Federal Governments, denying to the several States the right of controlling their own suffrage qualifications, which I regard as essential not only to the preservation of the theory of our Government, but as a very grave practical consideration in my own State and neighboring States with similar domestic problems.

I also object most seriously to the resolution as it now stands for the additional reason, as before stated, that it puts it within the power of the legislatures of three-fourths of the States not

only to work a radical and irrevocable change in the suffrage system provided by their State constitutions, which may be amended only with the concurrence of the people of such States, but also permits this radical change to be foisted upon States where neither the people nor their chosen representatives favor it.

Congress has always possessed absolute power over suffrage qualifications in the Territories and in the District of Columbia, everywhere in fact subject to the jurisdiction of the United States outside of the sovereign States. If a recognition by the Federal Government of the principle of equal participation of the sexes in the voting privilege would be of any benefit to the Nation in the present world situation, such recognition can be given by extending the vote to women on the same basis as men in jurisdictions subject already to the full control of the Federal power, without the necessity of effecting a revolution in the vital, reserved powers of the States composing our Union.

I am willing to go that far to accomplish this and no more. Accordingly, I shall, when it is in order, move, Mr. President, to amend the resolution by striking out in line 11, page 1, the words "or by any State," so that section 1 will read as follows:

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be abridged by the United States on account of sex.

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Mr. HARDWICK obtained the floor.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. HARDWICK. I do.

Mr. REED. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Baird	Gulon	Martin, Ky.	Sherman
Bankhead	Hale	Martin, Va.	Shields
Beckham	Harding	Myers	Simmons
Borah	Hardwick	Nelson	Smith, Ariz.
Brandegee	Henderson	New	Smith, Ga.
Calder	Hitchcock	Norris	Smith, Md.
Chamberlain	Johnson, S. Dak.	Nugent	Smith, Mich.
Colt	Jones, N. Mex.	Overman	Smith, S. C.
Culberson	Jones, Wash.	Owen	Smoot
Cummins	Kellogg	Page	Sterling
Curtis	Kendrick	Penrose	Thompson
Dillingham	Kenyon	Phelan	Trammell
Drew	King	Pittman	Underwood
Fall	Kirby	Poindexter	Wadsworth
Fernald	Knox	Pomerene	Walsh
Fletcher	Lenroot	Ransdell	Warren
France	Lewis	Reed	Watson
Frelinghuysen	Lodge	Robinson	Weeks
Gerry	McCumber	Saulsbury	Wilfley
Goff	McKellar	Shafroth	Wolcott
Gronna	McNary	Sheppard	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-three Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President, I have some observations I wish to submit to the Senate in opposition to this joint resolution. I am opposed to it on three grounds, every one of which is totally disconnected with the proposition as to whether women ought to be allowed to vote, on the merits of that question taken alone, or not.

In the first place, I am opposed to this as a Democrat, and can demonstrate in any forum where reason prevails that no Democratic Senator in good faith can vote for it.

In the second place, I am opposed to it as a Senator from the South, and I think I can demonstrate that the interests of the South are such that this measure ought not possibly to receive serious consideration at the hands of this body.

In the third place, I am opposed to it as an American citizen who believes in the fundamentals of the American system of government, and I think I can demonstrate that any American citizen who believes in the American system of government that our fathers founded and which we have so far maintained can not support this proposition.

Mr. President, in the national platforms of the two parties in 1916 I find these expressions. First, from the Democratic Party:

We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as to men.

There is not a Democratic Senator present who does not know the history that lies back of the adoption of that plank. There is not a Democratic Senator who does not know that the plank was written here in Washington and sent to the convention and represented the deliberate voice of the administration and of the party on this question, which was to remit this question to the several States for action. And let me say now what I then said, that a more consistent course for Democrats could not possibly have been suggested, one more in accordance with their principles and traditions.

It is true there was a recommendation—I did not approve of it—that the States should be requested one by one to adopt this suffrage amendment, but that was a matter of taste. The recommendation of the convention had no binding effect upon any one of the States, and on matters of taste I did not feel that there was any room for any serious objection, although I was opposed to the recommendation.

Now, that being true, if a party is to live up to its platform after election, if a party is to stand after the election where it promised in its plank asking the people to support it with its suffrages, then I do not see how Democratic Senators can vote to do something absolutely different from what we promised to the people to do in the platform in 1916, from what we then pledged the people we would do if we were given political power in the two Houses of Congress.

It has always seemed to me that parties as well as individuals ought to be governed by principles of honor. If parties or individuals go out before the country promising the people when they are seeking to obtain their suffrage that they will maintain certain positions, and do that before election and at the election, then it seems to me after the election the question is foreclosed and the party is honorably bound until it makes another platform and goes to the people at a time when the people have a right to vote again stating that it is going to change its position, and then give the people a chance to vote for or against the party candidates after full notice that the position of the party has been changed, and exactly how it has been changed.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President——

Mr. HARDWICK. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Does the Senator contend that there is anything in that platform that binds the Democratic Party to insist that woman suffrage be adopted by State action only? Does it not say "we recommend"?

Mr. HARDWICK. Yes.

Mr. SHAFROTH. It does not preclude by any prohibitory words the proposal of a national amendment.

Mr. HARDWICK. The Senator from Colorado knows full well that this was a recognition by the party of the ancient Democratic principle that in matters of local concern the States were to be supreme and their jurisdiction was to be exclusive. The Senator from Colorado knows full well that the platform was written with the concurrence of the administration, which was then seeking reelection at the hands of the American people.

Mr. SHAFROTH. But the wording of the plank itself is not of a prohibitory nature. It is simply a recommendation for them to do it, which recommendation for years before has been adopted by many States. National amendment has not been regarded as something that should not be permitted. The recommendation, as I understand it, is simply that we recommend to the States to adopt woman suffrage. There is no objection whatever to doing it that way, but there is nothing in the language of the plank that is prohibitory of its being done any other way.

Mr. HARDWICK. Yes; that is quite true. But the Senator from Colorado knows that he and other Senators from the Western States where this franchise has already been granted were begging and demanding and threatening the Democratic Party if the suffrage plank they insisted on was not adopted.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I do not think I was threatening, but I was begging.

Mr. HARDWICK. You were threatening about the election. I do not mean in a personal way, of course.

Mr. SHAFROTH. We did not have that matter up. We were asking the Democratic Party in the national convention assembled to do it, asserting that it was the part of wisdom to do it.

Mr. HARDWICK. And you said we would lose the election if we did not do it.

Mr. SHAFROTH. And that it was a part of the system of our Government that we should do it. That was the theory on which we urged it.

Mr. HARDWICK. I do not mean my remarks to have more than a general application to the Senator—but we were warned that unless we did it and did adopt the recommendation, if the Democratic Party did not insert the proposition to so amend the National Constitution, we would lose the election, that we could not carry the Western States.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President——

Mr. HARDWICK. This plank was enacted in direct response to and in direct negation of that demand.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President——

Mr. HARDWICK. The Senator must let me answer, for he has asked a question. I understand what he means.

But the President of the United States then stood against the Senator's views and then stood on the ancient Democratic doc-

trine that each State should settle for itself the qualifications of its own electors, and was reported in the newspapers to have sent this particular plank in the platform from Washington, supposedly by the hands of one of his Cabinet officers. The Senator knows, and everyone in this body knows, and everyone in this country with a memory that is two years old knows, that it was in denial of this very demand that you are making to-day that we said at St. Louis in 1916 that we would remit this question to the States, where it belonged.

Mr. SHAFROTH. The Senator will remember that the Republican Party had held its convention and had adopted a similar provision.

Mr. HARDWICK. If the Senator will not anticipate me, I am going to come to that right now.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Very well.

Mr. HARDWICK. Now I want to address my Republican friends. Let us see what were the promises to the people. You said:

> The Republican Party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of the country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself.

In other words, faced by this same demand on the eve of an election, when you were asking the people of America to give you their votes, you replied that you would not do it; that you, too, would stand by the basic American principle of local self-government; that you would stand by this fundamental doctrine, on which our American system itself rests, that each State should settle for itself in its own manner and according to its own will what should be the qualifications of its electorate.

Now, what happened? We had just as well be frank about it. The suffrage movement is gaining strength and force in the country. A great many politicians and a great many Senators—and of course the terms are by no means synonymous—have come to the conclusion that this is going to happen, and they are all trying to get on the band wagon first, so that when the votes are given to women, if they should ever be given to women, they may claim that they did it. And each party is vying with the other in the speed and alacrity with which it can reverse its position and gain the favor of these future electors. That is the situation. There is no need to mince words about it. We know what it is. Both parties think that this movement is going to succeed, and each party is trying to get ahead of the other in proving to the American people that it is more willing than the other to break its plighted word.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President——

Mr. HARDWICK. I yield.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Does not the Senator recognize the fact that this sentiment has been growing for years, and the statement contained in the Declaration of Independence, that the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed, was the power and force which ultimately would bring this result, unless you deny that women are not subject to the jurisdiction of government?

Mr. HARDWICK. I thank the Senator for his interruption, but it is by no means pertinent to the question I have just suggested. I said I thought this movement was gaining strength, and I think both parties are playing politics about it. That is all there is to it. We promised the people we would not do this by the Federal Government. Both parties remitted it to the jurisdiction of the States when they came to write their platforms two years ago on the eve of the last election, and now both are striving to show the American people how easily they can break their promises, each with more alacrity than the other. My remarks are by no means partisan. They cover the whole field, and cover it impartially and truly.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I should like to have the Senator show wherein the Democratic convention promised anything in its platform to the effect that it would not enforce suffrage by a Federal constitutional amendment.

Mr. HARDWICK. The Democratic Party did not promise any more than the Republican Party, but it did not promise any less. The demand was that our party provide for an amendment as a matter of national program, and they replied to it by saying, "We will remit it to the States, where it belongs." That is what your party and mine did, and that is what both of the parties are now trying to get away from, whether we like it or whether we do not. We had just as well be frank about it.

Of course we might say that this was merely another illustration of the truth of that saying that has come almost to be an adage in American politics—that platforms are written only to get elected on and not to stand on after you get elected.

But there is vastly more than that in it. I object to this amendment as one of the Senators from the South. I object to it in behalf of many imperial States in the southern portion of this Republic, whose free institutions may be imperiled by the ease and carelessness and alacrity with which you rush into this sort of business.

Mr. President, in the period that is to follow the war, the South, in my judgment, is going to have a heavier white man's burden to carry than it ever had in that period of reconstruction which followed the Civil War. That may sound like a strong statement to Senators who do not live in the South and who may not understand the situation there; but let me point out to you how true it is and how accurate my words are on this question. Under the State constitutions of the 11 Southern States most of them have attempted to get rid of the awful mistake made during the reconstruction period at the close of our Civil War on this very suffrage question; that most of the wisest men in the Republican Party now admit was a mistake. I say, in the attempt to avoid the ruinous effect of that mistake the States of the South wrote constitutions in which they disfranchised ignorance and in which they put a premium on military service. The conditions were such in the South that it was impossible to impose or to get passed simply a straight educational test for the whole electorate. The South had been impoverished as a result of the Civil War; it had not recovered; it was impossible to pass straight educational tests that were no more than educational tests, because the effect would have been to disfranchise too many white people. That was the actual condition that confronted us when these so-called disfranchisement acts were adopted in the Southern States, and we acted accordingly.

Therefore, in the constitution of most of those Southern States the language was written that military service either in behalf of the United States or the States, in any war in which the United States or any one of the Southern States had engaged, or descent from a person who had rendered such military service should qualify a male person to be a voter and to remain on the voters' list if he was 21 years of age and was otherwise qualified, even if he did not possess the educational or property qualifications required in the constitution.

Now, this war has come on. We have drafted impartially from the male population of the South, and if the war lasts long we will draft hundreds of thousands and it may be a million or more negroes of voting age in the South, who will go into the service of the country under the Stars and Stripes and to France. When they come back, under our own State constitution, the only one we could write under the Constitution of the United States, they come back as fully enfranchised as any white voter in any one of the States, and they come back exempt from the educational tests and the property tests of the States of the South.

Not only that, but—I say this in the utmost of kindness and good feeling toward my friends who sit on the other side of the Chamber—we are liable to be treated to a revival of the race question in this body and throughout this country that will far surpass anything that we ever saw or heard at the close of the Civil War. We are liable to have a new crop of perfectly good-intentioned and well-meaning people, like Harriet Beecher Stowe and William Lloyd Garrison, who were honest enough in their own way. I am not throwing anything on their memory—I know how you revere them—but they were not acquainted with the practical conditions that existed in the South, and whom I think your wiser statesmen now admit did not have sufficient moderation and judgment to deal with the political phases of the great race problem that followed and resulted from the Civil War. This question is going to be revived with redoubled force, because honest but impracticable men in the North and West are going to insist after the war is over that the black men from the South who went to France and who stood under the Stars and Stripes and risked their lives in their country's cause are entitled to the same rights—personal, political, social, and everything else—in the South or anywhere else in this Republic that any white man is entitled to. I can see the force, the tremendous driving force, of that sort of an appeal upon people who have not any considerable number of negroes among them.

The race question is largely a question of numbers. It is the presence of numbers that makes it vital and keeps it alive. It is all right in your States, it may be, not only to contend for that doctrine but to put it in actual force, although I should not like to see it done even there. But when you go to a State that has a population half black and half white, and in some cases more black than white, and undertake to carry that sort

of a policy into effect it would be destruction and ruin and worse.

Gentlemen, I speak from the standpoint of the South, in view of the tremendous problem that we must face and solve, the awful burden that we must carry at the conclusion of this great struggle; I bid you pause before you put your feet into the very footprints of the same mistake that your fathers made just after the Civil War. You have adopted the very language of the fifteenth amendment, and yet you have stood here complacently for many years and submitted, because you thought it was wise statesmanship to submit. I am not criticizing you for it; I honor you for it. I am simply calling your serious attention to the fact that this effort to nullify the control of the States over their own electorates is dangerous to a degree, and is wrong in principle.

I warn you, Senators, when another war comes on and hysteria again reigns in your land that you will not insist immediately on making the same mistake you made in 1869, and on making it at a time when it will do infinitely more harm than it did after the Civil War. I assert, as far as the South is concerned, that this is a grave question, and that our whole civilization is bound up in it; our whole economic, civil, political, industrial life is at stake. I tell you that you had better stand by the doctrine of permitting each State in the Union to regulate its own domestic concerns and internal affairs, and you had better not overturn the fundamental principles of the American system that is almost as important as the existence of the National Government itself.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Will not the Senator recognize that this question is not the product of this war; that it has been growing year by year; that four years ago we took a vote in this Chamber and carried it by a majority of one? It seems to me that it can not be said that this is the product of any hysteria during this war.

Mr. HARDWICK. No; I have listened to that argument, and I expect the Senator is going to make the same argument. I would not be so ungallant as to dispute with the Senator or any Senator present on the abstract subject of woman's worth. Women have done so much for the country in this war, about it and in connection with it, that you contend that they have demonstrated their ability to vote, and you are using the hysteria that inheres in any war time to enhance the strength and power and force of this movement, which I think will be defeated, and I believe it is going to defeat whenever the vote is taken here, to-day or to-morrow.

Mr. President, I have an objection to it not only as an honest Democrat who wants to stand on the pledges that his party made when he went to seek the suffrages of the people two years ago, not only as a southern man who fears to the very depths of his being and to the bottom of his soul the danger to the South if there is any tinkering with this question, but I also want to protest against it for the third and last and, if possible, the very strongest of all reasons, as a believer in the fundamental American principles.

It is true that you propose an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and in manner and form you comply with the requirements of our organic law. If two-thirds of each House of Congress will submit this proposition and three-fourths of the legislatures of the States should ratify it, of course it would be a part of our Constitution and the Constitution would itself be changed to that extent. But, Mr. President, the question I raise is far different from that. There are certain fundamental and basic principles that underlie the Constitution itself, on which the Constitution itself rests, that can not be violated even in the guise or under the form of an amendment to the Constitution without doing violence to the American system of government, without endangering the success of the system of American Government in the years that are yet to come.

Let me illustrate. I will take an extreme case to make my meaning clear. Suppose it should be suggested in the form of a constitutional amendment that we should abolish the Republic in this country and should set up a limited monarchy in lieu thereof, and provision should be made for the naming of a king under that form of government, what would you say to the proposition, if two-thirds of both Houses of Congress submitted and three-fourths of the States of the Union agreed to it? It would then become a part of the Constitution of the country and a part of the organic law of the country. It is unthinkable, and yet if that were to happen, if three-fourths of our people became believers in monarchy and deserted the principles of democracy and republicanism and undertook to set up over the other one-fourth of this country a monarchy or despotism, I think the right of revolution would be the only remedy on this earth that could save the one-fourth who were loyal to republican institutions.

Mr. REED. It might not be three-fourths of the people.

Mr. HARDWICK. Three-fourths of the legislatures. It might even be done with three-fourths of the people against the proposition. That is possible, under our Constitution.

Senators, there are a good many things like that that could be done in the form and guise and shape of an amendment to the Constitution that can not be done without doing violence to those basic, organic, and fundamental principles that underlie the Constitution and on which the Constitution itself rests and must continue to rest if this is to remain a free country and the people of America are themselves to remain free.

I say that one of those basic and fundamental principles is the right of each local subdivision of our society, of each State, to control and regulate its own domestic and internal concerns, and that most important, most sacred, among those rights is the right of each State to regulate its own electorate, to prescribe its qualifications, and to determine of whom it shall consist.

Senators, your suffrage proposition goes a long way. This proposed amendment not only undertakes to deny to the States the right to abridge the right of women to vote for President and Vice President and Members of the two Houses of Congress, but in the manner and form that it is submitted you propose to take away from the States the right and power to determine, each one for itself, what shall be the qualifications of the electors to elect its own officers. Its governors, its sheriffs, its county clerks, its members of the legislature, every local officer of every State will have to be elected by an electorate the qualifications of which are determined here in Washington, under the terms of this amendment, if we should pass it and it should be ratified by the requisite number of States. Now, I do not think that is wise and I think that is going entirely too far. The proposition violates the fundamentals; it utterly ignores the principles on which this Government rests; and if the Federal Government wants to say who shall vote for Members of Congress, on what principle does it undertake to say who shall be allowed to vote for county sheriffs and county clerks and officers that are purely local and have no connection whatever with Federal administration? Yet that is what this proposition does. It goes to that length.

Mr. President, I have seen during a somewhat brief service in this body and a somewhat longer service at the other end of the Capitol, approaching now the completion of its sixteenth year, Federalism grow by leaps and bounds.

I have seen the rights of the States impaired and denied until the States themselves have become careless and fail to discharge their functions, and until everybody in almost every State says, if the State does not do anything, we will get the Federal Government to attend to it for us. If this continues, we will utterly and completely destroy not only the form but the very substance of the American system of government, and then when that is done, when you set up an imperial power here in Washington, dealing with the most purely local matters in every part of this great country, I want to know how the legislative bodies are to obtain the information and the light and the time that each of them will need in order to know how to deal at all with these local and domestic affairs in every one of the innumerable local communities of this Republic. It is time, I think, to call a halt on this sort of business. It is time we should begin to readjust the balance between Federal power and State authority.

It is absolutely necessary if this Government is to remain what it was when our fathers created it, and if this dual system of government which has been the glory, and the distinguishing glory, of this Government during all its existence is to be preserved, that we should sharply and permanently check this movement in the very near future.

Mr. President, I see before me honest and earnest men who have got to deal with those questions after my own responsibility in connection with them is ended, and happily ended as far as I am concerned personally, and I want to appeal to them here to-day to stop and seriously consider this great question and not continue to subvert and undermine not only the form but the very substance of our Government itself. I can not think that it is any answer to this proposition to say, "Well, this is a proposition to amend the Constitution." It is just as immoral to violate substantial, fundamental, and basic American principles by amendment to the Constitution as it is in any other way; and, in my judgment, it is just as dangerous.

It has always seemed to me that the crowning virtue of our local system of government, and the greatest and chiefest power that can reside in any government, is the power to determine the qualifications of the electorate; that there is the real force that rules and governs and controls the whole system. When we undertake to take that away from the State, in whole or in part, it is the most dangerous tinkering that we could possibly do; and it is one that, if we do not mind, will result in utter ruin if it is kept up long enough. I hope I am not getting into

a despondent frame of mind about things of this sort, but I have seen so much of it done that I must confess I am alarmed.

I can not see why these local matters should not be left to the control and regulation of the States. I can not see how men belonging to two great political parties that two years ago promised to the people of this Republic that they would leave this very specific question to the States, for the determination and regulation of the States, and the States alone, and who expressly denied the suffrage petition made at that time to both party conventions, should favor this proposition of acting on this question by way of amendment to the Federal Constitution and treating it as a Federal and national question. I can not see how Senators and Representatives who belong to two great parties, who have that record, will gain anything in the popular confidence or in the popular esteem by rushing over each other in their efforts to break their plighted words to the American people.

I shall, therefore, Mr. President, for the reasons that I am undertaking to give to the Senate, with some brevity, vote against this proposition; nor is my judgment on it to be controlled or influenced by the fact that any man on earth, wherever he is placed and however high his position is, may have changed his own mind since the election.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, I am in entire sympathy with this joint resolution, and I want to do nothing that will impede its passage at the present time; but as the joint resolution is drawn, I think it is a sinister menace to the electorate of this country. I believe that the joint resolution should be amended. The Constitution of the United States provides that "the Congress shall have power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization." Congress has enacted naturalization laws. To become naturalized there must be a declaration of an intention to become a citizen and, in addition, five years' residence. There are also qualifications as to age, education, and character, renunciation of order of nobility or hereditary title, and then of allegiance and the renunciation of prior allegiance. Under the Revised Statutes it is provided that:

Any woman who is now or may hereafter be married to a citizen of the United States, and who might herself be lawfully naturalized, shall be deemed a citizen.

When this joint resolution is passed and when it shall have become ratified by the States of the Union an alien woman who is married to a naturalized American citizen automatically becomes a voter under the law without the safeguard which is thrown around the male alien. The male alien, it is provided, must have five years' residence; he must declare his intention to become a citizen; and then, after two years, the court of jurisdiction in the locality in which he resides shall examine him as to his allegiance, as to his loyalty, and as to his educational qualifications; but under this joint resolution, without that safeguard, automatically we enfranchise thousands of women who are married to American citizens who may be at heart alien in loyalty to this country.

I want to see every worthy woman in this land have the vote; but I want written in the Constitution the same legal safeguards we throw around the male citizen. I want the only safeguard that can be provided by law to compel her to be worthy to assume that high privilege.

We are living in very strenuous times, very serious times. German propagandists are rife throughout the country. There are Russian societies in this country which believe in the destruction of government. Are we going to increase the powers of that class by giving to the wives of the men who are members of those classes and societies the right to vote without court examination, without safeguarding the honest women who vote from their dangerous policies? Under the resolution as drawn every alien woman who may be a bitter enemy of our country can become a citizen and attain that right by marrying some gullible, easy-going American citizen.

Therefore, Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk in order to correct what I believe to be a danger in this joint resolution. I ask that the amendment be stated by the Secretary and that it be considered pending after the present amendment to the joint resolution shall have been disposed of.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NUGENT in the chair). The Secretary will state the amendment.

The SECRETARY. After the word "sex," in line 11, change the period to a semicolon and add the following:

But no person, male or female, shall hereafter exercise the right of suffrage hereunder at an election for Senators and Representatives in Congress and electors for President and Vice President of the United States, unless such person shall have acquired citizenship by birth or under the naturalization laws of the United States, and, if a female, otherwise than by marriage. The Congress shall provide by law the requirements for conferring the right to vote for the officers herein named upon those who have acquired citizenship by marriage.

Mr. GUION. Mr. President, I do not believe anything I may say at this time will change, alter, or modify the views of a single Member of the Senate; but that I may not be misunderstood when I vote against the pending amendment, I have concluded to give briefly my reasons for opposing it.

By this I mean that while I am not opposed to extending to women by the States of this Union the privilege of suffrage on equal terms with men, I am unalterably opposed to the granting of such privilege by the Federal Government.

In my State the legislature at its last session submitted an amendment to the constitution of that State by which women will be permitted to vote under the same requirements as that constitution imposes upon men.

That amendment will be submitted to the voters of the State at the congressional election to be held on the 5th of November next, and, if adopted, will give to the women of Louisiana the same political privileges, in respect to the right of suffrage, as are now enjoyed by the male voters of that State.

The same legislature which submitted that amendment has gone on record as being opposed to the pending amendment by adopting House concurrent resolution 9, memorializing the Congress of the United States to reject the pending amendment to the Federal Constitution.

Personally, as I have just said, I am not opposed to granting to women by the several States of the Union the privilege of suffrage, and, in fact, I intend to vote for the proposed amendment to the constitution of my State at the approaching election in November.

My objection to the amendment now pending in the Senate is that under our form of government the right to give or withhold the privilege of suffrage rests with the States and is not given to the General Government.

Suffrage is a matter of local or domestic concern, to be dealt with by each State, acting in its sovereign capacity in the exercise of the power reserved to the States under the Federal Constitution, and as may best subserve and accord with existing local conditions and without interference by the Federal Government.

Under my interpretation of the Constitution of the United States it was never intended that the Federal Government should ever assume the power or authority to establish, regulate, or control the right of suffrage in the several States, but that the States themselves should be given exclusive power and authority in respect to the entire subject-matter.

I am not willing, therefore, to wander away from the well-defined landmarks set up for us and for future generations by the founders of this great Government.

It may be said that it is because of this want of authority in the Federal Government thus to legislate that the amendment now pending is sought to be submitted to the States; but my objection is to such submission, because, in my opinion, it is against the spirit of our Constitution that the Federal Government should interfere with or seek to supplant the States in matters of suffrage or in any other matter where the police powers of the State ought to be exercised.

Feeling, therefore, that the action of the legislature of my State, by submitting to its voters the amendment to the constitution of that State just referred to, by which women may be given the suffrage upon equal terms with men, and by protesting against the submission to the States of the pending amendment, is practically an instruction to me on the subject, and feeling further, as I do, that by voting for this amendment I will be surrendering a distinct right of State sovereignty which the framers of our Constitution intended should be reserved to the States and never surrendered to the Federal Government, I am unwilling by my vote to sanction so radical a departure from what they conceived to be, and which has been proven to be, for the best interests of our common country; and for that reason I shall vote "no."

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. President, I have addressed the Senate several times upon the question of woman suffrage. I have said at those times about all I know of the subject. It would serve no good purpose to consume time now by repeating what I have already said. Both sides of the question have been very thoroughly presented and completely exhausted. However, on April 20, 1917, I made some remarks before the Woman Suffrage Committee of the Senate giving the experience of my State with woman suffrage for many years—over 60 years—which I should be glad to make a part of my remarks at this time, without reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ASHURST in the chair). Without objection, the request of the Senator from Kansas will be complied with.

The matter referred to is as follows:

"Senator THOMPSON. Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, coming from a suffrage State, I take pleasure in testifying before this handsome assembly of women, and this committee of men who are trying to learn something about equal suffrage, to the wonderful advantage woman suffrage has been to my State. There is no element that has contributed more to the improvement of our political conditions than the participation of the women in suffrage from the time of the adoption of the States constitution, away back in 1859, down to the present time. We have had, perhaps, a longer experience with woman suffrage in one form or another than any other State, for we gave the women, when we wrote the constitution, the right to vote on all educational questions. We attempted to give them full suffrage even in that early day, but it was defeated by a narrow margin. It was preferred, by the men at least, to take three bites at the cherry; and, as sweet as it is, do you not wonder that we would do it? You know, however, that we men are given to doing things the wrong way sometimes.

"We first gave the women suffrage on all educational questions in our constitution, and I challenge anyone anywhere to point to a single objection that can be made after nearly 60 years of experience in their voting on educational matters. We are forced to admit that women have been a wonderful advantage in this respect. We all concede that they make our best county superintendents and our best teachers, and by their cooperation with the men we have gradually reduced the percentage of illiteracy in the State until it now ranks the lowest in the Union—less than 2 per cent. Will anyone say that the influence of women and their participation in the ballot in educational affairs has been in the least detrimental? This is one of the principal objections raised by those who are not familiar with this great question, and it turns out just the opposite to their predictions in acutal practice.

"Next, in 1887 we extended this right to the women to vote on all municipal questions in our city elections. While that matter was being considered I remember an interesting incident that occurred in the State senate. One of the senators was holding out on the question. On the morning the vote was taken a very beautiful bouquet of American Beauty roses appeared upon his desk with a large placard reading, 'Presented by the women of the city of Independence who do not want to vote. History will honor the man who dares to do right.' But nevertheless the effort of the opposition was defeated, and it was later discovered that this bouquet was contributed by the saloon element, who were opposed to woman suffrage, and you will find that class everywhere against it. This fact alone should be one of the strongest arguments in its favor. The women in my State helped with even limited suffrage, and their great power by that right, to make Kansas the leading prohibition State of the Union. At this time there is not a single saloon, and not a single place, drug store or hovel, commonly known to anyone in any locality where you can go and barter for a drink of liquor within that broad territory, 400 miles long, almost the distance from here to Boston, and 200 miles wide. At least that much of the United States is cleared of the saloon, and largely through the influence of the women.

"As early as 1867 the women began the fight for equal suffrage and the question was submitted to the people, but the fight at that time was so intermingled with questions growing out of the result of the war that it was lost sight of and defeated. But you know a little defeat does not seem to affect the women of this country in the least, for they are still on the battle field, and they are going to keep up the fight, and the men might as well make up their minds first as last that, as always, the women are going to conquer, and the men might as well surrender first as last. The question was resubmitted in 1894, and for the third time met defeat.

"But with the third bite of the cherry we gave the women complete suffrage in 1912; and in refutation of the charge that they do not know how to vote, just look over the election returns of the State for the last presidential election."

Mr. THOMPSON. In conclusion, I wish simply to briefly sum up the situation and give a few reasons why this resolution should be adopted:

1. Woman suffrage is absolutely right, and wherever tried it has proved a complete success.

2. The right or privilege, whichever you may choose to call it, was wrongfully taken away from the women by usurpation of the men. Under the National Constitution as originally drawn and as subsequently amended there is no provision whatever against the right of women to vote, and had the women assumed that right in the beginning no one would have ever dreamed of requiring some direct declaration to be written in the Constitution permitting them to do so. Government has wrongfully taken this right away from women by assuming that it was for men only, to the exclusion of the women. We should now be honest, fair, and gracious enough to give it back to them when they want it or without their asking for it. They have earned it by their education, worthy citizenship, work, devotion, and general helpfulness in all the affairs of the Government equal to that of the men.

3. In all the argument and voluminous discussion there has been no good, sound reason assigned by anybody why equal suffrage should not be granted; there has been no demonstration or suggestion by anybody that it has failed in any particular wherever tried.

4. If for any reason, however, technical or otherwise, it was not thought just or advisable to grant women this right, there certainly should be no hesitancy in doing so at this particular time. If there were no other reasons, it should be done as a righteous measure growing out of the prosecution of the war. Women have performed more than their part in this great struggle for democracy, freedom, and liberty. They have borne the men, the boys who are braving the dangers of battle and making the supreme sacrifice for the glorious cause. They have helped make and raise the money to carry on the war and to aid our allies. They have helped raise the food to feed the people at home as well as the soldiers in the field. They have helped make the clothing, the ammunition, the guns, the flying machines, the railroad trains, and the ships. They are even ready, if necessary, to shoulder the gun and march to the front themselves; and indeed they have done so in many instances. They have done practically all of the nursing, and who doubts but what they can do it better than any man? They have performed wonderful feats in surgery, together with the men. No great surgical operation was ever performed without the skillful aid of the women. They are now doing the drudgery work in France and England, as well as in many places in the United States, such as running elevators, handling trucks and baggage at the stations, running street cars, driving hacks, taxies, automobiles, trucks, ambulances, making the gardens, cultivating the fields, and gathering the grain and caring for the stock. This latter work in France and England they are doing practically alone, and they will do it in this country should it become necessary. Who will say that they are not doing it just as well as the men ever did? In all my travels through the war zone I never heard anyone even hint that all this work was not being properly and efficiently performed, but, on the other hand, I heard their work commended by everybody who discussed it. Above all else, the women are the ones who are "keeping the home fires burning." They are feeding, clothing, educating, and otherwise caring for the families while the men are away from home. Can anyone doubt that they can do this better than the men? And they are only asking equality in a very less important matter. We would be more justified in disfranchising the men than we would be to permit the women to remain disfranchised.

So let us, as men, recognize our appreciation of woman's great sacrifice for our common country by granting to them an equal voice in the management of all governmental affairs, where experience demonstrates beyond all question of a doubt that they are just as useful and indispensable as in every other sphere in life.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, ordinarily I am very much averse to speaking with notes, but down in the section of the country from which I come there is a considerable divergence of opinion among the men voters at any rate on the subject of woman suffrage, and for that reason I am going to beg the indulgence of the Senate for a few moments while I give from prepared notes the reasons which actuate me in casting my vote to-day.

Mr. President, I have long been an advocate of equal suffrage. I would have preferred that equal suffrage should have been brought about by the action of the several States rather than by the action of the National Government, but I have long since come to the conclusion that this is substantially impracticable. I say this because of the object lesson that is now before us, namely, that the women in many of the States are permitted to vote while the women of many other of the States are denied the privilege. It is not right that this sort of a condition should obtain, and certainly it is not right that this kind of a condition should be continued when we are able to remedy it here. It is much easier to obtain the ratification of this amendment in 36 States than it is to get individual action in all 48 States.

In the nature of things it might be that the women of three-fourths or four-fifths or even seven-eighths of the States should secure and enjoy the right of suffrage for 50 years, and yet through some local conditions in the few remaning States the women of those States would be deprived of the right to vote for all time unless this amendment should be passed.

For these reasons, and believing firmly in the principle of woman suffrage, four years ago I voted for the national amendment while I was a Member of the House. Coming from that portion of our country which is commonly understood not to be in favor of equal suffrage, I was given considerable criticism by some in my State for this vote, but believing that I was right I stood the criticism then and am going to stand it again, for I shall vote in favor of this resolution. I am still not willing to say that the intelligent and splendid women of Tennessee are not as worthy of the privilege of suffrage as the women of New York or those of any other suffrage State.

REASONS FOR VOTING FOR IT.

HALF FREE AND HALF NOT FREE.

In the first place, I believe that the question of suffrage is such a question as was intended by the framers of our Constitution might be made the subject of an amendment. They tinkered with it themselves, and then left the qualification of voters to the States and granted to the Federal Government the right to supervise the time, place, and manner of choosing Senators and Representatives. It certainly can not be said that such an amendment as this is not germane to jurisdiction already given, and I believe the present conditions of suffrage in this country warrant the submission of the question. In other words, I believe that, inasmuch as the women of the great West and the women of many of our Northern States, including the great State of New York, already enjoy the privilege of voting, it is only fair that by constitutional amendment all women in this country should have the right to vote, if they have the other necessary legal requirements.

It is wholly unjust to the women of Tennessee, for instance, who may want to vote for President or other Federal officers to be denied the privilege of voting while the women of New York are accorded that privilege. I, of course, have no criticism for the views of any man on this subject. At the same time, I can not conceive how any legislator can believe that the present mixed conditions in this country on the subject of women voting are fair. I do not see how the Representative of any State which denies the privilege of voting to its women can be willing, by his vote, to permit that condition to continue while the women of other States are allowed to vote.

If there was no other reason than this inequality of the present system, it seems to me it would be a full answer to any objection that could be raised to this resolution.

THE NATURAL RIGHT.

I am not going to stress a proposition that I believe in, namely, that women have a natural right to take part in the public affairs of their own country. When a boy I remember reading one of George Eliot's novels, Adam Bede, in which one of the men characters was made to say: "Women are curious creatures"; and Mrs. Poyser, another character, answered, "Yes; God made them so to match the men." These quotations are from memory only. I never took much stock in this doctrine of mental and spiritual and moral and natural and even supernatural superiority of the men. I think well of men, of course, but I have known some very able women in my day, too; and, taking them by and large, there are brainy men and brainy women, and there are dull-minded men and dull-minded women, and that is about all there is to the proposition. The women that I have been associated with the most of my life I have felt were as capable of voting as I have been, and many of them were probably giving it a great deal more attention than I did. Their mentality has not been exercised in this particular line because they have been heretofore denied any participation in public affairs, but give them a chance and they will vote as intelligently as we do.

TEACHERS OF MEN.

For the most part, women are the teachers of men. My recollection is that there are some seven or eight hundred women teachers in the Memphis public schools and perhaps a dozen men. The same is true of all our schools throughout the land. They teach our boys and our girls, and surely if the male students thus taught by women are capable of making good voters, the teachers of these students also are inherently capable of making discriminating voters. Why put the taught over the teachers? Why debase the teachers and exalt those who only learn from them?

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

The American people are a peculiar people. They threw off the British yoke in 1776, and one of their reasons for rebelling against George III was "for imposing taxes without our consent." They succeeded in winning their freedom in great part on this slogan, and yet ever since they have taxed the women half of their population without giving them any representation in the Government.

At the lowest calculation one-eighth of the women of this country above 21 years of age pay taxes. Surely, these taxpayers should have the right to take part in their Government's affairs. If we are not going to give them that right, we should not tax them. A mere statement of the case is sufficient to show the justice of the contention.

SOME OF THE MEN WHO VOTE IN THIS COUNTRY.

If they are men, we allow idiots and lunatics to vote. In many States criminals are allowed to vote. In many States men who can neither read nor write are permitted to vote, and men who can not speak the English language are allowed to vote. We allow the Malays to vote, Turks to vote, negroes to vote; but women alone are the objects of our undying enmity so far as the privilege of voting is concerned. There is no rhyme nor reason in denying them this privilege. There is naught but justice in giving them the legal right.

WOMEN IN THE WAR.

But if no other reason obtained for the passage of this resolution, the position of women in this war is sufficient to justify us in passing it. From the very beginning of the war no part of our population has been more patriotic than women. They have stood by the Government, with some inconsequential exceptions. They have upheld our country. They have undertaken every employment of which they were at all capable. They are engaged by the hundreds of thousands in war work of every description. They are taking an equal part with the men in Red Cross work, in war savings stamp work, in liberty loan work, in Y. M. C. A. work, and in every other good cause connected with this war. They are going into the fields, into the factories, into the commercial houses, and into every other avenue of business and trade where they can aid in the carrying on of this war. They are giving up their means and their time, and in many cases they are risking their lives as physicians, as nurses, and helpers in the conduct of this great strife. Women workers are taking the place of men workers everywhere. Surely, under these conditions there is no reason why the remaining women of the country whose States have seen fit to deny them the right of suffrage should not be given it by the Federal Government, whose interests they have so splendidly served in the years of this war.

I now come to a subject to which the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK] has referred, and I think what I am going to say on the subject forms, in a feeble way, an answer to the argument of that able Senator in this body.

THE REASONS URGED AGAINST SUFFRAGE.

THE NEGRO WOMEN.

The first reason that is always urged to a southerner against equal suffrage is that that would permit the negro women to vote. Well, this is true. The Government has already set the example by permitting the negro men to vote, and I have known negro men and negro women very well in my part of the country, and I think that the negro women are equally as capable of voting as negro men. Of course, we all know that the very large majority of both classes are incapable of voting intelligently, and that comparatively few negro men now vote at all.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator will wait until I get to the end of this paragraph, I shall be delighted to yield to him. I will ask the Senator to excuse me for just a moment.

But however that may be that is a question that need not concern us here, or if it should concern us, it is a question that makes it all the more necessary why we should pass this resolution.

The negro population is in the majority in but two Southern States, South Carolina and Mississippi. In South Carolina the negroes constitute a little more than 55 per cent of the population. In Mississippi they constitute a little more than 56 per cent of the population. In all other States the whites are in the majority. The result is that if we adopt woman suffrage the white majority, because of education or other qualifications, will be increased in every single State except South Carolina and Mississippi. In these two States it may be said that the number of negro voters will be increased, and that is true; but in these the majority of the whites will be increased because of various qualifications. In Mississippi they have what is known as the grandfather clause which eliminates most of the negro men——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. McKELLAR. I do.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If the Senator will pardon me, Mississippi has no "grandfather clause," and never did have.

Mr. McKELLAR. If I have misquoted the Mississippi law, I beg the Senator's pardon for it. I believe it is another of the Southern States.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I beg to assure the Senator that he has.

Mr. McKELLAR. But I will say that even if they have not the "grandfather clause" in Mississippi they have educational qualifications, they have registration qualifications, they have tax qualifications, or property qualifications, all of which make it impossible for the negro men in the largest degree to vote in Mississippi. They have similar laws in South Carolina, which practically eliminate the ignorant negro vote. They eliminate the ignorant negro men vote, and they will eliminate the ignorant negro women vote. The passage of this amendment would not preclude the States in any way from putting any restriction upon the right of suffrage that they see fit—the only requirement of the Constitution being that all persons must be treated alike.

The result is that, according to the figures, the white majorities would be largely increased in all of the Southern States except two; and in those two States the situation will be vastly improved, because the educated white women of the States of Mississippi and South Carolina will cast their votes like the educated white men of those States cast them to-day, whereas the ignorant negro women will be just exactly like the ignorant negro men, they will not be able to vote in large numbers in either one of those States, and thereby the majority will be increased.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield. I wanted to have the Senator wait until I finished my paragraph, but I will yield now.

Mr. REED. The point of my inquiry is really past, as the Senator is passing to a different subject.

Mr. McKELLAR. Very well; I shall be glad to have the Senator propound his question right now.

Mr. REED. The Senator has stated that he knew negro men who were intelligent enough to vote and that he knew negro women who were intelligent enough to vote.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am sure the Senator misunderstood what I said. I have not said that; but I will say to the Senator now that I know some negro men and some negro women, too, who are intelligent enough to vote.

Mr. REED. What was the Senator's remark about the negro vote in his State?

Mr. McKELLAR. I said that I knew both negro men and negro women in the South, and that, so far as my observation and experience went, the negro women were just about as capable of voting as the negro men. That was the statement I made.

Mr. REED. Very well. That suits me well enough for the purposes of my inquiry. Is it the general opinion of the white Democrats of the Senator's State that either the negro man or the negro woman should vote?

Mr. McKELLAR. I can not say that that is true; but I will say to the Senator, however, that we have no trouble about the matter of negroes voting in Tennessee. I will say to the Senator that we have educational qualifications, we have property qualifications, we have registration qualifications, we have poll-tax qualifications, which cut out the ignorant men of all races; and if this amendment is agreed to they will cut out the ignorant women of all races.

Mr. REED. The Senator states that in Tennessee they have educational qualifications, property qualifications, and poll-tax qualifications. You have shotgun disqualifications, do you not?

Mr. McKELLAR. I know of no such disqualifications as that. The Senator is entirely in error about that. I am happy to say that I have lived in Tennessee for 25 years, and we have never had that kind of disqualifications since I have been there. I do not think they have shotgun disqualifications any more in Tennessee than they do in Missouri or Illinois or any other State.

Mr. REED. Of course, you do not put it in that harsh way; but the colored man and brother is just given generally to understand that a good place for him on election day is out fishing or any other place except the polls. That is about the truth of the situation, is it not?

Mr. McKELLAR. Quite the contrary. The Senator was never more mistaken in his life. For instance, of the comparatively small Republican vote that was cast against me when I was elected, 4,000 negro votes in the city of Memphis alone were cast against me.

Mr. REED. Oh, of course, some of them are allowed to vote as an evidence of good faith, and I am not complaining, but what is there in the argument that the negro woman knows as well how to vote as the negro man, coming from the lips of a Senator from a State where it is generally conceded that the negro population ought not to vote at all? What is there in that argument?

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator is entirely in error about that. I am not making that argument.

Mr. REED. I do not think I am.

Mr. McKELLAR. The educated negro men in Tennessee vote. All of those who can meet the qualifications fixed by our laws vote. The Senator is misinformed about voting conditions in Tennessee. The educated negro men now vote, and if this amendment passes the educated negro women will vote; but my point is that the white women alone in that State, if this amendment passes, will be greater in number several times over than all of the negro men and all the negro women who will be qualified to vote under our State laws. That is all there is in it.

The result will be that not only in Tennessee but in all the Southern States, even including the two I have mentioned—Mississippi and South Carolina—the white majorities will be increased. Returning to my discussion of the figures, in Tennessee, according to the census of 1910, there were 433,431 white males above 21 years of age and 419,646 white females over 21 years of age. There were 119,142 negro males over 21 years of age and 122,707 negro females over 21 years of age. In other words, if this amendment passes there would be 853,077 white persons eligible to vote and 241,849 negro voters eligible to vote—a majortiy of 611,228 in favor of the white voters. Under our tax, our registration, and other restrictions the white vote would be enormously increased, while the negro vote would be only slightly increased.

With these figures staring us in the face, could anyone say that the passage of this amendment would interfere with white supremacy in Tennessee or in any other State? The truth is that it would add very largely to the white voting majorities in all of the States, even not excluding the two mentioned—Mississippi and South Carolina. Any person who really wants white supremacy in the South can not better guarantee it than by the enactment of this equal-suffrage resolution.

That brings me to leave my notes for a moment to discuss the proposition that was laid down by the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK]. He warns his southern colleagues against the day when the negro soldiers shall return to the South from this war. If he means what he says—and I know he does—it seems to me his logic would lead him to the conclusion that the best way the people of the South can guard against such trouble as that is to grant suffrage to our women, and thereby increase the white majorities in every State in the South. On the face of it, certainly every State except two will have an increased white majority under restrictions that now exist; and when you consider the laws that have been enacted on this subject in the State of Mississippi and in the State of South Carolina you are inevitably driven to the conclusion that the passage of this joint resolution will add an overwhelming majority to the white race in the 11 Southern States.

So much for that. Ah, but the Senator says it is because of his great love for the Constitution that he takes the position he does in opposition to this amendment. Well, I may be mistaken about the Constitution, but, if I remember correctly, the original document gave to the Federal Government some control over elections. The Senator speaks as if the first control over elections ever given by the Constitution was contained in the fifteenth amendment. The Senator is mistaken. The original Constitution, as ratified by the States, has this to say about elections:

SEC. 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives—

It is true that the President was left out, but the same rules apply to him—

shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

And we have changed that by amendment.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. HARDWICK. Let me refer the Senator to the second section of Article I of the Constitution, which is the section which relates to the qualifications of electors, and also to the

seventeenth amendment. That has nothing whatever to do with the qualifications of electors, but——

Mr. McKELLAR. I am sure the Senator thought it had nothing to do with it; but the Constitution says on its face, in so many words, that it has to do with the election of Senators and Representatives.

Mr. HARDWICK. Will the Senator read the second section of Article I?

Mr. McKELLAR. I am familiar with that section; but the section I quoted is in the Federal Constitution, and, at least in a sense, it modifies the other section.

Mr. HARDWICK. Oh, not at all. The courts have never held that, and nobody has ever contended that to be so.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Delaware?

Mr. McKELLAR. I do.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Do I understand the Senator to contend that Congress can under the Constitution now grant the suffrage to women?

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Then what is the point of the Senator's argument now?

Mr. McKELLAR. What it does is that, if Congress sees fit, it can add to those who are entitled to the suffrage; but if it is desired by Congress to change the rules and regulations as provided here, it has the right to do it. My point is that the framers of our Constitution intended that the Congress should have some jurisdiction over elections, and the people of this country have already agreed to one amendment on exactly the same line as the one proposed, and it is nothing out of the ordinary that they should want to amend on the subject of suffrage, because the original convention made an attempt to control voting.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee further yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. HARDWICK. I just wanted to interrupt the Senator to say that the Constitution of the United States in two places—section 2 of Article I and the seventeenth amendment, relating to the election of United States Senators—says expressly that the qualifications of electors for Senators and Representatives in Congress shall be the same as those for the most numerous branch of the State legislature in each State. Furthermore, nobody on this earth has ever contended before to-day, if the Senator intends to contend it, that the section he has just read about the time, place, and manner of holding elections has any relation whatever to the qualifications of electors.

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no; the Senator misunderstands me. I have not discussed qualifications of voters at all. I am perfectly familiar with the requirement of the Constitution that they shall have the same qualifications as those who vote for members of State legislatures, and I want to call the Senator's attention to the fact that this amendment does not affect in the slightest that provision of the Constitution. The only thing it does is to add to the classes of voters that are now allowed to vote.

Mr. HARDWICK. If the Senator will let me finish my question, there is only one precedent on earth for this proposition, and that is the fifteenth amendment; and if the Senator enjoys that as a precedent, he is perfectly welcome to stand on that ground.

Mr. McKELLAR. I never would have voted for the fifteenth amendment.

Mr. HARDWICK. No; I know the Senator would not.

Mr. McKELLAR. But I will say to the Senator, if he will permit me, that while I would not have voted for the fifteenth amendment, the Congress of the United States and the people of the United States have already adopted that amendment, and it has been in our Constitution now for more than 40 years; and I say that if we could do that, if we could give the ignorant negro men of this country the right to vote, surely we ought to give to the splendid, well-educated white women of the land the right to vote. We ought not to treat negro men better than we do our white women.

Mr. HARDWICK. The fifteenth amendment did not give the negro men the right to vote, of course. The Senator is not accurate about that.

Mr. McKELLAR. Well, we are under that common misbelief down in our country. If it did not give them the right to vote, somebody has been very wrong in the last few years down in the Senator's State. I have been of that opinion and I think nearly everyone else has the opinion that the negroes obtained the right to vote by virtue of the fifteenth amendment.

Mr. HARDWICK. You have been wrong all your lives. The fifteenth amendment merely prohibits discrimination against any citizen of the United States on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is all we are doing in this amendment. We are inhibiting discrimination against women because they are women.

Mr. HARDWICK. Now, if the Senator will kindly let me have about two minutes of his time I will finish what I have to say.

Mr. McKELLAR. All right.

Mr. HARDWICK. It ought to be impossible to muddy the waters on a question of this kind.

Mr. McKELLAR. I do not think it will be possible.

Mr. HARDWICK. I do not see how the Senator could hope to do that.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am not trying.

Mr. HARDWICK. I am glad to hear that the Senator is not trying. I do not think he could succeed.

Mr. President, the fact is that the only precedent on earth for action of this sort, which I concede is perfectly within the power of Congress, is the fifteenth amendment. That is the only precedent for it. The Senator will find, I think, if he gives the question that careful consideration which he gives to most questions to which he addresses himself, that when the Constitutional Convention framed the Constitution of the United States, a tremendous effort was made to induce the makers of the Constitution to fix a general standard for electors, and to lodge that power in the Federal Government; but that proposition was beaten decisively on the floor of the Constitutional Convention, on the assumption that it was best to let each locality lay down those qualifications; and that is what we have always done in this country, with the single, solitary exception of the fifteenth amendment.

Mr. McKELLAR. May I ask the Senator from Georgia whether or not he voted for the recent act giving the National Government the right to supervise not only national regular elections but also primary elections for national officers?

Mr. HARDWICK. No; "the Senator from Georgia" did not vote for it.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator did not vote for it, but this Congress has just passed such laws; and it did so under the authority of the original Constitution, and not any amendment to it.

Mr. HARDWICK. If the Senator wants to bring that in, it was confined entirely to Members of Congress, which is a different proposition.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is a distinction without a difference when it comes to fixing the qualifications of voters in this country, whether they are permitted to vote just for Members of Congress or the Senate, or to vote for the President of the United States.

Mr. HARDWICK. I know; I do not mean that; but what about local elections, where county sheriffs, and so on, are to be elected?

Mr. McKELLAR. I think the same qualifications ought to be prescribed for all voters, white, black, male, and female, and in all classes of elections.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield. I did not intend to take all of this time. I am very sorry to have detained the Senate this long. I would not have done so but for these interruptions, to which, of course, I am glad to accede.

Mr. REED. I shall be very brief; but the question now being discussed is one that I think we might settle if we get back to it. Do I understand the Senator to contend that aside from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution the Federal Government has defined citizenship or the qualifications of electors in any respect?

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no; but I do contend that this language was in the Constitution, found in section 4 of Article I, which is very plain, as it seems to me:

> The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

Mr. REED. "The times, places, and manner of holding elections"——

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes; which might have a very serious effect on the question of the manner of voting.

Mr. REED. But not the qualifications of voters. Now, will the Senator pardon me while I read a clause from the somewhat celebrated case of United States against Susan B. Anthony,

a case that is somewhat in point to-day, since Susan still speaks to us in spirit and from the galleries?

Mr. McKELLAR. I will.

Mr. REED (reading)—

> The fourteenth amendment creates and defines citizenship of the United States. It had long been contended, and had been held by many learned authorities, and had never been judicially decided to the contrary, that there was no such thing as a citizen of the United States, except as that condition arose from citizenship of some State. No mode existed, it was said, of obtaining a citizenship of the United States, except by first becoming a citizen of some State. This question is now at rest. The fourteenth amendment defines and declares who shall be citizens of the United States, to wit, "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof." The latter qualification was intended to exclude the children of foreign representatives and the like. With this qualification every person born in the United States or naturalized is declared to be a citizen of the United States and of the State wherein he resides.
>
> After thus creating and defining citizenship of the United States, the fourteenth amendment provides that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." This clause is intended to be a protection, not to all our rights but to our rights as citizens of the United States only; that is, to rights existing or belonging to that condition or capacity.
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> The right of voting, or the privilege of voting, is a right or privilege arising under the constitution of the State and not under the Constitution of the United States.

It seems to me that that answers the Senator's contention that Congress had a jurisdiction from the first with reference to the qualifications of voters. That is a right which grew out of the several amendments adopted as a result of the Civil War; but even those amendments did not undertake to go further than to provide that there should be no discrimination on account of race. So I think that authority ought to settle that question.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, that shows that in off-hand manner of speaking one is sometimes misunderstood or sometimes unfortunately uses language that does not express his intent very clearly. I said nothing in the world about the qualification of voters, but the Senator from Georgia had argued the question as if the question of voting was some inherent right intended by the framers of our Federal Constitution to be left entirely and wholly in the States, and my assertion was that in this he was mistaken, for the original Constitution had a provision giving the Federal Government a supervisory jurisdiction over the time, places, and manner of holding elections for Representatives and Senators.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President——

Mr. McKELLAR. Just a moment, if the Senator will let me state the case, so that there can not be any room for misrepresentation. My reply to that was that he was incorrect about it, because the original Constitution did give to Congress certain rights over elections. It did not leave that all to the States. It certainly gave Congress the right of supervision over the times, the places, and the manner of choosing——

Mr. HARDWICK. Members of Congress.

Mr. McKELLAR. Members of Congress and Senators.

Mr. HARDWICK. We are Members of Congress.

Mr. McKELLAR. Of course we are; but the Constitution says Representatives and Senators. I stated at the very outset that it did not include the President of the United States.

Mr. HARDWICK. The Senator raises the question as to the accuracy of my position. If the Senator will go back to the convention that framed the Constitution, he will find that the words were expressly voted down, presented by those who contended for the power of Congress to prescribe the qualifications of electors.

Mr. McKELLAR. I never made that statement.

Mr. HARDWICK. I thought you said the Senator from Georgia was in error when he contended that that was to be left to the States.

Mr. McKELLAR. I said the Senator from Georgia was in error when he said that power over elections was in the beginning in the States and had remained there up until the fifteenth amendment; and those amendments were adopted, that it had remained there, and that only the States had anything to do with the elections.

Mr. HARDWICK. The Senator wishes to stand on that statement, then, and challenge the accuracy of the position of the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. McKELLAR. I do.

Mr. HARDWICK. All right; we will leave it there.

DOES SUFFRAGE MAKE WOMEN UNWOMANLY?

Mr. McKELLAR. Now, Mr. President, I next come to another feature that I want to discuss very briefly. The next stock argument of those that are opposed to woman suffrage is that suffrage would make women unwomanly. I have often wondered if anyone seriously believed such a proposition as the casting of a ballot made a woman unwomanly. Why should it make a woman unwomanly to cast a ballot for candidates of her choice? Yet you constantly hear the statement that if they are given the ballot it will destroy the home, it will make bad mothers, it will do away with family ties. If I for a moment dreamed that suffrage would bring about any one of these direful consequences, of course I would not vote for it, but my judgment is that these contentions are pure figments of the imagination. I doubt if there is a single Senator in this body, if the fact were inquired into, but what it would be found that his mother was either a well-educated woman or a brainy woman, otherwise the chances are he would not be here. I believe it to be a natural law that in the matter of brains a man gets them more from his mother than from his father. If this be true, then why not give the mothers of men in our country every opportunity to fit not only themselves but their sons for all the duties of citizenship.

Ordinarily in our home life in the United States the mother is the principal teacher. It is absolutely necessary that she should be well informed and well educated. If she takes an interest in politics and is allowed to take part in public affairs, it will but increase her knowledge and education. It will but better fit her to rear and educate her boys, as well as her girls—knowing that the future of the State depends upon her efforts in a larger degree than ever before.

For my part I would a thousand times rather see a woman take an interest in politics and vote, and even stand around the polling places and electioneer for the candidate of her choice, rather than to see her at a fashionable club drinking highballs and gossiping about her neighbors, or in other circles of life at a corner grocery drinking beer. I think it is a thousand times more unwomanly to do any of these things than it is to perform the very high order of public service in casting a ballot in an election.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I will state that we have had experience in Colorado for 25 years, and when the suffrage amendment was up here in 1914 I wrote some letters to each of the district judges of the State of Colorado relative to the influence if any politics had in making disputes or quarrels over candidates or issues in the family. I should like to call attention right here, because it is very apt to some of the letters. I have 19 letters here. This letter was addressed from Washington, D. C., by me February 17, 1914:

> WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 17, 1914.*
>
> Judge GEORGE W. ALLEN,
> *Courthouse, Denver, Colo.*
>
> DEAR JUDGE: There is pending in the Senate a joint resolution for a constitutional amendment granting equal suffrage to women. There has been some contention among those who are opposed to woman suffrage that the passage of such a constitutional amendment would have a tendency to produce quarrels among husbands and wives.
>
> I would thank you very much if you would let me know whether in any divorce case which you have tried it was claimed upon either side that the cause of any dissension or disagreement among the parties to the suit originated from or was caused by differences as to politics or candidates. If there have been any such, I would thank you very much if you would indicate the proportion where such disagreements and difficulties arose as contrasted with the number of divorce cases which you have tried
>
> By giving me this information you will greatly oblige,
> Yours, truly,
>
> JOHN F. SHAFROTH.

Here is the answer of Judge Allen:

> CHAMBERS DISTRICT COURT,
> *Denver, Colo., February 24, 1914.*
>
> Hon. JOHN F. SHAFROTH,
> *Washington, D. C.*
>
> DEAR SENATOR: I take pleasure in answering your inquiry of the 17th instant.
>
> During my experience on the bench, which has covered a period of approximately 20 years, I have never known of a divorce case among the many as such wherein it was claimed or suggested that political differences in any manner had been the cause of troubles between husband and wife. I know of no divorce case brought in the court wherein it was claimed or alleged upon either side that political differences had caused any dissensions to disturb the marital relations between husband and wife.
>
> Universal suffrage has existed by law in our State since 1893.
>
> Sincerely, yours,
>
> GEO. W. ALLEN.
> *Judge, District Court.*

Mr. McKELLAR. I thank the Senator for his contribution to my argument.

Mr. REED. May I ask the Senator from Colorado a question?

Mr. McKELLAR. Just pardon me half a moment. I am nearly through, and I have been detained a great deal longer than I expected. I must be wearying the Senate.

Mr. REED. I should like to ask the Senator a simple question, whether a difference of politics in the family is one of the statutory causes for divorce in Colorado.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Oh, no; it is not, but it is the contention and has been the contention that it would produce that very condition. When we contrast what has been the case in Colorado with the cases in other States we find as a matter of fact that

the number of dissensions or cruelties occurring as a cause for divorce has not been greater in Colorado than in the other States.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I thank the Senator for his elucidation of this matter.

Of course, this fallacious argument is conclusively refuted by the women of those States where they have suffrage and have long had it. The women I know from the suffrage States, as well as those I know who believe in the principle from the nonsuffrage States, are just as womanly, just as devoted to the home and family, and make just as good wives and mothers as those who do not have or believe in suffrage. And as far as pure politics is concerned, the suffragists are not any worse, so far as I can see, than the antisuffragists. They are all getting to be good politicians.

STATE RIGHTS.

It is claimed that to submit this amendment to the States is a violation of the doctrine of State rights. I believe in the rights of the State. I have been brought up, politically speaking, on that doctrine all my life. I think it is a good doctrine. I think we ought to uphold it; but that does not mean that we should never enact another amendment to our Constitution.

The Constitution gives the United States jurisdiction over certain questions of suffrage. Already it has exercised that jurisdiction under an amendment by permitting negroes to vote. Surely there is no invasion of the State rights doctrine, per se, by passing a resolution which simply adds to the jurisdiction originally intrusted to the Federal Government under the Constitution. If the doctrine of State rights were carried to this far-fetched conclusion, we could never have an amendment to our Federal Constitution, and the best answer to the proposition is the present unequal, disordered, and diverse conditions of woman suffrage in the various States of the Union. In some of the States they have equal suffrage; in other States they have partial woman suffrage; in other States they have limited woman suffrage; in other States they have woman suffrage only in party primaries. This kind of a condition is intolerable and calls for the exercise of the power of our Federal Constitution, and it is no invasion whatsoever of the doctrine of State rights to amend the Constitution to get rid of these conditions. The States will have the right to fix all the qualifications of suffrage. They can put a property qualification, an educational qualification, a registration qualification, a tax qualification, or any other qualification that will equally apply to all classes of voters. With such vast rights in the State to regulate the vote, it can not be said that an enlargement of the class of voters merely is an invasion of the jurisdiction of the States over this question.

But, above all this, if the amendment invades the principle of State rights and the people of the several States are opposed to this invasion, they are at perfect liberty to vote it down. Thirty-six of them have to vote for it before it becomes the law. This resolution only submits the question to the States. Surely it is not a violation of State rights just to submit to it a law for its approval or its disapproval.

For my part, Mr. President, I do not believe it is the invasion of State rights in any sense. We do not take away any of the rights of the States to fix the qualifications of the voters. We do not interfere with it in the least. It is absurd to say that we do interfere with the qualifications of the voters when we merely enlarge the classes of voters.

ARE WOMEN AT PRESENT REPRESENTED?

The next stock argument is that women are already represented in our Government; that they are represented by the votes of their husbands and fathers and brothers and sons. Such a contention is manifestly unsound. It would be just as reasonable, under this form of argument, to exclude all red-headed men from voting on the grounds that every red-headed man has some relative who is not red-headed who could do his voting for him. It would be just as reasonable to say that the junior Senator from each State should not be allowed to cast a vote in this body because the senior Senator represents him and can vote for him.

How would any junior Senator in this body like that kind of a doctrine to be applied to him, namely, that there is no use for any junior Senator to vote, that the senior Senator represents all the State and therefore represents the junior Senator and can vote for him. Why not restrict it only to the senior Senator? There are a number of junior Senators who would object very seriously to that, and I do not blame these ladies for objecting when a rule of that kind is applied to them.

But admitting that there is a real argument in the matter, what are you going to do about the hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions of women who have no husbands, who have no brothers and who have no fathers, and who have no sons to do their voting for them?

Are you going to exclude them because of their misfortune? These surely should have the right to vote directly, and if they did have the right to vote directly there are many evil conditions in every State in the Union that would be remedied. [A pause.] The Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS], always timely, says in an aside to me, a mistake has been made. He tells me that some one laughed when I spoke of women who had no fathers. Ah, Senators, I was never speaking more accurately, for after this war is over there will be thousands, and it may be millions, of young women in this country who will be without fathers to represent them anywhere. I thank the Senator from Illinois for his kindly mention of the matter, so that I might make my meaning clear to all.

In many of the States they have an eight-hour law for men and no eight-hour law for women. Until a year or two ago, when an eight-hour law was passed for women in the District, there was an eight-hour law for men, and yet you could work women as many hours as they could stand up under, and the men merchants of Washington sent petitions yards long into Congress, urging Congress not to make an eight-hour law for women. There is but one way that women can have representation in this Government, and that is by giving them the right to vote for the officers of the Government.

WOMEN AND WAR.

It used to be contended that they should not have the right to vote because they could not fight for their country. Such a contention could hardly be made in the light of modern warfare and the position of women in respect to it. It is true that there are few women in the ranks of any of the armies. In some few of them I believe they take part. Those who actually fight in any army are inconsequential. In our own Army none of them are made soldiers; but while this is so, look at the wonderful work they are doing in the Ambulance Corps, in the Motor Truck Corps, in the Nurse Corps of the United States Army at home and abroad. They are saving thousands of lives of our boys in France. Look at the army of women war workers here in Washington.

It may be that some Senators will refuse to vote for this just measure, but, Senators, you can rest assured that our boys in France, when they come back, realizing as I know they realize the splendid services of these women who have been sent to our battle fields to minister to them there, to nurse them, to bind up their wounds, to assuage their suffering there—those women who have been angels of mercy to so many of them—you may rest assured that when these boys come back, if we have not already given women the right to vote, that these boys will see to it that the women of America will have the right to take part in this Government.

The women have justly earned the passage of this resolution. They have been weighed in the balance of their country's distress and they have not been found wanting. More and more they are being used to take the place of the men, and if they can not fight at the front, still back at home they are aiding in the great work of producing subsistence and clothing for those who are actually doing the fighting, and at the front they are doing their full part toward rehabilitating and reclaiming and relieving the sick and the wounded.

CONCLUSION.

The President of the United States has declared this to be a war measure. He has earnestly invoked the aid of Democrats and Republicans in passing it. On numerous other questions many Senators who are now opposing this measure have urged all Senators to stand by the President. That argument was good then and it is good now, and I want to urge all Senators to stand by that reasoning. The President has proved himself a great leader. He has definitely committed himself to this cause. He has urged many who have heretofore opposed it to vote for it.

You who have unflinchingly stood by him in the past, I want to urge you not to hesitate now, but to stand by him and his administration on this question in the same loyal way that you have heretofore stood by him.

Some of you believe in suffrage, but you say that the States ought to enact it. Surely, during a crisis like this it seems to me that a mere difference of views as to method should not preclude one from taking that method that will accomplish the result in the quickest way and most effective way.

Mr. President, the women of the United States are capable of voting. They are desirous of voting. They are worthy of voting, and I sincerely trust that the Senate of the United States

will give these women, after the manner declared in our Constitution, the right to have their claims for suffrage submitted to the States.

Just recently England has enfranchised more than 6,000,000 of her women citizens. Canada has also enacted an equal-suffrage law. Twelve States of our Union have enfranchised their women. Five more States allow them to vote for President, and in two more women have the right to vote in primaries. In many others they have lesser voting privileges. We are engaged, with our allies, in the splendid task of making the world safe for democracy. Let us also join England and Canada in making our English-speaking countries safe for our women.

Mr. President, women are the equal means, with men, in the continuation of the race; they are the equal partners in the family relation; they are the equal participants in the benefits of good government and they are equal sharers in the unhappiness of bad government. They breathe, they see, they think, they feel equally as the men do all these things. They share with the men equally all their joys and all their sorrows. The men share with them their homes, their children, their religion, their God, their fear of the devil, and their hope of eternal reward; and yet when it comes to sharing votes with their equal partners in all other things on earth below and in heaven above, some men balk and will not do it. And yet some of us say men are consistent and women are inconsistent.

Mr. President, I sincerely hope the Senate will pass this resolution.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, one of the Senators opposing woman suffrage called attention to the Democratic platform of 1916 and insisted that that was a pledge on the part of the Democratic Party against congressional action in favor of the Anthony amendment. The language of that platform is—

> We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as to men.

The recommendation to the States to act and the belief upon the part of the leaders of the Democratic Party that the States ought to act and ought to grant these rights is no denial of action by Congress. It lays a just premise if the States shall not have acted that Congress should act, but, after all, the action of Congress would be merely referring the question to the States, except that if the Federal Constitution shall be amended by the vote of three-fourths of the States one-fourth of the States which may not agree will be required to agree by the overwhelming majority of the States that do approve this system.

Mr. President, I think the argument has been exhausted in favor of woman suffrage. It has been discussed in this country for years and years, and everybody knows both sides of the question perfectly. The country has come to a point where innumerable evidences of public approval have been given to the proposal that women shall be treated as human beings and given the right to participate in the election of those who write the law and execute the law.

Among others, the Democratic national convention in 1916, the Republican national convention of 1916, the Democratic national committee of February 12, 1918, the Republican national committee of February, 1918, the Democratic congressional committee of June 24, 1918, indorsed woman suffrage. Indorsements of the Federal amendment have been made in Arizona by the legislature. Women were enfranchised there in 1912.

In Arkansas, by constitutional convention, the Democratic State central committee and the Democratic convention; women were given primary suffrage in 1917, and 40,000 women voted in 1918.

In California it was indorsed by the legislature and the women were enfranchised in 1911.

In Colorado the Anthony amendment was indorsed by the legislature, by the Democratic convention, the Republican convention, and women were enfranchised in 1893. The legislature recommended woman suffrage to other States in 1899 and again in 1915.

In Connecticut the Democratic convention and the Democratic State central committee indorsed woman suffrage. The Republicans indorsed suffrage only in Connecticut.

In Florida it was indorsed by the Democratic executive committee of Dade County.

In Idaho, by the legislature of the State and the Republican convention, and women were enfranchised in 1896.

In Indiana, by the Democratic convention, the Republican convention, the Democratic State central committee, and the Republican State central committee.

In Iowa, by the Republican convention and the Democratic convention.

In Kansas, by the legislature, the Republican convention, and the Democratic convention, and the women were enfranchised in 1912.

In Michigan, by the Democratic State central committee, many Democratic and Republican county conventions, and women were given a vote for President in 1917.

In Minnesota, by the Democratic State central committee, the Hennepin County Republican committee, and the Hennepin County Democratic committee.

In Missouri, by the Democratic convention and Republican convention.

In Montana, by the legislature. Women were enfranchised there in 1914.

In Nebraska, by the Democratic convention and Republican convention, and women were granted the vote for President in 1917.

In Nevada women were enfranchised in 1914.

In New York, by the legislature, Republican convention, Democratic convention, and most of the county conventions. Women were enfranchised by over 100,000 majority of the male vote of New York State in 1917.

In North Carolina, indorsed by Republican convention.

In North Dakota, by the legislature, and women were given the vote for President in 1917.

In Ohio, indorsed by the Republican convention.

In Oklahoma, indorsed by the Republican convention; by the Democratic State committee; by the Democratic convention suffrage only was indorsed.

In Oregon, by the legislature. Women were enfranchised in Oregon in 1912.

In Rhode Island, indorsed by the legislature; Democratic convention, September 24, 1918; Republican convention, September 25, 1918; women given the vote for President in 1917.

In South Dakota, by the Democratic convention and Republican convention.

In Texas, by the legislature and the Democratic convention. Women were granted primary suffrage in 1918, and 386,000 women voted in Texas in July, 1918.

Utah, by its legislature, enfranchised women in 1896.

Washington, by its legislature, enfranchised women in 1910.

Wyoming, by its legislature, has commended woman suffrage to other States several times, and was the first State in the world to enfranchise women in 1869.

The King of England signed the bill granting suffrage to wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters of Canadian soldiers as a temporary measure in November, 1917. The King of England signed a bill granting equal suffrage with men to British women, 30 years of age, in February, 1918, and a bill granting equal suffrage to all Canadian women on the same terms as to men in May, 1918.

I ask permission to put into the RECORD quotations from President Wilson, from the Democratic National Committee, and from various other authorities on this question, without reading.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

DEMOCRATIC PARTY SPEAKS.

1. President Woodrow Wilson:

"The services of women during this supreme crisis of the world's history have been of the most signal usefulness and distinction. The war could not have been fought without them or its sacrifices endured. It is high time that some part of our debt of gratitude to them should be acknowledged and paid, and the only acknowledgment they ask is their admission to the suffrage. Can we justly refuse it? As for America, it is my earnest hope that the Senate of the United States will give an unmistakable answer to this question by passing the suffrage amendment to our Federal Constitution before the end of this session." (Letter to French Union for Woman Suffrage.)

2. Democratic national committee:

"*Resolved*, That the executive committee of the Democratic national committee, after a referendum vote of the members of the national committee representing the 48 States, and in pursuance thereof does hereby indorse the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for woman suffrage and urges favorable action thereon by the United States Senate." (Feb. 12, 1918.)

3. Democratic congressional committee:

"*Resolved*, That the national Democratic congressional committee hereby place itself on record as being in favor of submitting the Federal woman suffrage amendment for ratification and hopes that the Senate will vote to submit it at the present session." (June 24, 1918.)

4. New York State Democratic platform (State of largest electoral vote):

"*Resolved*, That we welcome women voters to the electorate, and we confidently invite them to join the Democratic Party upon its record. We believe in equal suffrage, without any regard to sex, and we recognize that the present influence, when our Nation is engaged in a great war, for equal rights and individual freedom, is a time peculiarly appropriate for its adoption by the people of the United States.

"We therefore urge the immediate adoption by the United States Senate of the concurrent resolution amending the Constitution so as to confer the right of suffrage upon woman. We demand that the United States Senators from New York represent their constituents by voting for the proposed amendment.

5. Illinois Democratic platform (third largest electoral vote):

"*Resolved*, That the Democratic Party of Illinois demands the immediate enactment of the constitutional amendment now before the United States Senate, and it pledges itself to throw its organized strength behind the adoption of that amendment when it is submitted for ratification to the various States."

6. Wisconsin Democratic platform:

"*Resolved*, To give recognition to the wonderful sacrifice and service of the women of America, we approve President Wilson's recommendations for woman suffrage by Federal amendment through ratification by the States."

7. West Virginia Democratic platform:

"Whereas the result of the coming election must not be one that can be construed by the Nation's enemies as a repudiation of the President and his war policies. Such a result might cost the lives of thousands of American soldiers: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we indorse the policies of President Wilson on woman suffrage and upon all matters pertaining to labor, and our candidates pledge themselves to support these policies both during and after the war and to the ratification of the pending amendment on national prohibition. Pending the adoption of the suffrage amendment, we favor extending to the women of West Virginia the right to participate in primaries and conventions. With full recognition of the loyalty and patriotism of men of every political party, we appeal to the whole people of West Virginia to join us in the election of a Senate and Congress that the world will know we are in active sympathy with the President and the war."

8. Nebraska Democratic platform (not included in above lists):

"*Resolved*, That we place patriotism above politics.

"*Resolved*, That we favor equal suffrage for all citizens, regardless of sex.

"*Resolved*, That it is the supreme task of the civilized world to crush the insolent attempt of German autocracy to substitute a military dictatorship for self-government and the right of independent thought."

REPUBLICAN PARTY SPEAKS.

1. Theodore Roosevelt, ex-President:

"I very earnestly hope that Congress will pass the suffrage amendment at once. Justice demands this action, and no possible good can come from further delay."

2. Mr. Will H. Hays, chairman national committee:

"I believe that when the world is fighting for democracy—'the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government'—the time has come to take steps insuring political freedom to the women of the entire United States, and I therefore ask the Sixty-fifth Congress to submit the Federal suffrage amendment to be ratified by the legislatures of the several States."

3. SIMON D. FESS, chairman Republican congressional committee:

"I will not, simply because I have the power, withhold from woman a right she can claim with equal force, that I may monopolize it. I will not deny her a privilege which I demand for myself. I will not refuse her entrance to a field of duty in which her abilities peculiarly qualify her to exert an ever-widening influence against prevalent evils and on behalf of the good of humanity. I shall, so far as in me lies, remove every barrier against her right and privilege, and shall open wide the door of opportunity to her performance of public duty by placing in her hands America's most effective weapon, the ballot, democracy's instrument of command."

4. New York State Republican platform:

"*Resolved*, That the Federal suffrage amendment has passed the House of Representatives by a tremendous Republican vote. Practically every Republican county committee in the State has urged its approval. The decisive plurality for suffrage in this great Republican State has so clearly shown the sentiment of the people, that we emphatically call upon the United States Senators from New York to vote for the submission of this amendment to the States." (July 18, 1918.)

5. Ohio Republican platform:

"We favor woman suffrage and the immediate submission by Congress for the action of the several States of the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution granting them such right." (Aug. 28, 1918.)

6. Indiana Republican platform:

"The Republican Party of Indiana reaffirms its declaration for equal suffrage. It urges the immediate passage of the Federal amendment by the United States Senate and its ratification by the State, and commends our Senators and Representatives in Congress for their support of this measure." (May 29, 1918.)

7. Iowa Republican platform:

"The Republican Party of Iowa reaffirms its declaration for equal suffrage. It urges the immediate passage of the Federal amendment by the United States Senate and its ratification by the State, and commends our Senators and Representatives in Congress for their support of the amendment." (July 10, 1918.)

8. Colorado Republican platform:

"We stanchly support the cause of national woman suffrage now."

9. Wisconsin Republican platform:

"The splendid spirit of the helpfulness and efficient service of the women of the Nation in every activity have been thrown into bolder relief by the war emergencies. They have demonstrated anew their entire fitness for and right to equal opportunity in the conduct of the Government, and we therefore favor the extension of the elective franchise to women."

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, the argument practically has been presented so fully that it is unnecessary for any man to say anything further about it. Everybody very well knows what the reasons are which justify the passage of this joint resolution. Those reasons are increasing day by day as the war goes on.

Women own half the property in the United States now, and if the war goes on much longer they will own it all by the natural laws of inheritance; but the right of women to vote is not based upon property, it is based upon what is infinitely superior to property. Women bring men into the world, and when they do so they suffer an anguish which is not surpassed by any soldier on the field of battle. No thinking man and no feeling man ought to ever forget the sacrifices that women make for men. The happiness of men is promoted and cared for by women. Women give men their language; they teach it to them as children. They teach them their manners and their morals and their religion. They are fully equal to men in every sense, and are deserving of every tribute of respect which men can pay to women. Moreover, no nation ever rises higher than the level of its women. That of itself justifies men in giving women their right to participate in the conduct of government.

Mr. WILFLEY. Mr. President, I do not desire to attempt to make an argument on this question. I quite agree with the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN] that it has been thoroughly discussed, but since I am paired on the question I desire to submit a few observations in reference to the subject.

The question of woman's suffrage is now being given world-wide consideration, and I believe the time has come when the franchise should be given to the women of the United States. As an abstract proposition, woman is as much entitled to vote as man, and this right and privilege should not be longer denied her, unless there is clear and unmistakable reason for it. To say that woman will exercise this right and privilege in a manner detrimental to public good is a reflection upon her intelligence and interest in the welfare of society. I can not believe that woman will exercise the franchise for harmful or evil purposes, for it would be radically inconsistent with the influence she now exerts on all public questions. I believe that she is as much interested in the good of humanity as man. To say that a certain class of women will exercise the franchise for evil purposes, and that those who would exercise it for good purposes will remain indifferent does not appeal to me as consistent with experience. Woman's influence and activity in all public matters, in which she is allowed to participate, do not justify the assumption that there is danger in conferring upon her this important right and privilege. She has demonstrated that she can meet responsibility and perform important duties requiring wisdom, discretion, and courage with as much intelligence and foresight as man. I have no doubt that there are many good women who are indifferent to this question, but I believe that when suffrage is conferred upon them they will respond to its duties and obligations with genuine interest and sincerity. It seems to me that this is a fitting time to give recognition to the wonderful sacrifice and service of the women of America by submitting to the people of the States an opportunity to extend to her the right to vote. If the requisite number of States ratify this amendment, I believe the women of the United States will exercise the franchise with intelligence and interest that will result in benefit and improvement to the public welfare.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBINSON in the chair). The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS].

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, it is not my purpose to discuss the merits or demerits of the pending resolution. I only desire to very briefly state the reasons for the vote I intend to cast.

There are two ways to get woman suffrage, one by an amendment to the Federal Constitution, the other by an amendment to the constitutions of the several States. If the people of each State did not have the power to get woman suffrage within their own States, there might be more reason for urging an amendment to the Federal Constitution. I submit, however, that as fast as the voters of any State become ready and willing to accept woman suffrage, it will be conferred; and as quickly as the women of any State signify a desire for it, my belief is it will be given to them by the men of the State. In my judgment this is a matter which should be decided by the States severally, and not by the Nation as a whole. The country is so large and the views of the people so varied that, in my judgment, the right course is to let each State settle this question for itself.

I say this as one who believes in the principle of woman suffrage, and who upon three several occasions within six years voted for it in my own State. When the question comes up in my own State again in the form of an amendment to our Ohio constitution I shall vote for it. Entertaining the views I do, I am not willing that any other State in the Union shall compel Ohio to have woman suffrage if the State does not want it; and I am not willing that any other State shall deny us this privilege if Ohio wants it.

In 1912 a woman-suffrage amendment to the Ohio constitution was offered, and with a total vote thereon of 586,295 out of a total voting population of probably 1,250,000, the vote was yeas 249,420, nays 336,875, a majority against the amendment of 87,455.

In 1914 a similar amendment was presented to our people, and a total vote cast thereon of 853,685, of which 335,390 voted yea and 518,295 voted nay, making a majority against the amendment of 182,905.

On February 21, 1917, the general assembly of the State of Ohio passed a law conferring upon women the right to vote for presidential electors. Under our constitution this act, upon

petition, was submitted to a referendum vote. The total vote thereon was 990,644, of which 422,262 voted for it and 568,382 voted against it, defeating the statute by 146,120 votes. This is the last pronouncement in Ohio on the subject.

Waiving for the sake of the argument my own personal convictions as to how woman suffrage should be secured, ought I, as a Senator representing a sovereign State, to ignore the sentiment of the people of the State as evidenced by these three several votes within a period of six years? Can mind conceive of any other subject upon which I would be justified in ignoring the voice of the voters at the polls? Would not the very men and women who are now insisting that I defy the voters of my State condemn me if I ignored that vote on any other issue?

My political philosophy teaches me that it is my duty on behalf of the majority voters in Ohio to say to the people of those States who have settled this question for themselves, and who want to impose their views upon our State, "Let us decide this question for ourselves as you decided it for yourselves," and, on the other hand, I owe it to the minority voters in Ohio who want woman suffrage to say to those States who do not want it, "You ought to have no hand in refusing us this right if we do want it. We will settle this question for ourselves, as you wish to settle it in your own State."

After the electors of Ohio have on three successive times in six years defeated woman suffrage, ought I to vote for a joint resolution which will enable the other States to impose woman suffrage upon Ohio whether her people want it or not?

To support the pending resolution means that the legislature of the State of Nevada, with a population according to the last Federal census of 81,875, shall have the same voice in determining this question as the legislature of the State of Ohio, with a population according to the same census—that of 1910—of 4,767,121; and the 13 States of Nevada, Wyoming, Delaware, Arizona, Idaho, New Mexico, Utah, Montana, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Oregon, with a population according to the Federal census of 1910 of 23,415 less than the State of Ohio, shall have 13 times the voice in determining this question as the State of Ohio, notwithstanding the fact that her vote has been so decidedly against it.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. POMERENE. I will yield in just a moment.

I speak only for myself. For the reasons very briefly stated I can not, and I will not defy what I construe to be the wish of Ohio as expressed by her people at the polls, and I shall, therefore, vote against the pending resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ohio now yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. POMERENE. I yield.

Mr. WALSH. I merely desire to inquire of the Senator from Ohio if what he states would not be the situation of affairs with reference to any amendment of the Constitution?

Mr. POMERENE. Undoubtedly so, sir.

Mr. WALSH. Then, I also inquire of the Senator, whether his criticism is not a criticism of the Constitution?

Mr. POMERENE. It is not, because the States have a right to settle this question each for itself. Many other questions might not be able to be settled in that way.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. POMERENE. I yield.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Does not the Senator from Ohio recognize that there are various obstructions in the constitutions of many of the States of the Union that practically prevent and oppose the submission of constitutional amendments to their own constitutions; and are not such obstructions of such a nature that all of the States can not have submitted constitutional amendments to their own constitutions?

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I have understood that there is one such State constitution. If the people of that State are not satisfied with their own State constitution, they will change it.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President——

Mr. POMERENE. Just one moment. But that is no reason why I should be called upon to ignore what my own State has done on the subject.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, the Senator from Ohio seems to think that there is only one such State. The State of Vermont can not submit a constitutional amendment to its people except through a convention once in 10 years. New Hampshire is another State where there can be a constitutional amendment submitted only through a convention once every seven years. There are a number of States that provide that a resolution to submit a constitutional amendment must be passed at one session of the legislature and then again at the next succeeding session of the legislature before it may be submitted to the people.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I quite understand the position of the Senator from Colorado. He insists that the voters of other States shall have their will, but at the same time he says to me that the voters of Ohio shall not be permitted to express their will. I primarily represent the State of Ohio, and, so long as I shall represent the State of Ohio, I shall not ignore the vote of the people of that State on this or on any other question.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Does not the Senator recognize the fact that there could be no amendment submitted to the Constitution of the United States if his logic were to prevail? Can it not be seen that if the Federal Government wanted to enlarge its constitutional powers and an objection of that kind on the part of one State were considered sufficient, it would prevent any amendment of the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Colorado belongs to that eminent school of thinkers who believe in having their own way and condemning everybody else who wants to exercise the same privilege.

Mr. SHAFROTH. No, Mr. President; I do not believe in that; but I believe that no one State should block an amendment to the Federal Constitution. The Constitution has provided the method for its amendment and affords a safeguard against improper amendments by requiring a three-fourths majority of States to act favorably in order to adopt a proposed amendment. Consequently, I am not one of the persons who want to have another State controlled by his State; I want to say that the provisions of the Federal Constitution must at times be amended, for we have got to have progress, and if we can not, one State practically would be permitted to stand in the way of the Constitution being amended.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, before the Senator from Colorado takes his seat I will ask him to reply to an inquiry which I do not mean to be impertinent. The afternoon is fast slipping away. It has been the idea of a good many Senators that a vote should be taken to-day, but during the last hour or so the rumor seems to be to the effect that there will be no vote this afternoon. In view of that rumor, if it be true, I want to ask the Senator from Colorado or the Senator from New Mexico what is the plan of the Senators who are managing the joint resolution?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, I see no objection to going ahead with the discussion of this question, and I should like very much to see the amendments to the joint resolution disposed of this afternoon.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Is it the intention of the Senator from New Mexico to move that the Senate adjourn or recess until to-morrow?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. That will be governed quite largely by the disposition which may be manifested here by Senators. I should like to have the consideration of this measure proceed in regular order, at least until the usual hour for adjournment.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The Senator from New York is not aware that there is any usual hour for adjournment. My interest in this matter is to know——

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I think it is generally understood that at about 5 o'clock we adjourn.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Until when?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. That matter is not under my dictation; but I should like very much to proceed with the discussion of this matter and, if possible, dispose of the amendments this afternoon.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I am in hearty agreement, Mr. President, with the Senator's desire to dispose of the amendments this afternoon; and I will go further and agree to dispose of the whole matter as soon as possible; but there has been a very distinct rumor going about the Senate Chamber that the managers of the joint resolution at least had under consideration a proposal to adjourn over until Saturday, and that there shall be no vote until Saturday. I think, in all frankness to the Senate, to Senators who have come many, many miles to be here to-day to vote upon this matter, as they have come upon at least two or three other occasions, it should be understood what the program is.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, if the Senator from New York will inform those of us who are ignorant upon

the subject as to the number of Senators who will probably make speeches upon this measure, that might influence the action which we would suggest to the Senate.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Even if the Senator from New York knew how many were to speak upon the subject and could give an accurate answer to that suggestion, it would have no bearing upon his question as to whether or not the Senate is to meet to-morrow.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Then, Mr. President, I might inquire of the Senator from New York the purpose of his inquiry?

Mr. WADSWORTH. So that Senators may know approximately when a vote is to be taken, and upon what day.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. It is manifestly impossible for any Senator——

Mr. WADSWORTH. Senators had been given to understand that upon Thursday, September 26, this matter was to be pushed to a vote, if possible; but if the Senate adjourns or recesses over Friday and makes no attempt to vote upon Friday it is apparent that there is some change in the program, and I wanted to know whether there was any change contemplated.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Mexico yield to me?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I yield.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, would the Senator from New York like to fix a day certain to vote, which would allow possibly 10 or 12 speeches to be made?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I am not representing the Senators who are opposed to the joint resolution.

Mr. PITTMAN. I thought the Senator was.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I am in favor of a vote upon this matter just as soon as possible.

Mr. PITTMAN. I naturally assumed the Senator was representing some phase of this question; but if he is not, very well.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Is there any objection to having a vote upon the joint resolution to-morrow?

Mr. PITTMAN. I do not see any objection, possibly, except that there are several very able speakers who I have heard express a desire to discuss this question, and I would suggest that we vote as soon as those speakers have an opportunity to express themselves. It might be well if we entered into a unanimous-consent agreement to vote on some day certain, and then the speakers could arrange their time to suit themselves. Would the Senator favor agreeing on some day certain to vote?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I certainly would, and at the earliest possible moment; but if, as the Senator indicates, there are 10 or 12 able speeches yet to be made upon this topic, then I ask why the suggestion that we adjourn over to-morrow?

Mr. PITTMAN. I have not heard that suggestion, except from the Senator from New York.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS].

Mr. ASHURST. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, the amendment offered by the Senator from Mississippi raises a question of very grave magnitude. It is evident that there would be differences of opinion upon that amendment. It involves a question of policy, which, if it were considered that the Senate desired to take it up at this time for the purpose of seriously discussing and disposing of it, would doubtless cause extended debate. If the Senate should deem that it were called upon at this time to pass upon a question of that sort, I have no doubt that there would be almost interminable discussion in this body. But, Mr. President, that would not be a serious matter, for we could afford to discuss these questions, provided, however, that their discussion and action would not jeopardize a question which is of much greater importance.

It is known that the House has passed this proposed constitutional amendment; it is also known that it is practically impossible to get the Members of the House assembled at this session of Congress in adequate numbers to pass another amendment to the Constitution, especially an amendment involving the question of the right of woman suffrage; and to put upon this proposed constitutional amendment any other amendment would be virtually saying that the woman-suffrage amendment should not be passed at this session of Congress. I think it must be apparent to everyone here that the practical effect of putting any amendment upon joint resolution No. 200 would mean the defeat of any action at this session of Congress.

Therefore, Mr. President, without attempting to enter into a discussion of the merits of the pending amendment to the joint resolution, or any other amendment which may be proposed, I want to ask the Senators to vote against putting any amendment upon the proposed woman-suffrage constitutional amendment. I believe it would be unwise to do so at this time. The woman-suffrage amendment has been pending for years; the time is approaching when it should be adopted; the time is at least approaching when upon this single question the Senate of the United States should record itself; and I therefore request in all earnestness that no one seriously consider adding any amendment to the joint resolution which is now under consideration.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, the request of the Senator from New Mexico that nobody should "seriously consider" an amendment which involves the very structure of society and the nature of the civilization of some parts of this country is a rather unprecedented request. I did not intend to take the time of the Senate; I do not admit that the question of woman suffrage itself is any more important—in parts of this country at any rate—than this amendment to the proposed constitutional amendment.

Mr. President, I nurse no delusions upon this question. I hug no fallacies to my soul. I take no part whatsoever in the argument that a constitutional amendment can be unconstitutional. I do not feel called upon to pay any tribute to "woman." Thank God, a great majority of women constitute in themselves a tribute to womanhood. It is not necessary to take up the time of the Senate apologizing for a vote that I am about to cast by praising the womanhood of America.

Mr. President, I do not nurse any delusion to the effect that men are superior to women; nor do I nurse any delusion that women are superior to men. One is superior to the other in certain regards; the other to it in certain other respects. That women are superior to men in taste and in delicacy and in purity of sentiment and of conduct few men would deny. That men are superior to them in some respects I imagine few women would deny if they looked at the matter in an impassionate way. There are differences between them. There is no question of superiority at all. My wife could cast as intelligent a vote as I can. My daughters could vote as intelligently as my sons. I have no opposition to woman suffrage per se if it were confined to a homogeneous electorate. If I were a resident of Oregon or of California or of Iowa, and the question were presented to me as a State issue, I think I should vote for it. Being a resident of the State of Mississippi, if it were presented to me as a State issue I should undoubtedly vote against it. Nor do I grant any moral right in California, Iowa, or Oregon to tell Mississippi who shall vote within her limits; nor do I claim any right for Mississippi to prescribe for them the conditions of voting within their borders.

Mr. President, my proposed amendment to the amendment may strike the Senator from New Mexico as an inconsequential matter; he may think that it makes no difference one way or the other what becomes of Mississippi, or South Carolina, or Louisiana in this Union. He is not the man that I expected to take that position, but he has taken it. I expected it from some others.

The amendment which I have offered is a very simple one. It merely inserts the word white before the word person, and thus gives white women the suffrage, leaving any State that chooses to extend it to negro women or not so to extend it, whichever may be to its best and highest interest. If any of you think I am not in earnest about it you are very much mistaken. If you adopt my amendment I shall then, and then only, vote for the constitutional amendment as amended. If so amended it would secure white supremacy and the supremacy of the white man's civilization and his social institutions for all time to come, because the white women could vote under it and the other women could not unless the people of a given State decreed that they could; nor could Chinese women born in America, nor Japanese women upon the Pacific slope, vote under my amendment either, unless voluntarily vested with the privilege by the people of the States on the slope.

Oh, it is very easy to measure up the interests of a majority of the country, and when you have settled your mind about that—you being in the majority section—to say as to the minority: "Oh, they are inconsequential; they are insignificant; let them go."

I had not intended to address myself to the amendment, because I knew that every man with brains enough to rattle in a mustard shell knew why I had offered it, what the motive was, what the reason was, and that it was useless for me to argue it or to do more than state it. Upon its mere statement every Member of this body would know without any aid or suggestion from me how he wanted to vote.

Every man of you knows, and if I talked a whole day you would not know any better than you do right now. So far from delaying the adoption of the proposed constitutional amendment, if my amendment to the amendment be passed it will

hurry up the final adoption, and not only secure its passage through these two bodies of the National Legislature, but it will secure its adoption by three-fourths of the States, because the opposition in the States would come from the very section which I represent if you allow the constitutional amendment to go through as at present framed, unamended.

Mr. President, having said that much I want to add just one word upon another subject. I want to beg Senators to let this whole matter come to a vote just as soon as it possibly can come, and let us be through with it and go on with the carrying on of this war. In the words of William Shakespeare:

> If it were done * * * then 'twere well it were done quickly.

As far as I am concerned, I have made it a rule all my life never to hold myself responsible for results. I do my duty as I understand it, and then when I am through with it, if a result comes about against which I have voted or against which I have worked, that, so far as I am concerned, is a thing resting in the laps of the gods. I have nothing to do with it; "man proposes, God disposes." Let this matter come to a vote, and let it be decided one way or the other for this session. Let us go on with the carrying on of this war; and then, after we have done all that we can do with regard to that, let some of us go home. I for one am homesick, and a whole lot of other people are. I am perfectly willing to take up all the time that is necessary for great and important matters. I do not mean that this is not great and important in one sense, but I do say that its importance has been exaggerated by both sides.

Here comes a man on one extreme and tells us that all the home ties are going to be broken up and woman is going to cease to be gentle and sweet and chaste and pure and become unwomanly if she votes. I do not believe a word of that. It has not had that effect where woman suffrage has operated. Here comes somebody on the other side and seems to think that a moral millennium is going to set in provided the women vote. It has not set in in Colorado; it has not set in anywhere else where women vote. The line of moral demarcation between people is not a sex line at all. It is a line that takes in both sexes. If women in a bad community vote, you will have just a little bit worse government than you had before, because your bad majority will be increased; and if women in a good community vote, you will have a little bit better government than you had before, because your good majority will be increased.

Now you want to put this measure upon Mississippi, not by her own free will, but by your force. I am not arguing that it would be unconstitutional to do it. It is folly to say that a constitutional amendment could be unconstitutional, because the moment it is adopted it becomes a part of the Constitution. I am not saying that it is violative of the spirit of the Constitution, because the right to amend the Constitution was written into the Constitution as well as the other provisions that were written into it. But you are trying to force upon us a measure which will make an ignorant, incompetent, unequipped majority in our midst still larger than it is now, and still harder to handle. I do not think you have the ethical right to do that. It is not comity.

The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR] said to-day that the same provisions that would deprive the negro men of the vote in Mississippi would deprive the negro women. There would be that many more to deprive. Mississippi has not violated a word or a syllable or a dot of the Federal Constitution, and the Supreme Court of the United States has said so. We have kept within the line. We have preserved the white man's civilization and the supremacy of his family life under great difficulties. Now you want to make it more difficult, if not almost impossible, to do it; and the Senator from New Mexico tells us that it is inconsequential—substantially, that it makes no difference! Oh, it depends upon whose ox is gored. It may be inconsequential to him. It is not so to me nor to Mrs. Williams nor to my daughters nor to my neighbors.

If you want to get this amendment through, adopt my amendment to the amendment, and two-thirds of the opposition will cease at once, not only here but in the States when they come to the question of adoption. Not only that, but it will be a good thing for the South, because it will fix the white majority forever. I tell you, Mr. President, you can say what you please academically, but a people with an electorate which is not homogeneous is a people sitting upon a volcano. You can not unwrite the handwriting of God, not merely upon the countenances and the colors of men but upon their inward race traits and tendencies, nor can you wipe out the dislike or distrust which they entertain for one another, nor can you wipe out the fear that every man of a race which he thinks is superior entertains for the social equality which almost necessarily follows a condition of political equality, whenever the inferior race is in sufficient numbers to constitute a balance of power. You can safely trust the crawling politicians on both side to nurse it in order that one set of politicians may defeat another.

I had not intended to say so much, Mr. President, and would not have said it save for the remarks of the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I want to say with reference to the allusion of the Senator to my State that woman suffrage was adopted in Colorado in 1893, and there never has been even a petition presented to the Legislature of Colorado asking that the question be resubmitted to the people. There never has been a bill introduced in either the senate or the house of representatives of that State for the resubmission of the question to the people of the State. That is the most conclusive evidence that Colorado is entirely satisfied with the laws which it has adopted granting woman suffrage.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, on a former occasion I presented to the Senate a very extended petition to this body to pass this woman-suffrage amendment. That petition was signed by thousands of the representative people of the United States. It has been filed with this body. I have here, furnished by representatives of the Woman's Party, another petition, which has been signed by not less than 50,000 people of this country. Of course, this does not do more than indicate the sentiment of the people of the United States. It simply shows that the people of this country are deeply interested in this subject.

The attention of the Senate has already been called to the action which various States and organizations have taken in regard to this amendment. The political leaders of the country of all parties have declared in favor of the amendment. The political organizations of the country in large majority have declared in favor of the amendment, and I believe the best thought of the people of the country is that the amendment ought to be adopted. At any rate, Mr. President, I feel that there is such a universal opinion regarding the amendment that it at least ought to be submitted to the States for their decision.

I am one of those who believe that the provision in our Constitution providing for its amendment is just as important a part of it as any other. I believe that the people who framed the Constitution contemplated that the right of change was one of its most important and fundamental features, and when it becomes manifest that a very large percentage of the people of this country desire to express themselves upon the question as to whether or not the Constitution should be amended I do not believe it is right to deny them that privilege.

I am not going to discuss the merits of this amendment particularly at this time, but I do mention these things for the purpose of impressing upon the minds of Senators, if I may, that this question is a live one throughout this country, and, in my humble judgment, we have no right to deprive these States of their constitutional right to decide whether or not the Constitution shall be amended.

Mr. President, I ask permission to present to the Senate these petitions, that they may rest in the archives of the Senate along with the other petitions upon this subject which have been presented.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The petitions will be received and lie on the table.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, I now move that the Senate adjourn until noon to-morrow.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, before that motion is put, if the Senator will withhold it for a moment, I want to ask for the yeas and nays upon the pending amendment, so that they may be ordered.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, what is the motion?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico has submitted a motion that the Senate adjourn, but withholds it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I ask the Senator to withhold it for a moment.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Does the Senator seek a vote to-night upon the amendment?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; I merely seek to order the yeas and nays, so that when we meet to-morrow they will be ordered.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I have no objection to that request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico withholds his motion. The yeas and nays are demanded upon the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi. Is the demand sustained? [A pause.] Evidently a sufficient number have seconded the request, and the yeas and nays are ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by G. F. Turner, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bill and joint resolution:

H. R. 12976. An act providing for the protection of the users of telephone and telegraph service and the properties and funds belonging thereto during Government operation and control; and

H. J. Res. 331. Joint resolution authorizing the readmission to the United States of certain aliens who have been conscripted or have volunteered for service with the military forces of the United States or cobelligerent forces.

HOUSE BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED.

H. R. 12976. An act providing for the protection of the users of telephone and telegraph service and the properties and funds belonging thereto during Government operation and control was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

H. J. Res. 331. Joint resolution authorizing the readmission to the United States of certain aliens who have been conscripted or have volunteered for service with the military forces of the United States or cobelligerent forces was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Immigration.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I ask the Senator from New Mexico to modify his request so that we may have an executive session.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I understand that an executive session is desired. I therefore move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 10 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, September 27, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 26 (legislative day of September 24), 1918.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Thomas Jones, of Oregon, to be register of the land office at Vale, Oreg., his present term expiring October 11, 1918. Reappointment.

NAVAL OFFICER OF CUSTOMS.

Lot W. Reiff, of Reading, Pa., to be naval officer of customs in customs collection district No. 11, with headquarters at Philadelphia, Pa., to fill an existing vacancy.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate September 26 (legislative day of September 24), 1918.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

Hugh R. Robertson to be United States attorney, western district of Texas.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Fred C. Pabst to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 22, with headquarters at Galveston, Tex.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE, SUPREME COURT, TERRITORY OF HAWAII.

William S. Edings to be associate justice of the supreme court, Territory of Hawaii.

ASSOCIATE JUDGE OF CIRCUIT COURT OF HAWAII.

John T. De Bolt to be second judge, first circuit, Territory of Hawaii.

POSTMASTERS.

ARKANSAS.

Sam R. Carpenter, Arkadelphia.

GEORGIA.

Nellie B. Brimberry, Albany.
James M. Scott, Bainbridge.
William F. Boone, Baxley.
Joseph B. Rountree, Boston.
John L. Callaway, Covington.
Frank S. Murray, Fort Valley.
James L. Teasley, Hartwell.
Aylesbury S. Sparks, sr., La Fayette.
Susie M. Atkinson, Newnan.
Johnnie B. Roddenbery, Thomasville.
Emmett A. Speir, Wadley.

MINNESOTA.

Frank Gillis, Anoka.
Elsie E. Rathbun, Ashby.
Mary E. Stark, Buffalo.
William T. Nicholson, Crookston.
Frank A. Lindbergh, Crosby.
Andrew W. Johnson, Forest Lake.
Edna M. Price, Fulda.
Hope Mouser, Gilbert.
Levi G. Sanders, Mahnomen.
Gustave A. Krueger, Plummer.
Albert M. Evenson, Ruthton.
Frederick Schilplin, St. Cloud.
Jonas W. Howe, Stewartville.

MISSISSIPPI.

Edward W. Walton, Booneville.
Thomas H. Sharp, Columbus.
Milton A. Candler, Corinth.
Corinne Kendall Dampeer, Crystal Springs.
Sibyl Q. Stratton, Liberty.
Henry H. Sikes, Starkville.
Samuel E. Carruth, Summit.
Walter L. Collins, Union.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Americus Enfield, Bedford.
Charles McBride, Blair Station.
William L. McLaren, Cressona.
William R. Speer, Everett.
Emma M. Schrock, Garrett.
Thomas S. Moreland, Jamestown.
Edwin W. Dye, Lawrenceville.
Paul O. Brosius, Lock Haven.
Cornelius P. Reing, Mahanoy City.
Thomas P. Logan, Midland.
Frank Snyder, Minersville.
Philip W. Miller, New Freedom.
Merle D. Salyards, Pitcairn.
Arthur N. Rose, Rouseville.
John T. Kennedy, Sharon.
Karl Smith, Sharpsville.
Robert M. Foster, State College.
Edward M. Hirsh, Tamaqua.
Oscar W. Kaegel, Thompsontown.
William A. McMahan, West Pittsburgh.
Joe C. Harding, Windber.

UTAH.

Isadore Lessing, Beaver.
Parley P. Willey, Bountiful.
William H. Fitzwater, Duchesne.
Jessie M. French, Greenriver.
Oliver C. Larsen, Monroe.
Randall Christensen, Moroni.
Adelbert K. Huish, Payson.
Daniel L. Argyle, Salina.
James Gowans, Tooele.
Abraham Binkele, Tremonton.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *September 26, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Father in heaven, our refuge and our strength, put forth, we beseech Thee, Thy healing hand and restore our soldiers at home to health and strength, that the preparation in which they are engaged for the strenuous work before them may not be hindered.

Let Thy protecting arm be over our soldiers abroad and their allies, that they may go forward with the work in which they are engaged; that the Huns may be driven back and peace restored to a suffering, sorrowing world; that the kingdom of righteousness may have its sway among the peoples of all the earth; for humanity's sake and in Christ's name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to address the House for not more than 15 minutes.

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Speaker, before the gentleman does that, I rise to a question of personal privilege.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will recognize the gentleman before the gentleman from Missouri makes his speech, if he gets leave. Is there objection?

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, I object for the present.

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order there is no quorum present.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I would ask the gentleman not to do that.

Mr. MEEKER. If I may address——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can not do that; the gentleman has made a point of no quorum.

Mr. MEEKER. If I can address the House for a minute——

The SPEAKER. But the gentleman has raised the point of a quorum, and he can not address the House.

Mr. MEEKER. I will withdraw that point if I may have a minute.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, I have no objection if the gentleman takes 5 minutes; but I do not see the necessity for his taking 15 minutes to put something in the RECORD.

Mr. MEEKER. May I just ask for one minute—I ask that I may address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has just asked to address the House for one minute.

Mr. WINGO. If the gentleman will make it five minutes I shall not object.

Mr. MEEKER. I can not get through in five minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent for 10 minutes to address the House. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Chair will recognize him to make a speech after the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. DILLON], who says he has a question of personal privilege. The gentleman will state it.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of personal privilege.

Under date of August 28, 1918, there appeared an article in the Sioux Falls Press, a newspaper published in my district. Similar articles appeared in the press of the country. I quote a portion of the article so published:

[By the Associated Press.]

WITH THE AMERICAN FORCES IN FRANCE, *August 27.*

The British authorities, it has been learned, recently refused their permission for Representative ERNEST LUNDEEN, of Minnesota, and Representative CHARLES H. DILLON, of South Dakota, to visit the British battle front. They arrived in France late in July on board a British vessel and later visited the American front. It is believed they now are touring Italy.

ALLEGE TALK ON SHIP.

The request that the Congressmen be permitted to pay a visit to the British lines is said to have been made in the usual manner by the American Army authorities. When the declination was received an investigation was begun. This, it is asserted, resulted in the explanation that both men had talked freely aboard ship in such a manner about certain subjects affecting the war that both British and American military and civilian passengers brought the subject of their conversation to the attention of the officers commanding the troops aboard the vessel and also the ship's captain.

MILITARY INVESTIGATES.

The exact tenor of the statements the Congressmen are alleged to have made is not known, but the military authorities are pursuing their investigation of the incident.

The Sioux Falls Press, on July 29, in an editorial said:

Friends of Congressman DILLON—and he has friends who could not vote for him because of his misfortunes in matters of national honor—will feel sure that his unhappy experience with the British Government is a consequence not of an intended wrong on his part but of another blunder of utterance. What he said aboard ship which caused him to be reported to the captain and to military officers in command is not yet revealed. It was duly reported to the British Government, which apparently did not care to have men who talk that way mingling among British soldiers at the front. And for this attitude we do not blame the British Government in the slightest degree.

I brand the statements which I have just read as maliciously false and without foundation in fact. The article further states that I voted against the selective draft. This statement is an unmitigated falsehood, and the RECORD will bear out this fact. Again, it is stated that I opposed the armed-neutrality bill. This statement is likewise untrue, and the RECORD will disclose that I voted for this measure.

The article published in the Sioux Falls Press is more than a false statement of my record. In effect its tendency is to call in question my loyalty to my own country and my sympathy for the cause for which she and our allies are fighting.

This, Mr. Speaker, in my judgment, states a question of the highest personal privilege.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks the gentleman has stated a question of personal privilege.

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Speaker, I can conceive of but one motive for this unwarranted and scandalous attack upon me. It is certain that nothing in my conduct nor in my work would justify the subject matter of the newspaper article to which I have just called the attention of the House.

It is quite possible that I incurred the enmity of some of the ship's officers while crossing the ocean, but if I did so it was because of my earnest efforts to see that the 3,000 American boys on board the vessel and clothed in the uniform of the Republic should be treated as they would be treated if they had been on board an American vessel.

On the boat were 28 soldiers from my own State, many of whom knew me personally. I was a constant visitor among them. I was, of course, unusually interested in these boys, and was exceedingly anxious to see that their quarters should be made comfortable and that they should be given good and wholesome food.

Here are the names and addresses of the South Dakota boys on board the vessel:

Curtis W. Poole, Loyalton; Russel Lewis, Mina; Frank Lewis, Mina; Hiram J. Wakefield, Faulkton; August Changguth, Vital; Elbridge S. Gerry, St. Francis; Victor A. Malmsten, Redfield; Beruth M. Johnson, Conde; B. W. Lynn, Winner; James Crha, Ipswich; John W. Goehring, Peever; Dwight Hemminger, Wilmot; Larin S. Metcalf, Wilmot; Ole M. Stai, Peever; E. H. Niederbaumer, Wecota; Frank Apple, Martin; Peter Romillard, Martin; Donald G. Loobey, Hamill; Fred Schuelson, Bonesteel; Stanley E. Dotson, Sturgis; James Metal, Fairfax; Gideon Williams, Sisseton; Ernest E. Philips, Wilmot; James A. Chastain, Colome; Vern Shirp, Burke; Samuel Tahoroka, Sisseton; R. D. Linamon, Ipswich; and Edward A. Herman, Faulkton.

I would have made a protest on the food served the soldiers on board if there had been no soldiers from South Dakota, but these boys naturally protested to me. The fact that they were from my own State made me the more eager to see that they were given the treatment that every man on this floor would have demanded under similar circumstances.

I could not take the part of those boys without antagonizing those who were in charge of the vessel. I had no desire to antagonize the ship's officers, but I was willing to incur their enmity if it were necessary in order to see that the American soldiers on board were properly fed. [Applause.] That my efforts on behalf of these soldiers did earn the disapproval of the ship's officers is clearly indicated by these false and unwarranted stories that have been called to the attention of the House.

On Sunday, July 14, 1918, I sailed from New York for Liverpool on the the British steamer *Adriatic*. It has a capacity of 24,500 tons and carries a crew of 450 men. We landed in Liverpool on July 26.

During the voyage I spent a great part of my time visiting with the 3,000 American soldiers on board, quartered in the steerage and on portions of the decks. Most of these soldiers came from Camp Lewis, Wash., which is conceded to be one of the best-managed camps in the United States. About two days out from New York the soldiers commenced grumbling about the food given them. The complaint was practically unanimous that they were not getting sufficient food. I became interested in their appeals and visited freely among them.

I found one soldier who had been operated on at Camp Wadsworth, S. C., on June 4. He was given passage upon the boat, one of his companions carrying his kit. He was assigned to a bunk in the steerage, but was later allowed to lie on deck C. He told me that he was scarcely able to eat anything and had asked for toast, but had been unable to get any. I bought him some oranges and lemons and visited with him on numerous occasions. I was informed that inquiries had been made of him as to what I had said to him.

Many, many of the soldiers informed me that they were not given enough to eat and much of the food given them was not fit to eat. I was told they had been served rabbit in which dung was embedded, soup that contained pieces of bladder, liver that was stale, and bread that was musty. I talked to an American officer who corroborated these statements. Likewise the South Dakota boys confirmed them.

I was invited by one of the South Dakota boys to breakfast with him. I accepted the invitation, and on July 17, at 6.45, I accompanied him. The card inspector was informed that I was taking breakfast with the soldier and he passed me in. The breakfast consisted of a bun, oatmeal, coffee, and stewed liver. I had hardly commenced the breakfast when the ship's steward wanted "to know what I was doing there." I said that I was taking breakfast with one of my South Dakota boys. His reply was that I should get out; that it was against the rules. I replied that I would obey all orders and would retire in a few moments, which I did.

There was a canteen on the *Adriatic* selling chocolate, cake, and other articles. I counted as many as 60 soldiers standing

in line waiting to make purchases. The canteen sold 18 cookies for 20 cents and 12 frosted cookies for 20 cents. They did a thriving business until they were entirely sold out. The soldiers told me they bought eatables because they were hungry.

The servants connected with the cooking department constantly sold roast duck and chicken, charging from $1.50 to $2.50 each. Small boys acting as helpers sometimes sold them as low as 60 cents each. Sandwiches, pie, cake, oranges, and tea were sold by the employees in the cooking department. I was told by a number of soldiers that they could not get an extra bun with their meals, but that they could be purchased from the steward for 10 cents each.

The complaints of the soldiers were brought to the attention of some of the American officers on the boat by me. It was stated that the *Adriatic* was a ship owned by a British corporation, and that the soldiers were being taken over on a contract basis, and that the American officers had no control over the food supplies.

However, they took the matter up with the ship's officers and better food was promised them. An American officer was appointed to inspect the food for each meal, and I was invited to go with him on an inspection tour. After this I heard less complaint about the food served. I am satisfied the American officers on board the vessel did everything in their power to obtain better conditions for the soldiers.

Here are some of the meals served to the soldiers on board:

JULY 16.

Breakfast: Mush, sausage, biscuit, coffee; no sugar, milk, or butter.
Supper: Apple sauce, cheese, biscuit, pickles, butter, coffee.

JULY 18.

Dinner: Cold corn beef and cabbage, potatoes, pudding, small portions; no coffee, tea, or bread.
Supper: Bread, jam, orange, apple, tea.

JULY 19.

Breakfast: Oatmeal, bun, fish, coffee.
Dinner: Soup, potatoes, beans, canned salmon; no coffee, bread, or butter.
Supper: Bun, jam, slice of headcheese, slice of pickle, tea, butter.

JULY 23.

Breakfast: Sausage, mush, bun, coffee.
Dinner: Soup, beans, rabbit, apple sauce, potatoes, bun.
Supper: Small box sardines, orange, marmalade, bun, coffee, butter.

I talked with the highest ranking American officer on board about these conditions and was informed that he would make a report to the War Department as to conditions on the boat. The inspector before mentioned and some officer of the boat invited me to go through the food department, which I did.

We went through the cold-storage and the supply department and found good wholesome food in large quantities. The officers and passengers on the boat were bountifully supplied with the very best food that could be found on the market.

When we landed at Liverpool I was notified to appear before some officer who had come on board. I presented my passport and letters from Secretaries Lansing, Baker, and Daniels. This officer then asked me, "Did you take notes while crossing?" I replied, "Yes." He then said, "May I see them?" I said, "Yes. The notebook is in my stateroom. I will go and get it." He said, "I will go with you." We went to the stateroom, and I then said, "I do not see why you should be interested in my personal notes." I further said that I might conclude to call the attention of the House of Representatives to his demand to read my private notes. I then offered him the notebook. He then replied that it was not necessary. I later met him on the stairway, and he said they were required to make strict rules, and that some information had been reported to him concerning my conduct on the boat, but he had ascertained that the information was unfounded and expressed the hope that I would have an interesting trip. [Applause.]

I did keep a notebook of the complaints that were made to me regarding the food and information with reference thereto that I had gained. This notebook contained the substance of a conversation had with an American officer on board who spoke of his personal knowledge regarding the unfitness of the food.

These notes were kept because I intended to call it to the attention of the War Department immediately upon my return, and because I did not care to trust it to my memory. I am satisfied in my own mind that the ship's officers knew what was in the notebook and knew my purpose in keeping it.

I am exceedingly reluctant to bring these facts to the attention of the Nation. I had intended to lay them quietly before the Secretary of War. The attack, however, made upon me and my loyalty makes it impossible for me to be obedient to my original intention. In view of these unwarranted attacks I would stultify myself if I remained silent. [Applause.]

Since the declaration of war with Germany I have supported every war measure. There is not a drop of German blood in my veins. My ancestors fought in the Revolutionary War, and I am deeply sensitive of these attacks impugning my loyalty to my country.

The applications for visits to the battle fronts were made to the intelligence department of the American headquarters in Paris. I was treated with the utmost courtesy, and arrangements were made for my visit to the battle fronts. I can not speak too highly of the courtesies shown me by Gen. Pershing and the American, French, and Italian officers.

I visited the intelligence office on numerous occasions, but not one word of doubt of being admitted to the British front was ever expressed. On one occasion it was stated that a drive was on and that the highways were congested. I called at the intelligence office on August 16, just before leaving for Italy, and was informed that I probably could get on the British front on my return from Italy.

When I returned from Italy on August 31 I called at the intelligence office again, and was then informed that probably not until after September 17 would anyone be permitted to visit the British front. I then visited at St. Nazain, Nantes, Tours, Dejon, Is Sur Telle, and other places, and returned to Paris and called again at the intelligence office on September 10 and was informed that conditions had not changed since my return from Italy. At no time did anyone disclose to me that I could not visit the British front. I could not wait until September 17 and sailed from Brest on Thursday, September 12, for New York.

Mr. Speaker, I have given this detailed statement in order to show the motive which inspired this scurrilous attack upon me. No one has made a single statement of words coming from my lips affecting my loyalty to my country or our allies in this great war. I resent upon this floor this beastly and baseless attack and court the fullest investigation of my acts and words.

I made no statements abusing or condemning the war aims of the United States or any of the allies. I could not make such statements, because I never entertained such sentiments. I did protest against the treatment of our boys on this boat, and I protest now in the name of our country that we must not send our soldiers across the sea to fight our battles without providing good and wholesome food for them. [Applause.]

The first intimation that I had that I was denied the privilege of visiting the English front was upon my return home on September 19, when these stories were brought to my attention. There was not the slightest indication in the treatment I received from any source while abroad that any of the allied countries objected to my visiting any of the fronts. The courtesies I received from all of these countries were unusual and left with me a sense of deep obligation for their considerate treatment.

Everywhere I went I encouraged the American soldiers and told them of our war aims. I never saw a finer body of men, fully equipped, with one thought and one idea, that they were crossing the sea to win the war. Their spirit has brought to the French, Italian, and English soldiers a morale that is unequaled in the world. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri is recognized for 10 minutes.

WAR PROHIBITION.

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Speaker, the other day, on September 23, when we had discussion on the war prohibition measure, I made some remarks here in regard to an organization that is known as the Anti-Saloon League, and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER], who a number of times has taken it upon himself when I have made no personal reference to him at all, to get up here, flap his wings and take a little time on me personally. I have sent for such letters and they are here. Two years ago I staid out of the gentleman's district during the campaign at the request of a very wet Democrat who is a very close friend of Mr. DECKER, and I tried in every way I could to refrain from taking up these personal matters that the gentleman seems to delight in discussing. I shall first ask this morning that these letters, which I send to the Clerk's desk, shall be read. Somebody is mistaken; I will not say further than that, but we have the anti-saloon saints on one side and the gentleman from Missouri on the other. I ask that the letters be read first.

The SPEAKER. Without objection the Clerk will read the letters.

The Clerk read as follows:

MISSOURI ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE,
St. Louis, Mo., July 13, 1914.

Hon. JACOB E. MEEKER,
1397 South Compton Avenue, City.

MY DEAR SIR: In case you are nominated and elected to Congress would you vote for and support the Sheppard-Hobson national prohibition resolution? Our friends throughout the State are pressing us for information on this great issue and we will be especially pleased to have you frankly give us your position.

This information will not be used to embarrass you if your answer is in the affirmative, and will even be held confidential if you request it.

An early reply will be especially appreciated.

Yours truly,

W. C. SHUPP,
State Superintendent.

—

MISSOURI ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE,
St. Louis, Mo., June 25, 1918.

J. E. MEEKER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As you know, we have pending in Congress the matter of the prohibition of the entire liquor traffic for the period of the war—the Jones amendment in the form of a rider to the Agricultural bill and the Barkley bill coming as a separate measure.

Many of your constituents are extremely anxious that the suicidal waste of food, fuel, man power, and financial resources of the Nation by the liquor traffic shall be brought to an immediate end, and they will be pleased to know the attitude of all the candidates for the United States House of Representatives on these questions.

We will be pleased to receive your direct reply to the following questions:

1. Will you give your unqualified support to either the Jones war-time prohibition amendment or the Barkley bill covering the same subject?

2. Will you support either of those measures in case the President does not make any recommendation bearing upon them?

These questions are being sent to each candidate for the United States House of Representatives on both the Democratic and Republican tickets.

Yours very truly,

MISSOURI ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE,
W. C. SHUPP, *State Superintendent.*
CHRISTIAN BERNET, *President.*
L. W. MCCREARY, *Secretary.*

—

JUNE 29, 1918.

Mr. W. C. SHUPP,
State Superintendent Missouri Anti-Saloon League, St. Louis, Mo.

SIR: In reply to yours of June 25, will say in direct reply to your two questions—positively no.

With such men as Messrs. Hurley and Colby, of the Emergency Fleet Corporation; Samuel Gompers, president American Federation of Labor; and others, giving their very lives to speed production and to keep labor satisfied that we might win this war, it seems to me but little short of treason for paid agitators to constantly stir up labor and keep an everlasting hubbub going on amongst these men upon whom we must depend.

I think the conduct of the representatives of the Anti-Saloon League is contemptible. Your paid representatives were before the Senate committee. At one end of the table stood Gompers, Hurley, and Colby pleading that this matter should not be pushed further. At the other end of the table, Dinwiddie and Wheeler, who draw their salaries for making trouble, nagged the committee and hypocritically declared that they, these agitators, these paid "reformers," represented the will of the American people. Shame on such conduct by such men.

Now, I will ask you some questions publicly, and I shall expect a public reply:

First. Congress voted last year to leave this matter in the hands of the President, who is the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. Are you willing to abide his judgment in this matter and will the Anti-Saloon League of the United States stand loyally behind him?

Second. Why has the Anti-Saloon League never yet sent a resolution of support to the President since war was declared?

Third. Is it your candid opinion that the people of the United States should follow the judgment of such men as Hoover, Stream, Hurley, Colby, Gompers, or should they be dictated to by paid lobbyists and agitators?

Trusting that I shall receive from you, through the public press, some sort of reply, indicating that in a small degree, at least, the Anti-Saloon League leaders of this country are willing to abide the wishes of the President, I remain, sir,

Sincerely, ——— ———.

P. S.—I note in your program, printed in red ink at the bottom of your letter, that you have failed to suggest there any interest whatsoever in the winning of the war. Your whole concern is prohibition agitation—local, State, and National. You are using the war as an excuse for stirring up trouble now. I have never seen a "win-the-war" line from the Anti-Saloon League anywhere at any time. Your organization by such conduct has made itself unworthy the respect of loyal Americans.

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Speaker, the letters there speak for themselves as to whether those letters were ever sent out. I have received a statement not only from Missouri Congressmen, but from men outside, that they have received them.

Mr. DECKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MEEKER. Yes; if the gentleman will get me more time.

Mr. DECKER. The gentleman means he refuses to yield unless he can get more time?

Mr. MEEKER. If the gentleman will get me more time. I leave it as between the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER] and the Anti-Saloon League who is in error, as far as that is concerned. The gentleman talks about a road supervisor not being able to be elected in Kansas if he was not for prohibition. If the gentleman will walk right straight through and look on the right as he goes to the Senate he will see in the Hall of Fame a statue to the first Democrat ever elected in Kansas, who was elected on the antiprohibition platform.

Mr. DECKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MEEKER. If the gentleman will get me more time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. MEEKER. The gentleman stood there and pounded his breast, and said he was known as a leader down in his country on prohibition. I was in four campaigns in 1914—Carthage, Webb City, Carterville, and the county—and he was not there leading, and we carried every one of them and reversed it from prohibition back to regulation territory.

He was not present, and the understanding was that it was because some gentlemen down there who are opposed to prohibition are Democrats and it might be just as well to remain in Washington. The gentleman is in the habit of getting up and beating his breast about these things after it is over. He voted against war, but by the time he gets back to Missouri he will make the people think he is the original war lord.

Mr. DECKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MEEKER. If you will get me more time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. MEEKER. It was not all the time and during all of this work that has been going on when he bade welcome to the lobbyists who sat in the gallery here last year when protest was made. When a Federal judge was in the gallery sending messages to the floor of this House on a bill, and a protest was made, he once more feels called upon to take it upon himself to talk about lobbyists sitting in the galleries and managing matters on the floor and welcome publicly the gentleman who was there.

I simply put these letters in this RECORD this morning, and I have given you two or three simple statements as to what are facts.

Mr. Bryan is the same kind of a leader as the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER]. Mr. Bryan had as his first man to carry the electoral vote from Nebraska to the Electoral College a brewer, of his own selection, and he protested against prohibition being an issue as long as he was a candidate. And everybody knows that to be true. Mr. Hobson demanded whisky for his men when leaving the boat after the sinking of the *Merrimac*.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. MEEKER. I will finish this in the district down in Joplin, and I do not want more time.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules——

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of personal privilege. I ask unanimous consent that I have 10 minutes in which to answer the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent for 10 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I will announce that after the gentleman has 10 minutes I shall feel constrained to object if nobody else does. But I think the gentleman ought to have 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The Chair hears no objection.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I do not intend to waste my time in any personal controversy with the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER]. I never have. I have never said anything unkind about him. I did attempt the other day to answer some of his arguments. He seems to be inclined to take it as a personal matter, for which I am sorry.

In the first place, he says I voted against the war. That is not a new fact, and it does not affect the question as to whether or not whisky is a good thing for the human race. He says I voted against conscription. That is an immaterial fact; but his statement is untrue, and I do not think he stated it so intentionally. I know he did not. He would not yield long enough for me to correct him. I not only voted for conscription, but I spoke in favor of it on the floor of this House. I have voted for every war measure proposed by the administration. I just state those facts for what they are worth.

The people of my district know my record as to Americanism, as to my vote on the war, and everything else that I have done since I have been here. I have held nothing secret. I resented what the gentleman said in his speech the other day. I know his views on this question and I have never quarreled with him because of his views, but the thing which I resented I resent now, and I resent it in behalf of the entire Missouri delegation, is that he was trying to give the Members of this House the impression that we were making secret pledges on prohibition.

I do not wish to be personal, but there sits the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. ALEXANDER, who before I was ever heard of in politics, I think 25 years ago, stood in the Legislature of the State of Missouri and fought for prohibition when it was unpopular and there were few in favor of it. Do you charge him with signing a secret pledge?

There sits Mr. RUCKER, another gentleman from Missouri who was fighting the battle for prohibition before you and I were ever engaged in public life. Do you mean by reading your letters and making your charges here to imply that he signed a secret pledge? There sits my colleague, the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. HAMLIN, who is known throughout the length and

breadth of his district as a man who stands four square to all the world in favor of driving out booze and whisky and beer. Do you mean to insinuate that he has been signing secret pledges on this question in order to get votes? I could go down the whole list. The gentleman from Missouri, Mr. RUBEY's, district adjoins mine, and there is not a man, woman, or child in his district that does not know where Mr. RUBEY stands on this great question. Those are the things I resented in the gentleman's speech. He says that last year I defended a lobbyist in the gallery. That so-called "lobbyist" was a Federal judge who, at the request of President Wilson and Secretary McAdoo, helped to write the bill giving insurance and compensation to soldiers and sailors.

I have no brief for the Anti-Saloon League. They need no defense from me. They never paid me a cent to make a speech. It is true that while I was serving my constituents up here in Congress you went down into my district—from patriotic motives, no doubt—with a desire to uplift mankind——

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman suspend a moment? There are two evils growing in this House, and they ought to stop. One of them is that the Members have fallen in the habit of saying "you" and "your." It is, besides against the rules. The gentleman who is making this speech is no worse a sinner than a good many others—not half as bad about that. You have got to describe a Member by designating his State. The proper form in this case would be, "the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. MEEKER." Another one is the calling of Members by their names, Tom, Dick, and Harry, Billy, and John, and Joe, Smith, and Jones, and so forth. It all contributes to bad order. I hope the gentleman will quit talking about "you" in making his speech. [Laughter.]

Mr. DECKER. How much more time have I, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER. I will not take it out of your time. [Laughter.] You have five minutes remaining.

Mr. DECKER. I meant in my remarks the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. MEEKER. [Laughter.] He is the gentleman to whom I referred as going down into my district. They do say that he makes a very good speech in behalf of the brewers and *in behalf of* the distillers of this country, and I think in some campaigns he was successful, and the people, I am informed, appreciate his services—I mean the people he represented.

But be that as it may, I have no brief for him. My desire to keep him out of my district is not so great as you might imagine. He is an able gentleman, and I know that his appearance in my district would go far toward contributing to my defeat. Yet at the same time, in the face of the danger of having him come down there and tell the people about my stand on prohibition and other things, which they all know, at the risk of having the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER] throwing the great weight of his powerful influence against me in the coming campaign, I did feel called upon the other day to rise here in behalf of my colleagues—not in behalf of the Anti-Saloon League, because I do not represent them—and deny the insinuation that any man among my colleagues signed any secret pledge.

The letter you received in 1914—the letter you received—no; the letter which the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER] received [laughter] in 1914—said, at the bottom of it, "If you request it, this will not be published." Well, have you [laughter] ever told the people of Webb City—I mean has the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER] ever told the people of Webb City, whom he represented? Has he ever told the people of Carthage how much he was paid in that campaign which he waged in my district?

Mr. MEEKER. Yes.

Mr. DECKER. Has he ever told the people of the country just whom he counted upon to vote with him when they came to Congress or to the State legislature?

Mr. MEEKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DECKER. The gentleman from Missouri [laughter]——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will suspend a moment. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER] is violating another rule of the House right now by sitting in his seat and interjecting remarks in the remarks of the other gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. DECKER. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER] may rail against the Anti-Saloon League and he may wrap the mantle of patriotism around himself in behalf of the brewers and distillers; but I have this to say to the gentleman, and this only, that he is out of harmony not only with the people of Missouri, not only with the people of this country, but the gentleman is out of harmony with the great majority of the Members of the House of Representatives, and if he by his speeches means to cast insinuations upon the patriotism of this House and if he means to insinuate that the action which we took on national prohibition, upon war-time prohibition, upon putting prohibition in the District of Columbia, upon putting prohibition around the camps to protect the soldier boys of this country—if he means to have it inferred that that is due to the Anti-Saloon League and to unpatriotic and unworthy efforts on the part of the Anti-Saloon League, then let him make the best of it.

Every man within the hearing of my voice knows that it is a foul slander upon the patriotism of the people of this country and upon the patriotism of the membership of this House. [Applause.] I do not mean to charge as to the men opposed to prohibition that they are unpatriotic and un-American. Men in this House who have voted against prohibition are just as good patriots as I am, or any other Member of this House, including the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER]. But in behalf of my country, in behalf of the voters of my district and of Missouri, in behalf of the Anti-Saloon League, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and other organizations, which for many long years have worked for prohibition, I simply say that now, at this good hour when prohibition is in sight, if the distinguished gentleman from Missouri wishes to come upon the floor of this great legislative body and try to cast insinuations upon their patriotism and upon their Americanism and considers that worthy of his training, worthy of his traditions, and worthy of Missouri, then let him make the best of it. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired. The gentleman from North Carolina is recognized.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules I offer a privileged report.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. GARD, indefinitely, on account of death in his family;

To Mr. CHANDLER of Oklahoma, indefinitely, on account of important business and to assist in liberty-loan drive; and

To Mr. CRISP, for two weeks, on account of important business.

UTILIZATION OF ELECTRICAL POWER (H. REPT. NO. 814).

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution presented by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU].

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 433.

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of H. R. 12776, entitled "A bill to provide further for the national security and defense and for the more effective prosecution of the war by furnishing means for the better utilization of the existing sources of electrical and mechanical power and for the development of new sources of such power, and for other purposes"; that there shall be not to exceed four hours of general debate. At the conclusion of such general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. After the bill shall have been perfected in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union the same shall be reported to the House with such recommendation as the committee may make, whereupon the previous question shall be considered as ordered upon the bill and all amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that there may be 40 minutes of debate—20 minutes to be controlled by myself and 20 minutes by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL], at the end of which time the previous question shall be considered as ordered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that debate on the rule be limited to 40 minutes; that one half of the time be controlled by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL] and the other half by himself, and at the end of the 40 minutes the previous question shall be considered as ordered. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I do not expect to use the 20 minutes that I have allotted to me. The resolution provides for the consideration of the bill which has been reported to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, known as the electric supplement emergency power bill, as I understand it.

I have availed myself of this opportunity to say this: That there are several important measures which ought to be considered by the House before there is any gentleman's agreement entered into as to three-day recesses. These measures are emergency measures, rendered necessary by the stupendous preparations that are being made for the final drive to Berlin. For instance, there is urgent necessity for an additional laboratory for the manufacture and testing of pure serum, to be used in treating the boys who are unfortunately wounded.

There are at this time 14,000 tubercular patients, most of them in the incipient stage, for whom adequate preparations have not been made. It is estimated by the Surgeon General of the Army that by the time the American Army is completed,

by the time it reaches its maximum, there will be approximately 30,000 of these tubercular patients. Mose of these boys can be cured if they have proper treatment. The Committee on Rules has a resolution which will be presented to the House in the next day or so providing for the erection of the first of these great hospitals, which are to be built in various sections of the country, having regard to the convenience of the population. I mention these two measures, but there may be others.

One thing is certain, the best service we can render the country is to stay on the job and pass all measures that are necessary. [Applause.]

So far as this measure is concerned, it has the approval of the President of the United States, and it has the approval of the Secretary of War. There is a shortage in this electric power which can be partially remedied by the passage of this bill. I do not undertake to say that I am acquainted with all the provisions of the bill, but I do know that those who are charged with the administration of this great question say that the bill is needed and needed now.

Mr. SLOAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POU. Yes.

Mr. SLOAN. To whom did the President say that he was in favor of this measure? Has the President sent any message to the House?

Mr. POU. I think, I am indeed, sure, that the President has written to the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce saying that this measure is one of capital importance.

Mr. SLOAN. Has he sent a message to the House? A letter to a Member is not regarded of the importance as a message to the House.

Mr. POU. Somebody said on one occasion that there was no discussing a matter of taste. It does not seem to me at all necessary that the President should send a message every time there is a measure which has his approval. I am willing to act upon the letter which the gentleman from Tennessee has. Those who ought to know consider the bill necessary to speed up the great program of winning the war. So far as I am concerned that is sufficient.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I want first of all to concur in what the chairman of the Committee on Rules has stated about the importance of certain legislation that has been called to the attention of that committee. While it may be important to many that they should be in their district to look after their campaigns, it is of more importance to the country that all should remain here and pass this important legislation. It is especially important to provide for the production of pure serum, and for hospitals and sanitary facilities for those of our soldiers who are in the incipient stage of tuberculosis. Many soldiers, probably 20,000, at an early day will require treatment for this particular disease. We must make provision for their treatment and cure.

Now, as to the bill provided for by this rule. I have assented to this bill, as has every member of the Committee on Rules. We have done so because the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy has said that it is necessary for the proper conduct of the war.

While I yield to the President I do not concur entirely in his judgment as to the necessity of this measure. For 50 years Germany has commandeered her industries. The Kaiser has used every resource in the Empire. The schools, the churches, the philosophy, the science, the agriculture, the mining, the manufactures, every resource of the Empire has been under the command of the greatest outlaw that the world has ever known, with a view of enabling him to become the conquerer of the world.

He undertook after thorough preparation, after commandeering every resource of his Empire, to conquer the world. The rest of the world permitted initiative on the part of individuals. This initiative developed manhood and womanhood in France, in England, in Belgium, in Italy, and in the United States. The man power developed by individual effort, individual initiative, and the property and accumulated wealth acquired by these countries are used to-day to thwart the purposes of the man who has commandeered all the resources of his Empire. To-day we are driving the Kaiser's armies back to the Rhine, and in a few months the soldiers developed by individual enterprise will accomplish a great work for civilization by defeating the purposes of the man who scrambled Germany for the purpose of conquering the world. [Applause.]

The President, I am sure, has the best intentions; but I fear that in commandeering so many of the enterprises of this country he is leading us into a dense forest out of which we shall have difficulty in finding the way. The manhood and womanhood we have developed by individual effort, the property we have accumulated by individual industry and economy, are terminating the war—are driving the Germans back to Berlin, and will fly the flags of the allies over the Kaiser's capitol. [Applause.]

It is not necessary to scramble all industries and enterprises of the country in order to accomplish the purpose of the allies to save civilization from the autocratic Germans. Agencies of Garfield scrambled the coal interests of the country, and the people for the first time suffered as few people have suffered for the want of fuel last winter. It is now proposed to scramble the power plants of the United States by taking their control from individuals and putting them in charge of men appointed by the President. I do not believe that the agents to be appointed by the President will be more able, more economical, or more patriotic than the individuals who have organized and established these enterprises and are to-day conducting them, and yet in order that we may have no discord I assent to the President's demands and shall support that bill, still reserving the judgment I have here expressed as to the wisdom of doing this thing, and I say this with the utmost respect for gentlemen here or elsewhere who may disagree with the opinion that I have expressed.

I entertain this opinion because of my high esteem of the men and women of the United States who have developed the great manhood and the great womanhood and the enormous properties that are to-day rendering such signal service to civilization and mankind. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the remainder of my time. [Applause.] If the gentleman from North Carolina does not intend to use any more time, I desire to yield time to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SNELL].

Mr. POU. I do not think there will be any more time consumed on this side.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, how much time have I remaining?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has 11 minutes left.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SNELL].

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, I am one of the great majority of men in this House who do not need to apologize for the support that he has given the President in all his war-emergency legislation and in providing men, money, and material to successfully carry on this war. I do not intend to be less loyal in the future than I have been in the past, but I believe I have the right to think for myself in regard to the subject matter that comes in here under the much overworked caption of war-emergency legislation. I think that is about the situation in regard to the present bill. We have an order from the Commander in Chief that it must go through; skids are put under it and it will go through and I will vote for it the same as the rest of you do; but in my personal opinion the bill as it is presented to the House at the present time goes much further than there is any necessity for in order to meet or accomplish the desired results. I believe this bill goes further toward committing the policy of this Government to a Federal ownership of all utilities than any other bill that we have passed during the present session of the Congress, and I am not in favor of adopting that policy at the present time. The proponents of the bill say this bill is for the purpose of furnishing power in congested districts of the country where they are short of power for the manufacture of war materials; that is what they maintain is the actual object of the bill.

If that was the only object of the bill and that was all that is contained in the bill, I do not believe there is a Member of this House who would oppose it in any way for a single moment. Certainly a membership voting $8,000,000,000 to raise and equip an army would never stop to consider one or two hundred million dollars for power to furnish materials to supply that army. According to the hearings, it has been shown that the Government engineers have known that this shortage existed from 6 to 10 months. If that is so and this emergency has existed for all of that time, why has it not been presented to the House before this, just at a time when people are thinking of going away; and if it is considered, every man knows it will be considered hastily and not given the consideration and attention that a measure of this kind is entitled to? The Government engineers have made this survey; they know where this shortage exists, and we all admit it does exist. This shortage exists in the Pittsburgh district, the Philadelphia district, the Norfolk district, the New Jersey district, the Charleston district, and some others.

I would like to have some one tell me why they could not prepare a bill and bring it in here and specifically state we need so many millions for this and this and that, and in addition we want $50,000,000 for emergency power purposes which the President can use at his own will as he sees the emergency exists. A

bill of that kind, it seems to me, would carry the entire proposition and not be so wide in its scope as the present bill that is presented to us. I can not understand why that can not be done. Heretofore we have clothed the President with most unusual powers—more power than has ever been given to any one man in any civilized country—but this bill goes even further than anything we have passed before. And as proof of that I want to call attention of the Members of the House to some of the provisions of this bill, and then you gentlemen can decide for yourselves. This bill provides for the commandeering of all the hydroelectric and steam power plants in every part of the country, and in the definition of power plants it says that it includes all machinery and appliances therein contained, together with all lines transmitting or distributing power in connection therewith, and all other property the ownership, use, or occupancy of which shall be appropriate to or useful in connection with the maintenance and operation thereof.

This bill gives power to the President to commandeer every public utility within the boundaries of the United States. It does not limit him. It does not specify that those utilities must be in connection or even near the places that have need of power for additional manufacture of war materials, and it gives carte blanche the power to commandeer them all in every part of the United States. Now, they do not want anything more in this bill that what the proponents state; it does not seem to me that it is necessary to confer such broad powers on the President of the United States at this time.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SNELL. I will.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Has not the President that power already under section 12 of the food act?

Mr. SNELL. I was coming to that later; but I should say I think the President has the power to commandeer any plant at any time for war purposes, and I understand that he has already taken over some plants under the authority granted under that act.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. They are not big enough; that is the trouble.

Mr. SNELL. It seems to me to be going entirely too far as the bill now stands. The bill also carries a provision, or it is intended by the bill, to construct hydroelectric plants. The hearings say that they do not intend to construct any such plants, because the probabilities are that they could not get them done in time for use during the period of the war. If they do not intend to do that, what is the use of conferring authority on them to do such things? Paragraph 4, section 2, grants power to acquire private power plants anywhere within the boundaries of the United States. I see no limitation there.

In paragraph 11 of section 2, I believe it is, it gives the President power to establish corporations to take over plants, build new ones and merge small ones, and many other things that will make it difficult to ever return these plants to the individual owners. All this does not seem to me to be necessary, if we are simply going to increase power for manufacture of war munitions. In paragraph 13 it provides for the making of and fixing compensation for engineers, draftsmen, clerks, and other employees as he may deem necessary. No limit whatever. It provides for the establishment of another board in Washington, which means additional buildings, office space, and housing facilities, and I believe the majority of the Members will agree we have enough of them here at present.

Section 8 of the bill provides that the President may retain any of this property and operate these plants or transmission lines, structures, and so forth, for as long a time as he may deem necessary. I see no limitation here. To me that is directly opposed to the other provision of the bill which says it must be terminated in five years, and should be stricken out of the bill and the other time even shortened. My only contention is that the bill goes much further and does much more than the proponents of the bill would have you understand it does or claim is necessary at this time to do in order to furnish power to manufacture war materials. And I hope in the consideration of the bill that it may be limited in some of these respects, and that we will not go too far toward committing this Government to the policy of Federal ownership of all the public utilities of the country. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 12776, with Mr. HOUSTON in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 12776) to provide further for the national security and defense and for the more effective prosecution of the war by furnishing means for the better utilization of the existing sources of electrical and mechanical power and for the development of new sources of such power, and for other purposes.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the first reading of the bill be omitted.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that the first reading of the bill be dispensed with. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I want to use as little time as I can, and therefore I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing matters that I otherwise would have to read, but all of it applicable solely to this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks by printing the matter he has indicated. Is there objection?

Mr. SNELL. Reserving the right to object, I understand you are going to explain the provisions of the bill, however?

Mr. SIMS. Certainly. But there are some authorities I want to quote from that I do not want to stop to read.

Mr. Chairman, the object and purpose of this bill is to provide for an existing power shortage, electric power shortage, and to provide as far as possible against an increasing electric power shortage which will be much larger in 8, 10, or 12 months from now than it will be between now and that time.

Do not get confused about this being a water-power bill. I know the newspapers have referred to it continuously as a water-power bill, and because we have talked water-power matters on the floor of the House so long, many Members who know what the bill means, its object and purpose, have inadvertently called it a water-power bill. But it is not confined to any particular source of electric power. If there is an existing water-power plant, so situated that it can be used for the purpose of manufacturing war material, or other material not directly war material, but necessary and incident to it, which may add to or increase its output to meet these demands, and it can be done within reasonable time—that is, within time that it will appear reasonable that we may need it, why then, under this bill it may be done.

Mr. McFADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. Certainly.

Mr. McFADDEN. I am interested in Pennsylvania. I understand there is a great deficiency of power in certain districts in that State. I notice that at Milton the other day a power plant was authorized by the Government, to cost $375,000, and the Government enters into a contract with the industries there to take these plants off their hands after the emergency has passed. Can the gentleman explain how that is done, and also how the Government is to aid, for instance, in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia and in the other sections of the State, through this bill? Can he specifically state the aid that is to be rendered to the industries in my State?

Mr. SIMS. That will be a part of my attempt in explaining the bill, but I wanted to clear up the water power part of it first.

If an existing plant, as I have just stated, may be aided by the Government under the provisions of this bill in increasing its output, which output can be utilized for war purposes, there is nothing in the bill to prevent it being aided, but, on the other hand, it authorizes it.

But on account of the practicable impossibility of building large water-power dams and manufacturing the machinery and other things necessary, especially dams on navigable rivers, within time to be used, as far as it can be seen now, for the manufacture of necessary war materials, aid to such projects will not be extended, because it would be impracticable to do so. In other words, it would do no good if it took two or three years to build a war power plant, beginning with the construction of the hydraulic part of it; and if it could not be furnished before that time, of course, it would not be undertaken under this bill.

Mr. SNELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. Certainly.

Mr. SNELL. If they do not intend to build any hydraulic plants, why is it necessary to give them the power to do so?

Mr. SIMS. I say, in that character of cases it would not be done. But if there is, as I said, a hydraulic plant, where it could be built from the ground up, dam and all, and be done within such time as to make it reasonably certain that it could be utilized for the manufacture of war material, then it can be aided or constructed under this bill, first, by assisting the existing company, if there is one, and second, by the Government itself constructing the plant.

The hearings developed the fact that the Government has had a preliminary survey made of those sections of the country

where there is sufficient or insufficient power at the present time—and that survey covers all sections of the country—and a report has been made to the War Department showing where there is a normal supply of power and where there is an excess supply of power and where there is a shortage of power.

Now, it is where a shortage exists that there will be authority under this bill for the Government to do what is provided for in this bill. The gentleman from New York [Mr. SNELL] in his remarks a moment ago on the rule, as I understood him, said that there would be power under this bill to commandeer every power plant in the United States, wherever situated, and further, to build and construct power plants in the United States wherever situated.

Mr. SNELL. That is as I understand the bill. I would like to have the gentleman explain it to me and show the restriction. In the gentleman's bill it is provided "within the boundaries of the United States."

Mr. SIMS. Certainly.

Mr. SNELL. That, as defined here, means all lands and waters subject to any purposes subject to the jurisdiction of the United States of America.

Mr. SIMS. When I come to the discussion of the bill under the five-minute rule on those points I will be glad to give explanations as contained in the hearings.

The reason I say it will be confined to the sections where there is a shortage of power is that there is no other reason for the proposed legislation. If there was no shortage of power anywhere in the United States, then this bill would not be before the House. Therefore the only purpose of the bill is to decrease shortage or to prevent shortage in sections of the United States where additional power is or may be needed for war purposes.

Mr. WALDOW. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. WALDOW. I agree with the gentleman that there is a great shortage of electrical power in various sections of the country. However, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. McFADDEN] has just informed us that the Government is spending between three and four hundred thousand dollars in his State to finance a power company. The Government is doing practically the same thing at Niagara Falls. Now, then, if they have the power to do those things as a war emergency, what is the necessity of passing a bill of this kind?

Mr. SIMS. There is a War Finance Corporation, as the gentleman knows, and it is possible that some plants may be financed by that corporation, as, for instance, a municipal plant in Oregon. But it can not be made practicable in many cases because they can not comply with the provisions of the war finance law.

Mr. SNOOK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. SNOOK. My colleague will remember the testimony of Secretary of War Baker, found on page 4 of the hearings, where he went into the question of our advancing money on these plants, especially the plants in the Pittsburgh district, in which he says that is the reason which led to the framing of this bill, because they did not have the power to continue this work or advance the money.

Mr. SIMS. Yes. The gentleman asked about certain places where they were already doing it.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. I want to make a general statement first. I do not refuse to answer questions where I can. I will try to answer the question of the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. WALDOW. This is considered an emergency power act?

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. WALDOW. I fail to find any provision here except that it is permanent law.

Mr. SIMS. It is like every other law—permanent until by the limitation in the law it expires or until it is repealed. It can not last more than five years, even as applying to the sale and disposition of the property in which the United States has an interest.

Mr. HAUGEN. Can the gentleman state in regard to his views as to the number of projects that are to be developed, as based upon the evidence of the Secretaries who appeared before the committee? And are we to have an assurance that there will be no abuses?

Mr. SIMS. Yes; and there is a detailed statement of Lieut. Stanley, who made the surveys. That is in the hearings.

Mr. HAUGEN. And it will not be done unless it is necessary?

Mr. SIMS. Absolutely not.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. HAMLIN. I appreciate the fact that everyone here acknowledges the necessity of such legislation as this; but to my mind this question has arisen, and I would like to have the gentleman discuss it in his remarks: I notice the bill provides that the Government shall furnish the money and step in and enlarge existing plants.

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. HAMLIN. Does the gentleman think that he has sufficiently safeguarded the interests of the Government so that the private plants can not force the Government to come in and put in additional machinery at large expense, and then after this law shall cease to be enforced and after the war is over they will be the beneficiaries and keep this additional machinery and equipment and the Government get nothing out of it?

Mr. SIMS. No. We think we have the Government safeguarded and protected in the bill as reported. I am afraid some of our other friends here feel that perhaps we may have overdone it, because one gentleman from New York [Mr. SNELL], in addressing the House on the rule, said this was the most drastic piece of legislation in the direction of Government ownership that had ever come before the House.

Mr. SNELL. I said it reached that far.

Mr. SIMS. Now, I would like to give an explanation of the purposes of the bill. Let me read to the House and to the Members of the committee who hear me a list of the places where the survey made by the War Department shows that there is an existing power shortage and where it will become greater as time goes on:

DISTRICTS WHERE PRELIMINARY SURVEYS SHOW A POWER SHORTAGE.

Alexandria, Va.; Altoona, Pa.; Baltimore, Md.; Bucyrus, Ohio; Charleston, S. C.; Cleveland, Ohio; Columbus, Ohio; Erie, Pa.; Easton, Pa.; Erie County, Pa.; Hammond, Ind.; Harrisburg, Pa.; Huntington, W. Va.; Johnstown, Pa.; Kansas City, Mo.

Lehigh district (Pennsylvania): Allentown, Bethlehem, Hazelton, Milton, Sunbury.

Lima, Ohio; Little Rock, Ark.; Lorain, Ohio.

Lowell, Mass.; Michigan City, Ind.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.; Newport News, Va.

New Jersey: Bayonne, Bound Brook, Camden, Elizabeth, Hoboken, Jersey City, Montclair, Newark, New Brunswick, Orange, Passaic, Paterson, Perth Amboy, Rahway, Somerville, Trenton.

Niles, Mich.; Philadelphia, Pa.

Pittsburgh district (Pennsylvania): Akron, Alliance, Canton, Massillon, Warren, and Youngstown, Ohio; West Penn system; Wheeling, W. Va.

Portland, Oreg.; Reading, Pa.; Richmond, Ind.; Richmond and Norfolk, Va.

Scranton, Pa.; South Bend, Ind.; Trenton, Mass.; Terre Haute, Ind.

Texas (northeastern): Denison, Fort Worth, Gainesville, Paris, Taylor, Waco.

Three Rivers, Mich.; Watertown, N. Y.; Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Wilmington, Del.; York, Pa.; York Haven, Pa.

Now, while the bill in general terms covers the whole United States, the power conferred under the bill can not be used by the Government in the development of electric power anywhere except where there is a power shortage and where it is shown by the engineers of the War Department that a power shortage exists or where it will soon exist; where it is necessary to have more power for war purposes, if not for ordinary civic utilities.

Mr. McFADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. McFADDEN. Is there a well-defined policy for relief in each one of these places mapped out by the War Department?

Mr. SIMS. The survey shows in detail in every case just how much it will be necessary to increase the power in these places. The well-defined policy is that the Government will assist in increasing the power up to the point it is necessary, as shown in the survey.

Mr. McFADDEN. Has the War Department made any contract for that purpose?

Mr. SIMS. No; only one contract that I know of, and that is at Pittsburgh, and I am not well acquainted enough with its provisions to explain it.

Now, I want to refer to a proposition for development of a project in Pennsylvania where the company is ready to go ahead and build a water-power plant. It is not on a navigable river and not upon public lands, and therefore the law of the State of Pennsylvania only applies, and the only way the War Department would have anything to do with it would be to minimize the amount of flow into the Allegheny and Ohio, which has been done.

Referring to the map I have before you, here is the Clarion River; one dam can be built at the lower end of project 250 feet high, and another one can be built about 50 miles above at another place 250 feet high. Each one will develop 150,000 horsepower, making a total of 300,000 horsepower. The upper dam will create an immense storage basin, storing a vast amount of water which can be kept and used during the low-water period.

Not only can it be used for power purposes in these places, but it will go into the Ohio River through the Allegheny at such times as to materially aid navigation in both streams, although that is not the immediate purpose of its construction.

Mr. McFADDEN. Will the gentleman state what is the shortage of horsepower in Pittsburgh?

Mr. SIMS. Over 400,000 horsepower. Now, I am doing this to show you why it might be a sensible thing and a wise thing to develop a water power. The Clarion River in Pennsylvania, 50 miles north of Pittsburgh, has a total development of 300,000 horsepower. At the lower plant 60,000 horsepower can be developed, as I am informed, in 16 months, and with Government assistance the time can be shortened 2 or 3 months. The second plant would develop 150,000 horsepower. The time of construction would be 20 to 24 months, which could also be shortened by Government assistance. A tremendous water power would result from it, and it would be less expensive to complete it than a great dam crossing a wide spread of river and covering much area. This is in a gulch, with mountains on each side. The company is ready and wants it done. By increasing the height of the dam in the first plant at a later date the remaining 90,000 horsepower can be obtained. The total development would save 2,000,000 tons of coal per annum and the labor of 4,000 to 5,000 men producing and handling the same. Also it would free for other uses thousands of railroad cars and hundreds of locomotives.

It also would be of vast assistance to the navigation stage of the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers, and would create a water highway of nearly a hundred miles. It would also be of vast assistance to the flood stage of the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers.

All dam-construction material except cement is available at construction sites; cement plants are located within 25 miles.

There are three great railroads within 1 mile from the dams—Pennsylvania Railroad, New York Central, and Baltimore & Ohio—that serve this district.

There is not a hydraulic-electric plant anywhere in reach of Pittsburgh.

Mr. McFADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. McFADDEN. Now, right there, what would be the policy of the gentleman in relation to that?

Mr. SIMS. The practical policy is to enlarge steam powers, but I want to show why the law ought to be broad enough in its provisions to cover a case like the one I have referred to, because it comes within the object and purpose of the law, increasing power, and increasing it quickly where it is needed most. That is why I refer to it. It does look strange for neither Pennsylvania nor the Government to aid in the construction of a plant I have referred to so near Pittsburgh, the greatest manufacturing city in the world.

Mr. BESHLIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. BESHLIN. Was there any testimony before the committee as to the opposition to that project on the Clarion River?

Mr. SIMS. No; no testimony before the committee of any kind as to that particular project.

Mr. BESHLIN. The question of constructing dams on the Clarion River has been before the Water-Supply Commission of Pennsylvania for years and seriously resisted. I wondered if it had been developed before the committee that any of that opposition had been withdrawn or what there would be in the way of condemnation proceedings.

Mr. SIMS. The present company, as I understand, has all they need in the way of flowage rights and everything of that sort. I never heard of the project until this bill was reported.

Mr. FOCHT. Will the gentleman from Tennessee yield?

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. FOCHT. I want to say that for two or three years I was a member of the water-supply commission of Pennsylvania, consisting of three members. That whole matter was brought before us and gone over thoroughly by the engineers and some financiers who proposed to finance the proposition. That is to say, if it is the same proposition, the Clarion River of Pennsylvania, three dams, 300 feet high.

Mr. SIMS. No; two dams each to be 250 feet high.

Mr. FOCHT. We favored that proposition but we waited for the sanction of the United States Government, the War Department, and also the assurance of a guaranty that these gentlemen would be able to finance it. There was no objection whatever in my recollection to the construction of the dams, but it was merely a question of the guarantee that it would be completed and not spoil the situation and interfere with the possible development by some one else.

Mr. SIMS. I can not take in all these because——

Mr. BESHLIN. If the gentleman will permit me, does the gentleman recall whether or not some parties from Forest County did not object to the construction of the dam because it would throw the water back on them?

Mr. FOCHT. One place there was to be a bridge and they had a plan by which that could be overcome and full recompense allowed for flooded land. All of that was to be taken into consideration. That was one objection that was made.

Mr. SIMS. Of course, I am glad to hear the facts. I trust that I am not to be considered as promoting the project or boosting it, as I do not know anything about it except from what others have told me.

Mr. FOCHT. It is entirely feasible according to the engineers.

Mr. SIMS. I suggested it as a possible water-power development from the beginning that might be aided under the provisions of the bill. That is the only one I know of in the United States. There are several navigation dams on several of the rivers built at Government expense; several on the Ohio and elsewhere; and these dams were built but no generating machinery has ever been installed. Development at these Government dams in all probability can be made as quickly and as rapidly as a coal or steam plant can be installed at other places. It all depends upon what the facts may be as to each place. This bill will authorize such developments. The great or chief practicable effect of this bill will be the increase of carboelectric power, electric power created through the use of coal, because in the great majority of the power plants that are located in these shortage districts power is produced by the consumption of coal. Therefore it may be said that in its application it is a bill to assist in the increasing of steam-produced electric power. It is electric power, not hydraulic power, because electric power is frequently absolutely essential to the manufacturing of much of the war munitions, as the gentleman knows, and in shipbuilding, in the great gun factories, and in almost every character of manufacture electric power has become essential and absolutely necessary. It is absolutely necessary in the mining of coal.

I introduce the Pittsburgh project simply as an illustration of where a water-power plant might be wholly constructed from the foundation in time to meet the necessities of the situation, but I do not know whether it can be done or not. No member of the Government has ever said a word to me about it.

Mr. McFADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. I will.

Mr. McFADDEN. The point that looks important to me is in the Pittsburgh district there is a shortage of 400,000 tons at the present time of coal, and I am afraid to-day throughout the whole country this winter there might be some shortage of coal. Does not a proposition like this tend to remedy that?

Mr. SIMS. I think it will be a great aid. I do not believe a 300,000 horsepower project can be developed within time to help win this war. I hope not, because it would take 24 months to develop the power; but when done it would be of the greatest aid in reducing the demand upon the coal supply of that region, and in order to have available the required coal supply it is necessary to pass this bill. Why? Because coal is mined by electric power.

Here is a chart which shows it, which Dr. Garfield presented as a part of his hearing but on account of having to be printed immediately I could not have it printed, but it is illustrative of the coal-saving proposition of having a central electric-power plant to serve a number of mines instead of having scattered mines each having a plant of its own. Here is the chart [illustrating].

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. I will.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Inasmuch as this is an emergency bill it would not be possible to attempt the construction of dams to generate and develop by water power, would it?

Mr. SIMS. Not unless the dam can be constructed as quickly as a steam-power plant at the same place. I only referred to this project to show at least one place in the United States where it can be done, and if it can be done it is where it is needed and needed badly. This is a chart showing the per annum use of coal in scattered plants and the great saving of coal by having one power plant serve all the mines instead of having scattered power plants serve each mine.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. In line with the question the gentleman from Pennsylvania asked, that was exactly the situation, it seems to me, that confronted the Government with regard to the dam at Muscle Shoals, which was to develop hydroelectric energy.

Mr. SIMS. That they could not possibly obtain the power within a reasonable time?

Mr. LONGWORTH. The Government, I think, caused it to be discontinued on the ground it was nonessential, because it would not be finished within a reasonable time.

Mr. SIMS. That is as I understand it, but Mr. Baruch explains the matter in the hearings.

Mr. McFADDEN. On the general proposition I know nothing except that the Pennsylvania proposition of 60,000 horsepower can be developed within a reasonable time.

Mr. SIMS. As soon as the same amount of power can be developed by steam power, that is, power developed by the use of steam?

Mr. BANKHEAD. With reference to the statement made by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH], which was frequently reiterated by him on the floor with reference to the construction of the dam at Muscle Shoals, the power proposition was not conceived and not encouraged since the declaration of war. It was a permanent policy, adopted prior to the declaration of war, for the development of nitrates especially for fertilizer purposes. I think the gentleman from Ohio is familiar with those facts.

Mr. SIMS. They cease to develop, because they could not have it finished for war purposes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will say that $20,000,000 was diverted from the nitrate fund of $40,000,000, and it was done with the object, and it was so stated, of developing the water power for war purposes, and that it was a war measure.

Mr. SIMS. I want to refer to Mr. Baruch's testimony in the hearings. You can see what he says as to the stopping of the work on it.

I do not want to be led off into these collateral matters. But I do understand that we stopped developing the nitrate plant at Muscle Shoals because the material and labor needed to carry it out were needed elsewhere for war purposes, and its development could not be finished in time to meet the war emergency.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Is it not a fact that this $20,000,000 appropriation for a nitrate plant or fertilizer plant was made long before the declaration of war?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Let us get down to facts. They are not as stated by the gentleman exactly. That plant was started for the purpose of developing nitrogen for war purposes and nothing else. It was not stated that it was for anything else.

Mr. BANKHEAD. If the gentleman will refer to the debates in the House and in the Senate, I think he will find differently.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I am conversant with the debates on the subject.

Mr. FOCHT. The gentleman has a map here and has been saying a lot about this business. Will he state what relationship is contemplated with the Government under the provisions of his bill?

Mr. SIMS. Under the provisions of my bill power will be given to the President to assist in the development by making priority orders, and things of that sort, in order to provide material for the war.

Mr. SNELL. Could he not give priority orders now?

Mr. SIMS. He could do it.

Mr. SNELL. Then why do we need to give additional power?

Mr. SIMS. I have read here what was stated by the president of a company, that assistance from the Government was needed. It is where speedy development seemed to be reasonably possible and probable. In other cases water powers would have to be a going concern and would have to increase their capacity, which the Government could do by giving sufficient aid.

Mr. FOCHT. Would the Government meet that objection that we raised as to whether we could finance it or not? Would the Government meet that?

Mr. SIMS. This bill gives the power.

Mr. FOCHT. That is it exactly.

Mr. SIMS. I will ask the chairman to call me down after five minutes.

I will not undertake to go into this matter in detail, as I am allowed to extend my remarks. But the object and purpose of this bill, succinctly stated, is to get the earliest and greatest amount of increase in hydroelectric power, carboelectric power, or any other kind of electric power that can be produced and that is needed for war purposes, and only where it is needed for war purposes. And it is to terminate within six months after the end of the war, and the President is only allowed five years, if he needs that length of time, to dispose of the Government's interest in these power plants so aided. The bill is very plain.

Mr. SNELL. Will the gentleman yield right there at that point?

Mr. SIMS. I will.

Mr. SNELL. If that is the situation, what does section 8 of the bill mean, if he is only allowed five years?

Mr. SIMS. He is only allowed five years to disposed of the property.

Mr. SNELL. What does this mean:

That the President may retain any property and operate any plants, transmission lines, structures, facilities, or appliances constructed or acquired under the provisions of this act for such time as he may deem necessary or advisable for the purpose of selling or otherwise disposing thereof.

Mr. SIMS. That explains it all. It does not need any further explanation. He is to keep it for such time as is necessary to enable him to dispose of it.

Mr. SNELL. You say he must do it in five years.

Mr. SIMS. The object of giving him that much time is to dispose of it. You would not want the Government to lose anything if it could not profitably dispose of it in 4 years 11 months and 29 days. The gentleman is making a mountain out of a mole hill. It ought to be in there. For our country's sake, give the people a little benefit of a doubt, instead of giving it all to those investing capital.

Mr. SINNOTT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. SINNOTT. Does the gentleman mean by that word "disposing" the absolute disposal, or selling, or the leasing?

Mr. SIMS. Selling or otherwise disposing of.

Mr. SINNOTT. That would permit the Government to lease the property?

Mr. SIMS. If it seemed to be in the public interest at the time.

I would like to use more time, but other gentlemen, members of the committee and gentlemen who are not members of the committee, desire time, and I wish to yield the rest of my time to them.

Mr. SNELL. Would the gentleman yield for one more question?

Mr. SIMS. I can not. I will do it under the five-minute rule.

Mr. Chairman, before yielding the floor I wish to have read in my time an extract from a bulletin that has just been issued by the Smithsonian Institution, United States National Museum, entitled "Power: Its Significance and Needs," by Chester G. Gilbert and Joseph E. Ponge, beginning on page 38 and concluded on page 50 of the bulletin.

The matter referred to is as follows:

NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRIAL OPPORTUNITY.

Power and raw materials constitute the foundations of industry. Capital, labor, markets, and other elements enter into the structure, but they do not lie at the base. Neither power resources nor raw materials are uniformly available; both tend to be provincial in occurrence; but since industrial power is dominantly drawn from coal, while raw materials are derived from a thousand sources of organic and mineral origin, the aggregate availability is far more restricted in the case of coal. In other words, any given section of the country is almost invariably provided with raw material of some kind, while under the present régime only those sections contiguous to rich coal fields are amply provided with power. The geographical and political consequences of the localized occurrence of coal and of concentrated types of raw materials are obvious and well known. The inequalities of opportunity conditioned by these matters have always been bones of contention, from the aboriginal strife over deposits of salt and flint down to the action which resulted in the conquest of an iron-bearing province and contributed prominently to the epoch-making conflict now raging.

Discord from this source is as old as human history and nations have evolved with the placement of their boundaries strongly influenced by concentrations of resource opportunity. The North American Continent, however, provides a notable exception to the rule. Its vast area was explored and appropriated before its resource potentialities were recognized, and hence its various sections came to be unified into a few nationalities on the strength of social bonds, which, with one or two exceptions, have nowhere been dissevered by subsequent economic influences. Thus the United States is a Nation of many parts bound together by social unity, but separated by a divergence of economic interests. The development of natural resources has given rise to a marked differentiation in the quality of opportunity opening up to the different sections, while the boundaries of the economic provinces set up in this wise are further emphasized by a general conformity to topographic features disfavoring intercommunication. Thus this country is displaying a steady drift toward economic variation and specialization among its members.

But national well-being is dependent upon economic unity no less than upon social unity. The Civil War, in the last analysis, had its origin in discordant economic sectionalism. A military expression of domestic discord is outgrown, but civil strife is not the sole misfortune that may arise from cross interests. Without economic unity a definite economic policy is nationally unattainable. And with no formulated economic policy, one of the two prime functions of government is reduced to the rank of partisanship, and industry is left to the paralyzing influence of uncertainty as regards the future of prospective operations. Thus far the divergent economic interests of the various sections of the country have not permitted the establishment of a constructive economic policy satisfactory to the Nation as a whole.

Elements too numerous to specify enter into this sectionalism of interest, but the most conspicuous contributor to the outcome is the presence or absence of resources productive of mechanical energy. Given a region endowed with an ample supply of coal, for example, and all the other elements of industrial activity gather in the manner of an accretionary growth. Even the crudest raw materials tend to be drawn

to the sources of energy in greater measure than is found true of the reverse relation. Other attractions, to be sure, such as labor supply, markets, and transportation facilities register strong claims tending to diffuse and spread the focus of development, but industrial concentration never migrates beyond the convenient reach of power, which therefore sets the outside bounds to industrial range. Thus certain naturally favored sections of the country have come to have a predominant interest in manufacture, while other sections in the rôle of producers and consumers for the manufacturing areas are led to react to motives and economic interests foreign and even antagonistic to those of manufacture. Where such a situation is permitted to develop in accentuated form, an economic policy satisfactory to the two extremes would appear to involve a type of concord foreign to human nature.

The influence of energy resources in an unfavorable and favorable direction may be illustrated by two examples—one drawn from conditions obtaining in New England and the other taken from recent industrial developments in the South Atlantic States.

In New England the foundations of industrialism were laid during the régime of water power. With the advent of steam power the abundance of coal available to the Middle Atlantic States set up a strong counter attraction which entailed a steady migration of industry away from the New England section, since this area contains no coal, and is marked by physiographic conditions which provide inadequate gateways for rail transportation and necessitate a roundabout rail-to-water-to-rail service exposed to all manner of exigency. Still, with the advantages of its early start, New England maintained a powerful asset in the form of skilled labor, and the weight of this factor has overbalanced the lack of an adequate power supply in those special forms of industry involving specialized workmanship. These, therefore, still prevail and reflect the peculiar color of the situation. But in the newer industrial sections elsewhere skill of workmanship is in process of development and is steadily lessening the attraction of an advantage which transiently favors New England. In time this factor will be practically neutralized, and with continued inequality of power supply New England will see its industrial life narrowing under the cumulative weight of a growing handicap. This is an example, then, of how a natural power supply may create a development in one part of the country at the expense of another section, a circumstance not making for unity of interest.

The South Atlantic area resembles New England in respect to power resources; coal must be hauled in from a distance and water power is fairly abundant. But whereas the industrialism of New England is the oldest in the country that of the South is among the youngest. Here, indeed, the growth of industry has been largely a matter of the past 15 or 20 years, subsequent, therefore, to the introduction of electricity as a motive force. In consequence much of the upgrowth is built upon the use of hydroelectric power, and tends to be distributive—that is to say, natural—instead of a forced growth in proximity to localized coal belts. Coming into action late the industrialism of the South, unhampered by tradition and unencumbered by obsolescent power establishments, took over the practice best suited to its needs. Thus, while the Northeastern States form an illustration of centralized industry, establishing itself first in New England and migrating later to the Central Atlantic States and thence westward, the South displays a regional development of industry nowhere intersely focused, but spread, on the contrary, in diluted form over a large area. The contrast is suggestive; for permanence, for national well-being, for the common good, it would appear that a balanced economic life in which each section manufactures, in large measure, its own products is preferable to a highly intensified manufacture setting up its own interests in opposition to the more extensive producing areas. The South presents an example of power supply disposed to create a normal development from within, with minimum detraction from the opportunities peculiar to other sections.

These are but two illustrations of fields in which power supply is a strong economic force. Each section of the country, in point of fact, has its own peculiar reflex to this matter. The Pacific coast, for instance, has a specialized and acute power problem to meet; there the rich oil fields of California launched a period of industrialism which this source of power can not much longer sustain. The industrial life of this whole section is threatened by the impending decline of its oil fields. Similarly with the Southwest. The power influence, then, is country-wide—here throttling established industry; there leading to overbalanced growth; elsewhere retarding needed developments; rarely promoting well-rounded economic growth; on the whole, making for divergence of economic interest.

This situation, undesirable as it stands, is bound to grow worse if matters are left to untrammeled evolution. Human labor is mobile; it is becoming standardized, even nationalized; cheap labor locally restricted is disappearing. Thus the factor of labor supply is losing its distributive effect upon industry. In consequence, the presence of mechanical labor (power) will become an even greater centralizing force than heretofore; manufacturing districts will tend to be more strikingly developed than ever. The natural tendency, in short, will be toward the building up of centralized industry enjoying monopolistic advantages of power supply, a condition in itself constituting a restraint in respect to the adequate unfoldment of other industries beyond the reach of the favored source.

Such an interplay of economic forces is complex and proclivities can not be expected to travel far undeflected by new conditions, but whatever the uncertainties of the matter, the power situation merits attention in respect to its present untoward bearing on economic policy. If a constructive economic policy is desirable for this country, and if the conclusion is valid that the power supply represents a force now working against the unification of economic purpose into a national policy, but capable of direction toward such an outcome, the whole matter becomes a fundamental issue which may not be ignored. In short, a coordinated and balanced development of the coal and water-power resources of the country, which will follow from the establishment of an adequate common-carrier system of transmission lines, will serve to equalize industrial opportunity and therefore to unify the economic interests of the country so that a constructive economic policy agreeable to all sections may win country-wide support.

But in addition to its bearing upon national policy, a distribution of power advantages will make for an indirect but very significant gain in the matter of transportation; for industry may then strike a more perfect balance between the location of raw-material sources and markets. As the matter now stands, the adjustment is a compromise between three main factors, of which the position of the fuel source is dominant, and the industrial centralization resulting is in considerable measure responsible for the "bottle-neck" restrictions in the transportation layout of this country—a pattern that has become a conspicuous source of transportation weakness during the past year. The nationalization of industrial opportunity through equalized power supply will permit the upgrowth of new industrial activities in positions which will impose a lessened relative burden upon the railways and diffuse the intensification of responsibility that is now bearing with growing force upon the neck-like restrictions in the neighborhood of present industrial centers.

ENLARGEMENT OF INDUSTRIAL OPPORTUNITY.

We have seen that power supply constitutes a strong attractive force, leading under natural conditions to marked industrial concentrations in certain parts of the country. The unfavorable bearing of this circumstance upon the attainment of a national economic policy is noteworthy and constitutes an argument for directing the sectionalizing force of power supply into more distributive channels than it seeks of its own accord. The most effective means toward a better balanced industrial growth in this respect is afforded by electricity, which lends itself to generation at fixed points in coal regions and at water-power sites, and to transmission thence to adjacent areas in such manner that, if the growth as a whole be properly shaped, a much larger portion of the country may be served with power on terms of equality than is now the case. Thus can power be turned away, in considerable measure, from its present dangerous facility in accentuating diversity of economic interest and made to contribute to the nationalization of industrial opportunity.

But just as coal contains valuable commodities as well as stored-up energy, so electricity is not merely a convenient form of power, but is a new and profoundly important chemical agent as well. In this sense electricity represents a fresh industrial factor which is just beginning to come into play and bids fair to make for itself a master range of activity. Electricity, then, is not only capable of distributing industrial opportunity; it is competent at the same time of infinitely enlarging the scope of industrialism. The opportunity in this direction is so significant and has so recently become apparent that the field merits a close view in connection with the whole matter of power supply.

This field of special electrical service, in contradistinction to the application of electric energy as a motive force, is covered by the term "electrochemistry," which is the art of applying electrical energy to the furtherance of chemical operations. The aptness of electricity for this purpose has proved so great that in scarcely more than a decade there has developed a large number of electrochemical industries, in addition to a growing range of superior adaptions in established industries and in the realm of metallurgy, with the setting up of a new branch of the latter, known as electrometallurgy. Thus electrochemistry has not only facilitated ordinary industrial activities in many directions; it has opened an unbounded territory never before traversed by industry.

The facility of electricity in this new realm is due to its capacity for generating heat under conditions open to exact control, over high temperatures not attainable by fuel combustion, and in absence of gases, together with the exertion of a chemical force of decomposition independently or in conjunction with the heating effect. Thus electrochemistry operates through its dissociating effect upon solutions and melts, a process technically called "electrolysis"; through discharges in gases; and by means of electric furnaces. Upon these operations depend the manufacture of alkalis, chlorine, atmospheric nitrogen, graphite, artificial abrasives, and calcium carbide; the production of aluminum and many of the steel-hardening metals; and the refining of gold, silver, and copper—to mention merely the most conspicuous attainments of the electrochemical art.

The achievements of electrochemistry to date are to be credited mainly to the region around Niagara Falls and to foreign countries, especially the latter. Elsewhere in the United States there are relatively few electrochemical activities. Such as have been established are in the vicinity of choice water-power sites or, as in the case of recent atmospheric nitrogen fixation plants, subsidized by the Government. But, by and large, electrochemical industries are grossly undeveloped in this country, relative both to their intrinsic importance and to their upgrowth abroad; and while a considerable expansion has resulted under the stimulus of war prices, the course of progress is under the handicap of power costs running far in excess of what is offered in Canada and abroad. Since power is a large item of expense in most electrochemical activities, its high cost in the United States is not only preventing development, except along specialized lines of high-value small-bulk products, but is causing an emigration and settlement of such industries in other countries offering a more genial atmosphere of power costs. Not only this, but the tide of emigration is actually affecting the industries already established at Niagara Falls. On the whole, then, counting off war-time exuberance, our electrochemical industries, while growing in an absolute sense, are relatively stationary, if not actually retrograding. That is to say, our electrochemical needs are growing faster than our electrochemical industries, which means that an increasing dependence upon foreign developments is under way.

If the high cost of electric power in the United States is blocking adequate electrochemical developments, we should take time to examine the scope of the fields that are being retarded by this circumstance. Such a retardation, of course, is difficult to visualize, for its most important area consists of what has not been accomplished; or, rather, of the margin between current and possible attainments, so far as determined by conditions of power supply. Yet the prospect can be swept, even though we may turn aside before coming up with it.

In the realm of metallurgy electricity opens to use a number of metals not commercially extractable from their ores on any other terms. The most conspicuous example is aluminum, which was a chemical curiosity until thus made available; but such metals and elements as magnesium, calcium, sodium, potassium, cerium, and silicon are also coming into prominence, although the applications of these newer additions are still in their infancy. It is not unworthy of note, although the bearing of the fact may not become conspicuous for many years, that electrometallurgy offers a means for turning the more common and leaner mineral materials to account when the exhaustion of the rather limited and rich concentrations heretofore exploited shall have been accomplished. For the manufacture of a great number of metallic alloys, such as ferromanganese, ferrochromium, ferrotungsten, and others needed to give to steel the various special properties demanded by its many applications, electric power is essential, while for the production of iron and steel the use of electricity is finding a growing application. Indeed, many "metallurgists in active practice in the United States are convinced that the time is rapidly approaching when all steel made will be passed through the electric furnace to receive its final refining and its finishing touches. We may safely look forward to the establishment of not only hundreds but possibly thousands of electric steel furnaces." In the metallurgy of copper, zinc, and tin electricity is coming into play, while in the

refining of metals it is affording the means for recovering many constituents formerly going to waste, in addition to producing products of such purity as to open up new uses not previously enjoyed. The United States is the greatest producer of metals in the world, and proper electrical-power development will give a great impetus to the advancement of the mineral industries.

No problem is more fundamental to any country than the matter of food supply, and electrochemistry has a very direct bearing in this respect through its promise of lending assistance in producing fertilizers. Of the three important fertilizing materials—nitrogen, phosphorus, and potassium—nitrogen may be drawn from the atmosphere by the expenditure of electrical energy; cheap electrical power offers an immediate means for doing away with the cumbersome method of converting phosphate rock into acid phosphate, with its consequent burden upon transportation and upon sulphuric-acid manufacture; while the locked-up stores of potash held in unlimited amount in widespread areas of silicate rocks must eventually be drawn upon and presumably with the help of the electric current. It is scarcely too much to say that the fertilizer industry in the course of a decade or so will undergo a radical change, in which importations of Chilean nitrate, German potash, and Spanish pyrite will be a thing of the past. But the course of progress will depend very much upon the conditions surrounding the supply of electrical power in this country; this matter will determine the speed of advancement and reflect in some measure in this respect upon the cost of living.

In the field of manufacturing, electrochemistry occupies a unique place. It has already created a number of products of fundamental usefulness, while the latent opportunities for the future are very great. The development of artificial abrasives, especially carborundum, superior to natural abrasives, has greatly facilitated many processes of mechanical manufacture, such as the making of automobiles, ordnance, and other materials; the production of calcium carbide has made the acetylene lamp possible, with inestimable benefit to thousands of mines the world over, which have thus been freed from smoky oil lamps and flickering candles; and the manufacture of artificial graphite is rendering a useful service as a lubricant in conserving energy. These products, which are of much greater significance than may be measured by the pecuniary value of the output, have all been developed at Niagara Falls as result of the abundant electric power earlier available there and are made from raw materials of the commonest and cheapest kinds, such as sand, lime, coke, and others. Further products, too numerous to specify, are being commercially launched or are in the experimental stage in the works and laboratories of that electrochemical center. An important industry has also developed in the electrolytic manufacture of sodium and chlorine, and their numerous compounds, used in large quantities in a wide variety of other industries, which are made from common salt—a widespread and cheap material. It would appear that one striking characteristic of electrochemistry is its ability to convert into useful products the commonest and cheapest of everyday materials. It holds forth in this sense the prospect of the highest type of constructive economic service.

On the whole, then, electrochemical industries and applications have developed in the United States to some extent in spite of high electric-power rates, but the lines of development have been those in which the advantages to be gained were conspicuous, and the operations have been largely confined to Niagara Falls. In the vaster range of possibilities, in which the opportunities were not so outstanding, high rates and lack of available power have been sufficient to head off an incalculable range of prospective enterprises, to the country's serious economic loss. Indeed, if electric power were made available in quantity at rates half the prevailing tariff, the upgrowth of electrochemical industries would overwhelm the previous attainments along this line.

The whole field of electrochemical development in the United States is dependent in the last analysis upon the quantity and price of electric power. And in both respects the power situation as it now stands is inadequate. Unless we are prepared to see the electrochemical industries which we now have emigrate in part to foreign countries, and unless we are also willing to face a stagnant condition in respect to a wide range of important industrial developments, the whole matter of our power supply must come up for attention. This matter does not concern one section or one class; the field is country wide; the outcome concerns both industry and the public interest. And labor, in particular, will find a concern in this affair, for only by cheapened mechanical power can a generous rate of human compensation be sustained in the face of cheaper labor, both human and mechanical, on the European market.

SUMMARY.

Modern society is dependent upon industrialism, the material framework of civilization.

American industrialism differs from the industrialism of other nations in two respects—it places unusual emphasis upon the employment of power and it couples an advanced industrial development, which means a high standard of living, with a vast expanse of territory.

Each of these conditions imposes a special demand upon transportation, and the two combined have given rise to transportation difficulties that are threatening to throttle the economic life of the country.

If unrelieved, the situation will entail a deterioration in the standard of living. The effects of a lowered living scale so caused will not fall evenly the country over, but may be expected to be selective to the disadvantage of unfavored sections, with the setting up of economic discord and sectional dissension in the place of national unity.

The issue can not be adequately met by furthering the development of the railways alone, for already this type of carrier has been pushed to such a point of overdevelopment as to constitute a critical weakness in the economic structure of the country. The source of the disqualification lies not merely in the sheer magnitude of the responsibility which the railways support, but also in their notably inferior elasticity in respect to industrial expansion as compared with the processes of manufacture. The power supply is the chief single contributor to both conditions of default. It not only comprises, mainly in the form of coal, more than one-third of the total freight of the country, but the dependence upon freight-hauled fuel on the part of an expanding industrial activity places an overweight of burden upon transportation by virtue of the fact that coal, raw materials, and finished products represent three additional units of haulage to be reckoned with for every added unit of production. Hence, the logical way to correct the transportation unfitness of this country is to attack the matter through improvement in power usage.

Three principles of transportation underlie industrial growth, and industrial activities in general conform to their prescriptions as a matter of course. These factors are represented in (1) the employment of suitable facilities for the task of transportation, (2) the advance elimination of superfluous weight, and (3) the full utilization of the material transported. These conditions are seen to be the merest common sense; illustrations of conformity with them are on every hand; in the matter of power alone they have been utterly disregarded. In the working out of these principles national experience has shown (1) that a transportation system of country-wide scope serving a community interest must be of a common-carrier order subject to public oversight—such has been the lesson of the railways; (2) that in the realm of production, which has to do with the advance elimination of superfluous weight, competition is desirable and should be as unhampered as possible; and (3) that in the field of manufacture and consumption the attainment of full utilization stands in need of constructive help—that here competition unaided is incapable of employing to full effect the principle of multiple production. Applying these conceptions to power, we find that the situation is at fault, because (1) there is no common-carrier system for the transmission of energy, although the development of electricity permits the power materials to be freed of weight at the source and enables the energy of water power to be utilized; (2) the presence of the railways, in the absence of special facilities for electric transmission, has prevented competition from becoming effective in the direction of the advance elimination of weight; and (3) the failure of this country to recognize the principle of multiple production and vitalize its latent force has held private initiative impotent to use fully the energy materials provided.

The righting of the power situation requires (1) the establishment of a comprehensive system of electric transmission lines to be administered as a common-carrier system like the railways. (2) The provision of such a system will necessitate the coordinated growth of central power stations in coal fields and at water-power sites, and in doing so will open to business enterprise a tremendous field of opportunity hitherto closed off from entry, and thus lead to the balanced development of the two major energy resources. (3) The principle of multiple production, recognized and incorporated in national policy, will supplement the additional service gained through the organized employment of the electrical principle; applied to the production of coal-generated electricity, and, through the medium of municipal public utility plants, to the distributive employment of coal, this principle will effectively correlate the recovery of the commodity and energy values, so as ultimately to effect a full saving of the former and an increased gain of the latter, thus permitting a further relative diminution of the amount of fuel calling for transportation in bulky form. The first two points reduce themselves to a single issue, which is purely a business proposition to be handled by a business organization; the third item is more intangible and it is matter of policy, which, therefore, can not be delegated or otherwise handled in objective fashion.

The provision of a common-carrier system of transmission lines, in brief, is the key to the whole problem. Its establishment will remove the retarding influence of high interest rates and antagonistic misunderstanding that has blocked water-power development, and will afford the point of departure from precedent in favor of coal-field generation of electricity. Owing to the magnitude of the issue and the manifold lines of progress directly at stake, the development will provide a nuclear point for the establishment of a constructive economic policy, needed not merely for the full development of this field but as well for the proper unfoldment of the industrial possibilities of the country in general. As such a policy has not developed in the past because of economic sectionalism growing chiefly out of an unequalized development of the energy resources, the nationalization of industrial opportunity attainable through a balanced development of power supply will clear the path of the main obstruction to unified action.

Thus specific action in respect to establishing a common-carrier system adapted to the power needs of the country will not only go far toward solving the problem of transportation, but it will improve the fuel supply, correct the economic fallacy of drawing upon capital resources while neglectful of income, contribute to the recovery of the values now lost in the consumption of raw coal, lead to an adequate development of electrochemical activities, cut off a needless annual expenditure running well beyond the billion dollar mark, and constitute a potent contribution in the direction of stimulating the upgrowth of a constructive economic policy of national scope attuned to the needs of modern industrial development.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, since the war began it has been the duty of every Member of Congress to resolve every real doubt he had in regard to pending legislation in favor of the view expressed by those administrative officers who are in position of responsibility for the conduct and prosecution of the war. We should have, and we all do have, opinions in regard to these matters, and frequently very decided opinions; but unless we are very certain that our view and judgment is the wise and proper one, it is our duty to meet the views of officers of the administration charged with responsibility along the lines that they mark out. It is with that view of the matter, and that view alone, that I shall support this measure, for I am very frank to say that my judgment does not commend it as being necessary or essential.

True, it is necessary to do what the bill proposes shall be done, to wit, increase the power facilities of the country to such extent as shall be necessary for the prosecution of the war. No one will deny that.

It is just as necessary to do that as it was to increase the housing facilities, to increase the shipbuilding facilities, as it was to increase the munition facilities of the country. But we have numerous departments, and have organized first one bureau and agency and then another, having jurisdiction in these matters, until we have covered, it occurs to me, the entire field. While a part, at least, of what is proposed to be done under this bill should be done, there are already a number of governmental agencies that could accomplish these results and that ought to have accomplished them long before this.

It may be some of these agencies need more funds, though that is doubtful, but if they do they should receive them.

The appropriation of one hundred and seventy-five million for the use of this new agency does not appeal to me as the best practice.

Why has the administration come before Congress at this late date, saying that there is a shortage of power in connection with war activities, when the authority and funds have been for months in the hands of various bureaus and agencies of the Government for enlarging, increasing, and extending the power plants and resources of the country?

The Council of National Defense, the War Trade Board, the War Industries Board, the War Finance Corporation, the Capital Issues Committee, the Shipping Board, the War and Navy Departments—all of these agencies are armed with authority, each in its own field, and most of them have ample funds to extend aid and assistance in the development and enlargement and extension of power facilities in connection with war work. This authority they have had for months. I have no doubt that to some extent they have exercised their authority and afforded aid. I have no doubt that to a very large extent they have assisted in one way or another these power plants and aided in their enlargement and extension, as they have authority to do. Nevertheless we are asked to enact legislation that is likely to create an altogether new agency and clothe it with enormous power, and thus, instead of helping to concentrate and coordinate the activities of the Government and bring them under one control, we are asked to still further divide and duplicate. In my opinion it is not wise.

I shall support this bill only because men in positions of responsibility insist the legislation is necessary. The bill does not commend itself to my judgment. I believe what is proposed to be done could be done better through other agencies more cheaply, more quickly, more promptly, more efficiently. However, if those responsible say that they can not accomplish all that is needed under present legislation and appropriations, I must accept their view. So much for that.

This bill deals with the development of power. That includes both steam and hydroelectric power. I assume that little will be done in the way of developing hydroelectric power under the bill. Very little such development could be secured in time to be of service in the war. I suppose it will be mostly the development of steam power, a development that can be quickly made.

GASOLINE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF POWER.

While we are on the subject of power we are reminded that one of the most important products in the United States for the production of power is oil. I think it may be truthfully said that there is no one product, except the great product of iron and steel, that is more essential to the winning of the war than mineral oil and its by-products—gasoline, naphtha, lubricating oil. It is necessary to have gasoline to run the airplanes, upon which we must largely depend for our victory over yonder. We must have gasoline or oil to run the tanks, which are now so important a factor in all the advances along the western front, and which tend so greatly to reduce the casualties of the attacking forces. We must have oil or gasoline to run the transports, the ambulances, the motor cars, and trucks to provide food and ammunition for and bear the wounded from the battle line. Gasoline is needed at home for multiplied purposes.

Recently there has been a very alarming and unfortunate reduction in oil and gasoline production, compared to the demand. The Senate of the United States, on the 8th day of September, passed a resolution calling upon the Director of the Fuel Administration for a report on the production and consumption of gasoline.

That report was made on September 11 and was published as Senate Document No. 277. I hold it in my hand. From that report it appears that there has been a steady reduction in the stocks of gasoline and naphtha for months past, that the reduction of the stocks of gasoline and naphtha during the month of July was approximately 1,367,000 barrels, or 44,000 barrels a day, and for August 2,000,000 barrels. It appears further that we will soon reach a point where we are likely to have not more than a month's supply of gasoline and naphtha on hand. In this alarming condition of affairs one would think that those interested in and officially responsible for the winning of the war, in maintaining conditions under which we may win the war, would use every effort to increase the production of gasoline.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. So far as the production of gasoline is concerned, that is, the development of the oil fields, wildcat operations, has there been any let down in that? Does the gentleman know?

Mr. MONDELL. There has been a very considerable let down, growing out of a variety of causes. Some operators have been discouraged somewhat by reason of the very high taxation in the revenue bill. I have heretofore explained how the high excess and war profits taxes are particularly burdensome on a business of great hazard like the oil business. The larger factor, where production comes from public lands, is due to the unsatisfactory provisions of the oil-leasing bill and the hostile attitude of certain departments of the Government toward such development. It is in regard to certain phases of the official attitude toward oil production on lands that have been located and claimed under the oil-placer act that I particularly invite the attention of the House at this time.

About four years ago—or, to be entirely accurate, on August 25, 1914—Congress passed an act providing that where applications for patents have been or may hereafter be offered for certain classes of oil or gas lands included in an order of withdrawal the Secretary of the Interior may make temporary arrangements whereby, by impounding a portion of the product, the operations may be continued.

While that bill was under discussion in the House and during the consideration of the conference report there was some discussion of the intent and purpose of the legislation. I opened that discussion, and it was participated in by the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. FERRIS], the chairman of the Committee on the Public Lands, which reported the bill, and the gentleman from California [Mr. RAKER], a member of the Committee on the Public Lands. We expressed our opinions as to the intent and purpose of Congress in the passage of that act, but I shall not refer to what was said at this time because I intend to present a letter of the Secretary of the Interior in which our statements are referred to. Some time after the passage of the act I have referred to the Secretary of the Interior entered into agreements with certain claimants and operators in California and Wyoming under which they were allowed to operate and produce oil from the contested lands by impounding to the credit of the Government a sum equal to one-eighth of the value of the oil obtained, this being the usual commercial royalty. Those agreements and arrangements were entered into from time to time with claimants in California and in what is known as the Salt Creek field in Wyoming. With a few exceptions, where there were controversies among private claimants, they were all identical as to the amount that was to be impounded. The theory was that if patents were denied and the lands reverted to the Government, the Government would have in its possession what amounted to a fair royalty on the oil extracted.

That appealed to almost everyone as a fair and reasonable arrangement; it enabled the claimants to continue to develop their property and add to the oil production of the country at a time when oil and gasoline were greatly needed. The arrangement was in harmony with the view expressed in Congress as to the intent and purpose of the law. That the Government was amply protected is evidenced by the fact that there was impounded up to June 30, 1918, under the 28 Salt Creek agreements the sum of $699,239. The Government was thus assured nearly $700,000, in case patents were denied, from a few hundred acres of lands that for years had been subject to oil entry at $2.50 per acre, and were not worth even that nominal sum until after years of effort and the expenditure of large sums of money by the claimants oil was discovered upon them. These arrangements in Wyoming related to wells that produce an exceedingly high-grade oil containing a large percentage of gasoline. It is the kind of oil now very badly needed.

Operations continued under these agreements for a considerable length of time. Finally, June 2, 1917, the Attorney General addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Interior calling attention to the character of these agreements, urging that the agreements did not sufficiently protect the interests of the Government, and expressing the opinion that instead of following the plan provided by Congress it would be preferable to operate these wells under receiverships, impounding the entire product. This letter is as follows:

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, D. C., June 2, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I desire to direct your attention to a serious situation which has resulted from the character of the operating agreements entered into by you with applicants for patents to withdrawn oil lands under the act of August 25, 1914 (38 Stat., 708), and from the delay in your department with respect to the disposition of such applications in cases where charges of fraud or unlawful entry have been made against the applicants.

The act of 1914 provides:

"That where applications for patents have been or may hereafter be offered for any oil or gas land included in an order of withdrawal upon which oil or gas has heretofore been discovered, or is being pro-

duced, or upon which drilling operations were in actual progress on October 3, 1910, and oil or gas is thereafter discovered thereon, and where there has been no final determination by the Secretary of the Interior upon such applications for patent, said Secretary, in his discretion, may enter into agreements, under such conditions as he may prescribe with such applicants for patents in possession of such land or any portions thereof, relative to the disposition of the oil or gas produced therefrom or the proceeds thereof, pending final determination of the title thereto by the Secretary of the Interior, or such other disposition of the same as may be authorized by law."

The manifest purpose of this statute was to provide a method for conserving the properties embraced in applications for patents until it could be decided whether they belonged to the applicants or to the Government, without the necessity of resorting to receivership proceedings. The method provided is in all essential respects like a voluntary receivership, under which the applicant may properly be permitted to continue necessary operations under supervision, and the Secretary acts as a trustee to conserve the property pending his own decision between the applicant and the Government, just as a court receiver acts to conserve the subject of litigation pending a decision of the court.

The analogy between an operating agreement under the act of 1914 and a court receivership is perfect in cases where the applicant is charged by the Government agents with fraud or violation of the law in the initiation or prosecution of his claim, and a hearing is necessary to determine the truth of the charge. In such a case there is an adversary proceeding in the Land Department between the Government and the applicant as to the ownership of the property. I have before me data from the records of the General Land Office which show that agreements under the act of 1914 have been entered into in 36 cases of this kind, 18 in California and 18 in Wyoming. Excepting 3 of the Wyoming cases, all of these agreements contain substantially uniform provisions. They apparently permit the drilling of additional wells without limit, require the sale of the total production, and provide for the payment of seven-eighths of the proceeds to the claimants and the deposit of the remaining one-eighth in escrow to abide your decision on the applications for patents. The result is that, upon a denial of the patent in any such case, the Government can not possibly receive more than the value of one-eighth of the prior production.

If these properties were handled by a receiver, as they presumably would be were it not for these agreements, the entire production less the cost of conservative operation would be impounded, to the end that the Government could recover the full value of the property in the event of a final decision against the claimant. This is the rule adopted by the courts in a number of similar cases in which a receiver has been appointed to conserve the property. It is also in principle the rule adopted by your department in the three exceptional cases in Wyoming. In those cases the agreements require a deposit of the proceeds of the entire production, less 6 cents per barrel of oil to cover operating expenses. This exception was made in these three cases in order to protect the asserted rights of rival claimants. I can not find any justification for confining the Government to a lesser measure of protection than that which is accorded to adverse claimants. Indeed, I am unable to regard the position of the Government in these cases in any other light than that of an adverse claimant.

In my letter to you of July 14, 1915, I called your attention to the fact that the Department of Justice was being subjected to harsh criticism for insisting upon the deposit of the entire net proceeds in the receivership cases while your department, by agreements in similar cases, was requiring deposits of but one-eighth of the gross production. I attempted to impress you with the injustice of this, and, by way of securing a modicum of relief, I suggested the propriety of allowing the applicants "only a sufficient proportion of the production to cover actual operating expenses, with a reasonable profit." To this suggestion you agreed in your letter to me of July 19, 1915; but you stated, referring to the then market price of oil, that "at 37½ cents a barrel a man can not pump and run his plant and give himself a profit upon his investment on much less than seven-eighths." In this connection you observed that the agreement in every case provides "that it can be changed on 30 days' notice, and the amount of the royalty increased." I am informed that no such change has been made in any agreement and that the Commissioner of the General Land Office has lately invited, and is now entertaining, applications for additional agreements upon the same terms, although the market price of oil has practically doubled since 1915.

In some exceptional cases it is possible that the cost of operation may equal or even exceed seven-eighths of the production. But in a majority of the cases it appears that the cost of operation should not exceed one-tenth of the production at the present market price of oil. This is shown by the operation of similar properties in the same locality under the supervision of a court receiver. With the market price of oil at 72 cents per barrel, the three exceptional agreements before referred to will result in impounding eleven-twelfths of the production for the protection of private adverse claimants in those cases. It is therefore evident that the indiscriminate deposit of one-eighth of the gross production in all cases where the Government alone is contesting the claim is not calculated to protect the interests of the Government.

Very few, if any, of these claimants are entitled to special consideration. In most of the cases there can be no reasonable ground to believe that patents will ever be granted. In 15 of the 18 California cases special agents of the General Land Office have charged the claimants with fraudulent locations, the other 3 being charged with violating the withdrawal order. In all but 1 of these 18 cases hearings have been directed by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, and in that 1 the charge is that the entry was illegal and also that the claimant was guilty of fraud. In the 18 Wyoming cases few hearings have been directed, although adverse reports have been made by the special agents. In most of the Wyoming cases delay in departmental action has been caused by collusive suits instituted in the State courts by pretended rival claimants.

I understand that hearings are directed in cases where it has been determined prima facie, upon the application papers and the special agent's report, that the claimant is not entitled to a patent. Of such a claimant it is not unfair to say that he is prima facie a trespasser on the lands of the United States, and, in case of fraud, a willful trespasser. It certainly was not the intention of the law to reward trespass and fraud; yet, I am constrained to say, the operating agreements which give to such claimants seven-eighths of the gross production are adapted to accomplish that result.

The most serious feature of this situation is its continuity, due to the inaction of the General Land Office in deciding cases.

Following the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of United States v. Midwest Oil Co. (236 U. S., 459), on February 23, 1915, sustaining the validity of the withdrawal order of September 27, 1909, it became apparent that a close cooperation between our departments was essential to the protection of the interests of the Government in the withdrawn lands as against illegal and fraudulent claims. This was agreed to between us at a conference in my office on June 5, 1915. It was there agreed, as stated in my letter to you of June 7, 1915, that the effectiveness of our efforts would depend, among other things, "upon the speed with which all applications for patent shall be examined and disposed of by your department," and that therefore "the applications for patents now pending in the General Land Office, and all others that may be filed hereafter, will be disposed of as soon as possible." In answer to my letter you stated, by letter of June 17, 1915, that your department would "endeavor, through the Commissioner of the General Land Office, to promptly carry out the scheme of cooperation which was discussed and adopted at the conference." My information is that a hearing has been held in but one of the adversely reported cases in which operating agreements have been entered into, and that no further hearings are contemplated in any such cases unless desired by the applicants.

The pendency of these cases in your department would seem to deprive the courts of jurisdiction to determine the merits of the claims, and the existence of the operating agreements precludes receivership proceedings for the conservation of the properties.

The character of the operating agreements entered into under the act of 1914, coupled with the failure of the General Land Office to dispose of the applications for patents to the lands which are the subject of those agreements, is a source of constant embarrassment to this department. Many tracts of land in the same localities, the title to which depends upon the same or similar questions of law and fact, are not covered by operating agreements either because the lands lie within a naval reserve or were involved in Government suits prior to applications for patent. For the protection of the interests of the Government in these lands a receiver is necessary in most cases. In a majority of the cases a receiver has been appointed and operations are being conducted under his supervision; in others the application for a receiver is pending, and in still others such application is contemplated. As before stated, the rule adopted by the courts for the protection of the Government, pending a final decision, is to impound the entire production less the cost of conservative operation. This is the only rule for which we can contend consistently with our sense of public duty and the practice of courts of equity. But the far more liberal rule of the operating agreements entered into by your department in similar cases is constantly being used as an argument to neutralize our efforts to protect the Government interests and as a basis for harsh and unjust criticism of this department.

Our embarrassment in this respect has been much enhanced by a circular letter dated January 8, 1917, sent by the Commissioner of the General Land Office to all operators in the California oil fields on withdrawn lands not in a naval reserve or in suit and with whom operating agreements had not been made, inviting them to make applications for operating agreements on the usual terms of seven-eighths of the gross production to them and one-eighth to be deposited. In that letter the commissioner stated that under similar existing agreements "whatever interests the Government may have have been protected without the necessity of resorting to a receivership." That is to say, in the opinion of the commissioner thus publicly announced, the rule of equity invoked by this department and applied by the courts in the receivership cases for the protection of the Government against trespassers is wrong and oppressive, and the Government is entitled to receive only one-eighth of the gross production in the event the claims are held to be fraudulent or illegal. In other words, it is announced in a circular letter of your department that you are authorized by the act of 1914 to turn over to trespassers on the oil and gas lands of the United States seven-eighths of the gross production of such lands, regardless of the cost of operation or the value of the product. Most of the operators under existing agreements are shown by the records of the General Land Office to be prima facie trespassers, and each agreement contains a provision (par. 11) that upon a final denial of the application for patent—that is, upon a final decision that the applicant is a trespasser—the one-eighth deposit will be accepted in full and complete satisfaction of "all claims of the United States for trespass" by such applicant on the premises during the period of the agreement.

A matter of immediate and special concern is this: On April 16, 1917, while suits were in preparation (pursuant to an agreement between Special Assistant Justice and Commissioner Tallman) against E. E. Jones and the Standard Oil Co., involving lands within naval petroleum reserve No. 2, the commissioner inquired of Mr. Justice by telegram whether he had any objections to the execution of operating agreements with these same parties covering adjacent lands in the same township outside the naval reserve. Mr. Justice answered the same day objecting to the proposed agreements on the ground that the lands both inside and outside the naval reserve were claimed by the same parties as one group, and that the right to all the lands was subject to the same charges of unlawful entry. He therefore advised that all the tracts be placed in suit. On April 19, 1917, the commissioner sent to Mr. Justice the following telegram:

"Your wire 16th. Jones and Standard Oil contract applications filed. Result, general letter sent by me to all operators California fields on lands not in naval reserves or in suit suggesting advisability of contract. Believe interest Government can be conserved properly by granting contracts and not disposed to recommend denial same after requesting them."

It is pertinent here to observe that this department has protested to the commissioner against the making of every one of the 36 agreements before mentioned, but without avail.

At the last session of Congress the commissioner recommended the enactment of a measure which provided in substance that all trespassers (whether chargeable with fraud or not) on withdrawn oil lands outside the naval reserves who have producing wells should be given leases, at a one-eighth royalty, of the lands claimed by them and on which such wells are located. The commissioner appears now to proceed on the assumption that his recommendation is certain to be enacted into law, and therefore that the only Government interest which need be conserved in any case is a one-eighth royalty interest. He apparently forgets that his recommendation met with overwhelming opposition in Congress and was disapproved both by you and the President. In your letter to me of February 28, 1917, discussing the feasibility of another measure for leasing withdrawn lands outside the naval reserves to claimants thereon, you said, "But, of course, no claimant who was attempt-

ing to secure the lands by fraud would be allowed to have a lease to any portion." Nevertheless, the system of operating agreements, continued indefinitely and extended industriously, is composed largely of the very leases, in substance and effect, which you condemned. Indeed, the agreements are more objectionable than the proposed leases in that they do not give the Government one-eighth as an absolute royalty but only the right to litigate for that amount.

The magnitude of the operations under the 36 agreements before mentioned is impressive. The records show a total production to February 28, 1917, of $5,545,880, of which $4,851,046 has been paid over beyond recall to the claimants, and only $694,834 has been placed in escrow for the protection of the ultimate rights of the Government. If the equitable rule adopted by the court in the receivership cases had been followed, it is believed that not less than $3,000,000, instead of $694,834, would have been impounded. Receivership operations of similar properties in the California field during about the same period have resulted in a total production of $4,381,795, of which $3,785,247 has been impounded. The cost of these operations covering 71 wells ranges from 3 cents to 31 cents per barrel of oil, the average cost being 8 cents per barrel. The price for the lowest grade of crude oil at the wells posted by the Standard Oil Co. May 11, 1917, was 78 cents per barrel.

The rising price of oil tends to induce the drilling of new wells, and the additional operating agreements lately made or under negotiation are calculated to extend this field of operations. The corresponding loss to the Government through the continuance of the agreement system in its present form is therefore likely to be much greater in the future than it has been in the past. In this connection it may not be amiss to suggest that the needs of the present critical period of our national life call for increased vigilance on our part to protect the public interests and to conserve as well as utilize every element of the national resources.

I think the facts recited above demonstrate that the system of operating agreements under the act of 1914, as now conducted, is not fair to the Government and interferes with our working agreement of June 5, 1915, in its most important features. I believe you will readily conclude, as I do, that the need of an adequate remedy is imperative and urgent. In my opinion, there is but one proper remedy, and that is to place all these agreements on an equal footing with the receivership operations by requiring the entire proceeds of production beyond what is actually necessary for conservative operation to be impounded, and to dispose of the applications for patents with all possible dispatch. In the interest of effective cooperation between your department and mine for the protection of the rights of the Government in the withdrawn oil lands, I have to request that you take that course.

I beg of you, my dear Mr. Secretary, that you give to this matter prompt and personal attention.

Very sincerely, yours,

T. W. GREGORY,
Attorney General.

Hon. FRANKLIN K. LANE,
Secretary of the Interior.

To that letter the Secretary of the Interior made reply on June 20, 1917, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, June 20, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: I have your letter of June 2, relative to the agreements we have made under the act of August 25, 1914, with the California oil operators on lands outside of naval reserves embraced in mineral applications for patent, and have carefully noted its contents.

Your position is that inasmuch as the courts, on your petition, have caused to be impounded all of the proceeds of oil production less cost of operation, pending litigation, we should follow a like course in these contracts. You also intimate that the Commissioner of the General Land Office has delayed bringing to a prompt conclusion the hearings ordered by him in oil-land cases.

In the first place, in order that there may be no misunderstanding as to the facts, permit me to say that so far as I am aware every effort has been made to comply fully and in the best of faith with the cooperative understanding outlined in your letter of June 7, 1915, and the court cases being handled by Mr. Justice have been given precedence over the work of the Land Office, notwithstanding the resulting delay in the latter. Moreover, at the request of the Secretary of of the Navy and yourself, we have refrained from making any contracts or from interposing objections to bringing of suit on lands in naval reserves, though this was not included in the understanding above mentioned. The commissioner advises me that in no cases where hearings have been ordered has he advised or intimated the propriety of delay in holding hearings except in some 20 cases, which are also involved in pending suits in court, in which cases he was of the opinion that a double trial would doubtless be a useless duplication of work; on the contrary, the commissioner has at all times directed that the hearings proceed, as soon as the investigations were completed, as rapidly as possible, with due regard to the assistance necessary to be rendered in court cases. I find also that, becoming dissatisfied with the progress of the hearings in these cases, the commissioner under date of May 12 again gave very positive instructions to his chief of field division at San Francisco that these hearings must be pushed to conclusion, regardless of the detriment to other work, and the chief of field service proceeded to San Francisco to give the matter his personal attention.

As to the letter sent out by the commissioner suggesting to certain operators the desirability of their applying for and operating under agreements under the act of August 25, 1914, I will say that this was done at my direction, as a result of a report of the commissioner to the effect that there were a number of cases in which operations were being conducted on lands which had been reported adversely where there was neither an agreement nor a receiver. It was my thought that for the proper protection of the interest of the Government these people should be required to enter into agreements, or suits should be recommended.

As to the matter of drilling new wells on lands embraced in contracts, I know of none that have been put down without the consent of this department, and to remove any doubt on this point, special provision to that effect has been inserted in contracts recently made.

As to the three contracts referred to which were made on the basis of impounding the total proceeds less operating cost, suffice it to say that this department refuses to make any agreement unless all parties having or claiming any interest shall join in or waive objection to the contract; in these cases the adverse claimant refused to waive on any other condition, and it was the applicant's own proposition that the contracts be executed on this basis in preference to none at all.

As to the legislation recommended by the commissioner, I authorized Commissioner Tallman to give all help possible to the Senate Committee on Public Lands and representatives of your department and the Department of the Navy then in conference, with a view of reaching some adjustment which would permit of the development of our oil lands. The draft of amendment was not submitted to and approved by me, but I was and am desirous of seeing some reasonable and fair legislation enacted which will result in the development of our withdrawn and unused oil deposits and which will give equitable relief to oil claimants who in good faith and without fraud have expended large sums in the development of oil wells. As I have repeatedly stated, I have not assumed and do not now assume to say what policy should be followed as to the naval reserves. The Senate committee, after receiving Mr. Tallman's suggestion, adopted and recommended the same with a slight modification, but so far as I am advised this feature of the bill never came to a vote in either House

Now, as to the matter of the basis on which these agreements have been made, in the first place, Congress has been very fully informed as to everything we have done, and I have yet to hear any criticism from that source, except for the fact that in deference to yourself and the Secretary of the Navy I have refused to make contracts for lands in naval reserves, for which I have been severely criticised.

My views as to the general principle which should control in making these agreements have been repeatedly stated to you in previous correspondence and conferences. Your view, I take it, is that these operators should all be considered as willful trespassers, even before trial, and treated accordingly. I have not seen it that way. While it is true that the courts, on your application, have impounded the entire net proceeds in the hands of receivers pending litigation, in no case so far as I am aware has final judgment been rendered on the basis of a willful trespass. On the contrary, in the six consolidated cases (Civil 47; A–3 Equity; A–13 Equity; A–30 Equity; A–31 Equity, 232 Fed., 619) Judge Bean, in his opinion rendered May 1, 1916, held:

"* * * They thereupon, acting as prudent and careful men, consulted counsel learned in the law and were advised * * * the withdrawal order was invalid. * * * Acting on this advice, honestly and in good faith, without any intention of wronging the Government, they developed the properties, expending large sums of money in so doing, the aggregate in the six cases in question amounting to more than a million dollars. By their labor and expenditures they have demonstrated the mineral character of the lands and increased their market value from two or three dollars an acre to two thousand or twenty-five hundred dollars an acre. What was before a barren, arid waste is now demonstrated valuable mining properties with numerous oil-producing wells thereon, and that through the efforts and expenditures of the defendants. * * * The defendants were not willful looters of the public domain nor reckless trespassers thereon."

Also, in the McCutchen case, reported in 238 Fed. Rep., 575, it was held by Judge Bledsoe in his opinion of July 29, 1916:

"* * * There can be no valid claim, in my judgment, that the defendants herein were in any sense willful trespassers. Assuredly there is nothing in the facts developed to warrant that conclusion, and I know of no rule of law which could or should appeal to this court in equity which would have the effect of so adjudging them."

Also, in the Devils Den and Lost Hills cases, reported in 236 Fed. Rep., 973 (although the question of measure of damages was not there involved), Judge Bean in his opinion of October 4, 1916, said of the acts of the defendants:

"* * * The defendants, however, acting under the advice, no doubt, of learned counsel, have in good faith—at least with no apparent intention of defrauding the Government—expended large sums of money in improving and developing the property."

Moreover, as a practical matter in making these agreements, it is apparent that the measure of damages must be determined in advance; only the question of title and consequent damage or no damage is left to litigation, and there is little, if any, reason why one operator against whom proceedings have been directed should be treated differently from another on mere ex parte information. I think you will agree with me that it would be entirely impracticable to attempt to make a contract to impound all the proceeds subject to a provision that later on, after the hearing is held, this department should then presume to render a judgment on the measure and the amount of damage which the defendant should be required to pay in case the title is held to be in the Government. I have sought, therefore, to get for the Government under these contracts the same recompense for the use of these lands, in case title should be determined to be in the Government, that the Government would have received as the owner, in effect recompense on the basis of an innocent trespass. One-eighth is the ordinary commercial royalty. Bills passed by both Senate and House have been on that basis. The Government has received under these contracts the proportionate advantage arising from the increased price of oil; in some cases, notwithstanding the operator was under a long-time contract to sell his oil at a price which proved to be much lower than the market, we have nevertheless insisted on one-eighth of the market for the Government's portion. In this connection it should be clearly borne in mind that in the oil business more than in most any other, the cost of operation, after wells are down, and the cost of production, are two widely different factors.

As to the protests against these contracts by Mr. Justice, for the most part he has objected to any agreement at all, on the ground that an adverse report had been submitted by a special agent, wherefore a receiver should be appointed instead of making a contract. It is clear that the law was passed for the express purpose of authorizing me to make contracts in cases occupying exactly this status, and as I have indicated in a previous letter, a contrary course would be, upon my part, an attempt to repeal or disregard the act of August 25, 1914.

Aside from the matters above considered, I would think this an especially unfortunate time to cancel these agreements or impose a royalty on them upon the basis of all the yield excepting cost of operation, when the production in California is so much less than the consumption and the reserves are being drawn upon to the extent of so many thousand barrels per day. Such a policy would undoubtedly lead to a restriction of output.

So far as I am personally concerned, I should be glad to do anything possible to obviate criticism of the policy followed by your department, but after most thoughtful consideration I am so thoroughly convinced that the course we are following in this matter is right, and the public interest concerned is so large, that I am unable to see my way

clear to comply with your request as to the general policy that should be followed. It may be that with respect to particular contracts we should increase the proportion set aside to satisfy the Government's claim but that will depend upon the facts in each specific case, to which we will give close attention.

Cordially, yours. FRANKLIN K. LANE.

The honorable the ATTORNEY GENERAL.

That letter was responded to by a letter from the Department of Justice, under date of July 14, 1917, taking up in some detail and answering the contentions made in the Secretary's letter, as follows:

JULY 14, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I have received and carefully considered your letter of June 20, in answer to my letter to you of June 2, 1917, with reference to the operating agreements entered into by you with applicants for patents to withdraw oil lands in California and Wyoming under the act of August 25, 1914, in cases where charges of fraud or unlawful entry have been made against the applicants by special agents of the General Land Office.

I premised my observations with the opinion that the manifest purpose of the statute was to provide for operating agreements which would serve the purpose of receiverships for the protection of the properties pending your determination of title as between the applicants and the Government. You do not explicitly disagree with this proposition, though your refusal to place these agreements on an equal footing with receivership operations in similar cases necessarily implies such disagreement. I regard the act as not susceptible of any other construction than that which I have stated. No other construction has ever before been suggested by anyone to my knowledge. Even Senator PITTMAN a conspicuous exponent of the policy of liberality toward oil operators and who introduced this law, confirms my opinion. At a recent hearing on S. 45 before the Senate Committee on Public Lands, held June 16, 1917, he said (p. 107):

"I introduced the law, and I introduced it for the sole purpose not of benefiting the patentee in the matter at all but for the purpose of continuing the production of oil pending the litigation instead of having it tied up or worked under a receiver. * * * I think, as a temporary expedient, that it serves exactly the purpose of a receiver, that pending the determination of title as to whether the Government owns it or the claimant owns it, that it shall be operated as it would be under a receiver."

In my letter to you I attempted to show that the rule adopted by the courts in receivership cases of similar character in the same localities required the deposit of the entire proceeds of production less the cost of operation, and I contrasted this with the rule uniformly adopted by you requiring the deposit of but one-eighth of the gross production, regardless of the cost of operation and the value of the product. Referring to the figures showing the operation under both systems, I pointed out that your operating agreements, tested by the rule of the courts of equity, have already resulted in a possible loss to the Government of over $2,000,000, and that the rising price of oil, coupled with the indefinite continuance and extension of the present agreement system, may result in still greater losses in the future. I do not understand that you deny the correctness of my figures or controvert my conclusion.

In your letter you say:

"Your view, I take it, is that these operators should all be considered as willful trespassers, even before trial, and treated accordingly."

I have not expressed or held such a view. My position is that the rights of these operators against whom your special agents have made charges of fraud and unlawful entry should not be considered superior to the rights of the Government pending determination of the truth of the charges made against them. In my letter to you I said: "Very few, if any, of these claimants are entitled to special consideration. In most of the cases there can be no reasonable ground to believe that patents will ever be granted. In 15 of the 18 California cases special agents of the General Land Office have charged the claimants with fraudulent locations, the other 3 being charged with violating the withdrawal order. In all but 1 of these 18 cases hearings have been directed by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, and in that 1 the charge is that the entry was illegal and also that the claimant was guilty of fraud. In the 18 Wyoming cases few hearings have been directed, although adverse reports have been made by the special agents. In most of the Wyoming cases delay in departmental action has been caused by collusive suits instituted in the State courts by pretended rival claimants. I understand that hearings are directed in cases where it has been determined prima facie, upon the application papers and the special agent's report, that the claimant is not entitled to a patent. Of such a claimant it is not unfair to say that he is prima facie a trespasser on the lands of the United States, and, in case of fraud, a willful trespasser. It certainly was not the intention of the law to reward trespass and fraud; yet I am constrained to say, the operating agreements which give to such claimants seven-eighths of the gross production are adapted to accomplish that result."

And again:

"Most of the operators under existing agreements are shown by the records of the General Land Office to be prima facie trespassers, and each agreement contains a provision (sec. 11) that upon a final denial of the application for patent—that is, upon a final decision that the applicant is a trespasser—the one-eighth deposit will be accepted in full and complete satisfaction of 'all claims for the United States for trespass' by such applicant on the premises during the period of the agreement."

My position is not that any of these applicants should be considered and treated as trespassers before trial, but that it is unjust to the Government to agree before trial that they shall have seven-eighths of the production in any event, and that the Government will accept one-eighth in full satisfaction of all claims for trespass in the event they are finally found to be trespassers.

You think it would be impracticable to apply the equitable rule to these agreements upon the assumption that this would require you "to render a judgment on the measure and amount of damages which the defendant should be required to pay in case the title is held to be in the Government." I see no necessity for the rendition by you of any judgment in any case other than that the title is in the claimant or in the Government. Having impounded the net proceeds pending the determination, the title thereto would vest on final judgment either in the claimant or in the Government.

You regard these operating agreements as giving to the Government, in case title should be determined to be in the Government, all that it would have received as the owner. In support of this you say that "one-eighth is the ordinary commercial royalty," and that "bills passed by both Senate and House have been on that basis." I understand that one-eighth is the ordinary commercial royalty in prospect leases on unproven territory where the lessee risks his money and labor in a purely speculative venture, and that leases on proven territory usually carry a much larger royalty or a bonus. The bills to which you refer illustrate this. They provide for prospecting permits, and, upon discovery, for a lease on one-fourth only of the area covered by the permit at one-eighth royalty, the other three-fourth to be leases by competitive bidding or other similar method.

You dispose of the protests made to these agreements by Mr. Justice on behalf of this department by stating that "for the most part he has objected to any agreement at all." I think I can safely say that no objection would have to be made by any representative of this department to any agreement if the agreement had been to operate the property, in the language of Senator PITTMAN, "as it would be under a receiver." My position is founded upon what seems to me to be a plain requirement of the law, and I am forced to assume the position I do with respect to these agreements because of the embarrassment which I encounter in the performance of my duty in the receivership cases by reason of your apparent departure from that requirement.

I note your statement that there has been no intentional delay in your department in disposing of these cases. The fact remains, however, that they are undisposed of. Some of them have been pending for more than three years. Judging the future by the past, many years may elapse before final decisions will be reached in all cases. Many of the claimants will doubtless use every endeavor to delay the proceedings in order to prolong an arrangement which operates so favorably to them. Meanwhile the Government will likely suffer a continuing and constantly increasing loss.

The increasing demand for oil is now inducing applications by these operators for permission to drill additional wells. The drilling of new wells on withdrawn lands outside of and not contiguous to the naval reserves might well be granted if the rights of the Government were properly safeguarded, but I should regard such new operations under the existing agreements as but an extension of a system likely to result in turning over to trespassers on lands of the United States a large portion of the fruits of their trespasses.

You regard the present as an especially unfortunate time to readjust these agreements upon the basis of receivership operations, because such a policy would lead to a restriction of output. I am unable to share this apprehension. If any claimant charged with fraud or unlawful entry should decline to operate upon a basis which is just and fair to both parties, the operations may be continued, and extended if necessary, by a receiver. In that event there would be impounded for the protection of the Government in most cases far more than the one-eighth now impounded under the terms of the agreements you are entering into with the claimants.

I hope that you will reconsider your determination not to comply with the request which I made of you in my letter of June 2, 1917.

Very sincerely, yours,

_____, *Attorney General.*

The SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

The Secretary answered this communication on July 25, 1917, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, July 25, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: I am in receipt of your further communication of the 14th instant relative to the oil-land operating agreements entered into by this department under the act of August 25, 1914. I fail to find anything in this last letter not heretofore fully considered. It is evident that the only question in this matter is whether these oil operators, for the purpose of these contracts, shall be viewed and treated as innocent trespassers or willful trespassers. I stated in my former letter that I understood that it was your view that they should be treated as willful trespassers. You now disclaim any such view, but at the same time you want me to insist on an agreement whereby the operator, if he shall fail to gain title to the land, will not ony lose that with all the improvements and development he has put on it, but all the oil taken therefrom less the cost of operation after the wells are down and producing. To my mind that comes very near inflicting the penalty of a willful trespass. As indicated in my former letter, the courts have thus far taken an entirely different view of this situation.

You say that you see no necessity of my rendering any judgment other than that the title is in the claimant or in the Government. That would be very true under the kind of a contract which would be in accord with your views, for the reason that the damage would be arbitrarily fixed in advance as the entire production less operating costs, but if the damage is to be any less amount certainly that amount or measure must be fixed in the contract or the contract must provide for some other proceeding wherein the measure of damage will be fixed.

In handling this entire oil situation, which is an unfortunate one at the best, I have endeavored to take such action as would fairly protect and preserve the interests of the Government and at the same time deal fairly with the operators, and not dislocate and disturb more than absolutely necessary the conduct of a great industry of vital importance to the country as a whole.

In formulating the regulations and contract under the act of August 25, 1914, careful consideration was given to the question of the basis on which the deposits should be made for the protection of the interest of the Government, whether on the theory of a strictly willful trespass or that of an innocent trespasser or somewhere in between. It was apparent that with respect to the matter of knowledge and intent as involved in the question of liability for damages for trespass an entirely different situation is presented from that with respect to title, and different considerations may very properly be taken into account. We carefully considered the purpose of the legislation and the debates and reports in Congress. It appeared that the reason the act was passed was because the operators found they could not dispose of their product in the face of probable claims by the Government for damages without putting up security for the entire value of the product, which practice was evidently ruinous to the operators; manifestly the act would be of little advantage to anybody if the full amount of the proceeds had to be impounded, for the operator could do that without any legislation.

Reference to the reports and debates in Congress showed very clearly what the understanding was when the act was passed. While the bill was passed by the Senate without debate or amendment, it was the subject of a lengthy report by the House Committee on the Public Lands, in which it was stated:

"The actual method of working is thought to be that the Secretary will retain a sufficient portion of the proceeds of the oil to indemnify the Government in the event the title will finally be held to be adverse to the claimants, so that untold hardships may not follow. Some of the men developing in the California region have almost been driven to bankruptcy."

In the debate on the floor of the House, August 3, 1914 (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pp. 13201, 13202), the question as to whether the bill contemplated the impounding of all proceeds from these claims over the cost of operation or only of such a proportion as would equal a good royalty was squarely raised and discussed, as indicated by the following:

"Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I shall not offer an amendment, and I shall not oppose the committee amendment, and yet I regret the bill is not in a somewhat different form. I have no very clear idea, and I doubt if the members of the committee, all of them, have a very clear notion, what the Secretary of the Interior would do under the bill in the matter of impounding the product of wells or the receipts from such products. What seems to me he ought to do is to impound such a proportion of the receipts from these wells as would equal a good royalty and retain that in event final decision as to title is against the claimant. What I fear is that the Secretary of the Interior might feel that, under the language of the bill, he was authorized and that it was his duty to impound the entire receipts.

"Mr. RAKER. Will the gentleman yield right there?

"Mr. MONDELL. In just a moment. And in case of an adverse decision, to retain the entire receipts, which in the case of extensive wells would mean bankruptcy to the claimant. Now, I hope the Secretary does not write that kind of an interpretation into the legislation, and I would like to have the view of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. RAKER] on that point.

"Mr. RAKER. Why, the matter was thrashed out thoroughly before the committee. The officers of the Secretary of the Interior were present, and from the statement of the gentlemen from California, who were here when the legislation was under consideration, it was understood that the condition was such that these men could not now sell their oil because——

"Mr. MONDELL. I understand those conditions.

"Mr. RAKER. But on that very proposition, and that the Secretary of the Interior, under this bill, would retain what would be a fair royalty in proportion to the amount of money that had been expended, and holding that until a final determination was made. Then, if the Government wins, it takes that proportion of the oil, and it goes into that fund, and if it it is not in these two reserves goes into the fund provided for by law.

"Mr. MONDELL. This is an important matter, and I will say to my friends from California that two different people have written me in regard to it, asking me the same question—as to what portion of the receipts the Secretary is to impound. So the doubt does arise in the mind of one reading the bill, whether it was anticipated under any circumstances that the Secretary could impound the entire receipts of a well and hold them, providing the case was against the entryman. That would be a gross injustice.

"Mr. RAKER. It was intended that he could not do it.

"Mr. FERRIS. I think there is no question he has the power to do it, and I think there is no question but that he ought to have the power to do it, but I do not think he has any intention of doing it.

"Mr. MONDELL. Then you think he could retain the entire surplus?

"Mr. FERRIS. I do not think there is any question about it; and, even so, it would be better than it is now. The gentleman was the chairman of the committee, and knows about these things, and I think the judgment of the commissioner ought to be considered sufficient, and it read to me as if it were sufficient. But the Land Department does not so hold. These gentlemen have courageously spent their money in the oil wells of the West. They are tied up, and they will be ruined unless you do something for them. This bill makes a working arrangement where the Secretary of the Interior can preserve the rights of the Federal Government and permit them to go forward.

"Mr. MONDELL. I am in accord with the gentleman. I simply wanted it to be understood that the interpretation of the committee was that there was to be impounded an amount that would be equivalent to a fair royalty in these cases. I only wish I could prevail on the House to accept an amendment that would make it clear that only a fair royalty could be retained."

The bill was passed by the House with this understanding. The Senate accepted all amendments proposed by the House, and when the conference report was adopted by the House Mr. MONDELL stated, page 14047, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 20, 1914:

"One thing more. The bill as it passed the House is unfortunate, it seems to me, in that it leaves entirely in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior whether he shall impound all of the product of the wells on the lands which may be brought within the provisions of the bill, or whether he shall impound a portion of those proceeds, such portion as would be a reasonable royalty. The gentlemen on the committee say that they understood that the Secretary will impound such proportion of the proceeds as would constitute a reasonable royalty. That would be the logical and reasonable and proper thing to do. That is what we hope the Secretary will do, but the Secretary has much broader power than that, and I fear that in some cases he will be importuned to take action which will not afford these people much relief. I trust that in carrying out the provisions of the law he will proceed upon the assumption that these people, having applied for title, while the matter is under consideration, may be allowed to operate freely and receive and keep all the oil or gas taken from the land except such portion of it as would make a fair and reasonable royalty if the application for title shall finally be denied. The fact is, however, that most of the people who can come under the provisions of the bill in its amended form are so clearly entitled to a patent that it should be granted without delay."

As early as January 7, 1915, the Senate Committee on Public Lands was advised of the procedure we were following under these contracts, as regards the proportion required to be deposited. (Hearings, H. R. 16136, p. 17.) Congress was again fully advised at the time of the joint conference of the Committees on Public Lands with representatives of the departments on H. R. 406 (see report, pp. 133–140), and official reports have stated just what has been done.

Even had there been no direct expression of opinion in Congress as to the basis upon which these contracts should be made, it is my judgment that the amount to be retained and impounded by the Government should be essentially on a royalty basis, but, as shown by the foregoing, it was clearly the intention and understanding of Congress that this interpretation should be placed upon the law that was enacted. Convinced as I am that my interpretation and administration of this act is in strict accord with its letter and spirit and with the intention and desire of Congress, I must repeat that while I am ready and willing to reconsider any specific case with the view to determining whether or not we are impounding the equivalent of a fair royalty, I can not see my way clear arbitrarily to require that all these contracts be changed so as to provide for the impoundment of the entire proceeds less operating expenses, in effect a cancellation of the contracts and a denial of the benefits contemplated by the act.

However, in view of your contention that my administration of this act may deprive the Government of large amounts of money, I am perfectly willing to join you in submitting the entire matter to the Senate and House Committees on Public Lands for such action as they may see fit to take.

Cordially, yours, FRANKLIN K. LANE.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL.

In these letters these officials clearly expressed their respective views of the matter. The Secretary of the Interior adhering to his view that he was following the intent and the spirit of the law in making these agreements, and the Attorney General insisting that the agreements were too favorable to the operators and did not properly secure the interest of the Government in the land and its products.

I am not prepared to say that the Secretary of the Interior has changed his mind in the matter. I have not talked with the Secretary in regard to it, however. My personal opinion—if I may properly express an opinion in regard to a matter upon which I have no definite information—is that the Secretary has not changed his mind, but still adheres to the view he formerly held, and, in my opinion, that view was sound, reasonable, in harmony with the spirit of the law, and in the interest of the Government and the people. It gave the country oil when we needed it.

Quite recently, a month or more ago, the Secretary of the Interior informed the holders of these agreements that after a certain date the existing agreements would be canceled, and agreements made under which all the proceeds would be impounded except a sum sufficient to pay the expense of operating the wells. That was a month or more ago. I understand all but four of the operators in the Salt Creek field have notified the Secretary of the Interior that they can not enter into that kind of arrangement and operate the wells, that it would mean bankruptcy to them. The four who are able to operate are, I understand, people who are interested in the refining end of the oil business and able to secure a profit from the refining of the oil, or who are so situated financially that they can enter into these agreements and continue to do business on other sources of income.

It must be apparent to all that that sort of an arrangement favors the great refining interests. I am not disposed to question anyone's motives, but the effect of the action taken is to favor the refining interests, so far as they may be interested in these holdings, and to prevent the ordinary producer of oil from operating.

The average daily production of the wells in the Salt Creek field which were operating under these agreements was something over 5,000 barrels of oil a day. This oil will produce nearly 50 per cent of gasoline. So that the cancellation of these agreements has increased by 20 per cent the daily deficit in gasoline.

More than that, the men with whom these agreements were made had proposed to the Interior Department some months ago to drill 40 wells and have them drilled before cold weather set in. They were willing to agree to pay an increased royalty on that additional production. The production of these 40 wells would have gone far toward wiping out the daily deficit in gasoline. These gentlemen were willing to impound a larger royalty on the new production, but they could not afford to turn over to the Government all of their production on wells that cost from $20,000 to $40,000 to sink, equip, and connect. There is no capital to be had for that kind of venture. So the only reason why we are not getting from five to ten thousand barrels more oil per day from the Salt Creek fields in Wyoming is because the operators are told that they can not operate unless they stand all the expense, take all the chances, and impound the entire product of their wells. In this bill we are considering authority is given to spend $175,000,000 of the public money to develop power, but out yonder men are not allowed to produce a power product at their own expense.

At a time when our people are responding to the request to lay up all automobiles every Sabbath day, when we are compelled to shorten the use of gasoline everywhere, through the action of a department of the Government, thousands of barrels a day are kept from the market.

I shall not refer to the wholly unpardonable and unwarranted assault made on the Secretary of the Interior by a subordinate employee of the Attorney General's office in the hearings before the Public Lands Committee some months ago, further than to say that if he reflected the attitude of the Attorney

General in the matter, then it is very clear who is responsible for this condition of affairs. I have no disposition to blame or criticize the Secretary of the Interior in the matter, though the action complained of is taken by his department.

It looks as though it was not the official charged with the administration of these affairs, but an official of the Government who has nothing to do with the issuance of patents or the execution of the act of August 25, 1914, who has determined the policy in these matters. Let us take the Attorney General's view of it and assume for the sake of argument that as a result of action by the Interior Department or suits brought by the Government these claims were eventually denied and the title to these lands were to remain in the Federal Government. Has anyone any notion that the Federal Government would by that reversion secure the benefit of the entire product of these wells? Why, the bills that have been passed by both the House and Senate and are now in conference provide for leases under which the Federal Government would secure as a royalty approximately the sums that were impounded under these agreements. No matter what happens, therefore, the Government is abundantly protected by the agreements which were made by the Secretary of the Interior, agreements which, in my opinion, the Secretary of the Interior would have continued in force if he had had his way about it. The Nation is losing the benefit of these wells, and in some cases, quite likely, water is running in on the sands, destroying oil values forever. At a time when the Nation stands in urgent need of oil to help carry on the war these influences are standing in the way and shortening and preventing perfectly legitimate production, needful and necessary to the winning of the war.

The Attorney General suggests to the Secretary of the Interior the advisability of operating, where titles are contested, under receiverships rather than under the agreements provided for in the act of August 25, 1914. I assume that the judicial department of the Government would not recommend that the Secretary ignore the action of Congress in this regard, though that would be the effect if this suggestion were followed. The Attorney General further expresses the opinion that the continuation of the agreements entered into by the Secretary tend to delay the final settlement and adjustment of the situation either through final decision as to the merits of the claims or the passage of pending legislation and adjustments thereunder. In my opinion there is nothing in the situation to justify such an opinion.

Not only are those affected by these agreements desirous of having the intolerable conditions of uncertainty ended, but all other claimants and operators on the public lands are like minded. The long delay in the settlement of the questions of title and in the enactment of legislation governing future operations has been an unmixed evil and has resulted in a very serious discouragement and curtailment of development at a time when an increased production of oil is one of the crying needs of the country.

The history of the Honolulu oil case in California would seem to indicate that responsibility for delay in final decisions in oil cases by the Interior Department does not rest with the Secretary of the Interior. If I am correctly informed after very thorough and exhaustive inquiry, investigation, and examination the Secretary was prepared to render final decision in that case, but the department of justice demurred. It was then agreed, so I am reliably informed, that the matter should be referred to the Hon. John W. Davis, who was recently appointed as our ambassador to Great Britain, and his opinion was to be accepted as final. That opinion was rendered, upholding the view and opinion of the Secretary of the Interior, but has not been accepted or acted upon.

Oil receiverships, which the Attorney General approved, have proven to be very costly, and it is perhaps not to be wondered at that the gentlemen receiving compensation as high as $10,000 a year in connection with those receiverships should be entirely content to continue to draw their salaries indefinitely. Final decisions and permanent settlements and adjustments naturally do not appeal to gentlemen so comfortably situated.

It is quite natural perhaps that officials and employees of the Attorney General's Office should acquire the proverbial viewpoint and habit of prosecutors and become more interested in winning their cases than in adjusting matters on the basis of an equitable consideration of the questions involved. It is perhaps natural that in their desire to make a record trifling irregularities in procedure, errors of judgment, or action in good faith and in accordance with the generally accepted interpretation of the law, against which some hair-splitting fine-spun legal question may be raised, should be magnified into willful, intentional fraud.

But the prosecution of land cases, oil or otherwise, on that theory can only be justified on the ground that it is the duty of the executive departments of the Government to nullify the purpose and intent of the land laws and to make them instruments of injustice and oppression rather than statutes for the development of the public lands and the transfer of title on the basis of equity and justice.

Meanwhile the country needs oil. It is as essential to the winning of the war as any single product I can think of. Energetic, resourceful, and enthusiastic men have taken desperate chances, are willing to continue to take these chances to increase oil development. Unlike many others who have been and are obtaining large and secure profits from Government supported and aided activities and industries they ask nothing but the opportunity to proceed in accordance with the spirit and intent of the law. They ask nothing except that the law shall not be construed against their operations in good faith, that they shall not be trapped, tricked, and ensnared by every hair-splitting interpretation that the ingenuity of well-paid prosecutors can devise. They ask the speedy settlement of and adjustment of their claims and an opportunity to produce oil for the good of the country in the meantime. They hope for permanent legislation, but they realize that if it is to be of any value in promoting development it must be fair and equitable and take the hazard of the enterprises into consideration. If these considerations can prevail, oil production so tremendously important to the country will continue. The policy now being pursued is not only imperiling private interests and injuriously affecting the prosperity of important communities but it is jeopardizing the winning of the war.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MONDELL. I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOCHT].

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Chairman, we have all listened with much profit to the interchange of views given here at this session and other sessions with regard to the gathering of the Nation's strength and power in the shape of water energy so that it might be utilized for the profit and the benefit of the industries of the country. That is one thought. Allied and associated with that is the thought of conservation at this particular time, and as a subdivision of that second thought comes the question of the equality of the division of the conservation, so that in conserving as in taxing there may be justice, and as something enlightening, illuminating, and refreshing, I submit, not the word of some Member but a message from a layman—something which will, I think, carry to us all a suggestion of an adjustment of the distribution of gasoline so that there may be content, harmony, and unity of purpose, and that will maintain the present good spirit among all classes of people. Therefore I ask the Clerk in my time please to read this article from a Detroit newspaper.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read the article in the gentleman's time.

The Clerk read as follows:

IT'S ALL WRONG, MATES; IT'S ALL WRONG.

EDITOR THE DETROIT JOURNAL:

I am a small farmer. I own a little Ford, purchased second hand, and yet it means about all the joy wife and the kiddies and I get out of life. We like to drive over to see wife's folks after church and Sunday school or call on some friends we couldn't get to see otherwise. Sometimes we go to a lake and let the kiddies paddle in the water.

Now, here's the idea. We don't burn 4 gallons a week, Sundays and all. During the hot weather we could not enjoy being out, so we stayed at home. Then just as the cool days come and we plan on taking a little wrinkle out of our lives before the cold weather shuts us in, they put it up to our patriotism.

I say this is a rank injustice to the poor man. Tuesday while I was working all day in my bean field I counted nine big autos, any one of which might have cost more than I will ever spend during my life, and would burn more gas in one day than mine 'ole Ford would in a month, sailing by filled with joy riders.

Same way with the sugar. We get 2 pounds per person per month. That means no pastry; apples lying on ground going to waste. Only way we can have apple sauce is to can it, then open it, or use corn sirup. But when we go to town the bakery windows are filled with sweets. The candy stores were never so full—no limit. Soft drinks aplenty. But my poor wife can rack her brain using dope of all kinds.

Now, look here. You can't make a sweet-toned harp out of a wire fence, nor you can't make a patriot out of a greedy profiteer. But you can kill the purest love by injustice, and that's what these fool things are doing. I'll do without any sugar if the boys over there need it, and our allies. But don't give it to those who can afford to buy from

bakeries and candy shops. I'll lock up my "Henry" until the Kaiser is cured if the rest will, but I'm sick and done with the sham stuff. We have a guy here near us who has done "big things," patriotically speaking; his wife spent her hours necessary to earn a cross for cap and apron in the Red Cross surgical dressing rooms—that is, I say, she spent her time there. I didn't say she worked—mostly gossiped or questioned other people's patriotism—but when their son was called for examination for the draft there was an awful wail and somehow, God only knows, he was put in for limited service. Yet they are called patriots. Rot!

Let's everyone stick to the real thing. Give the democracy stunt the limelight here at home and the poor man a chance. How many say "aye"?

E. R. BOSTWICK,
Vernon Township, Shiawassee County, September 11.

Mr. FOCHT. Now, Mr. Chairman, there you have the intelligent thought of an American citizen who will give all he has for his country, but who wants the burdens as well as the conveniences and pleasures of life equalized. As a tentative suggestion I would propose that during the gasoline shortage a card system be adopted that will have due regard for necessity and pleasure and that will treat rich and poor alike.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JAMES].

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I wish to make some observations on the so-called volunteer officers' retirement bill, the apparent object of which is to place men who retired to civil life at the end of the Civil War on the same basis as men who remained in the Regular Army. I do not mean men; I mean officers.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAMES. I will yield to my friend.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. The gentleman has an honorable record as an enlisted man in the Spanish-American War. Can the gentleman see any reason why we should place volunteer commissioned officers on the retired list and discriminate against enlisted men who have just as good a record?

Mr. JAMES. I do not; and my friend, also a private in ninety-eight, will agree with me, I am sure.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. If we are to have a volunteer officers' retired list, why should we not have a volunteer men's retired list?

Mr. JAMES. If the gentlemen who are advocating this bill are sincere in their contention, whenever they advocate a bill for the retirement of volunteer officers they should also provide the same way for the retirement of privates. The same section that they quote (sec. 5) takes care of them both, if they are right in their contention, but they evidently do not wish or intend to take care of private soldiers or noncommissioned officers.

I have received a good deal of literature the last few years from the press agent of a self-appointed committee to advocate this bill.

Without flattering the gentleman at all, I might say that he is an adept at omitting, twisting, and concealing the truth.

To further the bill he states that the resolve of the Continental Congress of 1780 is an argument, or rather precedent, in favor of the bill he advocates.

The truth of the matter is, as I will show later, that this resolve was to take care of, to use their own language, "by the foregoing arrangement, many deserving officers who must become supernumerary, and it is proper that regard be had for them."

He also claims that Webster made a great speech in favor of a similar bill. The truth of the matter is that he garbled the speech of Daniel Webster. If he had printed it all it would have shown that Webster was making a speech for the exact opposite kind of a bill.

To use part of Webster's own words—which the press agent wisely omitted—"It is objected that the militia have a claim upon us; that they fought at the side of the Regular soldiers and ought to share in the country's remembrances. It is known it is impossible to carry the measure to such an extent as to embrace the militia, and it is plain, too, that the cases are different."

He quotes part of Senate bill approved July 22, 1861, using only part of section 5 to back his claim. He claims that this wording is a sacred promise of Lincoln and Congress to take care of Volunteer officers the same as members of the Regular Army.

He uses these words: "That the officers, noncommissioned officers, and privates, organized as above set forth, shall in all respects be placed on the same footing as to pay and allowances of similar corps of the Regular Army."

He gives the impression that this is all of the language of section 5. If he had quoted it all it would have destroyed his case, as it would have shown that most of the article was about "forage," "horse and horse equipments," "subsistence," and so forth.

He further states that the act passed on July 25, 1861, was passed to take care of their case. He states this was for the purpose of curing some omissions in the act of July 22.

If one reads both acts he will find the reason for the amendment was that the first act provided that the President could ask for volunteers for "not exceeding three years and not less than six months."

The amended act reads, and "shall be mustered into the service for 'during the war.'"

The Senate evidently believed that this press agent had used all of the language, as the report shows that they follow his literature very closely—even to omitting essential parts of sections of this war legislation of 1861.

The best evidence that there was no "sacred promise" made in 1861 that was not fulfilled is the fact that a volunteer officer, Senator James Wilson was the chairman of the Military Committee in 1861, and was also chairman of the Military Affairs Committee when the war was over.

Another piece of evidence is that Hon. F. P. Blair, jr., also a volunteer officer, was chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the House in 1861. He came back to the Senate after the war.

Other Members of the House and Senate in '61 were volunteer officers and came back to the House and the Senate after the war.

In addition, many of the Members of both Senate and House after the war were volunteer officers, and none of these gentlemen introduced any bill for the retiring of volunteer officers who had gone back to civil life.

The first piece of legislation along this line was nearly 40 years after the war, and then was not introduced by a volunteer officer or private.

Even then the bill was introduced "by request." This very modest bill only provided for retirement of officers who had lost an arm and a leg, or two arms or two legs, and so forth, and was never reported out of committee.

The next bill provided for the retirement of major generals and brigadier generals.

Then these gentlemen evidently believed that it was necessary to get more backing, so the bill was made liberal enough to take in captains, lieutenants, and so forth.

They lay great stress that the retirement bill of 1861 was intended to provide for them as well as the Regular Army officers.

If they read the debates, they will find that it was passed because some officers of the Artillery were, by age, gout, and other causes, unable to lead their men into battle.

And this bill was introduced by Senator James Wilson, chairman of the Military Committee, afterwards a volunteer officer and chairman of the Military Affairs Committee when the war was over.

Another section of the bill that they lay great stress on, when you examine the debate, only provided that upon occasions of ceremony volunteer officers were allowed to wear the uniform of the same rank they had in the Army. You will note that it was distinctly understood that it did not carry any other emolument.

The debate shows that an amendment was offered, so that privates who had seen several years' service should be allowed the same privilege, and was objected to on the grounds that in a few years there would be 50 or 60 privates wearing the uniform of a captain.

I am glad to know that the House Committee on Military Affairs has not seen fit to report out the bill. If one reads all the debate, and more especially the part of Webster's speech and the part of sections that the author of the literature has omitted, one will agree that this bill never should become a law.

RESOLVE OF 1780 TOOK CARE OF "SUPERNUMERARY" OFFICERS OF CONTINENTAL ARMY.

Some of the proponents of this piece of legislation seem to convey the impression that the Continental Congress of 1780 passed a similar bill.

The truth of the matter is that on account of a rearrangement of the Continental Army (or Regular Army) many "deserving officers" had become "supernumerary," and that it was "proper that regard be had to them."

The following from the debate in the Continental Congress at that time speaks for itself:

Congress took into consideration the report of the committee on the letters from Gen. Washington, and thereupon came to the following resolutions:

That the Regular Army of the United States, from and after the 1st day of January next, consist of 4 regiments of Cavalry, or light dragoons; 4 regiments of Artillery; 49 regiments of Infantry, exclusive of Col. Hazen's regiment, hereafter mentioned; 1 regiment of artificers.

Then it goes on to state how each regiment should be formed.

REFERRED TO GEN. WASHINGTON FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Then, after stating that clothing should be furnished, and so forth, we read the following:

And whereas by the foregoing arrangement many deserving officers must become supernumerary, and it is proper that regard be had to them:

Resolved, That from the time the reform of the Army takes place they be entitled to half pay for seven years in specie, or other current money equivalent, and also to grants of land at the close of the war, agreeably to the resolution of the 16th of September, 1776.

Ordered, That a copy of the foregoing arrangement of the Army be sent forward to the Commander in Chief for his opinion thereon; and that if there shall appear no material objection, the same be carried into immediate effect.

This shows very clearly that it applies not to volunteer officers, but to regular officers who had lost their commands by a rearrangement of the Regular (Continental Army) Army.

A little later the report was amended so as to provide, among other things—

That the regiments of Artillery be augmented to 10 companies each.

That, instead of four regiments of Cavalry, there be four legionary corps, consisting of four troops of mounted dragoons and two of dismounted dragoons, each consisting of 60 privates, with the same number of commissioned and noncommissioned officers to each troop as at present.

Then a little later we find the following:

(That the officers who shall continue in the service to the end of the war, shall also be entitled to half pay during life, to commence from the time of their reduction.)

It will be observed that this also applies only to the Regular Army and does not refer to Volunteers or Volunteer officers in any way.

WHAT THEY CLAIM DANIEL WEBSTER SAID.

A bill to carry out the provisions of the report adopted by the Continental Congress of 1780 was introduced in Congress in 1828.

The proponents of this legislation quote the following from the speech of Daniel Webster on April 25, 1828:

This bill is intended for those who, being in the Army in October, 1780, then received a solemn promise of half pay for life, on condition that they would continue to serve through the war. Their ground of merit in that whensoever they joined the Army, being thus solicited by their country to remain in it, they at once went for the whole war; they fastened their fortunes to the standards which they bore, and resolved to continue their military service until it should terminate either in their country's success or in their own death. This is their merit and the ground of their claim.

The militia who fought at Concord, Lexington, at Bunker Hill, have been alluded to in the course of this debate in terms of well-deserved praise. Be assured, sir, there could with difficulty be found a man who drew his sword or carried his musket at Concord or Lexington or Bunker Hill who would wish you to reject this bill. They might ask you to do more, but never to refrain from doing this. Would to God they were assembled here and had the fate of the bill in their own hands. Would to God the question of its passage were to be put to them. They would affirm it with a unity of acclamation that would rend the roof of the Capitol!

The objects, then, sir, of the proposed bounty are most worthy and deserving objects. The services which they rendered were in the highest degree useful and important. The country to which they rendered them is great and prosperous. They have lived to see it glorious; let them not live to see it unkind. For me, I can give them but my vote and my prayers, and I give them both with my whole heart.

WHAT HE REALLY SAID WAS THAT IT WAS "IMPOSSIBLE TO EMBRACE THE MILITIA."

If the entire second paragraph had been given, we would have found out that Daniel Webster stated that bill applied only to those "regular soldiers" and did not embrace, as he said, "the militia," and as he also said, "It is plain, too, that the cases are different."

The paragraph as really given, and not garbled to suit a case for which it was not intended, reads as follows:

But then, again, it is objected that the militia have a claim upon us; that they fought at the side of the regular soldiers, and ought to share in the country's remembrances. It is known to be impossible to carry the measure to such an extent as to embrace the militia; and it is plain, too, that the cases are different. This bill, as I have already said, confines itself to those who served, not occasionally, not temporarily, but permanently; who allowed themselves to be counted on as men who were to see the contest through, last as long as it might, and who have made the phrase of "listing during the war," a proverbial expression, signifying unalterable devotion to our cause, through good fortune and ill fortune, till it reaches its close. This is a plain distinction; and although, perhaps, I might wish to do more, I see good ground to stop here, for the present, if we must anywhere. The militia who fought at Concord, at Lexington, and at Bunker Hill, have been alluded to, in the course of this debate, in terms of well-deserved praise. Be assured, sir, there could with difficulty be found a man who drew his sword, or carried his musket, at Concord, at Lexington, or Bunker Hill, who would wish to reject this bill. They might ask you to do more, but never to refrain from doing this. Would to God they were assembled here and had the fate of this bill in their own hands! Would to God the question of its passage was to be put to them! They would affirm it with a unity of acclamation that would rend the roof of the Capitol.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT PART OF WEBSTER'S SPEECH WHICH THEY OMITTED TO GIVE.

The proponents—or the authors of the propaganda—for this bill also omits another very important section of his speech, in which he shows that speech was in behalf of not only officers but all members of the Regular Army.

The part omitted reads as follows:

I would not and do not underrate the services or sufferings of others. I know well that in the Revolutionary contest all made sacrifices and all endured sufferings, as well as those who paid for services as those who performed it. I know that in the records of all the little municipalities of New England abundant proof exists of the zeal with which the cause was espoused and the sacrifices with which it was cheerfully maintained. I have often there read with absolute astonishment the taxes, the contributions, the heavy subscriptions, often provided for by disposing of the absolute necessaries of life, by which enlistments were procured and food and clothing furnished. It would be, sir, to these same municipalities, to these same little patriotic councils in Revolutionary times, that I should now look with most assured confidence for a hearty support of what this bill proposes. There the scale of Revolutionary merit stands high. There are still those living who speak of the 19th of April and the 17th of June, without thinking it necessary to add the years. These men, one and all, would rejoice to find that those who stood by the country bravely through the doubtful and perilous struggle which conducted it to independence and glory had not been forgotten in the decline and close of life.

Mr. Webster then closes his speech immediately with these words:

The objects, then, sir, of the proposed bounty are most worthy and deserving objects. The services which they rendered were in the highest degree useful and important. The country to which they rendered them is great and prosperous. They have lived to see it glorious. Let them not live to see it unkind. For me, I can give them but my vote and my prayers, and I give them both with my whole heart.

It is self-evident that Webster's entire speech was a bill for the Regular Army men—officers and privates as well—and not one for Volunteer officers.

LAW PROVIDED ONLY FOR REGULAR ARMY OFFICERS.

The law itself provides for only Regular Army men, and makes no distinction between privates and officers.

This bill became an act on May 15, 1828, and the part referring to "surviving officers of the Army of the Revolution in the Continental line" reads as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That each of the surviving officers of the Army of the Revolution in the Continental line who was entitled to half pay by the resolve of October 21, 1780, be authorized to receive, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the amount of his full pay in said line according to his rank in the line, to begin on the 3d day of March, 1826, and to continue during his natural life: *Provided*, That under this act no officer shall be entitled to receive a larger sum than the full pay of a captain in said line.

It takes a long stretch of imagination to say this law was intended to take care of "volunteer" officers.

If one will read the entire debate at that time, as I have, he will note that there were several who wished to place the Volunteers (militia) on the same basis as the Regulars, but it was plainly shown that the Continental Congress of 1780 only intended to take care of the Regulars, as the speech of Mr. Webster shows.

SENATOR HAYNE ALSO STATES THAT BILL WAS FOR BENEFIT OF CONTINENTAL ARMY OFFICERS.

The following extract of a speech by Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina, expresses the same sentiments as Mr. Webster:

In endeavoring, Mr. President, to do justice to the conduct of the Regular Army, let it not be supposed I would do injustice to the militia. Sir, I would not if I could; and, thank God, I could not if I would detract from their exalted merits in the same contest. They did all that irregular troops could do. They achieved much and they suffered more. Marion, "the old fox" of the South, and Sumter, its "game cock" (names won by their skill and valor from a reluctant enemy), and Pickens, too, sir, whose valor led him to perform heroic deeds, which his modesty almost blushed to acknowledge, and Shelby and Campbell, and many others whom I could name, all, all justly entitled themselves to the lasting gratitude of their countrymen. They kept up the spirit of resistance among the people at a time when the State was overrun by the enemy. They kept hope alive and cherished that sacred fire, which, on the arrival of Greene with his army, blazed out into a fierce and consuming flame which drew back and finally destroyed the enemies of our country. But, sir, if these gallant men were now here, and they were called upon to explain the different parts performed by the militia and the Regulars in the memorable campaign of 1781 they would tell you (or I have read the history of the Revolution in vain) that without the army of Gen. Greene the victory could not have been achieved; that the Regular Army, being constantly in the field, served as a rallying point for the militia and afforded them the means of acting with effect against the common enemy. If those men were now here to decide the question now before this House, to determine whether the surviving officers of the Army who served to the end of the war are not peculiarly entitled to an honorable provision for their old age, my life upon it, sir, they would be found, like the venerable Senator from Maryland, the warmest advocates of this bill.

MR. DRAYTON EXPRESSES THE SAME SENTIMENTS.

In the House Mr. Drayton said in part:

I would not, by any means, have it understood that I am adverse to the pretensions of other officers and other soldiers of the Revolution.

The same sentiment runs all through the debates in 1828 in both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

WHAT THEY CLAIM THE WORDING OF SECTIONS 5 AND 6 IS.

According to literature circulated by a self-elected committee, apparently, to promote the passage of this piece of legislation, they state as follows:

[Act of May 25, 1861; act of July 22, 1861; approved July 22, 1861.]

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That the officers, noncommissioned officers, and privates, organized as above set forth, shall in all respects be placed on the same footing, as to pay and allowances, of similar corps of the Regular Army.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That any volunteer who may be received into the service of the United States under this act, and who may be wounded or otherwise disabled in the service, shall be entitled to the benefits which have been or may be conferred on persons disabled in the regular service. * * *

They claim by the above language that this means that Congress meant to place Volunteer officers—they say nothing of privates—on the same basis as Regular Army officers.

Very wisely they do not quote all of section 5 and they omit part of section 6. If one reads the entire section 5, then he will readily understand why they neglected to show that a very essential part of section 5 had been omitted.

It appears that the Senate committee took it for granted that these gentlemen had quoted the entire section, because on page 1 of their report (Rept. No. 449, 2d sess. 65th Cong.) they use the exact language that I have just read.

THE REAL WORDING OF SECTION 5.

If one will read General Orders, No. 49, War Department, issued at Washington August 3, 1861, by The Adjutant General, he will see that the proponents of this legislation have omitted a very important part of section 5.

The whole section reads as follows:

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That the officers, noncommissioned officers, and privates organized as above set forth shall in all respects be placed on the same footing as to pay and allowances of similar corps of the Regular Army: *Provided*, That the allowances of noncommissioned officers and privates for clothing, when not furnished in kind, shall be $3.50 per month, and that each company officer, noncommissioned officer, private, musician, and artificer of cavalry shall furnish his own horse and horse equipments and shall receive 40 cents per day for their use and risk, except that in case the horse shall become disabled or shall die the allowance shall cease until the disability be removed or another horse be supplied. Every volunteer noncommissioned officer, private, musician, and artificer who enters the service of the United States under this act shall be paid at the rate of 50 cents per day in lieu of subsistence, and if a Cavalry volunteer 25 cents additional in lieu of forage for every 20 miles of travel from his place of enrollment to the place of muster—the distance to be measured by the shortest usually traveled route—and when honorably discharged an allowance at the same rate from the place of his discharge to his place of enrollment, and in addition thereto if he shall have served for a period of two years or during the war if sooner ended the sum of $100: *Provided*, That such of the companies of cavalry herein provided for as may require it may be furnished with horses and horse equipments in the same manner as the United States Army.

One can readily see why the proponents of this legislation in their literature did not quote the entire section. One can readily see that the above section does not promise in any way any "retirement" to volunteer officers; neither, if one reads the debates on this bill, can he find a single word about the "retirement" of volunteer officers.

WHAT SECTION 6 REALLY SAYS.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That any volunteer who may be received into the service of the United States under this act, and who may be wounded or otherwise disabled in the service, shall be entitled to the benefits which have been or may be conferred on persons disabled in the regular service; and if the widow, if there be one, and if not, the legal heirs of such as die or may be killed in service, in addition to all arrears of pay and allowance, shall receive the sum of $100.

By reading the latter part of the section one can readily see that this section—taken in its entirety—is no argument in favor of "retirement," and one can easily understand why they did not quote the entire section.

The above bill was introduced in the special session of Congress on July 5, 1861, by Senator James Wilson, of Massachusetts, chairman of the Military Committee, and was known as Senate bill 1. This bill was afterwards merged with House bill 28.

SENATOR WILSON, CHAIRMAN OF MILITARY COMMITTEE, AFTERWARDS A VOLUNTEER OFFICER.

Later, in the year 1861, Senator Wilson "raised and commanded" the Twenty-second Massachusetts Volunteers.

The best evidence that the bill did not intend to provide that volunteer officers were to be placed upon the retired list the same as Regular Army officers, or Regular Army officers who were temporarily in command of volunteer commands, is the fact that upon his return to Congress—he never resigned his seat—is the fact that although he introduced Senate bill 1 and was a volunteer officer himself, he never introduced a bill along the lines of the present bill in Congress, neither did he ever make a speech in favor of such a bill.

CONGRESSMAN F. B. BLAIR, JR., ALSO A VOLUNTEER OFFICER.

The one who looked after the bill in the House was Frank B. Blair, jr., of Missouri, who also served in the Civil War as a volunteer officer.

The association claims that this bill—Senate bill No. 1—is an argument in favor of their bill.

They also claim that President Lincoln and the Congress of that time made them a sacred promise, and that the present Congress ought to live up to the promises made in 1861.

NO SACRED PROMISE ON PART OF CONGRESS.

One of the best arguments that there never was such a promise are the following facts:

1. Senator Wilson, author of the bill—Senate No. 1—was a volunteer officer, and although he was in Congress from 1861 to 1873, never introduced such a bill, nor made a speech in favor of any such bill.

2. Congressman Blair, also a volunteer officer, upon his return to the Capitol did not introduce such a bill, nor make a speech advocating such a bill.

3. When one reads all of section 5, he will note that it applies more especially to "horse and horse equipment," to "subsistence," to "companies of Cavalry," and that "each company officer should furnish his own horse" than it does to anything else.

It takes a man with a remarkable stretch of imagination to claim that a section referring to allowance for "clothing" and allowance for "forage," and so forth, can ever be construed into a law for "pension" or "retirement."

REFERENCE TO OFFICERS FROM THE REGULAR ARMY TEMPORARILY ASSIGNED TO VOLUNTEER COMMANDS.

In the debate in the Senate, the following refers to those officers of the Regular Army who were temporarily assigned to Volunteer regiments or commands:

Mr. NESMITH of Oregon. Under these circumstances, and in view of the facts before us, a necessity exists for placing men in command who are competent. Under the present arrangement of appointing citizens to high military command, a man who never saw a day's service may be selected for the position of major general. He, as a matter of course, ranks all brigadier generals who are in the field under him, no matter how much experience these brigadier generals may have had in the late war with Mexico, or in our last war with Great Britain; no matter if they have served for 50 years. They may be all Napoleons or Cæsars; they may have all the perfection it is possible to attain in military life; and yet some lawyer or other professional man may be selected as major general and placed over them to command them and to lead them and the Army to destruction and disgrace.

I see no argument in this speech of Senator Nesmith that would warrant anyone in saying that Senate bill No. 1 was intended to take care of those mentioned in the present bill, which has recently passed the Senate.

"BETTER TO ALLOW OFFICERS IN THE ARMY TO ACCEPT COMMISSIONS IN VOLUNTEER REGIMENTS."

Senator Wilson then takes the floor and says in part:

I shall vote most cheerfully for the proposition made by the Senator from Oregon. I think it is a wise one, and I beg leave to say that it is in perfect harmony with the policy I have advocated since the commencement of this war. I thought, in the beginning, that it would be better to allow officers of the Army to accept commissions in Volunteer regiments, and I so advised the Secretary of War and the Adjutant General.

SENATOR SHERMAN EXPRESSES THE SAME IDEAS.

Senator SHERMAN of Ohio. I simply desire to point out an inaccuracy that probably the Senator from Oregon would like to correct. The amendment as it stands would exclude all the officers of the new regiments. Some of the finest officers of the Regular Army are in the new regiments. The amendment, as it now stands, would exclude all those officers.

MR. BLAIR AGREES WITH THE ABOVE SENTIMENTS.

In the House, the following on page 149, Congressional Globe, July 16, 1861, by Mr. Blair, of Missouri, explains itself:

The bill also provides that these Regular officers who have been appointed in these new regiments may, at the end of the war, return to their own regiments in the Regular Army with the rank, pay, emoluments, allowances, and promotions to which they would be entitled if they had remained in their own regiments.

ONLY INTENDED TO TAKE CARE OF REGULAR OFFICERS TEMPORARILY WITH VOLUNTEER REGIMENTS.

If one reads the debates of the House and Senate at that time, he can see that it was the intention of Congress to only take care of those men who were temporarily transferred from their own commands to Volunteer regiments or commands, and so worded that they would be placed at no disadvantage with other officers who stayed in their own regiments or commands.

MR. BLAIR EXPRESSES WHAT AMENDMENT WAS INTENDED TO COVER.

A little later Mr. Blair explained to the House the effect of the amendment offered by Senator Nesmith, of Oregon, about which I spoke a few minutes ago. He said as follows:

The amendment reported by the committee to the bill of the Senate is substantially the bill passed the other day by the House and differs from the bill of the Senate in the particulars in which the House bill was amended here the other day except in one or two features. The committee this morning ingrafted into the substitute a provision giving authority to the President to transfer major and brigadier generals from the Regular Army to the volunteer forces, to resume their positions at the expiration of the war in the Regular Army as if no transfer had taken place. We also provide that the families of soldiers in the Army may, with their consent, draw a portion of their pay, as is now the fact in the Navy.

REGULAR ARMY OFFICERS TO "RESUME THEIR POSITIONS AT EXPIRATION OF WAR."

This is still further evidence that it was only intended to take care of those soldiers of the Regular Army who were assigned to volunteer commands so that they could "resume their positions at the expiration of the war in the Regular Army as if no transfer had taken place," and that it was not the intent to take care of men who left civil life to go into the Army and who left the Army to go back into civil life.

SENATOR WILSON INTRODUCED SENATE BILL NO. 1 AND NO. 2 AS WELL.

On the same day as he introduced Senate bill No. 1, Senator James Wilson also introduced Senate bill No. 2.

OFFICERS TO "RESUME THEIR POSITIONS IN THE REGULAR ARMY."

The following, at the end of section 7, is additional evidence that none of this legislation was intended to provide "retirement" for men who left the Army and went back to civil life:

Provided, That all the officers of the Regular Army who have been or may be attached or assigned to duty for service in any other regiment or corps shall resume their positions in the Regular Army and shall be entitled to the same rank, promotion, and emoluments as if they had continued to serve in their own regiments or corps.

The above was added to the amendment of Senator King, which read:

And be it further enacted, That the President of the United States shall cause regiments, battalions, and companies to be disbanded, and officers, noncommissioned officers, and musicians to be discharged, so as to reduce the Military Establishment as is provided by the next preceding section.

SENATOR HARRIS EXPLAINS REASON FOR AMENDMENT.

Senator Harris immediately said the following:

I do not propose to discuss this question. If Senators think fit so to modify this bill, of course, it is not for me to attempt to resist it; but I will say that I am surprised that the Senate should strike what seems to me so fatal a blow to this measure of the administration. I can but think that Senators have failed to consider the effect of the proposition that has been made by my colleague. It is very clear to my mind that the officers of the Army who are to be commissioned in these new regiments, and whose presence in these regiments is indispensable to give them efficiency, in my judgment, can never be induced to accept those commissions if this bill contains these provisions. Will any officer of the Army surrender his present position and take a commission in one of these new regiments, with the understanding expressed on the face of the bill that he is, at the end of this controversy, to be discharged from the service and go into retirement? Is it not very clear that we, by means of this provision, are to exclude from these new regiments every officer of the present Army? It seems to me that Senators have not considered the effect of the vote that has just been taken. If they have I have no more to say. For myself I think it fatal to the measure.

WHAT BECOMES OF "REGULAR ARMY OFFICERS" AFTER WAR?

The following by Senator Doolittle also explains why the amendment was added to section 7:

I desire to ask a single question. I understand that, by the adoption of the amendment of the Senator from New York, these regiments are to be mustered out of service six months after the necessity for them ceases to exist. The question I would ask is, What becomes of the officers who go into these regiments appointed from the Regular Army. Do they go out of service with the regiments? If so, ought not some provision to be inserted in the bill by way of inducing officers of the Regular Army to go into these new regiments, to preserve to them in some way their right as officers in the Army? Otherwise, the new regiments will not be filled up with any of the officers from the Regular Army. Is there any provision of that sort?

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE REPORT STATES OFFICERS REGULAR ARMY TO RESUME THEIR POSITIONS.

The following report, by Mr. Frank Blair, jr., on page 273 of the Congressional Globe of July 29, 1861, also explains itself:

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

I desire to make a report from a committee of conference. The report was read, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill (S. N. 2) to increase the present Military Establishment of the United States, having met, after a full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House of Representatives recede from its amendments to the bill of the Senate, except section 8, and agree thereto with the following amendments:

Page 4, section 6, line 8, after the word "reduce," strike out as follows: "in such manner and to such extent as Congress may direct" and insert in lieu thereof "to a number not exceeding 25,000 men, unless otherwise ordered by Congress."

Page 5, at the end of section 7, add the following: "*Provided*, That all the officers of the Regular Army who have been or may be attached or assigned to duty for service in any other regiment or corps shall resume their positions in the Regular Army, and shall be entitled to the same rank, promotion, and emoluments, as if they had continued to serve in their own regiments or corps."

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the eighth section of the amendment of the House and agree thereto.

HENRY WILSON,
J. H. LANE,
HENRY M. RICE,
Managers on the part of the Senate.
FRANCIS P. BLAIR,
R. MALLORY,
A. B. OLIN,
Managers on the part of the House.

CHAIRMAN BLAIR EXPLAINS INTENT OF SECTION 5.

In addition, Mr. Blair said as follows:

Another amendment agreed upon by the committee of conference is an addition to the seventh section of the Senate bill of a part of the seventh section of the House bill, requiring that all the officers of the Regular Army who have been or may be attached or assigned to duty for service in any other regiment or corps shall resume their positions in the Regular Army, and shall be entitled to the same rank, promotion, and emoluments, as if they had continued to serve in their own regiments or corps.

The committee of conference also agreed to the eighth section of the amendment of the House, which provided that the recruiting of these 11 new regiments should be placed in charge of officers appointed for the new regiments from civil life; and that, in the meantime, the officers of the Regular Army should not be employed in recruiting, but should be employed actively in the field.

Such is the substance of the recommendations which the committee agreed to present to their respective Houses.

MR. LOVEJOY WANTS TO KNOW WHAT BECOMES OF REGULAR ARMY OFFICER TEMPORARILY TRANSFERRED.

Mr. LOVEJOY. I would inquire of the gentleman whether the officers of these 11 regiments who are not transferred from the Regular Army are to be continued or are to be removed at the end of the war?

Mr. BLAIR of Missouri. The Military Establishment of the Government, with this addition, will amount to 40,000 men; but the bill requires that the number shall be reduced at the close of the war to 25,000 men. As a matter of course some of the officers will be retired; but it is provided that such officers as have been taken from the Regular Army and placed over these new regiments shall not be retired, but shall resume their old places in the Army, with the rank, promotion, and emoluments they would have been entitled to had they continued in their own regiments during the war.

The President is required to disband the regiments or battalions or companies in order to reduce the Army to a number not exceeding 25,000.

Mr. LOVEJOY. And that will discharge a number of officers.

Mr. BLAIR of Missouri. As a matter of course.

NO LAW RETIRING OFFICERS.

The following, a little later in the debate by Mr. Kellogg of Illinois and Mr. Blair, explain themselves:

Mr. KELLOGG of Illinois. I desire to ask the committee if there is any provision for retiring the brigade, field, and staff officers of that portion of the Army that is not to be reduced at the expiration of the war, or whether when the war shall have closed we shall have upon our hands an army of brigadier generals and staff officers sufficient in number to command the entire Volunteer corps? What I desire to know is, whether, after we have retired the soldiers, we are to have an army of officers almost equal to the number of soldiers quartered upon the Government and receiving their pay when we have nothing for them to do?

Mr. BLAIR of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman knows as well as I do, and I suppose every gentleman upon this floor knows, that all these brigadier generals and major generals who have been appointed to command the Volunteer Army will be reduced at the end of the three years' term of enlistment, which is the longest term for which they can serve without further action by Congress. As to the additions made of brigadier and major generals and their staffs, by this bill they will have to be provided for by additional legislation.

Mr. KELLOGG of Illinois. That is the very point to which I wished to call the gentleman's attention, and now I understand that there is no law retiring that class of officers.

Mr. BLAIR of Missouri. None at all.

Mr. KELLOGG of Illinois. That is all I desired to know.

"WHEN YOU BRING MEN INTO THE ARMY FROM CIVIL LIFE—THEY CAN GO OUT WITHOUT DIFFICULTY."

The following by Senator Wilson—in the course of the debate—chairman of the Military Committee, afterwards a Volunteer officer, also explain themselves:

The Senator says that I remarked that if these regiments were to be officered by civilians, we could dismiss them at the end of three years. So we could; and work no particular injury, for this reason: By organizing these 11 regiments, and enlisting the men for three years, and appointing the officers from civil life, we simply make 11 regiments of Volunteers—nothing more, nothing less; and when you bring men into the Army from civil life, if you tell them their commissions are to run only for three years, they can go out of the Army without any difficulty, and without any injustice. But, sir, in order to make these new regiments efficient, the Government has adopted the plan—and I believe it to be a wise one—of putting in every one of these regiments 27 officers from the line of the Army—men of culture, men of experience, men fitted to make these regiments at once veteran troops.

The Senator asks why they are better than the Volunteers. Does not the Senator see why they are better? You have appointed 11 colonels for those regiments. Nine of those colonels, I think, are taken from the Army. One of them is a brother of the honorable Senator from Ohio [Mr. Sherman], a man educated, I think, at West Point—a man who has served the country, a gentleman acknowledged by military men to be a man of great capacity, who is at the head of a brigade over the river to-day. Then, sir, you have taken for colonels 10 out of 11 men trained to the Army, and who have served their country in the public service. Take your list of lieutenant colonels and majors, and there you find men who are officers of the Army. Open your list of captains and of first lieutenants, and you will see

about half of them taken from the Army. Would not a regiment thus organized, led by experienced and brave officers, be incomparably better at the end of a few days than a regiment raised in Massachusetts, or in Iowa, or New York, with not an officer, perhaps, trained in military affairs in the ranks of the regiment? You make these regiments at once, in the course of a very few days, good troops, to be relied on in all emergencies.

SENATOR LANE, VOLUNTEER OFFICER, MEXICAN WAR, EXPLAINS SECTION.

The following by Senator Lane, who served in the Mexican War as a colonel of Volunteers, also explains the reason—and the only reason—why amendment was added to section 7:

I suppose there is no Senator on this floor who would be willing to induce the officers of the Regular Army to enter the new regiments with the understanding that they were to leave the profession of their lives when this trouble closes. That is the proposition of the honorable Senator from New York. The distinguished Senator from Iowa proposes to sugar-coat the pill of the Senator from New York by saying to these officers of the old Army, "If you will accept commissions in the new, we will at the close of the war return you to the rank that you now hold in the old Army"; that is, sir, we will take a first lieutenant in the old Army and advance him in that Army for his gallantry and courage, perhaps, to a brigadier generalship; we will take a second lieutenant of the old Army and transfer him to the new, and by his gallantry and courage he is advanced in the new regiments to a brigadier generalship. After the war closes the Senator from Iowa proposes to bring back the brigadier general in the new regiments to the position of first or second lieutenant in the old. I do hope, Mr. President, that the amendment proposed by the Senator from New York may not be adopted.

Section 7 provides that officers of the Regular Army shall resume their positions:

SEC. 7. And be it further enacted, That the President of the United States shall cause regiments, battalions, and companies to be disbanded, and officers, noncommissioned officers, musicians, and privates to be discharged so as to reduce the Military Establishment, as is provided by the preceding section: *Provided*, That all of the officers of the Regular Army, who have been or may be detached or assigned to duty for service in any other regiment or corps, shall resume their positions in the Regular Army, and shall be entitled to the same rank, promotion, and emoluments as if they had continued to serve in their own regiments or corps.

WHAT SECTION 8, SENATE BILL NO. 2, REALLY SAYS.

SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That the enlistments for the regiments authorized by this act shall be in charge of the officers detailed for that purpose who are appointed to said regiments from civil life; and that in the meantime the officers appointed to the same from the Regular Army shall be detailed by the commanding general to such service in the Volunteer regiments now in the field as will, in his judgment, give them the greatest military instruction and efficiency; and that the commanding general may, in his discretion, employ said officers with any part of the Regular forces now in the field until the regiments authorized by this act shall have been fully recruited, and detail any of the officers now in the Regular Army to service with the Volunteer regiments now in the field, or which may hereafter be called out, with such rank as may be offered them in said Volunteer regiments, for the purpose of imparting to them military instruction and efficiency.

Approved, July 29, 1861.

SENATE BILL NO. 3 INTRODUCED THE SAME DAY AS SENATE BILLS 1 AND 2.

Senator Wilson also introduced Senate bill No. 3 on the same day as the others, and part of this bill is quoted by some of those advocating this piece of legislation—Townsend-Raker bill—as evidence that Congress at that time intended to provide "retirement" for men who left the Army to go back to civil life.

BILL NOT TO TAKE CARE OF MEN WHO RETURNED TO CIVIL LIFE.

If one reads the debates and the law he will find the exact opposite.

The following by Senator John Sherman, one of the Senate conferees, explains itself:

I agree entirely with the Senator from Vermont as to the question of paying retired officers; but we had either to leave these officers on full pay in the Army and Navy during this war—or, in other words, to defeat this proposition for a retired list—or else accept it as it is. It simply adds to the rates fixed by the Senate, a dollar and twenty cents a day. I should have much preferred it if they had said a dollar and twenty cents a day, and said nothing about rations; but the legal effect is the same.

Senator COLLAMER. I ask the gentleman if he thinks it is the same? We have been raising the ration to-day, I believe, in this very bill. The commutation keeps growing with the ration.

Senator SHERMAN. I beg pardon of the Senator; he is mistaken. The commutation of the ration stands precisely as it did before; but where the ration is dealt out in kind, a few more articles are given. The commutation of the ration is the same fixed by law—30 cents a day.

I quote the following extracts from speeches made by Senator Wilson and Senator Hale, which explain themselves.

REAL REASON FOR RETIREMENT—OFFICERS OF ARTILLERY UNABLE TO GO INTO BATTLE.

It would appear from the speech of Senator Wilson as if the real reason for a retirement bill at that time was not a "sacred promise of Lincoln"—or of Congress—but because "four regiments of Artillery, the most important part of the Army," were unable to go into battle because "not one of these colonels, owing to their age or infirmities," was capable of leading his men.

The following from the speeches of Senator Wilson and Senator Hale explain themselves:

CONGRESS DID NOT INTEND TO TAKE CARE OF MEN WHO RETURNED TO CIVIL LIFE.

The following extracts from speeches made on Senate bill 44 are also additional evidence that Congress did not intend to take care of men who left civil life to go temporarily into the Army and then return to civil life.

The Senator who introduced this bill was Senator James Wilson, chairman of the Military Committee, who, as I have said, became a Volunteer officer himself. He therefore can not be accused of being prejudiced against Volunteer officers.

SENATOR WILSON, A VOLUNTEER OFFICER, EXPRESSES HIS OPINION OF SOME VOLUNTEER OFFICERS.

Senator Wilson says as follows:

The proposition, Mr. President, is certainly a very plain and simple one. I think it ought to be sustained and become the law of the land. The good of the country, if not the salvation of the country, requires it. We have summoned into the field a vast force of Volunteers; we are to call into the field many more, for we have authorized the President to call into the field 500,000 men. That force will make 500 regiments. The fact is, and no man can deny it, that some of the officers, both field and company officers, that have been appointed are wholly unfit to command or lead men into any battle field. The conduct of some of the officers in this city during the past 90 days has been discreditable in the extreme. They have demoralized the corps to which they are attached. I have seen regiments come into this city and stand for hours in a burning sun or in storms of rain without provisions, without comforts of any kind, while some of their officers were gathering around the hotels and spending their time in eating good dinners and drinking champagne. I have visited the camps about this city; I have seen the sufferings of the men, enough to make one's heart ache, through the neglect and utter incompetency of some field and company officers. Sir, the fruits of this conduct are now before us. The utter rout the other day is only the legitimate fruit of the incapacity of many of the field and company officers connected with the Volunteers. In my judgment the time has come—and it is a duty that rises above all personal considerations—to weed these men out of the Army at the earliest possible moment. The idea of trying them by court-martial is simply absurd. The cases demanding action are too many, and the hours are too precious, for court-martial. Most of the field and company officers of the Volunteers are loyal, brave, devoted. They are actuated by lofty motives, and ever ready to give their time and their blood to the cause of their country; but some men, utterly unfitted for their positions, have received commissions. Such men should be forced from positions they do not or can not fill.

"TIME TO REMEDY EVILS," SENATOR WILSON STATED.

A little later he said as follows:

What I wanted to say to the Senate was that the men whom we have summoned into the field have in many cases been officered by incompetent men, and not only incompetent men but men whose conduct has been such as to reflect disgrace upon themselves, upon their commands, and upon the country. Why, sir, there are regiments in the service that everybody knows, who knows anything about the subject, have been demoralized by the conduct, inefficiency, or neglect of their officers. Sir, these facts are before the country, and I say the time has come to remedy the evils, if they can be remedied.

SENATOR WILSON CLAIMED "MANY OF THESE MEN OUGHT TO LEAVE THE SERVICE."

A little later Senator Wilson said:

Now, sir, that many of these men ought to leave the service nobody can doubt. The idea of ever organizing an army and leading on to the field regiments and companies under men who have not yet joined their regiments up to this hour is absurd. Why, sir, you have only to go to the camps and the streets and you find men strolling about, not knowing where their captains or their colonels are. You find colonels and captains and officers strolling about your hotels that have not gone to the places where they belong. I say the time has come to arrest this thing. I go further, and I say that the time has come to organize the forces that come into this city into brigades and to insist that there shall be daily squad drills, company drills, and battalion drills; and that the brigades shall daily, or at least three or four times a week, be brought together and learned to cooperate. In your battle—I will not call it a battle—your series of skirmishes the other day, in which there was evinced as much bravery as was ever displayed on this continent—on that occasion, the very fact that the men had not been brigaded until within a few days and their officers had not learned to cooperate, prevented any large, powerful, and concentrated movements; and to-day, sir, while you have regiments lying all around you, they are not brigaded, not organized. Regiments are lying around—some of them doing nothing here; in some cases through the ignorance of their officers and in others because of their neglect of duty. I do not reproach men for their inexperience, but I do reproach them for neglecting their duties.

"SOME OF THE OFFICERS DESERTED, ABANDONED, AND OUTRAN THEIR MEN."

The Senator says our men fought bravely. Why, sir, nobody doubts that. There were regiments on that field that made attacks in a manner that would have done credit to the Old Guard of Napoleon. There were acts of the most desperate valor performed; but owing to unskillfulness, owing to the unfitness or neglect, especially of some of the company officers, and the generals and men will tell you so, that field was made—I will not say it was made a lost battle, for I hardly see how that number of men on that field could have won a victory—but that rout, that ignominious race in which some of the officers deserted, abandoned, and outran their men, was brought upon us by the incompetency and misconduct of officers. I refer to it now simply to show that we ought to correct it. The Senator from Ohio agrees with me in that. Therefore I propose to clothe the President with this power. That he will exercise it moderately and temperately I do not have a doubt; but the knowledge that the President of the United States has been clothed by Congress, in this emergency, with this power, which he may exercise, will have the most salutary effect upon the officers who are in the field, or who may come into the field. While Senators are ready to vote money and men it seems to me that what is greater than all else should not be neglected; that we should

open our eyes to the experiences of the last 90 days, and let those experiences guide us in our legislation, and in the administration of the Government for the future.

HAD SENATOR WILSON "RETIREMENT" IN MIND?

A little later, Senator Wilson used these words:

Now, sir, a word in regard to what some Senators think injustice toward the men. Why, sir; my remarks apply to a class of officers, not to them all; not to anything like a majority of them. I believe the great mass of these officers to be true men, who have done the best they could, and I am not here to reproach them for doing the best they could. But there is a class of men in the field and company officers that have got into the service, coming from all the States, my own as well as others, who are showing every day their incompetency; or if they are competent, that they do not try to do their duty—men who go away from their camps and stay two or three days. Why, sir, the quartermaster of a regiment stayed away recently five days from his regiment. He stayed in this city while his regiment was 25 or 30 miles away facing the enemy. I have witnessed scenes of suffering in this city that have brought sickness and death upon brave and noble men, through the utter neglect of officers, that have made my heart ache and brought tears from my eyes, and every other Senator could have witnessed them, if he had gone among them. Sir, we owe it to the brave and true men who are doing the best they can, and who deserve our sympathy and our support, and we owe it to our country to make these men, who neglect their duty, do their duty, or put them out of the Army. It is a matter of humanity—a matter of patriotism—and if I could to-day weed that class of men out of the Army, and keep them from the men that are to be called into the field.

SENATOR WILSON STATED INCOMPETENT OFFICERS SHOULD BE REMOVED.

A little later we find Senator Wilson stating as follows:

Now, sir, without any ill will toward any human being in this Volunteer force, without any disposition to undervalue the services of any man, even the most humble, I believe it to be our highest duty at this time so to legislate and so to administer the laws of the country as to require all the men brought into the field to do their whole duty. When they are incompetent, and have proved their utter incompetency, when they are neglectful of their duty, when they spend their time about hotels and in a manner that is discreditable to them personally, instead of being with their regiments and companies doing their whole duty, they should feel that the eye of the President of the United States, their Commander in Chief, is upon them, and if they fail to do their duty they will be removed from the Army.

CHAIRMAN OF SENATE MILITARY COMMITTEE GIVES REASON FOR RETIREMENT BILL.

Senator Wilson said in part as follows:

Now, sir, let me say a single word in regard to the importance of it. This Congress ought not to adjourn without passing some such measure. It would be unjust to the country and unjust to the Army. Why, sir, take the four regiments of Artillery, the most important part of the Army. Four of those colonels ought to be retired. Not one of those colonels to-day, owing to their age or infirmities or other causes, will be ordered into the field. Two of the four lieutenant colonels are in the same condition and some of the majors. Go to your other regiments, and you will find worn-out, sick, or disabled officers in high positions. They can not go into the field at the call of the country. You have to pay them where they are. Age adds to their receipts. They render no service whatever; and the younger officers who are called into the field, captains to command regiments, are to receive the pay of captains to fight the battles of the country and have no promotion. Is this just? Why, sir, I saw the old Fourth Infantry enter this city a few weeks ago from Texas under the command of a captain. The truth is, and if you take the Army Register and examine it carefully you will find it so, that as you approach toward the head of the Army your officers are paralyzed by age.

SENATOR HALE SAYS IT IS GIVING A PREMIUM ON GOUT.

Senator Hale said as follows:

I think if you pass this bill the highest ambition of these officers will be to get on the retired list. It is giving a premium on idleness, gout, rheumatism, and everything of that sort that renders a man incompetent for his business. This bill gives him the highest rank pay that he was ever entitled to when he gets too incompetent to render any service.

SENATOR WILSON, LATER A VOLUNTEER OFFICER, GIVES REASON WHY HE INTRODUCES BILL.

Mr. Wilson said in part as follows:

In regard to this being a war measure I say here, to-day, most emphatically that the reason this bill is pressed at this session is to add to the efficiency of the Army for the present war, and I think that if the Senator will study the Army Register he will see the absolute necessity of it. The Senator says that majors in the Army are before the enemy to-day commanding divisions, commanding bodies of men that a marshal of France would have been proud to lead in the days of the First Empire. That is so, sir; but why is it that majors are leading divisions to-day? It is because your old officers of higher command are unable to go into the field and take command. We have several officers—a large number in proportion to our Army—who are utterly incapable to go into the field; men from 70 to 85 years of age, worn out by disease.

SENATOR HALE WISHES SENATOR WILSON HAD STATED "WHAT OTHER REASONS WERE."

Senator Hale said in part as follows:

The necessity for this retired list, if I understand the Senator from Massachusetts, is found in the condition of the Artillery, and the proposition is to retire these gentlemen upon the highest pay of their rank. I have taken occasion to look at the Army Register, and I want to give the Senate a statement of the pensions they are voting to these gentlemen. The colonel of the first regiment of Artillery receives $3,365.94; the colonel of the second Artillery, $3,917.60; the colonel of the third, $5,553.36; and the colonel of the fourth, $3,618.60. Very patriotic, very eloquent, very pathetic, touching, and effective appeals have been made to the Senate in behalf of these veterans. I feel them all, and a good deal more. The Senate did not attend to the remarks of the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, in pressing this measure, so minutely as I wish they had. He said a good many of these colonels, "from age and other causes," it would not do to call into the field. I wish the Senator had gone on and stated what some of the "other causes" were; but as he did not, I will not. I do not know but that some of these allowances may be now cut off, some few pounds of hay or something of that kind. But I suppose this to be the substantial pay, the substantial pension that you are voting to gentlemen who can not render any service, and have not done so for a good while.

SENATOR WILSON, VOLUNTEER OFFICER, CHAIRMAN MILITARY COMMITTEE AFTER WAR ALSO.

On February 13, 1866, Senator James Wilson reported out Senate bill 138 as a substitute for House bill 361.

This is the same James Wilson who introduced, among other bills, Senate bills 1, 2, 3, and 44 in the war Congress that met from July 4, 1861, to August 6, 1861.

This bill was introduced by Senator Wilson after he had served as a volunteer officer himself in the Civil War.

"UPON OCCASIONS OF CEREMONY" OFFICERS ENTITLED TO "WEAR UNIFORM."

In the debate on this bill Senator Nesmith offered the following amendment, which was adopted:

And be it further enacted, That all officers who have served during the rebellion as volunteers in the armies of the United States and who have been or who hereafter may be honorably mustered out of the Volunteer service, shall be entitled to bear the official title and, upon occasions of cermony, to wear the uniform of the highest grade they have held by brevet or other commission in the Volunteer service; in the case of officers of the Regular Army the Volunteer rank shall be entered upon the Army Register: *Provided*, That these privileges shall not entitled any officer to command, pay, or emoluments.

The amendment was agreed to.

A little later Mr. Fessenden says as follows:

I have one more amendment to offer. It is to add the following additional proviso to the fourth section:

"*And provided further*, That in the selection of officers as provided for in this section officers of the Regular Army who have commanded Volunteer troops may be accounted as officers of Volunteers.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. Fessenden further states:

There is a little obscurity in the amendment that I offered a few moments ago as an additional proviso to the fourth section. My intention was not to oblige the department to consider the Regular officers who had served in the Volunteers as Volunteer officers, but to give them the choice, to take them either way. The amendment does not affect my purpose. I move to add to the end of that amendment the words "or as officers of the Regular Army," so that it will read:

And provided further, That in the election of officers, as provided for in this section, officers of the Regular Army who have commanded Volunteer troops may be accounted as officers of Volunteers, or as officers of the Regular Army.

"NO PARTICULAR INDUCEMENT" TO OFFICERS "VETERAN RESERVE."

In the same debate Senator Nesmith says as follows:

So far as it is intended to reward officers who have been wounded in the service I would be glad to see them all placed in the Army if they desire it, and to give them such reward as it is in the power of the Government to give them; but I am opposed to the amendment offered by the Senator from Indiana for a variety of reasons.

In the first place, as has been stated by the Senator from Maine, there was no particular inducement held out to the officers who went into the Veteran Reserve Corps that they should be retained in the service at the close of the war.

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN FARNSWORTH, A VOLUNTEER OFFICER.

In the debate in the House Congressman J. F. Farnsworth, in reporting the Conference Committee of the House, said in part as follows:

I will explain this matter if Members will give me their attention. I will only say, in conclusion, that this was the very best we could do, and, under the circumstances, the committee on the part of the House thought it best to recommend the passage of the bill. It is very important that a bill should be passed. It is recommended and strongly insisted upon by Gen Grant and by all the officers of the Army. I am satisfied if this is not adopted we shall lose the Army bill. I think it is a very good bill. We retain the provision in reference to officering the new regiments, by which all the vacancies below the grade of captain are to be filled by officers and men who have served with the volunteers. Under the law as it now exists with reference to the Veteran Reserve Corps, a man who has been disabled by wounds may be appointed an officer of a Regular regiment. An officer who has lost an arm—as many of our most worthy officers have, who are still in the service—may still, under the present law, be appointed to a command in any regiment of the Regular service. So that the necessity for enlarging the Volunteer Corps on that account is not so great. The argument on the part of the Senae against the Veteran Reserve Corps is this: That we shall get into the service a large number of officers who are incapacitated bodily for the performance of efficient service, and who will be, in consequence, retired in a short time; that under the law as it now exists they will be placed upon the retired list, with large pay. There is considerable force in this argument.

CONGRESSMAN SCHENCK WAS ALSO A VOLUNTEER OFFICER.

A little later we find Congressman Schenck saying as follows:

Mr. Speaker, I desire to say, in all candor, that the result of this conference is better than I expected. The gentleman who has made the report has certainly stated fairly the fact that in most of the details of the bill the views of the House prevail, and that in various sections following that which provides for the aggregate force of the Army the bill corresponds in a good degree, and indeed I might say almost exactly, with the bill which this morning my colleague upon the committee [Mr. Paine] and myself desired to submit to the House as a compromise.

The only point as to which there has been a material difference between the two Houses, and in regard to which the House, by this report, has made a considerable concession to the Senate, is with reference to the Veteran Reserve Corps. As gentlemen of the House are

aware, the House has shown throughout a determination to insist upon some provision for wounded officers and men who are still capable of military duty. Hence, on each occasion when we have adopted a bill we have provided for 10 regiments to be called the Veteran Reserve Corps, to be made up of wounded or disabled men from all branches of the service, and to be officered by wounded or disabled officers. By this compromise the Veteran Reserve Corps is cut down to four regiments. But then it must be remembered that while we give up four regiments of colored Infantry, we gain upon the last bill passed by the House two regiments of colored Cavalry. Two out of four regiments of Cavalry are to be colored.

By the way, Congressman Robert C. Schenck entered the Union Army in 1861 as brigadier general and was promoted to major general, and elected to Congress from Ohio in the Thirty-eighth Congress.

THREE OUT OF FOUR OF CONFERENCE COMMITTEE WERE VOLUNTEER OFFICERS.

The conference report on this bill was signed by Henry Wilson and Ira Harris, managers on the part of the Senate, and J. F. Farnsworth and Nelson Taylor, managers on the part of the House. Of these four gentlemen Wilson, Farnsworth, and Taylor were Volunteer officers and would therefore not be prejudiced against "Volunteer" officers in any way.

John F. Farnsworth served in the Union Army as colonel of Cavalry and brigadier general. Nelson Taylor served as captain in the First New York Volunteers in the Mexican War, 1846 to 1848, and also served in the Union Army and obtained the rank of brigadier general. Henry Wilson in 1861 raised and commanded the Twenty-second Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers.

CONGRESSMAN (PRESIDENT) JAMES A. GARFIELD ALSO VOLUNTEER OFFICER.

A little later in the debate, Congressman James A. Garfield—afterwards President—who was also a Volunteer officer, said as follows:

Mr. Speaker, I think the House may congratulate itself on the success of this conference, and that the committee may congratulate itself on the very happy result which it has achieved in this struggle. I have looked through this bill with a great deal of care, and as the result of that examination I must say that I hope the House will adopt the report of the conference committee; for I am sure it is very much better than we had any reason to hope for, considering the results of the last attempt at a conference with the Senate.

Note that he states—

I think the House may congratulate itself on the success of this conference, and that the committee may congratulate itself on the very happy result which it has achieved in this struggle.

The bill he is talking about was approved July 28, 1866, and is entitled "An act to increase and fix the military peace establishment of the United States."

CONGRESSMAN HALBERT E. PAINE, ALSO VOLUNTEER OFFICER.

Congressman Halbert E. Paine, who entered the Union Army May, 1861, as colonel of the Fourth Wisconsin Volunteers, was in 1863 promoted to rank of brigadier general, and in the following June lost his leg at Port Hudson; brevetted major general in March, 1865, states as follows:

I hold in my hand a document on which I made accurate notes of the agreements of the morning. In looking through the second conference report I find there are only three points in which the report differs from the report to which the third conference agreed to subscribe. We were willing to agree to everything except the provisions relating to the number of ordinary Infantry regiments and the number of the colored troops and of the Veteran Reserve Corps. The difference is not enough to warrant the rejection of this report, and I hope it will be adopted.

It will be noted that all of these gentlemen were Volunteer officers, and, therefore, as I said, absolutely are not prejudiced against "Volunteer" officers in any way.

"TO WEAR UNIFORM"—"NO EMOLUMENTS."

Section 34 of this bill reads as follows:

SEC. 34. *And be it further enacted*, That all officers who have served during the Rebellion as Volunteers in the armies of the United States, and who have been or may hereafter be honorably mustered out of the Volunteer service, shall be entitled to bear the official title, and upon occasions of ceremony to wear the uniform of the highest grade they have held by brevet or other commissions in the Volunteer service. In case of officers of the Regular Army, the Volunteer rank shall be entered upon the official Army register: *Provided*, That these privileges shall not entitle any officer to command, pay, or emoluments.

CONGRESSMAN CONKLING STATED GRANT, SHERMAN, MEADE, THOMAS, ALL ADVISED ABOLISHING VETERAN RESERVE ARMY.

In the debate in the House we find Mr. Conkling saying as follows:

The Government has by act and word held but one language on this point, and no expectations have been created that any set of officers were to be preferred to others in the final reorganization.

A little further we find Mr. Conkling saying as follows:

I suppose it is no secret that the public authorities recently caused to be convened in this city a number of first generals of the age. The object of the convention was to consult as to the best disposition to be made of the Military Establishment of the country, now that the war is over, and to consider and devise the best legislative provisions in reference to the regular or permanent Army. These generals were those whose large experience and whose professional eminence selected them as the best advisers, and whose official station makes them the persons to execute the law to be enacted. They came together; the lieutenant general, Gen. Sherman, Gen. Thomas, Gen. Meade, all came. Gen. Sheridan and others did not come. This group of men, so illustrious and so skilled, studied the whole subject and presented their views in writing. The measures they deemed wisest were embodied in a bill which they approved. That bill was introduced in the Senate, carefully considered in committee there. It became the subject of conference and correspondence between the committee of the Senate and the officers who had recommended it. It was elaborately considered in the Senate and passed with but little alteration, and came to us. Here it went to the Military Committee, and there it stays.

In its place we have a bill presented which contains various things which were especially and pointedly condemned by the officers to whom I have referred, by the committee of the Senate, and by the Senate also. There may be reasons for this, though we have not yet heard them.

Beside the bill, however, which these officers blocked out, they made a record of their recommendations. One was upon the point now before us. I will read it. It is, as will be discovered, in answer to a communication sent them with a bill, to which had been added a provision creating a Veteran Reserve Corps. The paper is signed by Gens. Sherman, Meade, and Thomas, and I am not sure whether by Gen. Grant also:

"The only essential change proposed in the Army bill is to omit the Veteran Reserve Corps altogether."

This is the reason they give:

"In any army, no matter what pains be taken in selecting recruits, when we come to put them into service, experience teaches that nearly 30 per cent fail by reason of the ordinary imperfections of human nature. Now, if 8 regiments of the 50 be taken from the invalids, or men of impaired strength, we add 15 per cent, or in all 45 per cent of invalids, which is too large a proportion. In the end it is cheaper to provide directly, by way of pensions, for this class of soldiers. If the officers of the Veteran Reserves have a good record and restored health, they can be appointed just as other officers of the Volunteer Army."

"PROVIDED, THESE PRIVILEGES SHALL NOT ENTITLE AN OFFICER TO COMMAND, PAY, OR EMOLUMENTS."

On June 29, 1866, Senator James Wilson reported out Senate bill No. 401. During the debate in the Senate Mr. Nesmith said as follows:

I now offer the amendment which I offered a short time since, to add as an additional section the following:

"And be it further enacted, That all the officers who have served during the rebellion as Volunteers in the armies of the United States, and who have been, or hereafter may be, honorably mustered out of the Volunteer service shall be entitled to bear the official titles upon occasions of ceremony, and wear the uniform of the highest grade they have held by brevet or other commission in the Volunteer service. In the case of officers of the Regular Army the Volunteer rank shall be entered upon the official Army roll: *Provided*, That these privileges shall not entitle an officer to command, pay, or emoluments."

The amendment was agreed to.

A little later Senator Harris said as follows:

I offer the following as a new section, to come in after the fourth section:

"*And be it further enacted*, That in the selection of officers to be appointed under the provisions of this act, officers of the Regular Army who have commanded Volunteer troops may be counted as officers of Volunteers or as officers of the Regular Army."

I will state that this is the amendment which was offered by the Senator from Maine [Mr. Fessenden] when a similar bill was before the Senate a few months ago and adopted by the Senate.

The amendment was agreed to.

OFFICERS OF REGULAR ARMY RETIRED ON ACCOUNT OF DISABILITY.

In the debate on July 9, 1866, Senator Howard, of Michigan, stated as follows:

Mr. HOWARD. I believe we have gone through with all the amendments offered by the committee. I offer the following amendment to come as section 33 at the end of the bill:

"And be it further enacted, That officers of the Regular Army entitled to be retired on account of disability occasioned by wounds received in battle may be retired upon the rank of the command held by them in the Regular or Volunteer service at the time such wounds were received."

Mr. WILSON. That proposition, I take it, means simply this: A large number of officers of the Regular Army were made officers of Volunteers. Some of those officers, perhaps four or five of them, were desperately wounded. The proposition is that they shall be retired on the rank they held when they received their wounds, and I think it is right that it should be so. Where does the Senator propose to insert the amendment?

Mr. HOWARD. At the close of the bill, as an additional section.

Mr. WILSON. Put it in as section 32.

Mr. HOWARD. Very well; let it come in as section 32.

Mr. WILSON. My suggestion is that it come in after the thirty-first section as a new section.

Mr. HOWARD. Very well; I will move to insert it as section 32; as it stands in the bill it can be changed to section 33.

The amendment was agreed to.

PRIVATES ENTITLED TO HONORARY RANK OF FIRST LIEUTENANT.

A little later Senator Lane, of Indiana, offered the following amendment:

Mr. LANE of Indiana. It is an amendment to another amendment, not the amendment pending now of the Senator from Delaware, as I understand it.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It will be read to settle its character.

The Secretary read the proposed amendment of Mr. Ramsey, which was to amend the amendment adopted on motion of Mr. Nesmith, as the thirty-third section of the bill, by inserting after the word "service," the following words:

"And privates who have served three years and been honorably discharged, shall, upon like occasion, be entitled to the honorary rank of first lieutenant and wear the uniform of that grade, and at the expiration of five years from the 9th of April, 1865, shall be entitled to the honorary rank of captain."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The proposed amendment is not now in order. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. LANE of Indiana. The vote was taken on the motion of the Senator from Oregon and that was passed. This is an amendment to that, intervening between the amendment of the Senator from Delaware and a vote that had already been passed, as I understand it.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Delaware moves to strike out the twelfth section of the bill. That is the motion before the Senate. The proposed amendment of the Senator from Minnesota is not an amendment to that amendment, and therefore is not in order.

SENATOR RAMSEY SAYS "IT COSTS NOTHING; IT IS A MERE EMPTY HONOR."

A little later Senator Ramsey stated, as follows:

I now offer the amendment which I indicated before, to insert after the word "service," in the twelfth line of the section which was inserted on the motion of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Nesmith], the words "and privates who have served three years and been honorably discharged shall upon like occasions be entitled to the honorary rank of first lieutenant and wear the uniform of that grade, and at the expiration of five years from the 9th of April, 1865, they shall be entitled to the honorary rank of captain." I will simply ask Senators, why should a distinction be made in favor of officers and no like discrimination in favor of privates who did the service and fought the battles? I ask for the yeas and nays on this amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. RAMSEY. I can see no sufficient reason why there should be a discrimination against the privates. They really did the fighting in all our battles. If special honors are to be showered upon the officers, to which I have no objection, why make a discrimination against the privates? I hope it will not go out from this Senate Chamber that there is that kind of indifference to their credit, reputation, and honor hereafter. It costs nothing; it is a mere empty honor, if you please to say so. If you are to shower honors upon officers who have already all places conferred upon them in the civil, probably, as well as the military service, I can not see any reason why this little honor should not be paid to the privates. In the French service almost every officer and private has a red ribbon bestowed upon him. Why should not the privates here have this little honor conferred upon them?

SENATOR WILSON—"ON OCCASIONS OF CEREMONY."

Mr. WILSON. The amendment adopted on the motion of the Senator from Oregon provides simply that officers of the Regular Army who have served with Volunteers shall, on occasions of ceremony, have the rank they had among the Volunteers.

MR. NYE HAS HIS JOKE.

Mr. NYE. This extends the same to the privates.

Mr. WILSON. This does not apply to Volunteers; there is not a Volunteer in the country concerned in it. It is a proposition that the rank and file of the Regular Army who have served three years shall on all occasions of ceremony be first lieutenants.

Mr. CONNESS. I ask that the amendment be read again. I think that the Senator from Massachusetts is entirely mistaken about it.

The Secretary read Mr. Ramsey's amendment.

Mr. CONNESS. The Senator from Massachusetts is surely mistaken.

Mr. WILSON. Certainly not. It says "privates." Privates of what? Privates of the Regular Army.

Mr. CONNESS. Every private who has served three years in the Army.

Mr. WILSON. We are dealing with privates of the Regular Army, not Volunteers.

Mr. CONNESS. It can be amended so as to read "privates of the Regular and Volunteer services."

Mr. WADE. Without this provision, what is there to prevent the privates from assuming just such characters as they please on occasions of ceremony and taking the title of majors if they see fit?

MR. NYE THINKS THERE IS A PENALTY.

Mr. NYE. There is a penalty.

Mr. WADE. I do not think there is.

"THUS THE PRIVATES MIGHT COMMAND THE COMPANY."

Mr. NESMITH. So far as this is applicable to the Regular Army, I fear there may be some difficulty about it. On an occasion of ceremony in a year or two all the privates would be captains, and the lieutenants remaining lieutenants, the captains would have the right to command. Thus the privates might command the company. It would create a great deal of embarrassment to make 80 captains in a company commanding two or three officers.

Mr. CONNESS. It is quite apparent that the members of the Senate who belong to the Committee on Military Affairs do not understand this amendment. I think it is easily understood, and I must say that the Senator who has given it existence simply proves to the country that he is not unmindful of the great services the brave private soldiers have rendered to the country.

The amendment of Mr. Ramsey was defeated.

"PROVIDED THESE PRIVILEGES SHALL NOT ENTITLE AN OFFICER TO COMMAND, PAY, OR EMOLUMENTS."

The intent of section 34, as stated by Senator Nesmith, who offered the section, is as follows:

I offer the following as a new section: "*And be it further enacted*, That all officers who have served during the rebellion as Volunteers in the armies of the United States, and who have been or hereafter may be honorably mustered out of the Volunteer service, shall be entitled to bear the official title, and upon occasion of ceremony to wear the uniform of the highest grade they have held by brevet or other commission in the military service. In the case of officers of the Regular Army, the Volunteer rank shall be entered upon the official Army Register: *Provided*, That these privileges shall not entitle any officers to command, pay, or emoluments."

SENATOR NESMITH SAYS "IT IS MERELY COMPLIMENTARY TO VOLUNTEER OFFICERS."

In the debate Senator Nesmith used these words:

I will state that this amendment is a precise copy of an amendment which passed the Senate in the original Senate bill now pending before the House of Representatives. It is merely complimentary to Volunteer officers, permitting them to have the designation and, on occasions of ceremony and public occasions, to wear the uniform of the highest rank they held in the Volunteers, and the Volunteer rank in the case of officers of the Regular Army is to be transferred to the official Army Register. It is a matter that will cost nothing, it increases no pay or emoluments, and entitles them to no command. It is a mere compliment.

SENATOR GRIMES SAYS "IT PROVIDES FOR OCCASIONS OF CEREMONY."

A little later Senator Grimes said as follows:

Mr. GRIMES. I will ask the Senator to let that lie on the table until it can be examined. I have no objection to it as among officers of the Army, but it provides for occasions of ceremony. The difficulty is that officers of the Army and Navy are frequently brought together on occasions of ceremony, and, there being no brevets in the Navy, a young man who has been brevetted as a major general or as a brigadier general, although having been in the service not more than two or three years, will rank on those occasions of ceremony as an officer of the Navy who has served the country faithfully for 50 years. I should like to have an opportunity to amend the amendment. Let it lie on the table until I can draft an amendment so that they may have this rank as among Army officers.

Mr. NESMITH. I have no objection to that.

On March 6, 1866, a former Volunteer officer, Robert C. Schenck, reported House bill 361 as a substitute for Senate bill 138, mentioned above. When it was advised in Congress that the Veteran Reserve Corps be continued as a permanent organization Mr. Rogers stated as follows in the House:

MR. ROGERS SAYS GEN. GRANT WAS AGAINST "ANY SUCH CORPS."

Mr. ROGERS. But, sir, it is enough for me to know that Gen. Grant, Gen. Sherman, Gen. Meade, and Gen. Thomas have all given the weight of their opinion against the formation of any such corps as this. Sir, I have confidence in the patriotism and the sagacious judgment of these officers. I do not pretend to be a military man; I have never been in the Army; but as one of the representatives of the people of this great country I am ready to accept the views of those who are better qualified than I am to determine what is best calculated to promote the efficient organization of the Army of the United States. I am satisfied that the advice given by such men as these is prompted by the purest motives and the highest wisdom, and I am willing to be guided by that advice.

MR. DAVIS SAYS HE IS "NOT UNDER SOCIAL INFLUENCE."

A little later Mr. Davis says, as follows:

I wish to say I am not under any social influence. Since I have lived in Washington I have never, like my honorable friend from Ohio, had the privilege of being entertained by distinguished characters at dinner. I am under no influence of that kind, but I respect the opinion of men high in the military service. When I knew there was pending a bill which had been submitted by Lieut. Gen. Grant, Gen. Meade, Gen. Burnside, and other distinguished generals, and when I thought that bill had been concocted under their supervision, I say it is not only entitled to my consideration but to the consideration of every Member of the House. There is no one who supposes these distinguished generals of the Army know nothing of military affairs, or at least do not know as much as the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of this House. I only honor the men whom the country honors and in whom, I am sure, the country has confidence.

THEY TAKE CARE OF OFFICERS, REGULAR ARMY, TEMPORARILY IN VOLUNTEER REGIMENTS.

Section 38 of this bill reads as follows:

SEC. 38. *And be it further enacted*, That officers of the Regular Army who have also held commissions as officers of Volunteers shall not on that account be held to be Volunteers under the provisions of this act.

HON. JAMES G. BLAINE OFFERS NEW SECTION.

Hon. James G. Blaine offered a new section to read as follows:

I move the following as an additional section, to come in after section 39:

"*And be it further enacted*, That in all cases where a Volunteer officer has been appointed in the Regular Army to the same rank or grade which he may have held in the Volunteer Service, or to any lower rank or grade, his name shall be borne on the Army Register with date of his Volunteer appointment, and he shall take rank as with continuous service from that date."

The section was agreed to.

It seems that when House bill 361 was passed and sent to the Senate as a substitute for Senate bill 138 that the Senate pigeonholed House bill 361 and reported out an entire new bill, which was known as Senate bill 401.

FOLLOWING MEMBERS OF MILITARY COMMITTEE VOLUNTEER OFFICERS.

The following members of the Military Committee of the Senate for the Thirty-seventh Congress, first session, who had charge of all the war legislation in 1861, became Volunteer officers: Henry Wilson, chairman, who raised and commanded the Twenty-second Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, and Senator Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, who served in the Mexican War as lieutenant colonel of Volunteers.

Senator Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, served in the War of 1812. He served in Congress from December 3, 1855, until his death, November 9, 1865.

Hon. Francis P. Blair, jr., of Missouri, was chairman of the House committee, and he served as a colonel in the Union Army; William A. Richardson, another member of the committee, was captain in the Mexican War; and Gilman Marston, of New Hampshire, another member of the committee, served with distinction as colonel and brigadier general of Volunteers in the Union Army.

ALL THE FOLLOWING WERE VOLUNTEER OFFICERS.

The following data will be of interest as showing the names of members of the Military Committee of the Thirty-seventh

Congress and Thirty-ninth Congress who saw service in the Union Army:

Members of the House Military Committee, Thirty-seventh Congress, first session, who served in the war:

On page 396, Biographical Congressional Directory, 1774–1903, states, in part, as follows:

Francis P. Blair, jr., of Missouri, enlisted as a private in the regiment of Col. Doniphan, serving through the Mexican War. He was a Member of the following Congresses: Thirty-fifth, Thirty-sixth, Thirty-seventh, and Thirty-eighth; also served in the Union Army as colonel.

On page 767 states, in part, as follows:

William A. Richardson, of Illinois, enlisted as captain in the Mexican War and promoted to the rank of major. He was a Member of the following Congresses: Thirtieth, Thirty-first, Thirty-second, Thirty-third, and Thirty-fourth.

On page 684 states, in part, as follows:

Gilman Marston, of New Hampshire, served with distinction in the Union Army as colonel and brigadier general of Volunteers. He was a Member of the following Congresses: Thirty-sixth, Thirty-seventh, and Thirty-ninth.

Members of the Military Committee in the Senate for the Thirty-ninth Congress, first session, who served in the war:

On page 889 states, in part, as follows:

Henry Wilson, Massachusetts, in 1861 raised and commanded for a time the Twenty-second Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers. His term of service in the Senate from 1855 to 1873.

On page 643 states, in part, as follows:

Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, served in the Mexican War as lieutenant colonel of volunteers. His term of service in the Senate from 1861 to 1867.

List of members of the House Military Committee for the Thirty-ninth Congress, first session, who served in the war:

On page 785, Biographical Congressional Directory, 1774–1903, states, in part, as follows:

Robert C. Schenck, Ohio, entered the Union Army in 1861 as brigadier general; promoted to major general. He was a Member of the following Congresses: Twenty-eighth, Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth, Thirty-first, Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, and Forty-first.

On page 497 states, in part, as follows:

Henry C. Deming, Connecticut, entered the Union Army in 1861 as colonel of the Twelfth Connecticut Volunteers. He was a Member of the following Congresses: Thirty-eighth and Thirty-ninth.

On page 884 states, in part, as follows:

Gilman Marstron, of New Hampshire, served with distinction in the Union Army as colonel and brigadier general of volunteers. He was a Member of the following Congresses: Thirty-sixth, Thirty-seventh, and Thirty-ninth.

On page 634 states, in part, as follows:

John H. Ketcham, New York, entered the Union Army as colonel of the One hundred and fiftieth New York Volunteers in October, 1862, and appointed brigadier general by brevet, afterwards brigadier general, serving until he resigned, in March, 1865, and appointed major general by brevet. He was a Member of the following Congresses: Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, Forty-first, Forty-second, Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-fifth, Fifty-sixth, Fifty-seventh, and Fifty-eighth.

These gentlemen being soldiers themselves can not be accused of being prejudiced against the "Volunteer" officers, and yet the records show that none of these gentlemen ever introduced "a Volunteer officers' retirement bill," and none of these gentlemen ever made a speech in favor of such a bill.

In addition the following list gives names of the Members of the House and Senate for the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-ninth Congresses, who saw service in the Civil War.

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS, WHO TOOK PART IN THE CIVIL WAR.

On page 684, Biographical Congressional Directory, 1774–1903, states, in part, as follows:

Gilman Marstron, of New Hampshire, served with distinction in the Union Army as colonel and brigadier general of Volunteers. He was a member of the following Congresses: Thirty-sixth, Thirty-seventh, and Thirty-ninth

On page 375 states, in part, as follows:

MASSACHUSETTS.

Nathaniel P. Banks in 1861 entered the Union Army as major general of Volunteers, and served throughout the war. He was a Member of the following Congresses: Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth, Thirty-fifth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, Forty-first, Forty-second, Forty-fourth, and Fifty-first.

On page 497 states, in part, as follows:

CONNECTICUT.

Henry C. Deming entered the Union Army in 1861 as colonel of the Twelfth Connecticut Volunteers. He was a Member of the following Congresses: Thirty-eighth and Thirty-ninth.

On page 835 states, in part, as follows:

NEW YORK.

Nelson Taylor, captain in the First New York Volunteers in the Mexican War, 1846–1848. He was a Member of the following Congress: Thirty-ninth. Also served in the Union Army, and attained the rank of brigadier general.

On page 634 states, in part, as follows:

John H. Ketcham entered the Union Army as colonel of the One hundred and fiftieth New York Volunteers in October, 1862, and appointed brigadier general by brevet, afterwards brigadier general, serving until he resigned in March, 1865, and appointed major general by brevet. He was a Member of the following Congresses: Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, Forty-first, Forty-second, Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-fifth, Fifty-sixth, Fifty-seventh, Fifty-eighth.

On page 392 states, in part, as follows:

CALIFORNIA.

John Bidwell served in the War with Mexico, attaining the rank of major. He was a Member of the following Congress: Thirty-ninth.

On page 457 states, in part, as follows:

KANSAS.

Sidney Clarke, captain and assistant provost marshal general in the War for the Suppression of the Rebellion. He was a Member of the following Congresses: Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, and Forty-first.

On page 645 states, in part, as follows:

WEST VIRGINIA.

George R. Latham served in the Union Army as captain of Volunteers. He was a Member of the following Congress: Thirty-ninth.

On page 874 states, in part, as follows:

Kellian V. Whaley served in the Union Army. He was a Member of the following Congresses: Thirty-seventh (from Virginia), Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth (from West Virginia).

On page 450 states, in part, as follows:

NEW MEXICO.

J. Francesco Chaves, major of the First New Mexico Infantry in the Union Army; promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. He was a Member of the following Congresses: Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, and Forty-first.

A Volunteer officer, Gen. James A. Garfield, was, I understand, chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee for the Fortieth Congress; another Volunteer officer was chairman of the same committee for the Forty-first Congress; Brig. Gen. John Coburn was chairman in the Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses; Gen. Henry B. Banning, a Volunteer officer, was chairman of the committee in the Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth Congresses.

The chairman of the committee in the Forty-sixth Congress was not a Volunteer officer, but there were some distinguished Volunteer officers on the committee—Gen. Edward S. Bragg and Gen. Anson G. McCook.

These same gentlemen were members of the committee in the Forty-seventh Congress.

Another distinguished general, Gen. William S. Rosecrans, was chairman of this committee in the Forty-eighth Congress.

Gen. Bragg was chairman of the committee in the Forty-ninth Congress.

None of these gentlemen introduced a bill for the retirement of Volunteer officers, and I find no record of any of them advocating such a bill.

NONE OF THESE VOLUNTEER OFFICERS INTRODUCED A "RETIREMENT BILL."

I can not find a record where any of the above gentlemen ever introduced a bill to provide for "retirement for Volunteer officers," nor can I find where any one of these gentlemen ever made a speech in favor of such a bill.

FIRST BILL ONLY TOOK CARE OF DISABLED OFFICERS.

I find no bill to provide "retirement for Volunteer officers" was introduced until February 23, 1903, and even then it was not introduced by anyone who saw service in the Civil War. Even then it only provided for officers who "lost an eye, a leg, a foot, an arm, or a hand," or "in the discharge of his duty was so disabled as to make his disability" commensurate with the above.

BILL WAS INTRODUCED "BY REQUEST."

Even then the introducer of the bill stated that he did it, and so marked on the bill, "by request."

VERY MODEST BILL FOR THE RETIREMENT OF CERTAIN OFFICERS OF THE WAR OF THE REBELLION.

This very modest bill reads as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That any person who served as an officer of Volunteers in the Army or Navy of the United States during the War of the Rebellion and who, in the line of his duty during his service as such officer of Volunteers, lost an eye, a leg, a foot, an arm, or a hand, or in the discharge of his duty was so disabled as to make his disability commensurate with that of the loss of a leg, a foot, an arm, or a hand shall, upon application to the Secretary of War, be placed on the retired list of the Army with the rank which he held at the time when be incurred the disability, in the same manner as provided for the retirement of officers of the Regular Army.

This very modest bill was not reported out of the committee.

In January, 1904, there was introduced a bill in the Senate for recognition of noncommissioned officers and enlisted men of the United States Volunteers as commissioned officers in certain State military organizations, but it provided "that no

person should receive any pay, pension, or bounty by reason of the passage of this act."

The bill reads as follows:

For the recognition of the military service of noncommissioned officers and enlisted men of the United States Volunteers as commissioned officers in certain State military organizations.

Be it enacted, etc., That all noncommissioned officers and enlisted men honorably discharged from the service of the United States who were actually engaged in the Civil War not less than three months and thereafter commissioned captain or lieutenant in any State military organization the muster-out rolls of which are on file in the War Department at Washington, D. C., and who rendered actual military service as such officers not less than 30 days under the general command of officers of the United States in connection with the regularly organized military forces of the United States, under any call by the President or any call by a governor of any of the United States during the Civil War, whose services were accepted by the President or Secretary of War, shall be held and considered to have been in the military service of the United States as commissioned officers during the period they were in actual service, and he is hereby authorized and directed to place such officers upon the United States register of Volunteers and issue certificates of discharge, upon the application and satisfactory proof of identity, to all such honorably discharged officers, giving the recorded service by them rendered: *Provided*, That no person shall receive any pay, pension, bounty, or other allowances by reason of the passage of this act.

Next bill only took care of "major generals and brigadier generals."

WHAT IS THE LINE OF DEMARCATION?

In a hearing on this bill on December 13, 1906, when a member of the committee asked Gen. S. L. Glasgow the question, "What is that line of demarcation?"

Gen. GLASGOW. The grade included in this bill is that of brevet brigadier general.

The CHAIRMAN. Major generals and brevet brigadier generals usually rank a colonel. These are cared for now. Why not include lieutenant colonels, majors, captains, and first and second lieutenants?

Gen. GLASGOW. The honorable chairman of this committee addressed me a letter as to this inquiry, and as your time is all taken up I wish to bring a few facts briefly to your attention, and I will ask your courtesy to read one paragraph in the letter addressed to Mr. Hull referring to this particular question. The whole letter treats of the subject, but I will read this one paragraph because it sums up the matter. This is a letter from me to Mr. Hull, of date of February 16, 1906, in answer to a request made by him to know why the bill apparently discriminated against the junior grades of Volunteer officers. The paragraph is as follows:

GEN. GLASGOW SAYS IT IS "ONE OF EXPEDIENCY."

There is and should be no objection among comrades to the principle of this bill. All grades are entitled to recognition. The question is one merely of expediency. If Congress at this time will pass a bill including all grades no one would give the same more hearty approval than the beneficiaries of this bill. If, however, such a bill would not be entertained at this time there can be no valid objection to the enactment of this bill, within the limits defined, for the reason that most of the beneficiaries of this bill are more than 70 years of age, the average age being 74. Those who have not attained the age of 70 years would not receive the benefits of the bill until they shall arrive at that age. The officers of junior grades are as an average from 7 to 10 years younger than the average age of the beneficiaries of the bill in question. The beneficiaries of the bill in question who have passed the age of 70 years should have the benefit of the bill without delay; and, further, the enactment of this bill would establish a precedent that would render easy future legislation for the benefit of all grades at or prior to the time that the beneficiaries would arrive at the allotted age. There is no question as to the equitable principle that all officers should be included in the retired list. The means to arrive at that end in the most speedy manner possible are now to be considered. If it should be impossible to enact a bill at this time including all grades, and the proposed bill should be defeated for the reason that it does not include all grades, no one will receive any benefit, no legislation in that respect accomplished, and the result will be no recognition by Congress of the service given.

This is the position that the proposed beneficiaries of this bill take in regard to that. The whole matter rests with Congress. This bill in no way exhausts the subject but leaves open the question of the recognition of junior grades; but the beneficiaries whose ages are from 70 to 90, respectfully ask recognition now.

COLONELS, CAPTAINS, AND LIEUTENANTS FORGOTTEN (?).

The next time this bill bobs up (Dec. 18, 1905) to provide for "a Volunteer retired list," as a careful reading of the bill will show, it only provides for "each surviving major general and brigadier general of Volunteers" and "each surviving colonel of the Volunteer regiment." The full bill reads as follows:

To create in the War Department a special roll to be known as the Volunteer retired list, to authorize placing thereon with pay certain surviving officers of the United States Volunteer Army of the Civil War, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That there shall be, and is hereby, created in the War Department a special roll to be known as the Volunteer retired list for certain surviving officers of the United States Volunteer Army of the Civil War.

SEC. 2. That upon written application to the Secretary of War, and subject to the conditions and requirements hereinafter contained, there shall be entered on said list the name of each surviving major general and brigadier general of Volunteers in said Army, and each surviving colonel of a Volunteer regiment therein who was at any time appointed and commissioned by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, as brigadier general of Volunteers by brevet on account of services rendered in said Army. Such entry on said Volunteer retired list shall be subject to the following conditions and requirements, namely: Each person so entered shall have served as an officer or an enlisted man not less than two and one-half years in said Volunteer Army between April 15, 1861, and July 15, 1865, at least one year of which service shall have been in the field with troops; he shall have been honorably discharged from said service and shall have reached the age of 70 years; he shall not belong to the Regular Army and shall not have been retired; said application to be accompanied with proof of the identity of the applicant, and both the application and proof to be under oath.

MAJOR GENERALS WILLING TO TAKE IN THE OTHERS.

Evidently the major generals, brigadier generals, and colonels believed that they could not get through their legislation unless they took in the captains, first lieutenants, and second lieutenants. We find the next bill broad enough to take in all commissioned officers.

BILL BECOMES BROADER STILL.

This bill was introduced on December 9, 1907, and reads as follows:

To create in the War Department a roll to be known as the Volunteer retired list, to authorize placing thereon with retired pay certain surviving officers of the United States Volunteer Army of the Civil War, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That upon written application to the Secretary of War, and subject to the conditions and requirements hereinafter contained, the name of each surviving officer of Volunteers in the United States Volunteer Army of the Civil War shall be entered on a roll to be known as the Volunteer retired list. Each person so entered shall have served with credit as an officer or an enlisted man not less than one year in the field with troops in said Volunteer Army between April 15, 1861, and July 15, 1865; he shall have been honorably discharged from said service; he shall not have been retired; said application to be accompanied with proof of the identity of the applicant, and both the application and proof to be under oath: *Provided*, That an officer who resigned or was discharged from said service because of wounds received in battle, if otherwise qualified, shall be entitled to retirement without reference to the length of his service in said Volunteer Army.

BILL A LITTLE BROADER STILL.

On February 7, 1908, first session Sixtieth Congress, there was a bill introduced in the House the title of which reads as follows:

A bill to create in the War Department a roll to be known as the Volunteer retired list, to authorize placing thereon, with retired pay, certain surviving officers and enlisted men of the United States Army, Navy, and marines of the Civil War, and for other purposes.

This bill was known as H. R. 16645, and was introduced by Mr. Bradley, of Kentucky. The bill reads as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That upon written application to the Secretary of War, and subject to the conditions and requirements hereinafter contained, the name of each surviving officer and enlisted man of Volunteers in the United States Volunteer Army of the Civil War shall be entered on a roll to be known as the Volunteer retired list. Each person so entered shall have served with credit as an officer or an enlisted man not less than 18 months in the field with troops in said Volunteer Army between April 15, 1861, and July 15, 1865; he shall have been honorably discharged from said service; he shall not belong to the Regular Army, and shall not have been retired, but shall be eligible if he served in the Regular Army with credit as an officer or enlisted man not less than 18 months in the field with troops in said Volunteer Army between April 15, 1861, and July 15, 1865, has been honorably discharged from said service and has not been retired; said application to be accompanied with proof of the identity of the applicant, and both application and proof to be under oath: *Provided*, That an officer or enlisted man who resigned or was discharged from said service because of wounds received in battle, if otherwise qualified, shall be entitled to retirement without reference to the length of his service in said Volunteer Army.

THIS BILL TOO BROAD FOR PROPONENTS OF THIS LEGISLATION.

As this bill provided for retirement of enlisted men as well as Volunteer officers, it does not seem to have been very well received by the "Volunteer officers."

In his report on a similar bill The Adjutant General, under date of January 27, 1907, states as follows:

That there were approximately 125,000 commissioned officers in service in the Volunteer Army during the Civil War—

And that—

it does not seem unreasonable to assume that about 25 per cent of the Volunteer commissioned officers of the Army, or about 31,250, will be surviving June 30, 1908. That of these 18,750 would have served 18 months, and therefore be eligible under the terms of H. R. 6288 as amended; and that the cost of the bill, less the pensions, will exceed $13,000,000.

Gen. Raum, in a letter written to the chairman of the Military Committee, on April 9, 1908, stated that he thought there were only 8,000 officers instead of 31,250, as stated by The Adjutant General.

GEN. HULL ALSO A VOLUNTEER OFFICER.

The chairman of the Military Committee at that time was Hon. J. A. T. Hull, and while he was a Volunteer officer I have been able to find no record where he ever introduced or advocated any Volunteer officers' retirement bill.

From the Biographical Congressional Directory, 1774–1903, I find the following:

That Chairman J. A. T. Hull enlisted in the Twenty-third Iowa Infantry, July, 1862; first lieutenant and captain; wounded in the charge on entrenchments at Black River May 17, 1863; resigned on account of wounds October, 1863; was also Member of the Fifty-second to Fifty-eighth Congresses, inclusive.

PRESENT BILL BROAD ENOUGH FOR ALL—EXCEPT PRIVATES AND NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

A bill introduced in the Fifty-first Congress, second session, is broad enough to take care of "each surviving officer of the Volunteers who served as an officer in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in the Civil War."

At that time the Committee on Military Affairs reported, in part, as follows:

The number of surviving officers January 1, 1910, being officially estimated as 21,995, and the cost of said bill for the first year as $14,540,056.

The estimate of surviving officers for the year 1918 is 9,196, and the cost $6,266,307.

OVER 11,000 OFFICERS OF THE ARMY ALONE.

In a letter to me, under date of April 19, 1917, The Adjutant General wrote as follows:

Hon. W. FRANK JAMES,
House of Representatives:

According to the estimate of the War Department, the probable number of surviving volunteer officers for the year 1917 who served in the Army within the period of the Civil War is 11,832.

This office has no data upon which to base any estimate of the probable number of Volunteer officers, Navy and Marine, that served within the period of the Civil War, who are now living, but it is probable that if information concerning these officers can be obtained in any place, it is obtainable only from the Navy Department.

H. P. MCCAIN,
The Adjutant General.

THEY FORGET TO QUOTE ALL OF SECTION 5.

The proponents of this piece of legislation claim that section 5 of the act of May 25, 1861, approved July 22, 1861, is a "sacred promise to place them on the retired list the same as Regular officers," because they claim the section reads as follows:

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That the officers, noncommisioned officers, and privates, organized as above set forth, shall in all respects be placed on the footing, as to pay and allowances, of similar corps of the Regular Army.

WORDING OF SIMILAR SECTION IN 1898.

As I have stated previously, they neglected—intentionally, I presume—to print the entire section.

General Orders, No. 30, Washington, April 30, 1898, reads in part, as follows:

SEC. 12. That all officers and enlisted men of the Volunteer Army, and of the militia of the States when in the service of the United States, shall be in all respects on the same footing as to pay, allowances, and pensions as that of officers and enlisted men of corresponding grades in the Regular Army.

I do not believe that you can find any man who saw service in the Volunteer force in 1898 to claim that that means that Volunteer officers or enlisted men who were mustered out of the Army in 1898 and went back to civil life are entitled to the same retirement allowances as men who stayed in the service.

WORDING OF SECTION ORDERING MEN TO MEXICAN BORDER IN 1916.

Part of section 111 of Bulletin No. 16, Washington, June 21, 1916, reads as follows:

Officers and enlisted men in the service of the United States under the terms of this section shall have the same pay and allowance as officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army of the same grades and the same prior service.

I do not believe that any man in Congress to-day who voted for this bill in 1916 will state that he intended that officers who left the service of the United States and went back to civil life were to receive the same "retirement pay" as men who stayed in the service.

WORDING OF "SELECTIVE-DRAFT BILL."

H. R. 3545, introduced on April 19, 1917—known as the selective-draft bill—by Mr. DENT, chairman of the Military Committee, entitled "A bill to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," reads, in part, as follows:

SEC. 9. That all officers and enlisted men of the forces herein provided for, other than the Regular Army, shall be in all respects on the same footing as to pay, allowances, and pensions as officers and enlisted men of corresponding grades and length of service in the Regular Army.

I do not believe that any man in Congress to-day who voted for this bill in 1917 will state that he intended that officers who left the service of the United States and went back to civil life were to receive the same "retirement pay" as men who stayed in the service.

WORDING OF SIMILAR SECTION IN 1812.

Act approved July 6, 1812:

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to form the corps of Volunteers into battalions, squadrons, brigades, and divisions, and to appoint thereto, by and with the consent of the Senate, general, field, and staff officers, conformably with the Military Establishments of the United States, and who shall be entitled to the pay and emoluments of a similar grade in the Army of the United States.

WORDING OF SIMILAR SECTION FOR MEXICAN WAR.

Act approved May 13, 1846:

SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That whenever the militia or volunteers are called and received into the service of the United States under the provisions of this act, they shall have the same organizations of the Army of the United States, and shall have the same pay and allowances.

CONGRESSMAN GARDNER, A VOLUNTEER OFFICER, IN SPEECH ON PENSION FOR GEN. SICKLES.

In discussing a bill for the benefit of Maj. Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, Gen. Washington Gardner, at that time Congressman from Michigan, said, in part, on page 4728, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 15, 1910, as follows:

"The soldier who carried his musket, who drew his $13 a month, and on the battle line left an arm or a leg as the result of his heroic conduct endures quite as much pain as the major general back yonder on his horse who, by a chance shot, suffered in like way the mutilation of the body. Again, sitting just beyond the corner of the Speaker's desk, there is a man whose brother commanded a brigade in Sickles's corps at the Peach Orchard. Four times was Gen. Byron R. Pierce wounded upon the battle field. Sent by Grant to lead his men in a desperate charge, he was brought back 30 minutes later badly wounded, when Grant, by authority previously conferred by Abraham Lincoln, conferred upon the gallant officer the star of a brigadier general. That man has suffered all these years from his several wounds, and to-day gets $30 a month pension. I know him personally and well. It is not right, it is not just, that Gen. Sickles should receive $687.50 per month, as this bill would give him, and his equally heroic subordinate general receive but $30."

PATRIOTISM OUGHT TO BE ABOVE THE SUSPICION OF FILTHY LUCRE.

A little further on, on the same page, he says, in part, as follows:

"We have to pay something, gentlemen, for being soldiers; we have to pay something for being shot; we have to pay something for human suffering; it is the price of patriotism in war, and his wounds is the glory of the veteran soldier in peace; but our country, whether in war or peace, will make a mistake if it ever puts a commercial value upon patriotism. Like Cæsar's wife, patriotism ought to be above the suspicion of filthy lucre." [Loud applause.]

As I said at the beginning, the evidence will show that there never was a "sacred promise" of either President Lincoln or Congress.

There is no truth in any of the contentions of the author of this self-appointed committee to further the interests of the legislation, and the bill ought not to pass. [Applause.]

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, how much does the gentleman yield back?

The CHAIRMAN. Two minutes.

Mr. SIMS. How much time has the gentleman from Wisconsin used now?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has 77 minutes remaining.

Mr. ESCH. I desire to yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SNELL].

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Chairman, in speaking earlier this afternoon I said one of my objections to this bill was the fact it did not confine the President to any special area in the United States, and that it was not absolutely necessary that these plants must be in connection with or near to a plant that was manufacturing war material. The chairman said it was limited to a restricted area, so to speak, and they must be in connection with plants or localities manufacturing war material. I want to call the attention of the committee to section 2 of the bill:

That the President is hereby authorized and empowered within the limits of appropriations herein or hereafter made—

To construct at any place or places within the boundaries of the United States such power plant or power plants as he may deem necessary.

Now, to me, as I understand the language, there is nothing there that restricts him with regard to manufacture of war material or to localities where war material is manufactured. We have the statement of the chairman of the committee that those restrictions are understood, but when this is once passed by House and Senate and becomes the real law of the land any statement made by the Chair at this time would have nothing to do with the question. In my judgment, this section 2, paragraph 1, gives the President of the United States the power to construct anywhere within the boundaries of the United States as he may see fit. Now, in paragraph 2 of section 2 it gives him power, for the purpose of increasing the capacity or the productivity of any private power plant within the boundaries of the United States, to commandeer. Now, I would like to have the chairman of the committee tell me where the language is in the bill that absolutely restricts him in the location of these plants or in commandeering them.

Mr. SIMS. There is nothing in the bill restricting it geographically.

Mr. SNELL. That is the reason I brought it up. I feel that there should be something of the kind written in the bill.

Mr. SIMS. It should not be geographical.

Mr. SNELL. I do not mean necessarily geographical, but to do this work and spend this money it must be somewhere where they need the power for increasing the production of war materials.

Mr. SIMS. Certainly. That is the object and purpose of it.

Mr. SNELL. But it does not say so in the bill. He can do it anywhere in the United States. He can take over a power plant whether it is connected with one of these war-material plants or not.

Mr. SIMS. I take it that he would not do it where it was not needed.

Mr. SNELL. It should be written into the law as to just what we intend to have done.

Mr. SIMS. I thought the gentleman was going to offer an amendment when we get to that stage. I do not know what it may be, but if it seems to be a necessary and proper amendment I will not oppose it.

Mr. SNELL. I intend to, as there is nothing in the bill that restricts along the line I suggested.

Mr. SIMS. I could not imagine or conceive of the possibility of the present President or any other President ever making under this bill the kind of development the gentleman seems to contemplate.

Mr. SNELL. What I asked was if there was anything in the bill, and I understood you to state it was restricted in the bill. In taking up the question of time, you say it was limited as to time. I maintain that section 8, which says—

That the President may retain any property and operate any plants, transmission lines, structures, facilities, or appliances constructed or acquired under the provisions of this act for such time as he may deem necessary or advisable for the purpose of selling or otherwise disposing thereof—

is absolutely opposed to the provisions in the other part of the bill, which say that it must be done within five years.

Mr. SIMS. Does not the gentleman know that as a matter of bargaining and trying to get the best you can in selling or otherwise disposing of it perhaps he may be aided and assisted in building units of existing power plants? Now, the only probable purchaser, when the Government must dispose of it in five years, may sit there and not make any terms at all and reach a time when the President would have no power to deal at all.

Mr. SNELL. Do you not think that five years would be a reasonable time in which to make disposition of it?

Mr. SIMS. I do. I do not think what you have in mind will take place.

Mr. SNELL. Why do you say five years in one place and in another place make the time unlimited?

Mr. SIMS. It gives five years for the purpose of disposing of it—selling or otherwise disposing of the plant. Now, that is the purpose of it. The time as given must be lived up to in good faith. But suppose, now, the——

Mr. SNELL. What was the object of putting in five years when you say in the next section that he can have all the time he wants?

Mr. SIMS. We do not say that. It is only for the purpose of disposing of it.

Mr. SNELL. Disposing of it is all there is, anyway.

Mr. SIMS. After the war is over.

Mr. SNELL. That is all there is to it—the question of disposing of these plants. In one place you say it must terminate in five years, and in section 8 you say that he can take any length of time he thinks is necessary.

Mr. SIMS. Oh, no.

Mr. SNELL. Is not that the actual language of your bill?

Mr. SIMS. They could not operate it beyond that period. And how could it hurt? It would not be in competition with anybody.

Mr. SNELL. I can not understand what you mean, and I would like to have you explain why you say in one place he can have five years, and that that is the time, and then in the next section you say he can have all the time that is necessary.

Mr. SIMS. I will not confess that the bill needs an amendment; but when the amendment time comes the gentleman can offer one.

Mr. SNELL. The gentleman certainly can not say that he has explained what those two sections mean and has answered my questions.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I will ask the gentleman from Wisconsin if I shall yield some time now?

Mr. ESCH. Yes.

Mr. SIMS. I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DEWALT], a member of the committee.

Mr. DEWALT. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am very sorry that the membership of this committee is not more largely represented at this time, not that I would desire them to hear the sound of my voice, nor even because I believe that my opinions would carry any weight on this subject. But the importance of this bill is so great, and the questions involved in it are so momentous, that I truly believe there should be a larger attendance of this committee in order that it might be informed of the provisions of this bill.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I think the gentleman's position is very pertinent, and I would be very glad if there should be more Members present. There are 13 gentlemen present now, but one of them is a former Member. If the gentleman thinks that makes a large audience I will not make the point.

Mr. DEWALT. I believe I can talk a great deal better when I have only one as an audience, but the importance of the bill is of such a character that I truly think we are not performing our entire duty by absenting ourselves on an occasion of this kind.

Mr. SLOAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEWALT. Certainly.

Mr. SLOAN. I notice that the gentleman said he could speak much better where only one was present. I know he is young and unattached, and while he may have enjoyed talking to one he has not done so effectively up to this time.

Mr. DEWALT. No; but I am still seeking for that audience of one.

Now, the general scope of this bill is quite definite, although it is large. The general scope and purpose of it is to increase the electrical and mechanical power in the country.

In order that scope and purpose may be accomplished, certain things are provided for in the bill, and in order that those provisions may be strictly defined, certain terms are employed in the bill which are clearly and exclusively defined as to their meaning. In order, then, that one may get a comprehensive view of what the bill really means, the committee should be informed as to what the terms of the bill actually mean by their definition.

Now, a power plant, according to the terms of the bill, is a place where any power, either electrical or mechanical, may be generated. Then when we speak of the word "operator" in the bill we not only include the actual operator of the plant, but we speak of the owner or the lessee or the manager of the plant, because all those terms are included under the general term "operator."

Then there is a very potential term used in the bill, and that is the word "acquire," because the President under the terms of this bill is given the right to acquire property, private property, public-utility property, private property of the nature of plants used for the generation of electric power; the power to acquire land, if you please, in order that he may use it in the establishment of these various plants. And therefore it is clearly necessary for the understanding of this bill that the meaning of the word "acquire" should be ascertained, and this word "acquire" means that the President has the right to take by condemnation; that he has the right to take by purchase; that he has the right to obtain by lease; and that he has the right to take the absolute title of the property which he deems necessary to the accomplishment of the purposes of this bill.

So that, whilst this bill is under consideration, it seems to me that it is worthy of the serious thought of the membership of the committee as to whether or not some of the suggestions that have come to the minds of others might not at least be enforced by proper amendments.

Now, the term "within the United States," which was just referred to a few moments ago by one of the gentlemen who were criticizing the provisions of the bill, means any territory within the United States, under the jurisdiction of the United States, so that the bill is all-embracing so far as geographical terms are considered.

And then the limit of time is also to be considered, and that was just referred to a few moments ago. The limit of time here, as to the general purposes of the bill, is six months after the proclamation of peace and the affirmation thereof is obtained, to wit, six months after the legal termination of the war; and then the other limitation of time is after five years to do certain things, to wit, the disposing of certain articles which are taken either by condemnation or lease; not so far, however, as disposing of plants which are solely and strictly erected by the Government itself. There the limitation is extended. In fact, there is no limitation except the one general limitation that the President shall have time for disposing of them, either by sale or otherwise, as the best interests of the Government may be determined.

Now, after laying out these ideas in regard to the bill, and the scope of the bill and the purpose of the bill, the next question logically will be, How is this to be accomplished? In other words, when you have an ailment, when you recognize the ill, then the logical thing to next determine is what is the remedy.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman a question right there?

Mr. DEWALT. Certainly.

Mr. ANDERSON. I have read the testimony before the committee as diligently as I could, and I want to ask the gentleman whether there was any testimony produced before the committee indicating whether this bill was to be administered by a power administrator or by a corporation or how? Did the administration anticipate it in any way?

Mr. DEWALT. The power is all lodged in the President of the United States and such agents and employees as he himself may determine, and that would constitute the administrative function of the bill.

Mr. ANDERSON. So that the question of the agency to administer this bill is entirely open and entirely within the discretion of the President?

Mr. DEWALT. So I would say, sir, from the tenor of the bill.

Now, as I was about to say, before being properly interrupted by my friend from Minnesota, how are these purposes to be accomplished? According to the provisions of this bill the first thing that the President is given the power to do is to construct plants. In other words, the appropriation of $175,000,000, which this bill carries, would give him money enough, initially, to construct a plant. He might buy the lands upon which the plant is to be constructed. He can buy all the necessary appliances, machinery, and so forth, to construct this plant. The next thing he can do, according to the provisions of this bill, is that he may install in private plants such machinery and appliances as are necessary for the purposes of creating and generating this electrical power.

Mr. ESCH rose.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman a question right there?

Mr. DEWALT. I will yield first to my colleague on the committee [Mr. ESCH].

Mr. ESCH. In reference to who would control, even if a corporation is created under the act and provided by the act, it is likely that the party designated by the President to manage all the other powers would also be designated as the one to manage the corporation.

Mr. DEWALT. Certainly. While the power is given under the bill to create a corporation, and while the power is given in the bill to buy the stock of an existing corporation, engaged within the contemplation of this bill, the bill also provides specifically that the Government must be the majority owner of such stock, so that always the control of the enterprise would be in the hands and in the power of the Government.

Now, not only is this power given to install in private plants the necessary muniments for the construction and generation of this power, but——

Mr. ANDERSON. Right there I would like to ask the gentleman whether he construes that section of the bill to which he has just referred to warrant the Government in installing these appliances and equipment without the consent of the owner?

Mr. DEWALT. Oh, yes; there is no doubt about that. There is no doubt about that, because that follows as naturally as the flow of water downstream. When you give the President of the United States ample power to commandeer, the power to take, to acquire the title, of course, once having that, he has the power to install and improve as much as he pleases without the consent of the owner. But always there is the right of compensation.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEWALT. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I observe that there is a limitation placed on that power for five years.

Mr. DEWALT. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. And then in section 8 there is no limitation whatever when the President has acquired the same property. Does the gentleman distinguish between those?

Mr. DEWALT. I do. The distinction in my mind is this, and I am frank to say that it is one that gave me considerable trouble in the committee. I am very honest in saying that I believe that section 8 was opening the door pretty wide, or, at least, setting it upon its hinges for opening, for public or governmental ownership of these utilities. I could not quite consistently make up my mind why in one place five years' limitation was placed upon it and no limitation in the other. But now it is clear that the five years' limitation applies to that matter in regard to private plants and installations and of the things in private plants and the taking over the establishment or the sale and the leasing of such plants which are in part controlled by the Government. But if the gentleman from Ohio will notice, section 8 has a different purpose—that the President "may retain any property and operate any plant, transmission lines, structures, facilities, or appliances, constructions carried on under the provisions of this act, for such time as he may deem necessary or advisable for the purpose of selling or otherwise disposing thereof."

Now, what plants or transmission lines are these? They are those that he has constructed or acquired under the provisions of this act, not those in which the title or the operation thereof remains in the original owners or operators, not those in which he has advanced money and taken security therefor by mortgage or otherwise, but those which he has actually taken over, which become, ipso facto, by such taking over, the property of the Government itself.

Section 8, therefore, without limitation applies only to that class of property, and I think properly so. In other words, the Government having become the actual owner of the structure, the actual owner of all property in the structures and appliances appurtenant thereto, must have time to dispose of the same, and the limitation in section 8 is expressed by the purpose of the section.

What limitation is that? The limitation that he shall hold it for one purpose and one purpose only, and that purpose is selling and disposing thereof. In other words, the limitation is not expressed in definite terms of years and months, but in legal phraseology it is determined by the purpose incorporated in the section itself, to wit, such time as may be reasonable for the disposition of property, either by sale or otherwise.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I think the gentleman's explanation is entirely clear as far as the plant constructed by the Government itself is concerned, but when you include with that these appliances it seems to me that they are covered by section 5, and that there is a distinction.

Mr. DEWALT. I admit in all fairness that the criticism on that portion of the bill is not only one which should have the serious thought of the committee, but one that agitated the minds of several members of the committee that have far larger experience than I have in these matters. I need not refer by name to the gentlemen on the committee, but there was that question always arising in the minds of several gentlemen whether there should not be in this very section a limitation in terms definitely fixed by tenure of years and months.

Mr. ESCH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEWALT. Certainly.

Mr. ESCH. I think there were a number of members of the committee that had that doubt, but I think there was no doubt on this proposition that if the Government used money to install electric equipment or construct dams, in that instance the Government ought not to be compelled to dispose of the property within five years, and perhaps no time; that the Government might primarily retain it.

Mr. LONGWORTH. It is not contemplated under this bill to build dams at all.

Mr. DEWALT. No; I am frank to say that the testimony of those interested in the prosecution of this work and the framing of the bill was to the effect that it would take too long to build dams. Nevertheless, as the gentleman from Wisconsin says, there are and will be occasions where the Government in the transaction of work will construct dams and spend money in this way. But the primary idea is that where the Government itself has, either by the act of condemnation or purchase, acquired the title, where it is engaged in official construction of work itself, Congress ought not to say to the President of the United States, "You must sell that property within five years whether the bargain be good, bad, or indifferent."

Mr. SNOOK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEWALT. Yes.

Mr. SNOOK. It has occurred to me since the bill was reported, in reference to paragraph 1, section 2, page 4, of the bill, the paragraph that the gentleman discussed, providing for the purchase of a power plant, that it carries no limitation.

Mr. DEWALT. I will come to that in a moment. The third power given under the provisions of this bill in order that it may be operative is that the Government has the right to advance money to the operators of these plants. And the operator of these plants includes not only the general manager thereof but includes the actual owner thereof, the lessee, or party who is actually running the concern. The Government, therefore, in order that this war may be prosecuted, and in order that this emergency may be met, has the right to make advances of

money to the owners or the operators of these plants, taking as security therefor a first lien upon all the property; and in the contract for the giving of such money the bill states and provides that such security must be obtained; and further, that if default is made in the prompt payment either of the interest or the principal, that the property immediately upon such failure reverts to the Government again and becomes the property of the Government either for the leasing or for occupancy or for use and without any rental to be paid to the original owner.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. DEWALT. I shall have to ask, by reason of these interruptions, for more time, if I can do so.

Mr. SIMS. How much time would the gentleman like to have?

Mr. DEWALT. Let me go on for a while and possibly I might get very tired.

Mr. SIMS. Does not the gentleman now have any idea how much time he might need?

Mr. DEWALT. Fifteen minutes.

Mr. SIMS. I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman, a member of the committee.

Mr. DEWALT. Now, further than that, the bill is very wide in another provision. It not only gives the President of the United States through his administrative function the right to build, to construct or install, to advance money, if you please, but it goes one step further, and that is this, that after such installation, after such construction, after perhaps advancement of money to the original proprietor or owner of the premises, and the taking over by the Government, the Government has the right to sell the power that is thus generated, and to sell the power where it is deemed it is best to be used for the emergency now existing or in the future to be occasioned. Therefore you see, gentlemen, the provisions of this bill are exceedingly wide. Not only does the bill provide that the Government, through the President of the United States, shall have the right to construct, that he shall have the right to install, that he shall have the right to improve, that he shall have the right to acquire, that he shall have the right to take over, but after he has done all or any of these things he shall have the further right to sell power that is generated. Now, further than that——

Mr. ANDERSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEWALT. I will.

Mr. ANDERSON. He can go even further than that, and he can control the distribution of the power which is generated by somebody else.

Mr. DEWALT. I am coming to that. If the gentleman will let me alone, possibly I will be able to answer all questions without the gentleman interposing them. The very next power that is given is the one the gentleman refers to, to require private power plants to transmit their power to other plants and to require all of their power for the United States. That is the very thing the gentleman refers to.

In other words, the provisions of this bill are so wide that the President of the United States can take all the power of one company and connect it with the power of another company, or he can say to Company A, "You must transmit your power to plant B or locality C, and you must, if you please, at my dictation, because the emergency demands it, in my opinion, transmit that power and omit plant C and give it all to plant B." And another power. He can merge, if you please, all or some of these companies, merge them by process of law, or he can merge them by taking them over and concentrating their powers. More than that. The bill goes further and says that after he has merged, or after he has taken over or after he acquires, which acquirement means taking over, by any of the processes I have indicated, he has the power to lease that very plant to you or to me, under certain provisions, and if we do not comply with those rental provisions or the contract specified by the Government itself, the plant returns to the Government and the Government has the right to release, again acquire the property, and lease to you or to me. Now, further than that. There is one provision in this bill which caused possibly a good deal of comment in the committee, which ought to have serious consideration by this committee. The President is given authority under this bill to modify, cancel, or annul any contract now existing at this time or in future contemplation by any of these power plants. The gentleman from Philadelphia may own a power plant. He has made a contract, if you please, with the transit company of Philadelphia to furnish 20,000 kilowatts of power in a specified time. That contract is running for a period, say, of five years at a certain rental. The power that is given the President of the United States under this bill would allow him to-morrow morning, if he saw fit, to annul, modify, or cancel that contract and say to the gentleman from Philadelphia, who owns the power plant, "You must divert that power, not to the transit company of Philadelphia but you must give it to Hog Island, the shipbuilding industry." Therefore I repeat what I said but a moment ago that the provisions of this bill are of such momentous importance that I do trust that somebody who is better informed than I and better able to express the sentiments of the committee than I will plainly set forth to the membership of this committee the serious proposition we have on hand.

The railroad legislation was important; the taxing legislation was important; but the wide powers contained in this, the far-reaching effects, in my judgment, are even more important than those, because they were temporary in their nature, while these will lead to permanent ownership, if you please, if the criticism of the gentleman from Ohio is worth consideration.

Mr. SNOOK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEWALT. I will.

Mr. SNOOK. Referring to the power conferred by this bill to modify contracts, I suppose my colleague is referring to paragraph 14, page 10.

Mr. DEWALT. No; it is on page 8.

Mr. SNOOK. Paragraph 14, on page 10?

Mr. DEWALT. I do not know the number. No; it is page 8, paragraph 9:

> In furtherance of any of the foregoing purposes, to modify, cancel, or suspend any existing or future contracts for the delivery of power to any person not engaged in the production of raw material—

And so forth.

Mr. ESCH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEWALT. I will.

Mr. ESCH. This power to annul contracts is not new. It is contained in the national-defense act of April 3, 1916.

Mr. DEWALT. We are not going into a new field; but while we are not going into a new field, notwithstanding let us be careful of the steps we are taking in the plowed field that is not new, because in effect this is virtually a new enterprise, to wit, the going of the Government into the generating of electric power, mechanical power, and the control over it.

Now, whilst I am quite anxious to go on with the further provisions of this bill I recognize my time is limited, and I recognize, too, that there are others here who are far more able to illustrate and to explain the provisions of this bill than I am. But whilst this thing is under consideration let it not be forgotten, gentlemen of the committee, that there is one saving clause in it all and one great saving feature in it all, that whilst these extraordinary powers are given to the President of the United States and to the administrative officers that he may select, nevertheless the bill provides that none of this property, that none of these appliances, that none of the private property of the individual can be taken unless due compensation is given by law. Of course, that would have followed without any provision in the bill, because no man's property can be taken for public purposes, except in case of war and immediate peril, unless due compensation is given. But this bill provides that compensation shall be given in a certain way, to wit, that if agreement can be made, then compensation is to be paid, but the President is to determine in the first instance how much the compensation shall be, and if they can not agree 75 per cent is to be paid by the Government, and as to the remainder the party is to be relegated to the Court of Claims.

Mr. GOOD. Suppose a party enters into a contract for the sale and delivery of certain machines within a specified time, and that the man that has manufactured them has purchased his raw material and has entered into a contract with a private power company for his power; now, the Government takes the power away from him, and he is obliged to fail on his contract; then the person to whom he has sold the machines would, of course, have the right of action to recover damages for failure to perform the contract.

Mr. DEWALT. Generally speaking, he would; yes.

Mr. GOOD. Would he not in this case?

Mr. DEWALT. Yes; I think he would in this case.

Mr. GOOD. Then what would be the remedy of the person who had been obliged to respond in damages, if any?

Mr. DEWALT. The only remedy that the party would have, in my judgment, would be to present his claim before the proper jurisdiction, to wit, the President of the United States, and if the President ignored the claim he would have to be relegated to the Court of Claims. However, the field is such a wide one and would lead to such interminable litigation that I think that the Court of Claims would recognize the validity of the claim, it being one of the incidents of war. But this can be truly said, that the basic proposition is that you can not take property for public purposes unless you pay for it. Now, if that is sound

as a legal proposition, then what follows? Then you must inquire as to what is property. Now, is the contract, such as you have illustrated, property? My judgment is that it is a contract, it is a thing of value to me, which I have contracted for with you, to wit, to furnish you so many machines at a specified period and at a specified price. Now, the Government intervenes and prevents me from fulfilling the contract, and then, therefore, I am at a loss. A loss of what? The benefit of my contract. It stands in my mind as a legal proposition that if the Government does that it must be responsible. That is my judgment.

Mr. HAMLIN. If my Government intervenes and prohibits the carrying out of my contract in the interest of the people and in the interest of the life of the Nation under the war power, could he recover from me?

Mr. DEWALT. That is dependent entirely on how far you determine the war power.

Mr. HAMLIN. I am inclined to think the gentleman was in error awhile ago when he said he would have to respond in damages.

Mr. DEWALT. The Supreme Court of the United States has gone so far in stretching the Constitution, not only in the last few years but some time prior to that—and I say this in no criticism at all of the Supreme Court, because their judgment is so much better than any set of men who are lawyers, or any other men, that it would be a profundity of ignorance to make such assertion—but the Constitution has been stretched, not to the breaking point but to the limit almost of extremity. I do not believe the Constitution can be stretched so far as to take property of that kind unless the peril is immediate. If the peril is immediate, I agree with you.

Mr. HAMLIN. Any peril in war time is always immediate, and the very taking of this property by the President is in the interest of the party who claims he is damaged.

Mr. DEWALT. That is where you and I disagree as lawyers. I do not believe you can take property under the war power of the Government unless you pay for it, except the peril is present and the danger is immediate. And that is the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I dislike to interrupt the gentleman, but he is one of the best lawyers in the House.

Mr. DEWALT. I think that is saying very little for the rest of us.

Mr. LONGWORTH. It seems to me that this bill has gone infinitely further than we have ever gone before. I want to be able to vote for it, because I believe it has some absolutely necessary power. I would like to ask the gentleman how he interprets the amendment on page 14, at the bottom of the page, that the appropriation is to be made available during the time the act is in effect? Does that mean until the act is repealed? Would it not take a formal action of Congress?

Mr. DEWALT. I do not think there is any doubt about that. I think that is the proper legal construction of the phraseology.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. DEWALT. Reluctantly I yield back all the time I did not use.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has used all his time. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I listened with very great interest to the remarks of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DEWALT]. I quite agree with him that this bill is more important and more far-reaching in the powers which it grants than any bill which we have heretofore passed. I make that assertion because the bills which we have heretofore passed granting powers to the executive branch of the Government have been limited to the doing of acts which were clearly necessary to carry on the war and were limited to the war period.

I think, in general, it must be said in addition that most of the laws which we have heretofore passed have contained some general declaration of policy by which the executive branch of the Government must be governed in executing them, while this bill leaves the policy, and the administrative machinery as well, entirely to the discretion of the Executive.

We have become accustomed to making great grants of power. I think we have become so accustomed to it that we do not scrutinize proposed legislation with the care which a due regard for the functions of this House and of the Congress require. The best evidence of that fact is that there are on the floor at this moment less than 20 Members of the House.

I assert that this bill is not a war measure, and when I make that assertion I do not refer to the purposes of the bill. In its purposes it is a war measure. It seeks to permit to be done things which are essential to be done in the conduct of the war. But it is not a war measure in the sense that the powers conferred in the bill must necessarily be exercised with reference to the things which are connected with the prosecution of the war or are limited to the period of the war.

In this connection it is significant that the jurisdictional clause which has been contained in every one, I think, of the bills which we have heretofore passed, and which declares that it is essential to do certain things in order to carry on the war, has been omitted from the bill now under consideration.

There are some other clauses in the bill which contain intrinsic evidence of the fact that the powers conferred by this bill are not intended to be limited to the war period or necessarily to war activities. I call attention to the definition, for instance, of "war material." "The term 'war material' means any material or commodity which, in the opinion of the President, it may at any time"—not during the war period—"be necessary or important to produce"—not for war purposes, but to produce for any reason—"or of which he may deem it necessary or important to increase the production."

It is quite evident that this definition does not limit the President to increasing the facilities for the production of things which are essential for the carrying on of the war.

Now, I refer again to a section of the bill to which reference has already been made—section 8: "That the President may retain any property"—and the definition of "property" under this bill is very wide indeed—"and operate any plants"—and that is not limited to power plants—"transmission lines, structures, facilities, or appliances constructed or acquired"—and the definition of "acquired" is a very broad definition under this bill—"under the provisions of this act for such time as he may deem necessary or advisable for the purpose of selling or otherwise disposing thereof." That is practically unlimited. That is, he may hold this property indefinitely. That that is its purpose is indicated by the last paragraph on page 13, because that paragraph provides—

Except as is herein otherwise provided all other authority granted to the President by the provisions of this act shall cease at the termination of the war period.

Now, these provisions, taken together, are extremely important if we consider what may be done under some of the sections of this bill. I asked the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DEWALT] whether there was any testimony as to how this bill was to be administered or by what sort of an agency. Every witness who appeared before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce—and I have read the testimony with some diligence—evaded an answer to every question that was asked intending to anticipate the character of the agency which was to administer this law. We do not know whether there will be a "power administrator," who will exercise as a Government official the functions of this bill or whether there will be a corporation organized whose directors will have no responsibility to the Government at all except the responsibility which they owe to the Government as a stockholder in the corporation to carry out the purposes of the act. Either of these methods or an entirely different method may be used.

Now, the gentleman from Pennsylvania says that the Government must at all times be a majority stockholder in this corporation or in the corporations created or organized for the purposes of the act. I deny that. I direct attention to paragraph 11 of section 2:

If in his judgment such action shall be necessary or useful for the purpose of this act to form one or more corporations under the laws of any State, Territory, District, or possession of the United States for the purchase, construction, extension, lease, maintenance, or operation of any such power plants or facilities.

Now, listen:

Or for the merger or consolidation of any private power plants—

This authorizes the organization of a holding corporation.

I quote again:

or for the purchase of the whole or any part of the capital stock thereof.

Let me emphasize the fact that under this paragraph the holding corporation may purchase a minority of the stock of an operating corporation.

In other words, while the Government must be a majority stockholder in a corporation organized for the purpose of holding the stock of other corporations, it need not be the holder of a majority of the stock of any operating company.

Now, it seems to me perfectly clear, in the first place, that if the Government is to form a corporation for the purpose of controlling the manufacture and distribution of power, the Government ought to own all of the stock in that corporation; and, secondly, it seems to me perfectly clear that if the Government purchases the stock of an operating company it ought not to purchase less than a majority of the stock of that operating company.

I think we may all feel a good deal of misgiving about this method of conducting governmental business and controlling private industry. It is axiomatic that the obligations of a director of a corporation to a stockholder in that corporation are in no sense identical or in no sense equivalent to the obligations which an officer of the Government owes to the Government.

The obligations of a director or officer of a corporation in which the Government is a stockholder are not different than they would be if the Government was not a stockholder. We are proposing under this bill to control the manufacture and disposition of power through a piece of machinery, the officers and directors and managers of which will have no obligation at all to the Federal Government, except such obligations as are imposed upon the directors of any corporation.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDERSON. Certainly.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The power is here given to lend money to finance the corporation.

Mr. ANDERSON. The power given in this bill is not confined to lending; the language is broad enough so that the Government could give it outright if it wanted to.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I think that is true; but so far as the lending is concerned does not the gentleman think that that absolutely conflicts with the powers granted to the War Finance Corporation?

Mr. ANDERSON. I am not familiar with the provisions of that act as is the gentleman from Ohio, and his opinion would be worth much more than mine.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The power is given exceptionally to the Government to finance corporations which in its judgment are contributing to war work.

Mr. ANDERSON. The difference is that the War Finance Corporation must require certain security, while under this bill no security at all need be required. The money advanced, or a part of it, is to be taken and considered as applied to the amortization of the plant, and at the end of the war period repayment of the amount applied to amortization is waived. I find no fault with this if it can be done by somebody who has more responsibility to the Government and to the people of the country than attaches to a director in a private corporation.

Under the provisions of paragraph 11, section 2, a holding corporation could be formed for the purpose of carrying out the terms of this act with a capital stock limited only by the appropriations made by the act or which might be made to carry it into effect. The Government would be required to own not less than 51 per cent of the capital stock. The minority stockholders might be any persons whomsoever. They might also be stockholders in competing corporations or in corporations directly interested in power or traction rates.

Presumably the minority stockholders would have representation upon the board of directors. These directors might also be directors in competing corporations or interested in other private corporations affected by rates or charges for power.

This holding corporation might purchase and control either a majority or a minority of the stock of any private power plant, the officers and directors of which would have no obligation whatever to the United States and no obligation whatever to the holding corporation except the obligation that attaches to an officer or director of a private corporation as such to the corporation stockholders.

Within the limits of the appropriations made for that purpose the holding corporation could consolidate the stock ownership of private power plants within any given area, and by virtue of such stock ownership and control obtain a complete or partial monopoly of the market.

At the termination of the war the President would be confronted with the necessity either of retaining the control of the holding corporation thus created or transferring or selling the stock of the same, which would result in giving the private stockholders in the holding corporation the monopoly previously enjoyed by the Government.

I do not object to the creation of a corporation the whole of whose stock shall be owned by the United States for the purpose of financing the power extensions which may be necessary for the prosecution of the war. I do not think the proposition of creating corporations for the actual operation of plants wholly owned by the Government is altogether objectionable, but the creation of a holding corporation empowered and designed to control the manufacture and distribution of power through partial stock ownership in private power plants whose directors have no responsibility or obligation as officers of the Government is a proposition so opposed to the principles upon which government itself is instituted, and is at the same time so unnecessary to the accomplishment of the purposes of this bill, that it ought not to receive the approval of the House.

It is not necessary or wise that the Government itself should assume the obligations of a stockholder in private power plants created under the various laws of many States in order to carry out this act, nor is it desirable that the tremendous, far-reaching powers of this act, which will extend, under its present terms, long beyond the end of the war, should be exercised by persons whose responsibilities and obligations are those of private directors of private corporations and not those of public officials.

It is worth while remembering in this connection that power plants are frequently connected with public utility corporations by direct ownership and by interlocking directorates and stockholders.

It is claimed by those who are responsible for this bill that the ownership on the part of the Government of any part of the equipment or facilities of a power plant will be sufficient to enable the Government to fix the rates of power and perhaps incidentally rates to be charged by public utilities operated in connection with power plants. If these gentlemen are correct, and if we are to assume that the policy which has animated the management and control of the railroads, the telegraphs, and the telephones is to be adopted in the management and control of power plants, it is safe to predict that within six months after the passage of this bill there will be a general increase of power rates and probably in the rates of connected public utility corporations.

It is also worth remembering in this connection that the Railroad Administration in the case of the railroads and the Postmaster General in the case of the telegraphs and the telephones claims the right to fix rates without any reference whatever to valuation or to any other known basis of rate making and without regard to the powers of State commissions.

It may be that I am unduly apprehensive of what may happen as the result of the exercise of the powers conferred in this bill. If the exercise of these powers were confined to the war period and it were possible at the end of the war period to determine the questions which the exercise of this power will raise, we might well grant the power as being necessary to the conduct of the war, leaving the questions of policy after the war to be determined when the war is over, but the powers conferred by this legislation continue for a long period and in some instances for an indefinite period after the termination of the war and must therefore be regarded both with reference to the conditions which now exist and the conditions which may exist after the war.

If there is any virtue in democracy, that virtue lies in the fact that the genius and purpose of every citizen, however humble, may find expression in the laws by which he is governed and in fixing the responsibility of those who administer the law to the people who make it. If a holding corporation is organized under the paragraph to which I have referred, and that corporation in its turn owns the stock of private power plants, the responsibility for the efficient and honest management and expenditure of the Government's funds will be thereby twice removed, and the difficulty of control and regulation after the war rendered doubly difficult. I would not like to see this situation arise.

Mr. ESCH. I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER].

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I have approached this bill—and the vast powers it grants—with awe. I have given it the most careful consideration. I am known as a conservative who believes that ordinarily the Government should assume no functions that can properly be left to private enterprise. But these are war times. The case is extraordinary, and I am convinced of three propositions:

First. That authority must be given to the President to control and increase the power of this country. It is a necessity.

Second. That under the varying circumstances that exist no limitation should be put upon his discretion as to how his authority should be exercised.

Third. That in order to prevent his control from growing into a Government power monopoly, or something like it after the war, the time in which his authority should be exercised should be strictly limited to the war period, defined by this bill as six months after the President's declaration of the ratification of the treaty of peace, which will probably be more than a year after the termination of the war, during which time Congress could make any provision for extension of time or special cases.

I. THE NECESSITY THAT CONFRONTS US.

Fifteen minutes is a short time to discuss these three matters, but I want to give some of the reasons. This bill is necessary,

for alas, we have increased production by leaps and bounds because of the war, and every horsepower of production needs power. Our coal supply as well as railroad transportation have been deficient, and relief has been sought by most of these new factories from the private power plants which, by reason of employing less labor in one plant than are employed in 50 boiler houses can supply power cheaper and better. They can divide the power between factories that work by day and factories that work by night. They can avoid hauling coal by sending power through the wires. Additions to these plants have become absolutely necessary.

The President may take over existing plants under section 12 of the food and fuel conservation act of August 10, 1917, public No. 41, which I shall ask permission to put in my remarks; and, Mr. Chairman, I ask leave generally to extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I insert that section:

SEC. 12. That whenever the President shall find it necessary to secure an adequate supply of necessaries for the support of the Army or the maintenance of the Navy, or for any other public use connected with the common defense, he is authorized to requisition and take over, for use or operation by the Government, any factory, packing house, oil pipe line, mine, or other plant, or any part thereof, in or through which any necessaries are or may be manufactured, produced, prepared, or mined, and to operate the same. Whenever the President shall determine that the further use or operation by the Government of any such factory, mine, or plant, or part thereof, is not essential for the national security or defense, the same shall be restored to the person entitled to the possession thereof. The United States shall make just compensation, to be determined by the President, for the taking over, use, occupation, and operation by the Government of any such factory, mine, or plant, or part thereof. If the compensation so determined be unsatisfactory to the person entitled to receive the same, such person shall be paid 75 per cent of the amount so determined by the President, and shall be entitled to sue the United States to recover such further sum as, added to said 75 per cent, will make up such amount as will be just compensation, in the manner provided by section 24, paragraph 20, and section 145 of the Judicial Code. The President is authorized to prescribe such regulations as he may deem essential for carrying out the purposes of this section, including the operation of any such factory, mine, or plant, or part thereof, the purchase, sale, or other disposition of articles used, manufactured, produced, prepared, or mined therein, and the employment, control, and compensation of employees. Any moneys received by the United States from or in connection with the use or operation of any such factory, mine, or plant, or part thereof, may, in the discretion of the President, be used as a revolving fund for the purpose of the continued use or operation of any such factory, mine, or plant, or part thereof, and the accounts of each such factory, mine, plant, or part thereof, shall be kept separate and distinct. Any balance of such moneys not used as part of such revolving fund shall be paid into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

The section gives power to the President to take over any manufacturing plant for production that is necessary for war purposes. That might include the production of power. He takes it only for the period of the war. The United States is to pay any damages done by such taking. The act is well drawn and understood. It is my opinion that probably all the good in this bill could be had by adding a short section allowing the increase of power plants. It is not enough to commandeer existing plants, because they are hopelessly insufficient.

II. THE PRESIDENT'S DISCRETION CAN NOT BE LIMITED.

Existing power plants have been overloaded. Some of them have worn-out boilers and machinery and are going, but are in danger of breaking down. Others are in the wrong place. The testimony shows that New York has enough power and more, while Newark has not enough, and they are building a line to Newark to take care of the shipyards.

The same conditions exist elsewhere. In some cases it is an addition to the plant that is needed. In some places it is connections; in some places it is distributing lines; in some places an entirely new plant must be constructed.

The remedies are different. The eastern districts are in charge of three departments of the Government. The War Department has been trying to take care of the Pittsburgh district, and very probably there will be new plants established there, large plants, near the coal mines, so as to burn culm and avoid the carrying of coal by distributing power. The Navy Department has charge of the Philadelphia district. The Emergency Fleet Corporation has charge of the New Jersey district. Not only those districts, but New England and the West are crying for power to-day to do their war work. Another complication is that these power plants which would be taken over by the Government are doing other work that is just as essential. They are furnishing light to our towns. Some of them have gasworks annexes. Some of them in my own and many other towns are furnishing power for the running of electric cars. It is a more complicated system that is growing up amongst us than could ever be imagined.

Our grandparents would have laughed if we had told them that such a thing would be so, but the whole community as to power is being supplied very much as the whole body of man is moved, by the pumping of a single heart. No law can limit the ways in which this shall be done. In some cases the President may think it expedient to go to the existing power-plant owner and lend him money to finance his plant without the security that would be demanded by the finance board. These great power plants are not able to borrow money in these days, not only because the United States is borrowing so much, but because they fear that the enlargements may not be useful or valuable after the war. Possibly they judge wrongly on that subject. I believe that after the war the enlargement of our manufactures will be such that all power will be in demand and that these improvements will pay. The owners tell us that the cost of labor and construction is so great that the plants would be worth less then. This bill, therefore, gives a wide discretion; it can not be limited. It gives a discretion of lending by providing funds which are to be returned, while the title to the additions and improvements is to remain in the Government until the loan is returned. The bill provides in case of necessity for lending money with an agreement that if within five years after the war or some period after the war—I would say at the end of the war—the property is not worth so much as was spent on it, it shall be taken over by the owner of the plant at an appraised valuation. It provides also in case of necessity, which I hope will not arise, that the Government may build new plants. It covers all that ground, Mr. Chairman. It can do no less. We shall have to leave those three authorities, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Emergency Fleet Corporation, to deal with discretion in matters which they have in charge, but which we know nothing about. We can not provide how that discretion shall be exercised.

III. THE PRESIDENT'S AUTHORITY SHOULD BE LIMITED TO THE WAR PERIOD.

Mr. HAMLIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I do.

Mr. HAMLIN. The gentleman is a member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, I believe.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I am.

Mr. HAMLIN. And a good lawyer, too. I want to ask him this question. I entirely agree with the statement made a moment ago that the authority of the President ought to be limited to the war period.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I am coming to that now.

Mr. HAMLIN. Let me ask this question. The gentleman can discuss it. I find on page 18 that the authority of the President is limited to the period when the war terminates.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Let we take the sections up in their order.

Mr. HAMLIN. Except as herein otherwise provided——

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. There are a great many places to be amended.

Mr. HAMLIN. I want to inquire of some of the things——

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I have only five minutes left. I thought we might discuss this under the five-minute rule. However, I think it well to state what amendments ought to be made to the bill. On page 4 of the bill, at line 21, the President, for instance, is empowered to enlarge an existing plant and allow it to be run by agents or contractors or through the proprietor of the plant. He is also allowed to lease the machinery, appliances, and structures to the operator of that plant. If the operator of the plant is willing to lease and take the structure, to put in his machinery, why should not the right of the President to lease the power to that contractor end with the period of the war?

The section adds five years more. I insert it as an extension:

(2) For the purpose of increasing the capacity or productivity of any private power plant within the boundaries of the United States to install in any such plant any structure, machinery, or appliances that he may deem useful to that end, either through agents or contractors employed by him, or by providing the operator of such plant with funds to be applied to that purpose; to lease the machinery, appliances, and structures thus installed or any parts thereof to the operator of such plant for the war period or for such period thereafter not exceeding five years, or for any shorter period, as he may deem expedient in the interest of the United States, upon such terms as he may deem reasonable; and to enter into contracts requiring or permitting the lessee to purchase such appliances, machinery, and structures, or parts thereof, at or before the termination of such lease at their then value, or upon such other terms as he may deem equitable for the protection of the interests of the United States and of the community served by such lessee.

It says that he can lease for the war period or for such period thereafter not exceeding five years, or for any shorter period, as he may deem expedient. I see no necessity of leasing machinery that is part of a going factory to the operator of the plant who contracts to buy that machinery for a term going beyond the period of the war.

Mr. HAMLIN. The gentleman, I think, did not get my question.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I am coming to the gentleman's question; I am going over some others.

Mr. HAMLIN. I wanted the gentleman to point out some particular thing that does not end with the period of the war, so far as the power of the President is concerned.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. That is one. Now, the second one is page 6, where power has been lodged to make advances to an operator for equipment or expansion, and it provides for a valuation after the war of the property that has been put in the mill and says that the valuation can be made at the termination of the war period or not more than five years afterward. It reads:

(3) To aid in equipping any private power plant or in expanding any such plant to such extent as he may direct by making advances, upon such terms and conditions as he may determine, to the person operating or authorized to operate it, and in connection with such advances, to agree with such person that, if the actual reasonable cost of equipping or expanding such plant shall be in excess of its value at the termination of the war period, or at such later time not more than five years after the expiration of the war period, as he may deem reasonable for such valuation, and the machinery, structures, or appliances constituting such extension or expansion, or their equivalent, shall have been maintained and operated in accordance with his directions until such time, repayment of the whole or any part of such excess will be waived, and to provide by agreement for the manner of determining such costs and values by arbitration or otherwise and for the terms and time of such repayment: *Provided*, That the powers conferred by this subdivision shall be exercised only if the President shall deem that the emergency is such as to render it impracticable or undesirable to act with respect to such plant under any of the other powers conferred by this act.

The President ought to have no power, no one should have power, to tie up the whole of that mill, in which new equipment has been placed, for five years after the war. The valuation could be better ascertained when the war ends. There may be and is likely to be a great falling off in value in five years after the war which will not take place immediately. After the Civil War values rose until 1870 and then they began to fall. The United States ought to determine that value then at the end of the war. Now, the section mentioned by the gentleman is contained on page 7, line 20, where the President is allowed to lease the property owned by the Government to outside parties for the war period or such period thereafter not exceeding five years, or for any shorter period, on such terms as he may deem reasonable:

(8) To lease for the war period or for such period thereafter not exceeding five years or for any shorter period and upon such terms as he may deem reasonable, to any person or body politic for use or operation by such person or body politic, any plant, transmission line, or other property or part thereof, constructed or acquired pursuant to the provisions of this act.

Why so? I think the war period is enough. That is, six months after the declaration of the treaty of peace. During the time, after the war actually ends, we can deal with such questions.

Again, on page 9, it says that if the President uses public rights, he shall not alienate those public rights or franchises for any term in excess of five years after the war period upon any terms or conditions other than those prescribed by the sovereignty:

(12) To sell or exchange any plants or structures constructed by him and any property to which he shall have taken title, and any rights acquired by him, whenever in his opinion the interests of the United States will be furthered by such sale or exchange: *Provided*, That no public right acquired by him shall be alienated for any term in excess of five years after the war period, upon any terms or conditions other than those prescribed by the sovereignty from which such public rights shall have been acquired.

What right have we to say that he shall give outside parties rights against the State or municipality except during the war period? The phrase "five years after" should be struck out.

And again, on page 12, section 8, the first clause says:

SEC. 8. That the President may retain any property and operate any plants, transmission lines, structures, facilities, or appliances constructed or acquired under the provisions of this act for such time as he may deem necessary or advisable for the purpose of selling or otherwise disposing thereof.

And in the same section, page 13, lines 15 to 18, if the owner of any plant where machinery is installed fail to pay—

the President may acquire title to such power plant and may thereafter sell it or maintain and operate it for such time as he may deem necessary for the purpose of protecting the interests of the United States.

These rights should certainly extend not over one year after the war period, but I should say not exceeding the war period, if I would carry out my notion. He has no need to maintain and operate beyond the needs of the war time.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

Mr. ESCH. I yield five minutes more to the gentleman.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Have I answered the gentleman?

Mr. HAMLIN. The gentleman has in a way, and yet not entirely. Perhaps I got a little confused by the statement made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DEWALT] a moment ago. I understood him to speak of this as being, some portions of it, permanent law.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. It ought not to be permanent law.

Mr. HAMLIN. Is any portion of it permanent law?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. It comes very near it when it gives absolute authority to maintain and operate.

Mr. HAMLIN. That is what I was getting at. Of course, there must be a short period at the close of the war to give the President opportunity to close up these transactions.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. This gives six months in the beginning, after the declaration of the ratification of the treaty of peace. It is long enough.

Now, under the food act section, he has to the end of the war; under the railroad act, he has 21 months thereafter; under the telegraph act it is a shorter time. Five years in some cases and unlimited time, only limited by discretion, in others is all wrong. This Congress, if we desire to protect the United States as well as private citizens, should make a limit.

You will notice that on line 22 of page 13 it says:

The termination of the President's authority shall not affect any contract executed.

How long may those contracts run? I suppose it refers to these leases, but no contract should be executed which would go beyond the period of the war.

Mr. EDMONDS. Does not the gentleman figure that section 8 is permanent law if the President desires to make it so?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. No. I think it gives a very large discretion, but that that discretion would be limited by the fact that whereas, in the railroad act we had power to grant permanent rights as to railroads as instruments of interstate commerce, our authority over those power plants under the Constitution of the United States ceases within the war period and a reasonable time thereafter. And I do not think, therefore, that section 8 should be construed so as to be unconstitutional. The words "reasonable period" should be read into the language wherever it occurs; "for such reasonable time as he may deem necessary."

Mr. EDMONDS. That might be possible if you put the word "reasonable" in there.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I think the word "reasonable" must be implied if you are dealing with this subject, under the Constitution.

I thank the gentlemen for their consideration. If there are any more questions which gentlemen wish to ask during the remainder of my five minutes I will be glad to answer them; if not, I will yield back the balance of my time. [Applause.]

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. NORTON] two minutes.

TOWNLEYISM.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Chairman, I have been embarrassed and shamed and have been obliged to apologize for the good name of my State many times yesterday and to-day on account of many Members of the House calling my attention to the following news article which appeared prominently on the front page of the Washington Post of yesterday, September 25, 1918:

RUN CANDIDATE FROM TOWN—NONPARTISAN LEAGUE NOMINEE FOR GOVERNOR BARRED FROM BRITTON.

ABERDEEN, S. DAK., *September 24.*

Mark P. Bates, candidate for governor of South Dakota on the Nonpartisan League ticket, and A. C. Townley, Nonpartisan League organizer, were driven from Britton, S. Dak., to-day by a mob when they attempted to make a campaign speech there, according to reports received here.

When the nonpartisan members arrived in Britton they were met by a crowd of farmers and townspeople numbering between 200 and 300, who locked the town hall and refused to permit them to speak. They were then marched to the county line, reports said.

I have been asked if this fellow Townley who is referred to in the article is the same demagogue and socialist who, Leninelike, bosses politics in North Dakota and who in my State has succeeded in having nominated on the Republican ticket for election in November his hand-picked and "Townley-indorsed" candidates for all State and congressional offices. I have been asked if this is the same Townley whose league in the June primaries spent thousands of dollars of money extracted by his solicitors and agents from North Dakota farmers in its unsuccessful efforts to nominate as the Republican candidate for governor in the State of Minnesota C. A. Linberg, the author of the infamous antiwar and pro-German booklet, "Why your country is at war and what happens to you after the war." I have been asked if this is the same Townley the many pro-German and pacifist members of whose league were so enthusiastically interested in the renomination for Congress of Mr. LUNDEEN, from Minnesota.

I have been asked if this is the same Townley who, knowing my long record of activity and success in Congress in behalf of Federal legislation in the interest of those engaged in farming and in the interest of greater and better agricultural development throughout the Nation, and who, having secretly rankling in his narrow socialist and antiwar mind the knowledge of my strong support of our country's declarations of war against Germany and against Austria and my unwavering support of every measure that has been before Congress for a vigorous and effective support of our part in the war, opposed personally and through the organization of his league my renomination for Congress on the Republican ticket in North Dakota at the recent primaries in my State. I have been asked if this is the same Boss Townley who indorsed and set up as his candidate for Congress in opposition to me a man who, when the war lords of Germany were heaping insult after insult upon this country, and when these brutal German war lords announced that the peaceful ships of this then neutral Nation would not be permitted to make voyages from the United States to England unless they gave notice to Germany of the time of their sailing and landing, painted themselves with certain barber-pole stripes prescribed by the war lords, and passed through a certain German-prescribed path on the high seas, was writing and petitioning Congress that these outrageous insults and demands on the part of Germany should not be considered as a cause of war, but should be bowed down to by these United States. It is with great embarrassment and regret that I have been obliged to confess that this A. C. Townley referred to is the same Lenine-like demagogue who so many of the honest and well-meaning farmers of my State have been deceived and misled into believing will lead them into agricultural gardens of Eden where they will have all the fruits of the world for themselves and be free from all the present struggles and strifes of man for existence and progress in this world.

I do not wish to take the time of the House now to discuss the bolshevikism of Townley and the coterie of demagogues, socialists, and I. W. W. sympathizers with whom he has closely surrounded himself. I wish merely to say to my friends on both sides of the House that while the good State of North Dakota and the good people of that State are being injured and disgraced by this reign of Townleyism, it, like other false, unsound, and dangerous isms, will soon pass away. For many years my State was cursed and enthralled by McKenzie bossism. After some hard and bitter political struggles the State became rid of this evil bossism, which was nurtured by railroad and other corporate business interests. Now Townley bossism, upheld and supported by the most unscrupulous appeals to class prejudices, by demagogism in its lowest form, and by attractive but impractical socialistic economics, has the State government in its grasp. It will not, however, I am sure, be long until the sound mass of intelligent and thoughtful farmers in my State perceive Townleyism in its true character, when it will be discredited and Townley and his coterie of political grafters and sycophants will be obliged to seek other fields for their operations. Former President Theodore Roosevelt, who long has been one of the truest and stanchest friends in public life of the farmer and laboring man, discusses very tritely and forcefully the evils of Townleyism in the following article which recently appeared as an editorial in the Kansas City Star:

THEODORE ROOSEVELT WARNS OF BOLSHEVISTS IN AMERICA.

GOOD LUCK TO THE ANTIBOLSHEVIKISTS.

(By Theodore Roosevelt.)

The absolute prerequisite for successful self-government in any people is the power of self-restraint which refuses to follow either the wild-eyed extremists of radicalism or the dull-eyed extremists of reaction. Either set of extremists will wreck the nation just as certainly as the other. The nation capable of self-government must show the Abraham Lincoln quality of refusing to go with either. The dreadful fall which has befallen Russia is due to the fact that when her people cast off the tyranny of the autocracy they did not have sufficient self-control and common sense to avoid rushing to the other extreme and plunging headlong into the gulf of Bolshevist anarchy.

HIGH-BROW BOLSHEVISTS DANGEROUS.

In this country there are plenty of high-brow Bolshevists, who like to think of themselves as intellectuals and who, in parlors and at pink teas, preach Bolshevism as a fad. They are fatuously ignorant that it may be a dangerous fad. Some of them are mere make-believe, sissy Bolshevists, almost or quite harmless. Others are sincere and foolish fanatics who mean well and do not realize that their doctrines tend toward moral disintegration. But there are practical Bolshevists in this country who are in no sense high brows. The I. W. W. and the Nonpartisan League, just as long and so far as its members submit to the domination of leaders like Mr. Townley, represent the forces that under Lenine and Trotzky have brought ruin to Russia. If these organizations obtained power here, they would cast this country into the same abyss with Russia.

The I. W. W. activities have been officially set forth by the Chicago jury which found the I. W. W. leaders guilty of treasonable practices. These leaders protested that they were only trying to help "the wage slave of to-day" and had not taken German money. But the jury found them guilty as charged. The American people, when fully awake and aroused, will tolerate neither treason nor anarchy. No Americans are more patriotic than the honest American labor men, and these, above all, had cause to rejoice in the verdict. Undoubtedly there are plenty of people ignorant who join the I. W. W. because they feel that they do not receive justice. We should, all of us, actively unite in the effort to right any wrongs from which these men suffer. But we should set our faces like flint against such criminal leadership as that of the I. W. W.

SOUGHT ALLIANCE WITH THE I. W. W.

The Nonpartisan League endeavored to ally itself with the I. W. W. since we entered the war. When the league was started I felt much sympathy with its avowed purposes. I hope for and shall welcome wisely radical action on behalf of the former. But only destruction to all of us can come from the venomous class hatred preached by the present leadership of the league. Some of its leaders have been convicted and imprisoned for treasonable activities. Some of the league representatives have been actively pro-German. Some of them are Socialists or Socialist-Anarchists. For the first six months of the war and until it became too dangerous they were openly against the war, against our allies, and for Germany.

The only half secret alliance between these leaders and certain high Democratic politicians is deeply discreditable to the latter. The victory of the league in its recent efforts to gain control of the Republican Party in Minnesota and Montana would have given immense strength to the pro-German and Bolshevist element throughout the country, and the defeat was a matter of rejoicing to all right-minded and patriotic men. Mr. Townley's leadership, in its moral purpose and national effect, entitles him to rank with Messrs. Lenine and Trotzky, and the utterances of the league's official organ, especially in its appeal to class hatred, puts the official representative of the league squarely in the clan with the Bolshevist leaders who have done such evil in Russia.

I have before me an official letter from the league, written in January last, refusing to cooperate in nonpolitical work for the benefit of the farmers, saying "this organization is a political one, the farmers being organized for the purpose of controlling legislation in their own interests." In other words, the title "nonpartisan" is a piece of pure hypocrisy, and its league is really partisan in the narrowest and worst sense. Americans should organize politically as Americans, and not as bankers or lawyers or farmers or wageworkers. To organize politically on the basis adopted by the league is thoroughly anti-American and unpatriotic and, if copied generally by our citizens, would mean the creation in this country of rival political parties based on cynically brutal class selfishness.

I have no doubt that the rank and file of the members of the league are good, honest people, who have been misled. I am certain that there has been much neglect of the right of the farmers, and that it is a high duty for this country to begin a constructive, practical agricultural policy. But no good American can support the league while it is dominated by its present leadership. The Kansas citizens who have joined to fight the league because it represents Bolshevism are rendering a patriotic service to America.

The following letter, which was one of the Government's exhibits introduced in evidence at the recent trial at Chicago of a hundred members of the I. W. W., was written by Arthur Le Sueur, Mr. Townley's right-hand man in the Nonpartisan League headquarters at St. Paul, Minn., and shows his connection with William D. Haywood and the I. W. W. Haywood, it will be recalled, with 92 of his associates was convicted of violating the espionage act, interfering with conscription, and hampering the Government of the United States in the prosecution of the war, and was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment and fined $20,000. In his testimony at Chicago Haywood identified this communication as genuine. Arthur Le Sueur was for many years a resident of Minot, N. Dak. He has long been recognized as one of the leading and most active socialists in the country. For the last two or three years he has been closely associated with A. C. Townley in the organization and maintenance of the Nonpartisan League. Le Sueur is attorney and one of the three directors of the National Nonpartisan League, as testified to under oath by Townley when he was examined on charges of disloyalty by the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, May 1, 1918. It is very probable that the exposure of this letter and of other evidence appearing at the Chicago trial, showing the connection and relation of prominent members of the Townley League with the I. W .W., influenced Col. Roosevelt in writing his editorial:

[Eugene V. Debs, chancellor; Arthur Le Sueur, president; Alva A. George, vice president; S. A. McClaren, treasurer; Laura L. Reeds, secretary; Marian Wharton, editor College News.]

"For the education of the workers by the workers."

THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE,
Fort Scott, Kans., April 5, 1917.

Mr. WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD,
164 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

FELLOW WORKER: *Have just returned from Des Moines, Iowa, and am very glad to be able to report that all of the cases there are disposed of favorably and the boys at liberty. I think the defense committee is satisfied with the handling of the case. Of course, it was not one in which any labor principle was involved, and therefore the fight was simply made to get the boys out.*

My expenses for the trip were $34.30, and if you will send me check for that it will clean the matter up.

How are you coming with the Minnesota proposition? I hope you don't start anything until the year has expired. This damned war business is going to make it mighty hard to do good organization work or good radical work of any kind, but I think the fight should be now centered against spy bills and conscription.

Have you heard from Pennsylvania with powers of attorney?

Yours, for industrial freedom,

ARTHUR LE SUEUR.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. STEELE].

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Chairman, I shall not attempt to analyze the provisions of this bill, for that has already been better done by the gentlemen who have preceded me. I do wish, however, to discuss the necessity for the provisions of this bill as a war measure, as shown by actual conditions in the district which I represent. The conditions in that district are perhaps not anomalous, because I am informed, and reliably so, that they exist in many other sections of the country and that they are, indeed, quite typical of power-shortage conditions. The fact of the matter is that there is throughout the country generally a shortage of electrical power at this time, and that this is very much hampering the war program of the Government. This same situation, as appears by the testimony taken by the committee at the hearings on this bill, existed in England a short time after the war, and that their program for the construction of plants for the manufacture of munitions was from 9 to 12 months ahead of the program to supply the proper electrical energy with which those plants could be operated, and that the electrical engineers of England warned the United States at the outset of this war that that might be, possibly, the condition confronting us in this country if we went along without making special preparations for electrical energy.

It was discovered about six months ago that we were likely to confront these conditions, and the War Department set about to correct them as well as it could. It had a survey of the country made, and, as was shown on the map which was exhibited before the committee to-day by the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce [Mr. SIMS], there exists throughout the country what is commonly referred to as "the congested section," which includes the New England States, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and that part of Maryland running down along the Chesapeake.

Now, included in that "congested district"—and it is congested for all purposes of fuel and transportation and electrical energy—is the Lehigh Valley, two-thirds of which is in the district which I have the honor to represent. In that district there are various large industries located. There is, in part, the anthracite mining region; there is the large cement region, which originated about 30 years ago and which was the origin, really, of the cement industry in the United States. In that district there are manufactured now about 23,000,000 barrels of cement per annum, and a large portion of the mills manufacturing this product use electrical energy in its manufacture. They were induced to use electrical energy because of its economy, its saving of coal, and its saving of labor; and because of those representations and those business reasons they eliminated from their plants their old method of steam power and relied entirely on electrical power; and most of those large contracts were made with a company known as the Lehigh Navigation Electric Co.

Now, the Lehigh Navigation Co. is a company that has been in existence almost a hundred years in that section. It was originally incorporated for the purpose of mining and transporting anthracite coal, and it occurred to them about eight years ago that it would be a most economical thing if they could utilize what is commonly known as the culm banks around the anthracite coal mines in that region. Culm simply consists of the coal dust, you might say—the fine particles of coal dust—that is produced as the result of the screening of coal, which theretofore had not been utilized for any useful purpose whatever. So at a cost of something like $15,000,000 this company constructed a plant at Hanto, and also another plant which it purchased at Harwood nearby, and they entered into contracts with these cement and industrial plants throughout the valley, transmitting their current a distance of something like 150 miles from the place where the energy was generated on long-term contracts for the furnishing of this electrical energy to them; so that these various cement plants, relying upon this, made their contracts, depending, of course, upon the uninterrupted furnishing of this service.

Now, nearby where these cement plants are being operated, and only about 30 or 40 miles also from the place where this electrical energy is being manufactured, is located the large Bethlehem Steel plant, now employing over 35,000 men, and being employed practically 100 per cent in the manufacture of munitions for the Government for use in the present war. The Bethlehem Steel plant used a considerable quantity of this electrical energy, but this fact did not at all interfere with the service to the other companies under their contracts until within a recent period of time. The pressure of the Government for the manufacture of munitions by the Bethlehem Steel Co. became so great that it was necessary for the Bethlehem Steel Co. to secure additional electrical energy.

A representative of the War Department, with full authority from that department to act in the premises, came upon the ground and, after a survey of the business conditions in that section, issued an order to the Lehigh Navigation Electric Co. to the effect that it must reduce the amount of electrical energy furnished the different cement plants and other manufacturing plants in that region 25 per cent of what they were entitled to under their contracts, and that this electrical energy should be diverted to the Bethlehem Steel Co. for the purpose of manufacturing munitions of war. And that was coupled with the further statement that the needs of the Bethlehem Steel Co. would be such in the near future that the diversion of 25 per cent would soon be increased to 50 per cent, with the prospect that in six months' time the entire quantity of electrical energy to which these cement and industrial plants would be entitled would be entirely diverted to the Bethlehem Steel Co. So that these cement industries and other industries which were furnished with electrical current in this way were faced with the proposition of having no means of operating their plants, their old steam method having been entirely eliminated, and they would be unable to use their plants and the men who were employed would practically be thrown out of employment at that place and be compelled to go to some other point to secure employment, and the contracts which they had made for furnishing the cement manufactured by them would have to be vitiated in some way.

Now, of course, as stated by my colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. DEWALT] awhile ago, the Government has the right to commandeer this electrical energy under these contracts if it sees fit to do so. But in doing so the provision of the Constitution still prevails that private property can not be taken for public use without just compensation.

The right—the contractual right—under the terms of these different contracts between the electrical company and the cement companies was a property right, and when the United States Government steps in and takes from them their property rights under the terms of these contracts it is just as much a taking of property as would be the taking of land; and therefore the serious situation was that the cement companies would be unable to fulfill their cement contracts or manufacture their product, and they would only be entitled to turn around and ask for compensation from the Federal Government, which had diverted this power from them. That would be a question, of course, for the assessment of damages, depending as to amount upon the facts that might be developed upon the trial of the issues in the case.

Now, it is proposed, however, to avoid as much as possible the damages that would ensue from this radical act on the part of the Government, made necessary by war conditions. The remedy that is proposed is that the Government will assist this Navigation Electric Co. in extending its plant so that it will be able to conform to the contract previously made and also enable the Bethlehem Co. to receive an adequate amount of electric energy to manufacture munitions that the Government needs and also supply the anthracite coal mines in that region with a sufficient quantity of electrical energy, so that they will be able to mine an additional quantity of coal so badly needed throughout the country for war purposes generally at the present time.

In order to do that it is estimated by the engineers that it will require an expenditure of a million and a half dollars to make this extension; and it is necessary that speedy action be taken in the enactment of the measure such as is contemplated in the bill, for it will require from four to six months to install the necessary machinery.

Mr. ESCH. As I understand it, this subsidiary company develops 20,000 horsepower.

Mr. STEELE. The plant at Horton develops 30,000 kilowatts, and the Bethlehem Steel Co. needs 12,500 kilowatts in addition.

Mr. ESCH. The Horton Co. could not supply under the existing contract what it called for. Therefore this bill is the only possible relief.

Mr. STEELE. The only possible relief that can be afforded.

Mr. ESCH. I understand that unless the Bethlehem Steel Co. gets 12,500 additional kilowatts it will be necessary to make a reduction or stop the supply to the cement works, and even require the shutting down of the coal mines.

Mr. STEELE. That is a fact.

Mr. DEWALT. If the gentleman will pardon me, he should refer to the fact that the testimony developed that the electrical companies were not able, under the money market, to finance the proposition themselves.

Mr. STEELE. The gentleman is correct in what he is stating. The fact of the matter with reference to that situation is this: Just previous to the declaration of war the Lehigh Navigation Electric Co. had made its financial arrangements for borrowing something like [illegible] million and a half dollars to extend

the plant at that time to meet what it contemplated would be the requirements of the company in furnishing electrical energy throughout the Lehigh Valley. This arrangement had been practically completed at the outbreak of the war, but because of the financial conditions before the declaration of war and the attitude of the Government in objecting to new capital arrangements it was not enabled to complete it. If it had not been for the war the extension would have been made by the company at this time.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEELE. I will.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I understand that there is a corporation expressly organized and authorized to loan financial aid where it is necessary in such a case as this, is there not?

Mr. STEELE. Does the gentleman mean the securities company?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The War Finance Corporation.

Mr. STEELE. I do not think any of the war-aid legislation extends to public utility companies. No legislation now in existence meets the situation I have been discussing.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Has this company made application to them for assistance?

Mr. STEELE. I can not answer the gentleman because I have no information on the subject.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Is it being operated on war contracts?

Mr. STEELE. The Bethlehem Co. is engaged almost 100 per cent in war contracts, and from 30 to 60 per cent of the cement produced is sold to the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. STEELE. I ask unanimous consent to extend and revise my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN].

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, during this afternoon the average attendance in this Chamber has been less than 20, taken at intervals of about 15 minutes. This is less than 5 per cent of the House membership. Over at the other end of the Capitol 90 per cent of the membership is present with crowded galleries. The two situations contrasted are practically this: This great representative body is in the act of yielding to the Executive stupendous and almost immeasurable powers heretofore controlled indirectly, perhaps by the legislative body, but really owned and controlled by the people of the United States. Over at the other end of the Capitol in the presence of a vast throng, the large membership finds itself in the act of extending an opportunity for a voting privilege to a part of the people of the United States. It illustrates that it is hard for the American people to obtain any extension of a right, but it seems in these latter days very easy for them to yield up a large portion of their rights.

It seems to me that in yielding these tremendous powers so aptly described by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DEWALT] who, with his far vision and powerful imagination, sought to give us some idea of the tremendous proportion of this grant of power, we ought to go slow in considering it. We should take into account what we are granting. We are taking from the people and handing over to the Executive multiplied millions of property and valuable and important rights heretofore exercised and enjoyed by the American people. This tremendous grant is made to the Executive under alleged war necessity. Does the Executive really believe that we should seize the property rights of the American people and transfer them to him? If he believes it should be done, he undoubtedly believes it should be constitutionally asked for that it might be constitutionally granted and constitutionally received.

I am in favor of granting any power necessary for the winning of a victory for this Nation in this emergency. But the official who is to accept this grant should believe in it so thoroughly and be so impressed with its necessity that he would say to the Congress in the constitutional way, "I need the power and I ask it of the Congress for the welfare of the Nation."

I asked a Member, the gentleman from North Carolina, who was making a speech on this bill, if the President had in a constitutional way asked for this grant of power. He said he did not know. He added something as to the matter of taste in a communication through the chairman of a standing committee having the same effect as a message to the Congress. This is not a matter of taste; it is a matter of the Constitution, and I hope when I mention the Constitution in this presence that nobody will rise and make the point of order against introducing a strange or obsolete subject in this Chamber.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. ESCH. I yield the gentleman two minutes.

Mr. SLOAN. Section 3, Article II, of the Constitution, reciting the powers and duties of the President of the United States, says:

> He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.

Reading section 3 as it applies to this bill, omitting that which is irrelevant, it would read as follows:

> He shall from time to time recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.

The Executive has apparently not deemed it "necessary or expedient" to have this grant of power, because no message has come to the Congress of the United States for that purpose. Message only is the constitutional method by which the President should seek to influence in the first instance action by the lawmaking power. Ordinarily the lawmaking power should be confined to the Congress of the United States, uninfluenced by Executive recommendation. There is, however, reserved to the Executive on great questions where he desires and where he thinks he ought to influence the initiation of legislation the duty of sending a message in writing or by appearing before the Congress and recommending that such legislation be passed. I have heard Members criticized on the floor of this House for not supporting presidential policies and measures. Constitutionally what is a presidential measure or policy? There is no presidential policy known to the law or properly construable by the law for which any man should be criticized for not supporting unless, in the first instance, in the constitutional manner, the Executive has exercised his prerogative in recommending such legislation.

This measure contemplates an extraordinary grant of power involving legislative violence to vast private rights, affecting every unit of electrical and mechanical power in the United States. It can only be defended by a stern war necessity. Before we deprive the people of their rights the responsible head of this Government should in the constitutional way demonstrate the necessity and make the demand for the legislation. In the years to come when the representatives of the people are struggling to wrest this power from the Executive, whoever he may be, to restore it to the people, Representatives will look vainly through the presidential messages for the request for this grant. It will be looked upon as a settled policy rather than a war-emergency measure.

Men have said in this debate the vast powers granted are not expected to be exercised. Then they should not be granted. Wise statesmanship presumes that power granted will be exercised. More than that, it should be hedged about with every conceivable safeguard. Legislators should guard against the ill-disposed officer rather than too solicitously grant privileges to those who may be deemed wise and good.

If this measure is necessary for achieving national victory, if the Executive is so convinced and he has in any wise indicated such conviction to members of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, such committee might properly take cognizance of that fact. But a due regard for the dignity of the House of Representatives and the Constitution of our country demands that the Executive message prescribed by the fathers should be forthcoming before this measure was recommended for our favorable action. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. STEVENSON].

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Chairman, I desire, like the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. STEELE], to refer to the necessity and the utility of this measure because of conditions which arise in my own district. There are two great divisions of power development in North and South Carolina. One of them is controlled by what is known as the Southern Power Co. and operates on the Catawba and Broad Rivers, and the other is the Carolina Power Co., that operates farther north on the Pedee River and the Roanoke River. Now, there is a condition arising which is shown in the report here. The Southern Power Co. has a normal amount of power in its territory to carry all the legitimate business that is being done there, and that is a tremendous war business in the manufacture of cotton goods at the milling points in that whole territory. It has 10 large hydroelectric plants in my district, and has really built cities where there were wildernesses a few years ago for the purpose of manufacturing cotton, and it has in the last year constructed and is just completing another very large plant, whose power is not needed in that particular district but it is needed in the district of the Carolina Power Co., and the construction is needed of 82 miles of power transportation

lines of 100,000 volts capacity, requiring about 75 miles of additional lateral branches feeding the territory contiguous to Wilmington, N. C., and all between the Wateree River and Raleigh, N. C., the Wateree River being in South Carolina.

Now, the construction of that line and the transmission of 20,000 horsepower will release 150,000 tons of coal a year which is used in a territory which is remote from the coal fields, being a very large item. It releases from the necessity of transportation 3,000 coal cars for the coming season, and the company that is purchasing this power desires to connect the two reservoirs, the one running over with power and the other in want of power, and it is confronted with the fact that it can not go on the market with its securities because it is interfering with the money market for the bond subscriptions. It can not get the money to construct this line to comply with its contract, in which it proposes to deliver electricity early in the coming year, without some help or some relief from the Government. It has to get permission from the finance board here or it has got to borrow the money from the War Finance Corporation, or it has got to get it this way, and the question is a very serious one whether it can get it any way except this; and this is merely an instance of the utility of the measure which is proposed. Now, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN] said, in substance, a little while ago that the proposition was to give the President power to seize the property of the citizens. It not only looks to that, but it is to give the Government the power to assist the citizens in developing that which is absolutely necessary for the carrying on of the industries of this country during this war, and that is the instance which I have attempted to give of the use of this act, and for that reason I am exceedingly interested to see the act put in operation as soon as possible, in order that the power which is in one reservoir—and you will find it so all over the United States—can be shifted and transferred to a place where it is needed to conserve the coal supply and the transportation of this country. That is the statement that I desire to make in asking for time this afternoon.

Mr. NORTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEVENSON. I will.

Mr. NORTON. Is the gentleman in favor of legislation of this kind after the war?

Mr. STEVENSON. I am in favor of its terminating as soon after the emergency growing out of the war terminates as possible. I have always been a strict constructionist and I do not now expect to begin to advocate the retention of public utilities any longer than they are necessary.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEVENSON. I will.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I have been interested in the gentleman's explanation of the bill. Do I understand that the corporations that are denied the opportunity to sell securities to raise money are to be allowed to have money out of the Treasury, and this is a bill to furnish them the money?

Mr. STEVENSON. The provisions of this bill authorize the Government to take hold and expend the money in creating these facilities or in assisting corporations now in existence in completing themselves and provide security to the Government in so doing. That is the reason for the great appropriation that is made in the bill. I yield back such time as I have not used.

Mr. HAMLIN. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. STEVENSON. Yes.

Mr. HAMLIN. I desire to refer to the last remark of the gentleman in reference to its providing for security to the Government. What security is made to secure the Government?

Mr. STEVENSON. As I have read the bill, the Government has possession of the utility, and I take it for granted that if it has possession and can operate it can take care of itself in the operation.

Mr. HAMLIN. But when the war period is over and the authority of the Government to operate expires, the Government will have a lot of this stuff on hand, and it will have to sell it for whatever these people want to give them.

Mr. STEVENSON. There is a provision that it must be appraised and the Government will dispose of it; and if you develop a power and the power is put to a profitable and permanent use, you are not very likely to have to throw the power away. But suppose the Government has to take something less than it costs? The time is now at hand when we have to have the power for the purpose of carrying on the war industries. Now, if the Government has to lose something by accelerating that power and by increasing it, and by increasing the facilities for the transportation and delivery of that power, it is one of the expenses and one of the losses incident to being in a state of war which we will have to philosophically bear, I think.

Mr. HAMLIN. I agree with the gentleman; and that is the only reason in the world why I will support the bill. But this is the situation as it is likely to arise, in my mind: Has it occurred to the gentleman that some of these private companies might take advantage of the Government in coming and extending their plants?

Mr. STEVENSON. Selfishness is the dominating trait of humanity, and I have no question but that some people will take advantage of this condition. But I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that they do it in every contract and every deal made with the Government, and they take advantage of the necessities of the Government when in a state of war; and we can not do away with it without eradicating human nature.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS]. [Applause.]

Mr. FESS. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, a statement was put out some time ago by one of our colleagues, Mr. FERRIS, of Oklahoma, the chairman of the Democratic Congressional Committee, in which it was announced that the Republican Party had been an obstruction political party. I wanted to take a little time with the members of the committee to say something about the functions of a minority party. The minority party, by virtue of a lack of numbers, is not held responsible for legislation. That function belongs to the majority party. I believe, as no doubt every Member in this Chamber believes, that a republican form of government can not be administered in a salutary manner for the public weal without some form of political organization. Public opinion can not translate itself into law except through this agency. There is not a government in the world that assumes to speak for the people that does not have a form of political party. Even in Germany, the enemy to-day of the liberties of a people, recognizes party organization. If it is in a country with a responsible ministry, such as Great Britain, they have several parties, but always two. And in our country we will always have at least two political parties fundamentally different. It has ever been so and will ever be so. The very distinction of schools of political thought compels it.

The line of demarcation in our history thus far has been the difference between that school of political thinking that tends to give increased power to the central authority in the interest of order, but at the same time retains local self-government in the local unit in the interest of liberty. The other school tends to retain more liberty in the local unit and less power in the central government. The differentiation between political parties in our country, therefore, has been that one emphasizes central authority in the interest of orderly conduct, while the other local self-government in the interest of liberty.

It is a well-recognized historical fact that these two lines of political thinking have formed the real basis for political parties. The extreme of either would not be wise. In the past the Democratic policy was decentralization, which embodied itself in the doctrine of State rights and, at certain periods, State sovereignty, which was the real cause of the Civil War.

Our Democratic friends will admit with me that in the last few years the centralizing power is being recognized fully, if not more greatly, on the Democratic side of the aisle than on the Republican side. However, the Republicans have never agreed with former Democratic policies. No political party in power will likely suffer an embarrassment by not using what seems to be the necessary authority to do what the leaders think ought to be done. So that the party in power will be centralizing in its tendencies, while the party out of power may be decentralizing in its tendencies. This is usually the rule. The party in power inevitably will take the responsibility for legislation. The country demands of it that service. It can not long remain in power if it does not. The party out of power, almost as inevitably, will take the position of the watchman on the tower to hold up the legislation by its parliamentary rights until what is worth while is gotten into the law, and what is dangerous, from their standpoint, is eliminated from it. The real purpose of parliamentary regulation is to secure to the minority this right in the interest of sound legislation.

This explains why, from 1861 until 1884, the Republican Party took the lead and responsibility of all measures which to-day make up our proudest period in history, while the Democratic Party was styled in our history as the obstructionist party, because it studiously and vehemently opposed every measure during that period. It matters not whether you look at the Lincoln-Johnson administration or any other, from that on until the Cleveland administration in 1885 the position of the Democratic Party as a minority party was to oppose except when by accident the House for a short time fell into Democratic hands. I remember most distinctly as a young man greatly

interested in the political history of our country, and an interested student of our times, I used to take a great deal of pleasure in declaring what was true, but somewhat embarrasing to my Democratic friends, that there was scarcely a fundamental measure since the opening of the Civil War that had not been opposed by the Democratic Party in both the Senate and the House. We are free to admit, what all must recognize, that the reason for that was that the Democracy of the country was holding responsible the Republican Party, which was then in power, for the legislation and not being charged with such responsibility themselves presented an almost undivided opposition.

It is not necessary for me to specify what were the great measures in Lincoln's time and Johnson's time. They involved the prosecution of the greatest Civil War known to man. Opposition then verged close to disloyalty. Neither is it necessary to speak of the outstanding political measures in Gen. Grant's reconstruction period. His administration was distinguished by vitally important measures inherited from headed the Nation, the course of administration was obstructed from every angle by the party which to-day is in power.

No Democrat on this floor to-day will deny that these measures were almost every one of them opposed by the solid vote of the Democratic side of the House, including all of the the war, which should have received the support of the Democrats but did not. From 1869 to 1877, when the great soldier amendments to the Constitution, and other reconstructive measures following the Civil War as inevitable problems inherited by the war.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will my colleague yield?

Mr. FESS. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Does my colleague recall that during the Civil War or the Spanish War any revenue measure was ever passed by unanimous vote?

Mr. FESS. Never in the history of this country.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FESS. I yield.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Is it the line of the gentleman's argument that the position of the Republican Party now is similar to that of the Democratic Party at the time of Lincoln?

Mr. FESS. It is not. That is why I wanted to build the statement so that I would not be charged with being unfair when I came to make the statement I rose to make.

What was done in Grant's administration, from 1869 to 1877, was also noticed in the Hayes administration, from 1877 to 1881, and was repeated in the Garfield-Arthur administration from 1881 to 1885.

The outstanding measures of national importance in each of these administrations covering the period from 1861 to 1885, a period of 44 years, were the targets of the fiercest opposition of the minority or Democratic Party. These measures included besides those which necessarily grew out of the war the financial question, the tariff question, the civil-service question, the expansion question, the concentration and control question, and many others of like importance. The country will not forget the attitude of the Democratic Party in first demanding fiat money, then opposing its constitutionality, and later opposing the resumption of specie payment. Neither will it forget its attitude on the civil service, which, while professing to favor after it once was adopted, it repudiates when the party is called upon to enforce it.

During all of those 44 years there was a tremendous effort to build up the country from the standpoint of Republican policies, which displayed a greater stride in national prosperity than had ever been known before. That effort was fought by a united Democracy all along the line. Then, in 1885, when Grover Cleveland came into power, one of the very first measures that was introduced in Congress was the interstate-commerce act of 1887. The Republicans, while not opposed to the principle, wanted to look into it thoroughly, and therefore they did not give it a unanimous vote. The party of the majority for 44 years, and necessarily the responsible party, had become a minority party. On the other hand, during this same Cleveland administration the presidential succession law was not opposed by the minority party. In 1890, in the case of the famous Sherman Antitrust Act, which bears the name of a distinguished Republican in the Senate, at that time in the control of the Republicans, it was opposed by the Democratic Party in the main, although professing to be against combinations. And then, coming on down, taking in Cleveland's second administration, you find the same rule obtained in a degree, and also in Harrison's administration the same principle of the minority holding the majority responsible for legislation. In McKinley's administration, before the Spanish-American War the Democrats were furious for war, and for a time after war was declared there was a pretty united House on both sides of the aisle, especially on the declaration of war. President McKinley was given a unanimous vote for $50,000,000, granted as an emergency defense fund, to be used as he saw fit. But when it came to a revenue measure to supply funds with which to prosecute the war our Democratic friends—all but six of you—voted against it. Here in time of war a minority party voted almost solidly against a measure designed to supply the funds necessary for the prosecution of the war which had received almost a solid Democratic vote on the declaration of war. While some people have suggested that it was not patriotic, I had never felt disposed to so denounce the opposition, but was ready to admit that the point of dispute was not as to the end but as to the means of raising the money, and consequently I do not now think, nor did I then, that we ought to insinuate that it was an unpatriotic motive on the part of the Democrats. It was opposition to a theory of taxation Democrats have not indorsed rather than opposition to the war.

I do not think that our Democratic friends now have any right, from whatever angle viewed, to impugn the motive of any Republican if, before the war, he should have questioned the feasibility of a certain method of raising revenue, or any other measure upon which parties have been divided from the very beginning of our Government. I now refer to the revenue bill, to which the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. FERRIS] referred in his speech, in which he said that the Republicans had not unitedly supported it. This was a measure before this country was in war.

Why, into that measure they had dragged at least three Republican ideas in order to win Republican votes, and while many Members on the Republican side of the aisle did vote for it, many Republicans did not stand for it because, as I said before, there was a serious question involved as to whether it was the right method.

But let it not be forgotten that that was before the war and at a time when the best consideration with the greatest deliberation was not only warranted but demanded. Again our friend from Oklahoma, speaking of the Republican side as obstructionists, referred to the Federal-reserve act. I want to take the time to remind the gentleman that the reserve act was in 1913, in time of profound peace, and I also wish to say that the enactment of the Federal-reserve act was not obstructed by the Republican Party. A great number of Republicans voted for it, and with the best of reasons, for in the main it was patterned after a Republican measure, the Aldrich bill. Quite a number voted against it, not because of the Federal-reserve act itself but because of certain features in it that we tried to amend and to eliminate from it. Had these amendments been accepted it would have left the House a very much better bill.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FESS. With pleasure.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Will the gentleman from Ohio permit me to state that those amendments were put in finally before the law became effective?

Mr. FESS. That is true; and the act has been amended four times to my knowledge, where I assisted in the amendment, since the law first became effective.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. And the administration failed to put it into effect for 15 months because of the lack of those features?

Mr. FESS. Yes. I repeat the act was not opposed as a whole, but only objectionable features of it.

Now, I should like to make another observation. The Federal-reserve act was bodily borrowed from a Republican measure, the Aldrich bill, the result of a Monetary Commission on which the greatest body of thought was gathered that had ever been gathered upon any subject in finance in the history of this country, and it must not be forgotten that was a Republican measure. When the bill was before us I printed in parallel columns of the RECORD the Aldrich bill and this act to show the complete similarity in principles and fundamentals.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FESS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. LONGWORTH. With regard to the revenue bill, of which my colleague has just spoken, I was one of those Republicans who supported it because I believed it was four-fifths Republican, and the only reason why I objected to it, and the reason why Republicans voted against it, was the excess-profits tax, brought in in a time of peace, concerning which, if the gentleman will permit me to read, the Secretary of the Treasury now says:

Mr. MCADOO. The excess-profits tax must rest upon the wholly indefensible notion that it is a function of taxation to bring all profits down to one level with relation to the amount of capital invested and to deprive industry, foresight, and sagacity of their fruits. The excess-profits tax exempts capital and burdens brains, ability, and energy.

The excess-profits tax falls less heavily on big business than on small business, because big business is generally overcapitalized and small business is often undercapitalized.

That is the opinion that the Secretary of the Treasury now holds upon the one item in that bill which the Republicans opposed.

Mr. FESS. I am glad that my colleague made clear that particular point, because I want to make it clear that it was not the bill as a whole that was opposed by Republicans, but defects, many of which have since been corrected. The bill had in it some features that the Republicans tried to amend at the time. I myself secured one amendment, as will be recalled—the preservation of the gold standard.

When my friend on the other side of the Chamber referred to the interstate trade act and charged that we obstructed it, he was again mistaken. Republicans voted for it as readily as the Democrats, for it was a Republican measure that had been recommended by President Taft in a Congress preceding. At that time Democrats opposed the proposition because of minority status. But not so with Republicans; they supported the measure quite enthusiastically.

The same thing is true with respect to the rural-credits act, another measure in the list mentioned by the Democratic chairman. The rural-credits act was an origination of Myron T. Herrick, from Ohio, a Republican, who had made an elaborate study of the subject in Germany. He was the first man to call attention in an official way to this character of financial legislation.

I simply call the attention of my friends on the other side of the aisle to these facts, which ought not to have been forgotten so soon, and must not be distorted for political purposes. When they say that we on this side of the aisle have assumed the position of an obstructionist party they shall not distort the real facts. All of these measures were passed in time of peace. Even though we had obstructed it is not fair to apply it as if it were war time. I call their attention to the fact that there was ground for our opposing the items that we did oppose, although they bore the brand of our own party, having been borrowed from us and having been dressed in a new garb. But that was not in time of war. It was before the war opened and can not be subject to the criticism justified if in time of war.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FESS. Yes; I yield to my friend.

Mr. HASTINGS. The gentleman has just made a statement to the effect that Myron T. Herrick indorsed this rural-credits act. It is true that Myron T. Herrick wrote a bill upon the subject of rural credits, but the gentleman from Ohio is bound to admit that Myron T. Herrick violently opposed this particular bill, that he circularized the United States against it, and made speeches against it—the bill that the Congress passed. I remember it very well; I was myself a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, which reported that bill; and I remember that Mr. Herrick made speeches all over the United States against the rural-credits bill which was enacted by Congress.

Mr. FESS. He opposed one feature of the rural-credits bill, a feature that is fundamentally wrong, and the elimination of that feature would have made it a much better bill. I refer to the feature which puts the Government itself in the banking business. That was the feature he objected to in that bill, and that is the one feature that weakens the bill. The same may be said in lesser degree with regard to the Federal reserve act.

We also objected to the latter being a partisan board of control. We introduced an amendment to make it nonpartisan and were ridiculed for even the suggestion of the possibility of any Executive doing such a thing. Note that was before it was done. That feature of the Federal reserve act would make it much better if it were eliminated.

Our opposition to that feature does not mean that we oppose the whole measure. I appeal to gentlemen on both sides of the aisle, what has been the position of the Republican Party as a minority party since the world war began? I am quite certain that there is nobody here, on either side of the aisle, that wants to do anybody, individually or collectively, an injustice. There is no occasion for it, and when we come to look into our party government, where we know legislation must be by party organization even in time of war, there will be a majority party, responsible, and a minority party armed with parliamentary procedure in order to see that the best results will be worked out in legislation. Note the contrast of the Republicans in war with the Democrats in the Civil War and the Spanish-American War. Only yesterday a distinguished judge, a Democrat from Georgia, said to me he had never seen such elimination of party spirit as displayed by Republicans. There never has been such a display of partisan abandonment as shown by Republicans, although in the minority. There have been heard partisan utterances, but not until it was opened by the Democratic chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. ESCH. I yield to the gentleman five minutes more.

Mr. FESS. I make full recognition of the value of political organizations in legislation. But when the war opened, although the Republicans had been somewhat impatient with our "watchful waiting" and had criticized some things that we thought ought to have been different, partisan criticism was totally abandoned. However, we had suggested some things not done that we felt should have been done. Republicans have felt themselves free to raise certain questions as to a more complete preparation and a more vigorous prosecution of the war, but when it comes to voting on any war measure which was shaped as a fixed policy for the prosecution of the war, there has been no political division, so far as I know, on the Republican side.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FESS. Yes. I yield.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I agree with the gentleman that we can not decide the policy of a party by a vote on a special measure, but I would like to ask the opinion of the gentleman on this matter. Is it not a fact that one great measure that is at issue in the management of this war, a party measure between your side and the Democratic side, is the selection of a war board, or a war committee, to assist the President in the conduct of the war? Is not there this possibility that if your party should win in this election your policy will be to establish a war board such as your party has voted for and take from the President the absolute power to conduct the war as he sees fit? Is not that the essential thing at issue?

Mr. FESS. There will be no disposition on the part of Republicans in Congress in the slightest degree to interfere with the vigorous prosecution of the war. The gentleman should not speak of a committee on the conduct of the war. We have asked for no such committee. There is almost certain, however, to be a decided policy that the administration accept some budget system, to give better business methods to contracts and expenditures, and also a better audit system, so that the auditing of the accounts of one department will not be done by its own department, as in the case of the Government.

Mr. GILLETT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FESS. Yes; I yield.

Mr. GILLETT. Was not the formation of the committee to which the gentleman refers—and which the Republican Party supported—originated by the Democratic Party in the Senate and carried through the Senate under the leadership of Senator SIMMONS, the Democratic leader, and after that the Republican Party supported it?

Mr. FESS. That is true; and not only that, the gentleman here that introduced this bill has offered the argument that this committee is unnecessary because Congress has already a committee with power to do that thing. If that Committee on Expenditures, a part of this body, has that power, then the gentleman can not inject the idea that we are going to interfere with the prosecution of the war by creating a new committee to do, as he says, the identical thing they now have the power to do, but of course does not and will not do.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FESS. Yes; I yield to my friend.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. When the revenue bill was passed the leader of the Republican Party sought to recommit it with instructions to report the bill back with a provision authorizing the appointment of a committee to have control and supervision of the expenditures. I hold the position that you can not fight this war with committees and that the appointment of a committee would interfere with the Executive in his full power as Commander in Chief in his efforts to prosecute the war.

Mr. FESS. That statement may be a good political argument just before an election, but it does not get anywhere when the purpose of every political party is to win this war with the most vigorous prosecution possible and at the minimum waste of public funds. That, I think, everybody will agree to. We have no right to devote our entire attention to contracts. We must also devote some effort to how to avoid wasteful expenditures.

Mr. GILLETT. I suggest to the gentleman that it is not fair to let go uncontradicted the suggestion that this committee was to have control of expenditures. They would have had absolutely no control of funds. The committee whose organization the Republican Party supported was purely a committee of investigation.

Mr. SLOAN. And had nothing to do with the conduct of the war.

Mr. FESS. Absolutely nothing to do with the conduct of the war. The gentlemen confuses a committee to supervise expenditures to avoid waste and a committee on the conduct of the war.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has again expired.

Mr. ESCH. How much time have I remaining?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has five minutes.

Mr. ESCH. I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. MAGEE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

Mr. MAGEE. Does the gentleman think that a Member of the House performs his full responsibility by voting for the authorization of appropriations aggregating $40,000,000,000, and then never concerning himself in any way, nor endeavoring to get any information, as to whether these moneys are wisely, economically, and lawfully expended?

Mr. FESS. I think, in answer to my friend specifically, that it is an indication of a weakness on the part of an individual Member to attempt to free himself of responsibility that he must and ought to exercise.

Mr. GARNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

Mr. GARNER. Is not that auditing now being performed by the various appropriation committees of Congress?

Mr. FESS. To my mind the various appropriation committees of Congress have enough to do besides following this thing up. Their business is to initiate appropriations. We ought to have a committee to coordinate with that committee and follow up appropriations and see how they are being applied and whether they are being wasted. I had not intended to raise this question, had it not been for its injection here as an indication that the support of such measure was a desire to obstruct the prosecution of the war. No man can justly make such a statement. It means a more vigorous prosecution of the war at the least waste of public funds.

Mr. GARNER. If I understand the gentleman from Ohio, he would create this committee, to devote its entire time and attention to this particular work and leave their other duties in Congress to their fellow Members?

Mr. FESS. A committee such as proposed, which was to be a joint committee made up of the complexion of both the Senate and the House, which would have been a Democratic committee, certainly would not have interfered with the war and would have been a help rather than a hindrance.

Mr. GARNER. I did not say anything in regard to interference; but does the gentleman take into consideration the duties of the various committees of the House? For instance, the Appropriations Committee, of which the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] is the ranking member on the Republican side, has full power and, I believe, full opportunity and full time to investigate these expenditures and ascertain whether they have been judiciously expended or not.

Mr. FESS. I do not agree with the gentleman. No such function was ever exercised by that committee, and never will be.

Mr. GARNER. And I also think the Committee on Military Affairs and the Committee on Naval Affairs have that power.

Mr. FESS. I do not agree with my friend in that statement either.

Mr. GILLETT. We have to do with the appropriations for next year.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FESS. I will.

Mr. LONGWORTH. What will be the essential difference between the functions of this committee and the functions now being performed by Mr. Justice Hughes in investigating the $640,000,000 expenditure for airplanes without result?

Mr. FESS. The one chief difference is that one derives authority from the Executive; the other derives authority from the body that gives the appropriation, the Congress, and it would seem to me that when we vote money to any department and hold it responsible for its proper application, if an investigation is to be made as to the application of that money, it is not for the department that spends it to make the investigation, but it is for the department that gives it authority to expend it. [Applause.]

Mr. SLOAN. In the gentleman's opinion, if we had had such a committee, does the gentleman think there would have ever been any occasion for Mr. Justice Hughes to have made the investigation, or for the Senate to have made its investigation——

Mr. FESS. Most certainly not, and the thing most surprising to me is the sensitiveness of our Democratic friends in refusing to have an inquiry. If our Democratic friends would welcome an investigation of those things that seem to have gone awry, look at the saving to the Nation from that standpoint, and invite an investigation, not by the department being investigated but by a coordinate body, the public would be better served. I am sure my friends will agree with me that when we vote without debate $640,000,000 of money for the building of aircraft, as we did in July of 1917, and we did it because we thought it would be better not to debate the bill on the floor of the House, that we are not wholly free from legitimate condemnation of the people when we simply throw it off by saying we were asked to do it in that way and thus performed our duty to the public, and we therefore do not propose to make any research as to what became of it. This attitude is culpable and should not be tolerated, much less in war than in peace. To me this claim that the Republican Party has acted as a mere obstruction party is pure partisan pabulum employed for partisan purposes where argument for principle is sadly lacking. [Applause.]

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SNOOK], a member of the committee.

Mr. SNOOK. Mr. Chairman, I have been very much interested in the statement of my colleague from Ohio [Mr. FESS] on the philosophy of the parties. So far as I am concerned, so long as I have been in this House I have not said anything that looked like a discussion of party questions. Personally I want to say this, that I have no time now to discuss party questions. I want to see if I can personally do something to help win this war without reference to whether it is won by men who are Democrats or Republicans. I do not care which they are. [Applause.] Now, I want to say a word or two about this bill. I had not intended to talk on this subject at all, but I want to call the attention of the committee to this very important measure and to some one or two or three criticisms which have been made by some who have discussed the measure. There has been a great deal of discussion as to the power conferred in section 8, which gives the President the power to retain these utilities which have been taken over or which have been built or bought by him until he can dispose of them to advantage. I am sure I had a great deal of doubt about the advisability of this section of the bill and I have a great deal of doubt in my mind yet about the advisability of that section; but there is a good deal of force to the argument which was presented to the committee and which has been presented to this House that if the Government intends to spend a large sum of money in buying these utilities, in building utilities, and in putting money into utilities already in existence, the President ought to have a large discretion in disposing of them after the war is over. If the President is not given such discretion the Government is likely to lose a large sum of money. There is no doubt in my mind that on account of the expense at this time of installing these utilities the Government is bound to lose money under this bill if we turn those utilities back to the people who own them or if we dispose of them after the war.

I want to say, again, for myself personally, as I said when we passed the railroad-control bill, and as I said when we reported the bill for the control of the telegraph and telephones, that I am opposed to committing this Government to a policy of Government ownership of those utilities as long as we find there are people in this country who have brains enough and who are honest enough and who have the ability to administer these affairs and run these railroads and these utilities as they have in the past. [Applause.] But this is a war measure, and, as was pointed out to the committee, it is an absolute necessity at this time to have this additional power in order to manufacture war munitions and in order to mine coal. That is a question that has not been called to the attention of the committee, and I wish I had time to call the attention of the committee to a statement made by Dr. Garfield upon that subject to show the economy that will be worked out in the operation of the mining industries of this country, if they can have the power that is necessary to carry on this work. I do not have the time to read from the statement, but it says that by using the electric current necessary for the mining of coal there will be a saving of several millions of dollars a month to the consumers of this country, because these power plants use the by-product or the coal that is not used by the manufacturers of the country or by the domestic users.

Now, there is just one other thing that I want to call attention to that has been offered as an objection to this bill. The question has been asked several times if the necessity exists now it must have existed for some time; and why is it, men say, that we have not been called upon to make this appropriation before this time? The answer is given by Secretary Baker, and will be found on page 4 of the hearings, and it is this: When they began to make a survey of this subject and to find the necessity for this additional power and ascertained that it existed they tried to go to different appropriations that

had been made for the War Department and for the Navy Department and other branches of the Government that were exercising these functions, but they found that it was impossible to work out a plan to use the appropriations that had already been made by Congress to the different branches of the Government. They did work out—and he said it was with the utmost difficulty—a plan by which they did lend assistance to some of the plants in the Pittsburgh district, where the necessity was the greatest, and they found it was very doubtful if they had the power to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman five minutes more.

Mr. SNOOK. They found that they had the greatest difficulty to work out a plan by which these appropriations could be used. I wish to quote just a moment from Secretary Baker's language on that subject. He says—and you will find it on page 4 of the hearings—

> It required a great deal of ingenuity to work out a plan by which the funds in the War Department could be made available for the establishment of supplementary power supplies. The Emergency Fleet Corporation had some elasticity in its funds; the Navy Department somewhat less elasticity. We have all been working at it fairly steadily for four or five months.

And then he went on to say that they found out, after investigating the subject fully and carefully, they thought the only way it could be reached was by framing a bill something like this.

It was suggested by somebody in the debate—I do not remember who—that it would have been better to have appropriated a lump sum and have left it to the power of the President to dispose of that sum in taking over these plants and constructing new ones. To my mind that plan would be very much more open to objection than the plan we are now using. I know that this bill grants large powers to the President, larger than any bill, probably, we have yet brought to Congress; but, even so, it is hedged around by many safeguards that put a curb on that power and makes it much better for the people and for the Congress than conferring on the President the power to spend a lump sum. That method of appropriation has been oftentimes criticized in this Congress, and I do not know of any more objectionable method by which we can legislate than by going in that direction.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Will the gentleman permit?

Mr. SNOOK. Yes.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I would like to ask you as a member of the committee—and I am very much interested in your discussion of the bill—if the policy of the bill is, or was it presented to you by the department, that because of the interference in the sale of these securities it would be necessary in order to raise the money to do these essential things that the department thought wise to take the money from the Treasury and loan to these particular people?

Mr. SNOOK. The people who were engaged in these industries found it impossible to get the money to do this work.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Because they were forbidden to sell them?

Mr. SNOOK. Yes; because the money market was such they could not sell securities. They found the only way they had then was to come to the Government.

Now, going back to this section 8 and the power conferred by it in connection with paragraph 1 of section 2, I found to-day when I read the bill over in the House after the discussion had commenced that there is no limitation as to the time in paragraph 1 of section 2 of this bill as to when the President may spend money for the purchase of a power plant or for the building of a power plant. I believe that a limitation should be placed in that paragraph as well as in paragraph 2, and, if I do not change my mind, I shall offer an amendment after the word "construct" to define and limit the power conferred by paragraph 1 of section 2 to the war period, which is defined in this bill.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I think the gentleman will find that it is limited to the war period except where some provision is made.

Mr. SNOOK. Not in this section.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. But it is a general provision in the bill.

Mr. SNOOK. The committee, after fully discussing this bill, found the great necessity that confronted it, and in order to meet this necessity, reported the bill to the House. When it is amended, if the committee should deem amendments necessary, I think it ought to be speedily enacted into law.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. HASTINGS].

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, perhaps I ought to apologize for digressing and for discussing a subject that is not in the bill and for taking up the time of the House at this late hour in the evening.

I am not going to make a partisan speech. I have not made one since the war began. I do not believe I have cast a partisan vote. It is not my purpose during the continuance of this war to do so.

I want to take up the few minutes allotted to me, however, in discussing a subject that I think is of very great importance, and that is an amendment to the rules which I have proposed and which has been referred to the Committee on Rules.

Mr. Chairman, since coming to Congress I have been deeply impressed with the necessity for some rule whereby bills of a local nature could be considered. Strange as it may seem, there is no such rule at the present time. On July 15 I introduced the following resolution as an amendment to clause 3 of Rule XIII:

> *Provided further*, That when any bill on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent, upon which there is no minority report filed, is called for consideration, it shall be considered unless 10 members object, when it shall be immediately in order to move its consideration, which motion shall be put to the House without debate, and if carried by a majority vote, said bill shall be considered as if no objection had been made.

It will be seen that it amends the unanimous-consent rule so that any bill placed upon the Calendar for Unanimous Consent, upon which there is no minority report filed, shall be considered unless 10 Members object, when it shall be immediately in order to move its consideration, which motion shall be put to the House without debate, and if carried by a majority vote the bill shall be considered the same as if no objection had been made.

We ought to have a rule whereby local bills may be considered. Under our rules now one man in the House can prevent the consideration of a local bill during the entire session of Congress.

There are only four ways to get a local bill considered unless this amendment is adopted:

First. Upon a call of the committee that reported the bill. If the committee has been called on two previous Calendar Wednesdays and other bills considered that have been reported by it, the chances are the committee will not be called again during the session of Congress. There is little likelihood of getting any local bill considered in this manner.

Second. By placing the bill upon the Calendar for Unanimous Consent the objection of any Member strikes the bill from the calendar and it can not be considered.

Third. By asking unanimous consent for the consideration of a bill, a bill can be taken up unless a Member of the House objects. Of course, if he objects when the Unanimous Consent Calendar is called he will object to a request for unanimous consent at any other time in the House for the consideration of that bill.

Fourth. By offering a motion to suspend the rules, which requires a two-thirds vote. It is a rule of the Speaker not to recognize anyone who offers a motion of this kind for the purpose of considering local bills, except for the last six days of the session. It is usually too late then to secure favorable consideration by the other branch of Congress.

It will be seen, therefore, that there is really no way to secure consideration of a local bill except by unanimous consent. I am opposed to this rule, and it ought to be amended. If a Member introduces a bill which he vouches for as being meritorious, has it referred to a committee, and secures the unanimous report of the committee upon it, there ought to be some way to consider the bill in the House. Certainly one Member of the House who is not upon the committee that considers the bill and who has no personal knowledge of it should not have the right to say that it shall not be considered.

No Member can defend such a rule, either here or among his constituents at home. I was reared in the West, where the people believe in absolute equality. It is exceedingly difficult to explain to my constituents that consideration can not be secured by the House under the rules of a bill unanimously reported.

When a boy at school it was a rule that everyone took his turn in playing marbles, ball, or any other game.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Oklahoma has expired.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, have I any time left?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has 10 minutes left.

Mr. SIMS. Would the gentleman from Oklahoma be willing to continue his remarks by printing them in the RECORD? I approve of them so far as I have heard them.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I would like the gentleman to be allowed to conclude. How long will it take the gentleman? It is a very interesting subject.

Mr. SIMS. I have no objection to the gentleman's continuing, but I want to make this statement to the committee, that

when the time is out I want to commence the reading of the bill and read the first paragraph, and then move that the committee rise. That is all I want to do to-night. If the members of the committee do not object, I am willing to yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma five minutes more if he desires.

Mr. HASTINGS. Very well.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Oklahoma is recognized for five minutes more.

Mr. HASTINGS. I thank the gentleman.

The farmer, when he goes to the old water mill, stands in line and takes his turn in getting his corn or wheat ground. Lawyers at the bar have their cases docketed and called in regular order. Everyone appreciates that in Congress some legislation is national in its character and more urgent than other legislation, and therefore must necessarily pass. Consideration of it can be secured by unanimous consent or by special rule from the Rules Committee, but you can not get a special rule for the consideration of a local bill.

I am unalterably opposed to any rule that permits one or two men in the House to say what legislation may be considered. I believe that we should have a rule that will permit the consideration of all legislation. Every Member is entitled to have his bills considered when reported unanimously by a committee, and surely, if no more than 10 Members out of the entire membership of 435 object, the bill ought to be considered. In the event 10 Members object it ought to be in order to move its consideration. If a majority of the House wants to consider the bill the minority should not be permitted to hold it up.

I assume that every Member who introduces a bill does so in good faith. If he is diligent enough to appear before the committee to whom it is referred and secure favorable consideration of it, he is entitled to have it considered by the House when it is unanimously reported.

I want to invite the attention of the Committee on Rules and Members of Congress to this proposed amendment, and earnestly urge its favorable consideration. I submit that no Member can satisfactorily explain to his constituents that the House does not have a rule whereby every bill unanimously reported can be called up for consideration at some time during the entire session. My State and the West suffer most on account of this rule. Many of the older States do not require any special local legislation.

Eastern Oklahoma has 101,519 Indians enrolled as members of the Five Civilized Tribes. For the past 25 years their affairs have required legislation at different times to wind them up. Local legislation is imperative, but a single objection prevents its consideration. I am opposed to the rule as it now stands, and opposed to any rule that will place it in the power of one man to say what legislation shall be considered. I thank the House.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that we begin the reading of the bill, and that the bill be read, subject to amendment, by paragraph or subsections.

Mr. ESCH. I think that would be better, Mr. Chairman, because two or three of the sections cover two or three pages. It will be better to have it considered by paragraphs.

Mr. SIMS. Nearly all of these sections consist of but one paragraph. I ask unanimous consent that the bill be read by subsections or paragraph.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I would prefer to have it read by paragraphs. For instance, in section (a) there are no paragraphs, but there are three or four subsections.

Mr. SIMS. Where there are no subsections I ask that the bill be considered by paragraphs.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that the bill be considered by subsections or paragraphs, and where there are no paragraphs that it be considered by subsections. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the bill be read through subsection (a). Committee amendments may be read but not acted on to-night.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the gentleman's request?

There was no objection.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, I make the same request.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska makes the same request. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That when used in this act, unless the context shall require a different interpretation—

(a) The term "power plant" means a plant equipped for, and employed or intended to be employed in, generating, developing, transmitting, or distributing electrical or mechanical power, and includes all machinery and appliances therein contained, together with all lines transmitting or distributing power in connection therewith, and all other property the ownership, use, or occupancy of which may be appropriate to or useful in connection with the maintenance and operation thereof.

With a committee amendment, as follows:

Page 1, line 8, insert, after the word "power," the words "and in connection the products made through or in connection with the coking of coal or lignite or by combustion."

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I move, before the committee rises, an amendment to that. The word "the," in line 8, should be changed to the word "therewith," so that it would read "and in connection therewith products made," and so forth.

Mr. SIMS. We can discuss that to-morrow. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. HOUSTON, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12776) to provide further for the national security and defense and for the more effective prosecution of the war by furnishing means for the better utilization of the existing sources of electrical and mechanical power and for the development of new sources of such power, and for other purposes, and had come to no resolution thereon.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. MCCLINTIC, for two days, on account of illness; and

To Mr. MARTIN, for 30 days, on account of important business.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the following titles:

S. 4722. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors;

S. 4194. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors; and

S. 4543. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bill of the following title, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 12429. An act to authorize the health officer of the District of Columbia to permit the disinterment of the bodies of Eliza Hill Bowles, Bernice Worthen Bowles, and Bessie Vivian Bowles.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, September 27, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the chairman of the Capital Issues Committee submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation required by the Capital Issues Committee for the remainder of the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1303); to the Committee on Appropriations.

2. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting draft of certain proposed amendments to Senate bill 3475 to prescribe the requisite form of death proof (H. Doc. No. 1304); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3. A letter from the Secretary of State, transmitting a copy of the journal of the session of the Haitain Council of State dated July 4, 1918 (H. Doc. No. 1305); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 12860) granting

to members of the Army Nurse Corps (female) and Navy Nurse Corps (female) pay and allowances during any period of involuntary captivity by the enemy of the United States, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 816), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. DENT, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 12936) to prescribe the pay and allowance of certain officers of the Army while holding a brevet grade, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 815), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. MORGAN of Oklahoma: A bill (H. R. 13007) to provide homes for soldiers, seamen, and marines, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judicary.

By Mr. HICKS: A bill (H. R. 13008) providing for the purchase of uniforms, accouterments, and equipment by any officer of the Navy or midshipman at the Naval Academy, officer of the Coast Guard or Coast Guard cadet, or officer of the Marine Corps from the Government at cost; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DENTON: A bill (H. R. 13009) granting a pension to Jessie Worley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KRAUS: A bill (H. R. 13010) granting a pension to Louis B. Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McARTHUR: A bill (H. R. 13011) granting an increase of pension to Robert D. Rector; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MORGAN: A bill (H. R. 13012) to correct the military record of Frank Rector; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By MR. VESTAL: A bill (H. R. 13013) for the relief of John T. Adams; to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. DRUKKER: Petition of Richard C. Benson, D. C., and other citizens of Paterson and Passaic, N. J., indorsing H. R. 5118, placing chiropractic upon a plane of equality with osteopathy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: Memorial of Federal Board of Farm Organizations, favoring legislation requiring the tag on all interstate shipments of feed and fertilizer to show exact contents; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SMITH of Idaho: Resolution of the Rupert Commercial Club, Rupert, Idaho, indorsing H. R. 7628, providing for an auxiliary reclamation project in connection with the Minidoka project, Idaho; to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

By Mr. VARE: Petition of National Federation of Postal Employees, requesting passage of H. R. 152; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota: Petition signed by E. S. Dale, of Rugby, N. Dak., and others, urging the passage of legislation for the protection of sheep from dogs and other predatory animals; to the Committee on Agriculture.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *September 27, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we seek the divine guidance and wisdom for the duties that are now upon us, duties that press so hard, problems that are so stern and unrelenting. As we come completing the mobilization of the forces of this country in the interests of justice and humanity, we pray that Thou wilt give to each element in our national life its full expression of patriotism and devotion, that we may be indeed united in heart, committing our all to the great task to which we believe we have been called by the Divine Providence in this day. Grant us, we pray Thee, such a complete consecration of ourselves that we may have the satisfaction of knowing that we are working together with God in the interest of the divine purpose in human life. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of the legislative day of Tuesday, September 24, 1918, was read and approved.

HAITI'S COMMEMORATION OF THE FOURTH OF JULY.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of State, transmitting a letter from the minister of Haiti, which will be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The communication is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 18, 1918.

The Hon. THOMAS R. MARSHALL,
Vice President of the United States, United States Senate.

SIR: At the request of the minister of Haiti at this Capital, I have the honor to inclose for the information of the Senate of the United States a copy of his note transmitting, as a matter of record, a copy of the journal of the session of the Haitian Council of State dated July 4, 1918, showing unanimous passage of the motion to participate in the commemoration of the anniversary of the independence of the United States.

It appears that a cablegram was sent by the Council of State to the Congress of the United States in Washington expressing the sympathy of Haiti in the war and her wishes for the success of the people of the United States, but that cablegram failed of transmission and did not reach this country.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,
ROBERT LANSING.

(Inclosure from the minister of Haiti dated Aug. 31, 1918.)

[Translation.]

LEGATION OF HAITI,
Washington, D. C., August 31, 1918.

Hon. ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State.

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: I have had the honor to receive your excellency's note, dated the 27th of August, by which I am informed that the cablegram sent by the Council of State of Haiti on the occasion of the 4th of July never was received at the Senate of the United States, having been mislaid by the cable company in transmission between Port au Prince and Santiago de Cuba.

I deeply regret that untoward circumstances which thwarted and stripped of all its purpose the spontaneous manifestation of the council of state.

Be it as it may, I beg your excellency kindly to transmit as a matter of record to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States the inclosed copies of the journal of the session of the council of state of the 4th of July, 1918, where the motion to participate in the commemoration, now world wide, of the independence of the United States was passed by a unanimous vote.

For my part, and in compliance with the wish expressed by your excellency, I shall not fail to impart to the council of state the information given to the Department of State and forwarded to the legation, and also the sentiment felt by the Government of the United States at that cordial step of the aforesaid council.

Be pleased to accept Mr. Secretary of State, and etc.

SOLON MÉNOS.

[Translation.]

LEGATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI,
Washington.

[Extract from the Official Gazette of the Republic of Haiti. Le Moniteur, No. 46, July 31, 1918.]

COUNCIL OF STATE.

(Session of Thursday, July 4, 1918.)

Councilor Légitime in the chair.

A quorum being present, the session was declared open.

Councilor Hudicourt addressed the Chair and was given the floor. After obtaining the board's agreement to change the order of the day, he made the following remarks:

"Gentlemen of the council of state, in the gigantic contest now going on between right and liberty on one side and barbarity and autocracy on the other the Haitian people have not taken the part assigned to them by their historic origin. We are none the less bound to manifest our sympathy and interest to the generous nations which are now straining all their moral and physical forces in the common cause, and in that of the small nationalities in particular.

"The 4th of July is the date of the anniversary of one of the most momentous events of universal history. It is the date of American independence; it is the date of the triumph of democracy.

"I have the honor to move that the council of state do adjourn in commemoration of that happy anniversary, and so to commune with the whole world in the pious remembrance of immortal George Washington, the pioneer of liberty.

"I also move that the council of state send on this occasion a cablegram to the Congress in Washington expressing our full sympathy and wishes of success for the people of the United States, who with the powerful help of their commerce and industry bring to the allies of the European entente the decisive weapon which shall bring about final victory."

PIERRE HUDICOURT, *Councilor.*

Councilor Denis St. Aude, second secretary of the board, caused a second reading of the motion by direction of the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The motion of Councilman Hudicourt is before the council.

It is adopted by unanimous vote and an extraordinary adjournment of the session is declared.

Signed: Léo Alexis, Dr. D. Laroche, Jules Bance, P. Hudicourt, H. Price, Chs. Sambour, Enoch Désert, A. André, J. M. Grandoit, Alf. A. Nemours, Chs. Bouchereau, E. Dornéval, V. Jn. Louis, Emile Elie, Arthur François, S. Villard, Estime Jeune.

F. D. LÉGITIME,
The President.
S. ARCHER, D. ST. AUDE,
The Secretaries.
A. INNOCENT,
Reporting Secretary.

A true copy.

EM. LAMAUTE,
Chief Clerk.
A. BLANCHET,
Secretary of Legation.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I have a telegram from the Republican State central committee of Michigan addressed to me stating that "the Republicans of Michigan, in State convention assembled at Grand Rapids, yesterday unanimously indorsed the resolution known as the Anthony amendment to the Constitution." It is signed by John W. Smith, member of the Republican State central committee, and I read it for the information of my colleagues. I ask that it may lie on the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

Mr. FLETCHER presented a telegram in the nature of a petition from Helen Hunt, of Jacksonville, Fla., praying for the immediate passage of the Federal suffrage amendment, which was ordered to lie on the table.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED.

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 4962) authorizing the payment of claims for loss of private property in the State of Colorado; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BECKHAM:

A bill (S. 4963) granting a pension to Breckenridge Wash; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FALL:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 176) authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to investigate and report amounts of damages as indemnity for personal injuries by wounds on American side, southern international boundary, supplemental to report in House Document No. 1168, Sixty-second Congress, third session; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON RECONSTRUCTION.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I send a concurrent resolution to the desk, which I ask to have read.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 21) was read, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there is hereby created a committee to be known as the Joint Congressional Committee on Reconstruction, composed of six Senators and six Representatives in Congress. The members of said committee shall be selected as follows: Three Senators by the Democratic senatorial caucus, three Senators by the Republican senatorial conference, three Representatives in Congress by the Democratic House caucus, and three Representatives in Congress by the Republican House conference: *Provided,* That only Senators and Representatives in Congress who have been elected to serve in the Sixty-sixth Congress shall be eligible for membership on said committee. Such membership shall terminate with the service in Congress of the Member, and vacancies shall be filled in the same manner as the original selections were made, respectively.

That said committee shall make an investigation of the following subjects and report to Congress from time to time with such recommendations as to additional legislation or otherwise as it may deem advisable:

1. Problems affecting labor, including—
(a) Unemployment which may follow war.
(b) Utilization of discharged soldiers and sailors in civil employments.
(c) Conciliation and arbitration of labor disputes.
(d) The relation of men and women in similar employments.
(e) Substitution of female employees for male and vice versa.
(f) Feasibility of organizing permanent employment agencies.
(g) Requirements for labor after the war, both in agricultural and industrial occupations.
(h) Distribution of labor.
(i) Employment of surplus labor on public works of which the construction or completion has been suspended due to the war.

2. Problems affecting capital and credit, including—
(a) All matters relating to trusts and combinations.
(b) Federal loans to private enterprises.
(c) Federal supervision of capital issues.

3. Problems affecting public utilities, including—
(a) The establishment of a railroad policy after the war, and the relation of the Interstate Commerce Commission to the railroads.
(b) All questions relating to communication by wire.

4. Problems resulting from the demobilization of our industrial and military war resources, including—
(a) The disposal of surplus Government properties and supplies in this country and abroad.
(b) The conversion of munition industries into those of peace.
(c) The demobilization of the war strength of the Army and Navy, and the disposition of the men who have been in the service.
(d) The demobilization of civil war workers.

5. Problems affecting our foreign trade, including—
(a) The development of new markets.
(b) Combinations for the purpose of increasing our selling facilities.
(c) Changes in our banking facilities necessary to cooperate with such trade.

6. Problems affecting the continuance of existing industries and the establishment of new industries, including—
(a) The supply and control of raw materials.
(b) The encouragement of the production in the United States of articles that have not been made in this country heretofore.
(c) The encouragement of private enterprise in the development of the resources of the public domain.
(d) The utilization of a tariff on imports as a means to protect and encourage home industries.

7. Problems relating to agriculture, including—
(a) The advisability of continuing after the war price fixing of food products.
(b) Federal loans to farmers.
(c) Distribution of food products.
(d) The allotment of lands to returned soldiers and sailors and their establishment in new homes on the public domain.

8. Problems affecting the adequate production and effective distribution of coal, gasoline, and other fuels.

9. Problems relating to shipping, including shipyards, and especially in regard to the sale, continuance of ownership, or leasing of both yards and ships.

10. Housing conditions and the disposition of houses constructed by the Government during the war.

11. War legislation now on the statute books, with reference to its repeal, extension, or amendment.

12. And in general all matters necessarily arising during the change from the activities of war to the pursuits of peace, including those that may be referred to it by the Senate or House of Representatives.

That the committee is authorized to employ such clerical assistance as it may deem necessary, including the services of experts, and may, by subcommittee or otherwise, send for persons or papers, administer oaths, and employ stenographers, at a cost not to exceed $1 per printed page, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject before it; that the committee may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate and House of Representatives; and that expenses contracted hereunder shall be paid one-half from the contingent fund of the Senate and one-half from the contingent fund of the House upon the presentation of vouchers approved by the chairman of said committee, until otherwise provided by law.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, the Hun is evidently on the run; and while we may not be able to see the end of this war, the end is coming. It may come sooner than we anticipate; and when it does come, we should be prepared for the conditions which we shall have to face.

I wish to submit to the Senate briefly and in a form which does not cover anything like all the subjects to which I have referred, some of the reasons why I think action should be taken on this resolution.

When the United States declared war against the Imperial German Government, in April, 1917, although the more observing had for many months believed this step inevitable, practically no preparation had been made, and as a result it was necessary to prepare for war at a time when war actully prevailed. This failure has had many decided disadvantages. It not only delayed our active participation in the war, but it has and will cost us tens of thousands of additional lives and hundreds of millions, indeed, billions of dollars. The actual material with which we have had to supply ourselves since the spring of 1917 will have cost many billions more than it would if it had been provided in prewar times. I am not saying this in the way of criticism. Quite likely a majority of the American people did not visualize the situation which was developing, and as a result there may not have been sufficient public pressure demanding that more active steps be taken in making preparations. We know, however, that the successes of the German armies in the first years of the war were largely due to the very thorough preparation made by the German Government and that the weakness of the allied armies was their unpreparedness when war was declared. Although the allies were better prepared than the United States when it entered the war, it took them, especially Great Britain, a long time to become effective fighting forces.

While the end of this great conflict may not be in sight, we hope it is, and we know now what the end will be. When it does come, it will not give us any time for preparation; indeed, in one day the whole world scene will change. Unless we take advantage of the present to provide for the future we shall be caught in exactly the same condition as regards peace as we were when we declared war—unprepared. It will be infinitely more reprehensible if we fail to make preparations for peace, because we shall have lost our opportunity to take advantage of the great lessons we have learned from this war. There might have been some excuse from the viewpoint of many people for not making ample preparations to fight, but with that failure before our eyes, the example of the failures of other nations, and, more important, the provisions these nations are making for peace, there is no excuse for our country not preparing itself to meet the great after-war problems. Every nation

now engaged in war has been and is now getting ready for peace conditions. Nearly three years ago conferences were held by the allies at which certain general principles were adopted in regard to trade conditions after the war, the relationship of one power to another, the relationship of the allied nations to friendly countries, neutral nations, and the enemy governments. Similar conferences were held by the central powers. Quite likely the conclusions reached at that time may have to be modified, but these conferences indicate the farsightedness of European governments and the tendency on the part of the other nations engaged in the war to do those things which everyone must recognize as absolutely essential.

Since early in 1916, in addition to these international conferences, the various belligerent nations have been investigating and studying every conceivable question relating to after-war conditions, their relation to the social and industrial life of the country, and have at least tentatively adopted plans for carrying out the policies required by the new era we must face. This is especially true—and the evidence is at hand—in the case of Great Britain and, to some degree, Germany. In these countries the investigations have advanced to such an extent that separate ministries have been established to assume charge of the necessary reconstruction. In Germany, if the evidence I have is correct, three such ministries have been organized and one has been created in England. I do not believe an identical course can be followed to the best advantage in this country—at least we should reach it through gradual stages—but we must without delay take such steps as may be necessary to provide for the innumerable new problems we must face the day peace is made. Because we do not need coal in the summer is no excuse for not filling our bins for the coming winter.

The resolution I have introduced provides the authorization and means to make the necessary investigations. It may not completely cover all the questions to be considered, and it may be necessary later on to introduce additional resolutions covering particular subjects; but as I do conceive it to be the business of Congress to give its active attention to this subject, and to do so at once, I hope there will be no delay in the consideration or adoption of this resolution.

Very briefly, my plan is to have a joint committee of Senators and Representatives, six from each body, consisting of an equal number of Democrats and Republicans, to be elected by the respective caucuses of the two parties in each House, and that this committee shall undertake the investigation of the subjects enumerated in the resolution and possibly others which may be brought to its attention later on. It is not intended, of course, nor would it be possible, for this committee to personally make all of the investigations required. It is my intention that the committee on reconstruction shall have power to appoint subcommittees to consider such questions as may be assigned to them; that the members of these subcommittees shall be citizens especially trained in the particular matters to be examined; and that they shall serve in the capacity of investigators and advisers. In addition, it is my purpose that the joint committee shall have power to employ experts to collect evidence and otherwise assist the main committee and its various subcommittees.

There have been included in the membership of the subsidiary committees of Great Britain some of the leading men of the Kingdom, and as far as I have been able to learn the chairmen are men especially qualified to direct the work of investigation. For instance, the committee on commercial and industrial policy after the war is headed by the Right Hon. Lord Balfour of Burleigh, the committee on agricultural policy by the Right Hon. the Earl of Selborne, the committee on forestry by the Right Hon. F. D. Ackland, member of Parliament. The gentlemen I have named indicate the character of the men associated with this work. These committees make their reports to the prime minister, and in many cases the interim reports made by these committees have recommended legislation which, I understand, is under consideration. These committees have been in operation for more than two years.

When the day comes—it will be a day, not a week, or a month, or a year—and peace is declared, Great Britain will be ready to act promptly in inaugurating policies to provide for the readjustment of its domestic and national affairs. The United States is remaining absolutely idle as far as these important subjects are concerned, and unless we act, and act promptly, we shall lose a great part of the commercial trade advantages we have obtained during the war, especially in its early days, and we will have much confusion which it will take a long time to overcome.

I wish to bring to the attention of the Senate some of the more important matters which should be considered. Let us take, for example, our shipping interests. At the end of the war we are likely to have a merchant fleet larger than that of any country in the world—a different relative position than the one we held at the beginning of the war. This fleet will be very largely owned by the Government. We have constructed some of the greatest shipbuilding plants in the world, and without going into figures it is probably safe to say that those plants will have a capacity under after-war conditions sufficient to build and repair the merchant fleets of the entire civilized world. What are we going to do with these shipyards?

Are we going to sell the yards, lease them, or is the Government to continue operating them? It may be decided to be best to abandon those least advantageously located. What are we going to do with this enormous American tonnage, two millions of which has been made available during the past year? I am informed that 400,000 tons more will be turned over to the Shipping Board this month, and a very large tonnage is now on the ways and will undoubtedly be completed before the end of the war.

This question of shipping is intimately associated with the important subject of our foreign trade. Our trade with neutral countries has been greatly increased during the war period, and it is in condition to be developed to a much greater extent. The question of our foreign trade is of vital importance. Before the war, out of a total production of some six billions of dollars we found it necessary to secure foreign markets for something like a billion of our products. The manufacturing capacity—indeed the entire productive capacity—of the country has been increased enormously since the beginning of the war. If it is to be operated at its full capacity, especially when the demand for munitions of war ceases and this army of workers and vast amount of machinery enter the field of industrial production, the United States will quite likely have an additional productive capacity of from 25 to 50 per cent. Markets must be found for this surplus production, and they must be foreign markets. If these markets are not obtained, there will necessarily be a great slackening in every productive industry in the United States, a consequent reduction of employees, unemployment, and hard times.

What are we going to do with all the manufacturing plants and other establishments created for war purposes, the machinery of which may or may not be available for after-war production? What are we going to do with the millions of war workers now so busily employed, and who will find themselves out of employment at once when peace has been declared? The Government must take some action to protect these war workers. We do not know whether or not they have improved their financial conditions materially as a result of the high wages received during the war. As far as it is obtainable, the evidence would indicate that the savings of workers of that character have not been materially greater than in normal times. If that is true, when they are thrown out of employment it will not take very long to dissipate their savings. Without assistance from the Government it will take a long time for them to readjust themselves in connection with civil employments. Therefore we should prepare to meet this problem and develop a definite plan to provide for the employment of these millions of workers.

In this connection one of the available activities to be given consideration is resuming the construction of necessary public works which have been delayed or discontinued on account of the war. Many people believe that the building trades will be especially active because of the almost complete cessation of this industry in private directions since we have been engaged in war. There is a grave doubt, however, that this activity will result. Ordinarily when times are bad and uncertain financial conditions prevail, the building trades are never active. Moreover, we are doing a considerable amount of building as a Government. What is to be done with these buildings? What is to be done with the houses the Government has provided for its war workers? Are we going to continue to own and lease these houses or are we to sell them?

A very important question which should receive consideration, it seems to me, and without delay, is the removal of the many war activities from the Capital to other cities. There is a surplus of housing and office space in all of the large cities of the country. Telephone and telegraph wires are under the direction of the Government, and the heads of the various departments could easily keep in close touch with these activities through direct and special wires. If this step were taken—as in the case of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, which has already removed its offices to Philadelphia—the housing question, as far as Washington is concerned, would largely adjust itself.

If any plan has been adopted for the demobilization of our Army and Navy after the war, it has not been brought to my attention. What is to be done with these men, and how are we going to aid them to resume their former or other civil em-

ployments? With the single exception of a statement recently made by Secretary Lane, of the Interior Department, relative to the occupancy of public lands by soldiers and sailors, I have not heard of even any tentative schemes proposed to provide for this exigency. The suggestion of Secretary Lane should be given the fullest consideration.

I think it can be made even more attractive than the plan outlined by him in the case of Government lands, for they will need drainage, and other important and expensive improvements will be necessary before they can be made available.

Providing employment for these 5,000,000 men and transferring the millions of war workers into similar employments will mean vastly increased production. It is useless to provide for this production unless we at the same time make provision for its disposition, and in this connection the importance and necessity of securing foreign markets for our great surplus production is again demonstrated. If that is not done, our surplus products will be so much greater than our demands that prices will be adversely affected and it will not be profitable to produce.

When peace is declared there will be in process of completion billions of dollars of war orders. Necessarily most of those orders will be canceled immediately. That will mean that manufacturers throughout the country will have on hand or under contract large quantities of raw material and material in process. The prices of such materials will undoubtedly decline at once. Who is going to be responsible for the losses incident to that situation? Unless the Government saddles itself with these deficiencies, there will be an infinite number of claims for amounts aggregating billions of dollars, and as a result of that situation we will have uncertainty for years to come and probably many failures. The credit facilities of the country must be mobilized and prepared to meet this condition.

Let us turn to the general labor situation. I am not now referring to that phase of it which affects war workers or returned soldiers and sailors. Many new conditions have developed since the beginning of the war. Millions of women are now doing work heretofore performed by men and with which they were not connected until the war required it. Are they to return to their former employments or unemployment, or are they to continue their present pursuits in competition with the millions returning from military service? Would it be well for us to provide for permanent employment agencies throughout the country and not only find employment for those seeking it, but arrange for the transferal of unemployed to localities where there is a dearth of labor? It has frequently happened in the past that labor conditions have been acute in one section of the country and there has been a surplus in other sections. In my judgment, comprehensive plans must be made for the distribution of labor.

Intimately connected with the question of labor is the one relating to social welfare. Many European countries and other nations have taken steps, nationally, relating to many social-welfare questions, for example, like providing for old-age pensions, life insurance, and other similar matters. Those questions are being agitated in the United States in some localities, and a pensioning system has been adopted applying to a limited number of civil employments. It is being done in a desultory and probably unsatisfactory and unjust way. If it is wise to do it at all, it should be wise for the National Government to do it; but before any comprehensive action is taken the whole subject should be thoroughly investigated and the results obtained in other parts of the world carefully canvassed so as to properly determine the question paramount in considering such matters; that is, whether action of that kind is beneficial or otherwise. It seems to me that this is the time when that series of questions should have careful consideration.

If the surplus output of products I have indicated is likely to exist—it certainly will if all of our people are employed—how are we to develop our plans to secure new foreign markets for them, and are our credit and banking facilities sufficient to finance additional foreign markets on such a large scale? These questions go hand in hand, and they should be determined before the end of the war. With our large shipping interests fully developed, our agencies established in many neutral countries, we may well take advantage of the opportunity which will exist to extend these markets. Moreover, in that connection a careful investigation should be made as to the possibility of manufacturing those articles which the United States has purchased abroad in the past, but which can be produced in this country. We should never again be dependent on a foreign country to supply us with those articles we can manufacture ourselves. Every encouragement should be given to the establishment of such industries either through protective tariffs or other means, so that as far as it is possible we shall produce the things which we actually use. One of the strongest features of the German campaign is the fact that Germany has been able, through a scientific industrial policy developed before the war, to provide most of the things it actually required during a time when its coast has been blockaded and it has not been able to trade with the rest of the world.

This question brings us to the question of trusts and combinations. Heretofore the German Government has been an active participant in the organization of combinations and trusts. In many cases it has not only encouraged them, but has taken a financial and active interest in their operations. If we may judge by the reports of the various British commissions and the conclusions they have reached, Great Britain intends to out-German Germany in this respect. We know that it has been necessary for our own Government to do many things on a large scale which have been required by the war, and the result of this policy should be carefully considered and the determination reached as to whether or not it is desirable that such a policy shall be followed in the future. Undoubtedly we are going to modify our past policy in regard to large combinations. If we do not do so, in my judgment, we are going to lose our present advantageous position in world competition.

Just as an example of the views entertained by the British committee on commercial and industrial policies after the war, let me make one quotation from this report. In speaking of foreign trade, it says:

> In all probability a permanent improvement can only be obtained from better organization of the trades concerned, but those interested will almost certainly look for assistance from the Government in a variety of ways, and questions involving tariffs will have to be considered and dealt with.

Great Britain talking about tariffs!

> In our opinion it will be necessary for the Government to give special consideration to the circumstances of each trade, and any request for encouragement and assistance should be dealt with not only on its own merits, but in relation to the trade of the country as a whole. It must not be lost sight of that the connection between the different trades is closer than is always recognized, and the fact that the producers in one trade are the consumers in others makes it impossible to deal with the development of any particular industry without considering its effect upon those employed in others.

We have by legislation permitted American industries to combine in foreign-trade operations. Shall we or shall we not permit such combinations in relation to our home markets?

We may also find it desirable to consider the whole question of raw materials and their regulation. If I may judge by the sentiment expressed as a result of foreign investigations, it is the purpose of European countries to as far as may be practicable control raw materials produced in those countries. Not only that, but it is the intention to control capital or the uses made of capital raised in the home country to be invested in foreign countries. A very pertinent suggestion in this respect may be found in the report from which I have already quoted:

> Amongst other recommendations the departmental committee suggests that all purchases of iron or steel made by or for the Government, public bodies, and railway companies within the United Kingdom should be of British manufacture; that the raising of capital in the United Kingdom for undertakings abroad should be conditional upon the purchase of as much of the material required as possible in this country.

Moreover, the committee on reconstruction should look into and review with great care the war expenditures made since its beginning and should make recommendations for changes and economies in the existing systems and methods followed. Necessarily in time of war more or less waste and extravagance prevail. Perhaps much has prevailed which has not been necessary, but, in any case, when the war is over the strictest governmental economy must be observed, and we should be ready to at once readjust our civil governmental system to a peace basis which will combine economy and efficiency.

We have taken over and are operating the transportation lines of the United States, and have also taken over the telephone and telegraph wires. The law provides that they shall be turned back to their owners soon after the termination of the war. There will be a radical difference of opinion as to the disposition to be made of these facilities and as to the relationship the Government shall have in the future in their ownership, management, and operation.

I think it is generally agreed that in the past the policy followed by the Government in regard to the railroads has not produced results which would warrant its future continuation in the same form. It must be modified if we are to have efficient transportation service. This question is altogether too intricate for me to indicate even in the broadest terms my own views as to what should be done, but the subject can be studied now as well as later; in fact, I think we have sufficient data at this time to reach some conclusions, and it should be one of the first subjects to receive consideration by the committee on reconstruction I have proposed.

I am not sure that this committee should take under consideration immigration problems, but that is a question in which the people of this country are greatly interested. Are we to permit immigration from enemy countries under the same conditions which have obtained in the past and on the same terms applying to immigrants of neutral or allied nations? If my conclusion is correct as to the surplusage of labor in this country after the war, we may very well place unusual restrictions on those who have been largely responsible for bringing about the world catastrophe, and either the joint committee I have suggested or some other body should give careful consideration to this important phase of the international problems presenting themselves when we have peace.

As I said in the beginning, I do not pretend that this is in any sense a comprehensive statement of the duties or possibilities of the committee on reconstruction. I may take an opportunity at a later date to add materially to the cursory suggestions I have just made, but it can not be necessary to urge the desirability of prompt and efficient action in the consideration of these questions, and I hope that that will be the unanimous opinion of this Congress.

The VICE PRESIDENT. What disposition does the Senator from Massachusetts desire to have made of the resolution?

Mr. WEEKS. I ask that it may lie on the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will lie on the table.

INTERFERENCES WITH THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, last week, during the consideration of the so-called water-power bill, I took occasion to call the attention of the Senate to interferences by outside departments with the prerogatives and duties of the Department of the Interior. As an illustration of some of the consequences which necessarily ensue from such a confused condition of affairs, I ask leave to put into the RECORD a recent judicial decision affecting the title of the Honolulu Oil Co., to which I then made reference, and also as affecting the future of one of the naval oil reserves.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

VERY IMPORTANT OIL DECISION.

Judge Frank H. Rudkin, of the United States district court, rendered a decision yesterday in favor of the Honolulu Consolidated Oil Co., fraught possibly with most momentous consequences not only to that company and to the Southern Pacific Co. but also to the integrity of the proposed naval petroleum reserve which Secretary Daniels has been persistently urging.

In this decision, which reached this city only yesterday, Judge Rudkin uses the following language in discussing the proposed naval reserve:

"I think I am sufficiently familiar with the facts, however, to say that the prospects for success on the part of the Government, or the probability that this will ever be a naval reserve of value unless acquired under the power of eminent domain, are not bright."

The proceedings in which this decision was rendered were instituted by the Honolulu Co.—whose lands in the so-called naval reserve have been twice free listed by the Land Department—in an effort to obtain permission to drill two wells on one of its sections in the naval reserve grounds.

The wells which it proposed to drill were what are called staggered locations; that is to say, they are wells 200 feet away from the border of the company's holding and 400 feet upward along the line of the border from that point. Commissioner Landis, of the Navy Department, and H. F. Day, Special Assistant Attorney General, had agreed that these two wells should be driven, as did also Gratz Helm, present receiver of the Honolulu Oil Co., through his attorney, W. H. Metson. The matter was then referred to Secretary Daniels by telegraph, but he refused his permission unless the new wells were driven 200 feet directly across the border line from existing wells on neighboring ground. As all authorities agreed that thus driving the wells would merely tend to exhaust the same oil zone that was being drawn upon by the existing wells on the neighboring ground, the Honolulu Consolidated Oil Co. appealed to the court for leave to drive the wells as originally planned.

In the course of the oral decision rendered by Judge Rudkin, the full text of which follows, he expressed his opinion concerning the outlook for the proposed naval reserve in language which should prove important to all oil companies in this State owning land in the territory involved:

"Some months ago the court made an order enjoining the defendant from drilling further oil or gas wells on the lands here in controversy during the pendency of applications for patents before the Department of the Interior, with the proviso that such drilling might be permitted on future application to the court when found necessary for the protection of the property. An application is now pending for permission to drill certain wells to offset other wells on adjoining lands owned or claimed by third parties. The Southern Pacific Co. has a large producing well in section 1, 200 feet west of the west line of section 6, township 32 south, range 24 east, and other parties have two wells of considerable capacity in close proximity to the northeast corner of the same section.

"It is conceded by both parties that usage and self-preservation would prompt the drilling of wells on section 6 to offset the other wells in question, and the only objection urged against such a course by the Government is the fact that section 6 forms a part of a naval reserve, and the Government desires to hold these lands and their oil contents for future use, rather than for present exploitation. If the naval reserve was an established fact, there would be much force in this objection. But such is not the case at present. Nearly all of the lands in this proposed naval reserve are now in litigation, a large part with the Southern Pacific Co. and a large part with the present defendant. The Southern Pacific Co. holds title to the odd sections under patents from the United States, and suits are now pending to vacate these patents on the ground of fraud.

"Seventeen quarter sections are held by this defendant under mineral locations for which applications for patents are now pending before the department. The lands will be of little or no value for reserve purposes unless the Government succeeds in both branches of this litigation, for it is conceded that the removal of the oil and gas from alternate sections would destroy the value of remaining sections as oil-bearing lands. It is not within my province, nor is it my purpose, to discuss the merits of the litigation referred to nor to express an opinion thereon further than may be necessary to enable me to properly exercise the discretion called for at this time. I think I am sufficiently familiar with the facts, however, to say that the prospects for success on the part of the Government or the probability that this ever will be a naval reserve of value unless acquired under the power of eminent domain are not bright. It would seem that in order to succeed against the Southern Pacific Co. the Government will have to overturn a decision of the circuit court of appeals of this circuit, and in order to defeat the defendant here it will have to prevail upon the department to materially modify its views. I make this latter statement with full knowledge of the fact that the land office at Visalia has decided the controversy in favor of the Government. However, it must be apparent from an inspection of the records that the wide difference between the Department of Justice and the Department of the Interior is not over the facts, but rather over what is meant by diligent prosecution of work leading to the discovery of oil or gas, which is a mixed question of law and fact.

"Without further reference to the merits of the pending controversies, I will only say that when we consider the certainty of loss to the defendant in the event it should be successful, the uncertainty of loss to the Government, whether successful in part or not, and the inability of the court to compensate the defendant for the loss sustained, either now or in the future, it seems to me that the ends of justice demand that the usual practice of offsetting wells should be followed here.

"It is conceded that it would now be a useless waste of money to drill an offsetting well immediately opposite the well of the Southern Pacific Co. in section 1, unless such offsetting well was drilled farther within section 6 than I am willing to go. I think, therefore, that the offsetting well in this locality should be located 200 feet east of the west line of section 6 and 300 feet north of the Southern Pacific well on section No. 1. This is the location recommended by certain officers of the Government at one time. The other offsetting well should be located in the northeast corner of section 6, 300 feet south of the north line of the section, and a like distance west of the east line of the section. It is to be hoped that the vexed questions here involved will be fully adjusted at an early date.

"Let counsel for the receiver or the defendant submit an order in accordance herewith.

"It is understood that the question of the title of the Honolulu Oil Co. to its properties will be argued before the Commissioner of the Land Office in Washington during the first week of October."

INDEMNITY TO AMERICANS INJURED ON MEXICAN BORDER.

Mr. FALL. I introduce a joint resolution and ask unanimous consent that it may be read in full and considered immediately. I think, if Senators will listen to the reading of the joint resolution, there will be no objection to it at all.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 175) to correct an error in the wording of the appropriation of $71,000 made in the act approved July 9, 1918, and to authorize the Secretary of War to pay said sum to respective parties entitled thereto, was read the first time by its title, and the second time at length, as follows:

Whereas under the provisions of "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919," approved July 9, 1918, among other things, an appropriation of $71,000 was made to enable the Secretary of War to pay to the heirs or legal representatives of citizens of the United States killed on the American side of the line at El Paso, Tex., Douglas, Ariz., and other points, as found and ascertained by the commissioners appointed pursuant to the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution directing the Secretary of War to investigate claims of American citizens for damages suffered within American territory and growing out of the late insurrection in Mexico," approved August 9, 1912; and

Whereas under the terms of said resolution of August 9, 1912, the duly appointed commission therein provided for afterwards reported recommending that the amount of indemnity due American citizens killed or wounded at El Paso, Tex., Douglas, Ariz., and other points (as appears by the report of said commission transmitted by the Secretary of War to the Congress of the United States under date of December 5, 1912, and being H. Doc. No. 1168, 62d Cong., 3d sess.), was $71,000, of which total amount of $71,000 indemnity so found the amount of $42,000 was as indemnity for deaths, and the sum of $29,000 was indemnity for those wounded; and

Whereas by an error in the wording of the appropriation contained in said act approved July 9, 1918, $71,000 indemnity was directed to be paid for deaths alone, when by the wording of the act the Secretary should have been directed to pay the indemnity so found to each of those entitled to the same in the aggregate of not more than $71,000, whether as indemnity for death or wounding: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of War be, and is hereby, directed to pay or cause to be paid out of the $71,000 heretofore appropriated by the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919," approved July 9, 1918, the sum of $42,000 to the heirs, executors, or representatives or parties entitled to receive same for the deaths of those ascertained and reported by the commission appointed under the terms of joint resolution of August 9, 1912, and that he be further directed to pay out of said $71,000 so appropriated the remaining sum of $29,000 to those wounded, or to their heirs or proper legal representatives, the said sums of $42,000 and $29,000 to be paid to the proper parties in the respective amounts as found and reported and set forth on page 20 of said House Document No. 1168, Sixty-second Congress, third session.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, in the Army appropriation bill an item was inserted on the floor of the Senate appropriating $250,000 to pay certain death claims in New Mexico, and also to pay the claims referred to specifically in this joint resolution—that is, $71,000 was specifically appropriated. In conference between the House and the Senate the balance of the appropriation was struck out, leaving the amount $71,000 appropriated to pay the claims ascertained and reported heretofore—several years ago. That became a law; but in the wording of the amendment, after striking out the entire sum of $250,000, the Secretary was directed to pay the sum of $71,000 for death claims alone—that is, for death claims as ascertained by this commission.

The commission ascertained and reported $42,000 for deaths and $29,000 for those who were wounded. The joint resolution makes no change at all in the appropriation, does not add a cent to it, but simply corrects the error as it occurred through the attempt to make the appropriation of $71,000 after striking out a portion of the total appropriation. The total damages found to be due by this commission were $111,000. The amount of indemnity recommended by the commission was $71,000. The appropriation has been made to pay the $71,000, and the purpose of this joint resolution is simply to correct the error in the wording of the appropriation, so that the Secretary may proceed to pay the indemnities as ascertained and reported.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The preamble was agreed to.

PREVENTION OF SPREAD OF DISEASE.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I ask that the joint resolution which I send to the desk may be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the joint resolution.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 177) appropriating $1,000,000 for the use of the United States Public Health Service for the relief and prevention of the spread of disease in the industrial forces and civil population was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the sum of $1,000,000 is hereby appropriated for the use of the United States Public Health Service out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to become immediately available and remain available until expended, for pay and allowances of medical and sanitary personnel, including medical and hospital supplies, necessary clerical help, printing, and rent needed in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, transportation, freight, travel, and such other expenses as may be necessary for the relief and prevention of disease and the protection of the health of the industrial forces and civil population and prevention of the interstate spread of diseases.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, a very serious epidemic has broken out in this country in the shape of influenza, not unlike grippe, which develops into pneumonia, and is exceedingly destructive of life. There are 10,000 men in Camp Devens, in Massachusetts, sick as a result of this epidemic. Hundreds and thousands, tens of thousands, of the people of New England are in more or less distress resulting from it. The hospitals are full to overflowing. There are no nurses obtainable. The doctors are worked as nearly 24 hours a day as men can work. There never has been in New England, so far as I know, such a condition as exists there now. The Public Health Service inform me that this condition is spreading to other parts of the country, and that they must have additional assistance in order to cope with the situation. The Public Health Service, the Red Cross, the medical branches of the Army and the Navy are cooperating to prepare to check this epidemic, but they must have additional funds in order to carry out their propaganda.

I should like immediate consideration of the joint resolution. I have consulted with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN], the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. He thinks that the joint resolution should go to the Committee on Appropriations. If he does not change his mind on the subject, I will ask that it be referred to that committee, with the understanding that it shall receive the immediate attention of the committee and be reported back, because this matter ought not to be delayed a day or an hour.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, I am fully in accord with the Senator from Massachusetts as to the vital importance of this matter. I think, however, as I stated to him, that a million dollars ought not to be appropriated from the Treasury until there is more careful investigation than can possibly be had in a mere discussion on the floor of the Senate. I think the joint resolution should go to the Committee on Appropriations, and I can assure the Senator that it will have prompt attention by that committee.

Mr. WEEKS. I will say that I introduced the joint resolution after consultation with the various health officials in charge of such matters in Washington.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

COMMITTEE SERVICE.

On motion of Mr. MARTIN of Virginia, and by unanimous consent, it was

Ordered, That Senator KIRBY be assigned to the chairmanship of the Committee on Patents, and that he, on his own request, be relieved from further service as chairman and from membership of the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture; that Senator MARTIN of Kentucky be assigned to the chairmanship of the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture; that Senator GERRY be assigned to membership on the Committee on Rules; and that Senator ASHURST be assigned to membership on the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

WATER-POWER DEVELOPMENT.

The VICE PRESIDENT appointed as conferees on the part of the Senate on the bill (S. 1419) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of dams across navigable waters," approved June 21, 1906, as amended by the act approved June 23, 1910, and to provide for the improvement and development of waterways for the uses of interstate and foreign commerce, from the Committee on Commerce, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], and the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON], and from the Committee on Public Lands the Senator from Montana [Mr. MYERS], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT].

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there be no further concurrent or other resolutions, morning business is closed.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the unfinished business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 200) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The pending amendment is the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS].

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Guion	Martin, Ky.	Sherman
Bankhead	Hale	Martin, Va.	Simmons
Beckham	Harding	Myers	Smith, Ga.
Benet	Hardwick	Nelson	Smith, Md.
Borah	Henderson	New	Smith, Mich.
Brandegee	Johnson, S. Dak.	Norris	Smith, S. C.
Calder	Jones, N. Mex.	Nugent	Smoot
Chamberlain	Jones, Wash.	Overman	Sterling
Colt	Kellogg	Owen	Thomas
Culberson	Kendrick	Page	Thompson
Cummins	Kenyon	Penrose	Trammell
Curtis	King	Phelan	Underwood
Dillingham	Kirby	Pittman	Vardaman
Drew	Knox	Poindexter	Walsh
Fall	Lenroot	Pomerene	Warren
Fernald	Lewis	Ransdell	Watson
Fletcher	Lodge	Reed	Weeks
France	McCumber	Robinson	Wilfley
Frelinghuysen	McKellar	Saulsbury	Williams
Goff	McLean	Shafroth	Wolcott
Gronna	McNary	Sheppard	

Mr. McKELLAR. I wish to announce that my colleague [Mr. SHIELDS] is detained on official business.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. SWANSON] is detained by illness in his family and that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY] is detained on official business.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I should like to have the RECORD show that my colleague [Mr. TOWNSEND] is unavoidably absent on account of an important engagement.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-three Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I am not a member of the Committee on Woman Suffrage, but I have been associated with members of that committee during the last several weeks in the effort to bring this matter to a vote and pass it, and I am intimately acquainted with what took place.

I want to say now, as an opening statement, that for weeks—yes, for months—the Woman's Party, an organization which openly supported every Republican candidate during the last campaign for the Senate and the House of Representatives, have constantly charged the Woman Suffrage Committee of the

Senate with attempting to obstruct a vote on this measure. They have gone further than that. They have, in their campaigns throughout the suffrage States, used the argument not only that the committee, a majority of whom are Democrats, were obstructing this vote, but that the President of the United States himself was responsible for the obstruction of it. To a country not familiar with the circumstances that argument was exceedingly appealing. I confess now that it was having its effect as a campaign argument.

Why did not the committee bring in this joint resolution? Because the Democratic members of the committee had only one object in view, and that was to pass the suffrage amendment; and there were some others in this body who had only a political object in view. On one side the Democrats have been fighting for the passage of the joint resolution, saying nothing through the press, and having no adjuncts through the country to do politics, while on the other side there has been an adjunct to the Republican Party doing politics.

Now, what is the situation here? The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES], as chairman of this committee, on three separate occasions was induced to bring this resolution before the Senate under the belief, and the reasonable belief, that there would be sufficient votes to pass it. He brought the resolution before this body and then found out that there were not sufficient votes to pass it and that, if it came to a vote, it would be dead in this Congress. He did what any sincere advocate of this measure would do. He took the first opportunity to withdraw it from its defeat. That is a fact.

What else happened? The Republican Party—that is, the Members in the Senate—on the 24th day of August, I believe the date was, held a caucus, according to the report in the Suffragist. The Suffragist is a paper run by the Woman's Party. It is supporting the Republican Party throughout the equal-suffrage States and supported it during the last campaign.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Is the woman's party the party that has been conducting the picketing here in Washington?

Mr. PITTMAN. That is the party. There is a National American Woman's Suffrage Association, which was headed by Dr. Shaw and is now led by Mrs. Catt. That association has never mixed in politics. It is not a party, it is an association, and it has never interfered in politics. It has the confidence, I know, of both sides of this Chamber. Every lady in it enjoys that confidence. It is composed of Democrats and Republicans. I do not know what the politics of any of them are, but I know that they have conducted their campaign in a ladylike, modest, and intelligent way, in wide contradiction to the method adopted by the adjunct of the Republican Party.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

Mr. PITTMAN. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. SMOOT. I believe, Mr. President, that the Senator from Nevada is in favor of woman suffrage. I do not think he is making any headway in securing the passage of the joint resolution by trying to inject politics into the question.

Mr. PITTMAN. I am trying to get it out of the question.

Mr. SMOOT. I want to say to the Senator that I do not think he is doing it, the way he is undertaking it. The Senator knows very well that every vote on this side of the Chamber with the exception of 12 votes is going to be for the resolution. He can not say that much for his own party.

I wish to say to the Senator also that the Republican Party is not responsible in any way for the picketing, and members of the Republican Party upon the floor of the Senate have condemned it just as strongly as any Senator upon the other side of the Chamber.

It is poor business, it seems to me, to try to inject politics in any way into this question, and if I wanted to play politics I could repeat what Mrs. Catt has said about the President's attitude and what he has done for suffrage and what the Democratic Party is doing and claim she was assisting the Democratic Party. I am not going to do it. What I want to do is to secure the passage of the resolution, and the proper way to pass it is not to inject politics at this time.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I am delighted that the Senator from Utah wants to see the joint resolution passed. I am going to talk along a line now that will assist him and some other members of his party.

The Republicans held a caucus, according to the Suffragist, which, I say, is an adjunct of the Republican Party, and in that caucus they adopted a resolution which I will read. It is reported in the Suffragist of August 31, on page 6, and reads as follows:

SUFFRAGE VOTE MAY BE NEAR AS RESULT OF ACTION OF REPUBLICAN CAUCUS.

Responsibility for further delay in the passage of the Federal suffrage amendment has again been clearly placed on the Democratic Party by action of the Republican caucus on Saturday, August 24.

On that day the Republicans unanimously adopted a resolution urging a vote at the earliest possible moment on the suffrage amendment and pledged themselves to insist upon the consideration of the amendment after the disposition of the war-time prohibition bill, now unfinished business in the Senate.

The resolution was denounced by Senator WADSWORTH, of New York, and passed after the election of Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE to succeed the late Senator Gallinger as Republican floor leader. These two "anti" Senators take the ground that they are pledged by the resolution only to support early consideration of suffrage and not to favor the amendment itself.

The resolution is as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the Republican Members of the United States Senate in conference urge that the consideration of House joint resolution 200, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women, should be proceeded with at the earliest possible moment; be it further

"*Resolved*, That we shall insist upon such consideration immediately after disposition of the pending unfinished business (the prohibition bill), with all amendments thereto, and shall also insist upon a final vote on House joint resolution 200 and all amendments pending or to be offered thereto at the earliest possible moment.

"*Provided*, That this resolution shall not be construed as in any way binding the action or vote of any Member of the Senate upon the merits of the said woman suffrage amendment."

Now, a little later on——

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator from New York——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBINSON in the chair). Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. PITTMAN. I yield for a question but not for a speech.

Mr. SMOOT. I know the Senator does not want to give a wrong impression in regard to the Senator from New York.

Mr. PITTMAN. I am only reading what the adjunct of your party said.

Mr. SMOOT. But reading it for the purpose of impressing upon the mind of the Senate a condition——

Mr. PITTMAN. The Senator from Utah can draw his own conclusions about it.

Mr. SMOOT. I want to say that the Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] did not say one word in opposition to the resolution and did not oppose it. He was there at that conference and acted as secretary of the conference. Of course, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] is here and can speak for himself. The Senator from New York is not well to-day and is not in the Chamber.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. PITTMAN. Certainly.

Mr. LODGE. I desire to say that I presided at that conference and that there was no opposition to the resolution whatever. It passed unanimously.

Mr. PITTMAN. I will simply say to the Senator from Massachusetts that I have not commented on it. I simply read the report from the Suffragist.

Mr. LODGE. It was all published, of course.

Mr. PITTMAN. Yes; and I simply read the report. If the report is not correct, of course it can be corrected.

Now, almost immediately following that, we find this in the Washington Post of September 17:

"SUFFS" BURN SPEECH—APPLY TORCH TO WILSON'S WORDS DURING DEMONSTRATION—SYMBOL OF "INDIGNATION"—THRONGS WITNESSING DOINGS IN LAFAYETTE SQUARE ORDERLY AND CONTRIBUTE TO FUND—PRESIDENT RECEIVES DELEGATION OF AMERICAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION WOMEN.

As a climax of their demonstration yesterday, the National Woman's Party—

That is the publisher of the Suffragist. That is the party that is campaigning against the Democrats throughout the country to-day—

burned President Wilson's words on suffrage at the base of the statue of Lafayette, opposite the White House. With a blazing torch in her hand, Miss Lucy Branham set fire to a scrap of paper containing words the President is reported to have made to a delegation of women earlier in the afternoon. The statement read:

"I am, as I think you know, heartily in sympathy with you. I have endeavored to assist you in every way in my power, and I shall continue to do so. I shall do all that I can to urge the passage of the amendment by an early vote."

That is the statement of the President of the United States, that these women said was but a scrap of paper and which they burned at the foot of the statue of Lafayette. Those are the women to-day who are campaigning the suffragist States not on behalf of anybody but against every Democratic candidate for Congress and for the United States Senate.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. PITTMAN. I do.

Mr. BORAH. The Senator does not understand that they are confining their campaign exclusively to Democrats?

Mr. PITTMAN. I never knew them to fight a Republican in any State, and if they are fighting the distinguished Senator

from Idaho as severely as they have fought him in the past it will not be a very hard fight, will it?

Mr. BORAH. I simply wish the Senator to understand that they are not confining their efforts entirely to the Democrats nor to Idaho either.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, during the campaign of 1916 they were very definite in their fight. Let me finish reading this article.

In burning the President's message they say this:

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TORCH.

"The torch which I hold," Miss Branham said, "symbolizes the burning indignation of women who for a hundred years have been given words without action. In the spring our hopes were raised by words much like these from President Wilson, yet they were permitted to be followed by a filibuster against our amendment on the part of Democratic Senate leaders.

"To-day the chairman of the Rules Committee of the Senate, a spokesman of the administration, stated that suffrage was not on the program for this session, and that the Senate was hoping to recess in a few days for the autumn election campaigns without taking up the measure. To-day the chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee in the Senate, another spokesman of the administration, announced that he would not even call the Suffrage Committee together to consider taking a vote. This session is nearing its close and the President and his party refuse to take any effective step toward the passage of the suffrage measure.

Now, again, I want to read something from the Suffragist. On the editorial page of September 21, 1918, it says:

The National Woman's Party will campaign against the Democratic Party in those suffrage States in which there are senatorial contests, unless the suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States has been disposed of in the Senate before the fall elections. This was decided at a meeting of the executive committee of the National Woman's Party, held at the national headquarters in Washington on Friday, September 13, 1918.

It was decided to call a conference in Washington at the end of September, to be made up of members of the national advisory council, the national committee of State chairmen, and all State executive committees, to plan the launching of this campaign which will be conducted in seven suffrage States—Oregon, Colorado, Idaho, Wyoming, Kansas, Nevada, and Montana.

It is planned to send a "prison special" through these seven States during the month of October as part of this campaign against Democratic candidates to the Senate. Among the women who will speak on this trip are Mrs. Abby Scott Barker, of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. John Winters Brannan, of New York; Dr. Caroline Spencer, of Colorado; Miss Vida Milholland, of New York; and Mrs. Agnes H. Morey, of Brookline, Mass.

It will be noted that Idaho, Senator BORAH's State, is included.

These ladies themselves state who they are fighting. That answers the question of the Senator from Idaho.

On the same editorial page we find the following:

In some of the Western States, points out this warning bulletin, the contest this fall will be extremely close, and the Democratic supremacy in Congress may rest on the poitical capital which can be made of the party attitude toward the Federal suffrage amendment.

On the President's treatment of suffrage at this time may rest the fate of the Democratic Party in the Sixty-sixth Congress. However politely, the Federal suffrage amendment is very definitely being "put up to" the President himself by his conservative supporters as well as by the more "militant."

The woman's party's attitude is being followed in all the campaigns to-day throughout the West. It is not a fight of any kind except a fight against the Democrats. Take any of the speeches to-day of the woman's party on the individual candidates in the political campaign that have been published, and I defy you to find a single word against any Republican candidate in that State. I have not found it. Here is something I want you to hear:

This is from the Chicago daily Tribune, September 16, 1918. It says:

SAYS DEMOCRATS BLOCK SUFFRAGE VOTE IN SENATE.

Mrs. Medill McCormick, newly appointed chairman of the Republican woman's national executive committee, in an interview yesterday said:

"Women must be conscious that the vote on the suffrage amendment is being blocked by the Democrats in the United States Senate. The Democratic Senators are in the majority. Republican Senators, including even those who are opposed to the amendment, have formally and unanimously agreed to vote on the suffrage amendment at any time that Democratic Senators will permit it. A great majority of the Republicans, broadly speaking, are for suffrage and half the Democrats opposed to it.

That is simply read to illustrate the character of the campaign. Now, let me ask you this: Would the Republican Party be better off with this resolution passed and out of the way or would it be better off if it was defeated? That is a matter that you can answer in your own conscience. But I want to say this to you: The character of statements made by Mrs. Medill McCormick are being made by women in every suffrage State, and they are being backed by unlimited means in that fight, and their fight is being waged so strongly that political prophets such as Col. Harvey have predicted that this body will go into the Republican ranks as well as the House of Representatives. Undoubtedly, it is predicted, and I want to say too, that if that can be accomplished which, in my opinion some Republicans in this body desire to accomplish, the prophecy undoubtedly will become true. But it will not be accomplished. Twice the chairman of this committee and the Democratic members of it were deceived into bringing this question before this body. The Republican caucus is in favor of a vote. They are in favor of a vote to-day when we have not enough votes to pass it, and we who are sincere in the matter are not in favor of a vote to-day when we can not pass it, because our object is to pass it. A third time after the passage of the resolution——

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. PITTMAN. I yield.

Mr. POINDEXTER. The Senator says "we" are not in favor of a vote to-day because we can not pass the resolution.

Mr. PITTMAN. That is right.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Whom does he mean by "we"? Does he mean the Democratic Members who are opposed to woman suffrage and opposed to the amendment? Are they trying to postpone it in order that votes enough may be had to pass it?

Mr. PITTMAN. I mean those who are in favor of the suffrage question on this side and members of the committee.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Is it not true—the Senator has no doubt carefully examined the poll of the Senate—that a larger proportion of Republican Senators are in favor of the amendment than there are of Democratic Senators in favor of it? And that there are a larger number of Republican Senators in favor of it than there are Democratic Senators in favor of it?

Mr. PITTMAN. That is true.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I should like the Senator, so long as he is discussing the action of the pickets, to explain to the Senate whether or not it is the action of the pickets and the militant branch of the woman's party that caused the President to change his attitude on the subject. Was he coerced into supporting this measure—after he had for years opposed it—because he was picketed? When did the President change his attitude? If it was not because he was picketed, will the Senator explain what was the cause of the change of the President's attitude?

Mr. PITTMAN. Does the Senator think there is any effectiveness in picketing?

Mr. POINDEXTER. My opinion is——

Mr. PITTMAN. I should like the Senator to answer that question so that I can go on with my speech.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I will answer the question. I can only speak for myself. So far as the effect upon me is concerned it would tend to antagonize me. I am not in favor of militancy in politics, nor of attempting to coerce an independent body into the support of any measure. I do not think that, generally speaking, such methods tend toward a favorable result; but I am asking the Senator whether or not it had that effect upon the President. My recollection is that the President did change his attitude, and I am very glad he changed it, he deserves credit for changing it, and for the position which he now occupies; but so long as the Senator is going into an analysis of the political history of this proceeding, I should like him to complete it, and explain to us, in view of the partisan issue which he has injected into this question, just the motives that have brought about the change of attitude on the part of the leader of the Democratic Party.

Mr. PITTMAN. I will do that with a great deal of pleasure, of course, because nothing is pleasanter than to defend a man who needs no defense. I asked the question of the Senator whether he thought the picketing was effective, knowing him to be an intelligent man, knowing him to be a fearless man. His answer is that it would antagonize him and have no effect upon him unless it would have a reverse effect.

I leave it to him that very probably the President of the United States is just as intelligent and as fearless as is the Senator from Washington.

Now, let me proceed a little further in the matter. The President of the United States has publicly stated why he considers the passage of this amendment of so grave importance during this time of war. He has taken the same grounds that have been taken in England. In conservative old England, where they fought equal suffrage most tenaciously, it came in a flash; it came almost unanimously; and it came by reason of the abnormal conditions that demanded at the time that there be universal equality of mind and of action, that the women of England, who had taken the men's places in England while the men fought in France, should have all of the rights and privileges of the men. The President has taken the same ground. He has taken the ground that war has made it abso-

lutely necessary to pass this amendment. But I am getting off the subject a little bit.

The Senator from Washington says a larger majority on the other side are in favor of this measure than on the Democratic side. Yes; but they have not the obstacles in their ranks that we have in our ranks. The Members on the Republican side have not the sentimental nor the social conditions meeting them in their States that are meeting some of our Members on this side. They have the power to give their full vote if they want to. There never was a time when the leaders of that party, if they had wanted to pass the joint resolution, could not have given 35 or 40 votes for it, and that without affecting them in any way whatever.

But what happened? Why is this resolution before this body at the present time in this critical condition? It is in a critical condition; there is no disguising the fact; and yet the leaders on the Republican side have this day said to those in charge of the joint resolution on this side, "If we are going to be beaten anyway, we might as well vote to-day and be beaten." When that assertion was made I happened to be present, and I said, "It will not be beaten; we shall not vote on it to-day if we are going to lose it to-day." No. I am not that kind of a suffragist; I have not that kind of sincerity. I shall not pledge myself to bring it to a vote knowing at the time, from the poll I have in my possession, that when it is brought to a vote it will be killed.

That was a magnificent resolution of the Republican caucus that they would do everything to bring this joint resolution to a vote immediately, knowing from the poll, as I said before, that it would be killed when they brought it up. Why did you pass the resolution? Why did you want to bring it up and defeat it? What would be the result of that defeat? The campaign that the adjunct of your party is making through the suffrage States would be confirmed. That is what would happen. You would give your 32 votes; you would give half of your two-thirds; and you would hold your hand on high and say, "We gave you the necessary votes, but the Democrats did not do it." We know that.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. PITTMAN. Yes; I yield.

Mr. SMOOT. Of course, I am utterly surprised at what the Senator says.

Mr. PITTMAN. I thought the Senator from Utah would be.

Mr. SMOOT. But I want to make a proposition to the Senator: There are 44 Republican Senators and there are 52 Democratic Senators. If the Senator wants a vote to-day, to-morrow, or on any other day he may desire, the Republicans will, out of the 44 Republicans, cast 32 votes to-day or on any other day——

Mr. PITTMAN. That is just what I am getting at.

Mr. SMOOT. If you will give the 32 votes out of 52 Democrats. We can then vote, and we shall then have 64 votes. I want to say to the Senator that he is doing an absolute injustice to the men who have been fighting for years and years for woman suffrage on the Republican side when he says that. There is no intention whatever of forcing this joint resolution to a vote. I ask the Senator who has the joint resolution in charge——

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I object to being interrupted in my speech by the Senator asking questions of other Senators.

Mr. SMOOT. Then I will do it in my own time.

Mr. PITTMAN. I shall be very glad if the Senator from Utah will take all of the time that he wants; but he will have to take a lot of it before he gets through with this. I am, however, very happy that the Senator has now definitely settled one question in our minds—that the Republican Party are only going to give us 32 votes. Do Senators know why the Republicans will only give 32 votes? It is because 32 are just half of 64—just half of two-thirds—and the Republicans clear their skirts when they know that this side has but 31 votes. Let me tell you something else, for that is not all——

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. PITTMAN. Yes, I yield.

Mr. POINDEXTER. The Senator from Nevada is not bragging about the fact that his side has only 31 votes in favor of this joint resolution, is he?

Mr. PITTMAN. I am not bragging about anything today, not even about the Republican Party; I do not think there is any ground for bragging. Between you and me, I will say to the Senator from Washington I do not think it is a matter of very much levity. It is rather a good joke to those who thoroughly enjoy it; it is a magnificent joke upon the leading suffrage women of the country who depended on you; it is a splendid joke on them. Why, you have done wonders! You have brought the joint resolution forward for defeat!

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nevada yield further?

Mr. PITTMAN. I yield.

Mr. POINDEXTER. To whom is the Senator from Nevada referring when he says, "You have brought the joint resolution forward for defeat"?

Mr. PITTMAN. I am referring to the proceedings of the Republican caucus, as published in the adjunct of the Republican Party, The Suffragist.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I should like to ask the Senator from Nevada if the Republican caucus brought the joint resolution forward to defeat?

Mr. PITTMAN. Well, I will prove in a few minutes that they did. I am going to do you the credit of proving that you brought it forward.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Is the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES], the chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, a member of the Republican caucus?

Mr. PITTMAN. No; that is obvious.

Mr. POINDEXTER. He is not a member of the Republican caucus, but my understanding is that he brought the resolution forward.

Mr. PITTMAN. No; I am going to give you all the credit.

Mr. POINDEXTER. He told us some time ago that he would bring it forth; and if the Senator from Nevada, who now seems to be so much exercised over the action of bringing this amendment forward for a vote, has ever been opposed heretofore to bringing it forward for a vote no one has ever known of his attitude in that regard. The Senator from Nevada has been in the city; he has been in the Senate; and if he were opposed to bringing this amendment forward to a vote, as a friend of woman suffrage it was his duty to raise his voice in opposition to it, and he has failed to do so.

Mr. PITTMAN I will explain that also.

Mr. POINDEXTER. My opinion now is that the Senator from Nevada himself, not only in the past but to-day, while he is standing now upon the floor, and fully advised, is in favor of keeping this amendment before the Senate for a vote and bringing if to a vote before any other business is taken up.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, my charges as to the efforts of the Republican Members of this body to bring this joint resolution to an immediate vote are based upon their caucus resolution; are based upon the brags made by the woman's party with regard to the resolution; are based upon the picketing of the White House and the burning of the President's message; are based upon the speech of Mrs. Medill McCormick in Chicago; are based upon the speeches of Miss Ann Martin, of Nevada; and are based upon the statements of Miss RANKIN, of Montana. It would be impossible for us to take the credit away from the Republican Party of bringing this joint resolution to a vote.

But the Senator from Washington asks a question, the answer to which is obvious, as to whether or not the chairman of the Committee on Woman Suffrage is a Republican. That is a question Senators, will understand, that answers itself. But remember we are fighting now not to let the joint resolution come to a vote to-day, because we shall lose it. There are some on the other side who have suggested that it come to a vote to-day.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. PITTMAN. Oh, yes; I yield.

Mr. SMOOT. In order to settle this question, I want to say to the Senator from Nevada that the chairman of the committee has it in his power to say whether we shall adjourn to-day; whether we shall adjourn until Monday; whether the joint resolution be laid aside; or whether it shall be taken up. I tell the Senator now that, whatever motion Senator JONES makes, whatever he thinks is the best policy, whether to carry this resolution to a vote or to delay it, he shall be furnished with more votes upon this side to follow his program than he can get on his own side.

Mr. PITTMAN. Yes; but——

Mr. SMOOT. That is the situation exactly as it exists. Nobody on this side wants to vote upon the amendment and to defeat it. I say that with all sincerity, and I am surprised that the Senator from Nevada should even have made such an intimation as he has made.

Mr. PITTMAN. I do not see anything in that to answer, so I will go on. Some of the Republicans, candidates for the House and for the Senate, evidently see a political asset in the defeat of the suffrage amendment. I do not know whether or not any of the Senators on the other side see it, but all of the members of the National Woman's Party see an asset in the defeat of this amendment.

Now, let me say this—I wish the attention of the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT], but as he is not in the Chamber I will wait because I want him here when I make this announcement. In the meantime I want to read you something from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 17, from a speech by the Representative from Idaho, Mr. ADDISON T. SMITH. Mr. SMITH, in the course of his remarks, said:

THE PARTY FOR THE WOMEN; THE WOMEN FOR THE PARTY.

It is just such a party that women with high ideals and splendid energies need to make them effective for the public good; and it is just such women that the party needs to bring new views to sound experience.

Living parties are like living rivers, continually taking on new strength from many sources. New waters keep the river strong and pure to nourish life in the valleys, to turn wheels of power for industry, to bear cargoes of freight for distant needs. But without a guiding channel the purest waters in the world would become diffused waste or destructive flood. Party organization is the channel through which human intelligence and energy become effective in affairs of state.

REPUBLICAN MEASURES AND POLICIES TOUCHING WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

A few concrete examples of Republican acts and measures touching women and children are eloquent evidence of the guiding power and sound policy of the Republican Party.

Republicans established the Children's Bureau under the administration of President Taft and appointed Miss Julia Lathrop chief of the bureau, the first woman ever made chief of a Government bureau.

Republicans sent the first woman to Congress, the Hon. JEANNETTE RANKIN, of Montana.

Then follows a list of votes on various woman-suffrage proposals. He states facts but minimizes the conclusion. His presentation is effective in a suffrage State, and will be more effective in a suffrage State if he can add to that parallel column the defeat of the suffrage amendment in this body. Why? Because the Republicans will say, "We gave our half of the two-thirds vote, but the Democrats were not able to furnish their half." Did not the Senator from Utah know the number of votes the Democrats on this side had polled for the suffrage amendment?

Mr. SMOOT. Of course, the Senator from Utah knew that.

Mr. PITTMAN. Of course the Senator from Utah knew; and the Senator from Utah knows to-day how the poll stands on the Democratic side.

Mr. SMOOT. I do.

Mr. PITTMAN. The Senator says he does. Then he knows that if he gave us the 32 votes and we voted to-day we would lose this amendment; and yet the Senator from Utah in conference with us this morning said it had been suggested that we vote to-day, and that if we were going to be beaten we might as well be beaten now.

Mr. SMOOT. That suggestion came from a Democratic leader on this floor.

Mr. PITTMAN. But the Senator said the suggestion had been made.

Mr. SMOOT. I did; and I say now that it was made, and that it came from a Democratic leader.

Mr. PITTMAN. I never heard that it came from anyone except the Senator from Utah. The Senator from Kansas [Mr. CURTIS] was with him at the time, and I made this statement. I said, "I will never agree to a vote on this joint resolution when we lack the requisite number unless there is every fair opportunity to get those in favor of it here."

Mr. SMOOT. Why does not the Senator state what the Senator from Utah did say? If he is going to try to tell the conversation the Senator should tell it all. I will tell the Senate what I said, and I will ask the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES] if it is not true. I said, "I have always taken the position that I would not attempt to force a vote until I knew there were enough votes to carry the joint resolution," and I stated that what I wanted was to secure all the time possible to see if we could get enough votes to carry the proposed constitutional amendment through before a vote was taken.

Mr. PITTMAN The Senator did say that after he had said what I did say he said, and after I said what I have stated.

Now, let me go on a little further. How does it happen that this matter is now before the Senate for consideration? I will tell you how it happened. Listen to this:

The Senator from Utah, who has told us that the Republican side has but 32 votes and that he knows what the poll on this side is, tells us that he knows the joint resolution will be defeated if brought to a vote at this time. Let me tell you what the Senator from Utah knows further than that. He knows why this matter is here to-day; he knows why the Members on the Democratic side of the Senate who are in favor of suffrage are in embarrassment to-day. Nobody understands it better. Why? Because he knew just how many votes it would be necessary to have on the Republican side to carry this joint resolution through at all times, and he told Miss Hay, a member of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, who served on a committee to discuss suffrage with the Republican Members of this body, that they would give them 33 votes; and then that association, headed by Mrs. Catt, invited the Democratic members of the Suffrage Committee of this body, together with one or two other Senators, to confer with them. They then urged upon the chairman that he bring the suffrage amendment before the Senate. The chairman said:

I have brought it twice before the Senate under misinformation; I have twice subjected it to defeat on account of misinformation. We have not the votes to pass the amendment, and it is a crime to bring it up to kill it. We may get the votes later, but we have no right, after the joint resolution has passed the House, to kill it in the Senate so long as there is a chance to save it. I will not bring it up until I believe I can carry it; and I do not care how many attacks the Woman's Party make on me; that does not concern me. I am for passing this amendment and not for killing it.

It was then——

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

Mr. PITTMAN. Wait until I finish this statement. I do not want to be interrupted now.

It was then, by reason of the statement of the chairman of the committee, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES], that those ladies stated, "If we can assure you 33 Republican votes, will you bring the joint resolution up?" We replied, "Yes." Why? Because, although we had not enough with the 33, we believed that we might get 2 more votes. They said then, "We feel at liberty to say to you that Senator SMOOT, on behalf of the Republican Senators, has come to our committee through Miss Hay and assured us that the Republicans are ready to deliver 33 votes. We then asked for the names, to give us the poll, but they said they would not give us the poll; they said, 'Leave that to us, and we will deliver the 33 votes.'"

That is the way we left it; and under that assurance we brought this amendment before this body. Then, after we had been deceived into bringing it before this body, after we had been led into the trap, the distinguished Senator from Utah goes to the same people to whom he promised 33 votes and says, "We can get only 32." Why did he do that? Why did he promise 33? Because the 33 votes, with the votes that the Democrats then had, would still defeat the amendment. Why did he come down to 32 votes? Because we gained enough with the 33 to pass the amendment. What other conclusion is there to be drawn?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. PITTMAN. Yes; I yield.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, the Senator is stating supposed facts that I have never heard of before. I know nothing about them; and I want to say to the Senator now that, as far as the 33 votes are concerned, there was always a question of doubt as to 1 vote, and it has been always so understood by me, and I have never made a statement to the contrary. If the Senator wants to know the doubtful vote, I do not think the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. DREW] will object to my stating the facts. I want to say that the Senator from New Hampshire has never promised me that he would vote for the amendment, and, as far as that is concerned, I want to say now that I do not believe he promised anyone that he would vote for or against it. I will say, however, that, as far as I am concerned, he never promised me that he would vote for it.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. REED. I want to ask the Senator who has just taken his seat——

Mr. PITTMAN. If the Senator pleases, I can not yield. I will take my seat in five minutes, and then the Senator can talk all he wants to. I beg the pardon of the Senator from Missouri, but I want to get through.

Mr. PITTMAN. The Senator from Utah may have had doubt in his mind with regard to the Senator from New Hampshire. Undoubtedly, however, the women who induced us to bring this matter to a vote did not have any doubt about the doubt of the Senator from Utah, or they would have expressed the doubt to us. As a matter of fact, one of the ladies charged the Senator from Utah in the Marble Room yesterday with having pledged 33 votes and not giving them a poll so that they could use their own judgment, and the Senator from Utah said at the time he made the promise he thought he had them.

Now, then, if the Senator had any doubt about the Senator from New Hampshire, and he was going to a great suffrage association in this country through one of their committees, he had no right to make the assurance in a positive manner, and if the Senator with regard to whom he had the doubt, who was necessary to make up the 33, was in his mind, he should have submitted that name to the ladies and said, "This is the only doubtful one of the 33," and let them make their own investigations concerning him. But he did not do that. He did not give them the poll. He did not tell them who they were. You, Senator SMOOT, pledged them 33 votes, so that they would induce the Democratic members of the committee to get this bill on the floor and you could kill it, and then you could make campaign material out of it in the Western States. You knew that through that action you could carry Montana and Colorado and that you could probably carry the Senate. You know that. You, from a suffrage State, know that if you kill this amendment by a Democratic vote, giving one-half of the two-thirds yourselves and one less than half of two-thirds on this side, you will sweep those States with the women's votes. Do you want to do it? What would you do to do it? How much would you give, politically, to do it? Would you rather do that, or pass this amendment?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, since the Senator is asking me, I will say that I would not act as has the Senator from Nevada to-day to accomplish a political advantage if I had it in my power, and the Senator has made some statements that I can truthfully say that he is mistaken.

Mr. PITTMAN. I do not know what the statements are in which I am mistaken. If any particular ones are pointed out, I will adduce proof in substantiation of them. All I have to say is that I was deceived with that committee. I know that those ladies did not intend to deceive us. They are too high class for that. They understood our position. They knew that we would not bring the matter here until we had a certainty of 33 votes on the Republican side, and they gave us that assurance, and stated that they got that assurance from the Senator from Utah.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. PITTMAN. I do.

Mr. SMOOT. If the Senator wants this resolution put back in just the same position that it was and does not want a vote upon it, all he has to do is to move to refer it back to the committee, and it will carry. It will not be considered at all or a vote taken upon it until the chairman of the committee wants it done; and it seems to me that this camouflage that the Senator is trying to put over on the Senate and the country is unwise and uncalled for.

Mr. PITTMAN. Yes; and then if we should move to refer it back to the committee the Senator from Utah would say again, "The Democrats are obstructing the passage of this amendment. They will not let me consider it, but refer it back to a committee. We told you all the time they wanted to kill it. When they pretty nearly had it won they referred it back to the committee." When we want to postpone it a day he says, "If it is going to be beaten, why, let it be beaten to-day."

Oh, the whole thing is as plain as day. It is absolutely plain. The facts are here. They dovetail into each other. The written statements demonstrate everything in this case, and I, for one, wanted it known on my behalf that I have been deceived by somebody, and I have stated the facts of the deception. Let them trace where they will. I would not have voted to bring this matter on the floor in the circumstances in which it is now here, and I do not want anyone in my State to say that I was a party to the murder of this suffrage amendment. I wanted them to know the facts, and know them well, and I am telling them here so that the country may know. It is an effort to kill the Democratic Party in the suffrage States of this country.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. PITTMAN. I yield.

Mr. LENROOT. Do I understand the Senator's position to be, then, that rather than have this joint resolution referred back to the committee he would prefer a vote, either to-morrow or Monday, and its defeat, because a reference back to the committee would hurt his party?

Mr. PITTMAN. No; the Senator does not understand that. He did not understand it when he asked the question. The Senator knows that I am sincerely in favor of suffrage, as much as he is, and he knows that the only thing that is moving the Senator from Nevada here is the critical condition in which this joint resolution now is.

If we refer it back to the committee, then we will be charged, as we have been all the time in the suffrage States, with trying to prevent a vote on it, and still the Woman's Party campaign will go on as it is going on now; and if we vote on it they will say: "We told you the Democrats would kill it, because the President would not make 32 on his side vote for it."

What you have accomplished is this: You have got this joint resolution before the Senate through a deception, and you have got the Democratic Party in an embarrassing position, no matter how it goes; but I, for one, am not willing to give up. I am not willing to vote to-day, when I know we are beaten. I am not willing to refer the joint resolution back to the committee when there is hope of winning the fight to-morrow, and I am not willing to-morow to refer it back to the committee or to have it killed. I believe that when the country knows and understand that this is politics—pure, cold-blooded politics—they will realize that their views on suffrage are insignificant in comparison to the importance of meeting such a subterfuge by a united Democratic Party.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. PITTMAN. I yield.

Mr. POINDEXTER. The Senator from Nevada expresses vehement indignation because he has been imposed upon and deceived. I should like the Senator, before he takes his seat, to tell the Senate when he found out that he was deceived and how he got the information which he now has as to how the vote stands. He said that the Senator from Utah misled him. I should like to know who disillusioned him and whether or not he has any information or any means of information as to the vote on this measure now that he did not have at all times heretofere.

Mr. PITTMAN. I thank the Senator for asking the question. None of the committee knew anything about the change until yesterday. Not one of them, until after this matter had been debated here on the floor, knew a word about it. The same ladies who were used to deceive us felt it their duty to come and undeceive us; that is all.

Mr. POINDEXTER. The Senator, then, as I understand, charges that some of the women leaders of the suffrage movement were used as tools and go-betweens to misrepresent the situation to the Senator from Nevada and deceive him.

Mr. PITTMAN. Well, that would be the appearance of things. I can not see any other light it is in, but that is the way it looks.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I just asked the question in order that there might not be any doubt or mistake as to the attitude of the Senator from Nevada. I think the country ought to know just what position he takes in regard to it.

Another thing that I should like the Senator to answer, if he will allow me to ask him one more question, is whether or not he thinks that the injection of this political issue here is going to help the adoption of this amendment?

The Senator claims to be a sincere friend of the amendment. He knows that there are a number of votes in doubt on both sides of the Chamber. He now has aligned this matter upon a partisan basis. Does he think that that will tend to bring these doubtful Republican votes or doubtful Democratic votes to a support of this measure? Does he think that he is aiding the cause of suffrage by the speech he is making?

Mr. PITTMAN. The Senator from Nevada thinks he is aiding this movement. Although I would have a right, on the ground of personal privilege, to explain my connection with bringing this matter before the Senate, that would not have induced me to do so. I believe that there are Democrats on this side of the Chamber, who are opposed to the whole theory involved in this joint resolution, who will not stand idly by and see a political trick perpetrated on their party, especially to such an extent that it may turn over the control of this body to another party. They know how important it is for the President of the United States to be in perfect harmony with both bodies of Congress. I know that you gentlemen are loyal. Nobody is charging disloyalty on your part. You are just as loyal as we are; but there is not a man here who does not know that a divided Government is not as strong as a united Government. There is none of you but that knows that you can not have the same independent leadership unless every branch of the Government is in absolute accord, both mentally and politically, with the chief. You have got to have united command in government during war, just the same as in your Army. We have it in the army on the west front. We have it to-day in the United States. In fact, we have it to-day in the world, because the President of the United States is the united commander of the Governments of the world that are

fighting this war. That is the reason of it. We are going to keep this Government united behind the President until this war is over, at least; and when we see a trick—a trick that may defeat that end—it is our duty as Senators on this floor to expose that trick, and I have done it.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I want to say one word with regard to this controversy.

Of course I am very sorry that there is discord among the advocates of this reform. I am wondering which faction will first mobilize at the foot of the monument and burn the other side's speeches.

I had supposed, until the last few minutes, that, in the minds of those who advocate it, this was a great fundamental reform movement, having to do with "the structure of our Government" and the rights—"the sacred rights"—of "one-half of the human family residing in America." But now it is charged by one of the chief advocates of the joint resolution that it is offered for political considerations; that what we are really trying to do is to get the votes of certain Western States.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. PITTMAN. I would not like the Senator to misquote my attitude. I do contend that the bringing of this amendment before the Senate at this time was for political purposes, and I do contend that it was brought here with the belief that it would be defeated. I do not contend, however, that the Senators on the other side who are advocating suffrage are not still in favor of suffrage. I think they are very sincerely in favor of suffrage. I think that they hope to have the credit of passing it at some future time, when they shall have control of this body, and when they will get all of the credit for it.

Mr. REED. Well, just let the differentiation stand without note or comment. It would appear, then, that at least the Republican Members regard political ascendancy as of more importance—these wicked Republican suffragists—than the adoption of this amendment. There is an old sporting phrase that covers the situation. By the charge made, we "pass the buck" to the Republican side.

Is it possible that the holy cause of woman suffrage is being employed as a political pawn; that "woman's hopes, ambitions, and rights" are to be sacrificed in this cold and brutal way by the advocates of her cause? Is it true that the leading advocates of woman suffrage are so insincere that in order to carry one or two Western States they will play fast and loose with the cause they have so often declared to be the holiest of the holy. Yet the confession is made. It but confirms what many have all along believed, that much of the support woman suffrage is receiving in the Senate to-day is purely and absolutely political. At last the cat is out of the bag and the string was cut by a very ardent suffragist. The animal appears to be a political waif, the ownership of which seems to be in grave doubt.

The question Republican and Democratic statesmen seem to be asking is, How many votes can we get in Western States? How can we play this game so that we will get votes? In one breath we are told with great vehemence, in a breath that rises to the shriek of a tornado, that "this is a question of winning the war." The next instant we are told that our Republican friends are playing politics with it, disregarding, of course, the war. The next moment we are informed that the Republicans are entirely patriotic.

If it be true that woman suffrage is necessary to the winning of the war, and if it be true that the Republican Party would postpone the winning of the war one moment in order to gain a political advantage, then the Republican Party stands indicted before the world as a traitorous organization. But if it be true that the Republican Party is patriotic and yet is willing to play politics with the suffrage amendment, it follows that the amendment has nothing to do with winning the war. Again, if it be true that the Republican Party is patriotic and also perfectly sincere in this matter and also that it has brought all the votes it can to its support, then I wonder whether it is very virtuous politics or entirely kindly—I will not mention the word patriotic—to charge that the Republican Party has been playing politics with a matter that, according to its advocates, concerns vitally the winning of the war.

I am sorry that that issue has been raised. The fact, as everybody knows, is that the adoption of this resolution has nothing to do with the winning of the war. The truth of the matter, as has just been confessed, is that this is a political question, and men are voting for it here because they think that it will help their political fortunes. Some are voting for it, in addition to that, because they believe it is right and just, and they believe in it; but that the suffrage question has been bandied about here as a political pawn there is no doubt in the mind of any candid man who knows the facts. What man will say otherwise on the floor of the Senate? What man here but knows the political argument has been put forward by the advocates of this measure, both in and out of the Senate. You all, in all human probability, know what I know, namely, that covertly or directly Congressmen have been threatened with political annihilation if they do not support the measure. You know, or at least I know, that the advocates of this measure have gone about declaring upon the one hand that if the Democratic Party does not support it the women of the country will rise up and smite the Democratic Party and annihilate it, and that if the Republican Party does not likewise obey orders it will meet with an even worse fate. That threat has been bandied about this Capitol until, if these walls could have made phonographic records and we could bid them speak, there would arise a chorus of threats that would shake the very dome above our heads.

It has been part and parcel of the campaign throughout, and there is no use in any human being denying it. Your friends are sent to you by this lobby with the message that "you are too great a man to suffer political annihilation by standing any longer against this movement." "It is going to win, anyway." "Get in line." Who will deny that statements like that have been persistently made?

But I rose intending to speak upon another matter. The burden of the charge just made by the Senator fram Nevada is that the leader of the suffrage Senators on each side took a poll of his votes and dutifully carried the result to the chief female lobbyists, at the same time promising these lobbyists the delivery of the votes as disclosed by the poll; that thereupon the chief lobbyist or lobbyists concluded the time had arrived for the Senate to vote, and accordingly gave orders for the resolution to be reported for action. If that was not a disgraceful proceeding, so far as it affected the Senate of the United States, then I have no knowledge of what could bring disgrace upon this body.

This, sir, is presumed to be a deliberative body, where Members settle questions according to conscience and judgment. It is further presumed that on this floor we debate bills and resolutions for the purpose of gaining all the light possible.

If we were invariably to await the test of debate before even arriving at a conclusion, we would be acting in a manner consistent with the responsibilities of the high positions intrusted to our keeping. What, then, shall I say of Senators who go about pledging votes and then delivering the pledges to some lobbyist, male or female? What shall be said of Senators who consent that a lobbyist from outside this Chamber shall direct the fight upon the floor and shall give orders to the leaders on each side when to report a bill, when to bring on the fight, once it has begun to conduct the battle?

Is it not a strange charge to hear upon the floor of the United States Senate that faith has been broken because a pledge of a certain number of votes, made to a female lobbyist, was not carried out? What right has anybody to make pledges to female lobbyists or male lobbyists or any lobbyist, whether in petticoats or pantaloons? All are alike obnoxious. Is it not a fine state of affairs that the generalissimo of a lobby can from her headquarters summon Republican suffrage Senators as a military chief might summon so many orderly sergeants to demand reports?

And if one of these poor sergeants or, peradventure, lieutenants, shall make a miscount of a single vote, shall he be charged with base perfidy? Shall he be held to have betrayed the State because he did not state the exact facts to the female general? At the same time, are Democratic suffrage leaders to be likewise summoned forth and asked for their reports? And after the lobby chief has taken an account from all parts of the field, has surveyed the scene of action, has examined the war map, inspected the gallery to discover whether her heavy artillery is planted in the north gallery, her seventy-sevens stationed in the south gallery, her machine guns located in the east gallery, and the lady patriot who burns up presidential speeches is properly ensconced in the diplomatic gallery, is the lobby chief to give the orders to the Senate of the United States, "You may now proceed to the consideration of the bill; I command it"? Is it not a contemptible position in which we find ourselves?

The strongest argument I have ever heard in favor of woman suffrage is that men charged with our high responsibilities will sink to so base and ignominious a level. The fact is almost conclusive evidence of the incapacity of man to hold great positions of public trust. Consider the Senate of the United States with a female boss outside or a male boss outside or any boss

outside except the people of the United States, and I include in that every officer of this Government. I include in that the Cabinet. I include in that the President. The President has, of course, the constitutional authority and right and is under the high duty of sending to the Senate his suggestions, whatever they may be. It is our duty to receive them with respect, to consider them solemnly, and give to them all due and proper weight. That is his prerogative; it is his duty. But, outside of the President himself, no man has any authority to dictate to this body except the aggregate and consummate man, to wit, the voters of this country, representing as they do sovereignty within themselves.

The less interference there is with legislative bodies the better for our country. Suffrage may be a very sacred thing in the minds of some people, a very essential thing. I do not intend to discuss that phase of the question; but this much I say to the women of the country, suffragettes and nonsuffragettes, that this country is a free Republic. Their very right to demand a change in our Constitution is a part of that freedom; and this country is a free Republic because the people of the United States have retained the right to elect their servants and because in addition to that they have set up three independent branches of the Government, each a check upon the other, each essential to the perpetuity of our liberties, and each of them sacred from interference.

I have said before on this floor, and say again, that the man who would undertake to interfere with the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States would be as bad an enemy of this Republic as an anarchist, because he would strike at the very citadel of human liberty; he would tear out one of the great pillars that sustain it; that pillar torn out the entire structure will fall. So also the man who undertakes to destroy the proper independence of the Executive will in like manner tear out another of the great pillars, without which the edifice of liberty can not stand. Equally true it is that the man who belittles and drags down and seeks to destroy the independence of the legislative branch of the Government is doing a work more insidious and quite as vile as ever was plotted behind the locked doors of an anarchist hall. We might as well face the truth that when a body voluntarily disgraces itself it is even more contemptible than when it submits to overmastering force.

If it be true that the Senate has sunk to such a level that the leaders upon either side of this movement, covering in the aggregate nearly two-thirds of the Senate's membership, can be ordered to bring forward a bill or withhold a bill, and those orders come from a lobby outside, whether the lobbyists be white or black, male or female, the Senate of the United States is in disgrace.

Let us see what becomes of our deliberations when Members are pledged up in advance in order that that pledge may be carried out to an outsider: "How will you vote, you Senator from a sovereign State? I want to carry the word to our boss outside." Is it not a shame? Is it not a disgrace? What would you think if the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, before waiting for the arguments to be made and before consultation among the members, were to permit themselves to be buttonholed by the advocates of either side and were to individually pledge themselves? What would become of that court? Yet this body has been supposed to be the highest deliberative body in the world. That has been its boast for many years.

Here matters are thrashed out. In this crucible the dross is frequently burned away and the pure gold extracted. While we may talk long, while we may talk sometimes without much purpose, in the end the debates here clarify questions and bring about better results than would otherwise obtain.

But now we find a petticoat brigade awaits outside, and Senate leaders, like little boys, like pages, trek back and forth for orders. If you accept that office, Senators, then put on cap and bells and paint your cheeks like clowns, as did the court fools of the middle centuries, and do your truckling in a proper garb.

Oh, shades of Webster, I summon you to look upon this scene, and Calhoun, with your master mind, come forth, and Clay, with wondrous tongue and mighty brain. Out of the past I call for the great dead that they may come and look upon this craven thing we do. As eagles might look down upon degenerate offspring molting in a nest befouled, so these departed spirits that once walked the highest plains of earth would look upon to-day's sad spectacle. Faith broken, if you please, and with whom? With some fair damsel of uncertain age, who stood outside to poll the Senate of the United States.

Mr. President, the gorge rises, the tongue refuses to do the office of expressing those thoughts that must surge within the brain of every man who loves his country and respects its governmental institutions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS].

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I trust my friend the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] will find it agreeable to remain on the floor for a moment.

I do not rise, Mr. President, to address myself to the principal question of the main amendment pending for consideration at this time. As the Chair has very tersely stated, the real question is upon the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], addressed to the constitutional amendment now before the body, providing that only white persons vote under the amendment.

I desire to give a moment's consideration to the impeachment by the distinguished Senator from Missouri which has come flashing from his genius in his usual characteristic way, inflamed with accusation, accompanied with denunciations, enshrouded in all those evils which destroy the dragon that I fear his imagination created to terrorize the thing that he fancied was around him.

My eminent friend from Missouri, I fear, exaggerates the thing he calls lobby. He finds it agreeable to pass a condemnation without qualification, stricture without mercy, upon a situation that has no existence but which must go down as long as anyone remembers these little ephemeral events as an indictment from a Senator of this body upon a class of people whose only offense confessedly is an endeavor to protect themselves.

I have heard my distinguished friend, for whom I have an entertaining affection, characterize these women managers as though they were enemies of the Government filling the lobbies of the Senate, as though these leaders were criminals of the country hiding in the purlieus of the Capitol. Indeed, as though they were vicious agents seeking to poison the avenues of legislation. I fear the Senator has conceived them in the image of some inhuman monster that was seeking to disgrace the Republic.

What is this particular thing to which the eminent Senator from Missouri has addressed his anathemas? It appears from a statement as I heard it—I have no knowledge of the facts—that a Senator from Utah, representing one state of thought upon this amendment, and a Senator from Nevada, representing another, seem to have been approached by representatives of women respecting the number of voters in the Senate which could be depended upon in the support of a measure or those which opposed it.

I am not able to see the offense which my eminent friend from Missouri conjures up in the mere fact that these women, whether they are for this amendment or against the amendment, have taken the precaution to ascertain the status of the thing on which each of them feels her liberties or rights depend.

Will it be urged by my eminent friend that there is an offense on the part of women who call out their public representatives, their public servants, to ascertain from them where they stand in respect to their personal rights? Shall it be said they become criminals because they have assumed to say to their public servants the thing which they feel is their right and solicit of them the support of the thing which they feel is their justice?

Has it come that a distinguished Senator can on the floor indict these women for coming about and seeking to protect their rights, when every railroad lobbyist in America in the past could with freedom haunt this Capitol when a bill is before the body looking to the guardianship of the Republic, who would intercept the course of government for the uses of their private fortunes, when there was not a word to condemn them or their emissaries, however guilty has been their object and criminal has been their design through the long years of senatorial legislation?

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. LEWIS. I must decline to yield to the Senator. I will yield later.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois declines to yield for the moment.

Mr. LEWIS. Can it be possible, Mr. President, that certain heads of the great telegraph companies and the telephone companies can be found in every corner of the Capitol at a time when we seek to convert these agencies to the welfare of the Republic, assuming to obstruct it by every mode they could command, and to this there could come no voice that condemns? Can it be said if these are honestly protecting their rights that they are all of a virtue and the women who merely seek to obtain a thing they feel is their liberty are all of a vice? I can not behold it so.

On the other hand, if these women are here seeking to protect themselves in what they deem is their right as to themselves, are they to be condemned and held before the world as unworthy of citizenship and dishonoring its privileges? Would the eminent Senator from Missouri have condemned them when they were likewise in the lobby day after day, season after season, seeking to have passed a bill for the protection of little children, when they sought to prevent child labor from withering the young, degrading the youth, the weakening and the deadening of the citizenship of the land? I say no. He praised their efforts. Surely the eminent Senator would not condemn that; and yet they were then as active as they are now. That such was their privilege none of us in this body deny.

When the seaman's bill was before this body and there were efforts made to remedy the unhappy condition of those poor mariners who face death with the wash of every wave, and send up their prayer for the salvation of their children with the sparkle of every star in the silent skies above them, oftentimes without bed or bread, hungry and suffering, and yet maintaining the dignity of the land upon the torrential waves—these women came here in large numbers; they gave their aid, their voice to this humane undertaking. Surely there is no Senator who will impeach them in that for an offense against government, a violation of morals.

The eminent Senator from Missouri, I am sure, spoke without the reflection that usually characterizes his utterances and laid condemnation on a holy order of womankind in which, in after days, he will deplore out of the heart, which we all know is in him, of love and friendship.

What offense have these women committed when they come to this body and with their aid and voice seek to ascertain from their public servant his stand upon that measure in which they say their liberties are involved? What offense to morality do they commit by ascertaining the status before they risk that which they claim is their all in citizenship of the life which they live? Has there been a measure here from the War Department looking to the change of the status of the soldiers when the Secretary of War and his aids have not first ascertained from us the condition of the measure and the stand of the Senate and the probabilities of the passage of the bill? Did we bring the draft act before the body and dare to submit it, without realizing the forces about it that would either sustain or oppose it? Has a measure ever come from the Secretary of the Treasury as to a financial bill in this body in the hands of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency or that of the Finance Committee, without first ascertaining about where the Senators stand, their relative views upon the question, that it may not be risked to a defeat? Surely the eminent Senator from Missouri has failed to take time to reflect that after all the only thing that these women seem to have done, if anything at all, is in the line of all of that which has been the course and order of legislation every hour since the distinguished Senator and myself have been honored by seats in this body. And, sir, such conduct transpired in the shade of Webster, which my eminent friend summons from the gloomy places of the dead, and, too, when the voice of Calhoun resounded in the assemblies and the pristine glory of this body lighted the civilization about. In all the past for which we are renowned there was still the same situation, the same order of procedure.

For they were women, I tell my distinguished friend, who surrounded the lobbies of this Senate about Mr. Webster, to sustain him in the fight for the liberties of the black, and they, the women themselves, now strike for the liberties of the white and the black, male and female; yet I am unable to see where the foundations are upon which an eloquent and eminent Senator, powerful in himself, as is this distinguished representative from Missouri, can find to base a discrimination between all the events and history of those times of legislation and that which prevails, upon the confession of the Senator from Utah and of the Senator from Nevada, as to this particular measure.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield for just a moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. LEWIS. I declined to yield to the Senator from Missouri a moment ago, to whom I owe a first yielding when I get to a point where I should yield, and then I will yield to the Senator from Utah.

Mr. SMOOT. It is only a question of personal privilege to which I ask the Senator to yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois declines to yield.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, the word "lobby" became a reprehensible term. Rightfully applied it remains so when we have seen a class of men come about this Capitol for years and hold Senators to account and threaten them with dire results at home, or take other measures that might induce the weak, and dare assume those agencies which seduce the corrupt—under such circumstances the word "lobby" has a place, a meaning, and an application, fitting and reprehensible.

But it can be said earnestly by a Senator when there is a measure here that relates to a class of people such as these women, when they are the direct objects of the proposed law, when they are to be the direct victims of the defeat of the measure, when, from their viewpoint, their fate and fortune swing in the balance, that they are not to be heard; and if they dare express their views here to Senators in the shadow of the Capitol, they are to be ranged within that range of criminals of Government whom heretofore we have known as corrupt and guilty lobbyists? I protest against such and call the able Senator to reflection that he may do justice later to whom he has done injustice in the haste of speech.

Mr. REED. Now, Mr. President——

Mr. LEWIS. Surely the Senator from Missouri can not mean that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. REED. If the Senator does not yield, I shall call him to order——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. REED. Because I want to correct the Senator's statement. He has repeated it now fifteen or twenty times, and I ask him to permit me to correct it.

Mr. LEWIS. I then yield to the Senator. If his object is now to correct anything he has done, I am anxious for that very purpose.

Mr. REED. The Senator has said that I have made charges against these ladies; that I reflected upon these ladies. The charge that I made was that the Senate, by submitting to their dictation, had reflected upon itself. I cast no reflection whatsoever upon the ladies, and the record of what I have said will clearly demonstrate that. I am making this statement now for the Senator's benefit. If he desires to pursue his present course of misrepresentation, I shall be content to reply to him in proper time; but I very much mistake his character if he persists in it, in view of my correction.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, whatever may be my shortcomings in many respects, I think there is no Member of this body who from his association with me will charge me with having an intent to wrong any man. If I have misjudged my friend, it is because his remarks gave that conclusion to any human being of intelligence who heard them.

Mr. REED. Then you repeat your charge?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. LEWIS. If the observations of the Senator from Missouri had not the purpose of making accusation against the women as lobbyists, then I misunderstood his purpose; and, of course, my criticism in that respect could not apply to a thing which he says he did not intend to say. If said as I understood it—whether through lack of intention or deliberation—and I fancy those all around me must have understood, that his object was a malediction against women for their participation as lobbyists. I gathered that all the more from my eminent friend as he allowed himself in an unreflecting moment to characterize them as "a petticoat brigade" and to draw the figure of military and martial movement by referring to a feminine general, who gave her orders to her "colonel" or her "captain," who then brought them in as a messenger to the Senator and he besought them hereafter that if they should repeat this "disgusting performance" they should wear the cap and bells of the clown, or like a painted harlequin tremblingly crouch at the seat of her master.

The able Senator may have intended no such thing. There is no man in this body who will gratify himself with more pleasure than I in saying that a more valorous gentleman, a more chivalrous one, a more tender-hearted man, with courtesy ever to women, than the Senator from Missouri does not exist. It may be that I mistook his observations as applying to the women, thinking that he meant them when he meant, as he says now, not so to do at all, but that he merely meant to apply the strictures to the Senate, of which my eminent friend is a Member. That is a matter for himself. I am not here with any express authority to defend the Senate as its representative or ambassador. I fancy there is no man in this body who can not speak for himself; but since my eminent friend has now made withdrawal, or seeks now such qualification of his utterances that leave them no longer the utterance of impeachment

against those who are just and who mean only to do what is necessary to protect their just rights, then I say that I am willing to withdraw, therefore, the condemnations I have made of those things which the Senator says were not intended by him. I am delighted to qualify my strictures to this extent. As he did not intend them and did not mean them, I hope when I take my seat he will find it agreeable to wholly withdraw them from the body and likewise from the RECORD.

Therefore, Mr. President, the eminent Senator, I fancy, having no other purpose than to characterize the confessions or the attitude of Senators, that is a matter which no one has a right to deny to him. He has a right to his own opinion, and he will, no doubt, express it to whatever he chooses, and in a manner in which no man need amend in order to give it strength or character.

Mr. President, I have but one conclusion as to this feature to which I am addressing myself. If there ever was a time in history when, from my viewpoint, a woman had a right to step within this Capitol, or into any other body in the world, to speak to her servant as to the things she feels are to her interest, it is in this hour. Whatever might have been her political errors—and they have been many; from my viewpoint the whole political management at times has been filled with errors, amounting sometimes, on the one hand, to the extreme of nonsense and, on the other hand, to the extreme of offense; but that was from my viewpoint, and I am not able to say that others would indulge that with me—I, for myself, sir, blind my eyes to it all, deafen my ears to every discordant speech coming from any of them, and lend whatever there is of indulgence and charity in my nature to mantle it. I say that if there ever was an hour in which any conduct of theirs should be condoned by all humanity, it is this, when to death they give every child, to their country every son, and to the hour of struggle and suffering every sacrifice. Surely if all things be as the eminent Senator from Missouri led me to conclude he thought they were—they are yet so insignificant compared to what these women have given of life and blood, and all they are yet to give and suffer—I could not bring myself to utter one word of criticism, far less condemnation, upon them. It may be that the measures they took might not meet the approval of the delectable and the exquisite, measured by the standards of legislative ethics, but at a time like this "it is not meet that each deed have its nice comment." As to this measure, as I see it, there is but one phase for serious consideration: Are they sincere? That they are my eminent friend and myself agree.

At a time like this do they believe that this amendment they ask is their right? They do. Is there any other place in the world for them to go for it than to the legislative body? None. Where would they come, and to whom, if it be not to ourselves? Then if the fortunes of the past have not educated them as to the methods, sir, of all form and caution of political movement, has it not rather been due to the misfortune of their surroundings and the lack of opportunity for political education?

For myself, sir, I want you to know, Mr. President, that I speak frankly when I say I have nothing to gain by this amendment. With my eminent colleague, Mr. SHERMAN, I participated in getting through the measure in Illinois for suffrage in that State, and became an advocate of it all through this country, as I had been in another State which once I was honored by representing in the Congress of the United States, the State of Washington. All over this country I preached the wisdom of having these measures passed by the States. I, sir, did not favor the theory of government that gave this privilege by national constitutional amendment; and had this war not come on and hastened the necessity of giving to these women this privilege and their rights by the quickest method at hand I would still have been opposing it because of my theory of local home rule; but at a time like this I feel, sir, that every little line of demarcation of government could well be wiped out if in the final result only justice and humanity were secured to those who have given so much for the very little they ask.

Sir, I repeat, I lose more than any man I know of on this floor, for if this amendment should pass now in my State the majority of women overwhelmingly would vote against me for any office to which I undertook to aspire.

There are two reasons for that: One because from a party point of view they are overwhelmingly against the party for which I have stood and which heretofore we spoke of as "Democratic," and the other, to be equally frank, is that it is my misfortune where I live, sir, to be regarded by the women generally, in matters of politics, as a mystery or as an impostor. The opinions of some of them in that respect I have not paused to analyze or to oppose; I have merely endured them, and I fancy I will continue to endure them without protest or defense. I merely remark upon it now to demonstrate to everybody around me that I have no personal fortunes in the success of this measure; but all the more will I be found to advocate it because of the justice it represents to humanity, and, in an hour like this, for the godly virtue there is in the grant these agents of government shall give to those who are the mothers of the saviors of the Republic.

Mr. President, there is but one question; let us meet it—and with it I shall have disposed of my participation in this debate. Eminent Senators have indulged at great length upon the constitutional distinctions of government. There is great foundation for those distinctions; there is great precedent to sustain them; but they are of the past. Sir, as I view this measure to-day and the issue involved the question is not, *Can* you give the women the suffrage, but *will* you? The minds of men may haunt the dusty tomes of the past to find some devious method or ponderous reason as their excuse and justification for the denial, *but to the popular mind of humanity there will still remain the plain fact that we could do it and did not.* If the answer be that we did not because there is a constitutional distinction between the local State government and its privileges and the Federal Government and its powers, I reply to the eminent Senators that such obstruction has all been repealed.

It may not have been repealed by a specific act called a constitutional amendment, submitted to the people; but, Mr. President, there are two constitutions in America. One, that which has been written by the hand of the framers and the other the unwritten constitution made by the conduct of the citizens. In the unwritten constitution of our country, made since the Civil War, these distinctions urged by Senators as objection to this measure have been wiped out wherever necessity arose to do so for the benefit of the Nation and welfare of the people.

Would it be said, sir, in connection with the law regulating child labor that the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States by so small a fragment of majority does not specifically point out where this particular legislation is wholly justified? When we came to elect Senators by direct vote of the people it was, sir, an abrogation of the older system. When we levied an income tax, it was an abrogation of the older system. I appeal to the eminent Senators here in this body to recall the laws we have passed for the preservation of the Republic. Under the older system we could not have merged the State militia in the National Army without a constitutional amendment; but, because of the needs of the Republic, we did not hesitate, sir, wholly to ignore the fatuous distinctions of constitutional construction which had so long presented themselves as obstacles at every opportunity when men wished to invoke them, and by national legislation we accomplished every purpose which the welfare of the Republic demanded.

For myself, sir, I am unable to accept the constitutional distinctions urged by eminent Senators, however sincere they may be, as justification for their position. *Mr. President, for myself I think there comes a time in all governments when the emergencies of justice repeal the influence of precedent, and when the demands of right invoke the ignoring of obstructions born purely of sentiment and created under conditions which themselves have no longer reason for their existence.*

As to the amendment, then, sir, I not only support it because of the justice that is within it, but I deny the justice of the contentions that are urged against it. I can not, however, Mr. President, deny that natural sense of equity which Senators from certain States of the Union feel as to their own citizenship, nor can I impeach the sincerity of those eminent Senators in their desire to avoid a repetition or multiplication of the unfortunate burdens their States have suffered.

As I conclude, I reply to the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] for a moment. The Senator from Mississippi, I dare say, voices the real reason of his opposition to the proposed constitutional amendment as well as of his support of his own amendment to the joint resolution. The Senator from Mississippi speaks of the effect that the proposed constitutional amendment would have on the women vote in Mississippi. He says it would increase the black ignorant vote. The eminent junior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. MCKELLAR], in a very full and unanswerable argument, demonstrated that in point of fact there were no such dangers; but I answer this to say I will admit the danger for the purpose of the argument; I admit the condition for the purpose of the discussion; and this I reply, that under amendments now existing as laws the black man has the right to vote. "Yes," they say. Well, the people have passed local laws in their respective localities to protect themselves against the imposition of the improper black vote? The answer

is, "Yes." Well, those very same laws that apply and protect from the male equally will apply to the female. So why any longer abound in these pretensions which are preposterous before the public mind and which will convince American sentiment that they are presented for the purposes of defeating a just measure with the hope of advancing some local prejudice?

Mr. President, I support the amendment, and I sincerely hope that it will pass. I am anxious that it will be early submitted to popular vote or to a vote of the legislatures, and that it may become a part of the fundamental law. But, sir, as I do so, I concede that there is honest objection born of the differences that men entertain as to the theories of our Government. So far as I am permitted, it is but to ask that they shall pause and consider the surroundings and recognize the eventful hour that is about us and give to these women, although denied as a war measure yet admit it as a human measure, and for this give every opportunity, and the quickest, that the women may cast their vote everywhere and in every particular for the welfare of their boys in the field, who are giving their lives and their all. I ask the measure as a support and strength of the mother who has been compelled to surrender her family, and of the child who holds her hand and looks into her face as its last and only hope it may have in all the days to come. For these at such a time as this I plead that we reject all distinctions of ancient government and in the present hour cry forth our doctrine in the words of Lord Mansfield, "Let justice be done; aye, tho the heavens fall." I thank the Senate.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I endeavored to halt the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] in his mad career in order to correct a fundamental error into which he had fallen, but he was so infatuated with the sublimity of his own thought and was so engulfed in the ocean of his words that he could not pause to allow a correction. I simply desired to have him understand, if indeed he did not already understand, that nothing I had said had reflected upon the character of any lady advocating the cause of woman suffrage and that any attempt to put that sort of construction upon my words would be unworthy even a verbal juggler.

I did state that there was a lobby, and who denies the existence of a lobby? And the lobby has not only been in the corridors of this Capitol, but it has had its ramifications in every State in the Union.

Mr. McKELLAR rose.

Mr. REED. In a moment. It has had its suborganizations in every county and in every township of every State. Its literature makes plain the fact that they have gone to the extent of learning the family history of Members of Congress and of examining into their financial standing, to the end that influence may be applied. All this is an open book and the evidence of it is conclusive. But I do not charge this to be a corrupt lobby; and when the Senator from Illinois undertook to say that there had been a corrupt lobby of the railroads in this Capitol and that I had uttered no protest against it, he came very near charging me with being a servant of that lobby. It was at that point I rose and asked to interrupt him, but the Senator, swept on by the tides of his emotion, refused me that privilege.

I feel some hesitancy about replying to the Senator. The fact is that his methods of attack are always confusing. When a man comes at you with doubled-up fists and with the glare of battle in his eyes, you know what to do; but when you catch a flutter of lace, and your nostrils are intoxicated with a delicate perfume, you do not know whether you ought to resort to blows or embraces. [Laughter.]

For one thing I apologize: I tried to get the distinguished Senator to acknowledge that I had made no attack upon these ladies. He did so in this wise—"if the Senator says he did not attack the ladies, of course, he could not have attacked the ladies, although everybody knew perfectly well he did in fact attack the ladies."

I apologize for ever trying to corner the Senator. I ought to have known better, after the advertisement that appears in the morning paper of the big liberty-loan rally. I read:

> Senator J. HAMILTON LEWIS, just back from France, speaker of the evening. Senator LEWIS is just back from an extensive trip over the entire American battle front. He saw the boys at Chateau-Thierry. He talked with French and American staff officers.

That will be conceded.

> He dodged 75's in a motor car.

Senators, I can not in a colloquy, by any verbal barrage or otherwise, corner any man who can dodge .75 shells in a motor car. [Laughter.] That is a degree of physical alacrity which is only equaled by the mental gymnastics you have just witnessed.

I do not know what the Senator expects to gain or lose by this gallant defense of ladies who have not been assailed, this refutation of charges that have not been made, except that possibly he hopes, in some way or other, to take himself out of that classification wherein he says the ladies have him catalogued "either as a mystery or an impostor." I do not know whether it was intended by this speech that he should convince them that he was a mystery, and leave that question free from all doubt, or whether he hoped to convert them to the doctrine that they were altogether mistaken when they applied the other and wholly unrepeatable term, because, whatever else the Senator may be, I am sure that he is not an impostor, for the word "impostor" implies that you shall impose upon somebody, and it is not yet written that the Senator has even attempted that. He is too honorable a gentleman. So I think I shall have to refer the ladies who are in doubt to the question of mystery and ask them to solve that in their own way; and as, according to the Senator's theory, they are possessed of all intelligence and are vastly superior to men, it is entirely possible that some feminine genius may, at some period of the world's history, lift the mystic veil and disclose to us the wonders it conceals.

The Senator tells us there are two constitutions. I welcome that statement from him and applaud it, because it is not many weeks since he practically told us we did not have one Constitution.

Time and again he has said upon this floor that the Constitution is, to all intents, abolished, at least for the present. But now that we have "two constitutions" we may find solace in the fact that when we get tired of using one we may switch to the other; and when the old written Constitution becomes irksome to us we may drift over into that hazy field which is occupied by the unwritten constitution and construe our acts and rectify our conduct according to that mysterious unwritten document.

So far as I am concerned, I do not care to pursue the theme further. I did not say, as the Senator asserts, that these women painted their faces like harlots.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, the Senator must surely realize that no such remark was ever made by anybody.

Mr. REED. The Senator from Illinois used the expression "harlot."

Mr. LEWIS. Never.

Mr. REED. Oh, yes; the RECORD will show it.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I regret that the Senator's vocabulary does not draw the distinction between the words "harlequin" and "harlot." With one of those I have acquaintance; with the other, I have none—I mean, with the words in the Senate. I make no profession of virtue.

Mr. REED. The RECORD will show which one was in the Senator's mind, if he disclaims knowledge of the other.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I do not wish to have the Senator understand that I wished in debate to make the application of that word to any Senator in person. I meant just what I said—that the word "harlequin" was used by me. I made use of that word in the Senate; I did not use the other; and I meant to say that the other word did not figure in any expression of mine. I want to have the Senator understand that the word was not used; that in the debate I did not know that word; it was not in mind.

Mr. REED. See how much more generous I am. I let the Senator explain. I understood the Senator to use the term I did, and to assert that I had applied it to these women. I said—and this is my language—that Members of the Senate who subjected themselves to the disgraceful position which I was discussing would better paint their faces like court clowns. I said nothing suggestive of the other word, which, it seems, just came from the Senator's brain. I did use the word "mountebank," but I assure the Senator I did not do it in a personal sense.

Mr. President, we have had this lobby here, but that is not the thing I especially complained of; it is this truckling to a lobby. Let us see. Every railroad in the United States has the right to send a representative to a committee in Congress to argue any question in a proper way before that committee. Then it is the business of that gentleman to go home.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REED. When I get to the close of a paragraph, I will. Every woolen manufacturer has a right to send his representative to a committee of Congress and ask for a hearing and present his case and then go home. The brewers have the right to come before a committee of Congress and present their case and then go home. The Anti-Saloon League has a right to come to Washington and present its case, and then it ought to go home. The woman suffragists have the right to come to Washington and present their case fully and completely, and then they ought to go home. That is not, in my opinion, a right that can be denied to any American nor to any interest. But when organizations

are formed having for their purpose the coercion of votes, and when organizations—whether they be brewers or suffragists, or whatever they may be—post their sentinels outside this Hall, and when leaders in the Senate upon either side report to that lobby, and when, having reported, the lobby leader tells these Senators when the measure should be brought to a vote and when it should be postponed, that constitutes a taking of control of the legislative Hall by a body outside the Hall, and it is indefensible. That is the thing I criticize, and the reading of my speech, which will go in the RECORD without the change of a word, will show that that is what I criticized.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. THOMAS. I simply wish to remind the Senator that the antisuffrage branch of womanhood also has its permanent organization here and its lobby.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REED. Very well, sir; I just as much denounce that. I just as much denounce anything in the nature of a permanent lobby upon one side as I do upon the other. But the difference I make is this: The startling difference was disclosed this morning upon the floor of the Senate, when the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] publicly stated and charged that one Senator representing the minority side had misled the majority by pledging to one of the woman-suffrage leaders 33 votes upon that side when in fact there was only 32, and that, relying upon that promise, this female director of affairs had ordered the vote to go on. That was not the exact language, but that is the exact meaning of it. It was that I criticized——

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. REED. In just a second I will yield to the Senator. It was that I criticised, and it is that I am criticising now, and it is that I shall continue to criticise; and I said, in addition, that threats had been made by these organizations.

Now, I yield to the Senator from Tennessee for a question.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I want to ask the Senator if he believes that the women who have been about the Capitol as he has described have broken any law, or have not been peaceable?

Mr. REED. Why, yes; I believe they have not been peaceable in Washington. I believe they have been peaceable right here in the Capitol.

Mr. McKELLAR. Then, if the Senator believes that, how will the Senator make his criticism accord with the first amendment to our Constitution, which I shall read:

> Congress shall make no law * * * abridging * * * the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, that is quite the most crushing thing that ever was hurled at my devoted head. [Laughter.] I say, since the Senator desires to open that door, that a good many things have happened that it would have been better if they had not happened; and here I make a distinction. I do not by any means charge this to all women, to all suffragists. When I read this language from the press under date of September 17, I ask you if, at a time like this, it is not most remarkable and startling conduct?

> Suffragists burn Wilson "idle words"—
>
> Great Washington crowd cheers demonstration at White House by National Woman's Party.
>
> Money instead of jeers greets marchers and unique protest against withholding of vote.
>
> (By Universal Service.)
>
> WASHINGTON, *September 16.*
>
> With a great crowd cheering them for the first time instead of jeering them, and throwing to them rolled bills and change, the suffrage demonstrants of the National Woman's Party burned on the plinth of the Lafayette Statue, opposite the White House, this afternoon the words President Wilson uttered to another group of suffragists earlier in the day.
>
> Holding a scrap of paper containing the President's statement to a blaze from a bronze flambeau and letting it burn to the last ash at her finger tips, Miss Lucy Branham, of Baltimore, protested inaction, concluding:
>
> "We therefore take these empty words and consign them to the flames."
>
> The message the President had given earlier in the day to a delegation from the National Woman Suffrage Association was:
>
> "I am, as I think you know, heartily in sympathy with you. I have endeavored to assist you in every way in my power, and I shall continue to do so. I will do all I can to urge the passage of this amendment by an early vote."
>
> Miss Branham, speaking of the message as she burned it, said:
>
> "President Wilson still refuses any real support to the movement for political freedom of women. This afternoon he again expresses interest in their freedom, but does not take the necessary steps to see that freedom becomes an established fact. His expressions of interest, therefore, are merely empty words.
>
> "To-day the chairman of the Rules Committee of the Senate, spokesman of the administration, stated that suffrage was not on the program for this session and that the Senate was hoping to recess in a few days for the autumn election campaigns."

There is more of it.

I hold in my hand, and ask to have printed, a special dispatch to the New York World:

> APPLY TORCH TO PRESIDENT'S WORDS—PROMISE TO URGE PASSAGE OF AMENDMENT NOT DEFINITE ENOUGH FOR MILITANTS.
>
> WASHINGTON, *September 16.*
>
> While President Wilson was assuring a delegation from the National Woman Suffrage Association this afternoon that he is "heartily in sympathy" with suffrage, members of the National Woman's Party later on burned his words at a "demonstration" held at the base of the Lafayette statue, opposite the White House.
>
> To his callers to-day the President said: "I shall do all that I can to urge the passage of the amendment by an early vote." But the militant "suffs" were not satisfied with this expression. They asserted that it contained no definite assurance of action.
>
> So it remained for Miss Lucy Branham, of Baltimore, who headed a parade of some forty women, to place a torch to the words of the President's latest suffrage statement, *a copy of which had been secured from the White House callers.*
>
> "The torch which I hold," she declared, "symbolizes the burning indignation of women who for a hundred years have been given words without action."
>
> In view of the fact that the militants had obtained permission from the military authorities for their meeting to-day there was no attempt made to interfere.

Here is an article from the Washington Star to the same effect:

> [From the Washington Star, Sept. 17, 1918.]
>
> INSULT THE PRESIDENT—WOMAN'S PARTY MEMBERS PUBLICLY BURN HIS STATEMENT.
>
> Characterizing President Wilson's promise to assist them in their efforts to obtain nation-wide suffrage as empty and insincere, the National Woman's Party burned his statement in front of the Lafayette Monument facing the White House yesterday afternoon. Miss Lucy Branham performed the incinerating ceremony. She applied a torch to a piece of paper on which was printed the President's statement declaring himself in complete sympathy with the cause.
>
> The women were aroused over the report that the chairman of the Rules Committee of the Senate had announced that suffrage was not on the program for this session of Congress.

> [From the Washington Post, Tuesday, Sept. 17, 1918.]
>
> "SUFFS" BURN SPEECH—APPLY TORCH TO WILSON'S WORDS DURING DEMONSTRATION—SYMBOL OF "INDIGNATION"—THRONGS WITNESSING DOINGS IN LAFAYETTE SQUARE ORDERLY AND CONTRIBUTE TO FUND—PRESIDENT RECEIVES DELEGATION OF AMERICAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION WOMEN.
>
> As a climax of their demonstration yesterday, the National Woman's Party burned President Wilson's words on suffrage at the base of the statue of Lafayette opposite the White House. With a blazing torch in her hand, Miss Lucy Branham set fire to a scrap of paper containing *words the President* is reported to have *made to a delegation of women earlier in the afternoon.* The statement read:
>
> "I am, as I think you know, heartily in sympathy with you. I have endeavored to assist you in every way in my power and I shall continue to do so. I shall do all that I can to urge the passage of the amendment by an early vote."
>
> SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TORCH.
>
> "The torch which I hold," Miss Branham said, "symbolizes the burning indignation of women who for a hundred years have been given words without action. In the spring our hopes were raised by words much like these from President Wilson, yet they were permitted to be followed by a filibuster against our amendment on the part of Democratic Senate leaders.
>
> "To-day the chairman of the Rules Committee of the Senate, a spokesman of the administration, stated that suffrage was not on the program for this session, and that the Senate was hoping to recess in a few days for the autumn election campaigns without taking up the measure. To-day the chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee in the Senate, another spokesman of the administration, announced that he would not even call the Suffrage Committee together to consider taking a vote. This session is nearing its close, and the President and his party refuse to take any effective step toward the passage of the suffrage measure.
>
> CROWD'S MONEY FILLS HAT.
>
> Mrs. Grace Frost, wife of Lieut. Frost, of this city, carrying the American flag, led the procession of 40 banner bearers, while members of the police force cleared the way. The demonstration began with an appeal to Lafayette, written by Mrs. Richard Wainwright, wife of Rear Admiral Wainwright, and read by Miss Bertha Arnold. Mrs. Jessie Hardy MacKaye, of this city, and Mrs. Bertha Moller, of Minneapolis, made speeches.
>
> In response to the addresses the crowd began passing up dollar bills and finally a hat nearly full of silver coins for the party fund. From the start of the demonstration with its parade to the march back to headquarters in Jackson Place the crowd was orderly.
>
> WILSON "GOOD LISTENER."
>
> Several hours before the National Woman's Party demonstration a group of Democratic women from the South and West waited on President Wilson, asking him to use his influence to bring about a vote on the suffrage amendment. The interview was arranged by the National American Woman Suffrage Association and lasted 15 minutes.
>
> Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, of Texas, who headed the delegation, said:

"The President is a wonderful listener. He gives the closest attention to the matter presented, and you have his entire interest for the period of the interview. That is real democracy—to be able to get to the head of the Nation with the problems of the people."

BALTIMORE SUFFRAGIST BURNS WILSON'S PROMISE.

BUREAU OF THE BALTIMORE AMERICAN,
Washington, September 16.

A Baltimore suffragist, Miss Lucy Branham, took a spectacular part in a demonstration held by the National Woman's Party this afternoon to show the indignation of the radical element at President Wilson's answer to the delegation of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, who had called on him earlier in the afternoon. Standing at the base of the Lafayette Statue, opposite the White House, she burned with a torch the words of the President's latest suffrage statement.

Holding a scrap of paper with the President's message to the blaze from a bronze flambeau and letting it burn to the last ash at her finger tips, Miss Branham said:

"We take these empty words and consign them to the flames."

The message the President had given earlier in the day to the delegation was:

"I am, as I think you know, heartily in sympathy with you. I have endeavored to assist you in every way in my power, and I shall continue to do so. I will do all I can to urge the passage of this amendment by an early vote."

Miss Branham, speaking of the message as she burned it, said:

"We want action," she cried. "The torch which I hold symbolizes the burning indignation of women who for a hundred years have been given words without action. In the spring our hopes were raised by words much like these from President Wilson, yet they were permitted to be followed by a filibuster against our amendment on the part of the Democratic Senate leaders.

"To-day the chairman of the Rules Committee of the Senate, a spokesman for the administration, stated that suffrage was not on the program for this session. To-day the chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee in the Senate, another spokesman for the administration, announced that he would not even call the Suffrage Committee together to consider taking a vote.

"For five years women appealed to this President and his party. The President has given words and words and words. We announce to the President and the whole world to-day by this act our determination that words shall no longer be the only reply given to American women."

Members of the local police force politely cleared away bystanders so that the suffragists might have ample room for their demonstration.

Miss Marguerite Rosett and a number of other Baltimore suffragists took part in the demonstration. Miss Julia Emory was a torchbearer.

Now let us see what the effect of such conduct and such publicity is.

We are told that there was a great crowd present, so that it was not a single woman's affair, and that great crowd which sympathized, and that great crowd which cheered, that great crowd which cast money before these women, rolls of bills, must have been a crowd of suffragists. They could not have been antisuffragists; so that you identify with this woman's act the general conduct of a large part of these people. The crowd, I take it, was not assembled here from Washington. Its leader was from Baltimore. The permission to hold the meeting was gained by a branch of this organization. That evidently is a branch of the organization which the distinguished Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] this morning described as acting in harmony with the Republican Party.

Now, I do not know whether they are acting with the Republican Party or not. I am not charging that. I have not made a partisan speech in the Senate since this war began, and I will tell you what I think of you Republicans.

I think you are mistaken about a lot of political questions; but I think, when it comes to standing by this Government, that the Democratic boy and the Republican boy are dying in the same trenches, and that their blood, mingling in one common stream, is a rebaptism of American patriotism; and I have not a word to say to you in criticism. God bless you! You have stood like men, and you will so stand to the end. And while you are standing that way, though you be bitter partisans trained, trained to the business of partisanship; though you have fought partisan battles until you are covered all over with scars; though you have in political campaigns worn out your throats and lungs denouncing the party of the President, yet at a time like this no word of criticism comes from your lips. You stand back of him and back of this war, and manfully cry: "On, and all together as we go on!" While you are doing that, these women are in the public parks burning the President's speeches, and their assembled cohorts are casting money before them and cheering them; and the pleasant word goes to Germany that in the very shadows of the Capitol, in the very front yard of the White House, these women gain applause as they heap obloquy upon the Chief Magistrate of the Republic!

Can you send a message to the Germans that will please them better than that? If, sirs, we were to pick up to-night's paper and were to read that a surging mob upon the steps of the imperial palace in Berlin had burned the last address of the Kaiser and had denounced him and that the action of those who burned his speech was so much in accord with German sentiment that a large crowd assembled and cheered until the vaulted heavens rocked and cast money before the mob, would it give to us encouragement or would it bring to us sorrow and pain? Would it not, if we believed it to be true, hearten us all? Would it not make us gird up our loins for the fray? Would it not be to us a welcome voice out of the night of this war—a voice calling us on to triumph and to victory? And yet, sirs, this thing is done in America; and it is charged upon the floor of the Senate that that part of the woman-suffrage organization which thus defiled the public park, thus disgraced it that like conduct by men would have met with instant punishment, is a large and important element in this fight!

Senators, I lay this down as a truism: No one who will not obey a law has the right to ask to make a law. No party, whether it be composed of men or women, has the right to seek place in the halls of the lawgiver until its members are willing themselves to respect the law. No anarchist, who denies the existence and right of law, has any right to ask to be permitted to write a law for others to obey. That which he defames and he debases and he breaks he can not ask others to honor. No set of women have a right to ask for suffrage while they denounce the laws of their country. Neither have they the right to help to select a President so long as they hurl anathema and insult upon the Chief Magistrate of the Nation.

When you find these ladies at a time like this publicly burning the speech of the President of the United States in the Capital of the Nation, that conduct is almost the equivalent of insulting the American flag.

I do not mean that we must accept everything the President says and submit our judgment to it, but I do say that to take his speech and burn it in public is almost the equivalent of burning him in effigy in public and almost the equivalent of degrading the flag; and these things have been done. Moreover, they have paraded the streets of Washington, they have carried their banners in front of the White House, they have carried on a campaign here not of persuasion, but have attempted to carry on a campaign of coercion. This has not been confined to Washington alone. It is said that it is confined to one branch of the suffragettes.

Mr. President, that is not all. In England, where they had an outbreak of militancy which finally found its expression in acts of arson, in the destruction of property, in the breaking of wonderful statuary, in the desecration of pictures that were miracles of human genius, yet even in England when the war cloud enveloped the land the suffragette relaxed her efforts to stir up public discontent. But in this country, even while the boys are marching to the front, these women—this part of these women whom my friend from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] says are the Republican part—have not hesitated at acts which can not fail to bring aid and comfort to the enemy. What a spectacle it is!

We are told that women should be permitted to vote because their boys have gone to the front. Ah, yes; God bless them! The women of the country are not represented by acts like those I have described. The woman at home who gave to her first born a final kiss, who closed her eyes that she might keep back the unbidden tears, and gripped by a mother's heart so that her lips could say, "Go, and God bless you all the way." That kind of a woman needs no defense from me; she requires no encomium. Her crown of glory is gemmed with the love of the world. Her holy mission has been recognized ever since there was such a thing as mother's love and manhood's reverence for a mother's sweet divinity.

Back of the turmoil of this Capital where discontented women march and flaunt their banners and burn the speeches of the man who has been described as the foremost figure of the world, there still is that innumerable host of mothers whose souls are so exalted that they can sacrifice even their first born upon the altar of their country, whose trembling hands bind on the uniforms of their brave boys, and who, even while their hearts are breaking, can send them forth with words of courage to inspire them as they march to fields of danger and of death. I speak for these mothers and women whose nimble fingers in myriads of places weave into sweaters and stockings and stitch into handkerchiefs and bandages the love that will warm the hearts of soldiers who charge across the blood-stained fields or soothe the pain of those who writhe beneath the surgeon's knife.

So if I have spoken severely of the particular methods that have been employed by certain suffragettes, let me say, and I do it out of respect for womanhood, out of respect for that great galaxy of women who have stood by the men and helped men keep the home, who rear the children, and upbuilt the church, who have made life a song of love and the future a dream of bliss, for these women I speak, and they have not been heard. As for the others they are just now more interested in voting

than in the conduct of the war. They propose to vote come what may, cost what it may. This is an attempt to trample the constitutions of sovereign States, aye, to do it legally, it is true, but still to trample on them.

I hold here the constitution of my own State. There is written by the people themselves in their organic law what the qualifications of a voter are. It is further declared that that sacred constitution shall not be changed save by the votes of the people of the State.

But when you pass this joint resolution, if it shall be adopted, then the Legislature of the State of Missouri shall have, in effect, transferred to it the power which otherwise is vested in the people, and when the legislatures of 36 States, some 2,000 men in all, shall have cast their votes, the majority of them in favor of this measure, it will become a law, aye, though nine-tenths of all the people of my State should will it otherwise. It is, of course, the method of amending the Constitution. It is within our power, but because it is within our power it does not follow that we should do it. It is within our legal power to submit an amendment to the Constitution that would set up a hereditary aristocracy in this land. It is within our power to amend the Constitution of the United States so that the office of Senator would be perpetual. Aye, it is within our power to submit an amendment to the Constitution of the United States that would destroy private property. But if we did these things we would run counter to every fundamental principle of right.

So when it was proposed by the Constitution that amendments should be submitted to the people only after two-thirds of each body of Congress had so voted it was intended that both branches of Congress should exercise their solemn judgment and put the stamp of their solemn approval on the act. After that was done, after that safeguard had been passed, then the measure could be turned over to the action of the legislatures of the several States. This was in lieu of the provision which otherwise would doubtless have been written requiring a vote by the people themselves.

I have spoken of the constitution of the State of Missouri. I have but hastily examined the books. Yet I find that in a large number of States the people have declared that there shall be no change as to the qualifications of their voters unless the people by vote shall make that change. All the people of those States will be deprived of the right they thus carefully reserved to themselves.

You will substitute for it the vote of State legislatures, and you do it because you dare not submit this question to the votes of the people of the States. You do it to deprive them of their votes. Your action in the report referred to is about on a par with your present performance. You sit here with almost a two-thirds majority declaring, "We will vote on such-and-such a day," and then when that day comes, if you are not ready, you refuse to vote on that day; and still you always stand ready if a man upon the other side shall sicken or shall die or shall be away, to take advantage of that fact and force a vote at once. Thus, you coerce with your power, to the end that you may override the constitution of sovereign States by placing it in the power of the legislatures to annul their respective constitutions.

Why do you not come to the issue and face this matter in the open arena, where all men shall have a right to vote? This is the people's country. It is not a country that ought in any way to be controlled by any influence or power on earth save that of the people. The nearer you get to the people, to use the common expression, the closer you get to the grass roots, the nearer you have a just and a fair government. Why is it that this method has been taken?

I have here literature of the leaders of the moderate class of suffragettes in which they say they propose to take the present outlined course "because they can get at the legislatures," and that they do not want to take the course of going to the people lest they should be defeated there. In my own State we have had the issue. It was a perfectly fair contest.

One hundred and forty-five thousand majority was rolled up against a suffrage amendment. Do you tell me, then, or if you tell me, I ask you by what right these ladies who burn Presidents' messages or this other class of ladies who resort to the more pleasant form of approach, who resort to argument and speech and an occasional threat of political annihilation—I ask you by what right they say they represent the women of Missouri? How do they get their badge of authority? What convention of the women of Missouri has been called to ask them to speak? There are, of course, some women in Missouri for this measure. There are some people everywhere in favor of almost every vagary in government that ever has been conceived. Who has authority to speak for the women of Missouri? I have had petitions from a few.

I have had remonstrances from many. I simply speak what I believe when I say that if this measure were referred to the people of my State, and if the women were allowed to vote, and not a single man, I believe they would defeat it. They would defeat it, why? They would defeat it very much for the reason that these ladies, speaking of them by and large, have no ambition to try and be the head of the household, and by parity of reasoning they have no ambition to try and be the head of the State. Most of them are content, disgraceful as it may appear in this age of the world's history, to recognize in their fathers the head of the family, or in their husbands the head of the family—the head of the family for the purpose of going out and doing battle in the world; the head of the family for the purpose of bringing home sustenance; the head of the family for the purpose of standing at the door of the household and protecting it; the head of the family for the purpose of defending the honor of wife and of child, if need be, with life; while they have claimed for themselves the right to be the head of the family in the sense that they mother the children, they rear the children, they keep the home, they teach the divine principles of religion, they keep the holy precepts of human love, and in that sphere they are supreme. In that sphere they are sublime, and no one would try to take it from them.

These women in my State believe in the old-fashioned doctrine that men should fight the battles on the red line; that men should stand and bare their bosoms to the iron hail; and that back of them, if need be, there shall be women who may bind up the wounds and whose tender hands may rest upon the brow of the valiant soldier who has gone down in the fight.

But, sir, that is woman's work, and it has been woman's work always. There never was a time, from the days of the stone age, when the man went forth to battle with wild beasts and came home torn and rent, but the woman of his cave bound up his wounds. There never was a time, either, when he would not stand at the door of that cave and fight the wild beasts and protect the woman as she crouched behind with her brood. It is manhood upon one side and womanhood upon the other.

What is it that these ladies are to gain? Why should we have this period of agitation just now? This is the worst time in the history of the world for agitation of this sort. Do you tell me that it will help win the war? I venture to dissent from that statement, no matter from what authority it may come. Help you win the war! Why? I heard some one say that it would be a certificate of our democracy to other lands. Let us analyze that thought for just a moment. Shall we certify to our democracy for the benefit of the Germans or Austrians or Turks? These people live under absolute monarchy, and despise, most of them, the very name of democracy. If they had loved democracy they would have had democracy, for every government is but the reflection of the souls of the people, save where you find a conquered race crushed by the iron heel of power.

Outside of that, government is the reflection of the soul of people. The reason for having a Kaiser in Germany is because there is a little Kaiser in the heart of every Prussian. The reason for having a monarch in Turkey—I have forgotten what you call the scoundrel—a Sultan—is because the people believe in Sultans; the reason for having harems in Turkey is because the people believe in harems. Shall we, then, make apology because we are not sufficiently democratic to these monstrous Governments and these people who have been so long taught, and misled by their teachings, that they are part and parcel of the scheme of government? Shall we do that? Well, then, pray where shall we go to apologize? Shall it be to Russia? Why, Russia abolished vodka and introduced woman suffrage; and, if that be an example, it is upon the wrong side, for Russia is now an intellectual and moral waste where the wild beasts of passion prey upon the weak and where cruelty draws back the lips of vengeance from the white fangs of hate and sinks them into the hearts of the helpless.

Shall we then go to France, which for but some 40 or 50 years has been a republic, and take lessons from her? Oh, splendid, glorious France, whose sons charge over bloody battle fields and die with cheers upon their lips—glorious, splendid France! But France has not adopted woman suffrage, and the women of France who bind up the wounds, the women of France who work in the fields, the women of France whose tireless fingers are making cartridges for the Huns and bandages for their brave Frenchmen at the front—these women are satisfied with the democracy of France and are praying God that America may help them preserve the democracy they have, and they are welcoming the Yankee boys with kisses and with flowers. We do not need to apologize to France.

Shall we then go to England? Why, sir, do we need to apologize to any government that, much as we respect and even love

her, yet has a king upon a throne; which has an hereditary aristocracy; which has a House of Lords whose members hold their seats by virtue of ancestral blood? Shall we find it necessary to apologize for American democracy to that country, however great and splendid it may be—that country which once put chains upon us, which were broken by the stout swords of Washington and Lafayette?

Well, then, where shall we apologize for our democracy? Shall it be to Italy—a country that in modern times set up a kingdom; that even now has a king upon his throne; who sent us here as its representative in this democratic hall a prince, to be introduced by his title and to wear the insignia of his royal blood? Do we need to apologize to Italy, whose very front to-day we help to hold; whose wall of flesh and blood along the Austrian front finds some of its chief pillars in the Yankee troops who fight to save the soil of Italy from trembling beneath the tread of Austrian foemen?

Who challenges our democracy? None but a Bolshevik, some creature who denies all government. Shall we yield to them? Why, sir, this democracy of ours is the proudest thing in all the world. Its foundation stones were laid by the mightiest builders of all times.

The men who sat and looked back through the ages of the past and read the story of mankind's struggles and woes and then sat down to plan a citadel of liberty so mighty that it could never be overthrown—the men who sat about that council chamber were the master spirits of the world. To them we might now offer almost our very prayers if it were not impiety to pray to any but Almighty God. There was Jefferson, in whose great brain was pictured the evils and the wrongs of all the past; Madison and Washington and Hamilton and all the immortals who here wisely planned and laid the foundations of the great temple of our liberty. When they thus planned and builded, sirs, they knew the danger of concentrated power; they knew that authority feeds upon itself and, like a monster, grows from its own flesh until it will destroy the liberties of all. So they declared that there should be no powerful central government; that each State should keep complete and absolute sovereignty, save as it might yield certain limited rights for certain common purposes and ends.

They left to the several States the absolute right to frame their own governments, only stipulating that they should be of republican form; they left to the States the right to say who should vote and how the affairs of the people should be conducted; they left to the States every right save the few rights that were delegated and which were essential to the stability of the Central Government. The first great infringement on that right was during the late war, when, because of the negro question then involved, Congress passed the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments; but those amendments were intended at that time only to reach that question. Always it had been conceded that Kansas might settle for herself the question of the suffrage of her citizens; that Arizona might settle for herself the question as to who should vote there; that South Carolina should have the same privilege; and that all the other States in unison should have similar rights and privileges. Now it is proposed to deny this right.

I oppose this joint resolution because it is violative not of the Constitution, for, as I have said, you may change the Constitution, but because it is violative of the spirit of our institutions. I oppose it because it seems to me the unjustest thing on earth to undertake to fix the qualifications of voters in my State, and for those qualifications to be fixed by men and women who never set foot upon our soil, and who know nothing of the institutions of our State. I do not want to undertake to tell Arizona who shall vote in the State of Arizona; I have no right to do so, because the people of Arizona know their own affairs, and are capable of controlling them. I do not want to interfere in Colorado, for the people of Colorado know their own affairs. It would be an act of the grossest temerity if I should undertake to tell the people of Virginia, or the people of Georgia, how they should control their affairs.

Mr. President, this is a matter that belongs to the States; it has heretofore remained with the States. Under this system of government that has grown up we have prospered. If it were proposed to-morrow to amend the Constitution of the United States so that the women of Arizona could not vote, I should vote against doing so, because that is the business of Arizona. If it were proposed to amend the Constitution so that the women of Wyoming could not vote, I should vote against doing so, because that is the business of Wyoming, and so of every other suffrage State. I would not vote to interfere with their right to let women vote; but I insist that they should not interfere with the right of other States to settle their own affairs.

Why is it that at a time like this we should have this question thrust upon us? This is the second time it has been here. It has been present all this session. The minds of Senators have been diverted and drawn away from the work of this war by this eternal question constantly coming up.

We were ready to vote upon it weeks ago; men were brought here from every quarter of the country; pairs were refused; everything was in readiness; but the matter was delayed because there was not a two-thirds majority for the proposition. Again we were notified to be here on Thursday; that there would be a vote on Thursday. I honor the Senator in charge of the bill for giving us the notice. He did not try to take snap judgment. Senators have traveled thousands of miles to be here, and yet we are not permitted to vote, and we do not know whether we are going to be permitted to vote on this resolution next Saturday or not. In the meantime, there is a dispute whether we ought or ought not to be permitted to vote, because the lobbyists may have been deceived as to the exact number of Republicans pledged to vote for the measure.

Mr. President, why do we need this? I have said that the fathers have laid the foundations of this country wisely; and how wisely did they lay them. The tides of our civilization have swept from the Atlantic coast to the golden shore. Where there were 3,000,000 people there are now 104,000,000; we have bound this country together with bands of steel; we have erected the finest cities that have ever graced the world; we have builded churches upon every hillside and schoolhouses in every valley; we have covered the land with myriads of homes where women are protected and where love sets up its holy shrine, and rising from this country like a stream of light has been its glorious influence.

All around the world the oppressed of every land have turned toward our shores. I had thought that England's Government had been liberalized by the influence of this country; I had thought that in sweet France the people had caught an inspiration from the example of America; I had believed that in all the far-off lands of the world, wherever men have turned their eyes toward that beacon light, they have dreamed of enjoying the liberty enjoyed beneath our flag. Until recently our democracy has never been challenged. It is challenged now during this war by those who burn its Chief Magistrate's speeches in the public place, and who heap obloquy upon the name of the Republic. For myself I refuse to join those who traduce the Republic. I decline to apologize for American democracy.

Mr. THOMAS obtained the floor.

Mr. BORAH. May I interrupt the Senator for a moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield for a moment to the Senator for a question.

Mr. BORAH. I wish to ask the Senator in charge of the measure a question, if I may, with reference to a possible vote upon the joint resolution. I desire to ask the Senator in charge of the measure, in view of the fact that I am almost compelled to be away for a day, if it can be understood that there will be no vote upon this measure until Monday?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, so far as I have information, I know of no reason why a vote should be deferred until Monday. I do not know to what extent the debate upon the measure may be drawn out, but I do know that there are several Senators who desire to get away from Washington at the earliest practicable moment. I do not believe that it would be possible to get a vote to-day, but I hope it will be possible to get a vote at some time to-morrow; and, while I realize that it would be an inconvenience to the Senator from Idaho, there are several other Senators who would be inconvenienced by having the matter go over until Monday. I, therefore, hope the Senator from Idaho will find a way to stay with us until we come to a vote.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I am supposed to be in Virginia to-morrow and in North Carolina the next day, in connection with the liberty loan campaign, and I think I shall go. These dates were rearranged in order to accommodate this particular situation, and, as the meetings have been arranged for, I shall undoubtedly attend them; but I would much prefer to be here and vote, and I rather suspect that I will be back in time to vote upon this measure.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator from Colorado if I may make a brief statement?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield for a question.

Mr. PITTMAN. I wish to make a brief statement with reference to the suggestion of the Senator from Idaho, not in answer particularly to his inquiry, but in the nature of information.

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. PITTMAN. I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Idaho to the fact that, in assisting the chairman of the committee, I have made inquiry on this side among those who desire to speak, and, while there are several who wish to address the Senate, I am informed that none of them will take over 10, 15, 20, or perhaps 30 minutes. With that information from this side as to those who favor the measure, the Senator might be able to form some opinion with regard to the matter. Of course, so far as those who oppose the measure are concerned, we have no way of ascertaining how long they may desire to speak; but, so far as those on this side are concerned who favor this measure, I am satisfied that they will take a very short time to-morrow, and there is no reason why we can not get a vote.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield to me for a moment?

Mr. THOMAS. I am unwilling to yield to a constant run of questions. I want to accommodate my colleagues, however, and certainly I yield to the Senator from Virginia for a moment.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I thank the Senator. I simply desire to make a very brief statement. In the first place, Mr. President, I have been assured by the Senator in charge of the joint resolution that he had no idea of calling for a vote until a certain Senator who is absent from the city returns, and that he can not possibly return until 4.30 o'clock on Saturday. That Senator is coming from the Pacific slope, and there is not one chance in a hundred that a train from the Pacific slope that is due to arrive here at 4.30 o'clock on Saturday evening will be here in time for a vote of Saturday. The Senator from New Mexico, I repeat, informed me that he had not the slightest idea of having a vote until that Senator arrived.

In view of this fact, it seems to me a very great injustice to hold the Senate in session here and cut off Senators from important engagements in the public service, such as the engagement of the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH], who is billed to deliver liberty loan addresses at two places, one in Virginia and one in North Carolina. That is a patriotic purpose, a purpose of immense importance to the country, and no man can render a greater service in that connection than can the Senator from Idaho. He wishes to discharge that duty to the country, and I think that it is a very poor measure of justice and reason which would debar Senators from performing that sort of service by compelling them to stay here, in view of the fact that there is no idea of allowing a vote until the absent Senator, who can not possibly arrive until 4.30 on Saturday, shall have returned. Now, I appeal to the Senator from New Mexico to agree to an adjournment over until Monday, as it will deprive him of no advantage and no right, and it will be a great convenience to Senators who are anxious to render a patriotic service to the country.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President——

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Just one moment, please.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. If the Senator from New Mexico will answer that he is unwilling under these circumstances to adjourn over until Monday, I will have one more statement to make.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, will my colleague allow me a moment?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I think that Monday will be here before I ever get an opportunity to address the Senate, unless Senators will allow me to proceed.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. As the Senator is impatient of further interruptions, I will not ask him to yield further.

Mr. THOMAS. Just a moment, Mr. President. I will cheerfully yield to the Senator having charge of the joint resolution, who has been asked a question by the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, in answer to the statement of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN], I wish to say that I do not know of a more important measure which has been brought before the Senate since I have been a Member of it than the pending joint resolution, at least in view of the measures which are likely to come before the Senate in the near future. I know that there are a number of Senators who want to leave the city for the purpose of entering into the liberty-loan campaign; they wish to leave here for the purpose of staying in that campaign and seeing that it is made a great success; and every day that this matter is delayed we are delaying not only one Senator who wants to enter into that campaign but several other Senators. It may be true that the train on to-morrow may be late, but the hours will still go by, and I see no reason why, on an important measure of this kind, we should not remain here not until 4.30 or 5.30, but until 12.30 a. m., or even 12 the next day in order to come to a vote.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I will say to the Senator from New Mexico that I do not underrate the importance of this measure; I am as anxious as he is to reach a final vote on it; but I desire, in perfect kindness and good will, to notify him that there will be no vote on this measure befroe Monday. If the Senate stays in session all day and all night from now until Monday, there will be no vote on this measure, because I do not intend to pursue any course that will debar the Senator from Idaho or any other Senator from going out to make patriotic addresses for the liberty-loan campaign when it is absolutely unnecessary for them to remain here.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Then, Mr. President, if that shall occur, I am sure the country will relieve me of the responsibility of any postponement.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I am not afraid of the country in this emergency misjudging such action as the Senate may take to enable Senators to go out and make these addresses, so that they are back here on Monday; and I can assure them that there will be no vote before that time.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield to me for a second?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. THOMAS. I take pleasure in yielding to the Senator from Massachusetts for one second.

Mr. LODGE. I can say all I have to say in a moment. I only desire to say that I agree with the Senator from Virginia. This proposed amendment to the Constitution is too important a question to be gotten through in a thin Senate or to be passed through absenteeism or through juggling with pairs. There is more than a third of the Senate against it at this moment, and when we vote we will have a full vote, with every Senator represented or voting.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I had intended during the course of the discussion upon the proposed constitutional amendment to occupy the attention of the Senate for about five minutes with a written statement. Inasmuch, however, as the debate as it has progressed during the course of the day has focused itself upon some local conditons, I feel constrained to occupy the attention of the Senate for a few moments with some brief remarks upon the subject matter of our deliberations.

I had hoped, Mr. President, that when this proposed amendment to the Constitution was reached in the order of business it would be submitted substantially without debate. I do not believe that the discussion in which we have indulged and the discussion which will follow will change the vote of a single Senator. I believe that every Member of this body knows, and has known for a long time, just what his vote will be. I say that because this question, in my judgment, has long ago passed the stage of controversy. It was once said that every great question involving human affairs must undergo three successive stages—ridicule, argument, and persuasion. Such has been the course of the movement for equal suffrage. It encountered ridicule and contumely for years, and passed successfully through that ordeal. It has met its opponents in high and honorable debate for years, and public opinion has been finally convinced of its justice. It will soon be a part of the accepted policy of the American Union, whether the vote soon to be taken upon the proposed amendment to the Constitution shall be successful or unsuccesful. All has been said for it that can be urged in its behalf; all has been said against it that the ingenuity of man and of woman can devise. There is nothing new in this discussion; it is merely the statement and restatement, many times repeated, of arguments and statements for and against the movement, which have been worn threadbare for the last 25 years, to my certain knowledge. Hence, Mr. President, I had hoped that, recognizing that fact, there would be but little delay in coming to a vote upon the subject; but my colleagues have seen fit to take another course, and argument, vituperation, the display of feeling and of sentiment exhibit themselves in the same old way and for the same old purposes.

I have never been a sentimentalist upon the subject of equal suffrage, and I may say, Mr. President, that so long as it occupied the emotional stage it was unpopular. The same may be said of prohibition. When it occupied the field of morals exclusively, and appeals were made to the emotions only in its behalf, it made but little progress and advancement toward final success. So with the woman-suffrage movement. It has been retarded by much maudlin sentiment, by the display of emotion, and by indulgence in arguments or prophecies regarding the uplift in human affairs and in human nature which would follow its adoption.

I have been a suffragist, Mr. President, for entirely different reasons, practical ones, reasons which in my judgment are conclusive of the subject, provided my premises be accepted.

Upon the close of the war the people of the United States founded their policy and their institutions upon the principle of universal suffrage. An amendment was crystallized into the Constitution having for its purpose the extension of that suffrage to all men, regardless of color or previous condition. No man denies that. No man can deny it. But while professing universal suffrage this country has failed miserably in its practice, because it has denied that principle to one-half of our population. The man, whether native or naturalized, whether a patriot or a traitor, black or white, Jew or gentile, in love with the institutions of his country or in opposition to them, has been given the right to vote and to assist in molding the laws of his country, even to improper purposes, while the woman of intelligence and refinement has been denied that right.

I never have been able to perceive any justice or argument for or reason in an arbitrary division upon the line of sex in the application of a universal principle of national policy. That is a practical argument, as I understand it; and it is upon that principle, and that principle mainly, that I never have been able to deny the justice of the claim of the woman who wants to vote that under the institutions of her country she should have the right to do so. They are quite as intelligent, quite as capable—more capable, in fact—than many native-born American citizens, to say nothing of those who are not, who enjoy this privilege as a matter of course, and who have much to do—perhaps more than the average business man and farmer—with molding the legislation and shaping the destinies of the Republic.

A great many women object to the grant of universal suffrage to the extent demanded by the pending joint resolution. They do not care to exercise the right, but that should not interfere with or operate as an obstacle to the right to vote of the woman who does desire to exercise it. Hence I am concerned with the main proposition, to wit, that inasmuch as we have proclaimed universality in the exercise of the franchise, we are both illogical and unjust so long as we confine its operation to one-half of the American people.

Mr. President, that being the case, and assuming the basis of this contention, how puerile becomes the objection founded upon the conduct of a few women or the statements or actions of a few women, a very small proportion, notwithstanding their claims to the contrary, of the vast body of womanhood devoted to the cause of universal suffrage. I deplore as much as any man can the scenes and the conduct that have disgraced and disfigured the events of this city during the past 18 months. I am unable to understand those mental processes which can in any wise commend or condone them. I agree that they leave a disagreeable sentiment behind them, a feeling that people guilty of such conduct by that very fact exhibit their incompetency to exercise the right of suffrage. But unfortunately, Mr. President, we have a great many men in this country who do precisely the same thing. Not within the last 18 months, but for the last 25 or 30 years, we have had slackers in America in abundance—traitors, if you please—and yet these men may exercise the right to determine, in my State and in yours, whether you and I shall further represent the States which have sent us here or whether some one else shall be selected in our places. In other words, if the right to vote depends upon the individual, a very large percentage of American citizens ought to be disfranchised this moment, and there is not an argument based upon individual conduct as applied to women that ought not to be applied to men.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED], in his very eloquent discussion of this subject, said that no man who breaks the laws should be permitted to make the laws. I agree to that sentiment absolutely; but they do. Every lawbreaker in the United States who has not been convicted of a felony, and for that reason becomes disfranchised, does assist by casting his vote in making the laws. So the Senator's statement is either too broad or else it is not applicable at all; and no man can deny the fact that no course of human misconduct in man of any character or description deprives him of the right of suffrage, except he be convicted thereof and duly punished. In other words, until he becomes a convicted felon, whatever his conduct, the right to vote remains with him. We do not, therefore, practice what we preach; or, if we do, it is in those sections of the country with whose laws and practices I am not acquainted.

The Senator gave us a very attractive description of the burning of the President's message a few days ago by a congregation of neurotic women in one of the public parks. There is nothing which the Senator said regarding that disgraceful episode that I do not most heartily approve; but the Senator, after his lurid and eloquent description of this piece of misconduct, declared that the women of the country were not responsible for acts like that.

I agree with that also; and yet, if the Senator be logical, he would punish the large body of women who are not responsible for acts like this, because such acts were actually committed within the shadow of the dome of the Capitol. Of course they were not responsible; they repudiated it. Every good woman in the United States in her heart repudiated it, whether she be for suffrage or against it; and I am here—and that is why I took the floor—to protest against the position occupied by the Senator from Missouri and others, which would hold all womankind in America responsible for the misconduct of a mere handful in the Capital of the United States. That is not justice; it is not equity; it is not manly; and I am satisfied that whatever motives may actuate Senators in voting upon this question, that will not have a controlling influence.

Mr. President, a good deal has been said this afternoon regarding the existence of women lobbies in the Capitol. I do not like to see them here. I do not like to see lobbies anywhere. But let me ask those who denounce the women for lobbying in the Capitol, Who set them the example? We lords of creation, who for a hundred years have beset the Capitol of the United States in the interest of or against certain measures of legislation; and if we who alone are competent to exercise the franchise indulge in conduct like that, in God's name why hold the poor women responsible for imitating our example?

Why, Mr. President, there are more lobbyists—I was going to say—in Washington than there are officeholders, but perhaps that would be stretching it a little bit since war was declared. The American Federation of Labor has a lobby here. The employees of the Government have organized and they have a lobby. The papers announced yesterday that the House had enacted a measure providing for a minimum wage of $3 per day, and that the lobby, composed of the members of this organization, would soon appear before the Senate committee in its behalf. Why, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States is, in its last analysis, a lobby—and I am using the term in a respectful sense. The sugar people had a lobby here for years. The manufacturers have a lobby here now. I can not conceive of a single important interest that is not represented here, and represented nearly all the time.

Some lobbies are more pestiferous than others; some lobbies are more dishonorable than others; some lobbies are more reprehensible than others; but they are all lobbies, Mr. President, just the same. I am satisfied that some of the lady lobbyists here overplayed the game, if I may use a common expression. There is such a thing as bedeviling the life out of a legislator, and a few of us have had reason to experience something of that sort since the time this measure has been active and prominent in the public mind. They are wrong in principle, provided they exceed those arts of legitimate persuasion to which every man and every woman is entitled. But why condemn those unacquainted with the refinements and the ethics of political life, who have been banished from the halls of political enfranchisement all their lives, if, forsooth, beholding their brethern accomplishing many things and defeating many things through organized movements, in their weak way they see fit to imitate us and to carry on the same sort of work? If, because the women have lobbies in the city of Washington, this amendment should be defeated, then by the same line of reasoning 90 per cent of the legislation enacted at every session of this Congress should also be defeated.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. WEEKS. I notice that the Senator from Colorado does not seem to agree with the President——

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, the President and I differ in a great many things.

Mr. WEEKS. Who, if my recollection is correct, stated that as a result of the lobby investigation which took place a few years ago the lobbyists betook themselves out of the Capitol like rats out of a sinking ship.

Mr. THOMAS. They did; but, like rats, they came back again as soon as the ship was pumped out. [Laughter.] They did. Why, Mr. President, every train leaving the city of Washington was crowded to the guards with lobbyists, some of them on the tenders of the engines, as I understand, and on the roofs of the cars; but when the hurricane passed they came back again.

Mr. WEEKS. I did not notice their absence, and therefore I asked the question.

Mr. THOMAS. Perhaps the Senator did not, and perhaps it may be true that my statement is too broad. Possibly a great many of them did stay, but I am pretty sure they remained under cover for a little while.

So much, then, for this argument or charge concerning the lobbyists. The Senator has reminded us that this eternal question is constantly coming up, and he is right. Eternal questions always come up until they are properly disposed of. An idea taking root in that vast soil that we call public conscience and public opinion, slowly extending its roots and its fibers, ultimately exercises a force that will overturn capitols and uplift palaces. The great principle of democracy itself required centuries for its development, and it was an eternal question until the conscience of mankind accepted it as a political rule of conduct and based their governments upon its foundations. It is still an eternal question, for autocracy is to-day challenging its right and its existence upon the field of battle. It is an eternal fight, either in the halls of legislation, in the policies of government, or upon the battle field; and I make the prediction that if it be true, as claimed, that a bare constitutional majority exists in this body against this amendment, it will return for consideration before six months have passed over our heads, and will continue to do so until the American Congress shall respond to the sentiment and act accordingly.

Nobody questions our power to enact this amendment, but only its expediency; and I may say here that, in my judgment, the only remaining argument of any force whatever that can be urged against this mighty question is whether we should make it effective by engrafting an amendment in the Constitution of the United States, or whether it should be relegated to the States, each of them to determine it for its own purposes and according to its own way. That is a debatable question, and, of course, I honor those who differ with me upon that subject.

Their opinions are doubtless the result of their conscientious beliefs, and they will cast their votes accordingly. But if the argument that is made here be good—that is to say that a two-thirds majority of the States have no right to force their views upon the other States dissenting—then every amendment that we have adopted since the ratification of the Constitution should not have been enacted. I know of none which was not opposed. Even the first amendment, offered and insisted upon by Jefferson himself, was opposed. They were opposed upon the general ground that they were wholly unnecessary; that the Constitution itself was sufficiently broad, inasmuch as the powers reserved to the States involved the counter-proposition that only those powers expressly granted by the Constitution passed to the General Government. Consequently, Mr. President, I am constrained to believe that the great majority of those Senators who cast their votes against this amendment will do so because of their conviction that this is a matter belonging wholly and exclusively to the States, and that it should not be made the subject of national legislation; and in saying that I have no desire to impose my view upon the people of other States, except in so far as I regard the question calling for my vote a national one.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] knows more about the women of his State than I pretend to know. Doubtless it may be true—it is true, because the Senator says so, and his statements, so far as I know, are generally accurate—that the majority of the women of Missouri have no desire to be the head of the household. In that respect, however, they differ from the women in my section of the country and in my own household, where the women have been the head ever since "the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." [Laughter.] But, Mr. President, the minority of women in Missouri, under the application of the principle of universal suffrage, ought not to be denied the right to vote because a majority of the women of that great State entertain convictions opposed to the general proposition of suffrage. The very moment we recognize the right of a majority to deny the right of suffrage to the minority where universal suffrage is the accepted principle, that moment, in my judgment, calls for interference by the National Government in the shape of a constitutional amendment.

Mr. President, as I say, I had not intended to discuss this proposition at length. I am ready to vote on it. I want to vote on it. I am ready for a roll call now, whether the result be in accord with my own convictions upon this subject or against them. I have been defeated a good many times in my life. I have managed to survive those defeats so far, and I can bear the consequences of this with that philosophy which I have always enlisted when disappointment has been my lot; and I am strengthened in that situation by the certain conviction that if I live to be 12 months older than I am, I will live to see this amendment a part of the Constitution of the United States, in so far as the action of the two Houses of Congress is concerned.

I leave the question, therefore, and will append to my remarks the one thing that I intended to say in this discussion.

I can not permit this occasion to pass without offering my tribute of appreciation to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the official custodian of the cause now commanding our attention. It had its beginning nearly two generations ago. Then

> To side with truth was noble
> When you shared its bitter crust,
> Ere its cause brought fame and honor
> And 'twas prosperous to be just.

Its founders were the despised but courageous crusaders in a cause whose advocacy provoked contumely and derision. They fought against the weapons of contempt and of ridicule. They consecrated their lives and fortunes to the establishment of their conceptions of political justice. Their persistence wrought but little change in public sentiment for many years. Here and there they gained a convert or captured an outpost, but the road was thorny and the goal far away. Though "hope deferred made the heart sick," they plodded painfully on, and, falling, passed the work to worthy hands. These kept the colors flying and the campaign active as the weary years swept by. They triumphed over ridicule, met argument with argument, overthrew prejudice, and finally established their cause through the compelling force of a reluctant but converted public opinion.

From its birth to this hour the association has been officered wisely and well. Its presidents have possessed the talent of leadership and control. Their policies have been sane, aggressive, and vigorous. They have used the weapons of argument and discussion. They have appealed to man's reason and sense of justice. They have disdained resort to the arts of the demagogue seeking notoriety by arousing prejudice and inflaming passion. Dignity and decency have attended the stately procession of their cause from its low estate to its commanding eminence.

As were the leaders, so has been the organization. Its escutcheon is unstained by mob methods or appeals to violence. It has neither counseled nor tolerated disorder. It has neither picketed Presidents nor populated prisons. It has been political, but never partisan. It is a stranger to personal villification. Its patriotism is without a blemish. No word dishonoring the flag ever fell from the lips of its members. It has carried no banners flaunting insults to the Executive. It has never assailed its friends nor sought to encompass their political destruction. It has never endangered its cause by resort to epithet and calumny. Its contests have been waged in deadly earnest, but in the open. When it has won it will deserve all the glory that comes with victory honorably achieved.

Not until it had won campaigns and compelled respect for its cause was its leadership ever challenged. If success wins applause it also begets rivalry. These have appeared in due season to retard and scandalize the mission of the national association. They have sought to thrust aside the old guard and crowd its leaders to the rear. They flaunt banners disfigured with offensive legends. They indulge in much tumult and vociferous braying, all for notoriety's sake, enabling the enemies of equal suffrage, whose arguments have failed, to use them as terrible examples. But I counsel the national association not to lose courage nor yet be faint-hearted. Even this handicap to their labors will be overcome and time will vindicate their cause by giving its approbation to their manner of its promotion.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that the Senate adjourn until 12 o'clock meridian on Monday.

Mr. PITTMAN. Will the Senator withhold that motiton for just a second?

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Yes; for a second.

Mr. PITTMAN. It is the only opportunity I will have to explain the vote I shall cast against the motion, and it is the first time I have ever voted against a motion of the leader of this side of the Chamber to adjourn.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I hope the Senator is not going to make an argument on the constitutional amendment. I did not yield for that purpose.

Mr. PITTMAN. No; I am not. I am going to appeal to the Senator for this reason: I am satisfied that those on this side want a vote on Saturday, and will vote as soon as their next vote gets here. They have not any right to allow it to come to a vote before, but they will vote sometime to-morrow during the day, I am pretty sure. Now, why should the measure go over when the chairman of the committee having charge of it desires simply an adjournment until to-morrow?

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Because the difference between 4.30 o'clock to-morrow afternoon and Monday at 12 o'clock is infinitesimal, and a number of Senators have been compelled to leave the city. They left with the assurance that no vote would be had on this measure before 12 o'clock on Monday.

and I can assure the Senator that no vote will be had until 12 o'clock noon on Monday.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. PITTMAN. In just a second. The Senator having charge of the joint resolution, as is customary, should be consulted with regard to when the joint resolution shall be taken up again.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I have seen and consulted with the Senator in charge and made what I consider a most reasonable suggestion—that the joint resolution go over until Monday. He told me he could not possibly get it up before the arrival of a man due on the train at 4.30 Saturday. The only difference is waiting until 12 o'clock noon on Monday, and that will meet the necessities of some Senators who had to leave the city. I gave them the assurance that there would be no vote on this matter before 12 o'clock noon on Monday, and there will be none. You may take that as absolutely final.

Mr. PITTMAN. There have been assurances given by the Senator in charge of the joint resolution, and I think under the custom and courtesy of this body the Senator having charge of the bill, particularly the chairman of the committee, should be allowed to use his discretion in regard to the conduct of the measure.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. The Senator is mistaken. There is no such rule in the Senate. I make the motion that the Senate now adjourn until 12 o'clock meridian on Monday.

Mr. PITTMAN. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President——

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I can not yield any further.

Mr. SHAFROTH. On Monday more Senators may be away——

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. There is no use, Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion is not debatable.

Mr. PITTMAN. I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia has moved that the Senate adjourn until Monday. The Senator from Colorado moves that the Senate do now adjourn, which motion takes precedence over the motion of the Senator from Virginia. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Colorado.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, September 28, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, *September 27, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

We thank Thee, our Father in heaven, for the widespread generosity which obtains among the American people in their sacrifices, from the children even to the aged and infirm, in pouring out their substance to alleviate the suffering of those who have fallen victims to the cruel and vicious warfare of our enemies, who have sought to terrorize the world and make them victims to their evil purposes.

We pray that our people may continue their sacrifices; that those who have been deprived of food, clothing, and shelter may be upheld and sustained until the war shall cease and peace once more bring happiness and plenty to a suffering world. In the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. DEWALT, for one week, on account of important business; and

To Mr. FULLER of Illinois, for two weeks, to engage in the liberty-loan campaign.

STATUS OF NOMINEES TO THE NAVAL AND MILITARY ACADEMY.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have read at the desk a letter from Provost Marshal General Crowder in regard to the status of young men between the ages of 18 and 21 who have been appointed to West Point and Annapolis.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California asks unanimous consent to have read a letter from the Provost Marshal General in regard to the eligibility of young men nominated for the Naval Academy and West Point. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE PROVOST MARSHAL GENERAL,
Washington, September 17, 1918.

Hon. JOHN E. RAKER,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. RAKER: I have your letter of September 13, inquiring as to the status of young men between 18 and 21 who have been nominated for admission to the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

This office is informed that the Secretary of War has directed "that all students, when properly inducted into the Students' Army Training Corps and who have been nominated as candidates for examination for admission to the Naval and Military Academies, be held as members of the Students' Army Training Corps until such examination, and if successful, until entrance into the United States Military Academy or the United States Naval Academy, at which date they will be discharged from the service of the United States for the purpose of entrance into said academies."

I think the above quoted order gives you just the information that you desire.

E. H. CROWDER,
Provost Marshal General.
FREDERIC C. WOODWARD,
Major, Judge Advocate.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on revenue subjects.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on revenue subjects. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

EMERGENCY POWER BILL.

The SPEAKER. The House automatically resolves itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 12776.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, with Mr. HOUSTON in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is now in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 12776, of which the Clerk will read the title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 12776) to provide further for the national security and defense and for the more effective prosecution of the war by furnishing means for the better utilization of the existing sources of electrical and mechanical power and for the development of new sources of such power, and for other purposes.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, the committee amendment contained at the bottom of page 1 of the bill was up at the time we adjourned. I have inspected the original amendment offered by me in committee, and find that the word "therewith" was omitted after the word "connection," line 8. I move to insert the word "therewith" after the word "connection" in line 8, page 1, so as to have the amendment as adopted by the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 1, line 8, after the word "connection" in the committee amendment, insert the word "therewith."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment to the committee amendment.

The amendment to the committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is on the committee amendment.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Chairman, I want to oppose that amendment.

Mr. SIMS. What appears in italics on pages 1 and 2 as a committee amendment was adopted by a majority of the committee. The gentleman from New York [Mr. SNELL] is opposed to it, and while it is usual for the affirmative to discuss the matter first, I have no objection whatever to the gentleman from New York making his speech in opposition to it.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to the amendment. I would like to ask, in the first place, of the chairman of the committee just what that amendment means in connection with the definition of a war power plant?

Mr. SIMS. To be perfectly candid with the gentleman, I opposed the amendment in committee, and I am opposed to it now. I can not see that it is of any benefit to the bill. The amendment is really the amendment of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER], and I do not know that I violate any confidence of the committee by so stating. The same identical language is used in section 2, where it is applicable and proper, and as far as I am concerned I can not give the gentleman any reason on earth why it should be put in this section.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I can.

Mr. SNELL. I will ask the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER] to explain what it means and why it is necessary here.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. It is the statement on page 4, where they provide for building plants, and it is afterwards in the original bill submitted to us as referring to the products of any plant of that sort.

Mr. SNELL. What could be more comprehensive than the language that follows in the same section, page 2, where it says "together with all lines transmitting or distributing power in connection therewith, and all other property the ownership, use, or occupancy of which may be appropriate to or useful in connection with the maintenance and operation thereof."

It seems to me that covers everything possible to have in connection with power plants, and as this is the definition of a power plant it seems to me not to be necessary.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. If the gentleman will notice on top of page 7, it provides for combining the facilities or power of two or more such plants, or of better utilizing the gas, power, or product generated by them. That applies to all plants, and, as gentlemen know, a great many existing plants, private plants, make gas and run electric cars in addition to furnishing power.

Mr. SNELL. Would not that appear to be governed by the language that I have just read?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. That does not include the products of toluol and the various coal-tar products useful in making powder and defined as useful for making high explosives. And wherever a power plant had annexed to it gas works of that sort which could make these products, it was worth while to use the language in the section. I had intended to strike out the words on page 4 in reference to this because the gas and coke works, mentioned in line 11, page 4, are just as much used with plants not constructed by the Government as with plants constructed by the Government and the definition of power plant ought to include those subordinate works and subordinate products wherever they are only subordinate. You will notice it is not to construct such works by themselves, but if in power plants that distribute electric or mechanical power, and in connection therewith they use coal and lignite to produce products made through coking and combustion which are war products, these coal-product works ought to be used with any power plant. At the present such use is limited by clause (1) of section 2, page 4, to plants built by the United States, and the other plants could not make these coal products at all.

Mr. SNELL. My position is that has nothing to do with the term here defining power plants, and I can not see it yet.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Because many existing plants incidentally make these other products, we must change the definition so as to apply to all plants in all sections of the bill or else insert the words contained on page 4 in each one of these subordinate clauses, and I think we had better do it in the definition so as to apply wherever they had existing works in connection with war products than to do so only in plants constructed by the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman permit a question? As I understand the amendment, this would permit a power plant which the Government may take over, in which there may be by-products such as outlined by the gentleman, to permit the Government to make use of them. We all know, for instance, that from coal and lignite we get certain products which are very useful in making war munitions, so it is the intention of the gentleman's amendment, I take it, for the Government to utilize those products. Now, may I ask the gentleman if there is any other place in the bill in his judgment where it would provide they might make use of those by-products they make from the combustion of coal?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. There is no other place in the bill, except in clause 1, section 2, page 4, which only applies to plants constructed by the Government, and this right ought to apply to those that are taken over as well as those constructed.

Mr. FOSTER. Let me ask this question with reference to the language: Does not the gentleman think there ought to be——

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. The word "therewith" has already been inserted. We just inserted the word "therewith," "and in connection therewith the products made," and so forth.

Mr. FOSTER. As I understand it, it is the intention of the gentleman by this amendment only to permit the Government to take over those plants, and when they do so to utilize the products that would be otherwise wasted?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. That is exactly what I desire, because it says at the top of page 7 they can use the gas power or products generated, and therefore the definition ought to include such productions.

Mr. FOSTER. So without you have some provision it is the gentleman's opinion none of these waste products or by-products of these plants could be utilized?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I am afraid they could not.

Mr. FOSTER. If there are no products, then this would be inoperative anyhow?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Exactly so.

Mr. SNELL. I could not understand from the reading what it meant. It was very blind to my mind.

Mr. FOSTER. The way I took it was that the plant as defined meant a plant equipped for and employed or intended to be employed in generating, developing, transmitting, or distributing electrical or mechanical power, and in connection therewith the products made through or in connection with coke, and so forth. That simply gives that definition so as to describe what the plant was to be. I do not know; I am a little like the gentleman as to just the meaning; it is not very clear what might be done, but I take it the intention was that the plant that had these by-products, that could be one part of the plant, and so defined as one part of the plant, so as to utilize these by-products?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. And manufacture them. It says generate and develop these things.

Mr. FOSTER. We know from the coke ovens come a large amount of by-products. If that should be the construction so these by-products could be utilized, and nowadays nobody ought to be permitted, no corporation ought to be permitted, the Government ought not to permit coke and coal to be used except with a construction of those ovens that will utilize all these by-products. Now, we are short, for instance, and we were before the war, some 70,000 tons of ammonia, and we import that amount of ammonia, which is used in the refrigerating plants of the country and for other industrial purposes, and they could get this product from these plants.

Mr. SNELL. Does the gentleman understand they could take this gas that could be purified and create power, make power from that gas?

Mr. FOSTER. By burning it; certainly.

Mr. SNELL. That is the intention?

Mr. FOSTER. That is what I took it to be when I read the provision.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, this, of course, is a committee amendment, but the gentleman from New Jersey has just announced something that does not appear in the amendment, and that is if his amendment remains in here he expects then to offer an amendment on page 4 which will very materially affect section 1.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. It will not do any harm.

Mr. SIMS. Now, in view of the fact that the gentleman is only laying his groundwork to attack the bill in another part——

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I am not going to attack the bill in another part. The trouble about the thing on page 4 is that it is limited to plants erected by the Government.

Mr. SIMS. Paragraph (a) is a mere definition of the physical parts of a power plant.

Mr. FOSTER. Will the gentleman permit?

Mr. SIMS. Let me make my statement.

Mr. FOSTER. I was going to ask the gentleman from New Jersey right in that connection if that would not embrace part of the plant which was used for saving these by-products?

Mr. SIMS. One of the objects of this bill is to secure the by-products of coal. If the gentleman will let me get through he will understand my position, I think. I am trying to make it clear. Subsection (a), on page 1 of this bill, simply defines what a power plant is; that is, what are its constituent parts and purposes. It says:

The term "power plant" means a plant equipped for and employed or intended to be employed in generating, developing, transmitting, or distributing electrical or mechanical power, and includes all machinery and appliances therein contained, together with all lines transmitting or distributing power in connection therewith and all other property the ownership, use, or occupance of which may be appropriate to or useful in connection with the maintenance and operation thereof.

Now, that is what a power plant is, leaving out the committee amendment. The committee amendment does not do anything except confuse.

Now turn to page 4, part of section 2. Section 2 begins:

That the President is hereby authorized and empowered within the limits of appropriations herein or hereafter made—

To do what?—

to construct at any place or places within the boundaries of the United States such power plant or power plants as he may deem necessary, and in connection therewith to construct within such boundaries plants for

the production of gas, coke, toluol, benzol, coal-tar products, and any other useful products that may be produced through or in connection with the coking of coal or lignite or through or in connection with the combustion of any fuel.

Now, the President has unlimited power to do that. Of course, one of the objects and purposes of the bill is that the valuable by-products of coal may be utilized and saved.

Now, as to the definition of a plant, it is not necessary in defining what a power plant is to put in every detail of manufacture and what it may be used for. We can use only general terms.

And this section was drawn by experts of the War Department, the Navy Department, the Shipping Board, the War Industries Board, and had the best engineering help. I think it is a mistake to load it down with a confusing, almost muddling, amendment that adds nothing to it, when it does not detract anything by leaving it out. I think I have been called fifty times over the telephone to explain this amendment, and why it is in there, and I am utterly unable to see any use or need for it.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. SNELL], a man conversant with power plants and what they are, and of how they are constituted——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the time be extended two minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that the time may be extended for two minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOSTER. Now, the gentleman refers us to section 2, which does not have anything to do with this other provision at all according to my way of reading it, because this applies to plants, first, which the Government is going to take over, and, second, to those plants which the Government may construct. If you are going to say that as to the power plants the Government may construct, why not say that as to those that are to be taken over?

Mr. SIMS. I can answer that in a minute. Right below, in subsection 1 of section 2, he is also authorized—

for the purpose of increasing the capacity or productivity of any power plant within the boundaries of the United States to install in any such plant any structure, machinery, or appliances that he may deem useful to that end—

And so forth. It is identically the same thing.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know where that affects it at all, if the gentleman will permit me.

Mr. SIMS. How does this relate to a definition? The powers of the President are not contained in this definition.

Mr. FOSTER. This is speaking about plants which may be used for utilizing these by-products, but I can not see for the life of me why we would not say so, so that it would be clear that it was the intention of Congress to give the power to utilize these by-products in the plants taken over.

Mr. SIMS. It can not be clearer than stated in the section.

Mr. FOSTER. The gentleman may be right.

Mr. SIMS. It even confuses the experts who drew the section.

Mr. FOSTER. The experts do not always know all things.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I would like to be recognized for five minutes to support the amendment.

Under the bill as it is drawn the United States can construct power plants and take over power plants or can add to the facilities of power plants or can aid their extension.

It is provided on page 4, in clause (1) of section 2—and I wish the chairman would listen to this—as to power plants which the Government constructs, that they may produce these by-products. It is not provided anywhere in the bill that it can install anything except the machinery for making power. It is not provided that it can lend for anything except making power. It omits this important part of the power plant in each section, except where the Government actually constructs the plant. And I thought it was better, therefore, that the definition of the power plant should include not only plants that produce power but plants which in connection with the production of power produce these other materials. And then it would not be necessary to repeat this language in each particular section, as it will be necessary if you leave the definition as it is now, because as the bill stands, if that amendment is left out, the Government can not take over a gas works annexed to a power plant at all, because they can only take over a plant for the production of power.

I wanted to help the bill, and I therefore put the amendment in form. It does not apply to anything, as I say, except the power plants that have these gas works in connection therewith.

Mr SNELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. With pleasure.

Mr. SNELL. What does this language mean, "and all other property the ownership, use, or occupancy of which may be appropriate to or useful in connection with the maintenance and operation thereof"? That seems to me to mean exactly gas works or anything else in connection with the power plants.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. It covers only the machinery, such as is necessary for the production of power and not for the production of gas. I was trying to help the bill. I do not care whether this amendemnt passes or not, except for the benefit of the Government. Wherever the Government takes over a plant it ought to have the right to run the ancillary works to produce gas as well as these other products.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman permit another question?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Yes.

Mr. SNELL. If a power plant produced power in this city, and the Government wanted to take it over, and the power plant happened to own a street railway, could the Government take over that street railway?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. They can help the street railway, but they can not take it over. I have thought of that. They can not take over the street railway. They can only take over the power plant and help the street railway.

Mr. SNELL. Would you not consider the street railway in connection with the power plant as "property the ownership, use, or occupancy of which would be appropriate to or useful in connection with the maintenance and operation thereof"? It seems to me that is a part of the power plant really.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. That is a dangerous question.

Mr. SNELL. But that is not defined here. If the committee does not know, how do you expect the average man to know?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I do not think it is. I say that the production of the power is separate from the running of the railroad, but I do not think that it is essential to the production of the power that the railroad should be run. It is essential to the use of the power, but I do not think you can make gas in any particular plant where the Government has not built the plant but taken it over under the bill as it stands without this amendment, and the President ought to have the power to take over such ancillary plants. That is my contention.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I move to close debate in five minutes, and will let the gentleman have five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee moves that the debate on this paragraph and all amendments thereto close in five minutes, the five minutes to be used by the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL].

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I think the importance of this bill is so great that there ought to be a quorum of the House present during its consideration. It involves a very large expenditure of public money. It puts the Government of the United States into new activities. It is a departure from the ordinary precedents of business. It enters into so many ramifications of the business life of the country that it seems to me, in order that it may be considered with that care which its importance justifies, we should have a quorum present. I make the point of no quorum.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois makes the point of no quorum. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Fifty-one Members are present; not a quorum. The Clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Anthony	Copley	Estopinal	Griffin
Ashbrook	Costello	Fairchild, B. L.	Hamill
Aswell	Cramton	Fairchild, G. W.	Hamilton, N. Y.
Bacharach	Crisp	Farr	Hardy
Baer	Currie, Mich.	Ferris	Harrison, Miss.
Barkley	Curry, Cal.	Fields	Haskell
Bell	Dale, N. Y.	Flood	Haugen
Borland	Dale, Vt.	Flynn	Hayes
Bowers	Darrow	Focht	Heaton
Britten	Davis	Fordney	Heintz
Butler	Delaney	Foss	Holland
Caldwell	Dempsey	Francis	Hollingsworth
Campbell, Pa.	Dewalt	Fuller, Ill.	Hood
Cantrill	Dickinson	Fuller, Mass.	Howard
Caraway	Dies	Gallivan	Humphreys
Carew	Dill	Gard	Husted
Carlin	Dominick	Glass	Hutchinson
Carter, Okla.	Dooling	Glynn	Jacoway
Cary	Doremus	Godwin, N. C.	Johnson, S. Dak.
Chandler, Okla.	Doughton	Goodall	Johnson, Wash.
Church	Drukker	Graham, Ill.	Jones
Clark, Pa.	Dyer	Graham, Pa.	Kahn
Classon	Eagan	Gray, Ala.	Kearns
Connally, Tex.	Edmonds	Gray, N. J.	Kelley, Mich.
Cooper, Ohio	Ellsworth	Greene, Mass.	Kennedy, R. I.
Cooper, W. Va.	Elston	Gregg	Kettner
Cooper, Wis.	Emerson	Griest	Key, Ohio

Kiess, Pa.	Moore, Pa.	Rowland	Sweet
King	Morin	Russell	Swift
Kitchin	Mott	Sabath	Switzer
Kreider	Mudd	Sanders, Ind.	Tague
La Follette	Neely	Sanders, La.	Talbott
LaGuardia	Nelson	Sanford	Templeton
Larsen	Oliver, Ala.	Saunders, Va.	Thomas
Lea, Cal.	Oliver, N. Y.	Scott, Iowa	Thompson
Lehlbach	Olney	Scott, Pa.	Tillman
Lever	O'Shaunessy	Scully	Tilson
Linthicum	Paige	Shackleford	Tinkham
Littlepage	Peters	Sherley	Treadway
London	Phelan	Sherwood	Van Dyke
Lufkin	Platt	Shouse	Vare
Lundeen	Porter	Siegel	Vinson
McArthur	Powers	Slemp	Walton
McClintic	Pratt	Small	Ward
McCormick	Purnell	Smith, C. B.	Watson, Va.
McFadden	Ragsdale	Smith, T. F.	Weaver
McKenzie	Rainey, H. T.	Snyder	Welling
McKinley	Rainey, J. W.	Stafford	White, Me.
Maher	Randall	Steele	White, Ohio
Mann	Rankin	Steenerson	Wilson, Ill.
Martin	Riordan	Sterling, Ill.	Winslow
Mays	Roberts	Sterling, Pa.	Wise
Meeker	Robinson	Stevenson	Wood, Ind.
Merritt	Rogers	Stiness	Woodyard
Miller, Minn.	Rowe	Sullivan	

The committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the Chair, Mr. HAMLIN, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that the committee, having under consideration the bill H. R. 12776, finding itself without a quorum, had caused the roll to be called, when 219 Members answered to their names, and he reported a list of the absentees.

The committee resumed its session.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I do not recall whether the request for unanimous consent to close the debate in five minutes was agreed to or not.

The CHAIRMAN. It was not. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that debate on this amendment close in five minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. SNELL. Reserving the right to object, I wish the gentleman would let this run along. This is an important section, and there seems to be considerable doubt as to what the powers are conferred by the committee.

Mr. MONDELL. Does this relate to the section or only to this amendment?

Mr. SIMS. To this definition amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, I am inclined to agree with the chairman of the committee that the committee amendment at the bottom of page 1 and the top of page 2 adds nothing to the bill, but, on the other hand, tends to confusion. This is a power bill and proposes to give the President large authority and control and jurisdiction over the development of power, and the bill very properly contains certain definitions.

The paragraph we are now considering is the one which contains the definition of power. It is definite and clear, it seems to me, as it stands. The language added, instead of clarifying, has the effect of confusing the matter.

The gentleman from New Jersey suggests that this is necessary on account of language on page 4. I can not agree with that view. It is true that on page 4 additional authority is conferred on the President with regard to subsidiary operations in connection with the power plant. That does not make them power plants. To attempt to link up power and authority granted in section 4 with the definition of what constitutes power plants simply confuses the matter and possibly adds authority at this point which the bill does not otherwise contain.

In this connection let me call attention to the fact that even experts in drawing bills do not always understand the details of the matters their bills refer to.

I call attention to the fact that this language is used in the amendment as it is drawn and also on page 4:

that may be produced through or in connection with the coking of coal or lignite, or through or in connection with the combustion of any fuel.

I do not know as it is tremendously important as affecting the bill, but anyone familiar with the subject of power production should know that lignite is coal, and therefore the term "coal" includes lignites. Secondly, lignite coal does not coke, and therefore it is extraordinary that an expert in these matters should have referred to the coking of lignite. The words "or lignite" should be stricken out even if the amendment is retained, and also in the provision in the amendment on page 4. In my opinion, this committee amendment should go out of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. PARKER of New Jersey) there were 8 ayes and 29 noes.

So the committee amendment was rejected.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I want to get some more information as to paragraph (a) under the committee amendment. There seems to be a division of opinion as to how far and what the meaning of the balance of the paragraph is. It seems to me if it means anything at all it means that you can take over the machinery in connection with the power plant. I do not know where you would draw the dividing line. It seems to me a power plant not only means the generator but the transmission lines, everything in connection with the generator and the distribution of power. If it does, it would certainly seem to me under the provisions of this paragraph that they would have the right to take over a public utility that was directly connected up with the power plant. What I want to know is—there seems to be a division of opinion, even among the committee, as to what powers are conferred in this paragraph, and I ask the chairman of the committee what he understands can be done?

Mr. SIMS. My answer would be that section (a) is the definition of the term "power plant" and carries absolutely no authority of power whatever. In defining a power plant it means the plant equipped with what goes with it, but it carries no power at all.

Mr. SNELL. Suppose I own the power plant in the city furnishing lights to the city and the power for a street railway, where does my power plant end and where does the lighting and the street railway service begin?

Mr. SIMS. The power plant under this definition would include everything owned and operated by the owner of the plant.

Mr. SNELL. I furnish power to the utilities of the city and the street railway.

Mr. SIMS. Then under the definition that would be included.

Mr. SNELL. Then under this he can take over the public utilities by this section.

Mr. SIMS. No; not at all. This does not authorize him to do anything; it defines what a power plant is.

Mr. SNELL. Yes; but there is authority further on to take over the power plant.

Mr. SIMS. Why, when we come to that portion——

Mr. SNELL. No; it is very essential to know just what the term "power plant" means before we go further with this bill; and, as I understand it, the gentleman says a power plant means not only the place where the power is made but also everything in connection with it. That would be the street lighting system, the house lighting, the street railway proposition, or any other public utilities connected with it.

Mr. SIMS. It means under this definition exactly what is contained in section (a), no more and no less.

Mr. SNELL. Well, what is that? That is what I am trying to find out.

Mr. SIMS. The gentleman is just as capable of judging, and, perhaps, better than I am.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I desire to ask the gentleman a specific question. Does the gentleman believe the Government under this bill could take over the Washington street railways?

Mr. SIMS. For war purposes? I am going to answer the gentleman if I can. If the Government under the powers of this bill needs the Washington electric plant for the manufacture of munitions or war material, or for increasing or aiding it in increasing it, or if they do not do that, to take it over, it would have to be cum honore, and the Government would have still to perform the function of that plant; and if the plant was operating a street railroad company or an electric lighting plant, the Government would have to continue to do so. It could not take it over and not perform the public service which the company was then performing, and could not divert the power to the making of munitions and stop the street cars from running.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman has not answered my question, which is a perfectly simple one. Does, under this definition, a power plant include the Washington Street Railway Co.? Does it or does it not?

Mr. SIMS. The language of the section——

Mr. LONGWORTH. I know the language as well as the gentleman does, and I am asking him how he construes it.

Mr. SIMS. I am not an expert in the use of terms connected with these power plants, and this bill, or that section of it, has been prepared by electrical and power-plant experts, and I would not undertake to define what a technical term means in a section that has been drawn by gentlemen who are expert in their technical use.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman had nothing whatever to do with the drafting of this section?

Mr. SIMS. I did not.

Mr. LONGWORTH. And does not know what it means?

Mr. SIMS. That is a matter for the gentleman to have his own opinion.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman admits it.

Mr. SIMS. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that my time be extended for two minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SNELL. Does the gentleman think this House should pass on that until at least the committee, or what members are here, know what it means?

Mr. SIMS. What the definition means?

Mr. SNELL. Yes.

Mr. SIMS. If it does not mean what it says, I do not know how you will find it by delay.

Mr. SNELL. Well, we do not know whether the term "power plant" as used in this bill is broad enough to include the public utilities connected with, owned by the same people, and depend on it for power.

Mr. SIMS. When we get to the grant of a power, that portion of the bill which grants power, then we can properly discuss what power should be vested in the President. That is incident to the power, but here is a mere definition of what a plant consists of, and the gentleman wants us to discuss the whole bill and have us pass judgment on all the rest of the bill before we reach the part of the bill granting the power. This simply defines what a power plant is. I must say, and it is due him and it is credible, that the gentleman knows a great deal more about what electrical power plants are than I do and the terms used here are familiar to the gentleman and are not to me.

Mr. SNELL. It is very important to the bill to know what the definition of power plant means. This is put in the first part of the bill because it is important and essential we should know just exactly what it means, and there is certainly no one here knows what is meant or intended by its use in this bill.

Mr. SIMS. Well, if the gentleman will just read the hearings——

Mr. SNELL. I have read the hearings carefully on this subject.

Mr. SIMS. I am unable to give the gentleman any more information as to the meaning of this term than I have, and therefore this discussion is superfluous.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The Clerk read as follows:

(b) The term "private power plant" means a power plant owned or operated by any person, association, corporation, or body politic, other than the United States, for the purpose of generating, developing, transmitting, or distributing such power, either for sale or for the use of the owner or operator thereof or of some other person.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I should like to ask the chairman of the committee or some member of the committee if it is in contemplation that under the provisions of this most extraordinary power provided for in this bill that municipal power plants are to be taken over or added to or in any way made a part of this general scheme of increasing power?

Mr. SIMS. They are to be aided if they ask for it and come within the provisions of the bill.

Mr. WALSH. Well, why should a city or municipality come in and ask the Federal Government to aid it in the operation or extension of its power plant?

Mr. SIMS. Because it may furnish power to essential war industries in meeting the war needs, as is shown in a number of instances. I will tell the gentleman I expect to offer an amendment, which I have submitted to the gentleman from Wisconsin, on page 6, line 24, after the words "United States," as follows:

Provided, That any plant owned or operated by a body politic shall be acquired without the consent of such body politic.

I expect to offer that amendment, which makes it entirely——

Mr. WALSH. Of course, that is a wonderful suggestion on the part of the chairman of the committee, to offer an amendment like that to this measure, but it seems to me that we ought not to hold over municipalities who are operating power plants the possibility of their being taken over or having their power diverted or their plants be in any way hitched up to the federalization of private concerns.

Mr. SIMS. Without their consent.

Mr. WALSH. Not even with their consent. Of course, without their consent does not mean very much.

Mr. SIMS. I mean a corporation, a body politic.

Mr. WALSH. Does the gentleman mean without the consent of the city or without the consent of the people?

Mr. SIMS. The gentleman knows how a body politic expresses its consent. The facts are a number of municipal plants are anxious to be thus aided, and to which aid is essentially necessary properly to carry on war industries in connection with their plants. They are going to want it and have been trying to get money from the Finance Corporation for that very purpose.

Mr. WALSH. Have been unable?

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Have been unable to get money from the Finance Corporation?

Mr. SIMS. I do not know about that, but I have understood they have in some instances.

Mr. WALSH. Did it not appear in the hearings that the War Finance Corporation had not approved requests?

Mr. SIMS. I do not know whether it does or not, but it is undoubtedly a fact in some instances; but they could not under the law grant them the aid.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I know under what stress we are asked to consider this measure. The familiar method which has come into common practice here as a result of the action of this particular committee has been called up once more, and we have heard read a letter from the Chief Executive to the chairman of this great and important committee expressing the opinion that this measure is of capital importance and that it is a war-emergency measure.

Now, I want to call the attention of the committee to the situation which is presented. The distinguished chairman yesterday stated that certain corporations engaged in war activities could not secure approval from the War Finance Corporation for the financing of plans which they had made to carry out extensions or to further facilitate the production of power in connection with war manufacture because, said the War Finance Corporation, it would interfere with the sale of the bonds offered under the fourth liberty loan. And therefore they withheld their approval. But the money which will be raised from the sale of these bonds floated under the fourth liberty loan will be diverted from the Treasury of the United States and devoted to these very extensions.

The only difference will be to the extent that, instead of its being carried on under private capital or under the direction of the owners of these plants, it will be federalized, and the wastage that will occur will have to be borne by the Federal Government.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. WALSH. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, to proceed for three minutes more.

Mr. SIMS. Has the gentleman made any motion? I thought he moved to strike out the last word, though I do not remember.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Now, this is a measure for which there may be in certain sections some need, but I do not believe that the need is so imperative as to warrant the conferring of power in such general and broad terms as is contained within this proposed bill. It seems to me that if there be certain activities in the manufacturing line which are producing munitions or other war supplies or materials, that those might be aided without saying to every power plant or every manufacturing plant which produces power or which sells it, as well as to every municipality, "We are going to confer upon the Chief Executive the power to take over your plant or to supervise the enlargement of it or the extension of it, or confer upon him the power to say it shall not be enlarged or extended." We ought not to interfere with municipalities in that way. We ought not to say to the War Finance Corporation that "You are now furnished a sufficient excuse for refusing assistance under the war-finance law to any corporation, however remotely it may be connected with war activities or however intimately it may be associated with them." There have been instances where municipalities and people have been ready to produce the money, to furnish the funds, to carry on enlargements and extensions in order that the plants may be made more efficient in connection with war work, where the War Finance Corporation have declined to permit them to do it, and they were without authority to float their bonds or to put their capital to that use.

It seems to me that it is an unwise policy for us to say to private capitalists, "You can not put your capital to that use, but we expect you to buy liberty bonds, and when you have purchased liberty bonds the United States will take the money with which you purchased those bonds and pay the entire ex-

pense of the proposition and permit the taxpayers to stand the loss."

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I just want to read a short statement for the benefit of the RECORD.

Now, the Secretary of War, in his statement, says, looking to the increase of power:

We then took it up with the War Finance Corporation and found, under the limitations of its powers, that it was wholly unable to lend money to these power companies upon any terms upon which they could borrow it. There was no other recourse than the introduction of a general power bill, and that course was then followed and this bill prepared by the attorneys, as I understand it, for the War Industries Board.

Every effort was made to enable these companies to borrow money for the loaning of which they had any power to grant them. The War Finance Board's power for loaning is limited and defined. Now, nobody would be more opposed to stretching that power than the gentleman who has addressed the committee.

Now, there are companies that need this assistance or else they can not do that which is necessary for the successful prosecution of the war, and the gentleman says unless they get it through this Finance Corporation that it should not be done at all. Then it would break down. The Secretary of War has stated that every effort was made and exhausted to try to keep from resorting to general legislation. And the gentleman's criticism no doubt referred to me, though he did not call my name, about that which has become a kind of custom, in presenting letters. I want to say to the gentleman candidly—and I do not want to go into details here at this time, as they are not called for—that the last letter was not writen on my personal suggestion or upon my initiation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. OVERMYER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the activities of the Department of Agriculture during the past year.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the subject of agriculture. Is there objections? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

EMERGENCY POWER BILL.

The Clerk read as follows:

(c) The word "person" includes natural persons, copartnerships, joint-stock companies, voluntary associations and corporations, and the receivers and other custodians of the property of any of them.

Also, the following committee amendment was read:

Page 2, line 15, after the word "and," at the beginning of the line, insert the words "bodies politic or other."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word for the purpose of asking the chairman a question or two. What was intended to be taken in by this amendment? What does it include?

Mr. SIMS. My recollection is now—and I do not remember exactly how the discussion came up before the committee or what brought it up—that some member of the committee, not myself, as I now recall it, suggested that the words "bodies politic or other" should be included. I do not remember just now how the amendment came about. It was not in the bill as drawn. It was an amendment offered in the committee by a member of the committee, and I do not remember now which member brought it up or the reasons given for it. It did not seem to me it hurt anything and I did not oppose it.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Does the gentleman from Tennessee think it is necessary?

Mr. SIMS. I did not. But I do not want to waste time on it. I am not opposed to it, however.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I find it difficult to either oppose or sustain it, because I can not find out what it means or what it includes, and nobody on the committee seems to understand it either. A body politic is not necessarily a corporation. It may be simply a body of citizens.

Mr. SIMS. Since my attention has been called to it I believe that was an amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER]. I am not sure about that, however. Anyway, it struck the committee as not being objectionable.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. If it means municipal corporations, I would like to be advised about that fact, and if the object and intention of the committee was to enable the President to take over plants operated by municipal corporations it seems to me we ought to use the words "municipal corporations" instead of "bodies politic."

Mr. SIMS. It does not grant any power.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman from Iowa yield?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I yield. I hope I can get some information.

Mr. WALSH. Of course, there are certain municipalities that are not corporations, but which would be bodies politic, I suppose. For instance, in New England we have towns which are not chartered and which are not corporations in the sense that a city is a corporation, having a charter granted by the legislature or under the general law. I assume that in the gentleman's section of the country there are no such bodies politic or municipalities; but it would seem that would cover a township which was not incorporated. Of course, there is no doubt but that the amendment should not be in the measure, together with a lot of the others.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I agree with the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. WALSH. You do not have to strike out. Just vote it out.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I shall not move to strike out the amendment, but I am opposed to it. It seems to include municipal plants, which ought not to be in the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

(d) The word "operator" means the owner, lessee, or other person in general control or operation of any plant, factory, or enterprise.

With a committee amendment, as follows:

Amend, page 2, line 18, by striking out the word "power" at the end of the line.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

(e) The term "property" includes real and personal property of every nature and description, together with any right, interest, or easement therein or appurtenant thereto.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. WALSH. I want to ask the chairman of the committee what the term "property" would include if this definition were not in the bill?

Mr. SIMS. I do not know. It would probably mean just what the word "property" means generally, without limitation or application to anything here.

Mr. WALSH. Is this a limitation in the bill?

Mr. SIMS. As to power plants, I think it is a limitation.

Mr. WALSH. It says "the term 'property' includes real and personal property of every nature and description, together with any right, interest, or easement therein or appurtenant thereto." If this is a limitation——

Mr. SIMS. It is very inclusive.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman from Massachusetts yield?

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. ANDERSON. I would like to ask the gentleman from Massachusetts, who is a very good lawyer——

Mr. WALSH. I thank the gentleman for the compliment, but I can not wholly agree with him——

Mr. ANDERSON. Whether the term "property" would include a mortgage on a power plant; whether the Government under this provision could acquire an existing mortgage on a power plant?

Mr. WALSH. I think undoubtedly it could under the "limitation," as the gentleman from Tennessee says.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALSH. I do.

Mr. LONGWORTH. How does the gentleman construe in the light of the provision at the bottom of page 3—

Unless it shall be otherwise specifically provided herein the inclusion of any matter or thing within the definition of any word or term by the foregoing provisions of this section shall not be deemed to exclude therefrom any other matter or thing which under the usual construction of such word or term would fall within the meaning thereof.

Does that throw any light on the gentleman's query?

Mr. WALSH. That is very illuminating. That means if this bill does not say what it means and fails to express what the committee hoped it would mean when they reported it that it shall mean what the committee hoped it meant whether it expresses a different intention or not. [Laughter.]

Mr. LONGWORTH. I agree with the gentleman that that is what it was intended to mean.

Mr. FOSTER. This was written by expert attorneys, who, no doubt, would have to have expert attorneys to determine what was meant.

Mr. WALSH. Experts! Heaven save the mark.

Mr. LONGWORTH. It was evidently not written by the committee.

Mr. WALSH. Evidently not. I want to say to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] in all seriousness that it will not aid in the interpretation of this measure or in the administration of its provisions to load it down with a definition such as is contained in subsection (e); and so, Mr. Chairman, for that reason I am going to move to strike out subsection (e).

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 2, line 20, strike out all of subsection (e), which reads.
"(e) The term 'property' includes real and personal property of every nature and description, together with any right, interest, or easement therein or appurtenant thereto."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the Chairman announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a division.

The CHAIRMAN. A division is demanded.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 9, noes 10.

Mr. WALSH. Well, in view of the closeness of the vote and the large attendance I ask for tellers.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts demands tellers. Those in favor of taking the vote by tellers will rise and stand until they are counted. [After counting.] Nine gentlemen have arisen, not a sufficient number. No; five more gentlemen have arisen, making 14, not a sufficient number.

Mr. WALSH. I ask for the other side, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not a question of the other side on this proposition. It is a question of how many are required for tellers.

Mr. CANNON. How many does it take?

The CHAIRMAN. It takes 20.

Mr. CANNON. I do not think there are 20 here.

The CHAIRMAN. Not a sufficient number have arisen to demand tellers. Tellers are refused. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

(f) The term "war material" means any material or commodity which, in the opinion of the President, it may at any time be necessary or important to produce or of which he may deem it necessary or important to increase the production.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, on page 2, line 25, I move to strike out the last word, "at." On page 3, line 1, strike out the three words "at any time."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ESCH: Page 2, line 25, strike out the word "at," and one line 1, page 3, strike out the words "at any time."

Mr. SIMS. I have no objection to the amendment.

Mr. ESCH. The purpose of the amendment is to make it consonant with the other paragraphs of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I want to offer a substitute for the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Minnesota offers a substitute, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Substitute offered by Mr. ANDERSON: Page 2, line 5, strike out "in the opinion of the President and," and in line 1, page 3, strike out the words "at any time" and insert at the end of the paragraph the following: "during the war period, in order the more effectively to carry on the war."

Mr. LONGWORTH. So that it will read how? I ask that the amendment be reported as it will read, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report it as it will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Subsection (f), so that it will read, as amended, "The term 'war material' means any material or commodity which it may be necessary or important to produce or of which he may deem it necessary or important to increase the production during the war period, in order the more effectively to carry on the war."

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that the gentleman from Minnesota modify his amendment a little further.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to modify my amendment so as to strike out, in lines 1 and 2, the language "of which he may deem it" and insert in lieu thereof "which may be."

The Clerk read as follows:

Modification of the amendment by Mr. ANDERSON: Page 3, lines 1 and 2, strike out the words "of which he may deem it" and insert in lieu thereof "which may be," so that as amended it will read:
"(f) The term 'war material' means any material or commodity which, in the opinion of the President, it may at any time be necessary or important to produce or which may be necessary or important to increase the production."

Mr. SIMS. Is that a substitute for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH]?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes.

Mr. SIMS. He moved to strike out the word "at," at the bottom of page 2, and the words "any time," on the top of page 3. Does your amendment include those words?

Mr. ANDERSON. My amendment strikes out those words from the paragraph.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, if I may, I will accept the substitute.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make an inquiry. Who is going to determine what is necessary war material if the substitute is adopted?

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. The action of the President, which is conferred later on in the bill.

Mr. WINGO. If you are going to leave it to the discretion of the President, as you say you do later on, why strike it out here.

Mr. SIMS. I see no objection to the substitute at first blush, if I understand it.

Mr. WINGO. Suppose the substitute is adopted, who would determine what is necessary war material?

Mr. SIMS. The paragraph defines what war material is.

Mr. WINGO. The definition as reported by the committee defines war material as "any material or commodity which in the opinion of the President may at any time be necessary or important to produce," and so forth. It occurs to me that the committee has reported a proper provision to let the Commander in Chief, the President of the United States, determine whether or not any particular war material is necessary war material. If you do that, you will have no difficulty. I think the amendment destroys your bill.

Mr. SIMS. The amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota would give the War and Navy Departments the right to say, but the President would still determine whether it was necessary.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to the amendment. I do not suppose any of us like to vote for any such legislation, but we do it as a war necessity. I do not appreciate the suggestion continually made that you are supporting the President, and yet at every opportunity you express suspicion and doubt and try to take away from the President power that you know is necessary for him to efficiently and forcefully prosecute the war.

If you are going to back up the Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy, why keep away from him the right to determine what is necessary war material to enable him to conduct the war? If you give him any authority at all, it is academic to give him the authority conferred in this substitute. For that reason I am opposed to the substitute.

Mr. LONGWORTH. That is what the paragraph as it now stands does not define. It does not limit it to war material to carry on the war.

Mr. WINGO. That is another question. The main purpose of the bill is a war bill, to do certain things for the primary purpose of prosecuting the war. The only justification you have for the legislation is that you want to use it for prime war necessities. We do not want to extend it beyond that, but in your definition of war materials you are defining war materials and not things we need after the war. You are defining what is to be needed for war purposes, for the prosecution of the war, and nothing else.

Mr. LONGWORTH. That is what we want to do and that is what the substitute will accomplish. As it stands now, it does not limit it to war material.

Mr. WINGO. Yes, it does; it defines war material; but if you adopt the substitute you will leave no one with power or discretion to determine what is necessary in any given instance. The President would not have any authority, because you have refused to let him have the discretion.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Under the paragraph as it stands would "fertilizer" be war material?

Mr. WINGO. If the President held that it was necessary to prosecute the war.

Mr. LONGWORTH. He does not have to hold that it is necessary.

Mr. FOSTER. You had better strike it out than to say the President has no right to say as to war material.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I have no objection to leaving in the words "in the opinion of the President." I do object to leaving the section as it is now, for it is so general that it includes and material, milk or pie.

Mr. FOSTER. Necessary for the war?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. Of course, to carry on the war does not mean altogether bullets and guns, but it means a lot of other things.

Mr. LONGWORTH. There is no provision as to the war. I ask the gentleman to read it himself. War is not mentioned.

Mr. SNELL. Will the gentleman allow me to have an amendment I have read at the Clerk's desk, which I think will cover what is desired, and I do not think there will be any objection on the part of the committee?

Mr. WINGO. Suppose the gentleman reads it. I will yield for that purpose.

Mr. SNELL. After the word "time," in line 1, insert "during the war period." Then after the word "produce" cut out the balance and say, "for the purpose of prosecuting the war." That limits the time and material entirely to the war-emergency proposition. I believe the discretion should be left in.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Chairman, I may be unfortunate—I say this sincerely—in not being able to clearly state my viewpoint. The subject of the bill is to grant certain authority for more effectively prosecuting the war by furnishing certain things. It is a war bill. It is for the purpose of utilizing power and getting material for the prosecution of the war. Now, when you define the words "war material" you do not have to say "during the period of the war" and "for the purpose of prosecuting the war," because you are defining war material itself. That is their definition, and why take away discretion from the President to define what is war material? Now, to be perfectly frank, there might very easily arise a dispute; a dispute has arisen as to how much of a certain very large staple commodity of this country is necessary for war purposes. Those who produce say only from 8 to 9 per cent is necessary; the President and his advisers say we will need all of it. But we ought to let somebody settle that dispute, and when you are defining war material, what is necessary for the prosecution of the war, it looks to me like the proper person to determine that would be the Commander in Chief of the Army.

Mr. SNELL. In my amendment I leave it entirely to the President. I simply put in there "during the period of the war," and leave it to the discretion of the President exactly how to do it.

Mr. WINGO. I am not objecting to the language except as mere surplusage, because you are defining war materials to be used for the purpose of the war, during the war. That is the whole purpose of your bill.

Mr. SNELL. It seems to me it ought to be limited to a certain extent.

Mr. WINGO. I agree it should be limited, but I think the very purpose of your bill, the title of the bill, the object of the bill, the material you are trying to define as war material, within itself limits it to war purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SIMS. The gentleman from Wisconsin offered to strike out three words which looked as if it could not possibly hurt the paragraph, so I readily consented to it. Now, the gentleman from Minnesota moves as a substitute for the amendment to strike out the same three words and other words, and then to add language to the paragraph which does not appear. It struck me at first blush it did not seriously limit the power to do what is intended, but I am like the gentleman from New York and others and the gentleman from Arkansas, I think that we ought to leave in the words "which in the opinion of the President." I think that ought to stay in. The object, I understand, of the gentleman from New York is that this thing is to be confined to the war period?

Mr. SNELL. That is my only contention.

Mr. SIMS. And has no object or purpose in doing anything else. This being defined as war materials, I naturally suppose when the war is over we will not need any more war material, so I did not see anything to complain of, and I would not have consented, but business comes up so hurriedly on the floor of the House, very often I do not see what I ought to see, and therefore I can not agree to the amendment.

Mr. SNELL. The gentleman from Wisconsin agreed to accept the substitute offered by the gentleman from Minnesota, so I offer the following amendment to the substitute.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the gentleman from Wisconsin can not accept a substitute in the sense in which the gentleman from New York seeks; perhaps there will be a vote on the substitute in any event whether he accepts it or not.

Mr. SIMS. Will not the gentleman modify it?

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to be heard on the substitute.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I want to ask if we can not agree on some limitation of this debate. I see four gentlemen on their feet, and I do not know how many want to speak.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Chairman, would it be proper to offer mine as an amendment to the substitute?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SNELL. Then I will offer it.

Mr. ANDERSON. If it is an amendment to the substitute.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 3, line 1, after the word "time," insert "during the war period," and after the word "produce"——

The CHAIRMAN. That is not an amendment to a substitute; that is an amendment to the amendment.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. SIMS. Can we agree to a limitation of debate? Does the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] want to discuss it further?

Mr. WALSH. I do. I want to offer an amendment to strike out this definition and insert another one.

Mr. SIMS. And the gentleman from Minnesota wants five minutes more, I suppose?

Mr. ANDERSON. I have not talked about the substitute yet at all.

Mr. SIMS. Does the gentleman from New York [Mr. SNELL] want to discuss this?

Mr. SNELL. No; not this amendment.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that debate on this amendment and all amendments to subsection (f) be closed in 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that all debate on subsection (f) close in 15 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, I want to ask the chairman of the committee if he included in that time five minutes for myself?

Mr. SIMS. Five minutes for the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] and five minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH].

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, do I understand there will be no other opportunity to offer amendments provided the amendment of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] is voted down?

The CHAIRMAN. Other amendments can be offered, but they can not be debated after the 15 minutes are exhausted.

Mr. WALSH. But, Mr. Chairman, an amendment can be offered during the 15 minutes and debated?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] is recognized.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, there seems to be an impression in the minds of gentlemen that the amendment I have offered limits the authority of the President under this bill. I do not think that is true. It seems to be assumed that where the President declares that something is essential to the prosecution of the war that that declaration is a binding and conclusive determination of the question. Of course, no such proposition as a proposition of law is tenable at all. The question of whether a thing is necessary for the prosecution of the war is a question of fact which must in the last analysis be determined by the courts, if the question is raised, and the court would not be bound at all by a declaration or a finding of the President in his discretion that the production of a certain thing was necessary to the prosecution of the war. All the amendment I have offered seeks to do is to define war material in such a way that it will consist of articles which are necessary to the prosecution of the war and which are produced for that purpose during the war period.

Now, I think anybody can name a dozen, perhaps a hundred, things, the production of which is not essential to the prosecution of the war. As a matter of fact, every day we are limiting the raw material for the production of things which are not essential to the prosecution of the war, or which are, at least, less essential than are other things.

Now, then, the question here is not whether the President shall declare something to be essential to the prosecution of the war, because it is not within his province to so declare. The question is, Is the particular article necessary for the prosecution of the war? That question, if challenged, would have to be determined in the last analysis by the courts. So that it seems to me per-

fectly clear that the amendment which I have offered is entirely in consonance with a proper legal theory of the bill and ought to be adopted. If adopted, this definition would read as follows:

The term "war material" means any material or commodity which it may be necessary or important to produce or of which it may be necessary or important to increase the production during the war period and in order to more effectively carry on the prosecution of the war.

Now, if there is to be any definition at all, it seems to me that this language defines war material in the only way in which it can be defined, because the definition makes war material mean exactly what it would mean and does mean in law if there was no definition in the bill at all, and neither extends nor detracts from that definition. I do not believe it is within the province of the President to add to or detract from the legal definition of war material.

Mr. WINGO. Will the gentleman yield? But it is very proper for the President to determine a question of fact that is not a legal proposition. Who is going to determine the fact as to whether or not an article is necessary war material?

Mr. ANDERSON. I do not think it is in the province of the President to determine that fact at all. I think that is a question which necessarily will eventually relate to the courts. And if some one raised the question as to whether a certain thing was war material or not, that question would have to be determined by the courts. It could not be determined by the President.

Mr. WINGO. If you left the language as it is and the question was raised, whoever attacked the validity of his determination would have the burden to show his decision wrong.

Mr. ANDERSON. I do not think that follows as a logical deduction or as a legal conclusion.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to strike out subsection (f) and insert the following language, which is at the Clerk's desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. WALSH: Strike out subsection (f) and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That the words 'war material' as used herein shall include all articles of whatever description and any part or ingredient thereof intended for, adapted to, or suitable for the use of the United States or any associate nation in connection with the conduct of the war."

Mr. WINGO. I make the point of order against the amendment that it is not in order as an amendment to the section and to the substitute.

Mr. WALSH. If the gentleman is going to make a point of order I would like to hear it. I did not hear the gentleman's point of order.

Mr. WINGO. That it is not in order in the present parliamentary situation, with an amendment to the text pending and an amendment to that amendment pending and an amendment to the substitute pending.

Mr. WALSH. Of course, Mr. Chairman, it is not in order to vote on that amendment now, but under the limitation of debate entered into by unanimous consent it is certainly in order to offer the amendment and have it voted upon at the proper time.

Mr. WINGO. I have no objection to its being read at the desk for information. I would not want to rob the gentleman of his right to have it read, and if the Chair would hold that my point of order would rob him of his right, I will withdraw it. I do not want to rob him of his right.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, this definition that is included in the amendment is the same definition, with some specific terms omitted, that was included in an act passed by the Congress last spring for the protection of war materials and war premises, and which included the definition of what constituted war premises and war materials.

Now, the definition is broad enough to include any articles or any ingredients thereof which are being manufactured for the United States or any associate nation. Now, we have already defined war materials in that former act, and it seems to me that it would be in keeping with good legislation to confine the definition, in enacting this measure, to the same terms, so that we would not say in one law that war materials means one thing and in another law that it means something else.

Mr. WINGO. Does not the gentleman overlook this fact, that the act to which he refers and from which he copied his amendment was an act defining a criminal offense, whereas the pending act is an act which does not affect the law in a judicial way, but gives authority to the administrative forces to take property? Now, then, should you not give some authority or place some discretion in somebody to determine what is necessarily war material? Would you leave them to go into the courts as in a criminal case?

Mr. WALSH. No; I would not, and it would get into the courts under the proposed definition reported in the measure just as quickly as it would under the definition proposed in my amendment. You are not going to take particularly war material. That is not what is going to be taken under the provisions of this act, but you are going to take property. Property is going to be taken for the purpose of producing war material. Now, we ought not, in setting down a definition in any law, leave it so that what the thing to be defined is to be shall rest in the discretion of anybody. The purpose of making the definition is in order to specifically set forth what such words mean when used in this act.

Mr. SNOOK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALSH. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SNOOK. I have given this bill some attention. One of the principal objects of this bill is to produce coal. Does the gentleman think his definition as a part of war material would cover coal?

Mr. WALSH. I certainly think so.

Mr. SNOOK. I do not think so.

Mr. WALSH. I ask the gentleman why not?

Mr. SNOOK. I do not think it is broad enough. I thought this was simply confined to shells or ammunition, or something of that kind, that a man can be punished for interfering with.

Mr. WALSH. Oh, no. I ask unanimus consent that the amendment may be read again, Mr. Chairman. No; I have it here. I will read it to the gentleman:

The words "war material" as used herein shall include all articles of every description or any part or ingredient thereof intended for, adapted, or useful for the use of the United States or any associate nation in connection with the conduct of the war.

Now, certainly coal is suitable for the use of the United States, and it seems to me if the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO] will permit this definition, following so closely upon the definition in the act to punish willful injury or destruction of war materials or war premises or war utilities, would leave this term free from all doubt, because it might be said that Congress has already defined it in a previous act and has followed closely the definition of that act, and therefore the meaning of the term in the act is plain and does not rest upon the discretion of any official as to what shall be included within the term.

It seems to me, inasmuch as we have started off this great measure with practically two pages of definitions, defining the very complex term "property" and also defining what the words "to acquire" mean and the words "within the boundaries of the United States," that if it is necessary to define them you might well follow previous precedents.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Chairman, when the gentleman from Massachusetts called my attention to this definition which he now embodies in an amendment which he will offer, I was very much inclined to agree with him when I first glanced over it, because it seemed to be a very comprehensive and specific definition of war material. But after I went to the Clerk's desk and got a copy of his amendment I discovered that this definition was used in a criminal statute, and it was intended by Congress to serve as a basis or guide to the courts in determining the question in a criminal prosecution.

After discovering that, I am not certain that this amendment ought to be adopted in this connection, and the reason why I take the proposition and why I am in doubt about it now is this: This power bill is seeking to confer upon somebody extraordinary power and authority on the basis and on the theory that the exigencies of the occasion require that somebody be authorized to exercise extraordinary power in order to meet the critical situation in the prosecution of the war. Now, of course, naturally the one to whom this authority ought to be given and must be given is the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, the President. In this portion of the bill which is seeking to define the different terms used throughout the bill the committee reporting it seems to think it necessary to define "war material," and they say it means "any material or commodity which, in the opinion of the President, may be necessary," and so forth. I am inclined to believe that that clause, "in the opinion of the President," ought to be retained in the bill. Because there is a great deal of material that the average layman would not think was necessary at all, but is found by experts in the preparation of material for war purposes to be vitally necessary and important. The President will be guided in his determination of these questions by the opinion and advice and suggestions of the experts, I have no doubt.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. I would like to ask the gentleman if, under the definition that I propose, the President has not still the widest discretion. It says, "All articles of whatever descrip-

tion and any part or ingredient thereof intended for, adapted to, or suitable for the use of the United States."

Mr. HAMLIN. Will it vest in him the power to determine what are "necessary materials"? If I am convinced of that fact, I will agree with you. The language of the gentleman's proposed amendment is broad. "War material shall include all articles of whatever description"—that is broad—"and any part or ingredient thereof intended for, adapted to, or suitable for the use of the United States or any associate nation in connection with the conduct of the war." This would be all right, provided the President has the right to determine the fact as to what is the necessary war material.

Mr. WALSH. Having in mind the definition I have offered and subsection 9, page 8:

In furtherance of any of the foregoing purposes, to modify, cancel, or suspend any existing or future contracts for the delivery of power to any person not engaged in the production of war material or to the extent to which he shall deem the power contracted for to be in excess of the requirements for the manufacture of war material by such persons or to which, in his opinion, it shall prevent the delivery of power which he shall deem necessary for the production of war material of greater or more immediate utility.

When he comes to apply the act he is vested with the discretion all through this act. In that discretion, with these broad terms of what is meant by "war material," he still will have just as broad power as under the original definition.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON].

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH].

Mr. WINGO. Can we have the amendment reported?

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 2, line 25, strike out the word "at" at the end of the line, and strike out, on page 3, line 1, the words "any time."

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the adoption of these amendments, I wish to offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts has submitted an amendment.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, if the amendment of the gentleman from New York tends to perfect the section, it would be in order.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct. If the gentleman from New York desires to offer an amendment to perfect the section, it would have precedence.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Chairman, I offer the amendment, line 1, page 3, strike out after the word "produce" the balance of the line, and lines 2 and 3, and substitute for that the words "for the purpose of prosecuting the war."

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 3, line 1, after the word "produce," strike out the words "or of which he may deem it necessary or important to increase the production," and insert in lieu thereof the words "for the purpose of prosecuting the war."

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I see no objection to that amendment.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I want to say just a word.

The CHAIRMAN. Debate has been closed. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is on the substitute offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Substitute for subsection (f): That the words "war material," as used herein, shall include all articles of whatever description, and any part or ingredient thereof, intended for, adapted to, or suitable for the use of the United States, or any associate nation, in connection with the conduct of the war.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the substitute.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. WALSH) there were 13 ayes and 18 noes.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

(g) The term "to acquire" means to purchase, requisition, condemn, or take over the title to, or to lease, requisition, condemn, or take over the right to use, occupy, or operate the whole or any part of; and, unless it shall be limited by the context, includes all such acts.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. What does the word "condemn" mean as here used?

Mr. SIMS. I understand it means to acquire through process of condemnation if that is resorted to.

Mr. WALSH. What does the word "requisition" mean?

Mr. SIMS. The technical legal meaning of the word "requisition" is intended, as far as I know.

Mr. WALSH. Does it mean the same as "commandeer"?

Mr. SIMS. I do not know that it does.

Mr. WALSH. Well, it would seem to me, Mr. Chairman, if we are going into defining terms, they had better pick out some hard ones and define them rather than to define the term "to acquire." There is no necessity of giving a definition to the words "to acquire," but here is a definition which includes within its terms several words about which there might be some doubt if used in this connection.

Mr. WINGO. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALSH. I will.

Mr. WINGO. The gentleman's idea is to have a subsection g½ or g-a or g-b to define such words as "requisition" and "condemn"?

Mr. WALSH. Well——

Mr. WINGO. Has not the word "requisition" a well-known meaning, clearly defined, and has been defined by the courts?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; I believe it has.

Mr. WINGO. Well, the words "to acquire" have not.

Mr. WALSH. I believe the word "acquire" has, and I do not know why they pick out of the depths of antiquity——

Mr. WINGO. I was just asking for information of my friend from Massachusetts, if it is his idea to have the words "lease," "requisition," and "condemn"—in other words, all the defined words—put in one word also defined? Then you would have to define the words that defined the words, would you not?

Mr. WALSH. I think very likely.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I observe that the paragraph twice defines the term "to acquire" as "to condemn." Does the gentleman think it is necessary to do it twice?

Mr. WALSH. No; neither do I know what it means to "take over the right to use, occupy, or operate the whole or any part of." There seems to have been something left out there. If they mean to include all property, it should have been put in there; but the criticism I desire to make, if the chairman of the committee will pardon me, is that in a measure of this importance it seems to me that the gentlemen who drafted the bill spent a little too much time in endeavoring to define terms which for the proper administration of the bill require no definition. Now, it has come to pass in legislation to define terms or phrases where there may be room for doubt. Several measures have been passed of that sort, but here is one that has very simple terms, which everybody knows the meaning of, and they have taken up a page and a half to set forth definitions, and if they have peculiar meanings as applied to this act only any meaning whatever more than the ordinary use of these phrases—but in this subsection you seek to define the term "to acquire," and then you use in there two other terms, "to condemn" or "to requisition." Now, it may be that these two terms would have a well-defined meaning or they might not have a meaning which would make them a proper part of the definition of "to acquire."

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I want to say to the gentleman, in the water-power bill I made the same criticism to a number of definitions.

Mr. WALSH. I recall.

Mr. SIMS. That they were absolutely useless——

Mr. WALSH. I recall the gentleman's opposition at that time, and I want to say that I agreed with him then and I trust he agrees with me now.

Mr. SIMS. I do agree with the gentleman's general criticism of the definition of well-known and well-understood terms, either legal or general, but thinking this would not hurt anything and perhaps satisfy some gentlemen who might not otherwise be satisfied, it is put in in the nature of a limitation.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. WALSH. I ask for just one minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. WALSH. I want to ask the gentleman if he thinks that is a complete definition which says the term "to acquire" means "to purchase, requisition, condemn, or take over the title to, or to lease, requisition, condemn, or take over the right to use, occupy, or operate the whole or any part of; and, unless it shall be limited by the context, includes all such acts"? Well, now, what does this mean?

Mr. SIMS. What does the gentleman refer to?

Mr. WALSH. What I have just read.

Mr. SIMS. Meaning in what way? It means what it says. I can not give the meaning of each word, I can not go into it that far.

Mr. FOSTER. It includes all such acts above enumerated.

Mr. WALSH. I always thought that in a sentence you have to have a subject and predicate. But in here you stop short with a semicolon and say "and, unless it shall be limited by the context, includes all such acts." Now, what is it that is going to have the right to use, occupy, or operate the whole or any part of it?

Mr. SIMS. It is intended the property included in the terms of the bill and purposes of it, for the plants, parts of plants, transmission lines, distributing plants, etc.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word for the purpose of asking the chairman of the committee a question. I should like to ask what, if any, changes were made by the committee outside of these committee amendments, all of which have so far been beaten, in the bill as originally sent from the department?

Mr. SIMS. The bill as introduced, I would say, is not the original one; there have been several bills discussed—the bill as introduced, the committee amendments shown in the bill itself and printed are all the committee agreed on. Other amendments were suggested afterwards, and I submitted them to Mr. ESCH and Judge DEWALT. I tried to get a full meeting of the committee but could not get it, but the gentlemen agreed it would be a benefit to the bill to offer the amendment of which I have a copy here, which I would be glad to give the gentleman, and while these are not committee amendments, Mr. ESCH, myself, and some others have gone over them and think they will benefit the bill.

And we are going to offer those, but not, of course, with the statement that the committee as a whole have passed on them. One of them I read to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] awhile ago.

Mr. LONGWORTH. That is not quite the question I asked. What I want to know is whether the committee made any change in the bill outside of the committee amendments?

Mr. SIMS. Not at all.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Does the gentleman mean to say there never has been a quorum of the committee present in considering this bill?

Mr. SIMS. Oh, no. A quorum was present when these committee amendments were considered. These amendments here that I have in my hand, that we are going to propose, were not considered by a quorum of the committee, but they were gotten up and suggested after the bill was reported, and they will, I believe, benefit the bill and will be generally so considered. But they are not technically committee amendments, although Mr. ESCH and Mr. DEWALT, and myself went over them, and I do not know how many others. But I will not claim that they are committee amendments, because a majority of the committee did not consider them.

Mr. LONGWORTH. All the amendments were written in the departments?

Mr. SIMS. And studied and considered and considered.

Mr. LONGWORTH. By everybody but the committee?

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, while this controversy was going on about the definition of the word "acquired" I took the opportunity of going to the dictionary and writing down what it says about it. And it defines the word "acquire" as follows:

To obtain by search, endeavor, practice, or purchase; get one's own; receive or gain in whatever manner; come to have; as the clouds acquire new tints at sunset; to acquire a collection of coins.

Then, outside the definition, the dictionary goes on to say:

Men are apt to acquire peculiarities continually ascribed to them. No man of power can do himself a greater wrong than to make an attempt to acquire the style of another man.

And this statement, which I found in the dictionary, becomes peculiarly significant at this time, for it is evident that this great Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House has done itself the great injustice of acquiring the style of the writer of the bill and paying no attention whatever to the acquisition of terms written in the bill on its own account. It seems to me that the bill is of such far-reaching importance that it would justify the research by the committee for the proper words to use and that they might accept for original terms.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Does not the gentleman think that in view of the importance of this bill it might be well to acquire a quorum of the committee?

Mr. MADDEN. I suggested that at an early stage of the proceedings, but I hope the gentleman will not raise it while I am making these few scattering remarks. When I am through I shall be perfectly willing to adopt the suggestion, though I doubt very much that anything I may say will add any light to the wisdom that has already been displayed by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in the formulation of this bill, written by two embryonic lawyers, I understand, down in the War Trade Board and the War-Risk Insurance Board.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I observed in the last division of the House that there were 31 gentlemen present, and there has been a substantial exodus since then. I think gentlemen ought to be present to acquire information from what the gentleman is saying.

Mr. MADDEN. If the gentleman thinks it is of sufficient importance to get the gentlemen who are on the street and elsewhere to come in to hear what I am saying, I have no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MADDEN. I ask unanimous consent for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes more. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SLOAN. Will the gentleman from Illinois yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. SLOAN. I listened to the gentleman's recital of the definition of the term in controversy. I would like to ask if that is from a dictionary of standing and approved by the department, and has it passed the official censor or the head of the publicity bureau?

Mr. MADDEN. The dictionary I consulted is the one that is usually sought by those who wish to acquire definite and reliable information.

Mr. SLOAN. Is it one that has been taken over by the administration and, therefore, made official?

Mr. MADDEN. Of course, it may not be considered as a war measure, and hence the necessity of taking it over has not been given due consideration.

Mr. SLOAN. Is it war material or, if not, a war measure?

Mr. MADDEN. It might be in case you find difficulty in describing words. Now, for example, "as the clouds acquire new tints at sunset," we seem to have reached the sunset of consideration of important measures in the production of this bill that is pending before us. The men who drafted the bill certainly could have had no knowledge of the terms to be used in such an important measure. If they had, they would have been definite and certain in the terms employed. They have been as indefinite and uncertain as it is possible for a mind to be. Of course I realize that lawyers as a rule attempt to complicate the language of a bill so that it will enable them to get business in the courts. Not being a lawyer, I can not understand why that is done. I am in favor of going direct to the point that I hope to reach; but this bill goes as indirectly as it is possible for a thing to go. It gives an opportunity to the President, through the advice and counsel of men who, I assume, know nothing of any consequence about the thing upon which they advise the President, to take over a lot of dilapidated, worn-out, bankrupt gas plants, or any other kind of a plant that may be tottering on the ragged edge of despair and bankruptcy, gives the Government an opportunity to rehabilitate these plants, put the owners of the plants back into a prosperous business condition, enables the Government to transfer these plants to these present owners at the end of the war without much consideration, and gives such wide latitude in the expenditure of public money for the acquisition of these institutions for no serious war purpose, in my judgment, that it leads a man to doubt the wisdom of the consideration of this measure.

I am as patriotic as anybody. I want to win the war. Everybody in the United States is patriotic. They are giving their blood and their means and their time and their best efforts to win the war. But why should we not be definite and certain when we attempt to do something in the matter of legislation? I regret that this bill is so indefinite that even the dictionary can not describe it. Of course, it would not be considered as a serious defect that I am not able to describe it, because I do not pretend to be an expert in understanding the use of words; but I do understand the use of definitions after I have looked up the dictionary and found out what it says, and I find nowhere in the dictionary anything that approaches a clear understanding of the terms used in the definition that is now presented for our consideration.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. SLOAN. I feel a great deal as the gentleman from Illinois does about this bill and its features, but I do feel like offering one defense to the language. It is distinctly Napoleonic. That individual, great in history, was noted, in drawing his treaties, for so drawing them as to make them open to construction in the

future as events might arise, and I think that characteristic appears here. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. MADDEN. I think the gentleman from Nebraska should be permitted to go on with his explanation.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I would like to hear something more about the Napoleonic method. [Laughter.]

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I want to call the attention of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN], who has just taken his seat, to the fact that definitions in acts of legislative bodies simply define the meaning of words used for the purposes of the acts, and in respect to the gentleman's criticism of this definition as not coming up to the meaning as defined in the dictionaries, it is wholly inapplicable and may be facetious and funny, but that is about as far as it goes.

Mr. MADDEN. Does the gentleman mean to say that the dictionary is of no particular use in the construction of terms used in a legislative enactment?

Mr. SIMS. The definition here—the one just referred to—is a limitation of the words "to acquire." Now, the gentleman certainly would not want to write into this bill something that would give it the meaning that he has just given from the dictionary?

Mr. MADDEN. Then I do not see why it should be used.

Mr. SIMS. These definitions are intended only to define words with reference to the act itself where they occur.

Mr. TEMPLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. TEMPLE. I notice in line 18 it is provided that—

Unless it shall be otherwise specifically provided herein the inclusion of any matter or thing within the definition of any word or term by the foregoing provisions of this section shall not be deemed to exclude therefrom any other matter or thing which under the usual construction of such word or term would fall within the meaning thereof.

After nine definitions defining words for purposes of this act, we have a clause saying that instead of those definitions the words shall have their usual meaning. [Laughter.]

Mr. LONGWORTH. And therefore they would include the terms of the sunset definition referred to by the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SIMS. Of course if they should not be in there they can be stricken out.

Mr. TEMPLE. I would certainly leave out any clause saying that definitions do not mean anything.

Mr. SIMS. I do not mean to admit that the gentleman is right or that they do not mean anything.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, in answer to the question of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. TEMPLE] I may say that in the committee I raised the same question during the hearing, and a gentleman concerned in the preparation of the bill gave the committee the impression that it was merely a dragnet proposition, and he concluded by saying, "It would do no harm and might do some good." [Laughter.] So that when it comes to that section I shall move to strike it out.

Mr. SIMS. I was going to say to the gentleman that when we reach that point, as I said to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. TEMPLE], a motion to strike out can be offered. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH] proposes to do it. But if that is stricken out, it becomes absolutely necessary that these definitions should remain in the act for purposes of limitation, because general definitions are too indefinite.

Mr. SLOAN. But I would not put a limitation on and then take it off.

Mr. WALSH. Would not the gentleman from Tennessee agree to strike out all the definitions and leave that paragraph in?

Mr. SIMS. I would not want to do that.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] says he is not a lawyer. I suppose that is the case with most of us, even those of us who have heretofore been lawyers and have practiced law, after we have been engaged for so long a time in politics.

Mr. MADDEN. Let us have some information. That is what I am looking for.

Mr. SIMS. I could not give the gentleman any general information that he does not already possess, but I wish to say that when the bill was being prepared——

Mr. MADDEN. Was that in the preparation of the draft law?

Mr. SIMS. Oh, if the gentleman does not mean to be respectful I will not say another word. It was submitted—this bill was submitted—to one of the ablest lawyers in the United States before it was introduced. And I wish to say that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce does not make a business of doing things half way and having a matter of importance referred to somebody in whose judgment and in whose knowledge we do not have confidence.

Now, the gentleman knows—or at least I think he knows—that in matters that require expert knowledge and with reference to these power plants and electrical terms and things of that sort, I submit that I have not expert knowledge, and I have to trust to somebody; and I would be glad, indeed, if the leadership on that side, or whoever has the power to do it, would put upon our committee the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN], because one of the greatest chairmen that committee ever had was from Illinois, and I think the gentleman has had a good opportunity to be educated under the shining light of the former chairman of our committee, the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN].

Mr. MADDEN. Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to sit at the gentleman's feet and worship whatever might be brought forth that was worthy of worship. [Laughter.]

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. SIMS. There is no pending motion before the committee.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, with reference to this paragraph, and I think of the whole bill, as I understood the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS], there were some engineers consulted, and I think the engineers must have drawn this particular paragraph, or the whole bill, or perhaps a blacksmith did it, as somebody near me suggests. [Laughter.] This paragraph is divided into two parts. First the term "to acquire" is said to mean "to purchase, requisition, condemn, or take over the title to." To what nobody knows.

Mr. SIMS. To what the bill applies. The gentleman knows that.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The bill applies to whatever its language makes it apply. It does not apply to anything not in the bill.

Mr. SIMS. The bill refers to what is to be taken over.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. What is it?

Mr. SIMS. It is in the bill. This is merely a definition, and the definitions come before the powers conferred in the bill. If the gentleman from Iowa or any other gentleman simply wants to be facetious and waste time, of course he can do it.

Mr. WALSH. This is not wasting time.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The other part is "to lease, requisition, condemn, or take over the right to use, occupy, or operate the whole or any part thereof." This is also left in the air without any ground-wire attachment, the text not stating what it is to be applied to, but "the right to use, occupy, and operate" would have to be purchased just as much as the title would have to be. But the word "purchase" does not apply to the right to use, occupy, or operate the whole or any part of. So under the paragraph they have no right to purchase it.

Mr. REED. I find that the phrase "acquire" only occurs once in the bill. Why not define it there?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The gentleman is propounding a question that I will have to refer to the chairman of the committee. The word "acquire" is not here properly defined.

Mr. SLOAN. Not properly defined; is it defined insufficiently, too much, or too little? Is it buried in a mass of words, a congregation of polysyllabics, or words not properly arranged?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. It is in a mass of verbiage, and the whole paragraph ought to be rewritten.

Mr. SLOAN. In Harvey's old grammar there was a statement for correction, "Many words, they darken speech." Is that a description of this paragraph?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I think that would be fairly descriptive.

Mr. FOCHT. The gentleman means that there are so many trees it obscures the view?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. That is the trouble. They obscure the meaning by the number of words. The paragraph ought to be passed over and rewritten.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last four words.

Mr. SIMS. Can not the gentleman do that just as well on the next paragraph?

Mr. LONGWORTH. No; I want to ask the gentleman a question about the report. If the committee did not write the bill, it probably wrote the report. Was the report written by the committee?

Mr. SIMS. No; not by the committee. I never knew a committee to write a report. It was written by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. LONGWORTH. What does this sentence in the report mean?

The bill merits general support also because it permits and provides for the erection of power stations in coal districts where coal may be treated in by-product coke ovens so as to secure needed war materials to provide gas for industrial purposes, and also to develop power therefrom in a way which is not so economical or so satisfactory as to transport materials over long distances and then provide for their utilization.

Mr. SIMS. Has the gentleman read what Dr. Garfield and Mr. Stewart have said on the subject?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Yes.

Mr. SIMS. There is where I got the information.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I gather from the report that the intention of the committee was to provide for that in a way not so economical——

Mr. SIMS. No; it does not mean that. It is to provide for central power stations instead of having them scattered, so that the mining of coal can be done at much less cost and with a much less consumption of coal itself.

Mr. SLOAN. This comes under the condition of reverse language.

Mr. SIMS. There may be a typographical error, but I think the meaning is clear. I got my information from the gentleman from Ohio, Dr. Garfield, and Mr. Stewart, the engineer of the power section of the Fuel Administration, and from general information on that subject.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I did not gather from Dr. Garfield that he wanted to provide a way of transportation not so economical or satisfactory.

Mr. SIMS. Perhaps that is an error of the stenographer. I have not looked at it since I looked at the typewritten report, and my attention has not been called to it since. I have not looked it over in print. Of course it has no such meaning as the gentleman states.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I am delighted to hear that that was not the intention of the committee.

Mr. SIMS. The gentleman must have seen from the report what are the objects and purposes of the bill, and that it would result in economy instead of the reverse.

Mr. LONGWORTH. That is what I hoped. Then we are to consider that this sentence means directly the opposite of what it says?

Mr. SIMS. I have not looked at it; there may be an error of the kind referred to; but if so, it is so plainly apparent from the whole report and from the bill itself as to suggest to the mind of any man who has or may read the report and the bill as to call for no explanation, and can not possibly mislead any man who does not want to put a false and unwarranted construction on the bill and report as a whole.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out lines 4 to 8, inclusive, on page 3.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. GOOD. Strike out lines 4 to 8, inclusive, page 3.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to get some agreement as to limit of debate.

Mr. GOOD. I only want three or four minutes. I think there will be no disposition to object to this. I think after the gentleman thinks about it he will be disposed to accept it.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to close debate on this section in five minutes, the gentleman from Iowa to have the five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee to close debate on subsection "g" in five minutes, the gentleman from Iowa to have the five minutes?

There was no objection.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Chairman, the language I move to strike out is the definition of the term "to acquire." There is only one place in this bill where the term appears, and here we have taken up much space in a long definition of that term. I suggest that when the gentleman comes to page 6, section 4, "to acquire any private power plant within the boundaries of the United States," add the words "by any known methods of procurement," and he has covered the entire situation.

Mr. SIMS. Does the gentleman think that that side of the House or this side will vote for that kind of a bill?

Mr. GOOD. That is exactly the language that was put in the national-defense act.

Mr. SIMS. I would not have any objection to it.

Mr. GOOD. The language you have here is so cumbersome that it ought not to be included in the bill. It is a long definition, while you only use the term once in the entire bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. WINGO) there were 20 ayes and 14 noes.

So the amendment was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

The committee informally rose; and Mr. WINGO having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, a message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had disagreed to the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1419) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of dams across navigable waters," approved June 21, 1906, as amended by the act approved June 23, 1910, and to provide for the improvement and development of waterways for the uses of interstate and foreign commerce, had asked a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. SHIELDS, Mr. MYERS, Mr. BANKHEAD, Mr. PITTMAN, Mr. NELSON, and Mr. SMOOT as the conferees on the part of the Senate.

EMERGENCY POWER BILL.

The committee resumed its session.

The Clerk read as follows:

(h) The term "within the boundaries of the United States" means all lands and waters subject for any purposes to the jurisdiction of the United States of America.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words to ask the chairman a question. If this definition were not in the bill what would the term "boundaries within the United States" mean as used in the act?

Mr. SIMS. This section was discussed quite a little in the committee. There were different views given about it. If we use the language the gentleman has used, "the United States," and stop, it might not include Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and the Panama Canal Zone.

Mr. MADDEN. This would not do it either.

Mr. SIMS. It is any country where the United States has jurisdiction.

Mr. WALSH. Well, I will say to the gentleman we have defined the term "the United States" in several war-emergency measures that have been enacted by the Congress and in none of them has any such definition as this been enacted, and what I want to know is if we do not have this definition what will the term "United States" mean in the act?

Mr. SIMS. My own opinion is, so far as this act is concerned, that it is within the boundaries of the United States, and that would mean continental United States.

Mr. WALSH. Why did not the gentleman say that the term "United States" shall include the Philippines, Porto Rico, Alaska, Panama Canal Zone, and so forth?

Mr. SIMS. We could be specific and we would have just what we have got here, nothing more or less.

Mr. WALSH. No; you have got something entirely different.

Mr. TEMPLE. And subject for any purpose to the jurisdiction of the United States. Would that include the Republic of Haiti, which for the present is under the control of the Marine Corps of the United States?

Mr. WALSH. No.

Mr. TEMPLE. That is subject for military purposes.

Mr. SIMS. This is subject to the jurisdiction of the United States the ordinary way, like the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, the Canal Zone, and Porto Rico.

Mr. TEMPLE. We are in occupation by our military forces.

Mr. SIMS. It was suggested, as the gentleman knows from what has happened in the far eastern country, in Asia, that it might be necessary for the Government to do something of this sort in the Philippine Islands.

Mr. WALSH. Would it not be sufficient to say within the United States or Territorial possessions?

Mr. SIMS. Any words which mean the same thing, of course, there could be no objection to. It is only a quibble over words. You can offer any amendment gentlemen may think better than the language of the bill.

Mr. WALSH. My suggestion is based on the belief the two phrases do not mean the same thing.

Mr. SIMS. The gentleman, perhaps, is more accurate than I am.

Mr. WALDOW. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the chairman of the committee if he believes this in any way includes the boundary waters?

Mr. SIMS. Within the boundary?

Mr. WALDOW. Well, within the boundary.

Mr. SIMS. It would include boundary waters in so far as the United States exercising jurisdiction over it is concerned.

Mr. WALDOW. For instance, our treaty with Canada at the present time over the Niagara Falls question; would it include those waters?

Mr. SIMS. I think this gives the United States the right to do anything we have got the right to do under the treaty on the American side, and I think this definition would include any waters in the United States over which the United States has jurisdiction, by treaty or otherwise.

Mr. SCOTT of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words, if necessary, to suggest to the chairman before passing from this that he or the committee, or whoever has charge of the bill, should change the subsection indication there from (g) to (h), as we have stricken out subsection (g).

Mr. SIMS. I was going to say that is a very proper suggestion, and that is one we always do without formal action of the committee.

The Clerk read as follows:

(i) The term "war period" means the time to elapse until six months after the President shall, by proclamation, have declared the war between the United States and the Imperial German Government and its allies to be at an end.

The committee amendment was read, as follows:

Page 3, lines 13 to 17 inclusive, strike out the words "President shall, by proclamation, have declared the war between the United States and the Imperial German Government and its allies to be at an end" and insert in lieu thereof: "proclamation by the President of the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of peace."

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to the amendment. I can not understand why the committee tried to define the war period as something that is not the war period, which is plainly not the war period. If you want the time extended beyond the war period, why use this expression "after the period of the war"?

Mr. SIMS. The gentleman means the committee amendment, the object of it?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The committee has made a definition of the term "war period" to be not at the termination of the war, but six months after the war.

Mr. SIMS. That is the war period in the provisions of this act. I think the gentleman from Wisconsin offered this amendment and it was accepted in the committee, and I leave it to him to make a statement.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Of course, great deference is due to the gentleman from Wisconsin as far as that is concerned, but I think in writing bills we ought to avoid definitions which prescribe something which has exactly the opposite meaning of what is sought to be defined.

Mr. ESCH. That is oftentimes the object of the definition. We can say "within the limits of the United States" and we will include in that the possessions. In the trading-with-the-enemy act we defined the end of the war to be a certain period after the termination of hostilities, and yet it would not be a termination of the war, strictly speaking; and this is in the same category.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Well, I do not mean to say the legal effect would not be all right, but it simply confuses an act and causes you to stop. It ought to be written clearly, because a person has to stop and think twice whenever a word is defined to be something which it does not mean according to the dictionary definition.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Unless it shall be otherwise specifically provided herein the inclusion of any matter or thing within the definition of any word or term by the foregoing provisions of this section shall not be deemed to exclude therefrom any other matter or thing which under the usual construction of such word or term would fall within the meaning thereof.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 3, strike out lines 18 to 23, inclusive.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I desire to say a word in favor of the amendment.

Mr. SIMS. I have no objection to this amendment.

Mr. LONGWORTH. There might be after I get through with my speech. Mr. Chairman, I merely want to comment on this paragraph that we have before us. It is unexampled except in one instance, to my knowledge, since I have been a Member of the House, and that was in the original War Finance Corporation bill sent to the Ways and Means Committee by the Secretary of the Treasury; but that bill was entirely rewritten by the Ways and Means Committee, precisely the opposite of the case in this instance, where not a change has been made in the original draft of the bill except the committee amendments, most of which have been defeated. The bill sent to us contained this provision, which we struck out:

Provided, That the powers specifically enumerated herein shall be deemed an addition to but not limitation of any implied powers granted in this act.

That, in my mind, is the one fitting parallel for the paragraph the gentleman from Wisconsin has moved to strike out.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 2. That the President is hereby authorized and empowered, within the limits of the amounts herein authorized, or that may hereafter be authorized—

Also, the following committee amendment was read:

Page 4, line 4, strike out the words "the amounts hereinafter authorized, or that may hereafter be authorized," and insert in lieu thereof "appropriations herein or hereafter made."

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I rise to oppose the committee amendment. I do not know what jurisdiction the committee has over making appropriations upon this subject. Of course, under the rules of the House a committee can not report out a bill carrying an appropriation—that is, as I understand the rules of the House—carrying an appropriation under this particular class of legislation.

Now, it would seem to me that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce had better grant the authorty and let the matter of appropriations come from the Appropriations Committee, and not attempt to provide for $175,000,000 of a direct appropriation, and, in addition, $150,000 to defray expenses. And it would seem to me, strange though it may be, that the genius who drafted the measure got the right idea in it in the form in which the bill was presented, but which the committee have attempted to amend. And I submit to the chairman that it will not in any way delay or affect seriously this measure if the appropriation is simply authorized.

Mr. SIMS. I will say to the gentleman, Mr. Chairman, that portions of this bill have been drawn for quite a while—ever since May. When I was approached on the subject of introducing a bill of this kind, it was before the water-power bill had even been reported, and the question was as to whether the water-power bill could not be so amended as to give this power. It looked to me that there would have to be so many legislative provisions in connection with this act that to undertake to combine it as an amendment to the water-power bill would be unwise and bring about confusion, and might bring about the defeat or delay of the water-power bill. So I suggested that a bill simply authorizing the appropriation for this purpose be drawn up.

The sundry civil bill had not then passed. So this was done on my suggestion and with that view, as the Committee on Appropriations had no authorization for such an appropriation. I understand, too—I do not know that it is a fact, because I never talked with the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY], the chairman of the committee—I also understand, too, that he had been consulted by Mr. Baruch or some one else about it. And that the sundry civil bill had been practically made up and he did not feel authorized to undertake to carry the appropriation without any act authorizing the committee to do so. Then, when the recess came it was discussed more and more, and finally I introduced the bill which you have now before you, without having changed the words from "authorize" to "appropriate." I think it was my distinguished colleague [Mr. ESCH] who suggested this amendment and that the committee adopted the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I want to ask the chairman of the committee this question. I notice that he provides for an amount of money here for administrative purposes. How much of a force does the gentleman contemplate will be necessary and what salaries will be paid to that force under this bill?

Mr. SIMS. Really I do not know. There is information in the hearings along that line, but it is intended to be very modest and very reasonable. Now, I was going to say that nobody can tell, nobody can know, in advance what will be necessary in the way of employing persons to carry out the provisions of this act.

Mr. SISSON. But you can make an inquiry as to the purpose and intention of the gentlemen who have prepared this bill and make them tell you exactly what they are going to do with this $150,000, I believe it is, for administrative purposes, and as to what force they are going to have, whether it is going to be organized under a bureau, and, if so, what the bureau chief's salary will be, what the chief clerk's salary will be, how many clerks you are going to have to begin the operation. All of that ought to be investigated.

Mr. SIMS. I do not remember now whether the hearings go into detail on that subject or not. Does the gentleman from

Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH] remember whether that was gone into in the hearings or not?

Mr. ESCH. No. I asked one of the representatives, I think of the War Industries Board, to give us an account of the items and expenses making up the $150,000, and he said it would be presented. I have looked up the printed testimony, but I can not find it.

Mr. SIMS. It has not been presented to me.

Mr. SISSON. I do not think the gentleman ought to ask the committee to turn this over to these gentlemen unless you have some assurance as to what the salary of the bureau chief is going to be. You will turn them loose without any strings, when it is hard enough to tie them, when they give their testimony and you make a specific provision for them.

Mr. SIMS. This power will perhaps be exercised by several departments and bureaus.

Mr. SISSON. I am going to ask the gentleman another question. I notice you have $175,000,000 here, which you give virtually to some unknown person that is going to administer this bill, with an unknown salary and with an unknown organization.

Mr. SIMS. We give it to the President.

Mr. SISSON. I understand; but it is still unknown so far as the——

Mr. SIMS. I do not know who it will be.

Mr. SISSON. And we are dealing with a thing now so far as our conscience and our mind is concerned. Now, you propose to leave this $175,000,000 as a revolving fund in the hands of some one, without knowing just exactly what the organization is going to be.

Mr. SIMS. I do not understand that it is to be a revolving fund. It is intended to aid private persons or companies in construction of extensions by the use of this money. I do not understand that anything will come back until the companies or individuals that are aided begin to pay back the money advanced to them. It is not a revolving fund.

Mr. SISSON. Let us take the clause itself and analyze it, and see exactly what is provided. The paragraph reads:

(2) For the purpose of increasing the capacity or productivity of any private power plant within the boundaries of the United States to install in any such plant any structure, machinery, or appliances that he may deem useful to that end, either through agents or contractors employed by him, or by providing the operator of such plant with funds to be applied to that purpose; to lease the machinery, appliances, and structures—

And so on. And then down further it provides:

Or for such period thereafter not exceeding five years, or for any shorter period, as he may deem expedient in the interest of the United States, upon such terms as he may deem reasonable; and to enter into contracts requiring or permitting the lessee to purchase such appliances, machinery, and structures, or parts thereof, at or before the termination of such lease at their then value, or upon such other terms as he may deem equitable for the protection of the interests of the United States and of the community served by such lessee.

There you permit the contract to be made and money to be used, not to exceed in this bill $75,000,000; and unless there is a requirement of the President in a subsequent clause to have report made back to Congress, no provision is made for accounting. And even though a report of that kind is made back to Congress, it would take positive legislation to be able to control for the next two or three or four years—and this does not exceed five years—the expenditure of this money. In other words, I think after this bill goes into effect the money that is used ought to be appropriated from year to year by Congress and a strict accountability required. I do not believe you ought to turn it loose to any set of men without an accounting.

When you say the President is going to do it it is absurd, and manifestly so, because the President can only turn it over to some man and ask him to make a report of the matter. Therefore I believe, since Congress is called upon to give $175,000,000 for the administration of this law, to be used and turned over by that organization in this business from time to time until the plants get able to pay it back, there ought to be an accounting to Congress for this vast sum of money to be used for such a series of years.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. SISSON. I ask for two minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi asks to proceed for two minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SISSON. I am inclined to agree with the gentleman from Massachusetts that the language should be stricken out, and that this bill should simply make an authorization, and that the Committee on Appropriations should go carefully into the subject and report such an appropriation as it might deem proper.

By the way, if this bill were to become a law speedily, within a few days, the subcommittee on deficiencies of the Committee on Appropriations is now in session, and I can assure you that before it comes out of that committee we will know what kind of an organization they are going to build up, and know the manner in which they are going to handle this $175,000,000. I think that Congress is entitled to that information.

Mr. SIMS. This work, if it is to be of any value whatever in winning the war, must commence just as quickly as possible, on account of climatic conditions. The increase of these different power plants must certainly be undertaken just as quickly as possible in order that the increase may be available for such purposes as are set out in the bill in time to be of substantial benefit in the prosecution of the war. Time is of the greatest importance in this matter.

Now, I do not care anything about the appropriation part of it, myself, individually. I do not want to encroach upon the jurisdiction of the Committee on Appropriations. I think they do their work well, and all that kind of thing. But I would not want to consent to the proposition that the appropriation should go out of the bill.

Mr. SISSON. I have no desire, if this bill becomes a law, to delay for one moment its being put into operation; but I do not believe in the propriety of investing the particular lot of individuals who may be selected by the President with the enormous power given in this bill and with this enormous sum of money, which will not have to be accounted for except when called upon by the President. They do not have to come to Congress and make any accounting of this money until the end of these five years.

Mr. SIMS. No; it is annual.

Mr. SISSON. You are mistaken, unless the language does not mean what I think it does. They make annual reports, but the annual reports do not prevent them from continuing to use the $175,000,000.

Mr. SIMS. How would you want them to do it?

Mr. SISSON. The bill says it shall run for five years.

Mr. SIMS. That only means that the property is to be held for five years.

Mr. WALDOW. Mr. Chairman, I think the gentleman from Tennessee ought to agree to strike out that appropriation. I think you are going a long way in asking that Congress accept a proposition of that kind.

Mr. SIMS. I have no objection to striking it out, provided we knew the bill would pass in time for the Committee on Appropriations to do what the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON] says it will do, and let this organization take advantage of that fund, so that the increase of power plants can be undertaken before the dead of winter comes on. But there is no question as to the jurisdiction of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to make the appropriations necessary to carry into effect the objects and purposes of the bill.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that the gentleman from Tennessee himself might not object to this paragraph being stricken out; but I, as a member of the committee, do object.

Mr. SIMS. I would object to it, although I know the Committee on Appropriations would do it carefully and well.

Mr. DECKER. So far as concerns the ability of the committee to go into the details of this organization, for which we have allowed $175,000——

Mr. WALSH. One hundred and seventy-five million dollars——

Mr. DECKER. I mean $150,000—for organization and administrative purposes, I do not believe the Committee on Appropriations would have any more time to spend on that subject than we spent on it.

Mr. SISSON. But the gentleman from Tennessee gives us absolutely no information in the hearings that were had on the bill before his committee, and we get absolutely no information from anyone as to the organization which it is intended to build up or what salaries are to be paid or what is to be done with this $150,000. I am not controverting what the gentleman says, but we do not know what organization is to be built up, and we are entitled to the information.

I have no doubt you gentlemen could do it; I am not controverting that proposition. The only question is whether the committee has any information as to what organization is going to be built up.

Mr. DECKER. I want to say that if the gentleman's committee or the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce should start to work out specifically the organization that was necessary to administer this bill, I doubt if we could work it out in detail before at least half of the rest of the war is over.

Mr. TEMPLE. Somebody has got to do it.

Mr. DECKER. Somebody has got to do it, but when you get 25 men to work out an organization you will find that you can not do it. No organization of the Government could work it out in detail in that way.

Mr. SISSON. As a matter of fact, when any bureau has been created or authorized by any other committee as this is, when the appropriation committee went into the matter they have given us a tentative organization and given the House the character of the organization.

Mr. DECKER. I concur with the gentleman in a measure on that. I think some tentative organization could be worked out, but I hope the gentleman will not forget that this is an emergency measure, and time is of the essence. You say who will be responsible for the spending of this money? I say the President. You say it will be impossible for him to do it. You say we do not know who will administer the bill. I say perhaps that is true, but I think the President does, and I think it will be done under the War Industries Board. I do not think the gentleman would doubt their ability because he knows them as well or better than I do.

Mr. SISSON. I have not any doubt of the ability of anyone; it is a question of proper and orderly legislation in getting before the committee and getting before the Members of Congress exactly what is going to be done with the money that is appropriated.

Mr. DECKER. As a general proposition, for the establishment of a permanent organization, where we have the time to work it out carefully, I think the gentleman is right, as we did with the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, reported by our committee. It was worked out with as much detail as we could; it has had to be changed some since, like every other proposition. But I tell the gentleman frankly that you have to trust somebody on this.

Mr. SISSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DECKER. Yes.

Mr. SISSON. I am glad the gentleman mentioned the War-Risk Bureau, because, as a matter of fact, you gentlemen did go into that organization and gave us a detailed report as to the character of the organization, fixing the salary of the officers. That was entirely new. Of course, the great growth of that bureau has caused many clerks and many people to be added as the Army continued to grow. That is a splendid illustration of what could be done and ought to be done here.

Mr. DECKER. The difference is that the War-Risk Bureau is one that we expect to last 50 or 100 years, and this nobody expects to last longer than 5 years. The main part of the work, the administration part, will be mostly done before that time, we sincerely hope.

Mr. GOOD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DECKER. Yes.

Mr. GOOD. This bill appropriates $175,000,000 for the purpose of acquiring power plants and, further, to construct plants for the production of gas, toluol, benzol, and coal-tar products. I want to ask the gentleman, in all seriousness, how much is to be spent for plants for the production of toluol and other by-products? If the committee has gone into the subject, the gentleman ought to be able to tell us, as any appropriation committee would, how much you expect to use.

Mr. DECKER. Does the gentleman mean what the different items would cost?

Mr. GOOD. What part of the $175,000,000 would be required to build a plant for the production of toluol.

Mr. MADDEN. And how much it will produce.

Mr. GOOD. Yes; how much it will produce.

Mr. DECKER. I have not figured that up, and I do not think gentlemen would understand it if I had. I am speaking respectfully. I do not think anybody in the House would understand it if the committee did.

Mr. GOOD. I mean for building the plants.

Mr. DECKER. That is a question for the engineers to figure on—how much it will cost to build a plant—and I do not think they could do it in these abnormal times.

Mr. GOOD. The gentleman is mistaken; the department comes before the committee and states that they want so much money, and they may say that they do not know whether it will be constructed within that cost, but they have a program. But in your hearings I do not find any program laid down. More than that—and I say it with all due respect—any man in the House who has studied the question realizes that there is a lack of coordination between the War Department and the War Industries and other boards. I have here the statement of Col. McRoberts in regard to toluol. Congress gave the War Department $52,000,000, and he said that that would be all they wanted for the production of toluol. I want to say that the War Industries Board does not know what they are talking about when they ask us to appropriate a part of $175,000,000 for the production of toluol, and nobody has gone into the details. I do not mean to say that we ought not to have more power plants or that we ought not to increase the power plants, but I do say that in these times, when we need money so badly—so much of it—we do not want to appropriate more for any purpose than absolutely necessary to do the work. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to see if I can close debate.

Mr. MADDEN. I would like to have 10 minutes. I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 10 minutes.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I want to see if I can get an agreement to close debate on this committee amendment and all amendments thereto. I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this committee amendment and all amendments thereto close in 22 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, it seems to me that while we are passing a law of this importance we ought to surround it with every possible safeguard, that we ought not any longer to consider appropriations in bulk without having definite information as to what the money is to be used for, what each unit is going to cost, what the unit is supposed to produce. We have evidence on every hand of the iniquity of lump-sum appropriations. The War Trade Board, the War Industries Board, the War-Risk Insurance Board, and all the other boards have employed people beyond the limits of decency. They no longer pretend to run the departments along economical business lines. Those in charge of employing the people to transact the business within the District of Columbia for the Government have caused to be issued advertisements throughout the country in the press that have invited thousands upon thousands of innocent girls to the city of Washington in search of employment without a chance to find a home, without the restraint or protection of their mothers and fathers, and they come here without any certainty of finding a place to work; and the War-Risk Insurance Board has been cited here as one of the solitary examples of scientific organization, and yet the War-Risk Insurance Board has 10,000 people employed, whereas 5,000 would do the work. They are standing in each other's way; they are not at work; they are idle; they admit it; they laugh on the streets at the ease with which they can get pay for the day's toil, so to speak, the easy manner in which they can draw money from the Treasury of the United States. They are not getting the work done. We find that everywhere on every hand. There ought to be something done. Here is a good place to start. If we have not already thrown the safeguards that ought to be thrown around such matters, let us begin. It is never too late. This is a good time to begin.

It is Friday, September 27. Let us note it as another day of record to see that in the enactment of the law providing for the creation of new power plants that we have established a policy not to make appropriations unless we have the fullest information upon which to base our action. We have not such information before us. We ought not to appropriate without it. The men who are to be charged with the responsibility of this work should be compelled to come before the Committee on Appropriations of the House, they should be required to tell in detail what the money is to be used for, what they propose to produce as a result of the expenditure of that money. The fact that we are at war and we have to do extraordinary things is no reason why we should throw the people's money away. We have just passed a bill to levy $8,000,000,000 of taxes upon the backs of the American people. They will feel that burden. They have already felt it. We are beginning a drive for the sale of $6,000,000,000 of liberty-loan bonds. The American people will be compelled to buy them. They want to buy them, they will buy them, they are interested in the war. They have given their boys to the country, they are willing to give themselves, they want this war to be won, they want honor to be reflected upon the management of the war, they want the departments of the Government to be conducted along economical business lines. They expect us to conserve their rights. We have an obligation imposed upon us by the oath we have taken.

If we fail to meet the obligation, we have been negligent of the responsibilities that have been handed to us by the people, and here we have a chance to show the people we are in earnest; that we realize they have heavy burdens to meet; that we do not want to impose greater burdens unnecessarily upon them. Let us consider the measures which come before us with

a firm determination not under any circumstances to place in the hands of any man, no matter who he may be, the power to expend the people's money without restriction on his right to expend it. Is that unreasonable? Is it unreasonable to expect that we shall impose a restriction upon those who are charged with the responsibility of spending the people's money? Not at all. Our boys are spending their blood on the battle fields; they are exciting the admiration of the American people. Yes; they are exciting the admiration of the people of the world. Shall we be less worthy of the confidence of our own people than the boys who are fighting on the battle front? We will be if we fail to place every restriction that is possible to be placed upon every expenditure of their money, and for one I do not propose, because it is said that this is a necessary war measure, to place in the hands of any man, no matter who he may be, appointed by the President though he may be, the right of unrestricted employment here in Washington. Millions of dollars are being expended for the erection of buildings which would be unnecessary in this District if none were employed except those who are needed. I think it will not be denied by anybody who has made an investigation that the departments are overflowing with unnecessary employees, giving no return for the money they receive at the hands of the American people.

Mr. WALDOW. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. I do not want to yield; I want to go on and tell what I think about it. [Laughter.] I think that the time has come when somebody must speak. Democrats and Republicans alike know that what I say is true. I fear not only for the Treasury of the United States but for the welfare of the young girls who are coming to this city who are without the proper protection. I know many of them who have come as the result of advertisement, not because of any influence that has been exerted either by Democrats or Republicans in Congress, but by the desire on their part to be useful in war work.

And many of them have been placed in these positions who were not needed. They ought to be at home. They ought to be under the protecting influence of their mothers and fathers. And those who have been responsible for advertising the need for this large number of girls in the District of Columbia ought to insert in the newspapers of America the statement that there are more girls here now than there ought to be. And I make this statement for the protection and the welfare of the girls of America and not because of any desire on my part to prevent them from getting employment by the Government. I have fears that if we do not put a stop to this thing we will be responsible for many wrongs that may occur. In addition to being responsible for extravagant expenditures of public money, in God's name let us not be responsible for anything else that is worse. Let us insist that investigations to the fullest extent shall be made of the needs of the Government in every department. A committee ought to be appointed by the House with full power to go through every department and see what I saw, thousands of people sitting at desks and walking around without doing a tap of work from one end of the day to the other. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Chairman, a little while ago the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD], in a colloquy with the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER], said that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce ought to know, for instance, how much toluol was to be produced if this bill went through and became a law.

Mr. GOOD. What the plant would cost.

Mr. FOSTER. Now, I can not yield. I will yield to the gentleman in a minute. I will say to him that if he knows anything about this product he knows it is a by-product that comes from other substances, that goes through certain processes. It would be an impossibility. The Appropriations Committee could not find out that. They would have no way of doing it.

Mr. GOOD. The gentleman is misquoting me.

Mr. FOSTER. Just wait a minute. I do not mean to misquote the gentleman; I will apologize to him if I have. But I understood one of his complaints was that they were unable to tell about how much they would produce of that.

Mr. Chairman, as I say, it will be impossible for them to do that, taking possession of these plants in this way, not knowing how many they would take over, not knowing what kind of plants they were, and whether they were fitted for that work or not. I agree with the gentleman that we ought to be careful as to appropriations; but I remember the chairman of the great Appropriations Committee in the last session of Congress, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY], came on this floor and made a very sensible speech with reference to appropriations in war times. And among other things, as I remember it, he said that we could not scrutinize too closely items in appropriation bills for war purposes. I think that is true.

I think that the Appropriations Committee very wisely scrutinizes these bills that come before them. I have not a word of complaint for them doing that, because I think they are right and that we ought to cut down expenses just as far as possible to do. But we all realize that we are in war, and nobody denies, I think, that you can not make contracts now as you make them in ordinary times for supplies for all the Government. That is an impossibility. The Appropriations Committee, as careful as they are, no doubt have great difficulty in cutting them down as closely as they would like to do, and yet for fear they may cripple the war activities they do not cut them as close, possibly, as their judgment leads them to think should be done.

Mr. GOOD. The gentleman, I think, did not understand me. What I intended to convey was this: This bill provides for plants to be constructed within such boundaries for the production of toluol. Now, what I did ask the gentleman was how much it was proposed to use of this $175,000,000 for the construction of these plants. Col. McRoberts, who has charge of the procurement of these things, says when we have these plants constructed, one for by-products from coke ovens, and then taking from the big gas plants in New York 40,000 gallons alone, we will have all we can use to furnish requirements abroad.

Mr. FOSTER. Let me say to the gentleman that if you are going to extract toluol and benzol, that come from a part of coke and coal and production of gas, I do not think it would be possible for the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, or any other committee, to tell anything definite as to what could be done or what would be done in the construction of plants. We do not know whether there will be any or not, but they want to give the right to the President to do that if he thinks best for the carrying on of this war. And, it seems to me, there is nobody connected with the Government whom we have a better right to believe would carry this work on in an economical way and see that the money was properly expended than the President of the United States.

Mr. GOOD. No doubt about the President, but the gentleman knows——

Mr. FOSTER. If he determines, in his judgment, it is necessary to construct a plant for the production of any of these substances he would do it, but it would be impossible to determine beforehand how much of it was to be done.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment which I wish to offer.

The CHAIRMAN. There are seven minutes remaining.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I have two minutes. I do not know who has the other five.

Mr. Chairman, I simply wanted to call the attention of the committee, and especially the attention of the chairman of the committee, to the language on the bottom of page 14, in line 26, namely, "to be available during the time this act is in effect." In other words, that $175,000,000—and I was sure that I had read it somewhere in the bill—was available, just as I said it was.

Mr. SIMS. There is no question about it, but a report is to be made annually.

Mr. SISSON. I understand; but the report would not stop this appropriation. But here is what I am afraid of. I am afraid you gentlemen have run this clause in which makes it unconstitutional, if I may mention that document here. With your permission, however, I would like to mention that instrument, which used to be a sacred one.

Now, among the powers granted to Congress is the power to raise and support armies, but it is provided in the Constitution that "no appropriation of money for that use shall be for a longer term than two years." This bill, of course, is for the purpose of supporting the Army. It is an indefinite period that is described here, "during the time this act is in effect." Turning back to this other section of the bill, which makes it in effect for five years, or six months after the war is over, that might cause your whole bill to fall within the condemnation of that section of the Constitution.

Mr. SIMS. This amendment, like several others, was put in against my judgment.

Mr. SISSON. I will say to the gentleman that he would have easier sailing for his bill if he would merely make authorization of these amounts and then permit the Committee on Appropriations to go carefully into this organization and supply the appropriation. Here is what you are going to do: You are going to fix the status of salaries under this organization, and that status will be fixed and unchangeable, because the gentleman knows the impossibility of cutting down exces-

sive salaries when they are once fixed. I feel that it ought to be done in the proper way.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH] is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I believe we have a right to use the language in the proposed amendment, beginning with section 2, and that we have the right to make an appropriation, not merely to make an authorization. The powers of the Committee on Interstate Commerce on such matters are as follows: In matters of appropriations for the Life Saving Service and the Coast Guard Service we can only authorize, but in certain other respects we can appropriate, and we have exercised that power in several bills heretofore passed. I need only call attention to the fact that in the trading-with-the-enemy act we provide in section 15—

That the sum of $450,000 is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, to be used in the discretion of the President for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918—

And so forth. Nobody questioned the right of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce when we asked the indorsement of that section at the time the bill was pending before the House. Again, in the bill for the control of railroads, in section 6, we provide:

That the sum of $500,000,000 is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, which, together with any funds available from any operating income of said carriers, may be used by the President as a revolving fund for the purpose of paying the expenses of the Federal control, and, so far as necessary, the amount of just compensation, and to provide terminals, motive power, cars, and other necessary equipment, such terminals, motive power, cars, and equipment to be used and accounted for as the President may direct and to be disposed of as Congress may hereafter by law provide.

So that in that respect the authority and power of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to make appropriations was not questioned. In this instance we asked for an appropriation of $175,000,000 to carry out the purposes of this bill.

Now, with reference to the question brought up by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON] as to the inadequacy of detailed information to justify us in making this appropriation of $175,000,000, I wish to say that the testimony taken before our committee discloses the fact that the engineers of the War Industries Board and the expert engineer of the Fuel Administration and others made an intensive survey of the entire power field of the United States. They made it by sending men to these fields, taking the amount of power that the companies said they could produce and checking that up by going to the consumers of these power plants and finding out whether their figures were justified or not. They went further than that, and even went to the individual consumers, in order to test the accuracy of their judgment as to the amount of power developed, and they gave us information as to power plants within all the regions referred to. We had their estimates, and these estimates were reduced to dollars and horsepower, so that we have these figures: They find that the power deficiency amounted to 1,233,000 horsepower. There was no guess about that. That was based upon absolute figures and not mere estimates. They found that the cost of developing 1,233,000 horsepower was $138,427,000. That, too, is not a mere estimate, but was based upon actual figures gathered upon data made in the field; so that the committee was justified in making this estimate of $175,000,000 for increase of power development, allowing a certain margin of safety.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired. All time has expired. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The question was taken, and the Chair announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a division.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, there was some confusion. What was the question pending?

The CHAIRMAN. The question was on agreeing to the committee amendment.

Mr. CANNON. You strike out line 4 and part of line 5 and insert.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will again report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 4, line 4, strike out the words "the amounts herein authorized, or that may hereafter be authorized," and insert in lieu thereof "appropriations herein or hereafter made."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The question was taken, and the Chair announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. SIMS. A division, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. A division is called for.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 14, noes 16.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. SIMS. I demand tellers.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee demands tellers. Those in favor of taking this vote by tellers will rise and stand until they are counted. [After counting.] Thirteen gentlemen have risen, not a sufficient number. The Clerk will read.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment pending.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Alabama has an amendment pending, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HUDDLESTON: Page 4, line 6, after the word "made," insert *"Provided,* That no part of said appropriation shall be expended under the cost-plus system."

Mr. SISSON. I make the point of order that the word "may" is not there; that it has been stricken out. I have no objection to the amendment being offered.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I will ask the Clerk to insert it after the word "authorized."

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 4, line 5, after the word "authorized," where it occurs the second time in the line, insert the following: *Provided,* That no part of said appropriation shall be expended under the cost-plus system."

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Chairman, I do not think the cost-plus system, as recently used, has been a success. I believe the result of that system has been gross waste and extravagance, if not something actually worse. The cost-plus system consists in expending the vast war appropriations that are being made by selecting a contractor to do the work authorized and paying him a fee on a sliding scale for the amount that the work may cost. Our cantonments have been built on that plan, and there has been great complaint and criticism over the whole country as to the lack of success in that work and the great waste that has resulted. The Hog Island scandal is a national scandal resulting from that system. It was imperatively demanded by the country that the system should be abandoned at Hog Island, and it was abandoned accordingly, but a great waste of money had already resulted.

Other Government works over the country are yet being constructed under the cost-plus system. I have received numerous complaints and criticism of waste and graft of one kind and another regarding some of them. I have referred these matters to the proper authorities, but have been met by the answer that they are within the province of the contractor on the work and would be referred to him. Of course, the answers were polite, but absolutely nothing was accomplished. I believe, with all my soul, that a great waste of public money has resulted because of the fact that this work has not been done by the Government directly, upon its own responsibility, by its own agents, or under contract, as was the previous practice.

We are not getting results under the cost-plus system. It results in excessive waste, loss of time, and we are not getting what we pay for, what the people expect, and what they are demanding. We have spent a great part of the huge sum appropriated for aircraft production under the cost-plus system, and the results have been wholly inadequate and unsatisfactory to the country. The system has not promoted the carrying on of the war, but instead has tended to lull the people into security and delay success in what otherwise might have been accomplished.

It seems to me that the time has come when we should take some steps on the subject. The time has come when we should say that contracts shall be let where they can be let and when they can not be let that some responsible officer of the Government shall be charged with the expenditure of the money so that proper accounting may be had and safeguards be thrown around the expenditure, that the people may get value received for their money. There are so many instances of waste and extravagance that I would not have time to recount them. Grafting is not only possible but has actually occurred.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. Under the suggestion of the gentleman that the Government do the work directly, has the gentleman taken into consideration the fact that the Government has not the men that would be necessary or the organization to do the work?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I have considered that aspect of the matter, and I want to say to the gentleman that the so-called organizations and the benefits from them that these contractors are supposed to have is largely mythical. The system has put

it within the power of the subordinate agents of the bureaus and of the departments to arbitrarily select this contractor or that one, as a matter of personal favoritism, or as a boon to a friend, or possibly to participate in the profits.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I ask for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. As I was saying, we have had a system in vogue whereby comparatively subordinate agents of bureaus and other officials of perhaps doubtful capacity have had the arbitrary power to select contractors and expend millions of the public funds. It is charged all over the country that some of them have favored their friends, not the contractor who had the organization, as the gentleman from Texas would suggest, but men who have had no special facilities for doing the work, men who were preferred as a matter of favoritism, in order to give them an opportunity to make some money. I and other Members of Congress have had contractors from our districts come to us and say, "How can I get in touch with the war construction work? I have got the outfit, I have the means of performing my contracts, I have had the experience," and what answer can a Member of Congress make? We are bound to reply, "I do not know how you can get in touch with the work; I do not know how you will be able to convince the officer or agent that you can do the work. They give the contract to whoever they want to have it, and there is no appeal from the decision." Necessarily the results are unsatisfactory, as I stated.

Mr. SLOAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Yes.

Mr. SLOAN. I am quite interested in what the gentleman said and agree with him, but can the gentleman give the House and the country some estimate as to how many millions or billions have been lost in the cost-plus system contracts?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Since there is no adequate system of accounting, since no examination of accounts is made public, since it is not possible to more than guess or speculate on what the losses may be, I am exceedingly loath to answer the gentleman.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. And since lump-sum appropriations are made out of which the expenditures are made?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Lump-sum appropriations without proper estimates, without accurate figures, as criticized by the gentleman from Mississippi, and well criticized, so it is impossible to estimate what the losses are and what the waste has been and what it must be in the future.

Mr. SNELL. I entirely agree with what the gentleman has said, but I understood we had abolished the cost-plus system of letting contracts some little time ago. Are we still following it up?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. We are still following it in some cases within my own knowledge. I happen to know that in my own section of the country we have a great work being constructed at Muscle Shoals. Many millions, I do not how much, has been expended and I do not know how much more will be expended and I do not think anyone connected with the Government has any idea how much is going to be expended there. In that instance the work is let to contractors. One of the contractors is the J. G. White Engineering Co., and just the other day I received from one of my constituents a detailed complaint as to a certain considerable waste that was going on there. He had worked there and he was shocked at the waste going on and he made this complaint to me and I forwarded it to the proper official and was notified, most courteously I must say, that the matter had been referred to the contractor and no doubt he would be pleased to give it very careful consideration.

Mr. LONGWORTH. If the gentleman will permit, I was only going to suggest that $45,000,000 was the amount intended to be spent and probably the amount will be much more than that?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Maybe the amount will be much greater. We have no fair idea and nobody can tell what will happen if this system continues to be followed.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I think the gentleman is correct.

Mr. REED. Do I understand that we still make contracts by which the contractors are paid on a percentage basis now?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Yes.

Mr. REED. What percentage does that run?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. It is on a sliding scale, dependent upon the cost of the work, the larger the expenditure the smaller the percentage.

Mr. REED. And it is to the advantage of the contractor to have as large an expenditure as possible?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. It is always to his advantage to have the largest expenditure possible.

Mr. BLACK. Will the gentleman permit this question? I think there is a great deal to be complained of in reference to the cost-plus system, but on account of the changes of wages that are occurring all over the country constantly and the advance of other material, would it not be very difficult for the contractor to bid within a comparatively reasonable amount on one of these large contracts?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Why, it would be hard to do if he made a bid as it was according to the previous system, but to do the work directly under the supervision of the Government would not be difficult.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I ask for two minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Chairman, the very reason the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLACK] gives is the reason why this work ought to be done under the direct supervision of the Government itself. There are rapid fluctuations in the prices of material and changes in the cost of labor all over the country, and we find the extraordinary and amazing spectacle of the Government, through its separate agencies and contractors, bidding on material, carrying it higher and higher, because these agencies of the Government are not coordinated. We find the Government taking labor and material by higher bidding to one plant over from another plant that needs it just as badly, and prices go on, on up like a spiral. There can be no end to this foolish self-competition unless there is coordination under proper governmental direction.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I will.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Was the contractor to whom your communication was referred the contractor whom your correspondent claims was guilty of waste?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. The waste was going on as a result of the system.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. The gentleman stated his communication was referred to this very contractor who was guilty.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Under whose supervision this waste had gone on.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. And who himself was guilty of the waste?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. I took down the name of a man—I do not care to mention just who it was—who told me the other day, who has a big contract with the Government, that he was compelled by the overseers of the work to spend a large amount of money that he wanted to save and could have saved on that work, but they did not permit him to do so.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I will say to the gentleman I have known men to quit work, some of my own constituents, to quit the service of these contractors because they were not going to stay where waste or "stealing," as they expressed it, from their Government was going on. They refused to be a party to it.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and any amendment thereto to the first paragraph of section 2 close in five minutes.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I would like to have five minutes.

Mr. SIMS. Then I will ask that debate on this amendment and all other amendments to it close in 10 minutes.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I hope the gentleman from Tennessee will not prefer that request just now. This is a very important matter. If we can spend 10 or 20 minutes here in discussing the matter that will save millions of money, I think we ought to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman?

Mr. CANNON. What is the request of the gentleman?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I hope he will not prefer the request at this time.

Mr. SIMS. Does the gentleman want to occupy five minutes?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I think I will.

Mr. SIMS. Then I will ask to close debate in 15 minutes.

Mr. CANNON. What is the gentleman's request?

Mr. SIMS. My request is that all debate on the first paragraph of section 2—that is, on the committee amendment—close in 15 minutes. We have already had 12 minutes' debate on it.

Mr. CANNON. That leaves paragraph 1, that has not been read yet.

Mr. SIMS. That is correct. I ask that further debate on this portion of the first paragraph of section 2 close in 15 minutes.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, pending the statement of that request, I should like to ask unanimous consent that the amendment of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON] be reported again. I understand that it is an important amendment.

Mr. SIMS. Of course that will be done.

Mr. SLOAN. Have it done now.

Mr. FOSTER. Let us have it voted out or voted in. Why discuss it?

Mr. SIMS. If the gentlemen are in favor of the amendment, why not vote on it?

Mr. SLOAN. Let it be voted on.

Mr. SISSON. I demand the regular order, Mr. Chairman. For the present I have the floor.

Mr. SIMS. The gentleman does not object to voting on the amendment reported if it does not come out of his time?

Mr. SISSON. I can state what is in the amendment. The amendment is that no money under this bill shall be expended under the cost-plus contract system. Now, what I want to say in defense of the administration is that at the beginning of all the contracts time was absolutely essential and necessary, and it was vital. Now, I raised the first objection in this House to the 10 per cent-plus contract system on the rifle contracts. I never believed that the 10 per cent-plus contract would result in anything except that which has followed—an enormous increase in the price of labor, an enormous increase in the price of material, and the only way to be sure to make a great deal of money is for the contractor to make his expenses just as heavy as possible. I objected to it, and, if you recall, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER] and I had quite a little colloquy on the floor. I brought that question to the attention of the House, and the House, notwithstanding their knowledge of the 10 per cent plus in reference to rifle contracts and cantonment contracts, voted the money, without in any way interfering with the 10 per cent plus. And this has to be said in reference to the cantonments, that the contract was made with the Secretary of War, and if you will look at the amount of money made by the contractors you will find that no contractor made over $250,000 on any one cantonment.

Mr. REED. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Is not that enough?

Mr. SISSON. I understand that under the provision without change by the Secretary of War, in some instances it would have been more than $1,000,000.

Mr. REED. And nothing in the act of Congress provided for the cost-plus system?

Mr. SISSON. Absolutely not; but Congress had the opportunity to say that none of the money should be expended under the cost-plus system.

Mr. FOCHT. Who was the patentee of this proposition?

Mr. SISSON. The fact is that it originated with the officers of the War Department and with the Chief of the General Staff, who was most anxious to get ready as quickly as possible; and I want to say that no man can hold, although it has been a most expensive project, an expensive experiment, that the War Department has not made good, so far as the preparations are concerned, under this 10 per cent plus. No man can say that it has not been efficient in so far as results are concerned. I do not defend the amount of money that has been expended in many instances; but in view of the fact that a few days, a few weeks, a month or two, means much to this country, it is justified, and I think the results of Gen. Pershing and what he has accomplished within a little over a year on the battle fields of France, on the far-flung battle line there, will justify the results of these gentlemen. And no man on the other side is able to criticize in the name of that flag and in the name of liberty. I do not justify all the expenditures, and I do not believe the criticisms are always just concerning this system, but I myself opposed it at the very beginning, in the subcommittee, and in the full committee, and on the floor of this House. I did not think the system was a wise one; but at the same time Congress voted it. I believe the thing to do now at the very outset of this bill is to put the gentleman's amendment on before they shall have entered into any contracts of any kind or character. I am just now where I was at the outset, and I believe the amendment is a good one and ought to have been put on earlier.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON]. The fact can not be disputed that millions upon millions of dollars have been wasted under the system under which the Government has proceeded. The gentleman from Mississippi said it was necessary to inaugurate this system——

Mr. MOON. Will the gentleman from Kansas yield?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas (continuing). Because it was necessary to hurry up the work.

Mr. SISSON. I did not justify it. I did not agree with the system at the beginning, but I said that was the justification.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I understood the gentleman to justify it because of the necessity for hurrying the work.

Mr. SISSON. That was the justification made by the War Department.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Yes.

Mr. MOON. Will the gentleman from Kansas yield?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. For a brief question.

Mr. MOON. It has been stated by several gentlemen and repeated by the gentleman from Kansas a moment ago that hundreds of millions of dollars had been wasted under this system.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Or worse than wasted.

Mr. MOON. Do you not think it would be proper, if you intend to justify that statement, that you give the names of the gentlemen who have wasted that money on these contracts?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I refer the gentleman to every contract that has been carried out on the cost-plus basis. I want to illustrate.

Mr. MOON. What the gentleman says is not definite.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON] said it was necessary to hurry up. As a matter of fact, under this system public works have been delayed—purposely delayed—in order to add to the cost of constructing the cantonments or whatever work it was that was under way, in order to increase the cost.

Now, if I can have the attention of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MOON], let me say that I know of this incident that can be multiplied in every place where work has been done on the cost-plus basis. In room 33 of a street, the name of which I have forgotten, in Camp Funston, a captain's room was already plumbed for the steam radiator to be set. It was a work that would take a plumber's helper or a couple of boys about 15 minutes. The captain said he walked up and down in front of that room for three days, with two plumbers employed at $16 a day each, and three helpers, while they were setting a radiator of four stands.

Mr. MOON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there for a moment?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. That he became impatient about it and urged them to hurry up. They would set it up and then take it down, and set it up and take it down again, and would send out for another wrench or something, and then come back and do something else; and finally the captain went to his colonel and said he protested as an American citizen, not as an officer, against the waste of time and money that was going on there by these plumbers—that had been going on at that cantonment with the direct knowledge of the contractor and with his evident assent.

Mr. MOON. Of course, the gentleman heard that. He knows nothing about it personally.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I know the captain who gave me that information, and I know he would not misrepresent the facts.

Mr. MOON. But that is only hearsay. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I know that right here, within the shadow of this Capitol, laborers were not permitted to work more than two hours a day while they were being paid for eight hours a day.

Mr. MOON. I want to ask the gentleman this, if the gentleman will permit me a moment——

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I had that information from the laborers themselves, and they quit because they did not want to see the Government's money wasted in that way.

Mr. MOON. Will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I will yield to the gentleman for a question.

Mr. MOON. The gentleman may be correct about both of those instances, and if he is, it is a bad state of facts, but in a small way.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Oh, it multiplies into millions of dollars.

Mr. MOON. It may not amount to more than a few hundred dollars.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. The gentleman must take time in his own right. He can not take up my time to make a stump speech.

Mr. MOON. We do not call that a stump speech down my way.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. The fact is that the premises laid down by the gentleman are absolutely true. There has been waste. Millions have been wasted, and millions more will be wasted if this is not stopped. The country was given to understand six weeks ago that contracts under the cost-plus system were to be stopped, when the wastage or worse than waste

that was going on at Hog Island was called to the attention of the country. Then the tension of the country was eased up by the statement from the War Department that there would be no more contracts on the cost-plus basis. But it was stated here this afternoon that contracts were still being made on that basis, and that work is still going on on the cost-plus basis.

That may account for what a Senator stated recently. He said he saw from a window of his office, within 50 feet of him, a carpenter carrying a plank forward and backward for two hours without doing anything. He watched that carpenter and saw that for hours and hours he did absolutely nothing except move lumber around from one place to another, getting no results. These things have been going on under the direct orders of the superintendent and the boss. Why? In order to increase the cost, so that the percentage of profit would be higher to the contractor.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for one question?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. Would the gentleman mind giving the name of the Senator who saw that carpenter carrying a plank backward and forward for two hours?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. It is in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. If the gentleman will read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD he will find it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kansas has expired.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, some question was raised by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GARRETT] as to whether it was possible at the time when the war broke out to let these contracts under any other system than that which is commonly known as the cost-plus system, and objection is sometimes made even at this time to a discontinuance of the cost-plus system on the ground that in cases where haste is needed, in cases of great emergency, it is necessary. As a matter of fact, the English have found—and I think some of our own departments have found—that it is not necessary to use this system at any time or under any circumstances. The profit system that ought to have been used from the start was one that fixed the profit of the contractor, with the provision that if the cost exceeded the reasonable amount fixed, his profit could be cut down accordingly, but if, on the contrary, the cost was less than the reasonable amount provided for, the profit should increase. Now, this system is had generally in England under cases where the contractor does not want to assume entire responsibility for the cost, and therefore makes an ordinary contract to do the work for a certain amount. And under this system he has every incentive to make the work cost as little as possible, his desire all the time being that a reasonable cost should not be increased, whereas under the cost-plus system the inducement is just the opposite.

Mr. SISSON. I will state that the system in England is the system in effect now in the Navy in reference to most of the ship construction.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I think the gentleman is correct in reference to the situation under the Navy contracts, but we still have the cost-plus system being used in the Army to a certain extent. I want to say, however, that certain branches of the Army have abolished it and use the system somewhat as I have described. Under this system it is impossible that graft and waste should go on as in the cost-plus system, where the inducements are so strong that they can not be avoided.

The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MOON] has said he would like to have the gentleman from Kansas tell the names of the parties who are indulging in graft through the cost-plus system, and he wants to know the amount which the Government has lost by such contracts. I say that it does not very well become gentlemen on the other side to propound that question when they have all the time been against any proposition which would permit Congress to find out how much has been lost or how much the Government has been defrauded. I have been proposing from the start, from the very opening of the war, the time the first bond bill was presented to this House, to have such accounting. I offered an amendment providing for a general congressional committee to audit these expenses, a joint committee of the House and Senate, to find out where the money was spent and how it was spent. My recollection is at that time practically every gentleman on that side of the House voted against it. I think some have changed their opinion since. The same proposition has been brought forward in many forms by Republican Members, but always rejected. On the motion of a Republican Senator, it was put on a bill that came from that body, but was rejected in conference. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] renewed it the other day when we brought in the new revenue bill, and his amendment was met by a point of order and ruled out. Whenever we have tried to bring it out we have been met with a determined opposition.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Is there no means whereby the legislative branch of the Government can know what has been done with the money which has been appropriated for the use of the Government; is not there any way we can have a bill of particulars?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Apparently not; as things stand, there is no way. We have been trying for a long time.

Mr. SLOAN. There is a method—get a majority on this side.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The gentleman from Nebraska is correct. That would bring it.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Under existing conditions are not the departments under obligation to make a report of any kind, so that the people can know what has been done with their money?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I will say that in a large number of cases the department has refused to give out the terms of the contract and the prices. At one time early in the war I went to a department and sought to inquire about the prices charged on contracts that were let, and they responded that they were not giving out that information. Of course, Congress or this House or a committee could request information of that kind and would probably get it. But as the political situation stands now, could the gentleman expect any such action as that to get through?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Another question: Are not the departments required to keep records of these transactions—the details of them?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired; all time has expired.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, when was the time closed?

Mr. SIMS. At the end of 15 minutes.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I asked for the regular order and then proceeded with my remarks. I spoke for five minutes, and there has nothing occurred as to closing debate since.

Mr. SIMS. I asked unanimous consent to close debate in 15 minutes.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. I make the point of order that all debate has been closed under the rule.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I move to strike out the last four words.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair thinks that is not in order. The time was limited and all time has expired.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I ask that the Reporter's notes be referred to; I have no recollection of it.

The CHAIRMAN. The present occupant of the chair was not in the chair, but he is informed by the Clerk that the request was made and agreed to without objection.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. My recollection is as stated by the gentleman from Mississippi, that the request that debate close in 15 minutes was made, but the gentleman from Mississippi proceeded with his statement, and there was no agreement.

Mr. BOOHER. Mr. Chairman, I was in the chair, and the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] asked unanimous consent that debate on the paragraph and all amendments thereto close in 10 minutes. At the request of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN], who wanted 5 minutes, it was made 15 minutes. I put the question if there was objection, and I am not responsible if Members did not hear it; they were probably making so much noise that they did not, but there was no objection, and the Chairman so announced.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I accept the gentleman's statement.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to modify my amendment by substituting the word "amount" for "appropriation."

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the modification will be agreed to, and the Clerk will report the amendment as modified.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 4, line 5, after the word "authorized," where it appears the second time in the line, insert "*Provided*, That no part of said amount shall be expended under the cost-plus system."

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

(1) To construct at any place or places within the boundaries of the United States such power plant or power plants as he may deem necessary, and in connection therewith to construct within such boundaries plants for the production of gas, coke, toluol, benzol, coal-tar products, and any other useful products that may be produced through or in connection with the coking of coal or lignite, or through or in connection with the combustion of any fuel.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I move to insert after the word "construct," in line 7, the words "during the war period."

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 4, line 7, after the word "construct" insert the words "during the war period."

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, would it not be better to say "during the period of the war"? That is the language used.

Mr. LONGWORTH. No; I think "war period" is defined in the bill.

Mr. SIMS. "During the period of the war," I think, is used in several places. It amounts to the same thing.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I do.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Will the gentleman look at lines 19, 20, and 21, page 13, where it says:

Except as is herein otherwise provided all other authority granted to the President by the provisions of this act shall cease at the termination of the war period.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I am familiar with that provision, and yet, it seems to me, I am not sure that it would distinctly carry this particular item, but if it does not, there is no harm in having it in. I want it specifically stated in reference to this authority.

Mr. SIMS. I am perfectly willing to accept the amendment. It conforms to the whole purpose of the bill.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 4, line 9, after the word "necessary," insert "for the purpose of increasing production of war material or meeting emergencies arising from war conditions."

Mr. SNELL. This amendment is simply in harmony and along the line of the same amendment we have adopted on top of page 3, and as far as I know I do not believe there is any special objection to it on the part of the members of the committee.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Chairman, I think this paragraph ought to be amended in another particular. Just before the word "lignite"—I have not a copy of the bill in my hand—the word "carbonizing," I think should be inserted.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 4, line 13, after the word "or" and before the word "lignite," insert the word "carbonizing."

Mr. CANNON. Where is lignite produced?

Mr. HAMLIN. Principally in North Dakota. It is estimated there is a trillion tons of lignite in the country. The main body is in North Dakota, some in Arkansas, some little in western Minnesota, and some in Colorado.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I desire to be recognized.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, my objection to this amendment is that there is much of the bituminous coal that is not available for coking. I have known many experiments to be tried. I think in the neighborhood of my colleague's district, Doc. FOSTER's district, or southern Illinois, in central Illinois, the successful coking of coal does not very far reach west, I believe, of Ohio.

Mr. FOSTER. They do in Harrisburg and throughout that section.

Mr. CANNON. Harrisburg, where?

Mr. FOSTER. Illinois.

Mr. CANNON. There is some of it that is a high order of bituminous coal. Now, here is a proposition to start off with $175,000,000, first with authority to the President to requisition or commandeer any or all private plants or power anywhere in the United States, to build plants anywhere. Now, what is the use when there is much bituminous coal that is not available for coke to go and spend money on lignite coal away out half way across the continent?

If we are to use coking coal for these various by-products it ought to be nearer to transportation where it would have to be used first, and, second, I doubt if lignite can be successfully used for by-products. We are spending enough money, God knows, and I am willing to spend all that is necessary. If this war lasts a year beyond the close of this fiscal year, with our great taxation, the debt of the United States will mount up until the cost has been from $120,000,000,000 up. Now, that is my objection to the lignite proposition. I would like to strike out the word "lignite."

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Chairman, I was just going to suggest the gentleman's objection is not to the amendment I have offered, but to lignite. My amendment deals with the treatment you have to give lignite. You can not coke it; it would have to be carbonized if you treat lignite at all.

Mr. CANNON. I do not know how it carbonizes; I do not know that it can be done commercially or not, but this is war; we have got to support those in the Army, and we have got to support the Navy, and we have got to pay all the expenses, and in God's name let us not try useless experiments. We have enough to carry as it is in the shape of taxation and incurring the great indebtedness, and we will carry it to the end until success crowns the efforts of our people cooperating with our allies; but let us not do unnecessary things that may amount to large sums and are not war measures.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Chairman, I desire to say just a word in reply. I think the gentleman from Illinois is not, as he said awhile ago, very well posted upon the situation, so far as lignites go. I do not possess a great deal of information, but I have had occasion to investigate this matter in the committee of which I am a member. One of the prime necessities in the prosecution of this war is coal, as we all realize. It is very fresh and painful in the memory of the men of this House that a number of our ships were tied up at the wharves for the lack of coal within the last 12 months.

They could not convey troops or the necessaries for them overseas. They could not get the railroad cars to transport the coal. All of those things are liable to confront us again at any time. Now, there are in North Dakota large fields, almost inexhaustible we are told, of lignite, that is not, in its raw state, of very great commercial value. It must be treated. It must be carbonized and briquetted. In the process of briquetting that lignite you carbonize it, and get, in the form of briquets, a quality of fuel almost equal to anthracite coal in heating units, and in that treatment you get a lot of by-products, such as tar, oils, and gas.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Will the gentleman state what the process of carbonizing is?

Mr. HAMLIN. I could in a general way, but it would take some considerable time. The Bureau of Mines has experimented, and they have a process of heating it in ovens and extracting from the raw lignite these by-products, and that leaves the pure carbon. And they have a process to tie together, with some tying material in the way of straw or tar, the carbon, and then mold it into briquets, and ship it all over the country.

Now, then, they have even gone so far as to experiment, and know, so they say, that they can give it this treatment and put it on the cars at $4.50 a ton, with a heating capacity about equal to anthracite coal. But at the same time that whole country has now got to have coal shipped to it at an average of 1,000 miles, which requires a large number of cars. From that standpoint alone it is worth everything, it seems to me, to this Government, in these times when we need coal and the cars, to make available this lignite.

But I do not understand that to be the purpose of this bill. But where the Government is building power plants, or if there is a power plant there now and the Government extends it or takes it over, if they should have lignite there and should use lignite, let them carbonize it and use the by-products and the carbon for fuel. You can not coke it; and that is the only reason I wanted to put in the word "carbonize"—to carbonize the lignite and use the carbon for fuel. It does not interfere with the coking of the coal in the gentleman's State. It may avoid the necessity of shipping a lot of Illinois coal out to North Dakota. It may do that. But if it does, it is a blessed thing, and the gentleman will have plenty of market for his coal and it will relieve these cars and give those people out there fuel right at home.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. There is no lignite in the vicinity of any of these power plants, is there?

Mr. HAMLIN. I do not know where the power plants are to be located.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent for two minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HAMLIN. These lignite deposits are principally in North Dakota, western Minnesota, and perhaps some in Montana, and down in Texas and Arkansas, and there may be some power plants near a deposit of lignite in some of these sections.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MADDEN. If all this can be done successfully, as the gentleman has so eloquently described, why has not somebody with private capital developed the industry?

Mr. HAMLIN. Private capital has gone into it to a certain extent, and in connection with the University of North Dakota there is an experimental plant in the process of operation. But it is a situation such as we get frequently, where the Government has got to lead. It requires scientific treatment, and the Government must lead in the experiment.

Mr. CANNON. As a war measure?

Mr. HAMLIN. As a war measure, undoubtedly; anything that increases the fuel supply of this country and releases transportation in these times of congestion undoubtedly is a war measure.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAMLIN. I will.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. We have an illustration of that in the potash situation out in Nebraska. The high price of potash makes it possible to develop the potash industry out there, which was formerly monopolized by Germany. It would not be possible at all unless it were for this war necessity, which has increased the price. It makes it possible to develop that industry when it could not be done otherwise.

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes. Let us take coal as an illustration, that we all must buy. I can not understand it, but I know that I burn in my furnace at home a certain kind of coal, semi-anthracite, that I have bought everey yar, and I have bought it before the war period began, laid down at my home, at $5.50 and $5.60 per ton. This year I paid $9 a ton for the same coal. Now, anything that will enable us to increase the coal supply and release the cars necessary to transport it is undoubtedly a benefit to the prosecution of this war.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. I would like the gentleman to explain what is meant by carbonizing.

Mr. HAMLIN. I did explain it before. I am not scientist enough to particularize or use the technical terms in regard to it, but I said that the State of North Dakota had put in a plant for the treatment of the raw lignite so as to extract from it certain elements as by-products. Of course, the gentleman knows—but perhaps others do not know—that when you take the *lignite* out of the ground and it is exposed to the air it dissolves and disintegrates and will ignite spontaneously, and they can not ship it any considerable distance in its raw condition. If you burn it at all, you must burn it immediately after taking it out of the ground.

Now, they have got a process of treating this lignite as soon as it is brought out of the ground and extracting from it these by-products, which leaves the natural carbon, and they have learned to take it now and mold it into briquettes for fuel, and they test it and find that it equals anthracite in heating qualities, and after they have done that they can put it on board the car at $4.50 a ton. Now, if that can be done in a commercial way, it will be one of the best things that could be done in this country in solving the fuel problem.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes.

Mr. ROBBINS. This seems like a proposition to put the United States Government into an experiment. If the gentleman's statement is true—that they can make these briquettes for $4.50 a ton, and that such high prices are paid for coal—why should the Government go into the experiment? Why could not private capital carry it on?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have two minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the gentleman's request?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAMLIN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania gets a wrong impression from what I said. I am only speaking of what I think will be the great benefit that would come from the Government inducing private capital to go into this by pointing out the way; inducing private capital to go into this business. But, as I said awhile ago, I do not understand that to be the purpose of this bill. The purpose of this bill is, if the Government takes over a power plant anywhere near one of these lignite coal fields, to give them the right to carbonize it and treat it and get out the by-products and use the actual real carbon that is in the coal for fuel purposes.

Mr. ROBBINS. Another question, if the gentleman please: Reading over the report on this bill, it seems that none of the districts where the so-called great shortage of power exists, which this bill proposes to supply, are located near or within reasonable distance of the fields of lignite to which the gentleman refers.

Mr. HAMLIN. That may be true. If that is so, no harm is done. But I take it for granted that there are some power plants in Arkansas and Texas.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. There are certain qualities of coal in Colorado which are supplied to the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad system in Nebraska. That is a quality of coal that can not be coked, but it is heavily charged with lignite and can be used in these power plants.

Mr. HAMLIN. Some of the railroads have special engines adapted so that they can use lignite, and they are burning it now, but they can only use those engines close to the field where the lignite is mined, because they can not ship this lignite in its raw form. They have to use it as soon as it is taken out. But it lies close to the surface, and it is estimated that there are a trillion tons of it in the United States.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman allow me a question?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes.

Mr. CANNON. Is it not just now in an experimental way, an experiment on a small scale, and North Dakota has put up some kind of a plant? If she could make her own coal at home, she could cut off this great expense.

Mr. HAMLIN. That is true; and I say to the gentleman that this bill does not contemplate going into the business of experimenting out there for the purpose of carbonizing lignite.

Mr. CANNON. Why? There is the power.

Mr. HAMLIN. Not to do that. This bill only gives authority to do it in connection with the production of power to produce certain war materials. Now, if one of these power plants should be located near one of these lignite fields, it would give them the power to carbonize this lignite and extract the by-products.

Mr. CANNON. And the Government could build a power plant for that express purpose?

Mr. HAMLIN. Not for that express purpose.

Mr. CANNON. For power and for experiment.

Mr. HAMLIN. I do not believe they could, but I believe it would be a good thing, and a blessing to the country.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I think there are some corporations that have contracts at Minneapolis and they might be able to do it.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Chairman, the objection of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] goes not to the provisions of this bill, but to the provisions of the bill which the Committee on Mines and Mining has unanimously approved and which will be reported to the House.

This provision, to which the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HAMLIN] offers an amendment, is the provision which will authorize the construction of power plants, and in connection therewith the construction of such plants as may be necessary to utilize the by-products in certain cases. The word "lignite" must come along with coal, because one-third of the coal of the United States is lignite. Lignite is just nothing but coal at one stage. The deposits of lignite in the Dakotas and in Texas and in southern Arkansas are sometimes isolated by themselves, it is true, but the bill that will be reported will go beyond the experimental laboratory stage and will undertake to put up a plant to demonstrate that the carbonizing of lignite and the briquetting of the carbon and the utilization of the by-products are commercially profitable. If the laboratory experiments show that it is a success, the carbonizing of lignite coal and the utilization of the by-products would make this country independent of Germany, so far as the dye industry is concerned. There is no dispute about that and no question about it, and Germany's great control of dyes is in part due to the fact that she has utilized and developed her great lignite fields and utilized the by-products of lignite.

But suppose they get to constructing a plant under this bill and you have lignite along with the coal; if you authorize them to use power produced by gas from coking coal they ought to be permitted to use the gas and other by-products from carbonizing the lignite.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WINGO. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Does the gentleman state that there are lignite fields in Germany?

Mr. WINGO. Yes; and she has developed it to the greatest extent, and thereby added to her economic strength and wealth. I will say that that is not a haphazard opinion of mine. For the last three nights I have been going over the literature available for the purpose of making a report on the lignite bill. At first I laughed at it and scoffed at it, but I was forced to acknowledge my error. I was amazed at the possibilities of developing and utilizing this great resource.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. WINGO. Yes.
Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Have not we had for several years coal-tar products out of which we might have competed with Germany if we had had the formulæ, and has not Germany had the advantage of us in that particular?
Mr. WINGO. Yes; and we have developed several along that line; but it is too technical a proposition for a nontechnical man like myself to go into. It is somewhat clear to me, but I could not express myself, because I can not call to mind the technical terms. I have mastered enough by my study, although a nonexpert, to satisfy me when I had read the opinions, dissertations, and arguments of the expert chemists.
Mr. EAGLE. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. WINGO. Yes.
Mr. EAGLE. Is it not true that the lignite formation in Germany, on account of the age in which it was laid down, and similar deposits of lignite in Texas and the small deposits in North Dakota, on account of the difference in the age at which they were deposited, that a chemical process perfected by a German scientist for the extract of by-products would not at all be a successful formula for Texas, or one for Texas would not be successful in North Dakota?
Mr. WINGO. Yes. The lignite is a formation between peat and coal. The formula which proved successful in carbonization in Germany may not be suited to our lignite, on account of certain elements in it, and their process can not be used on ours. There have been conducted laboratory experiments on a small scale, and very small experiments in North Dakota, a private experiment, by a gentleman by the name of Babcock. If gentlemen would read the literature that I have of these experiments they would become enthusiastic over the commercial possibilities from the standpoint of building up the economic strength of the United States.
In Texas alone it would utilize the power that will save over the present power $15,000,000 a year. From each ton of lignite you get 10,000 cubic feet of gas, 15 pounds sulphate of ammonia, and oils of different kind. From these you get asperin, picric acid, alizarin, a necessary dye acid; also aniline dye and carbolineum and other products we now have to import.
Mr. HAMLIN. Will the gentleman let me suggest that the gas they will get out of this process of carbonizing lignite will furnish all the power wanted.
Mr. WINGO. Yes; and there will be gas for household purposes.
Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Ordinarily does not lignite lie rather near the surface?
Mr. WINGO. As a rule it does.
Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Chairman, I desire to oppose this amendment. Mr. Chairman, originally the coking of coal in this country was done by what is known as the beehive open ovens, and the largest part of it is still done in that way. That is, the coal was put in ovens; the smoke, gas, and carbon and heat in that process are blown out into the open air. Recently—and I live in the coke region—they have abandoned entirely the beehive-oven process of coking coal. They now coke all coal under modern conditions in what are known as closed ovens or by-product ovens, either the Otto Huffman oven or the Koppers process, in which all the smoke, heat, gas, and carbon, and all the by-products are caught and saved; and from these are extracted tar, toluol, and by-products, and all of the fundamental basic colors from which the dyes are extracted and manufactured. Now, I see no reason why we should put in this bill a provision for experimenting in peat or in lignite, which is an imperfect form of coal, coal that was not geologically completed in the process of nature in the making by heat, which was not healed in with the earth and compressed and subjected to great heat, converting it into coal, because our anthracite coal is merely coal made under great heat and great pressure. Our bituminous and semibituminous coal is coal not perfected by great pressure and heat. We have in this country an abundant supply of coal from which we can extract by our modern coke ovens these dyes and by-products used in making explosives and all the basic material for making dyes we need, and we do not want to embark the United States Government into spending this war money that we are collecting from the people to carry on this war in experimenting in making dyes and extracting by-products from lignite or peat.
Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. ROBBINS. I will.
Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I entirely agree with the gentleman, and propose to move later to strike out all this. I understood from the gentleman that a good deal of the coke is still being extracted under the old oven process, and that if they were remodeled we could produce more in this country than we could possibly use.
Mr. ROBBINS. Yes. Just this year, in the month of April, the United States Steel Corporation put in operation near the city of McKeesport, on the Monongahela River, where there is cheap water transportation, in the midst of the great, rich bituminous coal fields of western Pennsylvania, a plant consisting of a thousand of these by-product ovens, every one of which would have been constructed before except for the great cost of the construction. They cost from twenty to thirty thousand dollars each, whereas the beehive oven costs less than one thousand. There is also at Glassport, on the Monongahela River, a coke plant owned by another corporation, from which they are extracting these by products, and they have established at Donora, 8 miles up the Monongahela River, a plant for manufacturing high explosive materials, and have created within the year a large amount of high explosive material for the United States Government which is being used now in the manufacture of high explosives for this war.
Now, we have demonstrated a success, a success that could only be carried on by the investment of capital of a great company like the United States Steel Co. It is a very great success, and I was up there two weeks ago to-morrow, and I went through that plant for the purpose of learning something about it, and I was told by those in connection with it—because it is a highly technical process—that they were now making sufficient of these materials to supply the Government's need of these high explosives, for the present at least. Then why go into the process of experimenting with lignites at this time and spend the money we are getting by the sale of war stamps and Government bonds to carry on this war, by experimenting with lignite, when we have these established industries which take these by-products out of the rich bituminous coal, from which they can extract these in great abundance and at a reasonable cost?
Mr. WINGO. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. ROBBINS. I do.
Mr. WINGO. What lighting gas do we get out of this coal?
Mr. ROBBINS. We do not get gas out of anthracite coal.
Mr. WINGO. The coal you do coke.
Mr. ROBBINS. We do not coke anthracite coal; we coke bituminous coal.
Mr. WINGO. What lighting gas do we get both from anthracite and bituminous coking coal?
Mr. ROBBINS. You will not get any gas from anthracite coal.
Mr. WINGO. I understood the gentleman had been arguing here that you had all the commercial plants that produce the by-products——
Mr. ROBBINS. Not from anthracite coal, from bituminous coal.
Mr. WINGO. What particular lighting gas do we get from coking bituminous coal?
Mr. ROBBINS. The character of gas that burns right here in the city of Washington is manufactured from this coal which is shipped here from my native county of Westmoreland in Pennsylvania.
Mr. WINGO. What oils do you get out of it?
Mr. ROBBINS. I am frank to say I am in the same category the gentleman was a moment ago, I can not tell——
Mr. WINGO. The gentleman does not mean to say you are carbonizing——
The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.
Mr. ROBBINS. I will ask for two minutes.
Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that all general debate on this amendment close, if the gentleman has finished his remarks, in two minutes.
The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.
Mr. WINGO. The gentleman did not catch my question. The gentleman does not pretend to say anywhere in your State there is now a commercial plant that carbonizes lignite?
Mr. ROBBINS. No.
Mr. WINGO. Can the gentleman name one in the United States?
Mr. ROBBINS. I do not know of any; I think they are all experimental.
Mr. WINGO. Will the gentleman say that the experiments which have been conducted do not demonstrate it is a wise thing to undertake to establish a commercial plant?
Mr. ROBBINS. For carbonizing?
Mr. WINGO. For the carbonizing of lignite and the utilization of its by-products?
Mr. ROBBINS. I do not know enough about it to answer that question intelligently. I will say this: There is now such an

abundance of dye materials and other by-products extracted from the bituminous coal in western Pennsylvania, in its three or four great plants to which I have alluded, that there is no necessity of going into the experimentation of trying to extract it from lignite at this time.

Mr. WINGO. How are you going to get these out to the Dakotas?

Mr. ROBBINS. It is not necessary to take it to the Dakotas.

Mr. WINGO. How are they going to get it out there; they have to get it; they import a lot of things from Canada now——

Mr. ROBBINS. The by-products of this plant at Glassport were taken in tank cars, one car marked "acid" and another marked "tar," another "oil," and taken to the factory at Donora and there converted into various products used by the United States Government in the manufacture of high explosives.

Mr. WINGO. I am speaking of the gas and fuels which are needed in the Dakotas and everywhere else.

Mr. ROBBINS. The gas is piped into the city of McKeesport and used under the boilers of these plants, because all the fuel they use is extracted right out of the coal in the shape of gas and piped under the boilers, and the whole process is carried on in that way. Everything is saved.

Mr. WINGO. McKeesport is not in the Northwest or in the Southwest.

Mr. ROBBINS. It is in a location where the coal is found which is used to carry on this enterprise because it is in a coal field.

Mr. WINGO. Would the gentleman object to the development of lignite like your coal has been developed?

Mr. ROBBINS. I would have no objection. But this is not the time to spend the money we collect by war-savings stamps for experimenting in the treatment of lignites for by-products.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. If western Pennsylvania had lignite instead of the coal, would he make the same argument?

Mr. ROBBINS. I would. It is not an argument born from any selfishness of mine because I happen to live in western Pennsylvania. I am making this statement to inform the committee at first hand, at least so far as I know, what is the right course to pursue in this matter as I see it, and it is not to experiment now, but to take an accepted fact.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HAMLIN].

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I think there may be an omission of one word. May we have it read again?

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HAMLIN: Page 4, line 13, after the word "or," insert "carbonizing."

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Chairman, I think, on the suggestion of the gentleman from Wisconsin, perhaps I ought to modify the amendment, making it read "carbonizing of."

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the modified amendment.

The Clerk read the modified amendment, as follows:

Page 4, line 13, after the word "or," insert the words "carbonizing of."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the Chair announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. CANNON. Division, Mr. Chairman.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 34, noes 9.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CANNON. It is subject to amendment yet. I want to move to strike out the words "or lignite," in line 13.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON].

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. CANNON: Page 4, line 13, strike out the words "or lignite."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I want to say only a word.

I have already said perhaps all that I ought to say about this matter. One gentleman who spoke here, and spoke with much power, said that he was preparing a report for the Committee on Mines and Mining, of which he was a member, to carefully guide it in its development—a peace measure and not a war measure. There is not any question on earth but what, so far as the use of coal is concerned, it and all of its by-products are amply provided for. There is no question on earth but that it may go beyond the experimental stage in the lignite fields and prove a commercial success, but it can not during the pendency of this war.

You are now writing a report for the Committee on Mines and Mining to take this up as a peace measure and the committee is almost ready to report to the House. Well, when the bill comes as a peace measure, no doubt the House will consider it, and then there will be ample time to give it full consideration.

The only reason I make this motion to strike out the words "or lignite" is that I do not want it in this war bill, with the debts we have and the taxation that we have, which will be doubled, if the war lasts, and more too, at the end of the coming fiscal year—that is, the fiscal year after this. This is a war measure, and let us keep it a war measure.

That is all I want to say.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I offer a substitute for the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN] offers a substitute for the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GREEN of Iowa, as a substitute for the amendment offered by Mr. CANNON: Page 4, line 9, after the word "necessary," strike out the remainder of the paragraph.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I not only agree with what the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] has said, but I want to go considerably further. There is not, to my mind, a shadow of excuse for any of the remainder of this paragraph being enacted in this bill. It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, as if there were some persons lying awake nights, with wheels running around in their heads, to see how they can devise schemes to spend the money of this Government by the millions at a time when the country is staggering under the load of an $8,000,000,000 tax bill and when it will be compelled to expend $24,000,000,000 to $34,000,000,000 next year—nearer $30,000,000,000 than $24,000,000,000, I believe.

How are you going to get the lignite out of the mines? You can not get it out. There are no miners or workmen to spare in the regions where it is found. So far as coke is concerned, there are coke ovens enough if you could get miners sufficient to get the coal out to put in the coke ovens. And, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROBBINS] has already stated, there is an abundance of ovens to make all the toluol, the high explosives, and the coal tar that you need. And if those modern, improved ovens will not make what is necessary, although my understanding is that the Government is being completely supplied with all it needs at this time, then there are thousands more coke ovens that are not fitted with the modern process, and the gas and the tar and the toluol and all those products are being wasted that might come from these ovens. It is not necessary for the Government to construct any more ovens. Private capital will construct them if the Government will buy what is now going to waste.

Mr. HAMLIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I yield to my friend.

Mr. HAMLIN. I think the gentleman does not mean what he says here in his amendment. You propose to leave in the bill the proposition to construct at any place or places within the boundaries of the United States such power plant or power plants as may be deemed necessary. If you strike out the balance, you will go on and construct these plants and generate the power and waste absolutely all the by-products that come from it.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Oh, what is the gentleman thinking of? Does not the gentleman know that these by-products are being wasted now?

Mr. HAMLIN. Ought they to be wasted?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I do not know. Not if there is any use for them.

Mr. HAMLIN. Why not save them, then?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. If you have any use for them, it would be well to save them; but you have not any use for them. The Government is getting all these materials it wants now. Why not let the Government get them where it can obtain them cheapest.

Mr. HAMLIN. We have been importing millions of dollars' worth of these by-products every year.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Oh, the gentleman is mistaken. It is not necessary for the Government to construct these ovens. Private capital will construct them if the Government will purchase these by-products.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. The ground is being broken for that plant, and it is being built from the beginning, showing that the Government does need the toluol.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The trouble is, you want to use the Government's money all the time when you ought to use private capital. Private capital will construct all these ovens that are necessary. Why should we take, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROBBINS] says, the money derived from the sale of liberty bonds and saving stamps to construct these ovens?

Gentlemen have already shown that a Government officer testified that there was no shortage of toluol. If there was a proper hearing and investigation of this matter, the provision attacked by my amendment would be stricken out.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. They lost $25,000 apiece on the by-product ovens.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I make the point that there is no quorum present. This has been a very interesting and busy day.

Mr. SIMS. Will not the gentleman allow me to move to close debate at a particular paragraph? I want to make that request.

Mr. MADDEN. I can not withdraw my point now.

Mr. SIMS. The Chair has not yet acted upon it.

Mr. MADDEN. The Chair does not have to act upon it. It is for the committee to act.

Mr. WALSH. I think the gentleman from Illinois ought to withdraw his point. We ought to run until 17 minutes past 5.

Mr. MADDEN. It is 15 minutes past 5 now. This is a very important bill, and it ought to be given careful consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois makes the point that there is no quorum present. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Forty-nine gentlemen are present—not a quorum.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and Mr. GARNER, as Speaker pro tempore, having assumed the chair, Mr. HOUSTON, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12776) to provide further for the national security and defense and for the more effective prosecution of the war by furnishing means for the better utilization of the existing sources of electrical and mechanical power and for the development of new sources of such power, and for other purposes, and had come to no resolution thereon.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. BESHLIN, for one week, on account of illness in his family;

To Mr. LARSEN, for 15 days, on account of important business; and

To Mr. KITCHIN, for four days, on account of illness.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

PERSONAL STATEMENT.

Mr. GILLETT. Will not the gentleman withhold that for a moment?

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may address the House for two minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent to address the House two minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, in some of the press reports of some remarks which I made last Saturday it was stated that the Speaker, Mr. CLARK, had voted against the declaration of war. That was a mistake. It was my fault, and as he did not vote against the declaration of war I wish to state the fact here publicly. I think anybody who heard my whole speech or read it in the RECORD will appreciate the fact that I made no reflection at all upon the loyalty and patriotism of any Member of this House, least of all against the Speaker, who has given to the service of the country a life which he values more than his own. [Applause.]

Mr. RAGSDALE rose.

Mr. SIMS. The gentleman from South Carolina wanted one minute. I do not know for what purpose.

JUDGMENT OF COURTS.

Mr. RAGSDALE. I would like to ask a question of the gentleman from Tennessee, the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, as to when it is his purpose to report out the bill H. R. 12472?

Mr. SIMS. What is it about? Judgments of courts?

Mr. RAGSDALE. Yes.

Mr. SIMS. My purpose is to report every bill just as soon as I can get the committee to act upon it, and to give the preference to war measures.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Now, the situation is this: This bill was introduced on June 14. Judgment was obtained against the railroad, and the suit was filed before the Government took over this property. It appears affirmatively in the record that the property is not being used for transportation purposes, and yet the Director General is absolutely preventing any levy on the property, is protecting the corporation interests and the stockholders against certain laborers who are entitled to some hearing and some relief. I would like to know whether the American Congress is going to leave these powers to be exercised as they now are by the Director General.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the following titles:

On July 12, 1918:

H. J. Res. 313. Joint resolution providing for the disposition of moneys represented in the Alfred Bernard Nobel peace prize awarded in 1906; and

H. R. 10021. An act granting the consent of Congress to the county commissioners of Trumbull County, Ohio, to construct, operate, and maintain a bridge and approaches thereto across the Mahoning River, in the State of Ohio.

On August 31, 1918:

H. J. Res. 324. Joint resolution making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of September, 1918, and for other purposes;

H. R. 11692. An act making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and for other purposes;

H. R. 12704. An act to authorize the importation without the payment of duty of sundry articles for the American National Red Cross to be donated or used by it solely to or for the benefit of the land or naval forces of the United States or its allies, or for the relief of the civilian population of the United States or of its allies; and

H. R. 12731. An act amending the act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the military establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. ROBBINS requested leave of absence for four days, on account of important business.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I want to give notice that hereafter, until this bill is concluded, I shall object to any requests for leave of absence on important business. I would not object on account of illness in the family. I do not object to the present request.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, September 28, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of communication from the Secretary of War, submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation required by the Engineer Department of the Army for the prevention of deposits in New York Harbor, fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1306); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of communication from the Secretary of the Navy, submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation required by the Navy Department and Naval Establishment for the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1307); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Postmaster General submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for increases in salaries of certain classes of employees of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1308); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

4. A letter from the Acting Secretary of War, transmitting draft of bill amending the fiftieth article of war, relating to mitigation or remission of sentences (H. Doc. No. 1309); to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. LUNN, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 12834) providing increased pay for cadets of the Military Academy, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 818), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. VENABLE, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 2205) to transfer Frederick W. Cobb from the list of chief machinists, United States Navy, to the list of chief pay clerks, United States Navy, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 817), which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. HICKS: A bill (H. R. 13014) authorizing certain decorations and insignia for persons serving in the Navy and Coast Guard; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. DENT: A bill (H. R. 13015) to amend so much of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919," approved July 9, 1918, as provides for "longevity pay for men other than the Regular Army"; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13016) to amend so much of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919," approved July 9, 1918, as provides for "longevity pay for men other than the Regular Army"; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 13019) to authorize the purchase by the city of Myrtle Point, Oreg., of certain lands formerly embraced in the grant to the Oregon & California Railroad Co. and revested in the United States by the act approved June 9, 1916; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. RUCKER: Resolution (H. Res. 438) providing for the consideration of Senate bill 3438, entitled "An act to prevent corrupt practices in the election of Senators, Representatives, or Delegates in Congress"; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. GILLETT: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 333) to aid in combating the disease known as Spanish influenza; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BOOHER: A bill (H. R. 13017) for the relief of David Housel; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin: A bill (H. R. 13018) granting a pension to Kate Smith Richardson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MANSFIELD: A bill (H. R. 13020) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay certain money to A. May, late postmaster at Yoakum, Tex.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. OVERMYER: A bill (H. R. 13021) granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Yeagle; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SINNOTT: A bill (H. R. 13022) granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Humphrey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. VESTAL: A bill (H. R. 13023) for the relief of John T. Adams; to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. FULLER of Massachusetts: Telegram of Eugene R. Kelley, commissioner of health of Massachusetts, for congressional action calling for Government assistance for emergency service of 500 doctors and 1,000 nurses to arrest influenza-pneumonia now prevailing to an alarming extent throughout the State; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RAKER: Letter from Fred J. Crittenden, Truckee, Cal., in re tax on medicated alcohol proposed in the revenue bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petitions in favor of House bill 152, the minimum-wage bill, by the following: F. Flaherty, secretary of the American Federation of Postal Employees; Miss Agnes Nestor, Washington, D. C.; Federal Employees' Union, No. 76, Vallejo, Cal.; Alfred Barrydessa, secretary Federal Employees' Union, No. 1, San Francisco, Cal.; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. SLOAN: Petition of Hon. F. E. Edgerton and 53 others in behalf of legislation to place chiropractic on plane with osteopathy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

SATURDAY, *September 28, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, Thou who didst command the light to shine out of darkness hast shined into our hearts to give the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. Thou hast set before us the perfect life. Thou dost lure us on by all of the appeal of the beautiful and good that was in Him who went about doing good. We pray for His Spirit—His Spirit so gracious, so tender, so forgiving, so earnest in its zeal and advocacy of right and justice and truth. Grant to endue us with this Spirit for the duties of this day. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Vice President being absent, the President pro tempore assumed the chair.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, and was interrupted by

Mr. JONES of Washington. I ask unanimous consent that the further reading of the Journal be dispensed with.

Mr. LODGE. I think the reading had better be completed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Objection is made.

The Secretary resumed and concluded the reading of the Journal, and it was approved.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS IN NEW YORK (S. DOC. NO. 283).

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the speech of President Wilson which was delivered in New York yesterday be printed in the RECORD. I regard it as one of the strongest messages ever delivered. It is an inspiration to every man who loves liberty and humanity.

Mr. FLETCHER. I move to amend the request by asking that it be made a public document as well as printed in the RECORD.

Mr. SHAFROTH. That is perfectly acceptable. I move that a million copies of it be printed as a public document.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. LODGE. I have no objection at all, but I ask that it be read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Massachusetts asks that the address be read. Without objection, the Secretary will read it.

The Secretary read as follows:

"My fellow citizens, I am not here to promote the loan. That will be done—ably and enthusiastically done—by the hundreds of thousands of loyal and tireless men and women who have undertaken to present it to you and to our fellow citizens throughout the country; and I have not the least doubt of their complete success, for I know their spirit and the spirit of the country. My confidence is confirmed, too, by the thoughtful and experienced cooperation of the bankers here and everywhere, who are lending their invaluable aid and guidance. I have come, rather, to seek an opportunity to present to you some thoughts which I trust will serve to give you, in perhaps fuller measure than before, a vivid sense of the great issues involved, in order that you may appreciate and accept with added enthusiasm the grave significance of the duty of supporting the Government by your men and your means to the utmost point of sacrifice and self-denial. No man or woman who has really taken in what this war means can hesitate to give to the very limit of what they have, and it is my mission here to-night to try to make it clear once more what the war really means. You will need no other stimulation or reminder of your duty.

WAR OF PEOPLES.

"At every turn of the war we gain fresh consciousness of what we mean to accomplish by it. When our hope and expectation are most excited we think more definitely than before of the issues that hang upon it and of the purposes which must be realized by means of it. For it has positive and well-defined purposes which we did not determine and which we can not alter. No statesman or assembly created them; no statesman

or assembly can alter them. They have arisen out of the very nature and circumstances of the war. The most that statesmen or assemblies can do is to carry them out or be false to them. They were perhaps not clear at the outset, but they are clear now. The war has lasted more than four years and the whole world has been drawn into it. The common will of mankind has been substituted for the particular purposes of individual States. Individual statesmen may have started the conflict, but neither they nor their opponents can stop it as they please. It has become a people's war, and peoples of all sorts and races, of every degree of power and variety of fortune, are involved in its sweeping processes of change and settlement. We came into it when its character had become fully defined and it was plain that no nation could stand apart or be indifferent to its outcome. Its challenge drove to the heart of everything we cared for and lived for. The voice of the war had become clear and gripped our hearts. Our brothers from many lands, as well as our own murdered dead under the sea, were calling to us, and we responded, fiercely and of course.

ISSUES OF THE WAR.

"The air was clear about us. We saw things in their full, convincing proportions as they were, and we have seen them with steady eyes and unchanging comprehension ever since. We accepted the issues of the war as facts, not as any group of men either here or elsewhere had defined them, and we can accept no outcome which does not squarely meet and settle them. Those issues are these:

"Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force?

"Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose and interest?

"Shall peoples be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice?

"Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?

"Shall the assertion of right be haphazarded and by casual alliance or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?

WEAK MUST BE PROTECTED.

"No man, no group of men, chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They are the issues of it, and they must be settled—by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interests, but definitely and once for all and with a full and unequivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest.

"This is what we mean when we speak of a permanent peace, if we speak sincerely, intelligently, and with a real knowledge and comprehension of the matter we deal with.

"We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the governments of the central empires, because we have dealt with them already and have seen them deal with other governments that they were parties to this struggle, at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest. They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We can not 'come to terms' with them. They have made it impossible. The German people must by this time be fully aware that we can not accept the word of those who forced this war upon us. We do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language of agreement.

NO PEACE BY COMPROMISE.

"It is of capital importance that we should also be explicitly agreed that no peace shall be obtained by any kind of compromise or abatement of the principles we have avowed as the principles for which we are fighting. There should exist no doubt about that. I am, therefore, going to take the liberty of speaking with the utmost frankness about the practical implications that are involved in it.

"If it be in deed and in truth the common object of the Governments associated against Germany and of the nations whom they govern, as I believe it to be, to achieve by the coming settlements a secure and lasting peace, it will be necessary that all who sit down at the peace table shall come ready and willing to pay the price, the only price, that will procure it, and ready and willing, also, to create in some virile fashion the only instrumentality by which it can be made certain that the agreements of the peace will be honored and fulfilled.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS ESSENTIAL.

"That price is impartial justice in every item of the settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed; and not only impartial justice, but also the satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with. That indispensable instrumentality is a league of nations formed under covenants that will be efficacious. Without such an instrumentality, by which the peace of the world can be guaranteed, peace will rest in part upon the word of outlaws and only upon that word. For Germany will have to redeem her character, not by what happens at the peace table but by what follows.

"And, as I see it, the constitution of that league of nations and the clear definition of its objects must be a part, is in a sense the most essential part, of the peace settlement itself. It can not be formed now. If formed now, it would be merely a new alliance confined to the nations associated against a common enemy. It is not likely that it could be formed after the settlement. It is necessary to guarantee the peace; and the peace can not be guaranteed as an afterthought. The reason, to speak in plain terms again, why it must be guaranteed is that there will be parties to the peace whose promises have proved untrustworthy, and means must be found in connection with the peace settlement itself to remove that source of insecurity. It would be folly to leave the guarantee to the subsequent voluntary action of the governments we have seen destroy Russia and deceive Roumania.

BASIS FOR LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

"But these general terms do not disclose the whole matter. Some details are needed to make them sound less like a thesis and more like a practical program. These, then, are some of the particulars, and I state them with the greater confidence because I can state them authoritatively as representing this Government's interpretation of its own duty with regard to peace:

"First. The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned.

"Second. No special or separate interest of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all.

"Third. There can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the league of nations.

"Fourth. And more specifically, there can be no special, selfish, economic combinations within the league and no employment or any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the league of nations itself as a means of discipline and control.

"Fifth. All international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world.

NO ECONOMIC WARFARE.

"Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war. It would be an insincere as well as insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite and binding terms.

"The confidence with which I venture to speak for our people in these matters does not spring from our traditions merely, and the well-known principles of international action which we have always professed and followed. In the same sentence in which I say that the United States will enter into no special arrangements or understandings with particular nations, let me say also that the United States is prepared to assume its full share of responsibility for the maintenance of the common covenants and understandings upon which peace must henceforth rest. We still read Washington's immortal warning against 'entangling alliances' with full comprehension and an answering purpose. But only special and limited alliances entangle, and we recognize and accept the duty of a new day in which we are permitted to hope for a general alliance which will avoid entanglements and clear the air of the world for common understandings and the maintenance of common rights.

PLAIN SPEAKING NEEDED.

"I have made this analysis of the international situation which the war has created, not, of course, because I doubted whether the leaders of the great nations and peoples with whom we are associated were of the same mind and entertained a like purpose, but because the air every now and again gets darkened by mists and groundless doubtings and mischievous perversions of counsel, and it is necessary once and again to sweep all the irresponsible talk about peace intrigues and weakening morale and doubtful purpose on the part of those in authority utterly,

and if need be unceremoniously, aside, and say things in the plainest words that can be found, even when it is only to say over again what has been said before quite as plainly if in less unvarnished terms.

"As I have said, neither I nor any other man in governmental authority created or gave form to the issues of this war. I have simply responded to them with such vision as I could command. But I have responded gladly and with a resolution that has grown warmer and more confident as the issues have grown clearer and clearer. It is now plain that they are issues which no man can pervert unless it be willfully. I am bound to fight for them, and happy to fight for them, as time and circumstance have revealed them to me as to all the world. Our enthusiasm for them grows more and more irresistible as they stand out in more and more vivid and unmistakable outline.

WORLD OPINION CLARIFIED.

"And the forces that fight for them draw into closer and closer array, organize their millions into more and more unconquerable might, as they become more and more distinct to the thought and purpose of the peoples engaged. It is the peculiarity of this great war that while statesmen have seemed to cast about for definitions of their purpose and have sometimes seemed to shift their ground and their point of view, the thought of the mass of men, whom statesmen are supposed to instruct and lead, has grown more and more unclouded, more and more certain of what it is that they are fighting for. National purposes have fallen more and more into the background and the common purpose of enlightened mankind has taken their place. The counsels of plain men have become on all hands more simple and straightforward and more unified than the counsels of sophisticated men of affairs, who still retain the impression that they are playing a game of power and playing for high stakes. That is why I have said that this is a peoples' war, not a statesman's. Statesmen must follow the clarified common thought or be broken.

NEED TO AVOW AIMS.

"I take that to be the significance of the fact that assemblies and associations of many kinds made up of plain workaday people have demanded, almost every time they came together, and are still demanding that the leaders of their governments declare to them plainly what it is, exactly what it is, that they were seeking in this war, and what they think the items of the final settlement should be. They are not yet satisfied with what they have been told. They still seem to fear that they are getting what they ask for only in statesmen's terms—only in the terms of territorial arrangements and divisions of power, and not in terms of broad-visioned justice and mercy and peace and the satisfaction of those deep-seated longings of oppressed and distracted men and women and enslaved peoples that seem to them the only things worth fighting a war for that engulfs the world. Perhaps statesmen have not always recognized this changed aspect of the whole world of policy and action. Perhaps they have not always spoken in direct reply to the questions asked because they did not know how searching those questions were and what sort of answers they demanded.

VICTORIES WINNING PEACE.

"But I for one am glad to attempt the answer again and again, in the hope that I may make it clearer and clearer that my one thought is to satisfy those who struggle in the ranks and are, perhaps above all others, entitled to a reply whose meaning no one can have any excuse for misunderstanding, if he understands the language in which it is spoken or can get some one to translate it correctly into his own. And I believe that the leaders of the governments with which we are associated will speak, as they have occasion, as plainly as I have tried to speak. I hope that they will feel free to say whether they think that I am in any degree mistaken in my interpretation of the issues involved or in my purpose with regard to the means by which a satisfactory settlement of those issues may be obtained. Unity of purpose and of counsel are as imperatively necessary in this war as was unity of command in the battle field; and with perfect unity of purpose and counsel will come assurance of complete victory. It can be had in no other way. 'Peace drives' can be effectively neutralized and silenced only by showing that every victory of the nations associated against Germany brings the nations nearer the sort of peace which will bring security and reassurance to all peoples and make the recurrance of another such struggle of pitiless force and bloodshed forever impossible, and that nothing else can. Germany is constantly intimating the 'terms' she will accept; and always finds that the world does not want terms. It wishes the final triumph of justice and fair dealing."

Mr. FLETCHER subsequently said: Mr. President, I desire to inquire what became of the motion or request made with reference to the President's address?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BRANDEGEE in the chair). It was ordered to be printed in the RECORD and also as a public document. Of course, the reading to the Senate would put it in the RECORD, anyway.

Mr. FLETCHER. The Senator from Colorado [Mr. SHAFROTH] made some suggestion about 1,000,000 copies being printed. I did not know whether that had been acted on or not.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair heard the Senator from Colorado say something about a million copies, but, in the opinion of the Chair, the Senate took no action upon the request.

Mr. FLETCHER. Very well. It can be presented at another time.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. LODGE presented a telegram in the nature of a petition from Ward 17 Massachusetts Suffrage Association, of Boston, Mass., and a telegram in the nature of a petition from the Cotton Spinners' Union, of Maynard, Mass., praying for the submission of a Federal suffrage amendment to the legislatures of the several States, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of sundry textile workers in the State of Massachusetts, praying for the enactment of legislation establishing an eight-hour day for all industrial employees, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. NELSON presented a memorial of the Waterman-Waterbury Co., of Minneapolis, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed excess-profits tax in the pending revenue bill, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a telegram in the nature of a petition from sundry citizens of St. Paul, Minn., praying that section 213 of the pending revenue bill be amended so as to provide that the proceeds of all life-insurance policies be payable at death of the insured, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. WADSWORTH presented a memorial of the women voters antisuffrage party of New York, remonstrating against the adoption of the proposed Federal suffrage amendment to the Constitution, which was ordered to lie on the table.

EMPLOYMENT OF ADDITIONAL CLERK.

Mr. THOMPSON. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, I report back favorably with an amendment Senate resolution 198, and I call the attention of the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER] to the resolution.

Mr. PENROSE. Let the resolution be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The Secretary read Senate resolution 198, submitted by Mr. FLETCHER on February 4, 1918, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Commerce of the United States Senate be, and it is hereby, authorized to employ an additional clerk at the rate of $120 per month, to be paid from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate, until the end of the present session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

Mr. FLETCHER. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution.

The Senate by unanimous consent proceeded to consider the resolution.

The amendment was, on line 3, before the words "per month," to strike out "$120" and insert "$100."

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. ROBINSON:

A bill (S. 4964) for the payment of claims for loss of private property on account of the loss of firearms and ammunition taken by the United States troops during the labor strikes in the State of Colorado in 1914; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KING:

A bill (S. 4965) granting pensions to certain soldiers and widows of deceased soldiers of the Utah Territorial Militia who served in the Indian wars in Utah Territory, and to amend the act approved March 4, 1917, entitled, "An act to pension the survivors of certain Indian wars from January 1, 1859, to January, 1891, inclusive, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BANKHEAD:

A bill (S. 4966) to authorize the Gulf Ports Terminal Railway Co., a corporation existing under the laws of the State of Florida, to construct a bridge over and across the headwaters of Mobile Bay and such navigable channels as are between the east side of the bay and Blakeley Island, in Baldwin and Mobile Counties, Ala.; to the Committee on Commerce.

PRINTING OF PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS IN NEW YORK (S. DOC. NO. 283).

Mr. SHAFROTH submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 23), which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the address of the President of the United States delivered at the fourth liberty loan meeting in New York City on September 27, 1918, be printed as a public document, and that 1,000,000 additional copies be printed for distribution by the Publicity Bureau, Liberty Loan Division of the Treasury Department.

COMMITTEE ON REORGANIZATION.

Mr. OWEN submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 22), which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That a committee on reorganization is hereby authorized and created to be composed of six Senators and six Representatives in Congress, fairly representative of the Democratic and Republican Parties, to be nominated by the party organizations of the two Houses and approved by the respective Houses; service upon such committee to terminate if a member ceases to be a Member of Congress. Vacancies shall be filled in the same manner as the original selections were made, respectively.

That such committee shall make an immediate investigation and report to Congress not later than January 1, 1919, and from time to time subsequently, with suitable recommendations upon the reorganizations required for a return to the occupations of peace of the men and women, capital investments and supplies now employed in war.

It shall be the duty of such committee to propose the ways and means by which the soldiers of the United States and those directly or indirectly employed in making war, both men and women, or engaged in any of the activities connected with war, shall be found employment; to prepare and assist in restoring the activities of peace; to make concrete proposals for the utilization of the materials, buildings, and supplies which have been prepared for war purposes, but which may be used for the service of the country in times of peace.

To propose methods by which the capital, credit, and labor of the American people after the war may be actively employed in production and distribution of goods at home and abroad, the supply and distribution of raw materials and food products arranged to that end; to report upon the construction of national hard-surfaced roads throughout the United States; building of internal and coastal canals, reclaiming and cultivation of swamp lands and arid lands, utilizing water powers, and the permanent maintenance of the American merchant marine, and in general to report upon those problems arising from the change from the activities of war to those of peace, so that all the productive activities of the American shall be continuously and profitably employed.

That the committee is authorized to employ such clerical assistance as it may deem necessary, including the services of experts, and may, as subcommittee or otherwise, send for persons or papers, administer oaths, and employ stenographers at a cost not to exceed $1 per printed page, and report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject before it.

That the committee may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate and House of Representatives, and that expenses contracted hereunder shall be paid one-half from the contingent fund of the Senate and one-half from the contingent fund of the House, upon the presentation of vouchers, approved by the chairman of said committee, until otherwise provided for by law.

CALLING OF THE ROLL.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hale	New	Smith, Mich.
Beckham	Hardwick	Nugent	Smoot
Benet	Henderson	Overman	Thomas
Brandegee	Jones, N. Mex.	Owen	Thompson
Chamberlain	Jones, Wash.	Page	Townsend
Colt	Kellogg	Penrose	Trammell
Culberson	King	Phelan	Underwood
Cummins	Kirby	Pittman	Vardaman
Curtis	Lenroot	Poindexter	Wadsworth
Dillingham	Lewis	Pomerene	Walsh
Drew	Lodge	Ransdell	Warren
Fletcher	McCumber	Reed	Watson
France	McKellar	Robinson	Wilfley
Frelinghuysen	McNary	Saulsbury	Williams
Gerry	Martin, Ky.	Shafroth	
Gronna	Martin, Va.	Sheppard	
Gulon	Nelson	Smith, Ariz.	

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I desire to announce the temporary absence of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON] on account of public business.

Mr. FRANCE. I wish to announce the absence of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] on official business as members of a conference committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Sixty-five Senators having answered to their names, a quorum of the Senate is present.

AFFAIRS OF HUNGARY IN 1849–1850 (S. DOC. NO. 282).

Mr. LODGE. I present a report from the Committee on Foreign Relations asking for a reprint of the document of the Sixty-first Congress, second session. It was a document which gave the correspondence of A. Dudley Mann from 1849 to 1850, which was of great historical value, and remained here in the Senate files and never had been printed. It is of a great deal of historical interest. The edition is exhausted, and there are additional requests for the document. The Secretary of State has very kindly sent in a few additional dispatches, which complete the matter. I laid it before the Foreign Relations Committee, and they instructed me to ask for a reprint, including the new letters.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, the request is granted.

MINERAL PRODUCTS—CONFERENCE REPORT (S. DOC. NO. 281).

Mr. HENDERSON. I ask that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the conference report on H. R. 11259.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Nevada? The Chair hears none, and the report is before the Senate.

Mr. LODGE. Let it be read, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the report.

The Secretary proceeded to read the report.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, as one of the members of the conference committee I advise the Senate that the bill reported by the conferees is substantially the bill which passed the Senate. The amendments are unimportant. I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the entire report be dispensed with and that the attention of the Senate be called only to the specific amendments.

Mr. LODGE. This is an important conference report, and it is usual to read conference reports. I only ask that it be read. I shall make no opposition to its adoption.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that objection has been made to the request. The Secretary will resume the reading of the report.

The Secretary resumed and concluded the reading of the report, which, entire, is as follows:

[S. Doc. No. 281, 65th Cong., 2d sess.]

MINERALS AND METALS FOR WAR PURPOSES.

Mr. HENDERSON submitted the following conference report on the bill (H. R. 11259) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of those ores, metals, and minerals which have formerly been largely imported, or of which there is or may be an inadequate supply:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11259) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of those ores, metals, and minerals which have formerly been largely imported, or of which there is or may be an inadequate supply, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses, as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed by the Senate insert the following:

"That by reason of the existence of a state of war, it is essential to the national security and defense, and to the successful prosecution of the war, and for the support and maintenance of the Army and Navy, to provide for an adequate and increased supply, to facilitate the production, and to provide for an equitable, economical, and better distribution of the following-named mineral substances and ores, minerals, intermediate metallurgical products, metals, alloys, and chemical compounds thereof, to wit: Antimony, arsenic, ball clay, bismuth, bromine, cerium, chalk, chromium, cobalt, corundum, emery, fluorspar, ferrosilicon, fuller's earth, graphite, grinding pebbles, iridium, kaolin, magnesite, manganese, mercury, mica, molybdenum, osmium, sodium, platinum, palladium, paper clay, phosphorous, potassium, pyrites, radium, sulphur, thorium, tin, titanium, tungsten, uranium, vanadium, and zirconium, as the President may, from time to time, determine to be necessary for the purposes aforesaid, and as to which there is at the time of such determination, a present or prospective inadequacy of supply. The aforesaid substance mentioned in any such determination are hereinafter referred to as necessaries.

"SEC. 2. That the President is authorized from time to time to purchase such necessaries and to enter into, to accept, to transfer, and to assign contracts for the production or purchase of same, to provide storage facilities for and store the same, to

provide or improve transportation facilities, and to use, distribute, or allocate said necessaries, or to sell the same at reasonable prices, but such sales made during the war shall not be at a price less than the purchase or cost of production thereof: *Provided*, That no such contract of purchase shall cover a period longer than two years after the termination of the war.

"The President is further authorized, upon finding that importation into the United States of any of the necessaries covered by this act is likely to result in a loss to the United States on any necessaries which it may have acquired hereunder, to ascertain, fix, and proclaim such rate of duty upon such imported necessaries as shall be sufficient to adequately protect the United States from any such loss.

"The funds provided by section 6 hereof shall be used in carrying out the powers granted by this section, and all moneys received by the United States from or in connection with the disposal of such necessaries, shall be used as a revolving fund for further carrying out the purposes of this act. Any balance of such moneys remaining when the object of this act has been accomplished, shall, as collected, received, and on hand and available, be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

"SEC. 3. That the President is authorized to requisition and take over any of said necessaries and to use, distribute, allocate, or sell the same; and also to requisition and take over any undeveloped or insufficiently developed or operated idle land, deposit, or mine, and any idle or partially operated smelter, or plant, or part thereof, producing or, in his judgment, capable of producing said necessaries, or either of them, and to develop and operate such mine or deposit or such smelter or plant, either through the agencies hereinafter mentioned, or under lease or royalty agreement, or in any other manner, and to store, use, distribute, allocate, or sell the products thereof: *Provided*, That no ores or metals, the principal money value of which consists in metals or minerals other than those specifically enumerated in section 1 hereof, shall be subject to requisition under the provisions of this act. Whenever the President shall determine that the further use or operation by the Government of any such land, deposit, mine, smelter, or plant, or part thereof, so acquired, is no longer essential for the objects aforesaid, the same shall be returned to the person, firm, or corporation entitled thereto. The United States shall make just compensation, determined by the President, for the taking over, use, occupation, or operation by the Government of any such necessaries, or any such land, deposit, mine, smelter, or plant, or part thereof. If the compensation so determined be unsatisfactory to the person, firm, or corporation entitled thereto, such person, firm, or corporation shall be paid 75 per cent of the amount so determined and shall be entitled to sue the United States to recover such further sum as added to said 75 per cent will make up such amount as will be just compensation, in the manner provided by section 24, paragraph 20, and section 145, of the Judicial Code.

"The President is authorized to require statements and reports, to examine books and papers, and to prescribe such rules and regulations as he may deem appropriate for carrying out the purposes of this act. The fund provided by section 6 hereof may be used in carrying out the purposes of this act, and all moneys received by the United States from or in connection with the use, operation, or disposal of any such necessaries, land, deposit, mine, smelter or plant, or part thereof, shall be used as a revolving fund for further carrying out the purposes of this act. Any balance of such moneys remaining when the objects of this act have been accomplished, shall, as collected, received, and on hand and available, be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

"SEC. 4. That any person who shall neglect or refuse to comply with any order or requisition made by the President pursuant to the provisions of this act, or who shall obstruct or attempt to obstruct the enforcement of or the compliance with any such requisition or order, or who shall violate any of the provisions of this act, or any rule or regulation adopted hereunder, shall, upon conviction, be fined not exceeding $5,000, or be imprisoned for not more than two years, or both.

"SEC. 5. That the sum of $500,000 is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be available until June 30, 1919, for the payment of all administrative expenses under this act, including personal services, traveling and subsistence expenses, the payment of rent, the purchase of equipment, supplies, postage, printing, publications, and such other articles, both in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, as the President may deem essential and proper.

"SEC. 6. That the sum of $50,000,000 is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, which, together with all moneys received from time to time under the provisions of this act, all of which shall be credited to said appropriation, shall be used as a revolving fund for carrying out the objects of this act, and for the purpose of making all payments and disbursements, including just compensation under section 3, by this act authorized: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the purposes described in the last preceding section: *Provided further*, That a detailed report of all operations under this act, including all receipts and disbursements, shall be filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House of Representatives on or before the 25th day of each month, covering the preceding month's operation. Any balance of said revolving fund remaining when the objects of this act have been accomplished, shall, as collected, received, and on hand and available, be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

"SEC. 7. That the President is authorized to exercise each, every, or any power and authority hereby vested in him, and to expend the moneys herein appropriated or provided for, or any part or parts thereof, by and through such officer or officers, department or departments, board or boards, agent, agents, or agencies as he shall create or designate, from time to time, for the purpose. He may fix the reasonable compensation for the performance of such services, but no official or employee of the United States shall receive any additional compensation for such services except as now permitted by law: *Provided*, That no person employed under the provisions of this act shall be paid any salary or compensation in excess of that paid for similar or like services rendered in executive departments of the Government.

"SEC. 8. No person having a pecuniary interest in any transaction in pursuance of this act shall have any official connection under this act with such transaction. Any person violating this provision shall forfeit to the Government all proceeds which he shall have received from such transaction, and upon due conviction of such violation shall be fined not exceeding $10,000 or imprisoned not exceeding 10 years.

"SEC. 9. That the President is authorized, if in his judgment such action be necessary or useful for the objects of this act, to form one or more corporations under the laws of any State, Territory, District, or possession of the United States, for the purpose of carrying out the powers or any of the powers hereby authorized. The capital stock of any such corporation shall be such as the President may determine, but the total capital stock for all corporations so formed shall not exceed in the aggregate the appropriation of $50,000,000, made by section 6 hereof. Said appropriation, or any part thereof, may be used by the President in subscribing on behalf of the United States, through such person or persons as he may designate, to the capital stock of such corporation or corporations, and the capital and assets of any such corporation or corporations, together with all additions thereto under sections 2 and 3 hereof, may be used in carrying out the objects of this act. The directorate and organization of such corporation or corporations shall be such as the President may prescribe, and such corporation or corporations shall have all such charter powers as may be deemed necessary or desirable by the President to enable it or them to accomplish the objects of this act. The capital stock of any such corporation or corporations shall be held and voted for the exclusive benefit of the United States, through such person or persons as the President may designate.

"SEC. 10. Upon the proclamation of peace the President shall proceed as rapidly as possible to wind up and terminate all transactions under this act, and to dispose as fast as practicable of all property acquired thereunder, and after said proclamation of peace no contracts shall be made, property acquired, or other transaction performed under this act except such as shall be necessary for the purpose of this section and incidental thereto, and two years after such proclamation of peace this act shall cease to have effect and all powers conferred thereby shall end: *Provided*, That the termination of this act shall not prevent the subsequent collection of any moneys due the United States, nor shall it affect any act done or any right or obligation accrued or accruing, or any suit or proceeding had or commenced before such termination, but all such collections, rights, obligations, suits and proceedings shall continue as if this act had not terminated, and any offense committed or liability incurred prior thereto shall be prosecuted in the same manner and with the same punishment and effect as if this act had not terminated.

"SEC. 11. That employment under the provisions of this act shall not exempt any person from military service under the provisions of the selective-draft law approved May 18, 1917, or any act amendatory thereto.

"SEC. 12. That if any section or provision of this act shall be declared invalid for any reason whatsoever, such invalidity shall not be construed to affect the validity of any other section or provision thereof."

And the Senate agree to the same.

CHARLES B. HENDERSON,
T. J. WALSH,
MILES POINDEXTER,
Managers on the part of the Senate.
M. D. FOSTER,
EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
M. M. GARLAND,
Managers on the part of the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

THE CALENDAR.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The morning business is closed and the calendar under Rule VIII is in order. The Secretary will report the first business on the calendar.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 39) to appropriate $3,000,000 to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to prosecute the work of eradicating the southern cattle tick was announced as first in order on the calendar.

Mr. ASHURST. Let that go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will go over.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 53) authorizing the President to appoint two additional Assistant Secretaries of Agriculture, and for other purposes, was announced as the next business on the calendar.

Mr. SMOOT. I ask unanimous consent, if we are going to take up bills on the calendar, that we begin where we left off when we were last considering the calendar, with Order of Business 364.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah asks unanimous consent that in proceeding with the calendar under Rule VIII bills be taken up under that rule to commence with Order of Business 364.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Jones, N. Mex.	New	Smith, Mich.
Bankhead	Jones, Wash.	Nugent	Smith, S. C.
Beckham	Kellogg	Overman	Smoot
Benet	Kenyon	Owen	Sterling
Brandegee	King	Page	Thompson
Chamberlain	Kirby	Penrose	Townsend
Colt	Knox	Phelan	Trammell
Curtis	Lenroot	Pittman	Underwood
Drew	Lewis	Poindexter	Wadsworth
Fletcher	Lodge	Reed	Walsh
France	McKellar	Shafroth	Warren
Frelinghuysen	McNary	Sheppard	Watson
Hale	Martin, Ky.	Shields	Wilfley
Hardwick	Martin, Va.	Smith, Ariz.	Williams
Henderson	Nelson	Smith, Md.	Wolcott

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I desire to announce the temporary absence of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON] on public business.

Mr. KIRBY. I announce the absence of my colleague [Mr. ROBINSON] necessarily on public business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Sixty Senators having answered to their names, a quorum of the Senate is present.

COAL SITUATION IN ITALY.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, Charles Edward Russell, who recently returned from Italy, has called attention to the extremely urgent need of Italy for coal. I was informed by some representatives of the Italians in this country that they had actually been driven to cutting down olive trees, which require 20 years to bear profitably, as a means of supplying fuel for the engines to move, at a time of great exigency, some of the troops to the battle front. I want to call the attention of the Senate to the very great importance of giving support in the way of coal to Italy.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator permit the Chair to suggest that the Senate, by unanimous consent, has agreed to proceed with the calendar under Rule VIII?

Mr. OWEN. I beg the Chair's pardon. I did not know that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma can make his remarks if he will allow the Chair to lay the next business on the calendar before the Senate.

Mr. OWEN. I shall be pleased to have the matter laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will state the next business on the calendar.

BULGARIA AND TURKEY.

The SECRETARY. A joint resolution (S. Res. 229) to request the Committee on Foreign Relations, to which was referred S. J. Res. 145, to give said resolution early consideration, and report to the Senate thereon.

Mr. PENROSE. Let the resolution be read, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 229), as follows:

Whereas S. J. Res. 145, to declare a state of war between the United States of America and the Governments of Bulgaria and of Turkey, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations on April 2, 1918: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations is requested to give said resolution its early consideration and report thereon to the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will ask the Secretary if there has been any report of the committee on that resolution?

The SECRETARY. There has not been.

Mr. OVERMAN. The present occupant of the chair (Mr. BRANDEGEE) introduced the resolution, but I think under the circumstances it had better go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that his recollection about the matter is that the resolution had been referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, although it now appears on the calendar that it was ordered to lie over. The Senator from North Carolina asks that the resolution go over. It will go over. The Secretary will state the next business on the calendar.

CONSOLIDATION OF NATIONAL BANKING ASSOCIATIONS.

The bill (S. 3907) to provide for the consolidation of national banking associations was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that bill go over, Mr. President.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. SMOOT. To enable the Senator from Oklahoma to proceed I will withdraw the request that the bill go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah withdraws his request that the bill go over so that the Senator from Oklahoma may make his remarks.

COAL SITUATION IN ITALY.

Mr. OWEN. Very well, Mr. President. Mr. Charles Edward Russell makes these observations on his return from Italy:

It is perfectly apparent that Italy ought to have, as she has deserved, the most liberal and practical support from the United States. She is at present in very sore need of coal, steel, and, to some extent, of lubricating oil. Last winter she was practically without coal, and the suffering of the people, especially in northern Italy, was very real and very great. She ought not to be compelled to go through another such winter. The normal coal supply of Italy in peace times comes from Great Britain. Great Britain this winter, for certain reasons, will be unable to supply Italy with even as much coal as she sent there last year.

URGES US TO SEND COAL.

It is of the gravest importance that the people of Italy, who have endured with wonderful fortitude far more and far worse things than we in America have ever imagined, should not be compelled to go through another such a trial. With the proper effort in this country, with only a little of this spirit of sacrifice of which the people in the other allied countries have shown so much, we ought to be able to spare for Italy enough coal to enable her to get through the winter. Already many of her munition works are closing down because of the lack of fuel.

At best the shell supply in Italy has never been what it ought to be. If now it is to be still further curtailed, conditions will arise, familiar to every military observer, that will have disturbing possibilities. We can meet this emergency, and we ought to do it. We ought to begin to do it at once, and not stop until we are assured that Italy has the coal, the steel, and the oil necessary to enable her to keep up her magnificent and most efficient struggle on behalf of the common cause.

I strongly emphasize and approve the recommendations of Mr. Russell, which are based on well-known facts and approved by those who understand and appreciate the conditions on the Italian and Balkan battle fronts.

Mr. President, I call attention to the fact that the break through the Bulgarian line, the separation of the Bulgarian Armies, and the advance which has now been made 75 miles north of Monastir by allied troops in conjunction with those of Italy has been largely due to the energy and the magnificent courage of the Italian troops. The probabilities are that the breakdown of Bulgaria will cut a most important figure in bringing this war to an earlier termination. Bulgaria has already offered an armistice, showing that her authorities are very much demoralized.

We are turning out ships every day; we are turning out freight ships on a large scale. We can, by making an extra effort, fill some of these cargo ships with coal and thus supply

Italy. I think that the morale of Italy is involved in being furnished the coal which is necessary in carrying on the munition factories. I make this observation because I think the attention of the country ought to be called to the need of Italy and to our failure in some respects to adequately respond to it. It is true that, so far as the Italian purchases from the United States are concerned, the United States has extended credit to Italy, not, however, to the same extent as we have extended it to Great Britain. At one time, because of the failure adequately to support Italy's credit in this country by extending financial accommodations, Italian exchange went down to the enormously disproportionate point, reaching 9.15 lire in exchange for $1, which practically meant that when the Italian bonds were sold on such a basis of exchange the American dollar was buying $2 in gold bonds at 5 per cent in Italy. That has been since very substantially reduced by the activities of the Government in taking over, as far as appeared to be practicable, the matter of foreign exchange through the establishment of an institute of exchange under the patronage of the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, so that Italian exchange has been brought down to 6.35. That, of course, is still a serious discount.

I want to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that Italy has always fully met her obligations; she has never forfeited her bonds or the payment of interest on them. That country is capable of a large production of goods. They have abundant cheap labor; they have great water supplies; and because of the building up of great factories during the war—because of the war—they will have a productive capacity after the war which will be abundantly able to meet the extension of credits which might be made by the United States to Italy.

Those people are entitled to every support which the United States can give, and I think that this country ought to extend to Italy the coal supply which she needs, and ought to furnish the ships which are necessary to transport that coal, because it is vital to the manufacture of munitions of war, upon which depends the Italian war-making power in southern Austria. I heartily approve the extension of credit to Italy to the full extent of her needs. Italian credit in the United States should be immediately put on a basis equal to that of Great Britain in the United States, which is stabilized at $4.76\frac{7}{8}$ per pound sterling and is only 2 per cent below par. When the United States Government gives the same support to the Italian exchange it gives to British exchange, Italian exchange and Italian credit in the United States will come up to the same high level. The common interest of America, Great Britain, France, and Italy requires this to be done.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, I move that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico moves that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 200) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Mr. BENET. Mr. President, I think it is the wise and proper course for me at this time to state my position upon the pending proposed constitutional amendment.

In the beginning I wish to correct a statement that was made, inadvertently I am sure, by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. MCKELLAR] in the speech he made on this matter some two days ago. He linked South Carolina and Mississippi, and stated that in both of those States we had a "grandfather clause" which had to do with the qualifications of electors. I do not know where the Senator secured his information, but that is a misstatement so far as South Carolina is concerned. We have no "grandfather clause" in our constitution; a man in our State now may secure all the rights of an elector either on an educational basis or on a property qualification. We have, and have always had, male suffrage in our State, and the question of female suffrage has not been agitated in South Carolina in any campaign that we have had up to this time. There are in our State a number of our foremost men and women who believe very earnestly in woman suffrage; but no campaign to enlighten the bulk of our people on this question has been had in our State, and the great majority of the people of South Carolina are not informed on the suffrage question, nor, frankly, are they interested in it.

Mr. President, coming here as an appointee to succeed a Senator who was against suffrage, coming from a State in which suffrage has not been an issue, coming from a State the senior Senator of which is opposed to the suffrage amendment and all the Representatives from which voted against the suffrage amendment in the House, a situation presented itself to me which was unusual and at the same time most far-reaching.

We have heard statements made by Senators about the attitude of the President, the leader of this country and the leader of my party, and it is known that he favors the passage of the amendment. I have heard statements made by Senators to the effect that the suffrage resolution is a war measure, and I have listened to several days of argument for further enlightenment on that particular point. I say here and now that were I convinced that suffrage was an essential war measure, or if suffrage under this amendment was to last only for the period of the war, I would unhesitatingly vote for it; but, Mr. President, feeling as I do, that a measure which in this identical form has been before the Congress since 1875—five years before I was born—can not be a war measure, having reached that conclusion, and further knowing that this is a matter which once written into our Constitution never will be taken out of it, and therefore unlike the wire-control bill, the railroad-control bill, the selective-service act, and the other war measures which my party, in conjunction with the Republican Party, has put into effect in this country, all of which measures will terminate at the end of the war, or shortly thereafter, I feel that it is my duty, representing the constituency that I do, and with the views that I have and which I shall further enlarge in a moment, to vote against the resolution.

Having reached that conclusion, it was my duty, as I take it, to relieve the suspense which has existed here as to my vote. I wish to say that both sides have made many appeals to me during the week and prior thereto. I wish to put at rest, however, any suggestion that I have been harassed unduly or that the advocates of either side have done anything in trying to secure my vote which was beyond the bounds of proper and courteous argument.

Mr. President, having stated that, it is not necessary for me to say much more; but I wish to say a few words in regard to the situation in my State and in justification of the position which I have taken. It is a hard position for a man to take who supported the President prior to the Baltimore convention, who supported him in his campaign prior to that convention and ever since, who took the stump in his behalf in South Carolina this past summer, and who has done everything in his power to uphold his hands in this war. Should I have admitted the premise that this was a war measure, the speeches that I have made and the stand that I have taken in South Carolina would unquestionably have led me to but one conclusion, namely, that I should vote for the resolution, no matter what the result might be to my State; but, Mr. President, as I stated awhile ago, I can not and do not see how the fortunes of this war are bound up in this proposed amendment, and with that belief I do not "deem it necessary," as the fifth article of the Constitution states it, to propose to the States an amendment on this subject.

I have heard Senators here pay great tribute to the way the women of America and the women of the allied countries have done their work in this war. I echo every word that they have said; but I wish to say, Senators, that in the Confederate war the women of the North did, as I am told, their full quota of the work which was necessary on that side, and I here state that no women of any country at any time in any war have ever done more than the women of the South did to sustain the cause of the Confederacy. Women have always borne their full share of war duties. If you are going to put it on that ground, then two thoughts present themselves: First, either that this resolution must pass to give suffrage to women as a reward for what they have done, or, second, in fear of what they may do if the resolution does not pass. I for one do not feel that the women of my State expect or want any reward for what they have done in this war, and I for one would not vote for this resolution if I thought any question of threat had to do with its passage.

South Carolina, along with Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and perhaps one or two other States, has a peculiar burden. It would be a piece of impertinence and presumption on my part to say to the people of Utah or to the people of California how they should manage their internal affairs. I reply that it is a piece of impertinence on their part to say to the people of South Carolina how they shall manage their State matters. We believe in my State, and I subscribe to that doctrine, that one of the fundamental rights of the sovereignty of our State is involved in this resolution—the right to prescribe the qualifications of our electors. We believe that we know better than anyone else what sort of a civilization we have got to work out there, and far better than anyone else how that civilization shall be worked out.

If the people in our State are not satisfied with our laws we can amend our constitution very readily. If the advocates of a measure are in a minority and are not satisfied with the result, then they have the redress of leaving our State. But if this

constitutional amendment is adopted it will be the absolute, binding law on South Carolina for all time, no matter that the majority of her citizens now do not want it and no matter whether the majority of our citizens at any time in the future should desire to be rid of it. Once there, it is there forever.

The fact that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments were adopted has nothing to do with this question. South Carolina was then in the hands of people foreign to her ideals, foreign to her hopes, foreign to her desires, and although we are set down in the Constitution as having ratified them, the people of South Carolina have never ratified those amendments in their hearts, and they believe that those amendments were forced on them by people who did not understand their situation.

Mr. President, I do not wish to go into the details of that matter. I want to say, however, that in our State we have a great deal of illiteracy; we have many whites who have never had a fair chance to get an education or to get money enough to get those things which make life worth while. There are many men and women in my State of good Anglo-Saxon stock who can not read or write. Those people are bearing the burden now of the work which was done from 1865 to 1876. In the community, Senators, in which I live, in the city of Columbia, we are paying each year interest on a bonded debt of $852,000, which was put on us in the early seventies by those then in charge of our State, and out of which we got one cheap wooden building, used as a city hall. That building burned down, and now we have nothing, and we never did have anything but that building to show for those bonds; yet the city of Columbia, not being a sovereignty, could not repudiate those bonds, fraudulent as they were, and those bonds now take $40,000 for interest out of our income each year. Had we had that $40,000 for all the years from 1874, when those bonds were first issued, to the present time, the people in my community would have been better educated and better cared for than they are now. I mention that merely by way of illustration. The fact that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments are in the Constitution emphasizes the fact that when amendments are once in they are there for all time. It has been admitted here, or at least I have heard the statement made, and I have read it in the RECORD, and therefore I presume it is correct, that men on the other side of the Chamber have admitted that those constitutional amendments should not have been adopted. But once in the Constitution they can not be gotten out, and there is no power on earth that can get those amendments out of the Constitution now; and I feel that the same thing would exist about this proposed amendment.

My people believe that they have a right to say who shall vote and how a man or a woman, if they should decide for suffrage, should be qualified in order to vote. I myself believe that a sovereign State should have the right to prescribe which of her citizens should have a voice in her own government. Believing that, I believe that we would be giving up a fundamental right to adopt for all time this amendment. If my people want to adopt woman suffrage later, it is their affair. I do not now say whether I will vote for it or not. I do say that in the present state of public opinion in South Carolina and in the present state of information on the subject I would not vote for it; but just as soon as the educational situation in my State gets better and as soon as the information on this subject is more widespread, I now believe that I will vote for it, as a State measure.

Mr. President, there is nothing more that I can add to this discussion. I have never avoided an issue; I have never let my stand on any matter remain in doubt. I sat here as long as I could, hoping that some light would be thrown on the one thing that would justify me, if anything would, in voting for this measure, and that is the winning of this war. I have heard the challenge made in the debate that this amendment has nothing to do with the winning of the war, and I have not heard it refuted, nor have I heard anything but the bare statement that it had to do with the winning of the war. Such being the case, I feel that the door is closed to any doubt in my mind. The only thing that could have possibly justified me in voting for this amendment was that one thing that we all so earnestly desire.

My State has given her men, has given her support, will give her all, to win this war; but she will not give up a fundamental right of her sovereignty unless she knows that in giving it up she is doing something necessary to win the war.

Therefore, sir, I wish Senators to be in no further doubt as to my position. I feel, in taking this position, that there are many women in my State who are far better qualified to vote than many of the men who are now voting. If I had my way I would like to take the ballot away from everyone in the United States and put it back on an educational basis and nothing else; but that is out of the question, and we all know it. I know that those women in favor of suffrage in my State will help us solve our problems after this war. I know that the men who have gone oversea from my State will help us solve our problems after this war. I am thoroughly content, for my part, to leave the civilization of South Carolina where it was when our soldiers left us and when our women as Red Cross nurses and in other war service went across the sea. When they come back with their eyes opened and their hearts opened by what they have seen and learned over there I am willing and glad to take counsel with them and with them to work out our salvation.

Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama have a peculiar situation. We stand here together to-day. We have stood together before and we have gone down. I do not believe that we are going down to defeat on this measure, but if we go down we will work out our salvation, and the white race will triumph in those States just as it has always done. I do not for one moment decry what the negro has done in my country. I believe, sir, that I can say that when I was prosecuting attorney of my district the black race believed that they got a fair and square deal at my hands. I have always tried to give it to them. I believe that they are entitled to every consideration. But the people who have to work out the salvation of the South, the people who are carrying the burdens of the South to-day, are the white race, and they alone have got to work them out.

Feeling that way, and feeling further that this is a fundamental right of sovereignty which we can not give up simply because other sections of the country would like to have it, I shall vote "nay" on the proposition.

Mr. President, one word more and I am through.

So far as the party situation is concerned, I know that I would be false to every duty if I were to vote here influenced in any way by the possible benefit to my party. This is a matter of principle which rises high above any party interest or possible party defeat. I have not touched that in this discussion, nor have I touched it in my consideration of the matter.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, after listening to the remarks just made by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BENET] I feel it my duty to correct a statement I made of the RECORD yesterday when the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] was trying to play politics with the question before the Senate.

Yesterday the Senator from Nevada asked me this question:

> Did not the Senator from Utah know the number of votes the Democrats on this side had polled for the suffrage amendment?
>
> Mr. SMOOT. Of course the Senator from Utah knew that.
>
> Mr. PITTMAN. Of course the Senator from Utah knew; and the Senator from Utah knows to-day how the poll stands on the Democratic side.
>
> Mr. SMOOT. I do.

Mr. President, I want to say that I was in error in the statement that I made yesterday. I wonder where the Senator from Nevada is now. I wonder if he now will undertake to say that the members——

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. President, I have just sent for the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, in view of the inquiry of the Senator from Utah, I suggest that he withhold his remarks until the Senator from Nevada can reach the Chamber. I have no doubt that he is accessible and will be here in just a moment.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to the Senator that my remarks will be very brief.

Yesterday the Senator tried to make it appear that I in particular, and the other Republicans who favored woman suffrage, had deceived him; that they had played a trick for political purposes. Who is responsible for the change in the poll of the Democrats, made necessary by the remarks of Senator BENET? I want to say that the statement I made yesterday was based upon the word of not one Democratic Member, but a number of Democratic Members, that there were 31 votes upon that side of the Chamber for the amendment. I wish to say that I have the Democratic poll in my pocket, and as I have I now make the statements that I do.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. SMOOT. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. My colleague [Mr. BENET] has just made a speech. I wish to suggest that while he may have been included in that poll, I was ignorant of his view from the beginning, and in justice to him I want to state that he has never said to any man until this morning where he stood on this matter, and no one had a right to count him in for it or against it.

Mr. SMOOT. I thank the Senator for the statement that he has made, and I believe it with all my heart. In fact, I have heard it stated a number of times that the Senator

has never stated to a soul that he was for or against the amendment; and I want to say to the Senator from South Carolina that there is no feeling on my part against the position which his colleague has taken to-day. I simply wanted, first, to correct the statement that I made yesterday, and state that it was based directly upon the statement of the Senator from Nevada.

I did intend yesterday to answer the Senator from Nevada, but I think it is useless to do so. I think the debate that was indulged in yesterday was unfortunate, it was unwise, it was uncalled for, and it was unjust; but I was sorry yesterday that the Senator from Nevada had undertaken to drag into this question the question of politics when he knew that there was not a man on that side of the Chamber or this side of the Chamber who was in favor of the woman-suffrage amendment who had any thought of politics in his mind. I say now that if the amendment is ever carried in the Senate of the United States it will be carried upon the merits of the question and not upon the question as how politics may be affected by it.

I simply wanted to say that much, Mr. President, at this time. It is unfortunate, of course, that we have not the votes to carry this amendment. I am disappointed; yet I am quite sure that Senators are going to vote their sentiments upon this question, whether they be for it or whether they be against it, and will vote what they think to be just and right.

Mr. SHAFROTH obtained the floor.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. HARDWICK. In amplification of some of the observations I made to the Senate the other day on this question, I desire to call the attention of the Senate and of the country, and particularly the attention of those southern Senators who are supporting this proposition, to a recent occurrence in New York in which the people of the South are deeply interested. I read from a report of a political meeting in New York City. It appears in the New York Journal of February 27, 1918, on which date a campaign was in progress to fill a vacancy from one of the New York congressional districts in the House of Representatives.

The article reads as follows:

[From the New York Journal, Feb. 27, 1918.]

SUFFRAGE LEADER URGES "BLACKS TO BAND TOGETHER TO STRANGLE SOLID SOUTH"—MRS. HOWARD GOULD RAISES RACE ISSUE IN SPECTACULAR ATTEMPT TO SEND NEW YORK NEGRO TO CONGRESS—APPEALS TO WOMEN VOTERS AGAINST SOUTH.

Negro voters are being urged by Mrs. Howard Gould to support Reverdy C. Ransom, negro candidate for Congress. Unaccompanied by a white escort, Mrs Gould addressed a crowded negro campaign meeting in Mother Zion Church, One hundred and thirty-sixth Street, near Seventh Avenue.

With the exception of three reporters, Mrs. Gould was the only white person in the hall. She was stunningly dressed and did not seem at all embarrassed by her environment. Her automobile, which waited for her outside the church, created much interest in the neighborhood.

Mrs. Gould, who has done much agitation for woman suffrage, met Ransom in connection with other activities. She formed a high opinion of his character. When she heard he was a candidate for Congress she promised to do all she could to get votes for him. Ransom was one of the speakers at the meeting.

STANDS FOR EQUALITY.

Mrs. Gould, although she referred more than once to her southern birth and family—

And if she is proud of it I do not know that the sentiment can be reciprocal—

gave expression to sentiments of equality between the white and colored races. She said:

"We call people blacks and whites now, but some day we'll call them United States Americans. On March 5 you will have a chance to help President Wilson in his fight for democracy.

"Black men are now fighting side by side with white men in the trenches. They are fighting for the world democracy. And they are fighting for the democracy of a country which at one time boasted a king whose atrocities surpassed any of those committed on black men in history."

APPEALS TO WOMEN.

This was understood to refer to the late King Leopold, uncle of the present King of the Belgians. It was received with devout cries of "Amen." In fact, many of Mrs. Gould's periods were greeted with audible approval of a camp-meeting character.

Speaking of the colored soldiers in the National Army, she said they had "white hearts under a black skin." Reverting to the congressional election, she said:

"Any colored man in this district who votes against Mr. Ransom is a traitor to his race and to democracy. If the white man, the Republican captain, tries to insist on your voting for his man, he is beguiling you and is not your friend."

She concluded, Mr. President, in these words:

Now that the black women of the North have political power, they must band together for the black women of the South. You black people must strangle the solid South.

Those words I commend, Mr. President, to the consideration and attention of those distinguished Senators from my own section who intend to support this proposition.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, I thank my friend the able Senator from Colorado for yielding to me at this point. I should not have anything to say at this time had not my good friend the distinguished Senator from Georgia addressed his remarks and read the newspaper clippings to the Senators from the South who have declared their purpose to vote for the resolution giving women the right of suffrage.

For one holding my views on the race question, of course, everyone knows that there are not words in my vocabulary sufficiently strong to express my disapproval of the conduct of the white woman whose ignorant enthusiasm would lead her to commit the wicked mistake of urging the negroes to take part in politics. If such were done in the State which I have the honor, in part, to represent on this floor, it would bring about untold trouble, not only to the white people, but the negroes also. But I can not for the life of me see the relevancy of the newspaper article to the subject matter under discussion. Certainly, there is no more harm or damage done the country by a white woman insisting upon the negro woman voting for a negro who is a candidate for Congress than there is in a white man holding office appointing a negro to office.

I think it is very natural for a negro to desire to vote for a negro for office. But it is an unwise thing for a white person to insist upon a negro voting for anybody or taking part in politics at all. If I had my way about it I should not permit a negro man or negro woman or a yellow man or yellow woman to vote in any State in this Republic. I should make of this absolutely a white man's Government. But every idea of justice and sense of right is outraged by a condemnation of women for doing things in politics or anywhere else that men are applauded for doing. If it is right for a negro to vote, it is right for a negro to hold office. If it is wrong for a negro woman to vote, it is wrong for a negro man to vote. If it is wrong for a white woman to urge negro women and men to vote for a negro candidate for office, it is equally wrong for a white man to urge a negro man to vote or for a white man to appoint a negro to office—and the latter has been done as a reward for the negroes' support in political campaigns.

I do not approve either or any such—but I am in favor of treating women fairly. It is my purpose to continue the fight for the repeal of the fifteenth amendment, and finally the completed elimination of the negroes, both male and female, from the politics of America. And I expect the white women of America to help me in that great undertaking.

Mr. SHAFROTH addressed the Senate. After having spoken for some time,

AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. GORE. I should like to say to the Senator, as chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, I am due at a conference on what is known as the food-production bill.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I will ask the Senator, is there a controversy over the matter now?

Mr. GORE. The matter which I intend to present to the Senate I think there will be no controversy over, and I think it will not require three minutes. It is the regular annual appropriation bill.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Very well, I will yield for that purpose.

Mr. GORE. I ask unanimous consent to report, without amendment, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, by authority of a majority of the membership of that committee, the regular annual Agricultural appropriation bill, being House bill 12714. I shall then ask for its immediate consideration, on condition, however, that it will not lead to any discussion.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it a conference report?

Mr. GORE. No, sir; it has not been in conference.

I will say in this connection that this is the measure which has already passed both Houses of Congress; it is the measure that was vetoed by the President on account of the wheat amendment. The bill has passed the other House exactly as it had previously passed both Houses, excluding the wheat amendment. It has again passed the House and now comes to the Senate.

I will say, by way of further explanation of the apparent haste, that either this bill must pass to-day or on Monday, or another continuing joint resolution must be passed. The House

of Representatives has lost a quorum, I am advised by the chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, and that they will not be able to obtain a quorum either to-day or on Monday for the purpose of passing a continuing joint resolution. Notice has been served upon him that such a joint resolution can not be passed in the absence of a quorum. That renders it, therefore, imperative that this measure should be presented at this time, and I ask unanimous consent for that purpose. It is the exact measure which has heretofore passed both Houses, excluding the so-called wheat amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that the Senator from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent that the unfinished business may be temporarily laid aside, to be resumed immediately upon the conclusion of the matter which he now presents to the Senate.

Mr. GORE. Yes, sir.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Oklahoma? The Chair hears none, and the report will be received.

Mr. GORE. I now ask that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 12714) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I simply wish to reiterate the statement that this is the regular annual Agricultural appropriation bill, the former bill having passed both Houses and having been vetoed by the President; it has been repassed by the House as it previously had passed both Houses, excluding the so-called wheat amendment.

On this point let me say that the friends of the increased price of wheat have decided to adjourn that question until the short session of Congress next winter. The President has issued a proclamation fixing the price of wheat for the 1919 harvest at the same figure which was fixed for the harvests of 1917 and 1918. There are those who think the price was not high enough. The President, however, has given notice that he would appoint a commission to investigate the cost of production next spring, and if it should be found necessary would issue a proclamation making the necessary or proven advance in the price. In view of that statement and assurance it has not been deemed wise to insist upon the wheat amendment at this time, but, as I say, to adjourn that question until some future occasion.

In that connection I wish to say it is only since the Senate voted last upon the wheat amendment that the so-called agricultural advisory committee, appointed by Mr. Hoover and Secretary Houston, have unanimously recommended a price of $2.46 per bushel for wheat at Chicago. The price of the crop of Switzerland this year is guaranteed by the Government at $2.70 per bushel, and the price guaranteed by the French Government for the current year is $3.95 for wheat. Further than this I have nothing to say. I hope the measure will now pass.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by G. F. Turner, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 333) to aid in combating "Spanish influenza" and other communicable diseases, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

PREVENTION OF SPANISH INFLUENZA.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. The Senator in charge of the pending measure has kindly agreed to lay it aside temporarily, without losing its place, in order that the Senate may consider the joint resolution which has just come over from the House of Representatives. It is vitally important that it be disposed of promptly, and I ask unanimous consent that it be now considered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate a joint resolution from the House of Representatives, which the Secretary will read.

The joint resolution (H. J. Res. 333) to aid in combating "Spanish influenza" and other communicable diseases was read the first time by title, and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That to enable the Public Health Service to combat and suppress "Spanish influenza" and other communicable diseases by aiding State and local boards of health, or otherwise, including pay and allowances of medical and sanitary personnel, medical and hospital supplies, printing, clerical services, and rent in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, transportation, freight, and such other expenses as may be necessary, there is appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, $1,000,000, to be available until June 30, 1919.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Treasury are authorized and directed, respectively, to utilize jointly the personnel and facilities of the Medical Department of the Army, the Medical Department of the Navy, and the Public Health Service, so far as possible, in aiding to combat and suppress the said diseases.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I should like to ask the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations whether this amount has been asked for by the War Department or by any other department?

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I am not prepared to say whether it has or not. The joint resolution has passed the House, and the situation is critical and serious.

Mr. PENROSE. Well, Mr. President, one of the evidences of the situation being critical, it would seem to me, would be for one of the executive departments, particularly the War Department, to have taken cognizance of it and to have called the attention of Congress to it.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. If the Senator from Pennsylvania objects to the passage of the joint resolution, I do not wish to delay the pending measure any further.

Mr. PENROSE. In good faith, I only want to ask for information. I have no doubt that the situation growing out of the so-called "Spanish influenza" is very serious, but it seems to me that we are proposing to disburse a million dollars absolutely without consideration and without any estimates. I should like to ask the Senator if he has any idea how the money is going to be spent?

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I have no information except what everybody has, and that contained in the joint resolution itself.

Mr. PENROSE. Well, I have no information.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. It is now under investigation. Some of the representatives of the War and Navy Departments and the Public Health Service had been requested to appear before the Appropriations Committee, but the Senator from Massachusetts made such representations to me about the serious nature of this contagion in the State of Massachusetts that I thought the Senate might well afford to appropriate this money immediately, so that the country might be relieved of this menace.

Mr. PENROSE. Then the Senator's thought is to appropriate this $1,000,000 and investigate the propriety of the appropriation afterwards?

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Not to investigate it at all, but to leave it to the officers of the Government to expend it for the purposes indicated.

Mr. PENROSE. Well, has the Senator any idea whatever as to how the money is to be expended?

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. The Medical Department of the Government is to expend it.

Mr. PENROSE. Well, how are they going to expend it?

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I can not tell the Senator how. It is within their discretion to expend it to control this epidemic, which is a menace to the cantonments, to the camps, to the Army everywhere, and to the civil population. It is a serious menace, and we have got, in my judgment, to take some risk in trusting the officers of the Government to use wisely the funds necessary at least to make an earnest effort to check this contagion.

Mr. PENROSE. Well, Mr. President, I am perfectly willing to trust the officers of the Government, and if they would come here and ask for this $1,000,000 I would not hesitate a moment; but nobody has asked for it that I know of; nobody knows how it is to be expended; and absolutely no information exists on the part of any Senator or Member of the House, so far as I can gather, as to how or why this money should be spent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Pennsylvania permit the Chair to state that a similar Senate joint resolution was introduced by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS], who knows the facts about it, and, as the Chair is informed, requested that he be present when the joint resolution was called up for action. In view of that, the Chair was about to suggest that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. SHAFROTH] be allowed to proceed with his remarks upon this matter, leaving it pending for a few minutes, in the hope that the Senator from Massachusetts may arrive in the meantime.

Mr. PENROSE. I really think it would be well to do so. The Finance Committee is in session——

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, I withdraw the request for the consideration of the joint resolution. I am perfectly willing, if any Senator objects, to let it go to the committee for investigation. I was endeavoring to relieve what I consider a serious menace to the Army and to the country, and I think that we could very well afford to do that; but, in view of what has been said, I withdraw the request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that the message from the House remains on the desk of the Presiding Officer, and can be laid before the Senate at any time.

Mr. PENROSE. I simply want to suggest in conclusion, in justice to myself, that the Finance Committee of the Senate is engaged every day and all day in the laborious task of devising methods of getting $8,000,000,000 from the taxpayers. In my opinion, there is going to be imposed upon the taxpayers a crushing burden, such as in many cases will result—I hesitate to use the word—but I am of the opinion that it will result in many cases in industrial disaster; and I think the time has come when we should stop appropriating a million to-day and ten million to-morrow and fifty million the day after, without any consideration or investigation or recommendation.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, I not only withdraw the request, but the Senator can do as he pleases. If he wants the joint resolution to go to the committee, I am perfectly willing to have that action taken, but there is, in my judgment, a public emergency. The proceeding is irregular, and the joint resolution can only be considered by unanimous consent.

Mr. PENROSE. I simply want to state, Mr. President, that I am one of those—and I believe my opinion is shared by others—who are reaching the conclusion that we are approaching the time when it will be easier to save a million dollars than to raise a million dollars.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. LODGE. I shall be very much indebted to the Senator from Colorado if he will yield to me just for a moment in regard to the joint resolution which was brought up by the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and which has passed the House, appropriating a million dollars to enable the medical departments of the Government to meet the scourge of Spanish influenza which has appeared in this country.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Very well; I yield.

Mr. LODGE. The appropriation, of course, gives them authority to use money everywhere, and the Red Cross is making arrangements to send out units everywhere. It is not alone for New England; but I hope no objection will be made to its passage, because in Massachusetts and in the other New England States, but particularly in Massachusetts, there is great suffering, and many deaths are occurring.

Mr. THOMAS. It is right here in Washington.

Mr. LODGE. It has appeared here; it has appeared in many States; it will be everywhere. At Camp Devens, according to the last figures I saw, there were over 10,000 cases, and many deaths. It has gone so far that theaters and churches are closed, and all public meetings are postponed, as a measure of necessary precaution. The distress is very great, owing to the great lack of physicians and nurses. The hospitals are so crowded that it is impossible to get the cases into them, which, of course, affects the mass of the population more than anything else. We need, more than anything, nurses and doctors. We are doing the utmost that can be done in the States, but we need help from the General Government in the way of nurses and doctors. They can aid the Red Cross, and I know they have been in consultation, and are anxious to help in every way that is possible.

The epidemic is stopping the war work in the States. It is retarding it in all the great plants which are occupied in making munitions of war. It is of the utmost importance to do everything that can be done to curb the progress of this disease; to take the proper measures to keep it within the narrowest possible bounds. The money that is asked for is not alone for New England at all, as I said in the beginning. It happens that there is where it first broke out, and there is where the situation at this moment is worst.

I sincerely hope that the Senate will allow the joint resolution to pass.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I do.

Mr. PENROSE. I have no desire to object to the passage of this measure. The Senator from Massachusetts thinks it is necessary, and I am generally in harmony with him, and I do not object to it. It seems to me, however, that there should have been some estimate from the department, or some little investigation from the committee, no matter how hasty. It is the practice that I object to, rather than the purpose of the appropriation.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I am very much obliged to the Senator from Pennsylvania. This matter is being carefully considered and has been carefully considered by the Medical Department of the Navy, of the Army, of the Red Cross, and of the Public Health Service. I know that Surgeon General Blue, of the Public Health Service, Surgeon General Braisted, of the Navy, and Surgeon General Noble, of the Army, have all been in consultation about it. They will spend the money. It will be wholly in their hands, and I am sure they can be depended upon to spend it as wisely as possible, but I assure the Senate that the need is very great indeed. We ought to have all the help we can get to check and quarantine the disease, and all that is done in New England or anywhere else is for the benefit of the rest of the country and for the war work throughout the country.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator if it is not true that the Surgeon General's Office now has in the service practically every doctor it can get hold of and ample funds to carry on all kinds of work connected with the war?

Mr. LODGE. They have no funds with which to meet such an exigency as this. The funds are all specifically appropriated for other purposes. This is an emergency. They have no funds at all for this purpose, and it may be necessary for the Government to assist the Red Cross, which has the best general organization. I can only hope it will be done. We have gone to the rescue frequently in case of floods and other visitations which were local, and I have always been glad to vote for those appropriations, but I think in this case the work is national and affects the welfare of the war work as well as the welfare of the part of the country where the scourge is raging most severely.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield to the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I only have a word to say in reference to the pending joint resolution.

As a rule, I am in accord with the suggestion made by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] that we ought not to recklessly appropriate money, at least we ought, as a rule, to take the time to ascertain for what purpose it is going to be spent, how it will be spent, and as to whether the scope of the appropriation is within the possibilities of its helpful expenditure. As a member of the Public Health Committee of the Senate, however, I happen to know something about the conditions of the Public Health Service, and as a member of the Appropriations Committee of the Senate, which reviews their appropriations, I have some information from that source, and I know that as now constituted they have a woeful lack of officers. They are being pushed to the extreme to get the men in the Public Health Service to do the work that they have in hand, and they have not ample appropriations to carry on the work that is in hand outside of this epidemic.

I therefore know that not one step can be taken by the Public Health Service unless we furnish them with more money, and, more than that, provide a new field, as this joint resolution does, in which they can get surgeons to cooperate with the Public Health Service and aid in stopping this epidemic. It may not be so serious as we imagine at the present time; but if it is, and it continues to spread, it may do far more harm to our Army in the camps on this side of the Atlantic than the enemy can do in months on the other side. At this stage of the war, when victory is only a step forward, when every effort should be made to put every possible man on the firing line, when the Provost Marshal General has felt that this situation is so serious that he has stopped the mobilization of 142,000 men going to the camps, it seems to me that we ought not to hesitate for an hour to appropriate whatever money is necessary, in the opinion of the authorities, to take steps immediately to stop this epidemic, protect our civil population, and protect our Army in the camps.

Although as a rule I believe that appropriations of this kind should go to a committee for consideration, I hope that this joint resolution will be passed this afternoon by unanimous consent, so that by Monday morning the constituted authorities may go to work, and may begin the fight to stop a serious menace to the health of the country and to our Army in the field.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the joint resolution, and that the unfinished business may be temporarily laid aside for that purpose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent that the unfinished business may

be temporarily laid aside for action upon the joint resolution which was withdrawn a few minutes ago.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, if we can be assured that it will take only a few minutes, I shall not object.

Mr. LODGE. I think the joint resolution will pass at once.

Mr. SHAFROTH. All right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 333) to aid in combating "Spanish influenza" and other communicable diseases.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I do not want to oppose the joint resolution, but I should like to ask the Senator from Alabama if there is a serious need of surgeons in the Army at the present time?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I was speaking of the Public Health Service, not of the Army. The Public Health Service is that part of the service which, as the Senator knows, takes care of epidemics and does not directly relate to the Army or the Navy.

Mr. PITTMAN. There is a serious need for them in the Public Health Service, is there?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I have been told in the committee, by members of that service, that they have great difficulty in getting men. For instance, they have to supply men to the merchant marine; and then all these calls for doctors in epidemics and for the scientific work in reference to epidemics are made on the Public Health Service generally. Then a large portion of the work with regard to sanitation around Army camps has made another drain on the Public Health Service. So my information is—and I am sure it is correct—that there is a lack of trained officers in the Public Health Service.

The Congress has recently provided for taking in a certain number of junior officers; but this class of work requires men who are experienced in scientific lines rather than in the line of doctors. Of course they are doctors and surgeons, but their work is not primarily the work of a doctor or a surgeon who treats one patient. It is rather the work of a scientific man, whose principal object is to prevent the disease and not to cure it. Of course that takes men with years of training; and when they take a new man into the service it takes some time before they can educate him to the point where he can be of use.

The drain upon the Public Health Service has taken every possible man of that kind. Of course they would direct this work because they have charge of the public health at home, but they have not the officers. This bill authorizes the temporary use of men in the military and naval services to cooperate with the Public Health Service for this purpose; and the $1,000,000 appropriation, of course, is intended for sanitation, for investigation, for nurses, and other work in creating a quarantine service for the prevention of the disease. In other words, if this joint resolution is passed it will be primarily for the purpose of prevention and not for cure.

Mr. PITTMAN. The reason why I ask the question is simply to enforce this necessity. As I understand—and I thought the Senator from Alabama was familiar with it—the amount of disease, and the necessity for physicians and surgeons in every department connected with this war, has been steadily increasing.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Undoubtedly.

Mr. PITTMAN. And the Government is appealing all the time, not only to the surgeons but to the scientists and all others, to meet this tremendous emergency.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Undoubtedly.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator a question. Is the necessity for the passage of this joint resolution supposed to arise from the fact that the Government, or the governmental agencies in connection with the camps, are not able to cope with the condition already developed?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I will say to the Senator that I do not think it directly relates to the camps. As I understand the purpose of the joint resolution, some cases of this epidemic have originated in the camps, but more have originated in the civil population. The disease appears to be a highly communicable one, however, and if prompt steps are taken to stop its progress by quarantine and information to the public generally it may be stopped in its initial stages, whereas if it progresses for a week or two or a month it may be very difficult to stop in the end; and in the meantime the contact with the camps will become greater, and there will be vastly more danger of our armies being affected by the disease.

Mr. KIRBY. I understand that further mobilization is suspended, however, to prevent the last condition arising which the Senator has named. Is the Senator's information to the effect that the cities and the counties and the States are unable to cope with the condition, or have they refused or failed to attempt it and asked that the Government in the first instance shall take charge of it?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I have no information whatever on that subject; but the disease has only appeared in the last few weeks, and most of the States can only act by way of an appropriation through their legislatures. I know that is true of my State; and if we waited for State action the epidemic might come and go before we would get it from many States in the Union. It is not that the people would not be willing to respond, but that the State has not the machinery for immediate response.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I can answer the Senator as to the State of Massachusetts. Everything is being done there that the State resources permit—everything in the way of money and every effort in the way of nurses. The hospitals, as I have said, are crammed beyond capacity. Nothing has been spared by the State. The State can not get additional medical help and help of nurses without the aid of the Federal Government. It must have aid from the outside.

The Federal Government has been most energetic already. Several days ago the Navy, although hard put to it for physicians and surgeons, sent six doctors to the shipping district at Quincy, where there are the Victory Works and the great Fore River yards, so important did they regard it to have medical aid. The State is straining every nerve and doing everything it can; but the State authorities telegraph me that they must have the aid of the Federal Government to get the necessary assistance to check and control the disease so far as it can be done.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 200) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I shall be through in a moment.

Mr. PITTMAN. I just want to make a statement.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Very well.

Mr. PITTMAN. I understand that while I was absent at lunch the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] made some comment upon a colloquy between the Senator and myself yesterday with regard to this matter. I simply give notice that, with the consent of the Senate, upon the completion of the remarks of the Senator from Colorado I will answer the Senator from Utah, and I trust he will be present at that time.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I have listened to the debate upon this question with deep interest, and find that nearly everything urged against the measure has been on the ground of expediency for man, how it will affect his power, his control, nothing as to the righteousness of the cause. Senators forget the woman, who believes that in justice she is entitled to vote; they forget the mothers, the wives, and the sisters who, according to our theory of government, are entitled to suffrage; but because some fancied complication clouds their vision, the effect of which might be to limit man's power, they would deny to women the right of the franchise.

Mr. President, what is involved in the right to vote? It is the greatest governmental power that exists, because it includes the determination of all governmental questions. Is it possible that a human being who is as well educated as man shall not be given consideration because man has arrogated all powers and has reserved them exclusively for himself?

It has been said that Senators have been influenced politically to change their views upon this subject; but, Mr. President, so far as I am concerned that charge does not lie at my door. Forty-odd years ago I made a speech in a debating society in favor of woman suffrage, and there never has been an hour since that time when I did not feel that it was an outrage for man to deprive woman of the right to vote. I introduced this identical joint resolution in five successive Congresses when I was a member of the House of Representatives, and yet its passage was always refused.

Mr. President, what is this power? Where do we get it? Is it a fact that the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed? Is that true or is it a lie? Is it possible that any person can fairly reason that a woman is not entitled to this right when that declaration has been accepted by all republics throughout the world, and when it is supposed to be acquiesced in by every man on the floor of this body? Our forefathers said it was so clear that it could not be the subject of dispute, that it was a self-evident truth.

No one can fairly deny that women are part of the governed, and hence we violate that fundamental principle of our Government when we refuse to permit them to participate in that government. Are not the women subject to the laws of the Government? Are they not liable to all the pains and penalties that are prescribed in the statutes? Oh, yes. Then, why is it that Senators will deny their right on the ground of expediency in some States of the Union?

Mr. President, how did man come to get this power? Everybody concedes that all powers of government are either delegated or assumed. Everybody recognizes that all powers not delegated are assumed. Consequently all assumed powers are usurpations. That being true, wherein can you justify ever having excluded women from the right to vote? The women never gave their consent that men should usurp all powers of government. You can not find where they have ever had submitted to them any such proposition of disfranchisement. You can not find that it has been voted by them. If the principle is true that the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed, where do you get the consent of the governed in the case of women? From what source of authority do you get the right of man to make all the laws not only for himself but also for his mother, his sisters, and his wife without their consent? Whence did he derive it?

As it is conceded that woman is subject to the jurisdiction of the laws, then you are exercising usurped power over her. Even if you could find that she had voted this power to man, can it be said it was to exist forever—that it was irrevocable? Does this self-evident truth, that the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed, relate to a past condition only, or is it a "living truth yesterday, to-day, and forever"?

Mr. President, suppose men were deprived of the right to vote, how long would that condition last? Would there not be a revolution? Our very Declaration of Independence in referring to inalienable rights says "that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." Of course a revolution would follow. Why can we not look a little at the other side? Why can we not see the matter from the woman's position? There are women advocating this measure who are so earnest that they would lay down their lives in order to get the principle established. Are we to ignore fundamental principles? Are we to ignore women who are pleading for such rights?

Mr. President, we do not look at the question from woman's viewpoint. We are just like any class of people or any potentate that has power and does not want to give it up. The original form of government was an absolute monarchy. It was the assumption of power by force, and the absolute monarch vigorously resisted yielding any of it. The absolute monarch denied the petition of the people, and even of the lords of the realm, in order to retain his power. Yet, Mr. President, when the first concessions came they were called grants of power not to the people but to the aristocracy, and the governments were then called limited monarchies. Then there grew the sentiment that all people have inalienable rights, that they had rights which they could not be deprived of, even if they were willing to surrender them.

How can it be asserted that women are not citizens when they perform almost every task that man has done? The incomparable record woman has made in industries and in all fields of effort during the war surely entitles her to be considered, sympathetically at least, in connection with this question. It may be said that the husband will give the wife all the rights she should have, but he did not do so when by legislation he vested in himself the title to all her property on marriage and arrogated to himself the sole guardianship of all the children. Should she have no voice in determining such questions? Must her privileges be subject to the gracious favor of men? They must have a right, and that right must be given by us, if we want to do what is fair and what is just. The idea of letting a matter of expediency determine the granting or rejection of a human right is repugnant to every lover of liberty.

Speakers here have opposed the idea of woman's being entitled to vote unless she has the strength to go upon the battle field and resist by force of arms the enemies of our country.

Mr. President, you can not win a war unless you have the aid of women. You will find that millions of women will take the places of men who will be released to go to war. Wars can not be won with soldiers at the front alone. The great forces in the factories and on the farms must be maintained. It may be that woman has not the strength to bear arms, but she does bear sons who fight the battles of the Republic.

Mr. President, this sacrifice upon her part is far greater even than that made by the boy himself. There is nothing that so disturbs the soul and rest of the mother as the fear that her beloved ones may have to meet death. To her it is the supreme sacrifice. Will you deny to such human beings the right to participate in government, but insist that man shall make all the laws not only for himself but also for his mother, for his sisters, and for his wife without their consent? Is there justice in that? Is there any fairness in it?

The distinction is attempted to be made that this is a matter for State determination. If the principle is true that the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed, it applies to all governments. It applies to the State government. If the State does not permit that principle of law to prevail in the State, then it is not a democratic State; it is a State that violates the very fundamental principle of the Government. If a Nation which is a distinct Government itself, which elects its President, its Vice President, and its Senators and Representatives, denies that principle of government, wherein can you say that it is a true democracy?

Mr. President, this "self-evident truth" applies to all governments. It applies to a city government, to a county government, to a State government, and it applies to a national government. The safeguard which has been thrown about the adoption of constitutional amendments is supposed to be the ample protection which will prevent legislation of a character that is detrimental.

Is it possible that when we elect a President of the United States we should deprive one-half of the people of the right of participating in that election? The man says that the men represent the women. You might say, let the son represent the father, or let the father represent the sons. Of course there is some sympathy between them, and consequently you would not get extremely bad legislation; but if the principle is true that the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed you have no right without that person's consent to let somebody else represent him or her, and especially some one who may be antagonistic to his or her views.

Mr. President, is it possible that we are going to maintain a position that one-half of the world is going to be denied the right to exercise that power which is the greatest governmental power and the foundation of democracy?

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President——

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. KENYON. I did not want to ask the Senator a question, but I am on a conference committee and compelled to go away. I wonder if the Senator would yield, that I may place a telegram in the RECORD which I am rather anxious to place in it?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield to the Senator for that purpose.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I would like to have placed in the RECORD a telegram I received this morning stating that my home town, Fort Dodge, Iowa, and Webster County, a large agricultural county, raised their quota on the liberty-bond issue at midnight last night. That is the kind of answer that is coming from the Iowa people to the camouflage peace campaign of Austria. It shows that the Middle West is thoroughly aroused and is behind the Government to the last dollar and the last man. I think no other town or county in the Nation can exceed this record. I thank the Senator for his kindness.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FORT DODGE, IOWA, *September 28, 1918.*

Senator W. S. KENYON.
Washington, D. C.:

Webster County and Fort Dodge raised their quota before midnight on the 27th. The editor Des Moines Register, when advised, says we are the first county in the State to raise quota.

M. P. CHUMLEA.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, you will find in the list of subscribers the Senator has referred to the work of women for the purpose of raising that money. Should we not consider women's rights in view of her work in behalf of the preservation of the Government? Is it possible that a matter of expediency is going to determine this great question of right? If we do, Mr. President, we had better wipe out the axiom that the right of every cause should prevail.

Mr. President, what are these women doing? Hundreds of thousands are working to take the place of men in order to let them win the battles of the Republic. What are they doing every day? Working for nothing day after day, continually working for the great cause. Are we to shun them; are we to say, "You have no rights"; shall we say "we will continue to make the laws just as we want them whether you like them or not"?

Mr. President, there should be a movement everywhere in behalf of this great principle. I can not conceive how people want rights that they are not willing to give to other people of intelligence. It must be a relic of the theory of the divine

right of kings extended to the divine right of sex. Is that right? Is that fair? If you were in the other position, would you deem it right? Would you deem it fair? Can you not look at it a little from the woman's standpoint?

Mr. President, there is no sacrifice that woman will not make for her country. There is no sacrifice she would not make, even to the extent of going upon the field of battle. I want to read an extract from an account of the heroism of the Legion of Death:

> They fought like demons. Under the spell and excitement of battle the 3,000 women in the battalion reverted to the primitive. The refinements, limitations, and the weaknesses which civilization has implanted in the feminine sex seemed miraculously wiped away by a terrific lust for blood, which I do not believe any regiment of men even in this bitterest of all wars could ever display.
>
> Twice the Russian battalions to the right and left gave way under the German thrust, one regiment throwing down its arms in a mad scramble for the rear. Each time their officers rallied them by pleading with their men not to desert the women who were holding on. The whole Russian line would have been pushed back and the road to Petrograd opened if the Battalion of Death in its first engagement had faltered against almost overwhelming odds.
>
> The Death Battalion fought so viciously, using their bayonets in preference to taking time to reload their rifles, that the Germans, who were concentrated on them, were gradually pushed back toward their own lines. The women, with their bayonets, subjected themselves to an unceasing hail of bullets, but seemed utterly unconscious of it. They plunged recklessly into the deadly barbed wire, which impaled hundreds of them.
>
> Every now and then a whole group, perhaps a squad sticking together around its corporal or under lieutenant, would sway and fall together, like so many ninepins, before a concentrated German volley. Then over their twitching bodies another group of women would leap madly, screaming as they went, only to fall themselves into a second heap in the face of a second volley of bullets.
>
> The women ignored their wounded, even as they scorned the bullets which mowed them down. Even the wounded themselves fought as they staggered and let loose of their guns only when they could keep their feet no longer. If the men had been dependable, the Death Battalion would have broken through the German lines that day, and with a glorious victory might have saved Kerensky by inflaming Russia with a new patriotism.
>
> The doggedness and fierceness of the women compelled the Germans to subside. The women wanted to follow them into their trenches. For more than 10 minutes Maj. Groffoff, who had gone out with his female soldiers, failed in his frantic efforts to herd the women into retirement. When they did turn back they drove with them 102 disarmed prisoners.

Ah, Mr. President, when the extreme would come, when the absolute necessity for physical force would come, you would find that women, though not so strong as men, would give that determination to their action which would produce a defense beyond calculation. If we had had Russian soldiers imbued with the same spirit of patriotism as the women of the Legion of Death, Russia would not have fallen under the attacks of the Germans.

Mr. President, we are attempting to discriminate between men and women because it is said that women are weaker than men. We do not make that discrimination in any other line. We do not say that the old man should not vote because he can not go to war. We do not say that the decrepit and lame can not go to the polls and cast their vote because they no longer can shoulder muskets and go to the front. There is nothing in our theory of equality and justice which makes any such discrimination.

What bad results can come from women participating in politics? What is their position? No one will say that women will vote for immoral legislation when a man would not. We find that every time she has ever performed a duty it has been in behalf of good government. She appears always on the front and in support of legislation that will elevate mankind.

I want to say that while this applies to white women, it will apply as between black women and black men in the same proportion. When you examine the criminal records, the proportion in the United States of men to women in the prisons of this country is about 20 men to 1 woman. That would necessarily show that so far as her tendency to commit crime is concerned she is in a far higher position than man.

[At this point Mr. SHAFROTH yielded to Mr. GORE, and the Agricultural appropriation bill was passed.]

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, there was once a principle announced, which was supposed to be sacred, which is violated by not permitting women to vote, namely, that taxation without representation is tyranny. If it is tyranny to men, why is it not tyranny to women? How can we discriminate and maintain that a violation of that principle is wrong as to men but is not wrong at all as to women? There was a time when there was very little property held by women, when primogeniture prevailed. That was an injustice to women. By that principle the first male of the family was entitled to all of the income and all of the property; and under such a condition, necessarily, woman could have but very little property, and the question of taxation without representation did not bear very heavily upon her. But there has since come about an equality in the rights of males and females in the distribution of estates, and if there is a tendency toward enlarging the estate of one rather than the other the father usually tries to see that the daughter is protected, even if he allows the son to go without any inheritance. Now, the major portion, or fully one-half, of the property in the United States in a generation goes to women.

When one-half of the Nation's property which passes through the hands of women is subject to taxation, how can a system be defended which denies them representation in order that they may protect the same from excessive tax incumbrances? There is no fairness in that, and it will not compensate to place woman upon a pedestal and kneel down in worship of her. No; she, like man, should have the same right to determine such matters according to her own judgment.

We deny the women the right to vote, and yet in eight States of the Union we allow aliens who have only filed their first declaration of citizenship to vote. We allow them to vote, but we can not allow the women, from whom we have all sprung, to go to the ballot box and cast a vote.

Why can we not see just a little that there are wrongs perpetrated by this disfranchisement? Why have we not the manhood to right this wrong? Why do we not joyously seize the opportunity of adding this large, good, moral, and enlightened element into the citizenship which works for the purification of politics and the advancement of civilization?

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield to the Senator from Utah.

Mr. KING. The Senator from Colorado has just made the statement that we allow persons who have filed their declaration for citizenship to vote.

Mr. SHAFROTH. That is being done in eight States.

Mr. KING. The Senator from Colorado does not mean by that that the Federal Government allows that?

Mr. SHAFROTH. Oh, no; it is the State governments that do that.

Mr. KING. Then the States themselves in their sovereign capacity permit certain individuals to vote?

Mr. SHAFROTH. Yes.

Mr. KING. Then, the Senator's proposition is, of course, to rob the States of the sovereign power which they reserved to themselves when the Federal Government was formed.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Oh, rob the States! Why, Mr. President, if the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed, the principle is not only applicable to a State, but it is also applicable to the United States.

Mr. KING. Well, does the Senator realize that the Federal Government is a government of enumerated and delegated powers?

Mr. SHAFROTH. No; I do not, but I undertake to say that we can not contend that democracy exists in any form of government in a city, in a county, in a State, or in a national government, unless we observe that fundamental principle that is laid down as the test of all the rights of mankind.

Mr. KING. Will the Senator yield to me further?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield.

Mr. KING. I am astounded to hear the Senator make the declaration that the Federal Government is not one of enumerated and delegated powers. Certainly he is too good a lawyer to challenge that doctrine, which is the foundation really of our dual form of government.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I certainly do not deny it; I admit it. If I said to the contrary I did not understand the Senator's question, and I want to say that we are trying to confer power which the United States Government does not now possess, and we are appealing for what? We are not appealing to you to give the women the vote, but we are appealing to you to submit the question to the States; that is all. When women have sacrificed in the way they have in this war and we will not give them that right, it seems to me we are in a deplorable condition.

Mr. KING. The Senator realizes that each State, under our theory of government, has the right to determine who shall and who shall not vote; so that there is no reason in the world why if the people of the States desire to extend the franchise to women that they may not do so whenever they desire.

Mr. SHAFROTH. But the Senator from Utah loses sight of the fact that this very right that we are trying to extend is for the purpose of vesting that power in the Federal Government. That is the reason. The State government has the control now; there is no doubt of that; but when we are trying to remedy that in the way prescribed by the Federal Constitution and simply want to give the people of the United States an opportunity to let the States pass upon it, then we think it oppressive action in refusing to permit that course to be taken.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield to me?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WADSWORTH. A moment ago the Senator criticized the action in, I believe, eight States permitting men who have merely taken out their first papers to vote.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I am in entire sympathy with the criticism expressed by the Senator; but, in view of that criticism, does not the Senator believe that the amendment offered by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] to this very amendment, which aims to cure a situation equally vicious which would follow the ratification of the amendment now pending, ought to be adopted?

Mr. SHAFROTH. Oh, Mr. President, we have Senators in the Senate who are trying to defeat this amendment, and they will try to defeat it if possible by filibustering, in my judgment, though I am satisfied the Senator from New Jersey is not one. Why should we consent to any amendment? I can not consent, and I would not consent that the Ten Commandments be put on this amendment, although every one of them is good. Why? Because you know that the House of Representatives by simply a two-thirds majority—not one over—passed this joint resolution. You know further that if we ever send this resolution back with an amendment attached to it, no matter what kind of an amendment, it will never be considered by the House of Representatives; and the change of the votes of one or two Representatives might defeat the entire measure. That is the reason, Mr. President, we do not want to consent to any amendment.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, if the Senator will pardon me, he has not answered my question. I wanted him to comment upon the merits of the amendment offered by the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I can only say that I am not familiar with it; I was not here when it was read, and I have not examined it. I presume that it is a good amendment. I imagine if the Senator would present it as a separate joint resolution or as a bill, if it is possible to present it in that form, I perhaps would vote for it; but, as I have said, I am not familiar with its terms.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Does not the Senator believe that when we set to work to amend the Constitution of the United States we should do it in the very best manner we can?

Mr. SHAFROTH. How is that?

Mr. WADSWORTH. The Senator has said that he is opposed to any amendment to the pending joint resolution regardless of its merits——

Mr. SHAFROTH. Certainly. Let it be presented as an independent measure. I am not going to consent to any amendment of the pending measure, because any amendment, no matter what it is, would send the joint resolution back to the House of Representatives; and there it would likely sleep the sleep of death, because at this stage of the proceedings of Congress it will readily be seen that a filibuster could be made most effectively upon it.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Well, in view of the fact, then, Mr. President, that the Senator has criticized eight States for permitting people to vote who ought not to vote, it seems to me it is rather difficult for him to defend this joint resolution, which will do exactly the same thing.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Oh, Mr. President, I have explained—but I will explain over again—the fact that in the House of Representatives House joint resolution No. 200, which is the woman-suffrage amendment to the Constitution now under consideration, was passed by exactly a two-thirds majority, there being not one vote to spare. It came over to the Senate; we have ever since been trying to get a two-thirds majority for it; and we have met with appeals of all kinds upon the part of those who are opposed to the passage of the joint resolution. The Senator knows that, if the measure were sent back to the House, it would run the hazard of being defeated. If he had any legislation that he wanted to put through, he would never consent to a thing of that kind, and, that being the case, we can not consent to any amendment being placed on this joint resolution.

Mr. WADSWORTH. If I thought it were the duty of a Senator to put through legislation simply for the purpose of establishing a record, perhaps I would not consent to an amendment, but I understand that perhaps it is the duty of every Senator when proceeding to amend the Constitution of the United States to endeavor to perfect it before it is submitted to the States for ratification, regardless of whatever little delay might be involved.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Oh, delay——

Mr. WADSWORTH. That is what the Senator is complaining about.

Mr. SHAFROTH. The Senator knows that it would be a parliamentary advantage to the other side of this question if the friends of the measure should consent to its amendment; and it would be unpardonable to consent on the part of those who are in favor of the joint resolution.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Colorado a question.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I will be glad to yield.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. In making that statement, the Senator does so, I understand, because of the improbability of getting a vote in the House of Representatives.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I take it that the proceeding as it has gone on has been in regular order, the House has passed the joint resolution by a two-thirds majority, it is now here in the Senate, and I can not understand how anybody can vote against it who believes in the doctrine of our Government that the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed.

Mr. President, the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] interrogated me a few moments ago and intimated that we were trying to impose, or might impose, on the States some law that would be detrimental to their interests.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. THOMAS. I understood the inquiry of the Senator from Utah to involve the conclusion that the passage of this amendment would deprive the States of the power to regulate the suffrage altogether, a query prompted by the reference of the Senator to the fact that in some of the States aliens who had merely declared their intention to become citizens were given the right of suffrage. I understand that this constitutional amendment will operate negatively. Like the fifteenth amendment, its purpose is to deny to the States the right to withhold suffrage because of one condition or qualification; that is to say, the fifteenth amendment provides that no State shall deny the right of suffrage to a man on account of color or previous condition. This left each State free to impose other qualifications which in the legislative judgment seemed to be desirable or expedient.

In the same fashion this proposed amendment provides that the right to vote shall not be withheld from an individual on account of sex; that is all. The States will still possess their present power to impose other disqualifications and to resort to other bases for limiting the right of suffrage in all respects as though this amendment had not been adopted.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. Just a moment. We know, because it is an historical fact, that the black people in the South do not exercise the right of suffrage, notwithstanding the fifteenth amendment. That would be impossible were the States entirely deprived by that amendment of control over the suffrage. They impose other disqualifications, other impediments, which seem to be as effective in suppressing that vote as though there were no fifteenth amendment. In the same fashion the adoption of this proposed amendment leaves to the States the power to determine either that a person having only declared his intention to become a citizen might vote or that an alien woman marrying a citizen of the United States should not by that fact be invested with the right of suffrage citizenship. So that the entire deprivation of the States of control over the right of suffrage does not follow the adoption of this proposed amendment; it operates precisely as the fifteenth amendment, except that it imposes one other disqualification upon State action, and only one.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I heartily concur in the Senator's position concerning this matter. There is no attempt to control the action of the States except in one particular, and that is, you can not enforce a law against a person on account of sex.

Mr. President, it seems that Senators do not realize that there is going on in the world an evolution in government. They do not seem to realize that this onward tendency of democracy has been developing for years and years; that its greatest impetus was given by the Declaration of Independence, and that it is making a sweeping movement on account of the great war that is now devastating Europe.

Mr. President, it was that Declaration of Independence, which announced the doctrine that the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed, which has modified every form of government on earth. It has made the absolute monarch yield to a legislative body which holds the purse strings of the government. It has brought about the establishment of Republic after Republic on the Western Hemisphere. It has even established Republics in the Continent of Europe. The man who can not foresee that this onward movement is bound to succeed, that it is founded upon justice, upon equity, upon right, it seems to me is blind to what the future holds in store for us.

Why, Mr. President, this evolution is going on even to the extent of affecting the subject of woman suffrage, by reason of

the fact that State after State is adopting this measure, notwithstanding the harrowing conditions that exist, notwithstanding the obstructions that exist in the constitutions of the States; and, Mr. President, the time is bound to come when there will be more States of the Union that will give women this right than there will be States that deny it to women.

The women in 19 States now can vote for President and Vice President of the United States. It seems to me that any man who can perceive future events to any extent must realize that it is bound to come. If it is bound to come in a year or two, why should you not yield to these women who have always been loyal to the Government, these women who have aided the Government in every way, and let the States vote upon it and determine by that immense majority required in the Constitution whether or not women are going to be admitted to this right?

Mr. President, it seems to me that any man possessed of fairness, looking upon the other side of this question, must realize that we are asking nothing that is unfair. Why, on yesterday we heard the women who have solicited Senators to vote for this measure held up to scorn, and held up under the designation "petticoat brigades" and "petticoat lobbies." Mr. President, the Senator who used those expressions will find that a speech of that kind will not do his side of the question any good, but it will do it immeasurable harm. That is not the way to brush aside a right which I regard as inalienable, notwithstanding the courts have declared that it is a privilege.

Mr. President, these women who have come here are as good women as live; and to have them referred to in the manner that they have been, to criticize them for asking and pleading with a Senator for a right to which they consider they are entitled, it seems to me can have no effect except to work a reaction.

Mr. President, I contend that this evolution in government is proceeding right now, has been developing for years, and will culminate in the passage of a joint resolution of this kind.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I saw the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] in the Chamber a minute ago. He has now gone into the cloakroom. I trust that a page will invite him in, if he desires to be here while I reply to his remarks.

The Senator from Utah during my absence—and I do not say that in criticism of the Senator, because what he has said was subject to my review, and I now have the stenographic report before me—made some comments upon the colloquy indulged in between us on yesterday. I simply refer to my absence at that time as the reason for my delay in responding to his comments.

On yesterday I stated the exact reasons why the Committee on Woman Suffrage of this body brought this question before the Senate at this time. One Senator on the Democratic side has criticized the committee for injecting the matter into the deliberations of the Senate at this session. Let me read very briefly from my remarks of yesterday the statement of why the Woman Suffrage Committee, of which the majority is composed of Democrats, and the chairman consented to bring this matter before the Senate at this time.

I read from the RECORD of yesterday. I was then referring to the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT]:

> Because he knew just how many votes it would be necessary to have on the Republican side to carry this joint resolution through at all times, and he told Miss Hay, a member of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, who served on a committee to discuss suffrage with the Republican Members of this body, that they would give them 33 votes; and then that association, headed by Mrs. Catt, invited the Democratic members of the Suffrage Committee of this body, together with one or two other Senators, to confer with them. They then urged upon the chairman that he bring the suffrage amendment before the Senate. The chairman said:
>
> "I have brought it twice before the Senate under misinformation; I have twice subjected it to defeat on account of misinformation. We have not the votes to pass the amendment, and it is a crime to bring it up to kill it. We may get the votes later, but we have no right, after the joint resolution has passed the House, to kill it in the Senate so long as there is a chance to save it. I will not bring it up until I believe I can carry it; and I do not care how many attacks the Woman's Party make on me; that does not concern me. I am for passing this amendment and not for killing it."
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> It was then——
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> Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——
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> Mr. PITTMAN. Wait until I finish this statement. I do not want to be interrupted now.
>
> It was then, by reason of the statement of the chairman of the committee, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES], that those ladies stated. "If we can assure you 33 Republican votes, will you bring the joint resolution up?" We replied, "Yes." Why? Because, although we had not enough with the 33, we believed that we might get 2 more votes. They said then, "We feel at liberty to say to you that Senator SMOOT, on behalf of the Republican Senators, has come to our committee, through Miss Hay, and assured us that the Republicans are ready to deliver 33 votes. We then asked for the names, to give us the poll, but they said they would not give us the poll; they said, 'Leave that to us, and we will deliver the 33 votes.'"

Again on yesterday, in commenting on this matter, I said:

> The Senator from Utah may have had doubt in his mind with regard to the Senator from New Hampshire. Undoubtedly, however, the women who induced us to bring this matter to a vote did not have any doubt about the doubt of the Senator from Utah, or they would have expressed the doubt to us. As a matter of fact, one of the ladies charged the Senator from Utah in the Marble Room yesterday with having pledged 33 votes and not giving them a poll so that they could use their own judgment, and the Senator from Utah said at the time he made the promise he thought he had them.

Now, the Senator to-day, for the purpose, I assume, of showing the Senate that there has been some deception on this side toward him arose and made the remarks I will later discuss. That I may then devote myself solely to the question of deception on this side let me now say this, so that there may be no mistake about the pledge of the 33 votes, which no one has denied so far. The Senator said he never made any contrary statement as to his doubt. Of course, he made no contrary statement as to his doubt as to any member of the 33, because he refused to give the names of the 33, but here is further proof of the pledge of 33. It is absolute proof. It is published in the Suffragist, the most ardent supporter of the Republican Party in existence to-day, one that supports them, right or wrong, whether they are with them or whether they are against them, a wonderful organization. On Saturday, August 31, 1918, there is on the front page a cartoon of a very beautiful lady holding up two banners. One of the banners reads as follows:

> Democratic Senators, 55 per cent for the suffrage amendment.

That would be 27 or less votes.

On the other banner, which is held proudly higher than the Democratic banner, we read:

> Republican Senators, 75 per cent for the suffrage amendment.

At the bottom of the page it is entitled:

> Congress convenes: The score.

Seventy-five per cent of the Republican Members of Congress.

Seventy-five per cent of 44 is 33. Where do the ladies get this information? The National American Woman Suffrage Association, headed by Mrs. Catt, is a nonpolitical organization. The Woman's Party, the publisher of the Suffragist, is an adjunct of the Republican Party. It speaks those things for the Republican Party which the Republican Party is ashamed to speak for itself.

Surely the members of the Republican Party, at least those who are suffragists—and I understand there are a great number over there—are not going to condemn the Woman's Party. Surely they do not believe that the Woman's Party published that statement and used it throughout the country as a campaign argument against Democracy without authority, without information. Where did they get their information? Where do they generally get the information? I wonder if members of the Woman's Party who are using such violent means to force the leaders of Democracy to induce the Democrats to vote for woman suffrage are going to apply this same instrument to leaders of the Republican Party in this body, whether they are going to demand that they stand by their pledges to women. Now, I am getting down to the question that Mr. SMOOT has made his excuse on. He said in his remarks to-day:

> I did intend yesterday to answer the Senator from Nevada, but I thought it useless to do so.

Then he goes on and says this. I am reading now from Mr. SMOOT's remarks to-day:

> Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, after listening to the remarks just made by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BENET] I feel it my duty to correct the statement I made in the RECORD yesterday when the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] was trying to play politics with the question before the Senate.
>
> Yesterday the Senator from Nevada asked me this question:
>
> "Did not the Senator from Utah know the number of votes the Democrats on this side had polled for the suffrage amendment?"
>
> Mr. SMOOT. Of course, the Senator from Utah knew that.
>
> Mr. PITTMAN. Of course, the Senator from Utah knew; and the Senator from Utah knows to-day how the poll stands on the Democratic side.
>
> Mr. SMOOT. I do.

Mr. President, I am still reading from Mr. SMOOT's remarks:

> Mr. President, I want to say that I was in error in the statement that I made yesterday. I wonder where the Senator from Nevada is now. I wonder if he now will undertake to say that the Members—

He was interrupted. Afterwards he proceeded—

> Yesterday the Senator tried to make it appear that I in particular and the other Republicans who favor woman suffrage had deceived him; that they had played a trick for political purposes. I want to say that the statement I made yesterday was based upon the word of not one Democratic Member but a number of Democratic Members that there were 31 votes upon that side of the Chamber for the amendment.

Where are we now? Senator SMOOT believed, as he said in that statement, that there were 31 votes on this side of the Chamber for the amendment. Then he knew it would take 33 votes to pass it. When he knew it would take 33 votes to pass

it, he said they only had 32. I am happy to know that Senator SMOOT believed that.

There is another thing that Senator SMOOT believes and will admit, that Mr. BENET, whom we believed we had with us, was an addition to the number we could possibly count at the time the Republicans passed the resolution in caucus. In other words, when Senator SMOOT in the caucus of the Republican Party on August 24 voted to bring the joint resolution to a vote at once he knew that the Democrats did not have to exceed 30 votes, and he now says he was not certain of more than 32 Republican votes and hoped to get 33. In other words, Senator SMOOT voted on August 24 in caucus to bring a measure to a vote that he knew did not have the votes to pass.

That is not all. There is a whole lot more to it. Who offered the resolution in the Republican caucus that the joint resolution be brought to a vote immediately? According to the Suffragist—and I do not take issue with it—the resolution was presented by Senator WADSWORTH, of New York, and passed after the election of Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE to succeed the late Senator Gallinger as the Republican leader.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. PITTMAN. Certainly, I yield.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The statement just read by the Senator from Nevada is a very good illustration of the accuracy of the periodical from which he is reading. The Senator from New York did not oppose the resolution in the caucus. He never opposed it during the discussion in the caucus; he took no part in the proceeding.

Mr. PITTMAN. Did the Senator from New York vote for it?

Mr. WADSWORTH. He did.

Mr. PITTMAN. The Senator from New York is known as one of the most ardent and intelligent antagonists of the Federal suffrage amendment in this body and of equal suffrage for woman everywhere. Yet the Senator from New York was aiding by his vote in caucus to bring the Federal amendment to a vote in the Senate. Was he aiding in bringing the amendment to a vote because he wanted it passed? Is that reasonable? I have known distinguished Senators in this body who did not want something to pass who would not even permit a vote upon it on the floor, and it seems incomprehensible that the able, fighting Senator from New York would deliberately try to bring a matter to a vote on this floor which he so bitterly opposes if he thought it had any chance to pass.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. PITTMAN. Certainly.

Mr. WEEKS. I think the Senator from Nevada should know that that resolution was proposed by a Senator who is as ardently in favor of suffrage as is the Senator from Nevada himself, and it received the unanimous vote of those in the conference.

Mr. PITTMAN. Of course, we Democrats have secret caucuses. The Republicans have always been opposed to secret caucus proceedings. Will the Senator state who offered the resolution?

Mr. LODGE. If the Senator will allow me——

Mr. PITTMAN. I am addressing my remarks first to the junior Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. WEEKS. I beg the Senator's pardon; I did not understand what he said.

Mr. PITTMAN. I made several remarks. The purport of it was that the Republicans have always opposed secret caucuses of their party and condemned the action of the Democratic Party in that respect, and he will possibly tell us who offered the resolution.

Mr. WEEKS. I have no objection to divulging the name of the Senator who offered the resolution. It was printed in the papers. It was offered by the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL], and his name was attached to the resolution in the papers.

Mr. PITTMAN. How many voted for it?

Mr. WEEKS. Everybody present.

Mr. LODGE. If the Senator will allow me, the resolution was printed in the papers. I think perhaps the Senator has not seen it. It represented the wishes of everybody to bring the matter to a vote as soon as possible, and it also explicitly stated that it committed nobody to vote for it on the merits of the question.

Mr. PITTMAN. I understand. If it had committed all the Republican Members to vote for it I could have understood why the suffragists on that side would like to have had it come up; but the very fact that it did not commit the antisuffragists to vote for it, and the very fact that the leading suffragists on that side knew that with the combined vote on their side and on this side we did not have enough votes to pass it indicates a very peculiar action on the part of the Republican caucus.

Senator SMOOT and every suffragist leader on that side who took the trouble to investigate it had as complete a poll of this side of the Chamber at the time that resolution was passed as any Member on this side.

They know that we never had as many on our poll as we have to-day, and to-day we have only 30. Yet Senator SMOOT says that they had only 32 on their own side, with the possibility of getting 1 more. So at the time he voted for the joint resolution to come immediately before this body he knew that it was coming up to certain defeat. Not only did he know it, but every Member who was interested in the question who desired to inquire must have known it. None of them seem uneasy about it to-day. All the uneasiness with regard to the defeat of this measure is among the Democratic Senators on this side who favor suffrage. There is not a voice on the other side of uneasiness and no assistance on the other side to keep from killing this measure or any suggestion whereby we can save it. And the Senator from Utah said we deceived him; that we made him believe that we had 31 votes. Yes; we did make him believe that we had 31 votes, and when we made him believe it he struck off one of his 33. He did not strike off one of his 33 until he believed we had an additional one on this side. Deceived him into believing we had 31! If we deceived him at all, it was to his advantage, because the information we put in his possession placed him in a position where he could work among his own colleagues on that side to get the 33 votes. The deception on our side, if there was any, could not injure him. He deceived us into believing that he had 33 votes, and induced us who had control of the measure to put it on the floor, knowing that it would be killed the moment it came to a vote.

There are two different kinds of deception. One is deception in holding the 33 votes, and the other in giving him the facts in aid of his own energies on the other side.

I am satisfied with the situation. I am satisfied with it all the way through. If the Senator thinks he has got any satisfaction out of the fact that this side has lost 1 vote, that the amendment now has 1 less vote than we thought it had, that it makes 34 votes necessary, let him take it. I suppose now that we have lost 1 vote he can safely offer the 33 votes, as with such votes the amendment would still die.

I wish to say that I am not attacking the sincerity of every advocate of universal suffrage on the other side. I do not know their position. I do know the position of the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT], because he has taken the pains to put it before the public himself. Whether he has deceived his own party as he has deceived the great National Woman's Suffrage Association, I do not know. The Republican Party has either got to stand by an agreement made by the leader of the suffrage cause on that side or, by the violation of their agreement, they have got to take the responsibility before the country of the death of this measure.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. President, the one thing I can not understand, the most puzzling circumstance about the question before us to-day, is the fear expressed by some of my distinguished southern colleagues that the bloom, the subtle charm, the loveliness, of women may disappear if they are permitted a voice in the affairs of their own Government.

Now, it may seem strange that a western man should rise in their defense, but many western men have, as I had, southern fathers and southern mothers, and so I can not refrain from saying that the record of the southern women during the Civil War and the reconstruction period should have forever removed that fear from their minds. Were they any the less charming, gentlemen, when they danced with you clad in homespun, with hands roughened by unaccustomed toil, before the lost cause went down in defeat? Were they any the less lovely to you afterwards when, their natural protectors killed in battle, they assumed the entire management of broken-down estates and, with the courage taught by the example of their men, conducted and managed with skill and intelligence the new work that fell to their hands?

Does deep human knowledge and wide experience destroy the bloom of womanhood to-day? Why, I have it at first hand that though women in England are doing a man's work while dispensing with a man's protection, they have never before been so charming to the men of their nation, not simply because these men are grateful, but because all sympathy is quickened between them. To which type of woman do you think the soldier would turn—the woman who has nursed the wounded back to life under fire, who understands his hardships because she has endured some of them herself, or the woman who has remained sheltered with idle hands while the world storm sweeps over the world?

More and more the men of the future will demand real mates—women who understand their political battles as well as their pitched battles, women with some intelligent knowledge of the affairs of state. This can only bring a greater sympathy and, consequently, a greater charm. To my mind, the greatest women the world has ever known were the pioneer women of the West, and the best type of western men owed their power of endurance, their incentive for creative work, to the quickening influence of woman's greatest charm—her understanding sympathy.

Perhaps, Mr. President, it is because the men and women of the West have been more truly mated that there the principles which gave birth to our Nation have first become a practical reality. Are the women of the South, then, of so frail a nature that their charms will take wings when burdened with responsibility of looking after their children's welfare in the political world as well as in the home? And are the southern men, after protecting their women valiantly during the reconstruction, now going to deny them the rights and privileges which other women enjoy, because, forsooth, they now are no longer equal to the task?

In those old days with ranks reduced by a four years' war, with new and unheard-of conditions, with a half-savage people criminally loosed upon your electorate, your achievement in bringing order out of chaos ranks in the world's first order. Are you to-day become so timid that with established regulations to control, a more civilized race to govern, you must place upon your women the humiliation of declaring them unfit for a voice in your Government?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I wish to say to the Senator from Nevada that women are now voting in the Southern State of Texas and the Southern State of Arkansas, and in neither State has it affected the women unfavorably. On the other hand, it has affected those States most favorably. The women in Texas and Arkansas have taken enthusiastic advantage of the right to vote. It is universally admitted that the participation of women in elections has had a beneficial and uplifting effect in both the States of Arkansas and Texas. Neither has the fact of their voting accentuated the race problem in any way or added to its dangers. On the contrary, we feel that we are enormously benefited in having the added intelligence of white women to help us handle that problem.

Mr. OWEN. I should like to say also to the Senator that the adjacent State of Oklahoma is just on the point of voting for woman suffrage. Both political parties already have indorsed it, after having fully heard the arguments on both sides, and that is a Southern State also.

Mr. HENDERSON. I wish to thank the Senator from Texas and the Senator from Oklahoma for the information they have just given.

As I said, you become so timid that you must place upon women the humiliation of declaring them unfit to have a voice in our Government, for that is what you do when you refuse to pass this amendment. With 12 State constitutions almost impossible to amend, with 8 very difficult to amend, you send the women back to a position without civil recognition if you do not pass this amendment.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, it is quite evident that there is no opportunity to take a vote on the joint resolution to-day. I am reminded that a short executive session is desired, and after the executive business is attended to I shall then move that the Senate adjourn until Monday.

Mr. LENROOT. Will the Senator yield to me for just a moment?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I withhold the motion for the present.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, the Democratic and Republican parties in the State of Wisconsin held their respective State conventions a week ago last Tuesday, and in the platform of each there is a declaration in favor of the measure now pending before the Senate. I ask that the planks of the Republican and Democratic platforms be read into the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator ask that they be read or printed in the RECORD?

Mr. LENROOT. I ask that they be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

WISCONSIN WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Woman-suffrage planks in Republican and Democratic State platforms adopted at Madison, Wis., September 17, 1918:

REPUBLICAN.

The splendid spirit of the helpfulness and efficient service of the women of the Nation in every activity has been thrown into bolder relief by the war emergencies. They have demonstrated anew their fitness for and right to equal opportunity in the conduct of the Government, and we therefore favor the extension of the elective franchise to women.

DEMOCRATIC.

To give recognition to the wonderful sacrifice and service of the women of America we approve President Wilson's recommendations for woman's suffrage by Federal amendment through ratification by the States.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were opened, and (at 4 o'clock p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, September 30, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate September 28, 1918.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

Mark Storen to be United States marshal, district of Indiana.

UNITED STATES COAST GUARD.

First Lieut. Eugene Blake, jr., to be a captain.
Second Lieut. Philip F. Roach to be a first lieutenant.
Cadet Joseph Greenspun to be a third lieutenant.
Cadet Louis Waite Perkins to be a third lieutenant.
Cadet Lyndon Spencer to be a third lieutenant.
Cadet Raymond Thomas McElligott to be a third lieutenant.
Cadet Asa Vern Wilder to be a third lieutenant.
Cadet Robert Myer Kaufholz to be a third lieutenant.

The following-named second lieutenants to be first lieutenants:

William Patrick Kain,
James Marsden Earp,
Floyd Jesse Sexton,
Clement Joseph Todd,
Gustavus Urban Stewart,
Joseph Francis Farley, jr.,
David Patterson Marvin,
Carl Herbert Abel, and
Edwin Mount Webster.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains:

John F. McGourty,
John J. Hutson,
Fred A. Nichols,
Charles F. Seiter,
Chester H. Jones,
William F. Towle,
Michael J. Ryan,
James Pine,
Warner K. Thompson,
Joseph R. Besse,
John P. Gray,
Paul H. Harrison,
William Williams,
John H. Cornell,
William Pitts Wishaar,
Gordon T. Finlay,
Louis L. Bennett, and
Roy P. Munro,

The following-named third lieutenants to be first lieutenants:

Frederick J. Birkett,
Norvin C. Smith, and
Donald H. MacCollom.

The following-named first lieutenants of Engineers to be captains of Engineers:

John T. Carr,
Albert F. Patterson,
Webb C. Maglathlin,
Whitney M. Prall,
George W. Cairnes,
John F. Hahn,
Harvey F. Johnson,
Martin A. Doyle,
Norman B. Hall,
Sidney B. Orne,
Frank E. Bagger,
Philip B. Eaton,
Thomas H. Yaeger,
Alvan H. Bixby,
Charles E. Sugden,
Francis E. Fitch,
Charles J. Odend'hal,
Henry C. Roach,
Clinton P. Kendall,
Kurt W. Krafft, and
Charles H. Johnson.

The following-named third lieutenants of Engineers to be first lieutenants of Engineers:
Charles T. Henley, jr.,
Edward F. Palmer,
Francis C. Wells, and
John N. Heiner.
First Lieut. of Engineers Byron A. Minor, retired, to be a captain of Engineers.
Cadet David F. Akers to be a third lieutenant.
Cadet Engineer William B. O'Brien to be a third lieutenant of Engineers.
First Lieut. Samuel P. Edmonds, retired, to be a captain on the retired list.

POSTMASTERS.

GEORGIA.

Wellborn J. Roberts, Arlington.
James A. Glodney, Bowdon.
Thomas E. Brown, Bremen.
Bedford McK. Harlan, Calhoun.
Annie K. Bunn, Cedartown.
John P. Turner, Columbus.
John S. McKenzie, Comer.
A. G. Hockenhull, Cumming.
Frank M. Meaders, Dahlonega.
Benjamin E. Croker, Dallas.
William H. McMillion, Demorest.
Afley M. Cherry, Donaldsonville.
Lemuel S. Peterson, Douglas.
L. M. Peacock, jr., Eastman.
Lonnie C. Brown, Elberton.
Richard D. Moore, Jefferson.
Henry T. Sewell, Lavonia.
Jennie S. Lester, Lexington.
Clifton O. Lloyd, Lindale.
James R. Dixon, Metter.
Willie A. Sheats, Monroe.
John T. Stilwell, Montezuma.
William M. McElroy, Norcross.
John H. Hodges, Perry.
Samuel H. Timmerman, Plains.
Walter R. Harrell, Quitman.
Merritt B. Brown, Richland.
James S. Alsobrook, Rossville.
Julia B. Fleming, Sparta.
Abner I. Head, Tallapoosa.
Harvey C. Bunn, Waycross.
Gilbert B. Banks, Waynesboro.

MAINE.

Alfred T. Hicks, Auburn.
Frederick W. Plaisted, Augusta.
Otha H. Jellison, Bar Harbor.
Guy L. Thurston, Bethel.
Harry Hinckley, Blue Hill.
Frank P. Davis, Bridgton.
Wallace O. Estes, Brooks,
Richard P. Harriman, Bucksport.
Patrick F. Welch, Calais.
Josiah H. Hobbs, Camden.
Fred S. Doyle, Caribou.
George F. Treat, Chisholm.
Frank J. Carsley, Dexter.
Minnie M. Holland, Dixfield.
Joseph A. Linscott, Farmington.
Everett P. Hanson, Gorham.
John S. Williams, Guilford.
John E. Murphy, Hallowell.
Dennis Sheehan, Houlton.
Ellsworth W. Sawyer, Kezar Falls.
Herbert L. Pinkham, Lincoln.
Willie B. Parlin, Machias.
Benjamin F. Pierce, Mars Hill.
Frank A. Millett, Mechanic Falls.
William I. Johnson, North Berwick.
Frank E. DeCoster, Norway.
Vivian E. Howe, Presque Isle.
Morrill McKenney, Richmond.
Howard E. Perkins, Sanford.
Clarence Mantor, Skowhegan.
Otis C. Verow, South Brewer.
Lindley L. Hamilton, Topsham.
Lee M. Treat, Vinal Haven.
Percy E. Storer, Waldoboro.
Frederick E. Mathews, Warren.
Charles M. Richardson, Waterville,
Clinton S. Eastman, Westbrook.
James B. Clark, Wiscasset.
Frank O. Wellcome, Yarmouth.
Edward C. Bridges, York Village.

NEW YORK.

Fred G. Burt, Adams Center.
William H. Barry, Carthage.
Peter T. Conley, Fulton.
Wesley J. Springstead, Haverstraw.
J. Edward Lyon, Naples.
Orin A. Skutt, North Rose.
James L. Hutchens, Pulaski.
Minnie C. Fellows, Scarsdale.
Myric M. Kelly, Sodus.
Henry S. Sutherland, White Plains.
Clarence E. Palmer, Willard.
Claude T. Metcalf, Wolcott.

TEXAS.

Tyre H. Brown, Lockhart.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, *September 28, 1918.*

The House was called to order by the Clerk of the House.
The CLERK OF THE HOUSE. The reading clerk will read the order from the Speaker designating the Speaker pro tempore.
The Clerk read as follows:

SEPTEMBER 28, 1918.

Hon. SOUTH TRIMBLE,
Clerk of the House:

I hereby assign the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. FOSTER, to preside as Speaker to-day.

CHAMP CLARK, *Speaker.*

The SPEAKER pro tempore took the chair.
The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:
We lift up our hearts in gratitude to Thee, our Father in heaven, for the great unanimity of purpose existing among the people of America to prosecute the war at whatever cost of means and men until a peace shall be secured which shall guarantee liberty and justice to all the peoples of all the world.
May the generosity and patriotism of our people continue, that the Government may not be hampered in its war program. May the heavy tax laid upon them be borne with patience, and may the new demand for liberty bonds be met with alacrity; and Thine be the praise through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.
The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. STEDMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for one minute.
The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.
Mr. STEDMAN. Mr. Speaker, I notice in the RECORD that Mr. WEAVER, of North Carolina, failed to answer to his name on roll calls during Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of this week. I wish to state that he has been confined in a hospital sick, and I desire further to ask leave of absence for him for four days on account of sickness.
The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent for leave of absence for four days for his colleague, Mr. WEAVER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed joint resolution (S. J. Res. 175) to correct an error in the wording of the appropriation of $71,000 made in the act approved July 9, 1918, and to authorize the Secretary of War to pay said sum to the respective parties entitled thereto, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED.

Under clase 2, Rule XXIV, Senate joint resolution of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to its appropriate committee, as indicated below:
S. J. Res. 175. Joint resolution to correct an error in the wording of the appropriation of $71,000 made in the act approved July 9, 1918, and to authorize the Secretary of War to pay said sum to the respective parties entitled thereto, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

EXTENSION OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the joint resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the joint resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 334) making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of October, 1918, and for other purposes.

Resolved, etc., That the provisions of the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government and of the District of Columbia for the months of July and August, 1918, and for other purposes," approved July 8, 1918, except so far as they relate to the support of the Army and of the District of Columbia, are extended and continued in full force and effect for and during the month of October, 1918.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this joint resolution is to make such provision for the Agricultural Department as may be necessary pending the final approval and passage of the two appropriation bills for that department.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to its present consideration?

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, may I ask the gentleman from Kentucky if he has any information as to what the status of the Agricultural appropriation bill is in the Senate?

Mr. SHERLEY. Not the slightest. I have not been able to follow it. I have been continuously engaged in my own work in connection with the deficiency bill. The month is about to expire, and in the absence of this joint resolution, after the end of the month, there will be no provision of law whereby any of these activities could be continued. I have assumed that these bills will become laws some time during the present month, and, by the terms of the original resolution which this pending resolution extends for the further month, upon their becoming the law the effect of the resolution ceases.

Mr. ANDERSON. Well, of course this method of supplying the departments of the Government is rather a lame one, and if there is any way to get the Senate to pass the appropriation bills before the end of the month it should be done.

Mr. SHERLEY. Well, that suggestion pertains to the gentlemen who are in charge of these regular agricultural bills. As chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, it is my duty to continue the Government even if other committees having charge of appropriation bills fail to come to an agreement with the Senate touching regular appropriations.

Mr. GILLETT. If the gentleman will yield, has this bill gone to conference, or is it still in the Senate?

Mr. SHERLEY. I have not undertaken to follow the details of it. I think, however, it is in the Senate.

Mr. GILLETT. I am told it has not been reported by the Senate committee.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky for the present consideration of this resolution? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read the third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. SHERLEY, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

COMBATING "SPANISH INFLUENZA."

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take up for present consideration House joint resolution 333.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the joint resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 333) to aid in combating the disease known as "Spanish influenza."

Resolved, etc., That to enable the Public Health Service to combat and suppress the disease known as "Spanish influenza" by aiding State and local boards of health, or otherwise, there is appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, $1,000,000, to be available until June 30, 1919.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Treasury are authorized and directed, respectively, to utilize the personnel and facilities of the Medical Department of the Army, the Medical Department of the Navy, and the Public Health Service, so far as possible, in aiding to combat and suppress the said disease.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, if this consent is given I propose to offer several amendments which will enlarge the scope of the resolution so as to give authority for the expenditure of money for combating not only the disease known as "Spanish influenza" but other communicable diseases. The House is probably fully aware of the situation that has arisen in the country, and particularly in the State of Massachusetts in connection with this disease. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] introduced the resolution which has just been read, and the Public Health Service has communicated with me, as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, touching the situation that confronts them and confronts the country. There is necessarily as a result of the war and the demand that has been made upon the medical profession a shortage of physicians in the country. If the physicians in localities are left alone to deal with this situation they will not be able to cope with it, and it is believed that the Public Health Service, by mobilization of the physicians from the various sections of the country, can, by putting them in districts where the disease is worst, control it. The disease is of such a character that it seems to expend itself in localities within a limited time, and then it appears in other sections.

The need of these funds seems to be urgent. I believe that Congress would not be justified in refusing to take action touching this matter at this time. It not only is a situation which might affect, as it has, the Army in certain localities, but if it is permitted to become general it would have a very great effect in reducing the productive capacity of the country, to say nothing of the loss of life that might result from it.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will the gentleman from Kentucky yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I understood the gentleman to say that the purpose was, if consent was given, to broaden the scope?

Mr. SHERLEY. That is true.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Would the gentleman permit stating that now?

Mr. SHERLEY. With the permission of the House I would be glad to have read the joint resolution as it would read if amended as I propose to ask to have it amended.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the resolution will be read for the information of the House.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 333) to aid in combating "Spanish influenza" and other communicable diseases.

Resolved, etc., That to enable the Public Health Service to combat and suppress "Spanish influenza" and other communicable diseases by aiding State and local boards of health, or otherwise, including pay and allowances of medical and sanitary personnel, medical and hospital supplies, printing, clerical services, and rent in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, transportation, freight, and such other expenses as may be necessary, there is appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, $1,000,000, to be available until June 30, 1919.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Treasury are authorized and directed, respectively, to utilize jointly the personnel and facilities of the Medical Department of the Army, the Medical Department of the Navy, and the Public Health Service, so far as possible, in aiding to combat and suppress the said diseases.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, as I suggested, the effect of the change is simply to broaden it so as to have this fund available for any other communicable disease that might arise, and there is certain language put in there in order to make clear the power in regard to pay and allowances, and medical and sanitary personnel, and so forth.

Mr. ANDERSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

Mr. ANDERSON. As I caught the reading of the resolution, the appropriation is available only to the Public Health Service.

Mr. SHERLEY. That is true.

Mr. ANDERSON. I was wondering whether it was necessary to make any appropriation covering the medical departments of the Army and the Navy.

Mr. SHERLEY. I think not. I think they have ample funds that will be available with the assistance that will come through the Public Health Service.

Mr. ANDERSON. The gentleman thinks the appropriations that are available generally for the medical departments of the Army and Navy will be sufficient?

Mr. SHERLEY. There is no doubt about that; but the epidemic appropriation we carry for the Public Health Service is by the terms of the statute limited to certain specified diseases, and the Congress has never heretofore seen fit to enlarge that into a fund to be available for any sort of disease, because it might in peace times lead to the building up of a very great corps of officials under the Public Health Service; but, as this is limited in amount and for a particular period of time, it seemed wise to broaden it so as to deal with any communicable disease that might arise within that period of time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. CHARLES B. SMITH. I would like to ask the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] has the Public Health Service asked for this legislation?

Mr. SHERLEY. They have.

Mr. CHARLES B. SMITH. I understood from his statement that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] introduced the resolution and the Public Health Service approved it.

Mr. SHERLEY. That is true, and the other statement is also true. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT], knowing that the situation was so acute in his State, introduced the resolution, but the Public Health Service themselves, on their own initiative, came to me, as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and urged not the consideration of this resolution but the passage of some resolution that would give them this amount of money for this work.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. GILLETT. Will the gentleman from Kentucky allow me?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

Mr. GILLETT. I did not introduce that until after the Public Health Service had expressed their desire for it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the consideration of the resolution? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent that this resolution be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Kentucky offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SHERLEY: Line 4, strike out the words "the disease known as," and in the same line, after the words "Spanish influenza," insert the words "and other communicable diseases."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I also offer the following amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Kentucky offers the following amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SHERLEY: Line 5, page 1, after the word "otherwise," insert "including pay and allowances of medical and sanitary personnel, medical and hospital supplies, printing, clerical services, and rent in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, transportation, freight, and such other expenses as may be necessary."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Kentucky.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I also offer the following amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Kentucky offers a further amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SHERLEY: Page 1, line 11, after the word "utilize," insert the word "jointly." In line 15, strike out the word "disease" and insert "diseases." Amend the title to read: "Joint resolution to aid in combating 'Spanish influenza' and other communicable diseases."

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, what does the word "jointly" cover?

Mr. GILLETT. The Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Treasury, jointly.

Mr. SHERLEY. The language will read, as amended:

That the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Treasury are authorized and directed, respectively, to utilize jointly the personnel and facilities of the Medical Department of the Army, the Medical Department of the Navy, and the Public Health Service, so far as possible, in aiding to combat and suppress the said diseases.

Mr. CANNON. That is satisfactory.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Kentucky.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the passage of the resolution as amended.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman permit me one moment?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I am very heartily in sympathy with this resolution and the purposes of it. I trust that it may never again be said that there has been any sectional opposition to a request by the State of Massachusetts.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Tennessee yield?

Mr. GILLETT. If the gentleman refers to me, of course I represent only one section of the State of Massachusetts. But this resolution is not offered in behalf of the State of Massachusetts. It is a measure for the benefit of the whole country. The city of Washington is suffering to-day from this disease, and while perhaps it appeared first in Massachusetts, being brought across the ocean, it is just as dangerous to the gentleman's section as it is to my own.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Precisely so, and because we recognize that fact we are very glad to join in combating it.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I have not control of the time.

Mr. CANNON. If I may utter just a single sentence, this disease, like other diseases, knows no State boundaries.

Mr. LONGWORTH. And I might also suggest to the gentleman that the majority leader on that side of the House, we regret to hear, is suffering from it.

Mr. GILLETT. Yes; and the Speaker is suffering from the disease. So it obviously is not sectional.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the title be amended in accordance with the text.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the title will be amended in accordance with the text.

There was no objection.

On motion of Mr. SHERLEY, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. ROUSE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing the speech delivered last night in New York by the President of the United States.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing the speech delivered last night by the President of the United States in New York. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

FIRE DEPARTMENT, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 11231, creating the double platoon system for the fire department of the District of Columbia, disagree to the Senate amendments, and ask for a conference.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 11231, with Senate amendments, disagree to the Senate amendments, and ask for a conference. The Clerk will report the bill by title. The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

A bill (H. R. 11231) to regulate the hours of duty of officers and members of the fire department of the District of Columbia.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. I desire to ask the gentleman from Kentucky when did this measure pass? When did it pass the House, and when did it pass the Senate?

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. It passed the House April 2, 1918, and it passed the Senate July 8, 1918.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair is informed that this resolution came to the House on yesterday. Is there objection?

There was no objection; and the Speaker pro tempore, through the Clerk, announced the following as the conferees on the part of the House: Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky, Mr. CROSSER, and Mr. CARY.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Clerk be permitted to read the telegram that I send to the desk.

Mr. WALSH. What is it about? I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects.

CREDIT TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE MINT.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill H. R. 12998. I wish to say that I do not think it will take more than 10 minutes to pass this bill. If anyone wishes to object to it after the bill is explained, he can take that responsibility.

Mr. LONGWORTH. What is the bill?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 12998) to amend section 3528 of the Revised Statutes.

Mr. CANNON. What is it about?

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, what is the bill? The title just refers to some provision of the Revised Statutes, and nobody is acquainted with it.

Mr. ASHBROOK. If the gentleman will kindly reserve his objection, I will explain the bill as well as I can.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I can not consent to a new bill being taken up here under the circumstances. I have no objection to the bill, but there is a special rule pending covering the order of business.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Tennessee object?

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. ASHBROOK. If the gentleman from Tennessee will withhold his objection for five minutes, I think the bill can be passed in that time. If it is not passed in that time and he then wishes to object I shall have no objection.

Mr. SIMS. Go ahead, but I shall reserve the right to object.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Now, Mr. Speaker, this bill amends section 3528 of the Revised Statutes. It simply seeks to increase the credit of the Director of the Mint with the Treasury Department.

I want to say to the House that the Treasury Department is very anxious that this bill shall be passed at once, because the volume of the coinage of the mint has increased to such an extent that the credit is now entirely inadequate to the present needs of the Director of the Mint.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Yes.

Mr. GILLETT. Is this bill on the Unanimous Consent Calendar?

Mr. ASHBROOK. It is.

Mr. GILLETT. Then I object. I do not think we ought to have consideration to-day of bills on the Unanimous Consent Calendar.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects.

EMERGENCY POWER BILL.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the power bill.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Will not the gentleman allow me to have this telegram read? It will take only a minute.

Mr. SIMS. I insist on my motion. The gentleman can put his telegram in later.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee moves that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the emergency power bill. The question is on agreeing to that motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. HOUSTON] will please take the chair.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 12776, known as the emergency power bill, with Mr. HOUSTON in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 12776. The Clerk will report the title.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

A bill (H. R. 12776) to provide further for the national security and defense and for the more effective prosecution of the war by furnishing means for the better utilization of the existing sources of electrical and mechanical power and for the development of new sources of such power, and for other purposes.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, there is an amendment pending.

The CHAIRMAN. Two amendments are pending.

Mr. SIMS. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD] might get some time on that.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Chairman, I want to be recognized as opposed to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri is recognized by the Chair.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, just a moment. When we closed last evening there were really three propositions presented to the committee. One was the motion of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HAMLIN] to incorporate the word "carbonizing" before the word "lignite."

Mr. HAMLIN. That amendment was adopted. And then the amendment that was pending was the motion of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN] to strike out——

Mr. ESCH. All after the word "necessary."

Mr. HAMLIN. All after the word "necessary."

Mr. WINGO. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] also has an amendment pending to strike out the words "the carbonizing of lignite."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN] offered as a substitute for the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. CANNON. Let us have it reported.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GREEN of Iowa: Page 4, line 9, after the word "necessary," strike out the remainder of the paragraph.

Mr. ESCH. That amendment should come after an amendment which has already been adopted, following the word "necessary." That amendment was to insert the words:

For the purpose of increasing the production of war materials and meeting emergencies arising from war conditions.

So the amendment of the gentleman from Iowa would come in after the word "conditions."

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The gentleman from Wisconsin is correct. I had overlooked that momentarily when my amendment was offered. I ask unanimous consent to change my amendment to strike out all after the word "conditions."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa asks unanimous consent to modify his amendment as stated by him. The Clerk will report his amendment as modified.

The Clerk read as follows:

Modified amendment offered by Mr. GREEN of Iowa: Page 4, after the word "conditions," strike out the remainder of the paragraph.

Mr. CANNON. In what line?

The Clerk read as follows:

After the word "conditions" in the amendment offered by Mr. SNELL, which was agreed to, strike out the remainder of the paragraph.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, before debate begins I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment or any other amendment to subsection (1) of section 2 be closed in 15 minutes. We debated the same subject quite a while yesterday.

Mr. CANNON. I wish the gentleman would make it 20 minutes. I do not think I will use all of my 5 minutes.

Mr. SIMS. Make it 20 minutes, so that the gentleman from Illinois may have 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman from Tennessee please restate his request?

Mr. SIMS. I ask unanimous consent that debate upon this amendment and all other amendments to subsection (1) of section 2 close in 20 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman asks unanimous consent that debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto and to subsection (1) of section 2 close in 20 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I do not think I shall occupy all of the time allotted me. I simply want to oppose the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN] and also the amendment offered by my good friend from Illinois, Mr. CANNON, which is to strike out the word "lignite." The effect of the amendment of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN], if adopted, will be to preclude the Government from utilizing any of the by-products derived from the coking of coal or from the utilization of lignite in any way. Yesterday afternoon, in a little colloquy which I had with him, I suggested that it would not be right to waste the by-products produced in burning the fuel necessary to create the power which the Government so much needs, and must have, at this time. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN] said:

Oh, what is the gentleman thinking of? Does not the gentleman know that these by-products are being wasted now?

Mr. HAMLIN. Ought they to be wasted?

The gentleman from Iowa answered "no." However, in the revision of his remarks for the RECORD this morning he changed that answer, as he had a right to do, so as to read:

I do not know. Not if there is any use for them.

Then I said:

Why not save them, then?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. If you have any use for them, it would be well to save them, but you have not any use for them. The Government is getting all these materials it wants now—

And so forth.

Then I said:

We have been importing millions of dollars' worth of these by-products every year.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Oh, the gentleman is mistaken.

I was not mistaken in my statement, provided the information given to me is true, and I take it for granted that it is true. In corroboration of my statement I want to read an extract from a hearing had before the Committee on Mines and Mining.

Mr. CANNON. By whom?

Mr. HAMLIN. By Mr. Darling. I propounded this question to him, and this was what was said:

Mr. HAMLIN. I thought I understood from this statement, Mr. Darling, that there were some by-products to be gotten—perhaps you have mentioned it—that formed the basis of certain dyes.

This is in reference to the statement of lignite.

Mr. DARLING. Yes; that comes from the oils and tars. Aniline dyes come from the lighter oils, and other dyes from the heavy oils.

Mr. HAMLIN. Haven't we been short on those things in this country?

Mr. MANNING. We have been very short on the benzol, which is the next step in coal-tar production. In other words, there are tens of thousands of by-products from coal and many more thousands of compounds. We go from the base coal to coal tar, then to benzol. Then you branch out to your aniline dyes, to your explosives, to your perfumes, to your medicines, to your prussian blues, etc.

Mr. DARLING. Germany before the war—we paid over $22,000,000 per year for coal-tar products that she sent in to us. Now we have got to turn the tables the other way.

I shall read a little further in a moment, but I want to stop here to say that if Mr. Darling is correct that absolutely corroborates my statement which I made yesterday, that we have been importing millions of dollars worth of these coal-tar products that we can get from the carbonization of lignite and the coking of bituminous coal.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. What I corrected the gentleman about yesterday was to say that we had not been importing these things since the war. What the gentleman has read from the hearings was before the war.

Mr. HAMLIN. Neither did I say that we have been importing millions of dollars worth since we got into the war.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. You said "we are."

Mr. HAMLIN. No; I said "we were," or at least that is what I meant to say, and certainly the gentleman should not have misunderstood me, because I said in the same connection that we could not import them now, because we have to use the ships for other purposes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman pardon me?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The real reason why we are not importing them is not the lack of ships, but because we are able to produce these dyes in this country, due largely to the protective tariff on dyes, which we passed recently.

Mr. HAMLIN. Oh, no; the gentleman is entirely mistaken. That tariff has not been changed one iota since we got into this war, and we were importing an average of $22,000,000 of these tar products before the war, bringing them from Germany, but we are not doing it now.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The beginning of the dye industry in this country was after the passage of the so-called Payne bill.

Mr. HAMLIN. I do not care to go into the history of the dye industry. I am only interested in one fact, that we were importing $22,000,000 worth of these products before the war from Germany. We are not doing it now. That is not due to the tariff, but a lack of ships and because we would not trade with Germany, and that very fact has forced us to produce as best we may our own dyes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. We are producing to-day about 200 colors, and we had plenty of ships when the Hill bill was passed.

Mr. HAMLIN. Now, to continue reading from the hearings:

Mr. HAMLIN. And we have got the raw material to do it with, if we only develop it.

Mr. DARLING. Yes, sir; and the man who builds a beehive from now on ought to be taken out and strung to a limb. And the processes are not difficult. I think the patents on these aniline dyes have expired and the chemists know the way to get these things. It is just a question of putting money in and getting them.

Mr. MANNING. Prior to the war the United States depended absolutely upon German dyes. The statement had been made that the United States would have to depend upon its own dye industry, and Secretary Lane called a conference in his office of some 23 of the chemical manufacturers of the country, and some of the textile manufacturers, to consider what aid the Government could give to the development of a dye industry, and the only suggestion that they made at that time was a protective tariff provision.

Mr. LONGWORTH. And which Congress in its wisdom passed.

Mr. HAMLIN. Not since the war.

Mr. Manning continues:

I made the statement to controvert that suggestion, that if the war with Germany lasted two years the United States would build up its own industry and be independent of Germany.

Mr. LONGWORTH. That is just what I said.

Mr. HAMLIN. But it will not be due to the tariff.

Mr. CANNON. The war makes it prohibitive.

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes. If the gentleman says that the war operates as a prohibitive tariff I am going to agree with him. I think the interests of the country are now enjoying a greater protection than in all their previous history, and it is not due to a protective tariff, but due to the war.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Does not the gentleman think——

Mr. HAMLIN. Oh, I am not going to be diverted into a tariff discussion.

Mr. LONGWORTH. If the gentleman will pause a moment, it has been claimed by the Democratic campaign committee that the credit of the dye industry is by reason——

Mr. HAMLIN. Oh, the gentleman can not lead me into the discussion of political questions when we are considering an important measure for the prosecution of the war.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HAMLIN. I ask unanimous consent for two minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky). The present occupant of the chair has just taken the chair, but is told that there was an arrangement for 20 minutes debate, and that the division of time has been arranged for.

Mr. HAMLIN. I think the Chair is correct, and I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to address the committee for one minute on the subject of the fourth liberty loan.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York asks for one minute to address the committee on the fourth liberty loan. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Mr. Chairman, acting with our allies, we must win the world war and win it quickly.

Gen. March has told us that it is possible to end the war in 1919 if we can get an army large enough in the field soon enough. It is proposed to send to France by the summer of 1919 an Army of at least 4,000,000 of men. An early victory will greatly depend upon how thoroughly and speedily we equip and supply this vast body of soldiers with all of the essentials of successful warfare.

The main essentials of succesful warfare are men and money. The selective-draft system is furnishing us with the men to form a grand and victorious army. It remains for us who stay behind to furnish all the money that is needed to equip and sustain these men with all that is necessary to help them win the great struggle for liberty, humanity, and civilization.

A sacred and solemn obligation rests upon each and every one of us to aid the fourth liberty loan to the full extent of his ability. Every adult person in this Republic should buy at least one bond, of small or large denomination. No one should plead poverty or be guilty of neglect in this hour of national peril.

Two great considerations should stimulate enormously the sale of the new issue of liberty bonds. The first is personal and selfish, the second is purely patriotic. In the first place, the liberty loan is the best and safest financial investment that can be made. Backed as it is by the wealth of the richest country in the world, the liberty loan stands without a peer. It is the premier bond of the world. Based on reliable statistics, the wealth of the United States is estimated at $230,000,000,000, with an annual estimated income of $40,000,000,000.

In 47 years the population of our country has increased 72,000,000, and for the same period its wealth has increased $200,000,000,000, equivalent to over $2,800 for each of the 72,000,000 increased population.

To put the figures in another form—in 1870:

Wealth of United States (estimated)	$30,000,000,000
Total debt of United States	$2,330,000,000
Wealth of United States per capita	$780
Debt of United States per capita	$60
Population of United States	38,000,000

At the present time:

Wealth of the United States (estimated)	$230,000,000,000
Total debt of United States, including liberty loans of 1917 (approximately)	$9,500,000,000
Wealth of United States per capita	$2,250
Debt of United States per capita	$86.50
Population of United States (estimated)	110,000,000

The increase from 1870 to date:

Total wealth	$200,000,000,000
Wealth per capita	$1,470
Population	72,000,000

The wealth is now about seven and two-thirds times greater than in 1870, and the national debt has increased only about four

times. In comparison to the wealth, the debt is quite small and would be comparatively small if doubled, tripled, or quadrupled. Even if the present debt were quadrupled, it would then amount to only just the income of our country in one year. This income, be it remembered, is about $40,000,000,000, representing a net annual increase in the national wealth of several billions of dollars.

The backbone, the head, and heart of our financial and industrial system is the banking power of the United States. Measured by all its resources this power exceeds $40,500,000,000. In the grand total of this power are the resources of 7,688 national banks and 20,423 State banks, trust companies, and savings institutions. The national banks of the United States have total resources in excess of $18,200,000,000, and the State banks and other financial institutions of more than $22,275,000,000.

The New York banking system, with total resources of approximately $10,890,000,000, more than one-fourth of the entire banking resources of the country, occupies first place. Pennsylvania, with $3,840,000,000, holds second place.

The total supply of capital, approximately estimated, in the United States in 1913 was $6,500,000,000; in 1915, $8,000,000,000; in 1916, $15,000,000,000; and in 1917, $18,200,000,000.

The Federal Reserve System has now a gold reserve of more than $2,000,000,000, the very greatest gold reserve ever held by any banking system in the world at any time.

All this colossal wealth and unexampled financial strength have been derived from our marvelous agricultural and industrial resources and activities.

The Department of Agriculture estimates that the crop of spring and winter wheat for 1918 will approximate 899,000,000 bushels, nearly 250,000,000 bushels more than was produced in 1917.

As wheat and other cereals form the basis of our agricultural greatness, iron and coal are the foundation of our industrial prosperty and strength. In 1917, the United States alone produced more coal than England, France, Germany, and Belgium combined produced in 1913, the year before the war began. We also smeltered more pig iron and produced more steel than all these countries together.

Our metal and mineral resources are the marvel of the world. More than half the estimated iron ore of the earth is in North America, and four-fifths of all this is imbedded in the boundaries of the United States.

Whether we consider the foundations of our prosperity, the earth and the richness and fullness thereof, or our accumulated wealth of money, and all forms of financial credits, our strength is and will remain unbroken and unparalleled.

The figures that I have given you relating to the wealth of our country and its annual income should convince you that a liberty-bond investment is the safest and soundest in the world. A war of 20 years would not destroy its value as a security. It is the premier bond of the world, a direct obligation, a first mortgage on the resources of the wealthiest country on the earth, and is, moreover, almost free from taxation, State or Federal.

The first great consideration, heretofore referred to, which should stimulate and sustain the sale of liberty bonds, has been discussed and figures have been given. The personal and selfish motives of the purchasers of these bonds have been considered, and it has been shown that no safer, sounder investment can be made than that offered by the liberty loan.

A second great consideration ignores the selfish and materialistic point of view, and appeals direct to the conscience and to the patriotism of all of our people. In the final analysis this is the supreme consideration. It scorns all mercenary feelings and appeals to the noblest and grandest in our natures. It places the man above the dollar, humanity above wealth, and our country above our pocketbooks. It subjects all vulgar passions at once to the great principle of love.

No cowardly impulse, no sectional selfishness, no narrow view of patriotism, no partisan prejudice, no sordid stinginess should ever remotely influence our conduct in private or public life when providing for the common defense and promoting the general welfare of our country. Rather let us invoke at all times the lofty and patriotic spirit of the Revolutionary fathers and of the saviors of the later Republic, who held no cost too heavy and no sacrifice too great when the sacred rights of humanity were to be proclaimed and the great cause of liberty was to be defended and maintained.

I repeat that no other considerations should be urged and no other inducements offered than the desire for private gain and the great love of the Republic to cause speedy and enormous sales of the fourth liberty loan bonds. Let us oversubscribe this issue a hundredfold, if need be, as a message to Germany and to the world that America is patriotic to the core and that a most perfect unity in intention and high resolve animates our people.

CAUSES OF THE WAR.

As I understand the meaning of this war, it is not a mere conflict of physical forces, of millions of men contending in deadly combat on battle fields and in battle trenches. It is a mighty conflict between contending principles in government, between modes of thought, and forms of philosophy. It is, in the main, a gigantic contest between democracy and free institutions on the one hand and monarchy and military despotism on the other hand. It is even more than this. It is a colossal struggle in which world freedom and the rights of small States to exist are fundamentally involved.

The assassination of an Austrian grand duke by a simple-minded, fanatical Serbian youth was the beginning, but not the cause of the great world war. It was simply the match that lit the flame that threw the world into conflagration. The elemental causes of the war are to be found deeply imbedded in German military philosophy, in Prussian despotism and desire for world dominion, in a false and fraudulent diplomacy handed down from the days of Frederick the Great, and in the belief of the German Kaiser that he is the anointed of God and that the German people are the chosen seed. These intellectual principles, these spiritual elements formed the fertile soil in which was germinated the world catastrophe and from which it received its budding and its blossoming.

While a student at the University of Berlin some 20 years ago I heard Heinrich von Treitschke lecture. Treitschke was professor of history in the University of Berlin, and used his position to propagate his political principles. His style was elegant and beautiful and the war philosophy that he proclaimed was at once brilliant and bitter. The substance of this philosophy was that war is a biological necessity and an ordinance of God. Among the more striking statements in his works are these:

War is both justifiable and moral, and the ideal of perpetual peace is not only impossible but immoral as well.

The living God will take care that war shall always return as a terrible medicine for the human race.

Among all political sins the sin of feebleness is the most contemptible; it is the political sin against the Holy Ghost.

Treitschke was called by the Kaiser "our national historian," and it is not inaccurate or unfair to describe him as the real founder of the world war, for his radical war philosophy, proclaimed in his lectures and in his writings, permeated all German intellectual life and gave strength and impetus to all the war movements of Germany. "His works," says one writer, "became cyclopedias of patriotism, and, being vigorously and entertainingly written, were and are widely read. Their aphorisms have become a part of German political scripture, their philosophy the creed of German statesmen."

My recollections of Treitschke are as fresh and vivid as if I had heard him but yesterday, and I remember the surprise and horror with which I listened to the unfolding of his brilliant and bitter war philosophy in which he proclaimed the doctrine of biological necessity and of the immorality of seeking to abolish that which God had ordained. On all the war fronts of Europe, America and the allies are fighting the teachings of Treitschke embodied in the armies of the Kaiser.

The teachings of Treitschke are founded upon the thoughts and sayings as well as the deeds and acts of Frederick the Great and of Bismarck, the arch progenitors of Prussian militarism and despotism. Treitschke boldly proclaimed that public and private morality were not the same, and that States were justified in doing things that would be considered immoral in individuals. He justified this contention by the statement in a letter from Frederick the Great to his minister, Radziwill, in which occurs this sentence:

If there is anything to be gained by it, we will be honest; if deception is necessary, let us be cheats.

Frederick the Great told Voltaire, who taught him French and good manners, that truth and honesty were things for priests and ministers but not for warriors and statesmen. We are fighting this ignoble doctrine on all the battle fields and in all the battle trenches of Europe to-day.

In his first inaugural address, in 1789, Washington made this declaration:

The foundation of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality.

In this war we are pitting George Washington against Frederick the Great, and—you will excuse me for saying it—I have bet all my money on George Washington.

The fine sentiment of Washington was reflected in this sentence from the address of President Wilson in his message to Congress of April 2, 1917:

> We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized States.

One of the great purposes of this war is to justify Washington and Wilson and brand with eternal condemnation Frederick the Great of Prussia by establishing the doctrine that there is no difference between public and private morality, and that States are not justified in doing what is immoral among individual citizens.

Treitschke taught and Germany believes that a war waged for the purpose of destroying small States and "molding separate fragments into one great political unit," even if a war of conquest, is justifiable. America and the allies deny this and are fighting for the rights of small States to continue to exist and to be happy. The American doctrine is illustrated by the existence of Cuba at our very doors, a Lilliputian Republic, not larger than a Texas county, but as independent and happy as any empire or commonwealth on earth. The German doctrine is illustrated by outraged and mutilated Belgium, whose international rights Germany had pledged herself to protect, but whose treaty was converted into "a scrap of paper," because Germany did not believe that Belgium had a real right to exist if it pleased Germany to destroy her.

Treitschke's cruel theory of war is approved and echoed in the literature of Germany by his contemporaries, as well as by those who followed him.

Bernhardi, in his work entitled "Germany and the Next War," says:

> War is a biological necessity of the first importance, a regulative element in the life of mankind which can not be dispensed with, since without it an unhealthy development will follow which excludes every advancement of the race, and therefore all civilization.

Again, he says:

> Efforts directed toward the abolition of war must not only be termed foolish but absolutely immoral, and must be stigmatized as absolutely unworthy of the human race.

Numerous other German writers, warriors, and statesmen teach the same cruel and merciless philosophy.

Haeckle taught that "force takes priority over right."

Clausman says:

> All idea of philanthropy in war is a pernicious error.

Gen. Hartman said:

> When the national war breaks forth, terrorism becomes a necessary military principle.

Erzberger is quoted as saying in the Reichstag:

> This war ought to be as pitiless as possible.

Again, one of the great causes of this war is Pan-Germanism, that would acquire the territories and destroy the political independence of smaller States by force of arms. Many German writers and statesmen are bold in their assertion of this right as a matter of supreme necessity in the inevitable growth of great central States.

Gen. Wrochem, at a meeting of the German Defense League at Danzig, March, 1913, said:

> A developing, onward-striving people like ourselves requires new land for its energies; and if peace will not secure it, then war only remains.

J. L. Reimer, in a work entitled "Ein Pangermanisches Deutschland" (A Pan German Germany), writes in 1905:

> It is precisely our craving for expansion that drives us into the paths of conquest, and in view of which all chatter about peace and humanity can and must remain nothing but chatter.

Klaus Wagner, in his work Kreig or War, in 1906, writes:

> Let us bravely organize great forced migrations of the inferior peoples. Posterity will be grateful to us. We must coerce them. This is one of the tasks of war; the means must be superiority of armed force. Superficially such forced migrations and the penning up of inconvenienced peoples in narrow "reserves" may appear hard, but it is the only solution of the race question that is worthy of humanity. * * * Thus alone can the overpopulation of the earth be controlled; the efficient peoples must secure themselves elbow room by means of war, and the inefficient must be hemmed in and at last driven into reserves where they have no room to grow * * * and where, discouraged and rendered indifferent to the future by the spectacle of the superior energy of their conquerors, they may crawl slowly toward the peaceful death of weary and hopeless senility.

This merciless philosophy and ambition of Pan Germanism is one of the great causes of this war. We may assert it with truth to be the great paramount cause, for Pan Germanism is the great comprehensive principle that includes all minor causes.

Again, we are fighting the theory of the divine right of kings to rule the peoples of the earth. Cromwell and his Ironsides thought they had destroyed this theory forever when they beheaded a Stuart king—Charles the First of England. But we have the doctrine more boldly and brazenly proclaimed than ever in the wild and insane pretentions of William of Germany. The following is a passage from the proclamation of the Kaiser to the Army of the East in 1914, after the beginning of the great war:

> Remember that you are the chosen people! The Spirit of the Lord has descended upon me, because I am the Emperor of the Germans!
>
> I am the instrument of the Almighty. I am his sword, his agent. Woe and death to all those who shall oppose my will! Woe and death to those who do not believe in my mission! Woe and death to the cowards!
>
> Let them perish, all the enemies of the German people! God demands their destruction; God, who, by my mouth, bids you to do His will!

This sounds like Mohammed and the Koran. No wonder the Germans could conclude so easily a treaty with the Turks. Place this passage in the middle of the Koran and it would require the genius and learning of an oriental scholar to tell where Mahomet ended and William began.

The principles asserted in this proclamation of the Kaiser are in complete antagonism to the principles proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, when it is said that "all just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed." In this war we are pitting the Declaration of Independence against the proclamation of the Kaiser, and, again, I have my money on the Declaration of Independence.

The German Kaiser and German statesmen deny that Germany desired this war or began it, but the facts of history completely refute their contention. Besides, a secret official document filed at Berlin, in the German war office, in 1913, reads, in part, as follows:

> Neither ridiculous shriekings for revenge by French Chauvinists nor the Englishman's gnashing of teeth nor the wild gestures of the Slav will turn us from our aim of protecting and extending German influence all over the world. It is our sacred duty to sharpen the sword that has been put into our hands and to hold it ready for offense as well as for defense. * * * We must accustom them (our people) to think that an offensive war on our part is a necessity. We must stir up troubles in the north of Africa and in Russia. In the next European war it will also be necessary that the small States shall be forced to follow us or be subdued. In certain conditions their armies and their fortified places can be rapidly conquered or neutralized. This would probably be the case with Belgium and Holland.

This official document, filed a year before the war began, speaks of stirring up trouble in Africa and in Russia. The whole tone and tenor of the report indicates a spirit of aggression and a willingness to begin war upon the slightest provocation or upon no provocation whatever.

HOW THE WAR CAME TO AMERICA.

I have been discussing the meaning of the war as it relates to European nations. I have outlined briefly the underlying principles that caused Germany to declare war upon her neighbors and to tear up her treaty with Belgium like a scrap of paper. I have tried to show that Pan Germanism, rabid and rampant, availed itself of the simple pretext of the killing of an Austrian grand duke, and of the consequent troubles of her ally, Austria, with Serbia, troubles that could have been easily settled by fair and impartial statesmanship, to throw the world into convulsions.

I now come to a brief discussion of how the war came to America. After all, this phase of the discussion will interest us most keenly. Intelligent people everywhere are already thoroughly familiar with the causes of our participation in the world conflict and a detailed analysis and discussion of these causes are not necessary. Suffice it to say that the submarine policy of the German Government, resulting in the violation of our international rights and in the murder of our citizens upon the high seas, brought America into the conflict.

The chronological order of events, as related to the *U-boat* campaign, leading up to a declaration of war by America against Germany, is as follows:

1. December 24, 1914: Admiral von Tirpitz threw out hints in a newspaper interview of a wholesale torpedoing policy.
2. February 4, 1915: The German Government proclaimed a war zone, within which any ship might be sunk unwarned.
3. February 10, 1915: Mr. Wilson told the German Government that it would be held to a "strict accountability" if any American rights were violated in that way.
4. April 22, 1915: The German Embassy published in New York newspapers a warning against taking passage on ships which our Government had told our people that they had a perfect right to take.
5. May 7, 1915: The *Lusitania* was sunk.
6. May 13, 1915: Mr. Wilson wrote his "first *Lusitania*" note.
7. May 28, 1915: Germany made reply, defending the sinking of the *Lusitania*.
8. June 9, 1915: Mr. Wilson wrote his "second *Lusitania*" note.
9. July 21, 1915: Mr. Wilson wrote his "third *Lusitania*" note, following more unsatisfactory German rejoinders.

10. August 19, 1915: The *Arabic* was sunk, whereupon Von Bernstorff gave an oral pledge for his Government that thereafter German submarines would not sink "liners" without warning.

11. March 24, 1916: The *Sussex* was sunk, a passenger vessel with Americans on board.

12. April 10, 1916: Germany cynically told the United States that she could not be sure whether she sank the *Sussex* or not, although admitting that one of her submarines was active close to the place of disaster.

13. April 18, 1916: President Wilson threatened Germany with breach of diplomatic relations if *Sussex* and similar incidents were repeated.

14. May 4, 1916: Germany grudgingly made the promise that ships would not be sunk without warning.

15. January 31, 1917: Germany tore up her promise and notified Mr. Wilson that she would begin "unrestricted submarine warfare."

16. February 3, 1917: Mr. Wilson gave Count Bernstorff his passport and recalled Ambassador Gerard from Berlin.

Diplomatic relations had now been broken, and we were in a state of armed neutrality. War might still have been avoided if still other American ships had not been sunk, as follows:

17. March 16, 1917: The *Vigilancia*, an American vessel, was sunk and five Americans were lost.

18. March 21, 1917: The *Healdton*, an American vessel, was sunk and seven Americans were lost.

19. April 1, 1917: The *Aztec*, an American vessel, was sunk and 28 Americans were lost.

Some of these vessels were outside the prohibited German war zone. Some of them were coming home, were without cargoes of any kind, and were sunk in a spirit of pure wantonness and frightfulness.

In all, up to our declaration of war against Germany, 226 American citizens, many of them women and children, lost their lives by the action of German submarines, and in most cases without the faintest color of international right.

Nothing remained for a red-blooded Congress, representing a brave and self-respecting people, to do but declare war upon an outlaw nation that was unwilling to respect the binding obligations of international law, and that had shown an utter disregard for the simplest rights of humanity and for the plainest precepts of civilization.

If the direct and immediate cause of our declaration of war against Germany be asked, answer may be given that Germany murdered our citizens upon the high seas, in violation of our well-defined international rights.

It is the primary duty, the sacred and solemn obligation of any nation to protect the lives of its citizens, and the nation that will not perform this duty and fulfill this obligation is not entitled to the respect and support of its citizens.

Once, at a Grand Army of the Republic celebration, Col. Ingersoll used this strikingly beautiful and brilliant sentence:

> A country that will not protect its citizens is a disgrace to the map of the world. A flag that will not defend its defenders is no better than a dirty rag, is an insult to the skies, and contaminates the very air in which it floats.

This has been the sentiment of every brave and masterful race of this earth. It was the sentiment of ancient Rome. It is the sentiment of modern England, modern France, modern Germany, modern America. It will be the sentiment of every brave and self-respecting nation until its citizens become degenerates and cowards.

In ancient times, when a Roman citizen was captured by barbarians or pirates, it was only necessary for him to pick up the hem of his toga, the peculiar dress of a Roman and the symbol of his Roman citizenship, and shake it at the barbarians, using three words, "Civis romanus sum"—I am a Roman citizen—to guarantee his safe escort to Rome. I want the time to come soon in the history of my country when an American captured by bandits in Mexico will only have to throw his head back proudly and defiantly and say "I am an American citizen" to guarantee his safe escort to the Rio Grande.

Aside from the murder of our cititzens we were justified in declaring war against Germany upon the ground of national self-defense. In recent years Germany has not hesitated to express her contempt for America and to throw out hints of defiance and use expressions equivalent to threats. She has derided our civilization, mocked our national pretensions, and refused to acknowledge the Monroe doctrine; and, as an official defiance, the Kaiser recently told Ambassador Gerard that after this war Germany would stand no nonsense from America. This itself was equivalent to an imperial threat against our country.

On the 24th of September, 1917, in the United States Senate, Senator LEWIS quoted Admiral Dewey as reporting the following statement as made by the German admiral, Von Goetzen, to him at Manila in 1898:

> About 15 years from now (1913) my country will start a great war. She will be in Paris about two months after the commencement of hostilities. Her move on Paris will be but a step to her real object—the crushing of England. Some months after we finish our work in Europe we will take New York, and probably Washington, and hold them for some time. We will put your country in its place with reference to Germany. We do not purpose to take any of your territory, but we do intend to take a billion or so of your dollars from New York and other places. The Monroe doctrine will be taken charge of by us, and we will dispose of South America as we wish. Don't forget this—about 15 years from now.

It was very kind and generous of the German admiral to let us know so long in advance of the intended invasion of America by Germany. It gave us time for preparation, and we are now rapidly preparing for a warm reception to the Hun when he decides to come.

But the law of national self-defense does not require that we wait for the Germans to attack us after their intentions have been clearly expressed and it is well established that they intend to attack us. I am in favor of teaching the arrogant German Kaiser that if he or any of his descendants insults our flag or threatens the invasion of our territory, it will not be necessary for Germans to come here. If they will wait a month and France will give us standing room, we will go over there after them. If they do not care to meet us at the Hudson or the Mississippi, we will meet them at the Rhine. The sooner they learn this the greater respect they will have for us and the better it will be for all concerned.

In conclusion let me say that in this great world war we are fighting not only for principles but for peoples as well.

We are fighting for innocent, outraged, brave, and bleeding Belgium, whose heroic King merits apotheosis, and whose martyred people and their sufferings will remain enshrined forever in the memory and affections of mankind.

We are fighting for France, the brilliant and beautiful among the nations, whose chivalric sympathies sent Rochambeau and Lafayette as ambassadors of freedom to our shores. One hundred and forty years ago we were "bled white" and stood at death's door. France sent us men and money and enabled us to live. To-day France is bled white and stands at death's door. As a grateful, self-respecting Nation it is our sacred duty to send France men and money in order that she may live. And I say to you, knowing the full meaning of my words, that if with this history in front of us, with this debt of national gratitude hanging over us, we, a powerful Republic, fabulously rich in men and in money, should stand silently by and watch the Imperial German Government with a mailed fist drive a deathblow to the heart of this brave and brilliant and beautiful Republic, our former friend and benefactor, throughout all the ages yet to come we would not only deserve, we would receive, the scorn and contempt, the hatred and execration of mankind.

My friends, we have declared war against the Imperial German Government, and Germany must and will be whipped. She must be conquered if it takes 20 years to do it.

We have a registered man power of 10,000,000 men. We have a possible man power of 20,000,000 men. We have a conservatively estimated national wealth of $230,000,000,000. And before I will consent that our flag shall be hauled down in dishonor and disgrace; before I will consent that the brave boys that we are sending to the trenches of Europe shall be ordered back in humiliation and shame, I will vote in Congress to send every man of the twenty millions to the field and cast every dollar of the two hundred and thirty billions into the scales.

The world does not love Prussian militarism and autocracy and will not tolerate them. The world does not love the political philosophy of Frederick the Great and of Bismarck, of Treitschke, of Bernhardi, and of Nietzsche, and will not endure it. The world loves liberty, and that liberty may be permanent and secure forever upon the earth for all men the hosts of freedom are to-day shaking the planet with solemn and awful tread, and millions of the world's best and bravest are falling into the arms of death as leaves fall in autumn upon the earth. And that liberty, as a priceless heritage to all the children of men, may be forever secure, that democracy may be forever safe upon the earth, America, the mother of republics, the protagonist of republican virtue in the world, has declared war and has dedicated to its successful and victorious conclusion the lives, the fortunes, and the sacred honor of all her sons.

My friends and my countrymen, the war that we have declared is the most just and righteous in the history of the world. The dearest rights and the most sacred meaning of liberty, humanity, and civilization are at stake. Let us see to it that America plays a sovereign and illustrious rôle in the great concert of the nations. Let there be no division in our own ranks.

Let every brain think and every heart beat for America and her allies. Let this be the prayer to ascend to Heaven each day from every patriot lip:

Great God, who ruleth the destinies of nations, who seeth at once the fall of a sparrow and the flight of worlds, preserve forever to us, and to our posterity, and to all mankind the country of Washington, the Republic of Jefferson, and the Union of Abraham Lincoln.

Go with our brave boys, O God, into the trenches of Europe, and guide and protect them with Thy loving care. Fill their minds with patriotism, their hearts with heroic courage, and their souls with pious love for Thee.

Crown their standards with victory, O God, and if it please Thee return them in health and happiness to their country and their countrymen, where their names shall be inscribed forever in the annals of the Republic as the veterans of an army that crossed the high seas to unite with the free armies of other free peoples that liberty, humanity, and civilization might endure forever upon the earth! We beseech Thee, O God!

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to address the committee for one minute, not to be taken out of the time allotted on this measure.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Indiana asks unanimous consent for one minute, not to be taken out of the allotted time. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, in this time I desire to read this telegram from East Chicago, Ind., dated September 28, 1918:

EAST CHICAGO, IND., *September 28, 1918.*

WILL H. WOOD,
Congressman Tenth Indiana District,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Our quota on third loan was seven hundred eighty thousand. Our quota on fourth loan is one million seven hundred fifty thousand. We have made our quota and one million and a quarter more, and still going.

LIBERTY LOAN COMMITTEE,
WALTER J. RILEY, *Chairman.*

[Applause.]

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. I wish to say in passing, gentlemen, that the city of East Chicago was the first city in the United States to go over the top in the third liberty loan—more than twice their quota of $780,000 on the first day of the drive. [Applause.]

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, the bill before us is denominated a power bill. Its purpose, as stated by the gentlemen who have brought it forward, is to enable the President to obtain additional power for factories engaged on Government work, and by the purchase and enlargement of existing power plants, or by constructing new ones. With this purpose, so far as power is needed for Government work and can not be furnished by private parties through private capital, I am entirely in accord. I would not have any factory engaged on Government work closed for a moment for lack of power, and am quite ready to take any measures necessary to prevent this happening.

The doubts that arise over this bill occur in the first place from the meager information that we have as to the necessity for Government action. The committee which reported the bill had some department representatives before it who gave their opinion that large sums were necessary to be appropriated by the Government for this purpose.

Mr. Chairman, it is always easy to find a department official who believes that immense sums ought to be expended by the Government in some line with which he is connected. Usually his testimony is given in good faith, but no committee ought to take such testimony as sufficient. It is the duty of every committee to institute an individual investigation of its own to ascertain whether the money is really needed. This the committee has not done. It did not even attempt to find out whether private capital would furnish the necessary funds and build the plants, as in all probability could be arranged if the Government agreed to make use of the power. It made no investigation whatever as to whether application had been made to the War Finance Corporation for funds, although that corporation was created expressly to take care of just such cases and was provided with abundant funds.

It looks very much as if this bill had been introduced and supported by department officials because they did not like the restrictions which the War Finance Corporation imposed upon the money which it loaned. On the other hand, gentlemen shout that this bill is a war necessity. We who are not on the committee have no way of finding out whether it is or not, and we can not afford to take chances upon important Government work being held up and our armies deprived of the material which is necessary to win victory in the war.

It is perfectly evident, however, that as long as this method is pursued with reference to reporting bills that hundreds of millions of dollars will be unnecessarily expended and immense sums will be absolutely wasted.

While, as I have said, the bill is ostensibly for the purpose of obtaining additional power, it contains many provisions which have nothing whatever to do with that subject, and among others is the provision in the paragraph under consideration, which authorizes the construction of plants for the purpose of making briquettes from lignite coal, for making gas, coke, and the by-products from coke ovens. This is the provision which I have moved to strike out.

Mr. Chairman, I have viewed the proposition involved in the provision which I moved to strike out as one of the most fantastic yet presented to this House. I do not doubt but what my good friend from North Dakota can show that it would be a good thing if the Government should spend money to manufacture lignite briquettes for the people of that vicinity, but for over 10 years they have been experimenting making lignite briquettes in that region, and they have failed to get any proposition on a commercial basis. They could not manufacture them as cheap as coal could be shipped in. That is the situation to-day.

What connection has it with a power bill in any way? What do they want of a power plant in the southwest part of North Dakota? I can not imagine anything, unless it is to cultivate and plow the ground by electric power. They have no large manufacturing institutions. For that matter, what do they expect to do with a power plant in Colorado? Do they expect that the cowboys will use the power plant? They have plenty of coal of all kinds in that State and water power going to waste.

The fact is, we have no need for power plants from coal in the western region. In the mountains thousands of horsepower could be obtained at a slight expense. But it is argued that it would help the local communities to develop the mines of Colorado and North Dakota. This Government can not appropriate at this time the money for everything that would be beneficial in all the various communities in this country. I do not doubt that it would be helpful to the citizens of North Dakota to manufacture briquettes, and I do not doubt that the money could be spent all over the country where it would be beneficial, but that is no excuse for spending it at this time. In the West we have not labor enough to carry on the farming, and if the Government would furnish us the labor and machinery to cultivate the land it would be far more wisely spent than to manufacture briquettes in South Dakota.

Now, with reference to this matter of constructing additional ovens to manufacture toluol. The gentleman from Missouri intimated that I said we had not imported any of these coal-tar products before the war. What I said was that we had not been importing them since the war. We did import large quantities of them before the war, but it is not necessary we should import them now. It was not necessary at any time we should import them if there were proper tariffs in force, and since a tariff has been put on them it has not been necessary to import them, because all of them can be produced in this country. Even now in over half of the coke ovens of the country these products are going to waste because there is no demand for them. We say waste because they are not used, but if we have no use for them, then in a strict sense they are not being wasted. Now, we can not use all the by-products of all the coke ovens. We perhaps could use more than we do now, but private capital is perfectly willing if the Government says it will take these products to furnish them.

Mr. WINGO. Does the gentleman say that toluol is going to waste, that there is a plentiful supply of it?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. My colleague, Mr. GOOD, *in speaking* on the floor yesterday, said that the testimony of one of the officers of the Army before his committee was to the effect that they had a plentiful supply.

Mr. WINGO. Of toluol; that that statement was made before the committee?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I want to say to the gentleman the ex parte testimony, for I might call it such, that has been given before the Committee on Mines and Mining and before the committee introducing this bill does not represent the real state of facts at all. The fact is, there was no complete hearing of the matter.

Mr. WINGO. The gentleman wants to be fair to the committee?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. WINGO. We have had this question up on other hearings, where there were no printed hearings, and to whom would the gentleman go to get the facts if not to the War Industries Board? To whom would the gentleman go?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Experts from the War Industries Board testified the Government was receiving——

Mr. WINGO. We heard the experts of the War Industries Board on this subject quite recently on this very question.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Col. McRoberts, of the Ordnance Procurement Division, testified before the Appropriations Committee that arrangements had been made to secure ample supplies of toluol. Even if he should have been oversanguine in this respect it would be perfectly easy to make arrangements with private parties which would insure a plentiful supply. It is obtained from the by-products of the coke ovens, which, as I have already stated, are now for the most part going to waste, simply because those who operate the ovens believe there is no use for them.

Mr. Chairman, the lack of any disposition on the part of many of the House committees to limit appropriations to sums that are absolutely necessary and to cut out all projects which are meritorious in their purpose but not essential to carrying on the war is a strange feature in the proceedings of a war-time Congress. With our appropriations amounting up into the billions we have here a bill appropriating $175,000,000 without a syllable of testimony to show any necessity for any such great sum. I trust that a provision will be made later on whereby the Appropriations Committee, which usually scans these projects carefully, will be given an opportunity to refuse this appropriation and compel a specific statement of the amount needed for each item. As the bill stands it is simply an invitation to corruption, graft, and waste, and is but another example of the methods so commonly pursued, which have swelled our expenditures to a point where there is little doubt in my mind a billion of dollars could be taken off and the war just as effectually carried on. Some day there will be a revision, and the time can not come too soon for the good of the American people.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, there were 5 minutes of the 20 minutes to go to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] and 5 minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO].

Mr. WINGO. Of course, if the gentleman from Illinois cares to discuss it, I prefer to wait.

Mr. CANNON. I will defer to the gentleman if he desires to discuss it.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the substitute offered by the gentleman from Iowa.

The question was taken; and there were—ayes 7, noes 16.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, the announcement of that vote develops the fact that there are 23 gentlemen present. To my mind this proceeding is developing into a farce——

Mr. CANNON. Absolutely.

Mr. LONGWORTH. And I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio makes the point of order that there is no quorum present, and evidently there is not. The Clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Almon	Dewalt	Heaton	Merritt
Anthony	Dickinson	Heintz	Miller, Minn.
Aswell	Dies	Holland	Moore, Pa.
Bacharach	Dill	Hollingsworth	Morin
Baer	Dominick	Hood	Mott
Barkley	Dooling	Howard	Mudd
Bell	Doremus	Humphreys	Neely
Beshlin	Doughton	Husted	Nelson
Borland	Drukker	Hutchinson	Oldfield
Bowers	Dyer	Jacoway	Oliver, N. Y.
Britten	Eagan	Johnson, S. Dak.	Olney
Brodbeck	Edmonds	Johnson, Wash.	O'Shaunessy
Browne	Ellsworth	Jones	Overmyer
Browning	Elston	Kahn	Padgett
Burroughs	Emerson	Kearns	Paige
Butler	Estopinal	Kennedy, Iowa	Parker, N. Y.
Caldwell	Fairchild, Geo. W.	Kennedy, R. I.	Peters
Campbell, Kans.	Farr	Kettner	Phelan
Cantrill	Fess	Key, Ohio	Platt
Caraway	Flood	Kiess, Pa.	Porter
Carew	Flynn	Kitchin	Powers
Carter, Mass.	Fordney	Knutson	Pratt
Cary	Foss	Kreider	Price
Chandler, N. Y.	Francis	La Follette	Purnell
Chandler, Okla.	Fuller, Ill.	LaGuardia	Ragsdale
Church	Fuller, Mass.	Lea, Cal.	Rainey, John W.
Clark, Fla.	Gallivan	Lee, Ga.	Ramsey
Clark, Pa.	Gard	Lehlbach	Randall
Classon	Glass	Linthicum	Rankin
Coady	Glynn	Little	Riordan
Connally, Tex.	Godwin, N. C.	Littlepage	Robbins
Cooper, Ohio	Goodall	London	Roberts
Cooper, W. Va.	Goodwin, Ark.	Lufkin	Robinson
Cooper, Wis.	Graham, Ill.	Lundeen	Rowe
Copley	Graham, Pa.	McClintic	Rowland
Costello	Gray, N. J.	McCormick	Russell
Crago	Greene, Mass.	McCulloch	Sanders, Ind.
Cramton	Gregg	McKenzie	Sanders, La.
Currie, Mich.	Griest	McKinley	Sanford
Curry, Cal.	Griffin	McLaughlin, Pa.	Saunders, Va.
Dale, N. Y.	Hamill	Maher	Scott, Iowa
Dale, Vt.	Hamilton, N. Y.	Mann	Scott, Pa.
Darrow	Harrison, Miss.	Martin	Scully
Davis	Harrison, Va.	Mason	Sears
Delaney	Haskell	Mays	Sells
Dempsey	Hayes	Meeker	Shackleford
Sherley	Steele	Templeton	Watson, Pa.
Sherwood	Steenerson	Thomas	Weaver
Shouse	Stephens, Nebr.	Thompson	Welling
Siegel	Sterling, Ill.	Tillman	Whaley
Slayden	Sterling, Pa.	Tilson	White, Me.
Slemp	Stiness	Tinkham	White, Ohio
Small	Sullivan	Treadway	Wilson, Ill.
Smith, Chas. B.	Sweet	Vare	Wilson, Tex.
Smith, Thos. F.	Swift	Venable	Winslow
Snyder	Switzer	Vinson	Woodyard
Stafford	Tague	Walton	
Stedman	Talbott	Ward	

The SPEAKER pro tempore having resumed the chair, Mr. HOUSTON, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill H. R. 12776, and finding itself without a quorum under the rule he caused the roll to be called, whereupon 200 Members answered to their names, a quorum, and he presented the list of absentees for entry in the Journal.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The committee will resume its sitting.

Accordingly the committee resumed its session.

The CHAIRMAN. The question before the House is the substitute offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN].

The question was taken, and the Chair announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. WALSH. Division, Mr. Chairman.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 39, noes 58.

So the substitute was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question recurs on the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. SIMS. I want to ask the gentleman from Illinois, as he is a good parliamentarian, if the motion of the gentleman from Iowa did not also include striking out lignite?

The CHAIRMAN. Debate on this amendment has been exhausted.

Mr. CANNON. Was the debate closed?

Mr. WINGO. It was closed on the whole section.

The CHAIRMAN. The debate has been closed.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON].

The question was taken, and the Chair announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Division, Mr. Chairman.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 29, noes 52.

So the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I did not understand that I assented to the proposition that all debate should be cut off on this paragraph. If so, I can not help it. Now, then, I want to move to strike out the words "of any fuel," on line 14, page 4. These words would include peat.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. CANNON: Page 4, line 14, after the word "combustion," strike out the words "of any fuel."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the Chair announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 18, noes 43.

So the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

The committee informally rose; and Mr. FOSTER having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, a message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the bill of the following title:

H. R. 12714. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919.

EMERGENCY POWER BILL.

The committee resumed its session.

The Clerk read as follows:

(2) For the purpose of increasing the capacity or productivity of any private power plant within the boundaries of the United States to install in any such plant any structure, machinery, or appliances that he may deem useful to that end, either through agents or contractors employed by him, or by providing the owner or operator of such plant with funds to be applied to that purpose; to lease the machinery, appliances, and structures thus installed or any parts thereof to the owner or operator of such plant for a term not to exceed the war period and such reasonable time thereafter as he may deem expedient in the interest of the United States, upon such terms as he may deem reasonable; and to enter into contracts requiring or permitting the lessee to purchase such appliances, machinery, and structures, or parts thereof, at or before the termination of such lease at their then value or upon such other terms as he may deem equitable for the protection of the interests of the United

States and of the community served by such lessee. Whenever any such structures, machinery, or appliances shall have been installed and until the sale or other disposition thereof, the title thereto shall remain in the United States and shall be free and exempt from any liens, mortgages, judgments, or other encumbrances, whether created by act of the owner or operator of such plant or by operation of law. And upon and during any default in any payment of any sums due the United States under such lease or contract the President shall be empowered at all times to enter upon the premises upon which such machinery, structures, or appliances shall be installed and there to maintain and to operate them or any of them for the use of the United States free from any rent or other charge, or to take possession of and remove them or any of them from the premises.

Also, the following committee amendment was read:

Committee amendment: Page 4, line 20, strike out the words "owner or."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 4, line 23, strike out the words "owner or."

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. WALSH. I ask for a vote on the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 4, line 23, strike out the words "a term of not to exceed."

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I submit that is all one amendment down to the first line of page 5. They ought to be put together. I have a substitute for the whole amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the gentleman is correct.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I submit it is not all one amendment, because it is in the alternative.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment.

Mr. CANNON. Oh, no.

Mr. SNELL. What amendment are you voting on at the present time?

Mr. SIMS. It says "a term of not to exceed."

Mr. SISSON. That does not mean anything if you strike that out. It would be nonsense.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 4, lines 23 and 24, strike out the words "a term of not to exceed."

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, the language at first reported, "not to exceed the war period and such reasonable time thereafter," which was already amended so as to make it the term of "the war period, not exceeding five years, or for any shorter period," was all one amendment. If it is proposed in that way I have a substitute for it, which will limit it to the war period.

Mr. SISSON. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that that is not divisible. It is one of two propositions, the one that the committee reported and the one on the original bill.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Therefore it is not divisible.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair did not report more than the amendments on lines 23 and 24.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. That is not a separate amendment. It is all one amendment.

Mr. SISSON. That is not divisible, Mr. Chairman, because there are two propositions. If the Chair will read it, he will find that it says, "Or any parts thereof to the owner or operator of such plant for a term of not to exceed the war period," and so forth. Now, the committee strikes out that language, "a term of not to exceed" and "such reasonable time" and inserts in lieu thereof all this language, "or for such period thereafter not exceeding five years, or for any shorter period," taking the place of the language in lines 23 and 24, stricken out, that being one proposition. The committee must vote to keep in the language which was the original bill or vote to strike it out and then adopt the amendment reported by the committee.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, if the Chair permits, the gentleman has answered his own contention when he says it comprehends two propositions, what has been inserted to take the place of "and such reasonable time thereafter." Now, the language in italics, which takes the place of "such reasonable time thereafter," does not take the place of "a term not to exceed," because it is left practically in that shape with the committee amendment adopted; but the committee has reported this measure to provide that this shall continue for the war period, and instead of "for such reasonable time thereafter" it is to continue "for such period thereafter not exceeding five years, or for any shorter period." Of course, it is two distinct propositions. The Chair has ruled correctly.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will hold that this motion to strike out and insert is not divisible, and that all of this amendment ought to be voted upon together as one amendment. The Clerk will report the entire amendment.

Mr. CANNON. From where to where?

The CHAIRMAN. The words stricken out, marked in the bill, and the italics inserted. That is the amendment.

Mr. SISSON. Beginning with line 23, "a term of not to exceed" and "and such reasonable time" is the language stricken out.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendments: Page 4, lines 23, 24, and 25, and line 1 of page 5, strike out in lines 23 and 24, page 4, "a term of not to exceed," and in line 24, page 4, strike out the words "and such reasonable time" and insert in lieu thereof "or for such period," and after the word "thereafter" insert "not exceeding five years, or for any shorter period."

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I have a substitute for that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it an amendment to the amendment?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Substitute amendment offered by Mr. PARKER of New Jersey for the committee amendment: Page 4, lines 23, 24, and 25, and line 1 of page 5, after the words "war period" on page 4, lines 24 and 25, strike out "or for such period thereafter," so that the language will read, "for the war period, or for any shorter period, as he may deem expedient," etc.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Now, Mr. Chairman, this brings up the question of how long this act shall last—whether it shall last for five years after the war period, which is six months after the announcement of the treaty of peace, or whether it shall end with the war period.

In this particular case there is no sort of doubt that it ought to end at the end of the war period. By this clause of section 2 the United States is allowed to increase the capacity of a private power plant by installing structures, machinery, or appliances, either by its own agents or contractors, or providing the operator of the plant with funds for that purpose, and when they put those appliances in a private power plant, whether it be machinery or other appliances, it provides that they may lease those appliances to the operator of that private power plant.

Now, that lease should end with the war period, because the owner is going to get his plant at that time. No doubt he keeps it all the while. It is only increased in his hands, and at the end of the war period he may not want to have this extra machinery. It ought to be determined then. His plant ought not to be tied up for five years after the war by a lease to him of these extra structures that have been put in his mill on terms providing that he shall pay rent for five years after the war, after war business is done, and when he may have no use for it. It ought to be determined as at the end of the war period between him and the United States, and there is no sort of doubt about it; and this amendment therefore provides that the lease shall be only for the war period, or for any shorter period, as the President may deem expedient, in the interest of the United States.

It brings up the whole question of how long this interference with a private power plant shall last, and the question that was opened, when I spoke in general debate on the bill, is brought up on this clause in the most favorable form, because I do not believe that any mill or power plant ought to be tied up with a lease on its appliances for five years after the war.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that there is not a quorum present.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I would rather have those who have heard me on this subject vote on my amendment than those who have not.

Mr. CANNON. I want a quorum to hear the gentleman. It will take a quorum to put over this legislation that means a million dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] makes the point of no quorum present. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Seventy-six Members present, not a quorum. The Clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk proceeded to call the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Almon	Bell	Browne	Byrns, Tenn.
Anthony	Beshlin	Browning	Caldwell
Aswell	Borland	Brumbaugh	Campbell, Kans.
Bacharach	Bowers	Burroughs	Campbell, Pa.
Baer	Britten	Butler	Cantrill
Barkley	Brodbeck	Byrnes, S. C.	Caraway

Carew	Good	Lundeen	Sanders, Ind.
Carter, Mass.	Goodall	McAndrews	Sanders, La.
Cary	Goodwin, Ark.	McClintic	Sanford
Chandler, Okla.	Gordon	McCormick	Saunders, Va.
Church	Graham, Ill.	McKenzie	Scott, Iowa
Clark, Pa.	Graham, Pa.	McKinley	Scott, Pa.
Classon	Gray, N. J.	McLaughlin, Pa.	Scully
Coady	Greene, Mass.	Madden	Sells
Connally, Tex.	Gregg	Maher	Shackleford
Cooper, Ohio	Griest	Mann	Sherley
Cooper, W. Va.	Griffin	Martin	Sherwood
Cooper, Wis.	Hamill	Mason	Shouse
Copley	Hamilton, N. Y.	Mays	Siegel
Costello	Harrison, Miss.	Meeker	Slayden
Crago	Harrison, Va.	Merritt	Slemp
Cramton	Haskell	Miller, Minn.	Small
Currie, Mich.	Hastings	Miller, Wash.	Smith, C. B.
Curry, Cal.	Hayes	Moore, Pa.	Smith, T. F.
Dale, N. Y.	Heaton	Morgan	Snyder
Dale, Vt.	Heintz	Morin	Stafford
Darrow	Holland	Mott	Steele
Davis	Hollingsworth	Mudd	Steenerson
Delaney	Hood	Neely	Sterling, Ill.
Dempsey	Howard	Nelson	Sterling, Pa.
Dewalt	Hull, Iowa	Nicholls, S. C.	Stiness
Dickinson	Humphreys	Nolan	Sullivan
Dies	Husted	Norton	Sweet
Dill	Hutchinson	Oldfield	Swift
Dillon	Jacoway	Oliver, N. Y.	Switzer
Dixon	Johnson, S. Dak.	Olney	Tague
Dominick	Johnson, Wash.	O'Shaunessy	Talbott
Dooling	Jones	Padgett	Taylor, Colo.
Doremus	Kahn	Paige	Templeton
Doughton	Kearns	Parker, N. Y.	Thomas
Drukker	Keating	Peters	Thompson
Dupré	Kelley, Mich.	Phelan	Tillman
Dyer	Kennedy, Iowa	Platt	Tilson
Edmonds	Kennedy, R. I.	Porter	Tinkham
Ellsworth	Kettner	Pou	Treadway
Elston	Kiess, Pa.	Powers	Vare
Emerson	Kinkaid	Pratt	Venable
Estopinal	Kitchin	Price	Vinson
Fairchild, G. W.	Knutson	Purnell	Voigt
Farr	Kraus	Ragsdale	Walton
Ferris	Kreider	Rainey, H. T.	Ward
Fess	La Follette	Rainey, J. W.	Watson, Pa.
Flood	LaGuardia	Ramsey	Weaver
Flynn	Langley	Randall	Welling
Fordney	Lea, Cal.	Rankin	Whaley
Foss	Lehlbach	Reavis	White, Me.
Francis	Lesher	Riordan	White, Ohio
Fuller, Ill.	Linthicum	Robbins	Wilson, Ill.
Fuller, Mass.	Little	Robinson	Wilson, Tex.
Gallivan	Littlepage	Rodenberg	Winslow
Gandy	Lobeck	Rouse	Wood, Ind.
Gard	London	Rowe	Woodyard
Glynn	Longworth	Rowland	Zihlman
Godwin, N. C.	Lufkin	Russell	

The committee rose; and Mr. FOSTER having resumed the chair as Speaker pro tempore, Mr. HAMLIN, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee, having under consideration the bill H. R. 12776, finding itself without a quorum, he had caused the roll to be called, when 175 Members, a quorum of the Committee of the Whole, answered to their names, and he reported the names of the absentees to be printed in the Journal and RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. A quorum is present. The committee will resume its session.

Accordingly the committee resumed its session.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I believe I have a minute and a half left of the five minutes allotted to me; and as many Members have come in who were not here before, I ask that five minutes additional may be given me.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey asks unanimous consent that he may have five minutes additional time. Is there objection.

There was no objection.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. If those Members who were not here before will refer to the bottom of page 4 they will see that the time allowed in this clause of this section was originally not to exceed the war period and such reasonable time thereafter as the President may deem expedient. The committee amended it by changing that language so as to read:

> For the war period, or for such period thereafter not exceeding five years or for any shorter period as he may deem expedient.

I have moved to amend the committee amendment by striking out the words "or such period thereafter not exceeding five years," so that the language will read:

> For the war period or for any shorter period as he may deem expedient.

I desire to give my reasons for making this motion. My first reason is that we have no jurisdiction except the war power, and the war period is six months after the proclamation of the treaty of peace, and that may be six months or a year after the real termination of the war, and after the need for manufacture has ceased. Under the Constitution these powers should not extend beyond this time. Five years is a most unreasonable time, and it may be not five years and six months, but five years and a year and a half.

Now, note what this clause allows: It allows the President to enter into a private power plant, belonging to a private individual, a private owner, and put in new machinery there, either against the will of that owner, by his own agent, or else by advancing funds to the owner for that purpose.

After he has done that he may allow the owner to operate that machinery—how long? Why, that extra machinery is to be operated for the benefit of the public during the war period. The President has no power after that. Some other disposition must then be made of it. Is any owner going to agree? Is it fair to ask an owner to pay rent based on war receipts and war prices for five years after the war? I say no. The lease ought to end.

Then the President may enter into contracts permitting the lessee to purchase these structures at or before the termination of the lease, at their then value, or upon other terms. The valuation may be postponed until the end of the lease, five years after the war, and then he may be asked to pay the value which it is supposed will be a larger value than when the war had ended.

Mr. Chairman, I want to point out the fact that after the Civil War for several years prices remained high and business good. Then they fell. If we wait until wages and prices are low and have fallen off, the United States may not get anything for its machinery.

Again, this says that the title shall remain in the United States. Here is a man with a private power plant, and the bill says that the title of a part of that plant is put in the United States and shall remain in the United States five years after the war. It is neither fair nor within our power.

Again, it says if the owner defaults in payment of the sum due for this extra machinery, the President can enter upon the premises in which they are installed—that is, on the whole power plant—may take it away from him and there maintain and operate the premises, or any of them, for the use of the United States free from any rent or other charge. Who ever heard of saying that because the United States puts in extra machinery in a plant it should have the right to go in and seize and hold the whole property free of any charge after the war?

Now I will yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. JUUL. I wanted to ask the gentleman if there was any reason advanced in the committee for desiring to retain possession for five years?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. The only reason I remember was that it was thought that the value would be more nearly normal after the five years.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that no quorum is present.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois makes the point of no quorum, and the Chair will count. [After counting.] Eighty-five Members present, not a quorum, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Almon	Cooper, W. Va.	Flood	Hood
Anthony	Cooper, Wis.	Flynn	Houston
Aswell	Copley	Fordney	Hull, Iowa
Bacharach	Costello	Foss	Hull, Tenn.
Baer	Cox	Francis	Humphreys
Barkley	Crago	Freeman	Husted
Bell	Cramton	Fuller, Ill.	Hutchinson
Beshlin	Currie, Mich.	Fuller, Mass.	Jacoway
Blackmon	Dale, N. Y.	Gallivan	Johnson, S. Dak.
Borland	Dale, Vt.	Gard	Johnson, Wash.
Bowers	Darrow	Garland	Jones
Britten	Davis	Glass	Kahn
Brodbeck	Delaney	Glynn	Kearns
Browne	Dempsey	Godwin, N. C.	Keating
Browning	Dent	Goodall	Kehoe
Brumbaugh	Dewalt	Goodwin, Ark.	Kelley, Mich.
Burnett	Dickinson	Gould	Kennedy, R. I.
Burroughs	Dies	Graham, Ill.	Kettner
Butler	Dill	Graham, Pa.	Kiess, Pa.
Byrns, Tenn.	Dillon	Gray, N. J.	King
Caldwell	Dominick	Greene, Mass.	Kitchin
Campbell, Kans.	Donovan	Greene, Vt.	Knutson
Candler, Miss.	Dooling	Gregg	Kreider
Cantrill	Doremus	Griest	La Follette
Caraway	Doughton	Griffin	LaGuardia
Carew	Drukker	Hamill	Langley
Carter, Mass.	Dyer	Hamilton, N. Y.	Lea, Cal.
Cary	Edmonds	Harrison, Miss.	Lehlbach
Chandler, N. Y.	Ellsworth	Harrison, Va.	Lever
Chandler, Okla.	Elston	Haskell	Linthicum
Church	Emerson	Hastings	Little
Clark, Pa.	Estopinal	Hayes	Littlepage
Classon	Fairchild, G. W.	Heaton	Lobeck
Coady	Farr	Heintz	London
Connally, Tex.	Ferris	Holland	Lufkin
Cooper, Ohio	Fess	Hollingsworth	Lundeen

McClintic	Paige	Scott, Iowa	Tague
McCormick	Parker, N. Y.	Scott, Pa.	Talbott
McKenzie	Peters	Scully	Taylor, Colo
McKinley	Phelan	Sells	Templeton
McLaughlin, Pa.	Platt	Shackleford	Thomas
Madden	Porter	Sherwood	Thompson
Maher	Powers	Shouse	Tillman
Mann	Pratt	Siegel	Tilson
Mansfield	Price	Slayden	Tinkham
Martin	Purnell	Slemp	Treadway
Mason	Ragsdale	Sloan	Vare
Mays	Rainey, H. T.	Small	Venable
Meeker	Rainey, J. W.	Smith, C. B.	Vinson
Merritt	Ramsey	Smith, T. F.	Walton
Miller, Minn.	Randall	Snyder	Ward
Miller, Wash.	Rankin	Stafford	Watson, Pa.
Moore, Pa.	Riordan	Steagall	Weaver
Morin	Robbins	Stedman	Welling
Mott	Roberts	Steele	Welty
Mudd	Robinson	Steenerson	Whaley
Neely	Rodenberg	Stephens, Miss.	White, Me.
Nelson	Rowe	Sterling, Ill.	White, Ohio
Nolan	Rowland	Sterling, Pa.	Wilson, Ill.
Oliver, N. Y.	Russell	Stiness	Wilson, Tex.
Olney	Sanders, Ind.	Sullivan	Winslow
O'Shaunessy	Sanders, La.	Sweet	Wood, Ind.
Overmyer	Sanford	Swift	Woodyard
Padgett	Saunders, Va.	Switzer	Wright

The committee rose; and Mr. FOSTER having resumed the chair as Speaker pro tempore, Mr. HOUSTON, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee, having under consideration the bill H. R. 12776, finding itself without a quorum, he had caused the roll to be called, and 173 Members answered to their names, a quorum, and he presented a list of the absentees for insertion in the Journal and RECORD.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11259) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of those ores, metals, and minerals which have formerly been largely imported or of which there is or may be an inadequate supply.

EMERGENCY POWER BILL.

The committee resumed its session.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I should be glad to have the attention of the Members present for a moment. I have twice made the point of no quorum. I have done it in perfect good faith. I am charged with the responsibility as one member of the Appropriations Committee to consider a $7,000,000,000 deficiency bill. Owing to the consideration of that bill I have not had the opportunity, except in a hop-skip-and-jump way, to read the report and hurriedly read this bill. It is a wonderfully important bill. Properly amended, it ought to pass. As it is, in my judgment, it looks to meet conditions after the war is over more than it does to war conditions. I think there should be a full attendance of the House and the committee, at least a quorum, so that a quorum can dispassionately consider the bill. We are awfully busy here, and we are in touch with our constituents, and the campaigns are on. It is almost impossible to keep a quorum. I understand that; but I myself have not been home since last Christmas holidays. I am not criticizing any individual Member or criticizing the House; I am speaking of conditions.

Just let me call the attention of the committee to this bill. It is confessed in the report that the water-power bill that we have already passed is a peace measure. And yet it took much time to pass it. I presume it will remain in the Senate until after election. I think it ought to be considered.

Mr. BARNHART. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON. Yes.

Mr. BARNHART. I want to inquire if the water-power bill the gentlemen refers to was not a measure that we were assured was a war measure?

Mr. CANNON. Yes; but it is confessed now in this report to be a peace measure.

Mr. GARNER. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. CANNON. Yes.

Mr. GARNER. The gentleman has been here a long time, and is well acquainted with the procedure of the two Houses. Does the gentleman think or have any idea that this bill will become a law until after election?

Mr. CANNON. I do not.

Mr. GARNER. I do not think anyone has the slightest idea that this bill will have the least consideration and perhaps will not be reported to the Senate until after the election.

Mr. CANNON. I believe that the committee will agree with me in the statement that all the while since the declaration of war I have been quite as zealous, independent of my election or anybody else's election, in going the limit to vote all necessary powers in legislation and appropriations, and I shall continue along that line. I do this in justice to myself, because some uninformed party might say I wanted to make a point of no quorum and all of this, that, and the other. I am willing to consider this bill. I wish I had time to analyze it; but, taking the evidence of the Secretary of War, it appears that additional power is needed in three places, namely, New Jersey, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh, great centers for war production, for the production of war material. If gentlemen will turn and read the report of the committee on this bill they will find, on page 11 up to page 15, inclusive, over 250 places mentioned for the Government to create additional power plants, some of which nearly all of us have not heard of. Why, we have already refused an amendment by this bill to strike out a provision to create plants to utilize as a war measure the lignite coals in the far West, including peat and all other fuels. The amendment was voted down.

Why, in this respect it is a peace, not a war, measure. Now, I just want to call attention, while I am granted the right, upon this very paragraph that we are considering and in connection with the pending amendment. If gentlemen will turn their attention to the bottom of page 4 and top of page 5, the proposition is to give five years after the close of the war to dispose of these properties. I do not believe the President has ever proposed it. When the war ends the bill provides that the President shall within five years or a shorter period dispose of these properties. I quote the exact language:

> Not exceeding five years, or for any shorter period as he may deem expedient in the interests of the United States, upon such other terms as he may deem equitable for the protection of the interests of the United States and of the community served by such lessee.

After he has leased it for any time of five years——

Mr. DECKER. What page?

Mr. CANNON. This is page 5, in this very paragraph. Take notice—"for the protection of the interests of the United States and of the community served by such lessee." Oh, let us take account of stock. If this bill is to pass—I do not see how it can pass to-day; this is Saturday, and I am glad we have got Sunday to study it and all of us to look into it—but if it is to pass, while I am not criticizing the President, I think if we can increase his knowledge as to what is going on—he can not know all the details of what is going on, but he has got to trust his generals; he has got to trust transportation on land and sea; he has got to trust all the industries; he has got to trust all the commissions. God never made a man who could have personal knowledge all along the line, and I think we ought to protect ourselves and protect the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy in finding out what is in this bill and what has been enacted, what is the power, because there is so much of it—and I voted for all of it—but I say we ought to take time and consider it calmly, coolly, and patriotically, having our attention all the while directed to the necessity of legislation for war, not for peace. First win the war, and when peace comes then legislate for peace. [Applause.]

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

The committee informally rose; and Mr. FOSTER having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, a message from the Senate, by Mr. Tulley, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment joint resolution (H. J. Res. 333) to aid in combating "Spanish influenza" and other communicable diseases.

EMERGENCY POWER BILL.

The committee resumed its session.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman rise, to move to strike out the last word?

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Chairman, I rise as a member of the committee, and I desire to oppose the amendment of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER].

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair thinks debate has been exhausted on the amendment.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, there has been only five minutes used between the first time the point of no quorum was made by the gentleman from Illinois and the second point of no quorum was made.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Chairman, to facilitate matters I would like to ask unanimous consent to speak for 10 minutes on this amendment. I am opposed not only to the amendment of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER] but also to the amendment——

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent to be permitted to speak for 10 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object——

Mr. DECKER. The gentleman had 10 minutes.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I suggest it would be a good thing that debate on this, which is a material matter in the bill, be extended without objection, and I should like to have three minutes or five minutes to close in favor of the amendment. I think that is right.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina and Mr. BARNHART rose.

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. BARNHART. I rise to make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman makes the point of order there is no quorum present.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that that motion is dilatory. The House has just acted, the roll has just been called, and there has been no business attended to since—there has just been a speech made.

Mr. CANNON. If there is no quorum present—suppose there are only three Members present?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is entitled to a count.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Mr. Chairman, I wish to object to the unanimous-consent request.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is counting for a quorum. [After counting.] One hundred Members are present.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to ask——

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I desire, if the gentleman will reserve his objection at any rate for a moment, it does seem to me right that on this very important question there should be time allowed for debate, half an hour or an hour, or whatever time——

Mr. WALSH. I suggest to the gentleman from New Jersey that we can only act on one request at a time.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I hope the gentleman from Missouri will have 10 minutes; that is all I have to say.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Mr. Chairman, I have objected.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman object?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Yes; I object.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I hope the gentleman will not object.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I had the right to speak in opposition to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. SIMS. He is entitled to recognition.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has ruled that debate is exhausted on this subject and the gentleman from Missouri is entitled to recognition on his pro forma motion to strike out the last word and the gentleman from Missouri has the floor.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. WALSH. May I inquire who opposed the motion of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER]? Who spoke in opposition to it?

The CHAIRMAN. It does not matter whether anyone spoke in opposition to it or not. There were two speeches and debate was exhausted.

Mr. WALSH. The rules say that there shall be five minutes in favor and five minutes against.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I think that is in force unless something else is asked for and granted.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair holds that debate has been exhausted, and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER] is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I agree with everything the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] has said as to the importance of this bill. But I wish respectfully to call the attention of this body to the fact that this bill has had careful consideration in the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. I wish also to call the attention of this body to the fact that this bill has had the attention of the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, the attention of the Secretary of War, the attention of the Secretary of the Navy, the attention of Mr. Garfield, the Fuel Administrator, and the attention of Mr. Baruch, the chairman of the War Industries Board. I wish to call your attention to the fact that it is a matter of vital importance to the winning of this war. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] has said that there are only a few places where power is immediately needed—that the Secretary of War said that. That is true. He mentions Pittsburgh——

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DECKER. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman says that this has had the careful attention of the Secretary of War. I should like to call his attention to what the Secretary of War said, namely, "I have examined the bill casually only."

Mr. DECKER. Well, that is not the point. I mean what I say and I mean it respectfully. He did not say he had not examined the subject carefully. It is true that the Secretary of War, when asked about the details of the bill, never claimed to have written the bill, never claimed to have gone into the phraseology of the bill and the technicalities of it, but it has been a matter of deep concern and vital interest to the Secretary of War. It is a matter of worry and a heavy load on the shoulders of Mr. Baruch, the head of the War Industries Board at this time of crisis.

The gentleman from Illinois refers to the fact that one of the witnesses has said that the main need was in a few places—in New York, New Jersey, and Pittsburgh, and a few places like that. Yes; but where are those places? Those are the places where they are making the cannon; those are the places where they are making the eaglets to put the submarines out of business. Those are the places where they are making the shells to drive autocracy from the face of the earth.

And what more important thing could there be?

Now, then, just a word about the bill. When you were talking about those technical definitions yesterday and day before I did not care much about it, because, like the majority of you, I do not think it makes much difference about some of those technicalities. But this proposition has been carefully considered by our committee, the one which the gentleman has just moved here, and I want to submit to this House in all seriousness, because you are going to answer for it—you are going to have to answer for it—that there will be a day of reckoning in this country, and I want to state to you—I deem it my duty as a member of this committee to state to you—what you are voting on when you vote this amendment up or vote it down. You can give me time or you can cut it off. I will do the best I can in the time you give me. In the first place, the bill as written says this, that the President shall have the right, in the interest of winning the war and getting the power to aid manufacturers, to go into a power plant and make additions or to build a new one if necessary, but mainly to make additions. That is the object of the bill, to be frank with you. Some of these expenditures will be great.

As some of you refer to this gentleman Mr. Gans, I will say that I am not the greatest lawyer on earth, but I have heard him before the committee, and I think he is a pretty good lawyer, and he and Mr. Baruch are mainly the authors of this bill. The original bill provided that after the Government had put up this equipment it could lease it to the private owner or operator during the period of the war and as long thereafter as was necessary to protect the interests of the Government. Now, do not get scared at Government ownership there. Every man who came before our committee—the Secretary of War, Mr. Baruch, and all the rest of them—said it was not a Government-ownership question, and we did not want to consider it from that standpoint. It was from the standpoint of victory, and victory alone.

But here is the situation: If you put down a hard-and-fast rule that every one of these leases has got to terminate at the close of the war, what happens? One of two things happens. We will suppose the gentleman from Texas owns a power plant, and suppose the President in his wisdom makes an addition to it, and suppose this amendment prevails and the President can only lease it to you until the end of the war, and at the same time have the right to make a contract with you that you shall have the option of purchase at the close of the lease, what happens? That equipment which he puts in your plant is not worth a nickel to anybody on earth, is it? However, I would not say it was not worth a nickel, because it is worth a whole lot after you tear it down and move it away.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman have his time extended five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER] be extended five minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. DECKER. I thank the gentleman. Now, then, at the end of the war, as I said before, the plant is worth more to the

gentleman from Texas [Mr. GARNER] than anybody else, because it is on his premises, and he can use it in connection with the rest of his equipment. He may be a patriotic citizen and would like to pay the Government all it is worth. But he may not have the money necessary at the close of the war. Or he may be an unpatriotic profiteer, and want to buy it just as cheaply as he can at the close of the war. If this amendment prevails the President can sell it probably to no one but him, and he is apt to sell it at the gentleman's price, if the gentleman wanted to be grasping and miserly.

Now, then, the committee amendment is better than the one offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER].

The committee limited it to five years, and I respectfully submit that that is much better than limiting it to the close of the war. But I still submit that the best way that you can leave the bill is to leave it in the way it was drawn by the administration and trust the President of the United States and the men whom he will put in charge of it. There is no chance for them to go into Government ownership and operation of public utilities. That can not be done. It just gives them a chance to protect the interests of the United States in connection with this equipment which the Government installs. How many of these companies will have enough money to pay in five years to the Government what this property is worth? You will have to admit that the Government will have a great many things to look after during the five years following this war.

Why not leave it as it was written and say that the President shall draw the lease for the duration of the war and for as long thereafter as his judgment leads him to believe that it is good for the interest of the United States in this connection? It is not a question of Government ownership or a question of policy, but a question of what is the best way to protect the money which we are putting into these plants and getting as much of it back to our taxpayers as possible.

Therefore, gentlemen of the committee, I most earnestly oppose the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER]. I think that amendment would absolutely create chaos. It would produce absolute chaos.

I believe that the amendment of the committee, while better, should also be voted down, and that you should trust the President of the United States to protect the interests of the people in this case, and not have the Government put a lot of money into these plants and then let the owners of the plants buy them in at a song. I thank you, gentlemen. [Applause.]

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I have listened to the somewhat frantic attempts of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER] to throw fear into the ranks of those here who have been listening to and taking part in the discussion of this measure for the last two days.

In his statement he says that unless we pass this measure, this hodgepodge of legislation, without dotting an "i" or crossing a "t" we will have to answer for it. Who is it that has appeared and most strenuously argued for the passage of this legislation? They say one of the attorneys is an expert. He may be, but he is not an expert in drafting legislation. The other gentleman named was Mr. Bernard Baruch. Is he an expert in legislative drafting?

Now, I submit that if it is wise for the Congress to say that the Government can take over a vast system of railroads to serve all the people of the country and provide that they shall be taken over upon the condition that they shall be returned within a certain time after the war has ceased, it certainly is wise for us to put some safeguards into this measure.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALSH. I will.

Mr. DECKER. I would like to call the gentleman's attention to the fact that it is not a question of returning something to these private owners that we have taken from them. It is a question of giving them something that the taxpayers have paid for.

Mr. WALSH. This is the section that provides for increasing the capacity or productivity of any private power plant, and "any private power plant" includes a municipal power plant, and the only interests that are to be served under the language of the bill are the interests of the United States and of the communities served by the lessees. Nothing is said as to the interests of the industries which may be served by these power plants. What shall happen in the case of a power plant that has been enlarged or extended which is engaged in war work or in making munitions and is not furnishing power or light to a community? Are their interests to be entirely disregarded? Must they be held in abeyance for five years after the war?

Why, Mr. Chairman, from the very language in which the measure is reported by the committee, as was instanced here yesterday when we began the five-minutes debate on this measure, or during the early stages of it, there are places where amendments are manifestly required.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALSH. I yield to the distinguished chairman of the committee.

Mr. SIMS. I want to ask the gentleman a question where he referred to private power plants which are making munitions. The very section we are discussing is to permit the Government to lease to those very manufacturers plants if the Government should install a unit or any portion of it for a term not exceeding five years—to the men themselves who put up and own the industry. It is a matter of justice to them, of course, because in making contracts for power service the longer you have got in matters of this sort the better contract you can make.

Mr. WALSH. Then why limit it to five years?

Mr. SIMS. That is what the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER] contended. The amendment limits it to five years. The gentleman from Missouri was opposing the amendment of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER].

Mr. DECKER. And the committee amendment, too.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman did not say anything about the committee amendment.

Mr. DECKER. Oh, yes, I did.

Mr. TOWNER rose.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa——

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. TOWNER. Whom did the Chair recognize?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Chairman, I think a misapprehension exists on the part of those who support the amendment of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER]. This is not a provision that extends any lease. It is not a provision for the benefit of the Government. As I understand the amendment, it is a provision for the benefit of the owner or the operator of the plant. The first subsection provides for constructing a plant if necessary. The next subsection contains a provision for the installing of machinery in the plant. The third subsection is for the expansion of the plant, by which the Government may furnish money to assist in enlarging it. The next provision is for the purpose of taking over the plant. Now, these provisions are all harmonious, and, in my judgment, well thought out. I see nothing to object to in this particular provision, and I think the amendment suggested by the committee a wise one. I do not see any necessity for any change. In my judgment, it would be perfectly legitimate, and it would be in the interest of the Government and the people if there were not even a five-year limitation.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TOWNER. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. WALSH. I want to ask the gentleman if he thinks that under the provisions of this section the owner of the plant where this property is installed has got to take a lease of it from the Government?

Mr. TOWNER. I think so; yes.

Mr. WALSH. If the gentleman will examine the language he will see that it will not bear that construction.

Mr. TOWNER. But that has nothing to do with the provisions now under consideration. The bill provides that these appliances may be inserted in any privately operated plant. Then it goes on to say that they may lease this machinery and these appliances to the operator of the plant. That is for the benefit of the operator, for the benefit of the owner. Now, it may be vastly to the advantage of the owner if he can secure the use of the appliances and machinery that the Government has installed in his plant for a longer period than until the termination of the war, and it may be vastly to his advantage if he can secure the right and privilege to use it for a period of not exceeding five years.

Mr. DECKER. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. TOWNER. I have just a moment or two. I hope the gentleman will excuse me until I finish. It seems to me that this provision is so manifestly for the benefit not only of the Government but of the owner and operator of the plant that there ought not to be any hesitancy about supporting the amendment of the committee.

Mr. Chairman, let me say this: These provisions are all of them war measures. This amendment of the committee is not to increase the war powers of the Government. It is for the benefit of the owner as well as the Government. It is an amendment in the interest of conservatism. It is an amendment in the interest of those people who believe that the Government ought not to go any further than is absolutely necessary. It is an amendment for the benefit of the owner or the operator of the

plant, whoever he may be, and so I see no reason whatever to support the amendment of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER].

I now yield to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER].

Mr. DECKER. Can not the gentleman think of instances where it might be to the interest of the owner and to the interest of the Government as well—for what is fair and just is always in the interest of the Government—that this lease should be for a longer time than five years?

Mr. TOWNER. I suppose there is no doubt about that. But the committee amendment is an extension of the time provided in the original bill, and while it might have gone further, I support the action of the committee as wise, as far as it goes.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I move to strike out the last two words. I was interested in what the gentleman from Missouri said as to this bill having had very careful consideration by the great Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. I do not know what the gentleman calls careful consideration. The fact is that this bill was reported within one day after the hearings closed. It had no real consideration whatever, according to the statement of the chairman of the committee [Mr. SIMS], because the committee did not make a single change in the bill sent to them, except only in a few committee amendments, all of which have so far been beaten. That is the "careful consideration" that this bill has received at the hands of the committee.

Gentlemen will recall that a few days ago the greatest revenue bill that this country or any other country has ever enacted—a bill containing 200 pages—was passed by this House without one single amendment, except amendments recommended by the committee. In the bill now under consideration, which the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] well describes as a hodgepodge, within four pages nine amendments have already been adopted. Why, the report on this bill was never submitted t the committee. It was a newspaper article written some weeks ago by the distinguished chairman of this committee, and not even looked over by himself, according to his own statement, before it was printed. Yet gentlemen call that sort of thing careful consideration. Why, I doubt whether the President of the United States has ever read this bill. The Secretary of War admits that he has only casually glanced at it. Yet we are asked to pass this bill exactly as it stands, a bill which has had no consideration whatever. We ought to recommit this bill to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and have some intelligent consideration given to it. It is almost an insult to the intelligence of this House when such a measure and such a report as this are brought in here. There is no man in this House, I think—least of all myself—who would withhold for a moment any proper power from the President of the United States; and in so far as electrical power may be lacking, I shall vote for any well-considered bill and for any amount of money that is necessary to carry on our war preparation, but to be asked under these circumstances to vote for this hodgepodge, which has had one day's consideration by the committee, is, as I said before, little less than an insult to the intelligence of this House.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I am very much surprised at the statements of the gentleman from Ohio, for I think he has always been considerate and conservative and a very useful Member of the House. I do not propose to withdraw or modify that statement; but I am surprised that the gentleman is so opposed to the bill, and that he wants it recommitted on the ground that its architecture, its phraseological architecture, mind you, does not measure up to his literary standards. The conditions of climate and season make it absolutely necessary to pass this great war measure as soon as possible, so that the necessary machinery may be obtained and installed and go into use in time to prevent the stoppage of the building of ships and the lessening of the manufacture of guns and ammunition. Yet the gentleman wants it referred back to the committee which, he says, have given it no consideration whatever. I do not know why the gentleman made that statement. There is nothing in the record to justify such a statement.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Does the gentleman deny that the bill was reported to the House one day after the hearings closed?

Mr. SIMS. The bill was reported one day after the hearing of the engineer commissioner of the power section of the Fuel Administration. All the other hearings had been printed long before, except Dr. Garfield's.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Did the committee consider this bill for more than one day?

Mr. SIMS. The committee considered this bill for about two weeks, in executive session, almost every day.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Oh, the committee was having hearings, and the report shows it.

Mr. SIMS. The gentleman has heard of a matter that I would not have thought that he would refer to, for the reason that I told him myself. It does not hurt me a particle; therefore, I will state the facts. About two weeks ago the editor of the Annalist in New York asked me to prepare an article of about 2,000 words, giving the objects and purposes of this bill, and I did so. I kept a typewritten copy of it, and when I began to write the report I used that part of it in stating the objects and purposes of the bill. I do not know whether it was ever printed or not. There was a typographical or clerical error in it.

The gentleman pointed out an error, but he was not deceived by it; he could tell from every word in the report what the meaning was. It showed that it was an error and that it did not mean "to develop power in a way which was not so economical or satisfactory for utilization."

Now, let us talk plainly about this. Some people are opposed to Government-constructed plants that would enable such plants after the war to compete with other power plants and bring down the profits of existing plants or that might compete with them. The bill is for the war period only, but the President may make contracts continuing for five years or for a shorter period. As the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. TOWNER] says, there may be cases where by giving the operator a 10-year lease instead of 5 he may be able to pay back all the Government has put in, when he would not be able to do it within the 5 years or 4 years or 3 years, and therefore save the Government in having to bear the excessive war cost by reason of construction during the war period.

The owners of power plants—water-power plants, carboelectric system or otherwise—are interested in preventing the building of more competing plants in their respective regions. They are in part to blame—I do not mean the Members of the House—but I know whereof I speak; and while the country stands in danger of being held up in its war program by not being able to build ships to send our soldiers abroad and to carry ammunition for their use, by preventing the steel companies from manufacturing steel for the United States to build the ships, and by preventing the coal mines being operated as expeditiously and as fully as possible, yet gentlemen stand here and talk about the Senate not passing the bill until after the election. The same language was used in reference to the wire-control bill when some were dying for a recess, that the Senate would not pass it in three or four weeks' time, or possibly as many months. That bill left the House, went to the Senate, and was passed in three days without a single, solitary amendment to it. The Senate is just as patriotic as we are and have made a splendid record for dispatch of the public business during this session of Congress. Let us do our duty, and I am sure the Senate will do its duty.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Mr. Chairman, I do not know that I thoroughly understand just exactly what certain language in this bill means. I want to call to the attention of the committee the language beginning on page 5, line 8—all of that section, and I want you to look at that language carefully. I want the attention of the chairman of the committee in order that I may get from him whether or not the construction I put upon it is correct; whether the language is susceptible of that construction:

> Whenever any such structures, machinery, or appliances shall have been installed and until the sale or other disposition thereof, the title thereto shall remain in the United States and shall be free and exempt from any liens, mortgages, judgments, or other encumbrances, whether created by act of the operator of such plant or by operation of law. And upon and during any default in any payment of any sums due the United States under such lease or contract the President shall be empowered at all times to enter upon the premises upon which such machinery, structures, or appliances shall be installed and there to maintain and to operate them or any of them for the use of the United States free from any rent or other charge, or to take possession of and remove them or any of them from the premises.

I presume that applies to property bought by the United States Government, but it does not say so.

Mr. SIMS. It applies to the property that the Government has created, aided, or assisted in constructing.

Mr. SISSON. If the Government shall enter upon the premises upon which machinery, structures, or appliances shall be installed, desiring to increase production of that commodity, it buys or places in that plant property in the nature of fixtures on the real estate. For illustration, suppose I buy from the gentleman from Tennessee a piece of property worth $100,000. I pay $50,000 cash and give my note with a mortgage on the plant for the balance. After that is done the Government takes charge of the property and enters into a contract with me, what attitude is the gentleman from Tennessee in in reference to the balance of the purchase money when it comes due?

Mr. SIMS. It can be collected like any other debt.

Mr. SISSON. Let us see whether you can or not.

There is no lien on it, no mortgage or judgment against the Government. Therefore it is made to apply to the property of the lessee. It is bound to be a lien on the lessee's property, which might disturb the Government in its possession and its operation of the plant. Therefore, in order to guarantee to the Government secure operation of the plant for manufacturing munitions you defeat every mortgage creditor, and there is not a line or a syllable in this bill in reference to giving notice by the Government to the lessee or to the creditor. There is no way to safeguard the creditor in regard to any property that the Government may acquire a lease upon, and the creditor might be ruined. He must stand by and stand mute. Because in so many words you say it shall be free and exempt from any mortgage, judgment, or other encumbrances, whether created by the act of the operator of such plant or by operation of law. These matters are suspended. That is my construction of that.

Mr. SIMS. I can not agree to the gentleman's construction; it seems to me that the language is plain, that it means the machinery installed, the title of which shall remain in the United States; the title is to be in the Government itself.

Mr. SISSON. Then, if it is true that the title to the property is in the Government itself, if it is property which the Government itself buys, is the Government trying to defeat its own indebtedness?

Mr. SIMS. The Government is not buying it, it is installing machinery at its expense, and retains the title to it.

Mr. SISSON. I understand that, but it does not matter who buys it. If the Government buys it and pays for it, if it buys it for the owner or tells the owner, if you will buy it we will pay for it; then the Government ought to make the contract good. In other words, there ought not to be any contract that is not made good, if it is true what the gentleman indicates.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. SISSON. I ask for five minutes more.

Mr. SIMS. Debate on this amendment has already closed, and the gentleman is simply raising a technical question that will not affect adversely the rights of any. Are we going to take care of possible and imaginary injuries to a man whose property has been vastly benefited by Government expenditures?

Mr. SISSON. I do not know whether it is going to be vastly benefited; that is the very thing I want to get at.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SISSON. I will now yield to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER].

Mr. DECKER. As I understand lines from 8 to 14, to which the gentleman referred specifically, say the structures and appliances which the Government installs.

Mr. SISSON. Well——

Mr. DECKER. Of course, the Government should retain the title. In other words, it is just a statement that if the money was spent for putting them up, we will have the first lien.

Mr. SISSON. I do not object to that; that is absolutely unobjectionable; nobody objects to it; but the Government itself then ought not to ask for this protection, because the Government ought to pay its own obligations. If this is intended to prevent the sale or acquisitions of money out of property which has been sold upon which a mortgage is in existence, the Government takes it over; the Government ought not to defeat the creditor.

Mr. DECKER. It would not do that; and let me explain why.

Mr. SISSON. If that is true, then the Government itself ought to pay its own obligations.

Mr. DECKER. The Government pays its own obligations.

Mr. TOWNER. Will the gentleman permit?

Mr. SISSON. I will.

Mr. TOWNER. I think the gentleman may perhaps have arrived at a mistaken construction of this——

Mr. SISSON. Perhaps I have.

Mr. TOWNER. As to the use of the word "structures." I apprehend the gentleman construes it might be buildings that belong to the company. I think not, because that means only the additions the Government makes, and all these further words——

Mr. SISSON. If the Government enters into a contract with this man, the Government can protect by contract the placing of permanent improvements upon the land. I assume, of course, the Government is going to have sense enough to protect itself or its attorneys in the contract which it makes. What I am endeavoring to find out is if the Government proposes to deal fairly with people, and we must assume it will, this language is unnecessary, unless it expects to give to the agent of the Government the right to be severe with people.

Mr. TOWNER. Let me finish the statement, if the gentleman will.

Mr. SISSON. Very well.

Mr. TOWNER. This exemption, because it is nothing more than exemption, says that notwithstanding that fact, for instance, a structure might be, of course, an addition to the reality, might be subject, if this limitation was not made, to such encumbrances.

Mr. SISSON. Yes.

Mr. TOWNER. This says if the Government shall put these structures up, add this machinery, they shall be all exempt from any lien that may be made by the owner or operator of the plant. That is all there is of it.

Mr. SISSON. One moment. I have only five minutes, and I can not yield all of my time. Now, listen: If the purpose of this is to exempt the improvements placed on the real estate at the expense of the Government so that the guaranties of the company or the individual, or maybe the Government, which acts as their agent, becomes subject of the property, it ought to say so, and the language can be made perfectly plain if that is what the committee intends to mean, that it shall mean that no man shall get any title to the improvements which the Government itself puts up, or the Government itself stands for and stands sponsor for, by virtue of the local law of any State, by virtue of putting the improvement or factory upon it, that the man owning the real estate who has a mortgage or deed of trust against the real estate shall obtain no title in the property that the Government places upon it——

Mr. TOWNER. That is what this does and only says he shall not convey or make——

Mr. SISSON. If that is the purpose of this language, I have no objection; but if the language shall have the construction that I placed on it first, and which might be placed upon it, then it is dangerous.

Mr. SIMS. We can always imagine things.

Mr. SISSON. I am not imagining anything, but the best way to prevent trouble in the future is to safeguard the rights of every man and to write the statute so that there can be no sort of difficulty.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. I will.

Mr. DUPRÉ. I imagine that there is not a quorum present, what does the gentleman imagine?

Mr. SISSON. I know there is not one here.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman makes the point of order that there is no quorum present. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Fifty-three Members are present, not a quorum.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, how many did the Chair announce?

The CHAIRMAN. Fifty-three.

Mr. SIMS. I move that the committee do now rise.

The question was taken, and the Chairman announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. SIMS. I ask for tellers.

Tellers were ordered.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair appoints the gentleman from Tennessee and the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. SIMS. I ask the Chair to appoint the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER].

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair appoints the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER] and the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. DUPRÉ].

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Chairman, I am not opposed to the committee rising, and I decline to serve.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair appoints the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH].

The question was taken; and the tellers reported—ayes 3, noes 44.

So the committee refused to rise.

The CHAIRMAN. On the point of no quorum there are 53 Members present, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The roll was called, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Almon	Beshlin	Browning	Campbell, Kans.
Anthony	Booher	Brumbaugh	Candler, Miss.
Aswell	Borland	Burnett	Cantrill
Bacharach	Bowers	Burroughs	Caraway
Baer	Britten	Butler	Carew
Barkley	Brodbeck	Byrns, Tenn.	Carter, Mass.
Bell	Browne	Caldwell	Cary

Chandler, Okla.	Glynn	London	Scott, Pa.
Church	Godwin, N. C.	Lufkin	Scully
Clark, Fla.	Good	Lundeen	Sells
Clark, Pa.	Goodall	McClintic	Shackleford
Classon	Goodwin, Ark.	McCormick	Sherley
Coady	Gould	McKenzie	Sherwood
Connally, Tex.	Graham, Ill.	McKinley	Shouse
Cooper, Ohio	Graham, Pa.	McLaughlin, Mich.	Siegel
Cooper, W. Va.	Gray, N. J.	McLaughlin, Pa.	Slayden
Cooper, Wis.	Greene, Mass.	McLemore	Slemp
Copley	Greene, Vt.	Madden	Sloan
Costello	Gregg	Maher	Small
Crago	Griest	Mann	Smith, Thomas F.
Cramton	Griffin	Martin	Snell
Currie, Mich.	Hamill	Mays	Snyder
Curry, Cal.	Hamilton, N. Y.	Meeker	Stafford
Dale, N. Y.	Harrison, Miss.	Merritt	Stedman
Dale, Vt.	Harrison, Va.	Miller, Minn.	Steele
Darrow	Haskell	Moore, Pa.	Steenerson
Davis	Haugen	Morin	Sterling, Ill.
Delaney	Hayden	Mott	Sterling, Pa.
Dempsey	Hayes	Mudd	Stiness
Dent	Heaton	Neely	Sullivan
Dewalt	Heintz	Nelson	Sweet
Dickinson	Hicks	Nolan	Swift
Dies	Holland	Oliver, Ala.	Switzer
Dill	Hollingsworth	Oliver, N. Y.	Tague
Dixon	Hood	Olney	Talbott
Dominick	Howard	O'Shaunessy	Taylor, Colo.
Donovan	Humphreys	Padgett	Templeton
Dooling	Husted	Paige	Thomas
Doremus	Hutchinson	Parker, N. Y.	Thompson
Doughton	Jacoway	Peters	Tillman
Druckker	Johnson, S. Dak.	Phelan	Tilson
Dyer	Johnson, Wash.	Platt	Timberlake
Edmonds	Jones	Porter	Tinkham
Ellsworth	Kahn	Powers	Treadway
Elston	Kearns	Pratt	Van Dyke
Emerson	Kehoe	Price	Vare
Estopinal	Kelley, Mich.	Purnell	Vinson
Evans	Kennedy, Iowa	Ragsdale	Voigt
Fairchild, G. W.	Kennedy, R. I.	Rainey, Henry T.	Walton
Farr	Kettner	Rainey, John W.	Ward
Ferris	Key, Ohio	Ramsey	Watson, Pa.
Fess	Kiess, Pa.	Randall	Watson, Va.
Flood	Kitchin	Rankin	Weaver
Flynn	Knutson	Riordan	Welling
Fordney	Kreider	Robbins	Whaley
Foss	La Follette	Roberts	White, Me.
Francis	LaGuardia	Robinson	White, Ohio
Frear	Lea, Cal.	Rowe	Williams
Freeman	Lee, Ga.	Rowland	Wilson, Ill.
Fuller, Ill.	Lehlbach	Russell	Wilson, La.
Fuller, Mass.	Lever	Sanders, Ind.	Wilson, Tex.
Gallivan	Linthicum	Sanders, La.	Winslow
Gard	Little	Sanford	Woodyard
Gillett	Littlepage	Saunders, Va.	Zihlman
Glass	Lobeck	Scott, Iowa	

Thereupon the committee rose; and Mr. FOSTER having resumed the chair as Speaker pro tempore, Mr. HOUSTON, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee, having under consideration the bill H. R. 12776, finding itself without a quorum, he had caused the roll to be called, and that 171 Members answered to their names, a quorum, and that he presented therewith a list of the absentees for insertion in the Journal and RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The committee will resume its session.

The committee resumed its session.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, all time has been exhausted, and considerable more was given by unanimous consent, on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER] to the committee amendment, or in lieu of the committee amendment—I have forgotten how it was put—on the bottom of page 4, and I now ask for a vote on the amendment.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I would like one minute only in which to reply to the argument made against my amendment.

Mr. SEARS. I object, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in two minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee asks that all debate on this amendment close in two minutes, the time to be occupied by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER].

Mr. WINGO. On this amendment or this section?

Mr. SIMS. On this amendment and amendments to the amendment.

Mr. WINGO. That does not get you anywhere.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. I object.

Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

Mr. SIMS. Let us have a vote.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] moves that the committee do now rise.

Mr. SIMS. "The gentleman from Tennessee" did not make the motion. I want a vote on this amendment. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER] asked for two minutes, and I agreed he might have it. I want a vote on this amendment. I want to appeal to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. NICHOLLS] that we have a vote on this amendment.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. If the gentleman from Tennessee will agree to vote on it in two or three minutes, I am willing to agree to it.

Mr. SIMS. The vote will come in just a moment.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. All right. I withdraw my motion.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER] is recognized for two minutes.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I have not tried to delay this bill, and I am very sorry the point of no quorum has been made, because I would rather discuss matters here before a few Members who are here than have Members vote who come from outside who do not know anything about it.

It has been suggested that this provision is for the benefit of the operator of the plant. If they will read the hearings, they will find it is not. Mr. Baker, the Secretary of War, said that he wanted to keep the plants so as to be able to know what to do with them after the war, and he was rather in favor of permanent ownership. Mr. DILLON thought they might go down in value so that the Government would lose money and he wanted to speculate on the value of keeping them. Mr. MYERS said that he wanted to straddle the question of Government ownership. I do not want to straddle that question. Six months after the declaration of peace means a year and a half after the war probably, which means ample time for Congress to dispose of plants if nobody else does. And it is neither constitutional nor sensible nor just that an owner be told that he must take a lease for five years of these new structures that we put in his plant; that "if he does not pay the rent he must let the Government take possession, and in any case he must let the Government speculate on what the value of these new structures shall be." It is a private power plant and the owner is entitled to get it back on proper terms at the end of the war.

That is all I have to say.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER].

The question was taken, and the Chair announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Division, Mr. Chairman.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 23, noes 52.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey, Mr. WALSH, Mr. SIMS, and Mr. ANDERSON rose.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, a vote on the committee amendment, which perfects the paragraph, is pending.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now recurs on the committee amendment.

The question was taken, and the Chair announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Division, Mr. Chairman.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 59, noes 2.

So the committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WALSH, Mr. ANDERSON, and Mr. PARKER of New Jersey rose.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] is recognized.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment as a substitute for subsection 2.

The CHAIRMAN. There is another committee amendment pending.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Before that I desire to offer an amendment amending section 2 by the insertion of certain words.

Mr. WALSH. You have to vote on the committee amendment first.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 5, lines 13 and 14, strike out the words "owner or."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 5, line 17, strike out the word "pe" and insert in lieu thereof the word "be."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER], a member of the committee. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. PARKER of New Jersey: Page 4, line 16, after the words "private power plant," insert "or plants in connection therewith for the production of gas, coke, toluol, benzol, coal-tar products, and any other useful products that may be produced through or in connection with the coking of coal or lignite or through or in connection with the combustion of any fuel.

Mr. WINGO. A point of order, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. WINGO. I thought we passed that paragraph this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the paragraph we have just been considering an amendment to.

Mr. WINGO. We have been considering an amendment to section 2.

The CHAIRMAN. Subsection 2.

Mr. WINGO. I make the further point of order that we have voted on the item in amendment already.

Mr. HAMLIN. It is all one section.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Will the gentleman allow me one minute to explain why it is? It is necessary because we have been providing that——.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER] will suspend. The Chair understands the amendment has not been offered at this place.

Mr. WINGO. I may be in error. Where is the language it is proposed to strike out?

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will again report the amendment.

The amendment was again reported.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. That does not strike out anything.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER] is recognized.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I desire to point out to the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and the members of the Committee of the Whole the fact that we limited the function of a private power plant exclusively in the production of power. If there be private power plants in which the Government installs machinery they may want to put in that machinery not for the increase of the production of power but for the improvement of the work done there in connection with the power in by-products. All of this amendment would have been unnecessary if it had been adopted in the definition of a power plant, as I proposed in the beginning. If it is not adopted the Government would not be able when it went into a private power plant to improve the gas works in connection with it unless this provision is put in this bill, and it will have to be put in every clause.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Yes; I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HAMLIN. I think the gentleman's amendment is a good one. The gentleman uses the original language?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I did draw it so as to use the original language.

Mr. HAMLIN. I suggest that the gentleman put in "carbonizing of lignite."

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Yes. I shall have to offer it in several places in order to perfect the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the Chairman announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a division.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Minnesota calls for a division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 34, noes 3.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WALSH rose.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I have a little amendment here to perfect the text.

Mr. WALSH. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee with pleasure.

Mr. SIMS. At the end of line 5, page 5, strike out the word "at," and then on line 6, page 5, strike out the words "their then value or" and insert "for such an amount and." This has been submitted to Mr. ESCH and Mr. WALSH and others and it improves the bill. I do not want to discuss it further.

Mr. ANDERSON. Let the amendment be reported.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee will please repeat his amendment.

Mr. SIMS. The amendment is this: At the end of line 5, page 5, strike out the word "at," and in the beginning of line 6 strike out the words "their then value or" and insert "for such an amount and." There is no objection to it.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Tennessee.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SIMS: Lines 5 and 6, page 5, strike out the words "at their then value or" and insert in lieu thereof "for such amount and."

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman from Tennessee a question. What does this amendment do?

Mr. SIMS. It is necessary on account of another amendment that will be offered as a substitute for section 3 to strike out the words "the then value," so that the contracts may be made for such an amount as then may be found to be just and not upon "the then value." It has been thoroughly considered, and we believe it should go in.

Mr. ANDERSON. There is nothing in this bill that fixes the amount.

Mr. SIMS. But the substitute section does. It provides that the contract may provide for the amount to be paid instead of "the then value."

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. GARNER. As I understand it, you are considering now section 4. Is that it?

Mr. SIMS. No; subsection 2 of section 2.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment as a substitute for section 2.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to perfect the text.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Minnesota offers a preferential amendment to perfect the text.

Mr. SIMS. As soon as the gentleman from Massachusetts offers his amendment I will move that the committee rise.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina rose.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from South Carolina rise?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. I rise for the purpose of moving that the committee do now rise.

The CHAIRMAN. An amendment is pending before the committee. The gentleman has not the floor for the purpose of making that motion.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. I understand, Mr. Chairman, that that motion is always in order.

The CHAIRMAN. If the gentleman had recognition from the Chair for that purpose he would be recognized to make the motion, but the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] was recognized.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Then I withdraw it for that purpose, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ANDERSON: Page 4, lines 20 and 21, strike out the words "by providing the operator of such plant with funds to be applied to that purpose" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "by advancing to the operator of such plant upon such security and such terms of payment of principal and interest as he may prescribe.

Mr. CANNON. Is that on page 4?

The CHAIRMAN. Page 4, lines 20 and 21.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I feel like saying, as I said before, that I see no objection to it. But it is unsafe to say that much on the spur of the moment; but believing, as I do, that the gentleman from Minnesota is a friend to the bill and wants to perfect it I shall not object.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, the provision "by providing the operator of such plant with funds to be applied to that purpose" is so general as to involve, perhaps by implication, the making of a gift. It involves no assumption at all of repayment. What I want to do is to have it indicated that, so far as the Congress is concerned, it desires that the money shall be repaid in so far as it is possible, in the discretion of the President, to have it repaid.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman state his amendment again? I did not catch it.

Mr. ANDERSON. I propose to insert in lieu of the language stricken out this language: "By advancing to the operator of such plant funds to be applied to that purpose upon such security and upon such terms of payment of principal and interest as he may prescribe." That leaves the question of the terms entirely within the discretion of the President, but it does indicate that the repayment is to be made.

Mr. DECKER. What do you strike out and put that in in place of?

Mr. ANDERSON. The words "By providing the operator of such plant with funds to be applied to that purpose."

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I can see no objection to this amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON].

Mr. DECKER. Just a moment——

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Missouri rise to oppose the amendment?

Mr. DECKER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. DECKER. I am not sure that I understand the meaning of this amendment, but I think it my duty to call the attention of the House to one of the purposes of this bill, and I am afraid the gentleman's amendment contravenes that purpose. If the gentleman's amendment means that in all events the principal and interest shall be paid back by the man to whom the money is advanced, then you defeat the purpose of the bill.

Mr. RAKER. That is the purpose of the amendment.

Mr. DECKER. Because we might just as well face conditions as they are. This is the situation as testified to by the chairman of the War Industries Board and other public men charged with the responsibility of providing for the necessities of the war. There is a great need for more power. The men who own these power plants say—I know none of them personally—that from a financial standpoint they can not make the additional improvements necessary to furnish the power, because the cost of the equipment is so high, the money market being monopolized by the Government, that they can not get the money to increase their plants. But the lack of money is not the only thing. The abnormal cost of equipment will not, in their judgment, justify a reasonable interest on the investment, and if you put in here an iron-clad requirement that they must pay it back dollar for dollar with interest, then it will defeat the principal purpose of the bill, because in another place in the bill we provide that if we loan money to these people and request them to spend that money in equipping their plants so that we may have the power necessary to win the war, and if it afterwards develops that they have suffered loss, we will not require them to pay back the full amount, but will make an adjustment between what the property is really worth to them as a financial investment and what it actually cost.

Mr. ANDERSON. That is taken care of in subsection 3 of this section anyway. It has no relation to this particular provision.

Mr. DECKER. But it is absolutely in conflict with that section. I think it indicates the intention of Congress that this money shall be paid back dollar for dollar with interest. If it means that, then it conflicts with the section, which you admit is there, and defeats the very purpose of the bill.

Mr. ESCH. Will the gentleman be satisfied if from the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota there be eliminated the words "terms of payment of principal and interest," thus leaving it practically to read as follows:

By advancing to the operator of such plant funds to be applied for that purpose upon such terms as the President may prescribe.

Mr. DECKER. "Upon such terms"?

Mr. ESCH. Yes. That bill gives to him the full authority.

Mr. DECKER. The bill as it is now written provides how money shall be paid and what shall be done with it, and that we shall have the property. But the way the bill is now drawn, we can advance the money if they want it. We can put up the property at our own expense, knowing when we put it up that when the war is over it will not be worth as much as it costs, but knowing that we, the Government of the United States, are able to stand a loss when a private individual would not be able to stand it.

Mr. ESCH. This does not obligate the operator to pay it back, because it leaves it to the President to fix the terms, and we strike out the word "provide," and I think that is wrong. I agree with the gentleman from Minnesota that it should be "advance" instead of "provide," and we should leave the rest to the discretion of the President. We are doing that all through the bill.

Mr. DECKER. But the amendment as written provides that the principal and interest shall be paid back.

Mr. ESCH. I think the gentleman can modify his amendment to obviate that objection.

Mr. DECKER. I think that should be modified to meet that objection, because this says to the President, "Mr. President, you can loan this money to them to win the war, but you have got to provide terms whereby they will pay back the principal and interest." If they could borrow the money to pay back the principal and interest they would go ahead and make these improvements themselves, but the evidence is that no business man is willing to borrow money for this purpose, because it is not a business proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I should like to be heard on the amendment. As I indicated a moment ago, the section as it now reads authorizes the President to provide the owner or operator of a plant with funds to be applied to the purposes specified in the section. Now, the word "provide" does not carry any assumption or any intendment of repayment. There are three methods of procedure prescribed in this section: First, the President may construct the plant; second, he may loan to the operator of the plant or advance to the operator of the plant the funds necessary to extend it, and those two propositions are preferential; in the third place, he may do what the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER] suggests—he may advance money to the operator of the plant under an agreement that certain extensions are to be made, and that the repayment of an amount equal to the depreciation as a result of the war, between the value of the plant at the time it is constructed and at the end of the contract period, shall be waived. Now, these three methods are alternative, and the last one is to be used only in case the plant is not constructed by the Government or the money is not advanced to the operator upon the basis of repayment. There is no question in the world but that the subsection 2 of this section contemplates that the money advanced shall be repaid, but it does not say so; and it ought to say so, because if it is possible to loan the money to the operators of these plants upon the basis of repayment, obviously that ought to be done, and it ought to be done in every case where it can be done. It seems to me the argument of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER] has no force at all in this situation, because the method which he suggests can be invoked, if it is necessary to do it, under subsection 3. It ought not to be invoked unless there is no other way of accomplishing the purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Minnesota.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 5, line 14, after the word "law," insert the following:
"*Provided*, That a declaration shall be made by the United States, through its officer making the installation and recorded in the office where the mortgage of said property would be recorded, declaring the intention to retain the title, describing the property and place of its location."

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I have examined that amendment, as I did the other, briefly, and it seems to me that there is no objection to it.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Carolina.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment as a substitute for subsection (2).

The Clerk read as follows:

Substitute for subsection (2), offered by Mr. WALSH:
"(2) To install in any existing private power plant such machinery or appliances or to erect such structures as he may deem necessary to increase the capacity or productivity of such plant upon such terms and conditions as he may determine: *Provided, however*, That no contract, lease, or agreement shall be entered into for a term exceeding five years after the termination of the war period: *And provided further*, That prior to the expiration of such term the title of the United States to such appliances, machinery, or structures shall be disposed of by the President in such manner as he may determine to be for the best interests of the United States."

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, the committee has been in session late for Saturday afternoon and has worked faithfully. We have had the best of good feeling; and while we might go on for an hour or an hour and a half, we can not finish the bill this afternoon. In view of the fact that the present amendment is a substitute for the entire subsection and can be printed in the RECORD so that Members can study it before voting on it, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and Mr. FOSTER having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, Mr. HOUSTON, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill H. R. 12776, the emergency power bill, and had come to no resolution thereon.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. THOMAS, by unanimous consent, was given leave of absence indefinitely, on account of important business and making liberty-loan speeches.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS IN THE RECORD.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I was requested by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. ROUSE] to ask unanimous consent that the following letters be printed in the RECORD, a letter by Mr. Tumulty and one from W. J. Cochran.

Mr. WALSH. On what topic?

Mr. SIMS. I have not read the letters closely.

Mr. WALSH. I reserve the right to object.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 23 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until Monday, September 30, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. KRAUS: A bill (H. R. 13024) to amend the war-risk insurance act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SMITH of Idaho: A bill (H. R. 13025) to provide for the establishment of a sanatorium at Lava Hot Springs, Idaho, for the treatment of persons in the military or naval forces of the United States, or who may be discharged therefrom for disability, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. CLARK of Florida: A bill (H. R. 13026) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to provide hospital and sanatorium facilities for discharged sick and disabled soldiers and sailors; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. McARTHUR: A bill (H. R. 13027) granting an increase of pension to Jessie P. Thompson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BLAND of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 13028) granting a pension to Mary Arthur; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. COADY: A bill (H. R. 13029) for the relief of William Dugent, alias William Brown; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. LINTHICUM: Resolutions of a public meeting held at Baltimore, Md., asking for a constitutional amendment prohibiting polygamy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. OSBORNE: Petitions of Mrs. Lena D. Snyder and of Mrs. Lilly A. Kimmell, both of Los Angeles, Cal., for the enactment of legislation to effect war-time prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *September 30, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we seek Thee because we are seekers after the truth. We have walked in holy fellowship with Thee in the path of nature, and from life's minute beginning up at last to man we have seen the mark of the divine power. We have followed Thy providence in human history. We have seen from that stream the tendency that makes for righteousness. We believe that Thou art leading on with all the forces of nature and of nature's King and Priest. We pray that Thou wilt guide us this day in the discharge of its duties, that in seeking a nation's destiny and a nation's highest welfare we may seek it in harmony with the will of God. We ask for Christ's sake. Amen.

NAMING A PRESIDING OFFICER.

The Secretary (James M. Baker) read the following communication:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D. C., September 30, 1918.

TO THE SENATE: Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. JOHN HOLLIS BANKHEAD, a Senator from the State of Alabama, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

WILLARD SAULSBURY,
President pro tempore.

Mr. BANKHEAD thereupon took the chair as Presiding Officer and directed the Secretary to read the Journal of the proceedings of the preceding session.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by G. F. Turner, one of its clerks, announced that the House disagrees to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11231) to regulate the hours of duty of the officers and members of the fire department of the District of Columbia, asks a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky, Mr. CROSSER, and Mr. CARY managers at the conference on the part of the House.

The message also announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 334) making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of October, 1918, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, and they were subsequently signed by the Vice President:

H. R. 11259. An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of those ores, metals, and minerals which have formerly been largely imported, or of which there is or may be an inadequate supply;

H. R. 12714. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919; and

H. J. Res. 333. Joint resolution to aid in combating "Spanish influenza" and other communicable diseases.

CALLING OF THE ROLL.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Gulon	McLean	Smith, Ariz.
Baird	Hale	McNary	Smith, Ga.
Bankhead	Hardwick	Martin, Ky.	Smith, Md.
Beckham	Henderson	Martin, Va.	Smoot
Benet	Johnson, S. Dak.	Myers	Sterling
Brandegee	Jones, N. Mex.	Nelson	Thompson
Colt	Jones, Wash.	New	Townsend
Culberson	Kellogg	Norris	Trammell
Cummins	Kendrick	Overman	Underwood
Curtis	Kirby	Penrose	Vardaman
Drew	Knox	Phelan	Wadsworth
Fernald	La Follette	Poindexter	Walsh
Fletcher	Lenroot	Pomerene	Watson
France	Lewis	Reed	Weeks
Frelinghuysen	Lodge	Shafroth	Wilfley
Gerry	McCumber	Sheppard	Williams
Gronna	McKellar	Shields	Wolcott

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I wish to announce that the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] are engaged in a conference with the House Members over House bill 11945.

Mr. McNARY. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] on official business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Sixty-eight Senators have answered. There is a quorum present.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, I was informed by telephone this morning that the President desires to address the Senate at 1 o'clock p. m. to-day. In view of that telephone message I send to the desk a resolution, for which I ask present consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The resolution was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Ordered, That a committee of five Senators be appointed by the Presiding Officer to inform the President that the Senate will be pleased to receive his communication at 1 o'clock p. m. on this date, and that the same committee receive him on his arrival at the Capitol and escort him to the Senate Chamber.

The PRESIDING OFFICER appointed Mr. MARTIN of Virginia, Mr. LODGE, Mr. JONES of New Mexico, Mr. OVERMAN, and Mr. POINDEXTER as the committee on the part of the Senate.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. PENROSE presented a resolution adopted by the Board of Trade of Philadelphia, Pa., favoring the passage of H. R. 12139, creating a commission to investigate the problems of reconstruction, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. MYERS presented a petition of the Rotary Club of Butte, Mont., praying for a Federal investigation of the conditions in the State of Wyoming affecting the production, transportation, and marketing of petroleum products, especially gasoline, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

GIFT FROM THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT (S. DOC. NO. 286).

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I report from the Committee on Printing the resolution which I send to the desk, authorizing the printing of the proceedings in the Senate on the acceptance of the vases from the French Government. I understand that the French ambassador is desirous of obtaining copies of the proceedings, and I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution. The printing will cost only a few dollars, and it provides that the proceedings be printed as a Senate document.

The resolution (S. Res. 311) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the proceedings in the Senate upon the acceptance of the vases presented by the French Government be printed as a Senate document, with illustrations.

DISTRICT FIRE DEPARTMENT.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives disagreeing to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11231) to regulate the hours of duty of the officers and members of the fire department of the District of Columbia, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. SMITH of Maryland. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments and agree to the conference asked for by the House, the conferees on the part of the Senate to be appointed by the Chair.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. SAULSBURY, Mr. KING, and Mr. DILLINGHAM conferees on the part of the Senate.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED.

H. J. Res. 334. Joint resolution making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of October, 1918, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION—WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mr. BENET. Mr. President, although I dislike to do so, I rise to a point of personal privilege.

On Saturday the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] had some discussion as to where I had been listed on polls they had taken of the Senate. I merely wish to say that until I spoke in the Senate on Saturday no one here or anywhere else had any right to say where I stood on suffrage or to list me on any poll. I had never expressed my position directly or by implication to anyone, and I do not wish any uncertainty to exist on that point.

I would not have said anything about it except for the statement in the New York Times of yesterday that my "defection" from the suffrage ranks had caused consternation in those ranks.

I wish now to repeat that if any man or woman put me on any list as prosuffrage they had no authority for so doing, and until I stated my position here Saturday no one had any right to put me on any list as being against the suffrage amendment, because I had not expressed my conclusion to any man or woman.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The morning business is closed, and the calendar is in order under Rule VIII, this being Calendar Monday.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the unfinished business, House joint resolution 200.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 200) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I closed my speech in behalf of the selective-draft act, as follows:

Mr. President, there are three primary steps this Nation should take promptly to convince our enemies of the futility of continuing this terrible struggle:

First. Select, drill, train equip, and make ready at the earliest possible date an army of a million men.

Second. Conserve our natural resources and human power by destroying throughout the Nation the liquor traffic.

Third. Stamp our professions of democracy with the seal of sincerity by enfranchising the integrity, intelligence, purity, strength, and lofty patriotism of our women.

We will soon have a million men and more on the battle line, and the German armies are now going toward Berlin. The end of the liquor traffic has been decreed, and before another year rolls around the last saloon in the United States will be closed forever. When the last vote is cast on House joint resolution 200 the Congress of the United States will have proclaimed to the world that this shall be a real, genuine democracy.

I was not so hopeful of it last Saturday, but I feel that that will be true in view of what I understand is going to take place to-day.

If this resolution fails now, it fails for lack of Democratic votes. The Democratic campaign cry, "Stand by the President in the conduct of the war," will again be proved by the record to be a political slogan rather than a patriotic appeal. Again will the record, made from the beginning of the war, show that Republicans have acted wholly as Americans, and given to the President more whole-hearted and generous support in what he deemed best for the prosecution of the war than the Democrats. This will continue till the war ends in a complete victory for our cause.

When Wyoming, in 1869, gave its women the right to vote, it decreed the ultimate enfranchisement of all women in this Republic and throughout the whole civilized world. This Nation can no more continue with the women of one State enjoying the highest boon of citizenship while the women of another State are denied that right than the Nation could remain half slave and half free. And so, with the passage of this resolution by the Congress will the men of the Nation have the opportunity to declare as a part of the fundamental law of the land that their mothers, wives, sisters, and sweethearts, who have helped build and fashion this Republic to be the savior to the world civilization and freedom, shall hereafter help to control, direct, and govern its destinies.

Woman suffrage is coming because of its inherent justice. You can no more stop it than you can reverse the decree of Sinai. It rests upon the eternal principles of right, and, even if we do defeat it now, it will be adopted before long. The objections to it need but to be stated to be refuted by reason and experience.

How did man become possessed of the right of suffrage? Not on account of his sex, but by reason of his brute strength. If woman had been the stronger physically, no one will dare say she would not have had the right of suffrage from the beginning.

Some object and say it will bring women into politics. So it will, but this will be well and good for politics. Women have elevated and purified politics wherever they have taken part in it. If men did not have the right to vote, their probable influence on politics would be a forcible objection to granting them that right. Not so as to women.

They say women will not vote. Neither do men. By enfranchising women we add very largely to those who do take an interest in public affairs and thus make surer the stability of our democracy.

Some oppose woman suffrage, strangely enough, because of woman's great influence now. I want her to have suffrage because her influence will be greater and more effective when she has the power to enforce it.

Others oppose it because they do not think the polls a fit place for women to be. That is a confession strongly against male suffrage and shows the need of a reforming influence. The effect of the presence of women at the polls in every suffrage State is a strong argument for suffrage. It not only shames the bad in men, but it brings out the good, and has greatly improved conditions.

Another objection is that women will be expected to discharge all public duties now imposed upon men and that they can not do it. Not so. Some men do one thing, some another. Some are relieved from certain duties and some are not. Some do what women ought to do. The right to vote will not carry with it the duty to do all things any more with women than it does with men.

Men and women differ temperamentally, physically, and mentally, and therefore women should not vote, say some. Why? They do differ, but this very difference is a powerful argument for suffrage. Laws must deal with women as well as men, and both should have a part in making them. Womanly knowledge, sympathy, intuition, and experience are needed to solve the problems affecting men and women, and more so to-day than ever before.

It will break up the home, say others. It never has done it. On the contrary, it strengthens home ties, brings a sweeter companionship, and develops a higher citizenship.

Will it lessen man's respect or chivalry toward women? No. If it did it would prove the man lacking in that regard for the duties of citizenship that each should have. If it has any effect in this regard it increases man's respect and regard for those who are sharing with him the duties of citizenship and doing well their part for State and Nation.

It is now urged with much vehemence that woman suffrage will greatly increase the ignorant vote of the country. If the States do their duty it will not only not increase the ignorant vote but it will greatly increase the intelligent vote. By the census of 1910 there were about 22,000,000 educated women over 21 years of age and about 2,000,000 illiterate ones. Is not it a good thing to add these 22,000,000 intelligent voters to the 24,000,000 educated male voters if you want intelligence in passing upon the great and complicated problems of modern civilization? It seems so to me. The States can exclude by proper regulation the ignorant woman as well as the ignorant man, and so, as a matter of fact, the adoption of this amendment will almost double our intelligence without adding to our ignorance at all. *Thus it will* add to the strength of that bulwark of a republic, an educated citizenship.

A man of great ability and high standing seriously contended before the committee that woman's duty to bear children should prevent us from giving her the right to vote. I can not grasp the force, logic, or justice of such a claim. On the contrary, it appeals most strongly to me as an argument for granting her this right. God, in His infinite wisdom, has imposed upon woman the divine burden of going down into the valley of the shadow of death to perpetuate the human race. That very fact proves to me that no one can be more safely intrusted with the welfare of the human race than woman.

Objection used to be made that it would be unfair for the small States to force such an amendment upon the large States. That was a reflection on the Constitution itself, but it has no force now since New York, the greatest State in the Union, with its millions, has adopted woman suffrage.

Some dare to say that the women are pro-German, and therefore *this* resolution should be defeated. That is a common assertion now when one has no argument to offer and is nothing less than a vile slander against the women of this country, who, longing for peace, are freely and cheerfully giving their sons, husbands, and loved ones and insisting that they shall fight until a victorious peace shall bless the world. No more helpful news can go to the German war lords than that the United States Congress has refused to give the women of this country a voice in governmental affairs, and no more discouraging news can be sent to the people of those countries who are fighting with us for liberty and democratic government.

Some oppose this resolution because the Socialists favor woman suffrage. Such a course consistently followed would defeat every progressive and humane proposal advanced during the last 20 years. What was denounced as socialism 22 years ago is now the law of the land, and political parties vie with each other in seeking credit for enacting the same. Socialists do favor it. Practically three-fourths of the Republican Senators and Representatives favor it. Over half the Democrats favor it. All political parties and their candidates declared for it. Why not make it unanimous? That might prove that it is not a socialistic measure.

Some learned men who loudly proclaim their devotion to the Constitution and our form of government urge most vehemently that this amendment should not be passed because it does not go directly to the people. That is an insidious attack upon our form of government and a serious reflection upon the Constitution itself. That Constitution adopted by the people themselves decrees the method to be pursued in amending it. That we are following. We believe in our Constitution; we adhere to the principles of our great democracy, and we are willing to abide by the will of the people expressed in the duly constituted way. If three-fourths of the legislatures of the Union do not ratify this amendment, we cheerfully abide the result.

The junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK], whom I admire for his courage and devotion to what he believes to be right, says that he is opposed to this resolution because he is a Democrat, meaning, as he has often expressed it, an old-fashioned Democrat.

The old-fashioned Democrat is a rara avis. He is hopelessly behind in the swift mutations of modern thought and world events, and his objections to the new order of things are like beating the air with words.

He also opposes this resolution, because he believes it will be detrimental to the interests of his section and make more difficult the solution of the problems which will confront it after the war is passed. Looking at it from his standpoint, as nearly as I can, it seems to me that if we add the education, intelligence, humanity, and refining influences of the splendid women of the South to that of the men, these questions can and will be better and more easily met. I have always believed that it is wise to add to the aggregate wisdom of the people and that by so doing we are able to solve any problem that may confront a democracy.

Some, admitting all that can be urged on the merits of woman suffrage, are clinging to the shreds of the doctrine of State rights and propose to vote against this resolution. The doctrine of State rights has become a mere convenience. It is invoked when we do not want a thing and cast aside when we do. There may be some excuse for invoking that doctrine in construing the Constitution when we are legislating, but there is no such excuse when we are proposing amendments to that Constitution. There is but one State right guaranteed by the Constitution, and that is given by the clause "that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." In every other respect the Constitution can be changed in the manner provided therein, and no State can justly complain of what three-fourths of the State legislatures may decree. The anomalous condition brought about by the present situation is an overpowering argument for a change. There is nothing sexual that would give suffrage to man and not to woman in any State of the Union. There is no reason why women should vote in one State and not in another. There is no just reason why a woman in one State should have the right to vote for all the officers of the Government, from constable to President of the United States, and a woman of equal intelligence in another can not vote for any. Why should a woman lose her right to vote by crossing an imaginary line or gain that right by doing so?

Those natural or physical qualifications over which the individual has no control should be dealt with by the national sovereignty to insure just and uniform treatment. It is entirely proper for the States to determine for themselves residence requirements and educational and other such qualifications for exercising the right to vote, but no State should have the right to say that a citizen can not vote because he is a male and another that she can not vote because she is a female.

This is not a local question. It is one of national and supreme interest, and the Nation should control it.

We are not doing a thing that affects one State in one way and another in some other way. The average woman in Missouri is the same as the average woman in Washington, just as the average man in one State is the same as the average man in another State. There are no peculiar conditions in any State affecting sex. It is the same everywhere. Sexual qualification for voting is not a part of an inferior sovereignty. Not only is the Nation interested in it because of securing just and equal treatment of its citizens, but it is interested in having the intelligence, humanity, and patriotism of all of its citizens used in meeting the complex questions that confront us.

It is urged that woman can not fight in war, and so should not be allowed to vote in peace. That objection is met by what they have done in this war in which the battle line at home is as essential to victory as the battle line at the front. They have won this war. The armed power of Germany could not have been stayed except with the heroic efforts and sacrifices of the women of Christendom; and it is but a feeble recognition of such services to permit them to share in the duties and responsibilities of peace in the countries they have saved for humanity, liberty, and democracy from the despotism of autocracy. President Wilson is eminently right when he says:

> The services of women during this supreme crisis of the world's history have been of the most signal usefulness and distinction. The war could not have been fought without them, or its sacrifices endured.

Mr. President, times are changing. There is a new order of things. We must meet this in an up-to-date way. Woman suffrage is not only a demand that must be heeded, but it is a vital need in this new order. When this war closes, our Nation will be confronted by the most serious and far-reaching questions that it has ever faced. The real test of our institutions and principles of government will come with the readjustment that must follow. We will need all the intelligence, all the humanity, and all the whole-hearted patriotism of our entire citizenship to carry us through. The earnest, loyal, united effort of our men and women will meet this crisis for the welfare of our people and the glory of our institutions just as that united effort is going to win this war. The great leaders of England know this need and admit it.

As I heard the able, wise, and patriotic junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS] speak so earnestly and clearly of

the need of early preparation to meet after-the-war problems, I could not help but contrast his attitude with the great statesmen of England. He thinks we should not delay making ready to meet these questions. I agree fully with him. He seems to attach no importance to the aid of the patriotic women of the country in solving these problems. He is going to vote against even giving the States a chance to say whether, under the Constitution that we hold up as the corner stone of real democracy, one-half of our citizenship shall have a direct part in working out these matters of vital importance to our industries and the Government itself. The women who furnish the fighters, as well as doing their full part in this war, he does not seem to consider worthy to take a direct part in the work of peace. The justice and reasonableness of such a position, I am sure, is clear to him; but it is wholly beyond me.

His able and learned colleague, who was most insistent that this Nation send the women's boys to the blood-soaked battle fields of Europe and who now declares upon all occasions that those boys must keep on fighting and dying until German autocracy and power are utterly destroyed, is most strenuous in his efforts to maintain autocracy over the best half of our citizenship. I am with him in his desire and effort to destroy German power and autocracy, but, to my feeble mind, his attitude toward our women is unwise, inconsistent, and wholly unjustifiable. What a contrast is the position of the great men and leaders of monarchical England.

Mr. Asquith says:

What moves me still more is the problem of reconstruction after the war. Questions which will necessarily arise in regard to women's labor and women's functions are questions in regard to which I, for my part, feel it impossible consistently with either justice or expediency to withhold from women the power and the right of making their voices distinctly heard.

Lloyd-George, the premier of England, thus expresses his views:

Women's work in the war has been a vital contribution to our success. It would have been impossible to produce that overwhelming mass of ammunition at the Somme had it not been for the work of women. Are you going to fling them out without a voice in determining the new conditions? It would be an outrage. That is why the woman question has become very largely a war question.

If English women can help, ours can do more.

The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BENET] says that he would vote for this resolution if he could be shown that it is necessary to win the war. It is not necessary to win the war, because the women are too patriotic to make it necessary. They will not quit work, they will not stop sacrificing, and they will not cease sending their boys to fight for the country if their wishes are not granted. That the passage of this resolution will help to win the war, that it will dishearten the enemy, that it will strengthen our allies, that it will vindicate democracy and give a new impetus to democratic thought and aspiration is not only the judgment of our women and many of our best and most patriotic men, but of the President of the United States and the Commander in Chief of our armies and navies, who ought to know and who does know better than anyone else what the effect of our action on this resolution is likely to be. He says:

Much of the morale of this country and of the world will repose in our sincere adherence to democratic principles, and the passage of the suffrage amendment at this time is an essential psychological element in the conduct of the war for democracy. Our action on this amendment will have an important and immediate influence upon the whole atmosphere and morale of the nations engaged in the war, and every day I am coming to see how extremely important that side of the whole thing is.

What better authority does the Senator from South Carolina desire than that?

The time is here, the hour has struck for us to allow our people in the way provided by the Constitution to enfranchise that great body of our citizens who are better fitted by intelligence, education, capacity, refinement, lofty motives, high aspirations, and native ability to discharge the duties of citizenship in this great Nation than any other class upon whom this right has ever been bestowed. The women of this country demand the right and power of the ballot. They are entitled to it, not as a special privilege but as a well-earned and well-deserved function of citizenship.

The VICE PRESIDENT resumed the chair.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, the right of women to vote has its justification in the political axiom of Thomas Jefferson that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed—a principle universally acknowledged in America and generally believed to be more or less in issue in the world contest now going on.

Macaulay says in his great history that—

None of those Virginian patriots who vindicated their separation from the British Empire by proclaiming it to be a self-evident truth that all men were endowed by the Creator with an inalienable right to liberty would have had the smallest scruple about shooting any negro who had laid claim to that inalienable right.

Some other historian will relate that for a century and a half after it was proclaimed, the nation which gave to the world the truism to which reference has been made continued to deny to one-half its people—that is, its women—any voice in the government to which they were subject or in the laws to which they were obliged to yield obedience—continued to deny them even after their sex was enfranchised by the government against which the principle was originally invoked in vindication of the revolt of the colonies through which our independence was attained.

The opponents of woman suffrage decline to follow the Jeffersonian aphorism to its logical conclusion because of the dire results to society they conceive such a course will bring. None of the evils they dread have manifested themselves among the people of Wyoming, whose women have voted for almost a half a century, nor in Colorado, where woman suffrage has prevailed for nearly a generation. For the greater part the considerations upon which the antisuffragist justifies his attitude, when he permits himself to reflect upon the subject at all, relate to matters of speculation either as to existing or future conditions.

Distinguished members of this body have asserted on the floor, in substance, "The women of my State do not want to vote and would not if given the opportunity." Such I understand to be the purport of remarks heretofore made by the senior Senator from Virginia and the senior Senator from Georgia. How has the fact been ascertained and upon what basis is the prognostication made? Are the women of Virginia or of Georgia essentially different from their sisters of California or Montana or New York or Texas or Arkansas? Despite the many racial strains in our blood we are a homogeneous people. The melting pot has, in the main, done its work well. I speak of those removed from the emigrant by at least one generation.

It is to be expected that in an environment and in an atmosphere permeated with the view that women give offense by harboring the natural desire to exercise the right that marks men as free, many women will exhibit an indifference and some an antagonism to their own enfranchisement. As a rule, the man who expresses the view that the women of his State do not desire to vote sees in them only the reflection of his own convictions or prejudices and voices his hopes rather than his knowledge. It is yet to be recorded that the women of any State in which they enjoy the right to vote have, in numbers not wholly negligible, urged that it be recalled. Moreover the prejudiced mind is very likely to mistake indifference for opposition. Many women betray an unconcern about public, and particularly about partisan, political contests. Why should they be expected to be deeply interested in affairs in the direction of which they are forbidden to have any real or at least effective part? Set them free and they will exhibit the same eagerness to play their part in democratic government, and at least the same mastery of the problems with which they are called upon to deal, as men do.

It must not be forgotten that from the day the Republic was established even unto this hour statesmen and publicists, journalists and orators, have been admonishing men not to neglect to exercise the privilege of the ballot. Argument and expostulation have both been exhausted in the endeavor to impress upon men the high character of the privilege they enjoy in the franchise and the solemn duty they owe to their country to exercise it. Notwithstanding the efforts of generations in this direction, it is doubtful if in the entire country 80 per cent of those duly entitled to the ballot vote at final or 40 per cent at primary elections.

The obligation to register is one of which the voter stands in constant need of reminding. The press at every recurring election spurs the laggard voter with reiterated admonitions that "if you do not register you can not vote." Importunate candidates for local offices hunt up the delinquent and see that he observes the requisite formality. Campaign managers take up the quest. Still the number who escape is always considerable and in an "off year," as shown by the election returns, is always large. If half the effort that has been made to induce men to vote were put forth to prevail upon women to overcome any indifference of which they may be guilty in that respect, it would have dwindled into unnoticeable proportions.

Mr. President, no one is more conscious than I of the utter futility of anything I may say in further discussion of this measure, so far as the impending vote is concerned. I improve the opportunity, accordingly, to say a word to the women voters of the country upon the more than usually imperative duty to register for and to vote at the ensuing election. Under any circumstances the privilege is inestimable in character. If you study the institutions of a foreign country and learn that the people thereof choose their own officers and, through representatives selected by them, make their own laws, you learn that its citizens are a free people. Freedom and the franchise are thus

indissolubly linked. It is by no means mere rhetoric to say that in this country every citizen is a sovereign. In voting he declares his will as to what laws shall be enacted and who shall be charged with the execution of them. His will, so recorded, within constitutional limits, a plurality of his fellow citizens concurring, is equivalent to that of any sovereign in the sense that all must yield to it.

But with the high privilege of the franchise goes the correlative duty to exercise it. If the entire electorate should express itself freely at the polls, the vast multitude who have no private interests to subserve, who are concerned only in the enactment of wise and just laws and in an honest and capable administration, as well as those who are looking for some special profit to themselves from the result, practically all reasonable doubt of the wisdom of their action would be removed. At least the liability to error that may mean disaster must be increased in proportion as the choice is surrendered to those whose judgment is warped by selfish interests. If the ordinary citizen is lax in the discharge of the all-important duty of voting, all manner of evils creep into the State, for those who seek to turn its machinery to their own profit will not fail to be on hand with all whom they may be able to control or influence.

The obligation on all who enjoy the privilege of the franchise to exercise it patriotically is especially imperative in this hour. To the women of the country to whom the right of suffrage has been extended I appeal particularly not to neglect the opportunity that is before you. Now, as never before, the country stands in need of the highest order of ability in the halls of Congress; the wisest, most capable, and efficient men procurable in executive places; and, above all, men actuated by one common, overruling purpose to labor unitedly to bring to a speedy and triumphant close this awful war and thereafter to effect such arrangements and conventions as shall assure the world against a repetition of its horrors.

Every day affords additional evidence that the insidious propaganda of the enemy is still being carried on in our midst. You need no assurance that his agents will not fail to improve the present opportunity to introduce confusion into our councils and thus to impede our progress toward Berlin and add to the perils of our brave sons at the front. The traitors will all be at the polls, the loyal women should not fail to be there as well.

In the fierce strife that characterizes party contests it is quite conceivable that in many instances the votes of those of faint hearts or weak heads, the easy victims of the artful and practiced German propagandist and trouble maker, may decide the election. Eliminate that possibility or reduce the chances to the limit by being there yourself, and remember that unless you register you can not vote. You may not have been ardent in the cause of woman suffrage in your State, you may even have been among those who believed for one reason or another that the policy under which you have become an elector is an unwise one. That is neither here nor there now. An obligation has been cast upon you which you can not escape without being false to your country. How you should vote it is not the purpose of this address to point out. But the country is entitled to the best judgment of each of its citizens, and all its citizens entitled, under the law, to express themsevles at the polls, as to whether the further conduct of the war should be intrusted to those who have thus far been charged primarily with the direction of it and with the enactment of the legislation necessary to carry it on, or whether they should give place to others who profess to be able to devise and enact wiser laws for its conduct and to provide more sagacious leadership for its direction.

The women of America have already written a glorious page in the history of the greatest of wars that have vexed the world. They, like Cornelia, have given, and freely given, their jewels to their country.

I was deeply touched while at my home recently by the enthusiasm displayed by a refined little woman in telling me of the hazardous and responsible duties of her only son—scarcely more than a boy—at the front, as recited by him in a letter she had recently received. Pride in the part he was playing in the great tragedy, in the event of which all that we hold dear is involved, had submerged apparently every vestige of apprehension concerning his fate.

It was at one time contended that women should not vote because they can not bear arms, though they bear children. It is now realized that wars can not be waged without the labors and sacrifices of those who remain at home. Their contribution, though less dramatic, and, be it freely said, less deserving of either praise or gratitude, is nevertheless indispensable.

Women have been foremost in every movement in this country looking to the vigorous prosecution of the war. The slackers have not been found among them. They will, with the same devotion, discharge the duty that now confronts them to vote and to register that they may vote.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It being nearly the hour of 1 o'clock and the President of the United States being in the Capitol of the United States, the committee heretofore appointed will escort the President to the Senate Chamber.

At 1 o'clock p. m. the President of the United States was escorted by the committee to a seat on the right of the Vice President, and the members of his Cabinet occupied the seats on the floor provided for them.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Senators, the President of the United States. [Prolonged applause.]

The President addressed the Senate as follows:

Mr. Vice President and gentlemen of the Senate, the unusual circumstances of a world war in which we stand and are judged in the view not only of our own people and of our own consciences but also in view of all nations and peoples will, I hope, justify in your thought, as it does in mine, the message I have come to bring you. I regard the concurrence of the Senate in the constitutional amendment proposing the extension of the suffrage to women as vitally essential to the successful prosecution of the great war of humanity in which we are engaged. I have come to urge upon you the considerations which have led me to that conclusion. It is not only my privilege, it is also my duty to appraise you of every circumstance and element involved in this momentous struggle which seems to me to affect its very processes and its outcome. It is my duty to win the war and to ask you to remove every obstacle that stands in the way of winning it.

I had assumed that the Senate would concur in the amendment because no disputable principle is involved but only a question of the method by which the suffrage is to be extended to women. There is and can be no party issue involved in it. Both of our great national parties are pledged, explicitly pledged, to equality of suffrage for the women of the country. Neither party, therefore, it seems to me, can justify hesitation as to the method of obtaining it, can rightfully hesitate to substitute federal initiative for state initiative, if the early adoption of the measure is necessary to the successful prosecution of the war and if the method of state action proposed in the party platforms of 1916 is impracticable within any reasonable length of time, if practicable at all. And its adoption is, in my judgment, clearly necessary to the prosecution of the war and the successful realization of the objects for which the war is being fought.

That judgment I take the liberty of urging upon you with solemn earnestness for reasons which I shall state very frankly and which I shall hope will seem conclusive to you as they have seemed to me.

This is a peoples' war and the peoples' thinking constitutes its atmosphere and morale, not the predilections of the drawing room or the political considerations of the caucus. If we be indeed democrats and wish to lead the world to democracy, we can ask other peoples to accept in proof of our sincerity and our ability to lead them whither they wish to be led nothing less persuasive and convincing than our actions. Our professions will not suffice. Verification must be forthcoming when verification is asked for. And in this case verification is asked for,—asked for in this particular matter. You ask by whom? Not through diplomatic channels; not by Foreign Ministers. Not by the intimations of parliaments. It is asked for by the anxious, expectant, suffering peoples with whom we are dealing and who are willing to put their destinies in some measure in our hands, if they are sure that we wish the same things that they wish. I do not speak by conjecture. It is not alone the voices of statesmen and of newspapers that reach me, and the voices of foolish and intemperate agitators do not reach me at all. Through many, many channels I have been made aware what the plain, struggling, workaday folk are thinking upon whom the chief terror and suffering of this tragic war falls. They are looking to the great, powerful, famous Democracy of the West to lead them to the new day for which they have so long waited; and they think, in their logical simplicity, that democracy means that women shall play their part in affairs alongside men and upon an equal footing with them. If we reject measures like this, in ignorance or defiance of what a new age has brought forth, of what they have seen but we have not, they will cease to follow or to trust us. They have seen their own governments accept this interpretation of democracy,—seen old governments like Great Britain, which did not profess to be democratic, promise readily and as of course this justice to women, though they had before refused it, the strange revelations of this war having made many things new and plain, to governments as well as to peoples.

Are we alone to refuse to learn the lesson? Are we alone to ask and take the utmost that women can give,—service and sac-

rifice of every kind,—and still say that we do not see what title that gives them to stand by our sides in the guidance of the affairs of their nation and ours? We have made partners of the women in this war; shall we admit them only to a partnership of sacrifice and suffering and toil and not to a partnership of privilege and of right? This war could not have been fought, either by the other nations engaged or by America, if it had not been for the services of the women,—services rendered in every sphere,—not merely in the fields of effort in which we have been accustomed to see them work, but wherever men have worked and upon the very skirts and edges of the battle itself. We shall not only be distrusted but shall deserve to be distrusted if we do not enfranchise them with the fullest possible enfranchisement, as it is now certain that the other great free nations will enfranchise them. We cannot isolate our thought or our action in such a matter from the thought of the rest of the world. We must either conform or deliberately reject what they propose and resign the leadership of liberal minds to others.

The women of America are too noble and too intelligent and too devoted to be slackers whether you give or withhold this thing that is mere justice; but I know the magic it will work in their thoughts and spirits if you give it them. I propose it as I would propose to admit soldiers to the suffrage, the men fighting in the field for our liberties and the liberties of the world, were they excluded. The tasks of the women lie at the very heart of the war, and I know how much stronger that heart will beat if you do this just thing and show our women that you trust them as much as you in fact and of necessity depend upon them.

Have I said that the passage of this amendment is a vitally necessary war measure, and do you need further proof? Do you stand in need of the trust of other peoples and of the trust of our women? Is that trust an asset or is it not? I tell you plainly, as commander-in-chief of our armies and of the gallant men in our fleets, as the present spokesman of this people in our dealings with the men and women throughout the world who are now our partners, as the responsible head of a great government which stands and is questioned day by day as to its purposes, its principles, its hopes, whether they be serviceable to men everywhere or only to itself, and who must himself answer these questionings or be shamed, as the guide and director of forces caught in the grip of war and by the same token in need of every material and spiritual resource this great nation possesses,—I tell you plainly that this measure which I urge upon you is vital to the winning of the war and to the energies alike of preparation and of battle.

And not to the winning of the war only. It is vital to the right solution of the great problems which we must settle, and settle immediately, when the war is over. We shall need then a vision of affairs which is theirs, and, as we have never needed them before, the sympathy and insight and clear moral instinct of the women of the world. The problems of that time will strike to the roots of many things that we have not hitherto questioned, and I for one believe that our safety in those questioning days, as well as our comprehension of matters that touch society to the quick, will depend upon the direct and authoritative participation of women in our counsels. We shall need their moral sense to preserve what is right and fine and worthy in our system of life as well as to discover just what it is that ought to be purified and reformed. Without their counsellings we shall be only half wise.

That is my case. This is my appeal. Many may deny its validity, if they choose, but no one can brush aside or answer the arguments upon which it is based. The executive tasks of this war rest upon me. I ask that you lighten them and place in my hands instruments, spiritual instruments, which I do not now possess, which I sorely need, and which I have daily to apologize for not being able to employ. [Applause.]

Upon the conclusion of the address, at 1 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m., the President of the United States, escorted by the committee of the Senate and accompanied by the members of his Cabinet, retired from the Chamber.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 200) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. President, I hope that a vote may be obtained on the pending resolution this afternoon and that the trying and troublesome question which confronts the Senate at this time may be disposed of so that we may attend to other business. Believing that it is possible and probable that the Senate will vote during the day, I do not desire the joint resolution to come to a vote without expressing to the Senate and for the benefit of my own constituency why I believe the joint resolution should not be passed.

There has been a great deal said in the pending debate as to why women should be given the right to vote. It has been contended that women have the character, the virtue, and the intelligence that should place them in governmental matters upon the same plane as man. To those arguments I have no answer to make. I recognize the intelligence of my helpmate in life and all other women. I recognize their virtue and their patriotism, and it would be idle for any man to stand on the Senate floor and combat this question from that standpoint.

It is because I believe that this Government is the greatest democracy of the world, that for a hundred years and more it has set the example of a true democracy to the people of the world and pointed the way to the freedom of other nations; it is because I believe it is through the power and the influence and the destiny of this Nation that the peoples of the world will be led to a true democracy that I oppose the passage of this joint resolution.

What does democracy mean? Does it mean the government of the mob? Does it mean the unrestricted right of government without process of law and without limitation? There is no more cruel master in the world, never has been and never will be, than the mastership of an unrestricted and irresponsible majority. The true basis of a democratic government has rested in this country for a century and a quarter, and will continue to rest as long as our Government survives, on the intelligent response to the Government for the interests of the people who are governed.

It is idle to say that the people of the United States, the greatest Government in the world, could establish a satisfactory and a free government for the people of Bulgaria, of France, or of Russia. Government is intended to carry out the will of the people, not the will of the majority of the people of all the world, because the people of all the world in the aggregate mass have not the same desires, the same virtues, the same necessities; and true government must in the last analysis reflect the needs, the desires, and the wishes of the people who are immediately governed. I do not suppose for a minute that any statesman would propose a United States of the World, where the majority of the people of the world would control the destinies of the minority of the people of the world. Now, applying that principle to ourselves, bringing the illustration nearer home, has the time come in our great Republic when the destinies of our people in their personal rights, in their home protection, shall be governed by a majority of the people of the United States, or shall the people in the local communities continue to have an opportunity to reflect their views, their wants, and their desires in the individual government of which they are an immediate part? That is the issue that is presented to the Senate. It is not a question of whether a woman should vote or whether a man should vote; it is not a question of whether a boy should vote or whether a soldier should vote; it is the great fundamental question of free government, of democratic government, responding to the wish of the governed.

If that be true, if we are to establish these principles in the interest of the people who are governed, then in this great Republic of ours we can not abandon local self-government; we can not abandon the integrity of the State government, because when that is abandoned we then have outlying provinces, police districts, that do not reflect the laws of the country but are merely a part of the machinery for the enforcement of law. If it be the case that we propose to continue to maintain the separate governments of the States in order that we may continue to maintain the great principles of democracy for the people of those sovereign States, then I say the Senate should pause and consider before it launches into the future this instrument that may be the final overthrow of the very life and integrity of these State governments.

If you adopt this joint resolution, its conclusion can not be reached during the period of this war. No man would be so bold as to predict that at the best the ratification of this amendment could occur within the next three or four years, for every man upon this floor knows that there are States in the Union that are as fundamentally opposed to the pending resolution as there are Senators on the floor of the Senate who are fundamentally opposed to it. The result of your action in submitting the amendment can not bear fruition unless this war runs far beyond the period which the military men of our Nation predict will be the termination of the war.

If it is essential and vital to the democracy of our land that the integrity of these State governments should be maintained and preserved for ourselves and for our posterity, then, I ask you, Mr. President, what are the great principles of government that must be sustained and regarded in order that the political life of the States may be maintained?

I take it that there are three fundamental principles on which independent government rests; there are three pillars of democracy that if any man destroys any one of them in the end he will destroy the fabric and the life of the State. One is the power to control the local police system of the States. By that I do not mean merely the police officer; I mean as well as the police officer the police laws. By the police laws I do not mean merely those laws that relate to the good behavior of the citizens of the States; that require men to be law-abiding and to remain within the letter of good morals; but by the police laws of the States I mean that system of laws by which the personal life of the citizen is directed and by which the personal liberty of the citizen is maintained. In my judgment, that can only be done by the reflection of the will of a community that is in touch with the desires and the necessities of the people of that community. When you pass an amendment to our Federal Constitution and give to the Federal Government powers that were not given in the beginning, powers that destroy the police power of the State, you tear down one of the pillars that sustains the temple of liberty.

There is another power that you can not surrender to the Central Government without endangering the integrity of the State government, and that is the power of local taxation. That is not involved in the pending resolution, and yet it is threatened under the Dome of the Capitol to-day. It has often been said, and truly said, that the power to tax is the power to destroy; and when you place the power of taxation in reference to local affairs in the hands of the Central Government then you place in the hands of the Central Government the power to destroy the integrity of your local governments. To-day there is pending in the Senate a bill proposing to tax the salaries of State officers and to levy Federal taxation upon the securities of a sovereign State. It is only a moderate degree of taxation; as has been said, it is a no more burdensome tax than is being laid upon Federal officers; but the Federal officer is a creature of the Federal Government, and the Federal Government will not destroy the Federal officer, because if it did so it would destroy the Government itself. When, however, you tell me that you can exercise the power of taxation to tax the salary of the governor of my State to the same extent that you properly tax my salary, then I tell you that if you can tax that salary 2 or 4 or 6 per cent, you can tax it 100 per cent, and make it impossible for the governor of a State to serve his people unless he does so without compensation, and so on all down the line of State officers.

When you say that you are prepared to surrender to the Federal Government the right to tax the securities of the State governments for war purposes in order to create a vacuum that Federal securities may have a larger market for sale, on the surface a very proper motive—and I do not question the patriotic sentiments of the men who propose it because it appears to be in the interest of carrying on the war—you do something that the Federal Government has never done before.

When you recognize the right and the power of the Federal Government to levy a tax of 2 per cent or 10 per cent on the income derived from State securities you recognize the power of the central Government to levy a tax of 100 per cent and destroy the opportunity of a State to finance itself; you destroy the opportunity of the State to live; to continue to exist.

Already you have attacked, either directly or indirectly, two of the pillars of democracy that have sustained this great Republic since the beginning, and the pending resolution would destroy the third, because the third pillar of democracy means this, that no government can exist as a free government, a sovereign government, a government responsive to and representative of the people governed unless that government within itself can control its own electorate. If you gave me the absolute power to fix the franchise in any State of the Union, I could determine in the end who would be the officers, who would control the government of that State. Suppose I went to a Northern State with the power to disfranchise all men save those who had leanings and sentiments toward the Hun. I could enforce in that way the election of traitors in the midst of a loyal people. Suppose I had the power to go to another State and disfranchise every man who could read and write. I could be sure by that method of having men elected to office to conduct a government that would not reflect the will or the virtues of an educated and intelligent people. Therefore, if you propose to surrender to the Federal Government the power to control the franchise in the States, in the end you will surrender to the Federal Government the power to dictate the officers that shall control the State; you will surrender to the Federal Government the power to reflect the will of a majority of the people of the United States in the laws of that community and not the will of the people of those States who must live under the laws and be governed by them. Now, which is democracy? Which is the democracy that this Government was organized to represent and to perpetuate—a democracy created by the will of a brutal majority, or a democracy that represents and reflects the will of the local people who are governed by local laws?

That is the true issue involved in this question. It is no new issue with us. It is an issue older than the Federal Constitution. It is an issue that the greatest statesmen of America realized and made perfect and possible when this Government was founded. There is no more possibility of the people of Alabama reflecting the sentiment, the needs, and the necessities of the people of California than there is of the people of Bulgaria reflecting the sentiment and needs and necessities of the people of Alabama. Why? Not because in either case there would be a desire to do injustice to the people, but because of lack of knowledge, lack of contact, lack of representation. No man, no matter how much intellect he possesses, can take wiser action than is governed by the facts that are in his possession. A Solomon himself could not properly legislate about subjects unknown to himself; and a legislative body that does not reflect the knowledge, the sentiments, and the will of the people to be governed can not give it an honest and a just and a democratic government.

I think I can say without question that, although in my State there is a minority—in my judgment rather a small minority—that favors the surrender to the Federal Government of the power of the States to control the franchise, the great majority of the people that I have the honor in part to represent desire to continue to maintain the control and exercise of the power to control the suffrage in the hands of the sovereign States, for the reasons I have just stated. That being the case, I do not think that because of war and the necessities of war we should be swept off our feet in this grave emergency.

On all matters pertaining to the Federal Government, pertaining to our foreign relations, pertaining to the maintenance of our armies in the field and the success of the great vital issues that are confronting the country, I stand in favor of making the arm of the Federal Government strong, powerful, and successful; but as to local affairs I know that after the final victory, after the German armies have been driven from the field and forced to agree to the peace that is required of them by ourselves and our allies, at the peace table the great principle of democracy for which our Government will stand and maintain will be the right of local self-government, and of people in certain areas, speaking certain languages, and of certain races, as far as possible having the privilege of governing themselves about all matters that do not directly affect their neighbor and their neighbor's rights. It is the only road to democracy. It is the only thing that can in the end spell the democracy of the world, and keep the final peace of the world. That is the principle for which our Government stands, because it is a great democracy. That is the principle that Great Britain and France will sustain at the final peace table. There can be no dispute about that. Then why, in this hour, should we be desirous of surrendering one of the great principles that govern local self-government—the right to control the local franchise?

Men may say that I may be influenced in my judgment about this matter, because there are two alien races in large numbers living within my State. I am free to confess that it does influence my judgment, because I realize that the life of my State may some day in the future depend on it. You say that this does not go to those questions; it is limited; it is only a single step in that direction. But I say, if it is a step in the wrong direction, why take the step at all? What is the necessity of taking the step?

The negro in Alabama is disfranchised partially by law; but there is no distinction in the law of Alabama between a white man and a black man. The black man has an equal opportunity to obtain the franchise. It is true that by reason of educational and property qualifications there are more white men who can obtain the franchise than there are black men who seek to do so, and that the racial problem is solved in that respect; but the racial problem must be solved, and must continue to be solved, as long as the two races live apart in their homes.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBINSON in the chair). Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from California?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I do.

Mr. PHELAN. Do the colored women of the South own more property than the colored men, or have they better educational accomplishments?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I can not answer the Senator's question, because I am not informed on the facts. I think the probability is, though, that so far as educational qualifications are concerned they are probably on a par. They have an equal opportunity in the schools, an equal chance for learning, and an equal chance to make money; and many of them of both sexes have a degree of education. I think, however, you will find that where the family has earned money, the male member as a rule keeps the money in his name and not in the woman's name. That is not true, I think, as to the white people of Alabama; for I think you would find that at least half the property of the State—I mean the property belonging to individuals and not to corporations—stands in the name of the women.

Mr. PHELAN. The white women?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Yes.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, I am very much interested in this race problem, and I am asking the questions in good faith. If it is true that the black men hold the property which belongs to the community, then there is no danger in admitting women to suffrage.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Oh, there would be danger.

Mr. PHELAN. They would not have the qualifications.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Of course, the Senator is begging the question. The Senator would buy our votes with an assurance that conditions may remain as they are, and have us abandon the great fundamental principles of government that men like myself and the families to which we belong in the South have maintained from the beginning. I will say to the Senator that our votes are not for sale at any price. We stand for these principles because we believe that the integrity of our race and our Government and the protection of our women require it.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I do.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Does not the Senator's argument relate to an objection to the enactment of any constitutional amendment by the Federal Government?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Oh, no; not at all.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Would it apply to the case of prohibition?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. So far as that portion of the Federal amendment is concerned that authorizes the creation of a police power in the State to carry out the terms of prohibition it would apply. Outside of that I do not think it would. But that clause of the prohibition amendment that sought to set up a separate police power within the States clearly is in violation of the terms of democratic government and local government.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Is that applicable to the terms of the constitutional amendment that has passed the Senate and House with relation to prohibition?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I have just answered the Senator.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Does it, in the Senator's judgment, extend to the police power of the State?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I have said that I think it does, in so far as it authorizes the creation of a new police force. I do not care, though, to abandon my argument for the discussion of that sort of a question. I have answered the Senator's question. Of course it does not apply to every constitutional amendment, because there may be amendments to the Constitution that relate directly or indirectly to the delegated powers of the Federal Government. The Federal Government was given the power to create a Congress. In that Congress a Senate was provided for. The original Constitution provided that the Members of the Senate should be elected by legislative votes. That was a Federal question—a question that concerned not the local government but the Central Government—and it was no infringement of the sovereign power of the State to provide that a Senator should be elected directly by the people of his constituency and not by a representative of them. The same is true as to the amendment of the Federal Constitution relating to an income tax. All governments must have the power of taxation, and that amendment merely broadened the power that had already been given to the Federal Government to levy taxes to sustain the Government.

Mr. President, I did not rise to take the time of the Senate to-day. As I said in the beginning, I hope this issue may be brought to a vote. I hope the conditions arising out of this issue may be carried away from Washington for the balance of the war. We have pressing on us matters of far more moment than the pending joint resolution. There is but one way in which the issue can be settled and taken away from Washington. That is to allow the Senate to express its opinion on the pending joint resolution.

I have no desire to take snap judgment on the men who favor the joint resolution, or to insist on a vote if their forces are not fairly represented but I understand they are. I would be equally opposed to having the joint resolution presented to the Senate by some one taking snap judgment on the opponents of the joint resolution and trying to pass the joint resolution by trickery rather than by force of intellect and votes. So far as I know, the men who are prepared to vote against the joint resolution are here, or they are represented by nontransferable pairs. So far as I know, the men on the other side, those in favor of the joint resolution, are here. If that is the case, I think it is the part of wisdom to bring the matter to a vote and dispose of the issue and take our work back to the great war measures which require our attention.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I regard the pending measure as epochal. Change is the order of time. Change is not always improvement, but it always marks progress.

To-day we are met in solemn council to pass upon a question that has agitated the mind of the public for years and years past. To-day it seems to me is the time to finally decide what the Senate has resolved to do. Let it be done here and now. The question has been agitated, the forces are ready, the fight is on, and to-day is the time when it can be decided for or against, and it ought to be done. Let there be responsibility fixed upon the individual Member by his vote and let him be praised or blamed in his community according as his people may feel about the necessity for the passage of this great measure. The time has come when it must be disposed of, and it ought to be done without further equivocation, without dodging, and without delay. It seems so to me.

I have not taken much stock in the arguments that have been advanced about State's rights being interfered with, about local self-government being obstructed, about the white race being deprived of its supremacy in the South hereafter, or of the danger of its integrity being impaired or destroyed if the joint resolution should be passed. There is no force or power in these United States that has contributed more to protect the integrity of the white race than the white women of the South. That can not be disputed. Everybody in the South knows that. Everybody in the United States of America who will think is bound to reach that conclusion. We have naught to fear along that line, then.

Why should we fear that the rights of the States will be taken away, that they will be abridged, that the people in the expression of their views will thereafter be obstructed? The Government of the United States is supreme over all, is given the power here by us and by the consent of the States under our own agreement and Constitution, proceeding in accordance with it, to prescribe that women shall be entitled to suffrage and to the exercise of it upon equal terms with men. Why should we fear to pass this resolution?

It is said, and has been aforetime and for all time said, that woman's place is the home; that her influence should be exercised there. That is true; has always been true. It is true now. Her influence has not only been exercised in the home, but it has been confined largely to the home, and so it will be when this resolution is passed. The home will not be deprived of her influence. Woman will not lose her influence, but it only shall be extended, and its beneficial effect felt throughout the United States; in the States where it may be, perchance, her influence or her determination or her conclusion or her reasoning is the thing that will govern in remedying any undesirable condition. Why should it not be so? I do not believe, as some of the southern Senators here argue, while I impugn no man's honesty or motives, and account for their conclusion and action on the ground that they have not kept abreast with the progress of the time.

I am a son of the South and proud of the South, her history and traditions; but I am not limited in love and admiration to any particular part of this great country of ours. I am proud of it all. We have been bound down there by convention; we have been bound down by custom; we have been bound by habits of our people, by our environment; and some of us have not been able to look beyond. That, I believe, is the trouble with some here to-day. But it should not be so.

Gentlemen of the Senate, I have lived all my life in the South. I suppose I was 21 years old before I ever saw a woman riding horseback astride, and I have not gotten used to it yet. We used to think that sort of a practice would not do in the country in which I lived, and the women were not permitted to ride that way. But afterwards I went out a little farther into the country, a little farther out West, where the same sort of a custom did not obtain; where it was different, and the women rode astride, cross saddle, in the West and the North and the East;

and it did seem to me, after I got to thinking about it, that it was the right practice and the natural thing to do; but I have never yet been able to get entirely over that sort of a prejudice which was engendered in my mind in my early training.

It may be that some of us, just because of our training along particular lines, are becoming fearful that the State rights are going to be abridged by the passage of this joint resolution. It is not so with me. There has never been, in my opinion, any reason from an intellectual standpoint why woman should not be allowed to vote. She is, as a rule, as intelligent as the man with whom she associates. As a rule, it is so. Then, from that standpoint there can be no objection to her being allowed to vote along with him.

Will any man in the Senate dare say that any woman in the United States is not as much interested or more interested in the progress and development and prosperity of the country in the future than any man can be? From a standpoint of intelligence and from a standpoint of interest in the promotion of the country's welfare, there never has been any good reason why women should not be allowed to vote.

The only question that has disturbed the minds of some has been whether or not the extension of the franchise to woman would not be injurious to her as an institution. That is a thing which has disturbed us. It has disturbed some of our people, but we have observed the conditions yonder in the West. We have seen there where experience has proved, with women being allowed the vote, that it not only has not been injurious to her as an institution, but her participation in the affairs of government has proved beneficial to the State in improving the conditions where it has been allowed. Then, why not let us learn wisdom from experience? It seems to me that these things can not be disputed.

The argument advanced by the distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] about the States being deprived of their rights, about the taxation of the salaries of the governors and others I do not take much stock in. The taxes that are laid here for the support of the Government and the prosecution of the war are laid upon the incomes of the people, and there is no reason why the governor who makes his income by being governor of a State and drawing a salary should not pay upon that income, as should the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States and all other officials whose salary is a part of their income. Why should it not be so?

As to the fear expressed that the Government having control in the determination of the qualifications of electors might interfere with elections and affect local affairs and conditions I do not care much for that argument.

It was said by one of the Senators that in the power given to control the election and limit it to a particular class of electors it might be possible to elect a traitor to the interests of the State and country under that condition. Aye, it might be so, but I say to you here and now, in the presence of all, it will never be possible when this resolution is passed, as it ought to be, to elect a traitor in the State or Nation when the women are allowed to vote. They do not take stock in traitors.

Some of the Senators have said that they have no special objection to this measure and personally would desire it, but they do not regard it as a war measure nor essential to the promotion of the public welfare just now, and therefore they are going to withhold their support. That seems to be a question that we must determine to-day. We have had the spectacle of the Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States of America standing here in this presence to-day and solemnly assuring us what? Let us see. The President said:

> I regard the concurrence of the Senate in the constitutional amendment proposing the extension of the suffrage to women as vitally essential to the successful prosecution of the great war of humanity in which we are engaged. I have come to urge upon you the considerations which have led me to that conclusion. It is not only my privilege, it is also my duty, to apprise you of every circumstance and element involved in this momentous struggle, which seems to me to affect its very processes and its outcome. * * *

And further—

> And its adoption is, in my judgment, clearly necessary to the prosecution of the war and the successful realization of the objects for which the war is being fought.

That is the judgment of the Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States of America and the peerless leader of thought of the nations of earth, and to our armies the world looks for victory upon the battle fields of France. He regards it necessary to the successful prosecution and winning of the war, and he is the Commander in Chief. Shall we dispute, then, about these other things here to-day if its passage will hearten, cheer, encourage, and inspire him, upon whose shoulders the burden of the mighty conflict rests, as well as bring this blessing so much desired and sought to the women of the country? Will we deny her when it is asked, finally?

I have not rushed the Nation into this great war with as much precipitancy as was exercised by some of the Members of the Senate. I was criticized severally because I did not believe in voting for the armed neutrality bill. That was at a time when the Nation was not at war. When I thought war could be averted without loss of prestige or honor. That was at a time when I believed the passage of the bill would put the Nation into war. That was at a time when I understood the President had all the power there was, and he afterwards exercised it, to arm the ships, and I also believed that the arming of the ships would prove absolutely ineffectual, as it did, and I did not intend to vote for it.

The measure never came to a vote. I was even accused of being guilty of a filibuster against it, which was not true. I spoke only 10 minutes against the proposition three days before the end of the session. I did not go into this war readily, but we are in the war; we must win the war; we will win the war; and the President of the United States says this further agency will help and improve conditions; that he regards it as absolutely necessary; and he appeals to the Senate of the United States to-day to stand by and help to win by doing this particular thing. I appeal to you Senators who have gone all the way in other matters at the President's suggestion and rushed precipitately at times, it seemed to me, to stand up now and vote for the passage of this resolution and help to win the war. It is necessary that it shall be done.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President, I am addressing myself to the question of woman suffrage, not from the standpoint of whether women are qualified to vote or not but to the question of what means should be employed in settling the question as to whether she should vote or not. The fundamental principle upon which democracy rests is local self-government, the power of self-determination. The Federal Government did not grant certain privileges and certain rights to the States, but these sovereign States, united in their articles of federation, created the Federal Government and delegated to it the power to be sovereign in those principles which in their nature were interstate and, of course, delegated to it questions involving international relations and reserved to themselves the right and power to exercise jurisdiction over all questions which in their nature were essentially intrastate or local.

The principle upon which local determination, the government and control of local affairs, depends is the suffrage; therefore the sovereignty of a State depends upon the power of that State to control and determine its electorate—its suffrage. If an alien or outside sovereignty is given, either by consent or force, the right to modify or qualify the suffrage within another sovereignty, the principle of sovereignty is yielded, because the right to modify and amend is the right to eliminate or destroy. This proposed amendment proposes to modify and in a degree control the suffrage of a sovereign State by another, and in its last section says that the Federal Government shall have the right to enforce this regulation, thereby declaring that the Constitution of the United States shall recognize the Federal Government as supreme and clothed with the authority by force to control the voting privileges of a sovereign State. This, then, is the destruction of the whole matter; this is the elimination and ultimate surrender of the essence, the heart of State rights. I do not contend that under the Constitution two-thirds of Congress first acting and then three-fourths of the States ratifying is not the constitutional way of modifying our Constitution, but I do contend that in so doing it is violative of every principle of American democracy. We all know what constitutes honesty in all civilized nations; we may legalize dishonesty, but when we do, it is violative of the universal consciousness of honesty. In proportion as we legalize dishonesty it is destructive of the universal consciousness of honesty.

No constitutional provision, no majority vote, can obliterate the fundamental fact that local self-government is the bedrock of democracy. It has been iterated and reiterated during this war that one of the essential principles for which the allies are contending is that the weakest State in all the aggregate of civilized nations shall have the right of self-government and self-determination in its local affairs and only insist that in those principles that pertain to international affairs shall any power be held supreme to that State.

In the enactment of the fifteenth amendment this principle of local self-government was revoked and, of course, disaster followed; the result was that being denied the right as a sovereign State for full and complete self-determination the very civiliza-

tion of certain States was jeopardized, their institutions threatened, in fact, for a time were destroyed, necessarily involving a violation of other principles in order to remove the menace of so great an evil. It resulted in what is known as the "solid South," the effect of which was to deny us the privileges of political freedom of thought and action, progress and development politically, and unite us against a paramount threat always present, that of the destruction of every institution painfully built up through all the years of human effort to realize civilization; hence the wisdom of our forefathers in holding onto this fundamental principle and expressing it in the organic law of this country is amply vindicated. The progress and development of the South along all lines has been handicapped and retarded by the denial of this sacred principle in its sovereign capacity.

The fact that we were solid is not because we chose to be solid or because there were not certain political principles that we would like to have espoused and fought for, but because there was ever present the menace of a danger that absorbed and overshadowed all these. The sanctity of our fireside, the purity of our womanhood, those things were dearer to us than any possible commercial or financial or political principle. That is what has made the "solid South," and that is the question to-day that differentiates one section of the country from another section, and makes it impossible for the Federal Government to pass an act infringing upon State rights without doing incalculable harm to a section of the country.

The conditions peculiar to that section of the South did not exist in other States in the Union, hence they, not having the unfortunate elements that the South had, were given a freedom of action without jeopardy to their civilization that was denied us; it did them no harm nor did it do them any good; it did us no good but infinite harm; hence, being a citizen of a State that has seen the practical result of the violation of this fundamental principle, I would be unfaithful to my duty if I stood here and did not raise my voice in protest against the violation of this principle of American democracy. It is true we submitted to the States the question of prohibition; that was as violative of the principle of democracy as this, but the condition existing in each State in reference to whisky was uniform; therefore, though it was violative of the principle of democracy, whatever of good or evil might accrue from it would fall with like force upon each State.

I am not here arguing against the right of women to vote. I am opposing the methods by which they seek to obtain it. Each State in the exercise of its sovereign right can determine that question, and if the conditions in a given State are such as to make the exercise of the function by women disastrous, whilst in others it would be beneficial, I submit that the local governments of the States are best qualified to judge. What criticism could lodge against this country as to its democracy if we refuse as a Federal Government to attempt to usurp a principle which is distinctly the very fundamental principle of democracy? We must not forget that this is a federation of sovereign States, and in the exercise by each of self-determination as to its intrastate affairs or local affairs it is exercising the highest possible democratic privileges.

I for one shall never vote or give to a foreign power, another State, the right to modify, amend, or abridge the franchise and suffrage in another State. Sovereignty is the power to control the sovereign's affairs. Admitting the right of another sovereign power to amend, modify, and force that modification yields forever the principle of sovereignty. This very proposed amendment carries in it the words that Congress shall have the right to enforce this amendment, hence proclaiming State sovereignty dead, declaring the Federal Government in all intra and inter State affairs supreme, and we become at one stroke a Nation without the sovereign principles of local self-government.

Mr. President, we act as though we had forgotten that this is not a Nation in the common acceptance of the term, but a combination of sovereign powers, each within its own domain as sovereign as the Government that it by common consent erected.

As to the part that the devoted women of America are taking in this war, I know I voice the sentiment of every Senator on this floor when I say that the mainspring that is carrying the boys in khaki over the top, hurling the fiendish Hun back upon his own domain, is the picture of a devoted mother, sister, or sweetheart in the heart of hearts of the boys who are going over the top. Women have responded in the manner in which all the past ages have qualified her to respond in her magnificent rallying to the principles for which we stand. There is not a woman in all America worthy of the name of mother, which is infinitely beyond that of voter, who has not inspired her boy with the very principles upon which this Government rests—democracy, local self-government, the right to determine what is best along the line which the progress of the State shall move. That is the very principle upon which the Revolution was projected, and it is a principle which will never be yielded without the destruction of democracy.

THE REVENUE.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, the observations which I intend to make have, in my judgment, a very direct and immediate effect upon the winning of this war. They have to do with the raising of the necessary revenue for the winning of the war, and specifically to see if a method can not be pointed out through which a large mass of wealth that has heretofore escaped war taxation can not be constitutionally reached and should not be reached.

There are in the United States about 1,000,000 persons holding office under the States whose salaries aggregate approximately one and one-half billion dollars. There are now outstanding somewhere near $5,000,000,000 of bonds of the different States and their political subdivisions. Up to this time these salaries and the income from these securities have not sustained any part of the common burden of war taxation. The pending revenue bill, however, as it has passed the House of Representatives, subjects State salaries to tax as well as the income upon State bonds issued after the final approval of the measure. The present outstanding $5,000,000,000 of securities it is not proposed to tax.

Out of this situation two propositions for the Senate's decision emerge, one of law, one of policy, namely, has Congress power to impose these taxes; and if so, should the income from the outstanding five billions of wealth be included in the scheme of taxation we have under consideration?

The latter proposition may at this point be dismissed with the observation that the exigencies of the present situation are so grave that if Congress can constitutionally impose the tax it should do so.

The legal question, Mr. President, is a large and vastly important one, and the very general doubt expressed by the friends of such taxation in the House of Representatives and elsewhere as to the constitutional power of Congress to enact the measure in its present form impelled me to give the question consideration and to submit some suggestions and views concerning it in advance of a report upon the bill, with the hope that they may be useful in stimulating such full and thoughtful consideration as will aid the Senate in reaching a sound conclusion.

So far as the Constitution is concerned, the court has frequently declared that in terms it neither grants nor withholds the power to tax income on State securities. So far as the court is concerned it is my view that it has never decided the question nor the principle involved adversely to the exercise of the power in such circumstances as those in which the question is raised here and now.

I wish to clear the way for the presentation of a brief argument in support of the power of Congress to tax State salaries and the income from State bonds when necessary for the common defense in war by this admission.

I admit it has been time and again held by the court that the right to tax States and their instrumentalities does not exist in the Federal Government and that salaries of State officials and interest on State securities are within the protection of the principles supporting these decisions.

To those who wish to make a careful examination of the opposite view, the one that I am about to present, I recommend the extraordinarily able argument made by the Hon. WILLIAM E. BORAH, of Idaho, in the Senate on the 10th day of February, 1910. That argument was addressed at that time particularly to the proposition that the sixteenth amendment did not affect the question, and for myself I think the Senator from Idaho conclusively maintained that proposition. I ask that the address of Mr. BORAH be printed as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, leave will be granted. The Chair hears none.

The address referred to is as follows:

INCOME TAX.

[Speech of Hon. WILLIAM E. BORAH, of Idaho, in the Senate of the United States, Feb. 10, 1910.]

"Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, a few weeks ago one of our most distinguished and justly celebrated of public men, Gov. Hughes, of New York, sent a message to the New York Legislature recommending against the ratification of the proposed amendment to the Constitution providing for levying an income tax without apportionment. It has been assumed by the public press, since the message of the governor, that it would be im-

possible, in view of his declaration, to secure the enactment of the amendment. So firm a hold has the governor of New York upon the public mind and so high is the esteem in which he is held as a lawyer that it was regarded as in a nature conclusive against the amendment. After some considerable consideration of the matter it occurs to me that there are at least two sides to the controversy, and, in my own opinion, the grounds stated for the rejection are not such as should prevail against the amendment. The governor stated in his message as follows:

"I am in favor of conferring upon the Federal Government the power to lay and collect an income tax without apportionment among the States according to population * * *. But the power to tax incomes should not be granted in such terms as to subject to Federal taxation the incomes derived from bonds issued by the State itself or those issued by municipal governments organized under the State's authority * * *. You are called upon to deal with a specific proposal to amend the Constitution * * *. This proposal is that the Federal Government shall have the power to lay and collect taxes on incomes 'from whatever source derived.'

"The contention of the governor being that if this proposed amendment should be adopted it would confer upon the Government the power to levy an income tax upon incomes derived from State and municipal bonds; and it would follow, although he does not so state, as a matter of logic and a matter of law, that it would confer the power to levy an income tax upon the salaries of State officers, executive, judicial, and legislative. In other words, the position of the governor is that it would confer upon the National Government the power to tax the instrumentalities and means of State government, and for that reason he opposes it.

"It is curious to observe, Mr. President, that this is precisely the same objection that was urged to the language contained in the taxing power of the National Constitution at the time of its submission to the thirteen States for ratification. It was contended upon the part of those who opposed its adoption that the language of the National Constitution was such as to enable the National Government to impose a tax upon the instrumentalities and means of State governments, to thereby embarrass the State Governments, and in the end to practically destroy them as independent and separate sovereignties. The argument was based in those days upon the plenary power which was given to the National Government to tax, it being contended that the language conveyed power to tax all property of whatever kind or from whatever source derived, and that this would give the power to tax the instrumentalities and means of the State.

"When Mr. Hamilton came to answer that argument in his Federalist articles he did not recede from the proposition that full power had been given to the Federal Government to tax. He stated that the power of the Federal Government to tax was without limit, unqualified, plenary, and that it should be so; that it was intended to be so; and that that was the only reasonable construction which could be placed upon it. He gave his reasons in the following statement, quoting from the thirty-first number of the Federalist:

"A government ought to contain in itself every power requisite to the full accomplishment of the objects committed to its care and to the complete execution of the trusts for which it is responsible; free from every other control but a regard to the public good and to the sense of the people.

"As the duties of superintending the national defense and of securing the public peace against foreign or domestic violence involve a provision for casualties and dangers to which no possible limits can be assigned, the power of making that provision ought to know no other bounds than the exigencies of the Nation and the resources of the community.

"As revenue is the essential engine by which the means of answering the national exigencies must be procured, the power of procuring that article in its full extent must necessarily be comprehended in that of providing for those exigencies.

"As theory and practice conspire to prove that the power of procuring revenue is unavailing when exercised over the States in their collective capacities, the Federal Government must of necessity be invested with an unqualified power of taxation in the ordinary modes.

"I am not going to assume that the effect of this tax would be any other than that which Gov. Hughes suggests. For the purpose of the remarks I propose to make to-day I shall assume that it would have the effect for which it is contended without discussing that question.

"The amendment which has been submitted reads as follows:

"Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived without apportionment among the several States and without regard to any census or enumeration.

"The words upon which the governor lays stress are 'from whatever source derived,' he believing them to include incomes from the sources I have suggested.

"I submit for the consideration of the Senate, first, that this amendment, if adopted, will add nothing to the power of the National Government to lay and collect taxes in the way of power; that the power of the National Government at the present time, as I have said, is full, complete, unlimited, and unfettered, save as to exports from the States, which has nothing to do with the argument here.

"It is true that there are two rules with reference to the manner in which the Congress shall exercise the power—that of uniformity and that of apportionment—but as to the power itself, putting aside for the moment the manner of its exercise, I submit that the power is at the present time vested in Congress without any limitation, unfettered in every sense of the term.

"Secondly, I invite the attention of the Senate to the proposition that the words 'from whatever source derived' add nothing to the force or strength of the amendment itself. When the Constitution says that the Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, it conveys all the power that it would convey if it said 'shall have power to lay and collect taxes upon property from whatever source derived.' If we should have said in this amendment that Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes upon incomes without apportionment, it would necessarily, in constitutional parlance, include all incomes of whatever nature or from whatever source derived.

"I reason from this basis: We find in the Constitution at the present time this power that Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, and the court has held that it includes taxes upon all kinds of property and from whatever source it may be derived. Therefore the adding of the words 'from whatever source derived' does not amplify the power conferred or make it mean any other than it would mean if the words had been entirely omitted from the amendment.

"Third, the amendment did not deal, does not purport to deal, and was not intended to deal with the question of power. It intended to deal, and does deal, alone with the manner of exercising that power which is already complete, that which is already without any limit. The sole obstacle to be removed by those who sought to change the Constitution was that of apportionment. No one has ever contended that it was not within the power of Congress to lay a tax upon incomes. That power has belonged to Congress from its organization, under the original taxing power of Congress. Whether apportioned or unapportioned was a matter of discussion, and concerning which courts and lawyers differed; but the power to impose an income tax upon all property, 'from whatever source derived,' was never doubted, so far as I know, by either court or lawyers in this country.

"As a basis, therefore, of my argument to-day, I desire to show that the power of Congress to tax is at the present time unlimited, and has been so construed; that, so far as express provisions of the Constitution are concerned, there is no reason why we could not impose a tax upon State bonds and municipal bonds or upon the salaries of State officers at the present time. If the governor were asked why we do not impose a tax upon State bonds at the present time, to what provision of the Constitution would he direct our attention? If the governor were asked what limitation is there upon the taxing power of Congress, to what provision of the Constitution or language therein would he direct our attention?

"If the governor were asked upon what principle the Supreme Court has held that you can not tax the instrumentalities of the State, to what principle would he direct our attention? If he were asked what change is being made by this amendment in that principle upon which the court has held that you can not tax the income from State bonds, what change could he possibly suggest?

"In other words, Mr. President, the principles upon which the Supreme Court has held that notwithstanding the completeness of the taxing power now in Congress you can not tax the instrumentalities of a State are principles which are embedded in, interwoven with, and a part of the texture of the whole instrument, are in no sense changed by this amendment, nor could they be by any words which are contained in it.

"The Supreme Court of the United States, in Pacific Co. *v.* Soule (7 Wall., p. 433), said:

"The taxing power is given in the most comprehensive terms. The only limitations imposed are that direct taxes, including the capitation tax, shall be apportioned; that duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform, and no duty shall be imposed upon articles exported from any State. With these exceptions—

"That is, uniformity and apportionment and exports from States—

"the exercise of the power is in all respects unfettered.

"It will be conceded that the question of exports is not involved in this controversy, and can not be. Then, if we apportion an income tax at this time, under what prohibition or limitation of the Constitution are we inhibited from laying it upon State bonds? I ask that question so as to disclose more fully as I proceed that the reasoning is based upon principles which are not affected by this amendment, and which can not possibly be so, because of the language employed.

"Again the Supreme Court said in Veazie *v.* Fenno (8 Wall.):

"Nothing is clearer from the discussions in the convention and the discussions which preceded final ratification by the necessary number of States than the purpose to give this power—to levy taxes—to Congress as to the taxation of everything except exports in its fullest extent. * * * More comprehensive words could not have been used. * * * The words used certainly describe the whole power, and it was the intention of the convention that the whole power should be conferred.

"In Mr. Pomeroy's work on the Constitution (vol. 1, p. 188), he says:

"Because the Nation is thus paramount its taxing power is supreme; it may be applied to all subjects; it may be exerted upon all individuals, and upon every species of property.

"That is the announcement by a constitutional writer of the principle which has been embedded in the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States from the time the great Chief Justice Marshall first took hold of the taxing clause and construed it. Yea, more, it has been a part and parcel of the accepted jurisprudence of this country since Alexander Hamilton interpreted the Constitution in the articles known as the 'Federalist.'

"I ask, if to-day under the present taxing clause of the Constitution we can tax all property of whatever species, from whatever source derived, what inhibition is there against our taxing every State bond of the State of New York, and the municipal bonds of New York, at the present time, so far as the provision of the Constitution is concerned? Certainly no one will contend that the present taxing clause is not full enough to cover all property, of whatever kind and from whatever source derived. It has always been so construed. If it were to be construed alone, it would undoubtedly be sufficient to enable us to tax State bonds. But it can not be construed standing alone; neither could this amendment. The rules of construction which control this present unlimited taxing clause would control in the same way and for precisely the same reasons the proposed amendment.

"In the late case of Nichol *v.* Ames (173 U. S., p. 515), the Supreme Court said:

"It (Congress) has power from that instrument (the Constitution) to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises in order to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare, and the only constitutional restraint upon the power is that all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States, and that no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid unless in proportion to the census or enumeration directed to be taken, and no tax or duty can be laid on articles exported from any State. Thus guarded, the whole power of taxation rests with Congress.

"Again, in Bank *v.* Billings (4 Peters, p. 514), Chief Justice Marshall said:

"The power of legislation and, consequently, of taxation operates on all persons and property belonging to the body politic.

"Mr. Hamilton, in his Report on Manufactures, said:

"The National Legislature has express authority to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare, with no other qualifications than that all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States; that no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid unless in proportion to numbers ascertained by a census or enumeration taken on the principle prescribed in the Constitution; and that no tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State. These three qualifications excepted, the power to raise money is plenary and indefinite.

"Thus the whole power of taxation rests with Congress. When you exclude exports from States and conform to the rule of uniformity and of apportionment, there is no limitation upon the taxing power of the National Government as it exists at the present time. I submit that it would be difficult to find language which would convey more than the full and complete power which is now conferred by the Constitution.

"I say, therefore, that already Congress is given absolute power; and if the reasoning of the distinguished governor were correct, the language being full and complete, conveying all power, we could tax State bonds and municipal securities and State salaries at the present time.

"But there is another controlling reason why we can not do so, which reason is omitted in the message and which is not affected by this amendment in any manner. The first time the question arose as to power of one sovereignty to tax the means or instrumentalities of another sovereignty was in the case of McCulloch *v.* Maryland. In that case, as all lawyers well remember, there was an attempt on the part of the State of Maryland to tax the stock of the United States Bank. The United States Bank having been organized as an instrumentality of the National Government to carry out certain functions of granted power, it was held that it was not a taxable article. In that case Chief Justice Marshall considered this question and gave us the basis upon which has been built the entire structure of law which prevents one nationality from taxing the instrumentalities and means of another.

"In the first place, it was admitted by the Chief Justice that there was no provision of the Constitution which controlled the subject matter. It was stated by the Chief Justice that there was neither any limitation nor grant of power which prevented the States from taxing the instrumentalities of the National Government, and he stated in his decision that, therefore, the taxing power of the National Government being complete, the inhibition had to be found somewhere other than that of the taxing clause itself. He said, in McCulloch *v.* Maryland (4 Wheat.):

"There is no express provision (of the Constitution) for the case, but the claim—

"That is, the exemption from taxation—

"has been sustained on a principle which so entirely pervades the Constitution, is so intermixed with the materials which compose it, so interwoven with its web, so blended with its texture as to be incapable of being separated from it without rending it into shreds.

"Upon what principle, stated a little more fully, but never more comprehensively, did the Chief Justice argue that you could not tax the instrumentalities of Government? Upon the theory that the Constitution as a whole created two separate and distinct sovereignties independent of each other in their specific and reserved powers, and that however full the grant of power of taxation might be in the Constitution, there must always be subtracted from that power the right of the different sovereignties to perform their functions as such. In other words, said the Chief Justice, to construe it otherwise would be to rend the whole fabric into shreds.

"It was not, therefore, because of the fact that the taxing clause of the Constitution had any limitations either express or implied in its language, it was not because the language failed to convey all the power of the National Government to tax, but because of the universal rule that every component part of the Constitution must be construed in the light of every other part of it; and that it all must be construed as a whole in the light of the designs and purposes and objects to be accomplished when the instrument was written. Those designs and purposes were to create a national government in its own sphere, independent and separate and distinct from the State governments, and to create the State sovereignties, which in their reserved powers are separate, distinct, and independent of the National Government.

"There is one thing that we overlook in arguing this question, and it seems to me to be the vice of the distinguished governor's argument. It is that the State governments, in their separate and independent sovereignties, in their reserved powers, are just as much beyond the jurisdiction and control of the National Government as the National Government in its sovereignty is beyond the control and jurisdiction of the State governments.

"In a later case, in Railroad Co. *v.* Peniston (18 Wallace, p. 31), the Supreme Court said:

"The States are, and they must ever be, coexistent with the National Government. Neither may destroy the other. Hence the Federal Constitution must receive a practical construction. Its limitations and its implied prohibitions must not be extended so far as to destroy the necessary powers of the State or prevent their efficient exercise.

"Again, the court in United States *v.* Ry. Co. (17 Wallace, p. 327) said:

"The right of the States to administer their own affairs, through their legislative, executive, and judicial departments, in their own manner, through their own agencies, is conceded by the uniform decisions of this court and by the practice of the Federal Government from its organization. This carries with it an exemption of those agencies and instruments from the taxing power of the Federal Government.

"I call attention also to the following citations and authorities, all bearing out the same line of reasoning:

"The taxing power of the United States is subject to an implied restraint arising from the existence of the powers in the State which are obviously intended to be beyond the control of the General Government. (Hare on the Constitution, vol. 1, p. 265.)

"This clause with reference to taxation is without any express restriction except that already referred to and explained—uniformity and apportionment and exports in the State. Despite this, it has been decided that the United States can not tax the salary of a State officer or a State municipal corporation or process of State courts or a railroad owned by a State. This decision rests upon the strong ground that the power of Congress—even under this full grant as contained in the language of the Constitution—to pass a tax law is restricted to a law which is necessary and proper to carry its taxing power into effect, and as taxation of a State franchise by the Federal Government is an infringement upon the reserve power and autonomy of the State, and as the power to tax without limitation is the power to destroy, execution by the United States of a power which involves the total destruction of State functions was not only not proper, but radically improper. (Tucker.)

"The revenue act of 1898 (United States *v.* Owen, 100 Fed. Rep., 70) provided that a stamp tax of 50 cents should be imposed upon 'all bonds of any description except such as may be required in legal proceedings not otherwise provided for in this section.' It was held that a tax could not be required upon

a saloon keeper's bond required by the statutes of the State, notwithstanding this law. The court said:

"These cases establish the principle that the great law of self-preservation, the inherent attribute of sovereignty, exempts any and all means and instrumentalities of State government from Federal taxation.

"Rules of Construction, from Mr. Story:

"1. The first and fundamental rule in the interpretation of all instruments is to construe them according to the sense of the instrument and the intention of the parties.

"2. There may be obscurity as to the meaning from the doubtful character of the words used, from other clauses in the same instrument, or from inaccuracy or repugnancy between the words and the apparent intention derived from the whole structure of the instrument or its avowed object.

"3. In construing the Constitution of the United States, we are in the first instance to consider what are its nature and object, its scope and design as apparent from the structure of the instrument viewed as a whole and also viewed in its component parts.

"I desire especially to call attention to the language in the case of Collector *v.* Day. This is the case where the question first arose as to the power of the National Government to tax the instrumentalities of the State. The case of McCulloch was a case where the State was undertaking to tax the national instrumentalities. This was where the National Government undertook to tax the State instrumentalities; and the argument upon which the court rests its conclusion controls this proposition clearly and distinctly in the face of any language contained in this amendment. The court said in Collector *v.* Day (11 Wallace):

"Such being the separate and independent condition of the States in our complex system as recognized by the Constitution, and the existence of which is so indispensable that without them the General Government itself would depart from the family of nations, it would seem to follow as a reasonable if not a necessary consequence that the means and instrumentalities employed for carrying on the operations of their government, for preserving their existence, and fulfilling the high and responsible positions assigned to them in the Constitution should be left free and unimpaired, should not be liable to be crippled by the taxing power of another government, which power acknowledges no limits but the will of the legislative body imposing the tax. * * * In respect to the reserve powers the State is as sovereign and independent as the General Government.

"We are discussing now the question of taxing the State means.

"It is admitted there is no express provision in the Constitution that prohibits the General Government from taxing the means and instrumentalities of a State, nor is there any prohibiting the State from taxing the means and instrumentalities of the Government. In both cases the exemption rests upon necessary implication and is upheld by the great law of self-preservation, as any government whose means employed in conducting its operations, if subject to the control of another and distinct government, can exist only at the mercy of that government.

"What were the conditions under which this decision was rendered, and what were the facts? In the first place, Congress had passed a statute specifically covering the salaries of all officers. Congress had passed the act under a power in the Constitution which had been held, and was held in that case, to be without limitation.

"We have, therefore, the lawmaking body of the Government exercising the power conferred upon it by the Constitution to tax property of all kinds and from whatever sources, specifically taxing, in so many words, the property which was exempted by the decision of the court, and not exempted because the language of the Constitution failed to cover the property, not exempted because the court found somewhere in the language a lack of power to put a tax upon this particular kind of property, but exempted for the reason, as said by the court in practically so many words, that there must be subtracted from this unlimited power the right of the State government to exist and perform its functions.

"That being true, when we should have this amendment adopted what would we have? We would have the unlimited power of the National Government to tax still unimpaired. We will assume that it does convey all the power to the Government that could be conveyed for the purpose of taxing, nevertheless we would fall back upon the principle enunciated in the McCulloch case and in Collector *v.* Day, upon the principle that it is not within the jurisdiction of the National Government to exercise control over the State functions or the functions of a separate and individual sovereignty; that unlimited power to tax, covering property or incomes from whatever source derived, will never be construed, so long as we have an indestructible Union of indestructible States, so as to embarrass or destroy each other. The fullest taxing power must be construed in the light of the objects, designs, purposes, and schemes of the Constitution as a whole.

"But it seems to me that this question has been even more definitely determined and decided. The income-tax law of 1864 specifically provided for the laying of a tax upon salaries, also to tax incomes derived from any kind of property. The language was quite as broad and comprehensive as the language of the proposed amendment in which we are at present interested. The Supreme Court held unanimously that this income tax of 1864 was constitutional, and it said over and over again that there was positively no limitation upon the power of the National Government to tax; that all property was subject to taxation. So under this constitutional power to tax everything Congress passes an act specifically taxing salaries and property from whatever source derived. Now, if the constitutional provision was unfettered, and Congress, under this unfettered power, specifically laid a tax upon salaries and incomes from whatever source derived, were they not in as strong a position to assert the right to tax State officers' salaries as they would be were this amendment passed? Yet, notwithstanding this express provision of Congress under this full taxing power of the Constitution, it was held that you could not tax the State instrumentalities. In other words, that while the language was unequivocal and unambiguous and the power was unquestioned, so far as the taxing provision alone was concerned, such provision and such act of Congress must be construed in the light of the fact that we are a dual Government.

"The internal-revenue act of 1864 also provided that no instrument or document should be admitted into any court until the requisite stamps should be affixed. The term 'any court' covered all courts, and it was quite clear that the lawmakers intended to apply it to all courts. Notwithstanding the language of the statute, notwithstanding its broad and comprehensive language, it was construed in the light of relationship between the State and the National Government and it was held this could not apply to State courts. (Carpenter *v.* Snelling, 97 Mass., 457; Green *v.* Holway, 101 Mass., 243; Barber *v.* Gale, 43 N. Y., 40; Bank *v.* Hill, 43 Tenn., 325.)

"But, Mr. President, it seems to me that the question has been brought nearer to the present hour and more definitely presented in the famous Pollock case itself. We remember that in the Pollock case the income-tax law of 1894 was involved. The statute of 1894 had incorporated in it almost the identical language which is found in this amendment, covering property of whatever kind and incomes from property of whatever kind.

"That law was passed upon in the light of the general taxing power of Congress. It was brought to the attention of the court that included in some of the incomes was income from State bonds. There were two things upon which the court in that case were not divided. The first was that there was no limitation upon the power of Congress, as contained in the clause of the Constitution, as to what kind of property should be taxed and what should not.

"On the first proposition it was held that the power was unlimited. The second proposition was that, notwithstanding that fact, Congress could not pass an act which would cover the incomes derived from State bonds or salaries of State officers. I desire to read a quotation from both the affirmative and the dissenting opinion. Mr. Fuller, Chief Justice, said in the Pollock case:

"The power of Congress to tax is a very extensive power. It is given in the Constitution with only one exception and only two qualifications Congress can not tax exports, and it must impose direct taxes by the rule of apportionment and indirect taxes by the rule of uniformity. Thus limited, and thus only, it reaches every subject and may be exercised at discretion.

"Mr. Justice White said:

"The words 'duties, imposts, and excises,' in conjunction with the reference to direct taxes, adequately convey the power of taxation to the Federal Government. * * * It is unquestioned that the provisions of the Constitution vest in the United States plenary powers of taxation; that is, all powers which belong to the Government as such, except that of taxing exports. * * * In deciding, then, the question of whether the income tax violates the Constitution, we have to determine not the existence of a power, but whether an admittedly unlimited power to tax—the income tax not being a tax on exports—has been used according to the instruction as to method. Not power, it must be borne in mind, but the manner of its use is the only issue presented in this case.

"The basis of the court's opinion rested upon the proposition that there was an admittedly unlimited power, and under this unlimited power Congress had passed an act covering this specific kind of property. It would be interesting to go back and read the act of 1894 to observe with what fullness the statute covers the same kind of property which we are seeking here to tax; and yet, notwithstanding the fact that the court started in on its reasoning upon the basis that there was no limit in Congress to tax, and that Congress had under its full power exercised its privilege to tax, it fell back to the case of Collector against Day, and argued that you could not construe a component part of the Constitution in disregard of the instrument as a whole. Without repeating here what I have said, the court adopted and accepted to its full extent the reasoning in the case of Collector against Day, and again announced that the doctrine must prevail that one sovereignty could not interfere with the instrumentalities of another.

"In other words, Mr. President, when this amendment says 'from whatever source derived,' that must be a source within the jurisdiction and taxing power of the nationality which lays the tax.

"I undertake to say, without fear of successful contradiction from the authorities, that the National Government has no more jurisdiction as a governmental fact over the functions of a State government than it has over the property across the line in Canada as a territorial fact. They are not within its power or control. Until we revise the Constitution as a whole, take the instrument up and revise it and definitely announce that these separate and independent sovereignties are no longer to be so, no court will ever hold that you can interpret the taxing clause of the Constitution so as to destroy those sovereignties. As Judge Nelson said in one case:

"The General Government and the States, although both exist within the same territorial limits, are separate and distinct sovereignties, acting separately and independently of each other within their respective spheres. The former in its appropriate sphere is supreme. But the States within the limit of their power as granted, or in the language of the tenth amendment preserved, are as independent of the General Government as that Government within its sphere is independent of the States.

"Again he says:

"In respect to the reserve powers the State is as sovereign and independent as the General Government.

"Justice Brewer in a noted case said:

"The States are in many respects sovereign and independent.

"Chief Justice Marshall, in laying down the rule of taxation in the case to which I have already called attention, says in another part of the decision:

"All subjects over which the sovereign power of a State extends are objects of taxation. But those over which it does not extend are, upon the soundest principles, exempt from taxation. This proposition may almost be pronounced self-evident. Sovereignty of a State extends to everything which exists by its own authority or is introduced by its permission; but does it extend to those means which are employed by Congress to carry into execution the powers conferred on that body by the people of the United States? We think it demonstrable that it does not.

"Take this ruling of the Chief Justice, which has been repeated in substance and in principle so often since, put it down by the side of the proposed amendment to the Constitution, and construe that amendment in the light of that principle, that only those things over which each sovereignty has jurisdiction and control are subject to taxation, what possible fear can there arise in the mind of any man that the Supreme Court will say that out of the words 'from whatever source derived' comes the power to do as Marshall said, 'rend the whole fabric into shreds?'

"These words must always be construed in the light of these principles; that is, as expressing authority which belongs to the jurisdiction which undertakes to lay the tax.

"In conclusion, on this phase of the subject I submit:

"First. That the proposed amendment adds nothing to the taxing power of the National Government. This power was complete, unfettered, plenary before. It can be no more than that should this proposed amendment be adopted.

"Second. The proposed amendment does not deal or purport to deal with the question of power which is already complete, but simply with the manner and method of exercising and using that power.

"Third. No one has ever questioned the power of the National Government to lay an income tax, for, as was said by Justice White, the question has always been 'whether an admittedly unlimited power to tax has been established according to the instruction as to the method,' and it was to remedy the method alone that the amendment was submitted.

"Fourth. The words 'from whatever source' adds nothing to the force of the amendment. It would, in constitutional parlance, be just the same if it said 'to lay and collect taxes on incomes without apportionment,' for who could then say that you would not have the right to lay taxes upon all incomes? The present taxing power would not be a particle stronger if it stated 'to lay and collect taxes upon all property from whatever source.'

"Fifth. To construe the proposed amendment so as to enable us to tax the instrumentalities of the State would do violence to the rules laid down by the Supreme Court for a hundred years, wrench the whole Constitution from its harmonious proportions, and destroy the object and purpose for which the whole instrument was framed.

"Sixth. To construe it to cover those incomes from sources within the jurisdiction and control of the sovereignty laying the tax is to construe it in harmony with the principles given us by Marshall and following from that hour to this.

"Mr. President, the history of the income tax since 1894 has not been one which any citizen can recite with pride. For nearly one hundred years the construction of the Constitution as established by the men who helped to write it had received the approval of an undivided court time and time again. During that period there sat upon the bench of the Supreme Court some of the greatest lawyers of that or any other period of this or any other country. During that period wealth had not become so domineering and so powerful and so determined to have its own way. During that period this Government had the power to impose the burdens and expenses of government upon consumption and upon all forms of wealth, and we did so. In 1894-95 these precedents were overturned. This Constitution received a construction unknown to its makers. In the face of two powerful dissenting opinions, assented to by two other judges, the startling and astounding doctrine was announced that the framers of the Republic had made it impossible to levy a tax upon some forms of wealth even in time of war; that the builders of this Government had made it impossible to dispose and divide the burden of government between consumption and the different forms of wealth. At the last session we were called upon to express our assent to that interpretation of the Constitution, by express act to declare our acceptance of it. Under majority rule there was submitted this amendment to cover and eliminate that supposed hideous defect in the fundamental law.

"Now, Mr. President, the scheme and plan is to defeat that amendment. Having, as a legislative body, solemnly declared our acceptance of this construction of the Constitution, thereby making it practically impossible to again appeal to the courts if this amendment can now be defeated this Government of the people, for the people, and by the people will stand alone among all the civilized nations of the earth shorn of the power to divide the burden of government between consumption and the different forms of wealth. This is the scheme and the plan; and, unfortunately, the great governor of New York has given much aid and comfort to the cause by reason of his high standing among the people of the country.

"Mr. President, no one ever saw this country in just the condition in which it is to-day. Never since this Government was launched has there been such a universally restless spirit among the masses of the people, such persistent inquiries, such ugly questioning. No part of the Government seems above challenge or criticism, and it is fast becoming popular in some parts of this country to scoff at the Constitution itself. A restless, unquiet, dissatisfied, and—worst of all—a suspicious public mind is the public mind of to-day.

"You can defeat this amendment; and I fear, from the men who are gathering to the crusade, that it will be defeated. Some of those who are proposing to encompass its defeat will not stop on the hither side of most disreputable means to accomplish their purpose. They are vitally involved. But when you shall have accomplished your purpose and the people shall have ascertained how their rights have been manipulated away, it will go far toward exciting to renewed force and strength that feeling of wrath and class hatred which is already too strong in this country. When those who are ill able to bear the burden of government see the expenses of the Government constantly increasing, when they see the creation of larger navies and larger armies, the burden of expenses increasing everywhere, and learn that, after all, this entire burden must be borne by what they eat and what they wear, and that certain forms of wealth which breed luxury, idleness, and idiocy go untaxed they will not listen to you when you are called upon to plead with them against radical changes in our form of government which will be submitted to this country within the next fifty years.

"I hope, therefore, Mr. President, that the governors of the States and the legislatures of this country will do their duty and see that this amendment is adopted; that they will meet this matter, whether there is a division among them or not as to when it should be exercised, upon the basis that it is a power that ought not to be taken away from the Government.

"The people should bestir themselves upon this vital matter before it is too late. It would be nothing less than a catastrophe for this amendment to be defeated, if we are, out of a false idea of courtesy, to be deprived of appealing to the court. It is the people's fight, and no one should be misled by the utterly unfounded proposition that this amendment contains the power to embarrass and destroy the States and 'rend the whole fabric into shreds.'"

Mr. KNOX. I also submit, in order that I may give the Senate the benefit of all the strongest positions that have been taken against the one that I propose to maintain, a copy of an opinion written by Charles P. Spooner, Esq., of the New York bar, a son and a law partner of that great statesman who once so well represented his State of Wisconsin in the Senate and who as well

was called into the general councils of the Government—the Hon. John C. Spooner. This opinion was published in the Wall Street Journal of recent date, and I ask that it be made a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, leave will be granted. The Chair hears no objection.

The opinion referred to is as follows:

RIGHT TO TAX STATE BONDS DENIED BY LAWYER—CHARLES P. SPOONER REVIEWS THE COURSE OF SUPREME COURT DECISIONS SINCE PASSAGE OF SIXTEENTH AMENDMENT.

The question of the constitutionality of the proposed tax on income received from new issues of State, county, and municipal bonds has so far received little attention in the House debate on the revenue bill. It is a burning question, however, with investors, dealers in investment securities, and constitutional lawyers. The following opinion against the proposed law was written to William B. Smith 2d, a bond dealer at 61 Broadway, by Charles P. Spooner, son and law partner of former Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin, now of New York:

"I am in receipt of yours of the 6th asking my opinion as to the power of Congress to tax the income from municipal securities. With your request you inclosed several opinions upon the question.

"On many questions of constitutional law it is necessary to be extremely cautious in expressing an opinion for the reason that the decisions of the Supreme Court in regard to them have been so numerous, and involving so many shades of distinction, as to make it extremely dangerous to express a decided view. The question you propound is not of this character, but is one which I think sufficiently free from doubt to admit of a definite opinion.

"The answer to your question involves a consideration of the power of Congress to tax the income from municipal securities, before the passage of the sixteenth amendment, and whether or not that power was affected by the amendment.

"BEFORE PASSAGE OF AMENDMENT.

"(1) I have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that before the passage of the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States Congress did not have the power to tax the income from municipal securities.

"The creation of the Federal Government soon brought about disputes concerning the respective rights and powers of that Government and of the States, and the Supreme Court was from time to time called upon to pass upon their reciprocal rights and limitations. Notwithstanding the present popular notion that the States have no rights which the Federal Government is bound to respect, the Supreme Court, in the course of numerous decisions, marked out the spheres to which each of these governments was confined. It would be interesting but tedious and unnecessary to go into the history of all of these decisions, but I will mention a few which bear directly upon the question we are considering.

"In the case of Dobbins *v.* Erie County Commissioners (16 Peters, 435) the State of Pennsylvania levied a State income tax upon the salary of a United States revenue officer and the Supreme Court held that the State could not tax a Federal office or function and that a tax upon the income derived from that office or function amounted to the same thing and was, therefore, invalid.

"In the case of Collector *v.* Day (11 Wall., 113) the question was reversed and, under Federal income tax of 1864, it was sought to tax the salary of a State judge. The Supreme Court held that as the United States could not tax a State office it could not tax the salary or income of a State officer.

"In the case of Weston *v.* Charleston (2 Peters, 449) the city of Charleston sought by ordinance to impose a tax upon the interest derived from securities of the United States, and the Supreme Court held that the tax was invalid upon the ground that neither a State nor its municipalities could tax either an instrumentality of the Federal Government or the income derived therefrom. This case is explained in the case of Fairbanks *v.* United States, 181, at page 296.

"These cases have been mentioned merely as preliminary to one in which the exact subject of your request was directly passed upon by the Supreme Court.

"In the case of Pollock *v.* Farmers' Loan & Trust Co. (157 U. S., 429) there came before the Supreme Court for decision the constitutionality of the income-tax law of 1894. The case was elaborately argued by some of the best lawyers in the United States, among others being W. D. Guthrie, George F Edmunds, James C. Carter, and Joseph H. Choate. The law was attacked on various grounds and the court was divided upon some of the questions involved, but was unanimous in holding that the law was unconstitutional in so far as it sought to tax the income derived from municipal securities. A reargument was granted upon other questions and the case is again reported in 158 United States, 601. The reargument did not involve or change the first decision in regard to the lack of Federal power to tax the income derived from municipal securities. This decision is still the law and would seem to make it clear that before the passage of the sixteenth amendment Congress was without power to tax municipal securities or the income derived from them.

"WHAT THE AMENDMENT DID.

"(2) We come now to the question whether or not the sixteenth amendment conferred upon Congress the previously nonexistent power to tax such income. The text of the amendment is as follows: 'The Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.'

"The vice of at least one of the opinions, which you inclose with your letter, seems to lie in the fact that the writer of it attempts to construe this amendment himself with the assumption that the words 'From whatever source derived' included the income from municipal securities. That this construction is incorrect is shown, not only by the debates in Congress, while the amendment was under consideration, but by the decisions of the supreme court since its adoption.

"While the amendment was before the legislature of the State of New York, Gov. Hughes, in a message to the legislature, questioned whether or not, these terms might not have the effect of giving to Congress the power to tax incomes derived from bonds issued by the State or its municipalities. This called forth a letter from Hon. Elihu Root, then a United States Senator from New York, to a member of the legislature, in which he stated in substance, that the amendment was not intended to enlarge the taxing power of the National Government in any degree, and would have no effect, except to relieve the exercise of its taxing power from the requirement that the tax must be apportioned among the several States. It was upon this understanding that the amendment was ratified. As a matter of fact the amendment was proposed for the purpose of relieving the already existing income taxing power of the Federal Government from any necessity of apportioning the tax among the States, and was the result of the decision in the Pollock case, that the tax upon income derived from real estate was the same in effect as upon real estate itself, and would, therefore, have to be apportioned among the States.

"Irrespective of how conclusive the foregoing may seem to be, there is now no longer any field for speculation, for the supreme court has passed upon the amendment, and, in at least three cases, has decided that it in no way enlarged the taxing power of Congress.

"In the case of Brushaber *v.* Union Pacific Railroad Co., 240 United States, 1, the court passed upon the amendment and held, that as Congress already had the plenary power of income taxation, the only purpose and effect of the amendment was to relieve such taxation from the possibility of being placed in the category of direct taxation, where it did not belong, and subject to apportionment among the States.

"In Stanton *v.* Baltic Mining Co., 240 U. S., 103, the court again construed the amendment, arriving at the same result. Both of these opinions were by a unanimous court.

"If there existed any doubt as to whether or not these cases necessarily involved such a construction of the amendment, it is certainly set at rest by the decision of the court in the case of William E. Peck & Co. *v.* John Z. Lowe, jr., decided by the court, May 20, 1918. As I had the pleasure of participating in the argument of the case, as well as the disappointment of losing it, it can be discussed in this opinion with somewhat familiar understanding. The case involved the contention on the part of the Peck Co. that its income, derived exclusively from foreign exportations, was immune from the Federal income tax, on the ground that the Constitution forbade the imposition of any burden upon exports. The Government took the position, among others, that even if Congress had not previously possessed the power of taxing such an income, that it had obtained that power by the adoption of the sixteenth amendment, because of the words, 'From whatever source derived.' In passing upon that contention the court said, 'The sixteenth amendment, although referred to in argument, has no real bearing and may be put out of view. As pointed out in recent decisions it does not extend the taxing power to new or excepted subjects, but merely removes all occasion, which otherwise might exist, for an apportionment among the States of taxes laid on income whether it be derived from one source or another. Brushaber *v.* Union Pacific Railroad Co., 240 U. S., 17–19; Stanton *v.* Baltic Mining Co., 240 U. S., 103, 112–113.'

"I am, therefore, unqualifiedly of the opinion that until the Constitution is further amended, or the Supreme Court reverses its unanimous opinions in the Pollock, Brushaber, Stanton, and Peck cases Congress is without power to tax income derived from municipal securities."

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, the vital question, then, is, What are the principles upon which these decisions are bottomed, and do they apply now, when the earth is wholly occupied with war and every human interest is subordinated to its insatiable demands? I state these principles in the language of the court.

In Collector *v.* Day (11 Wall.)—and there has been no decision of the Supreme Court which put the question upon any other ground than that which the court refers to in this case, a quotation from which I shall now read—the court said:

> It is admitted there is no express provision in the Constitution that prohibits the General Government from taxing the means and instrumentalities of a State, nor is there any prohibiting the State from taxing the means and instrumentalities of the Government. In both cases the exemption rests upon necessary implication and is upheld by the great law of self-preservation, as any government whose means employed in conducting its operations, if subject to the control of another and distinct government, can exist only at the mercy of that government.

This is to say, Mr. President, the prohibition rests upon a necessary implication arising out of the relation between the State and Federal Governments, and the implication is that the right of self-defense must be unhampered, because, as it is succinctly phrased in most of the cases, "the power to tax is the power to destroy."

This leads us to inquire if there is any difference in the relations between Federal and State Governments in times of peace and in times of war, particularly in respect to the right of self-preservation, which, as we see, is the foundation of the alleged prohibition we are examining.

Without stopping to quote its exact language, I am safe in assuming all will admit that the Constitution vests in Congress the exclusive right to make war; that it imposes upon the Federal Government the duty of maintaining a republican form of government in the States and likewise to protect the States from insurrection and invasion. The Constitution also prohibits the States from making war or making treaties or alliances of any kind.

The States are denied every means to prevent, to carry on, or to terminate war; that is, every means of self-defense and self-preservation. These facts are not, of course, affected by the formal right of a State to act to repel sudden invasion much as a man may defend his house in emergency.

Would it not be folly to impose upon the Federal Government the duty of maintaining a republican form of government in the States, to protect the State against invasion, and vest in the Federal Government the exclusive power to declare and conduct war, and then deny to the Federal Government the right to subject its citizens and their wealth to an equal share of the burdens of the common defense?

Perhaps the most unique feature of our system of government is that the States in some respects are sovereign, in others not. It is only in respect to the reserved powers that the States are sovereign and independent. The power to make war is not reserved to the States, but prohibited to them and conferred on the Federal Government. The Federal Government is sovereign in respect to war and, as Chief Justice Marshall said, in laying down the rule of taxation:

> All subjects over which the sovereign power of a State extends are the objects of taxation.

If, then, the Federal Government is sovereign for war, what should be its powers?

Hamilton said (31 Federalist):

> A government ought to contain in itself every power requisite to the full accomplishment of the objects committed to its care and to the complete execution of the trusts for which it is responsible; free from every other control, but a regard to the public good and to the sense of the people.
>
> As the duties of superintending the national defense and of securing the public peace against foreign or domestic violence involve a provision for casualties and dangers to which no possible limits can be assigned, the power of making that provision ought to know no other bounds than the exigencies of the Nation and the resources of the community.
>
> As revenue is the essential engine by which the means of answering the national exigencies must be procured, the power of procuring that article in its full extent must necessarily be comprehended in that of providing for those exigencies.
>
> As theory and practice conspire to prove that the power of procuring revenue is unavailing when exercised over the States in their collective capacities, the Federal Government must of necessity be invested with an unqualified power of taxation in the ordinary modes.

These are the powers Hamilton says the Government ought to contain in order to preserve the Nation, and the Constitution meets the requirements by vesting in Congress all the powers necessary to carry into effect the defensive power of war.

It is indeed true that self-preservation is the first law of nature. All that a man has will he give for his life. All that a nation has it will give to preserve its existence.

With men, as with nations, all reserves are abandoned, all limitations cease, all conventionalities are set aside, and everything is utilized when necessary to preserve life.

Remember the court said that the exemption of the States from Federal taxation and the Nation from State taxation is upheld by the great law of self-preservation. That is the reason for the exemption. In war that reason does not exist. Cessante ratione legis cessat ipsa lex. The reason ceasing, the law does not exist. In war the right and duty of preserving the State is in the Federal Government, and any exemption from Federal taxation depending upon the great law of self-preservation is suspended so long as the status of war and the exclusive Federal duty of preserving the State continues.

If we do not grant that the paramount necessity of self-preservation now justifies the taxation of incomes from State bonds, then, it seems to me, we must utterly repudiate the whole argument for State exemption in normal times. If the present real need of self-preservation does not now justify Federal taxation, how much less has a theoretical need of self-preservation ever justified the denial of the right of Federal taxation of income from the securities of States and their subsidiary entities?

It is unnecessary at this time to discuss the question as it would stand in the status of peace. The status of war, which now holds the fate of every interest, is to be sharply differentiated from the status of peace, with which we are not now at all concerned. We may, for the present purpose, assume the correctness of the repeated decisions that in normal times of peace the National Government may not tax State instrumentalities. We may even assume, if we like, the soundness of the able and weighty arguments that have construed the sixteenth amendment as without effect upon the same question.

We are confronted by a new question, a question made new by its emergence in an entirely new status, one recognized as new and separate by the Constitution itself, namely, the status of war.

Much might be said in opposition to the traditional decision of the old question of the Federal taxing power vis-à-vis the States. Much might be said in support of the view that the words "from any source whatever" in the sixteenth amendment can scarcely be mere verbiage, in their contemporary medium, and can scarcely have left unaffected the traditional decision. Just now it is only useful to have these considerations in mind if there be danger that a too blind devotion to an old theory may possibly make it more difficult for us to envisage and to judge upon its merits a question that is germane to the old theory but that is also as separate and distinct as the status of war is separate and distinct from the status of peace.

In my judgment, the courts have not furnished substantial support for the doctrine exempting income from State securities from National taxation in time of war. When courts say, as in Collector against Day, that the exemption is supported by the supreme right of self-defense, the answer is that the exemption can only be coextensive with that right, and as the right of self-defense by war is delegated to the National Government, when war exists the exemption is suspended.

More frequently the courts say the doctrine rests upon the unsubstantial foundation of this felicitous phrase, namely, that "the power to tax is the power to destroy."

This phrase in turn, to mean anything, rests upon the inconceivable hypothesis that, armed with a lethal weapon, the Nation would lie in wait and slaughter the States en masse, or one by one as opportunity presented. Whatever the danger may have been in the early days when this phrase was coined to serve ultra States rights views, it should no longer be seriously regarded.

It is akin to many fictions of the law that were invoked to ward off the bugaboos that lurked in the shadows of the early dawn of our liberties, whose unreality we now clearly comprehend. The power to tax is not the power to destroy. The power to tax is the power to enforce a proportional contribution for the support of the Government. The levy must be for revenue; if it is made for any other purpose it is unlawful. The power to tax is the power to destroy only in the sense that the power to feed is the power to poison. In the one case it presupposes a malevolent purpose against the States which alone compose the Union, in the other against the laws of hospitality.

We have vast sums to raise in order to remove States, individual citizens, and Nation from the German menace. States, individuals, and Nation must bear the general burden under general laws. There should be no tax-exempt bonds—State or National. There should be no new bonds, State or private, issued for any purpose that can be postponed or that does not materially promote, directly or indirectly, our conduct of the war. Where inducement is needed for the flotation of war loans a higher rate of interest is an inducement sounder and healthier to our economic and social life than is any tax exemption. This is true because the income from a higher rate can be made largely to flow back as income tax into the Treasury as funds wherewith to prosecute the war, and the higher rate creates no discrimination; whereas any exemption inevitably creates untaxable funds and makes possible discrimination in facilitating the enjoyment, by some, of such tax-free funds.

Under our institutions various rights are inherent in individuals as against the power of the State or of the National Government. Consider the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The right to the pursuit of happiness has been defined as consisting largely in the right to enjoy things—the right of property. Yet even in time of peace the right of property bows to eminent domain. And in cases of paramount and urgent necessity, it bows to the higher right of community self-preservation. Under municipal authority the fireman destroys individual property by the mandate of the higher right and duty of the Government to protect community property. While in time of war the occupation, the property, even the very life of the individual are rights subservient to the right of self-protection inherent in all individuals as the Nation.

There is analogy between the inherent rights of individuals as against the power of the State or the Nation and the inherent rights of the individual States as against the power of the National Government. Both are equally sacred. If there is a choice, we know that the protection of individual rights is by far the more important in practice to human happiness and to democracy. Why then should sacred and inherent individual rights yield without question to the national necessity of self-preservation on behalf of all our citizens and all our institutions, while inherent State rights, quite equally the object of the paramount duty of self-preservation for which the Nation is conducting war, are to be held inviolate?

We are conscripting manhood without discrimination. We are conscripting wealth through war taxation. Is it right that a door should be left open for effectual discrimination in this conscription of wealth? The real result of exempting State funds, securities, and salaries from war taxation is to create a privileged class at a time of universal sacrifice, to make possible a privileged class of possessors of wealth enjoying a discriminatory benefit under the flimsy guise of protecting the sovereign States.

It has been held that one State of the Union may tax the bonded issues of another State. A citizen of any State of the Union resident, say, in France would be liable to taxation upon

his income from or his personal property in securities of any State of the Union or for income tax upon a salary he might draw from a State of the Union.

Are State instrumentalities to be taxable by other States, and even by foreign countries, but not taxable by the Federal Government, even when to tax them is necessary to the Federal Government's discharge of its sole responsibility to defend those States?

Or, looking at the problem as a matter of the requisitioning of property in war time, for the matter comes really to that, I take it nobody will seriously deny that if a foreign foe had invaded our territory, had pushed up the Chesapeake, and advanced along the Susquehanna to Harrisburg, if such a foe was laying siege to an American force in that city, and the defense of the city, and consequently the welfare of the Nation depended upon the successful holding of the State capitol building in that city, I take it, I say, nobody will deny that Federal troops might use and occupy that building as a citadel; that forced from it these troops might utterly destroy it to prevent its use by the enemy; and that they might and should do this even against the most urgent protests of the State of Pennsylvania, however made or presented. I take it, moreover, few will deny that in such event the State of Pennsylvania must bear the loss, just as an individual must bear a like loss, uncompensated by the Federal Government, because the property would be destroyed in the track of war as an incident to belligerent operations. Now, if this be true as to the property of the State itself, how idle it seems to hesitate to impose a tax not on State property but on the income of an individual who has purchased a bond from the State.

Let us look again at this proposition that the power to tax is the power to destroy, and this time quite specifically in connection with the project we are considering of taxing income from State bonds.

What is it that is menaced with destruction? The court answers this question by saying such tax may interfere with the borrowing power of a State. So that in the end it comes to this, that to tax the income upon State bonds during war is to tax the borrowing power of the States at a time when the life of the Nation and States depends upon the Nation's ability to raise the money necessary to bring to a successful issue the war which it alone is authorized to carry on.

By the Constitution the States have committed to the National Government the whole responsibility for preserving and making provisions for the preservation of the Union and the States themselves, and as Hamilton has just been quoted as saying:

> The power of making that provision ought to know no other bounds than the exigencies of the Nation and the resources of the community.

The theory that the power to tax the borrowing power of the States is the power to destroy the States must yield to the fact that lacking such power the Nation may fail to preserve the Nation and the States.

The borrowing power, unlike the taxing power, is not an essential function of sovereignty. It is at best only a convenient substitute for the taxing power, which is, of course, one of the greatest of sovereign powers.

> In all governments of constitutional limitations sovereign power manifests itself in but three ways: By exercising the right of taxation; by the right of eminent domain; and through its police power, police power used in the broad sense of legislative power. (United States *v.* Douglas-Willan-Sartoris Co., 22 Pac., 92.)

Moreover, it is said in this case:

> It is no longer a question open to dispute that, when the Government becomes a party to a contract between itself and its citizens, it divests itself of its sovereignty in respect to the terms and conditions of the contract, its construction and interpretation, and stands in the same position with reference to the contract as a private individual. As said by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts (Com. *v.* Proprietors, 2 Gray, 350): "If it were otherwise, the rights of parties contracting with the Government would be held at the caprice of the sovereign, and exposed to all the risks * * * of misguided power." "When a government enters 'nto a contract with an individual, it deposes, as to the matter of the contract, its constitutional authority and exchanges the character of legislator for that of moral agent, with the same rights and obligations as an individual. It is, in theory, impossible to reconcile the two ideas of a promise which obliges with a power to make a law which can vary the effect of it." (Hamilton's Works, vol. 3, p. 518.)

Borrowing by the States is a cheap and convenient method of raising money by contract in lieu of exercising the sovereign power of taxation. It is cheap because the State barters away its power and duty to tax wealth of all kinds equally by exempting its bonds from taxation. This enables the State to compete in the money market on unequal terms with the merchant, miner, farmer, manufacturer, and the numerous other workers who make the material State. These not only have to pay the higher rates of interest in competition with tax-free bonds but are taxed to make up the revenue lost by the exemption of State bonds.

Exemption of the income from State bonds from taxation in the hands of their holders is against a sound public policy.

It frees vast fortunes from taxation by the Federal Government without regard to the obligations or necessities of that Government.

The power of the States to make wealth free from national taxation is, we might almost say, the power to destroy the Nation. For, is not the power to withdraw from Federal taxation the capital of the country by means of tax-immune bonds as much a menace to the Nation as is the Nation's power to tax income from such bonds in the holders' hands a menace to the States?

Aside even from the extraordinary exactions of war the national economy may hardly withstand the effect, if the theory of exemption be carried to its logical conclusion. The modern tendency may result in a State's increased socialization of various profitable enterprises. Apply the theory of State exemption and a State might conceivably take over so many interests as to remove as a source of Federal revenue the bulk of its taxable wealth.

How can it be claimed that an interference with the State's power to borrow money may destroy the State when, under its sovereign power to tax, the State can raise all the revenue its necessities require?

There seem to be three ways by which the income on State bonds may escape taxation:

First. Where the States agree they shall not be taxed. Of course, this applies only to taxation by the borrowing State.

Second. Where the States agree to pay taxes that may be levied by other sovereignties.

Third. Through the implication arising from the nature of our institutions that such incomes are exempt because the power to tax them might lead to the State's destruction, and that it is necessary in order that the States may be able to preserve themselves that the people who lend them money shall be exempt from the common burdens of the war.

There is no occasion to waste sympathy upon States that have made such borrowing contracts as require them to pay taxes imposed to meet the exigencies of war, as it is claimed they must do in order to make good their covenants to the holders of their bonds. They were paid in reduced rates of interest for taking the risk of the Nation becoming involved in war and the risk of the exercise of powers necessary to preserve the Nation.

In this connection it is pertinent to observe that it is difficult to understand how a tax on income on State bonds can be a tax on the borrowing power of the States containing a possible menace to that power if the same tax falls equally upon the income from all other kinds of securities issued for borrowed money. In such case the securities of the State are only removed from a privileged position.

I beg to refer those who hesitate as to our power to enact the proposed measure to our action of February 6, 1918, when by a yea-and-nay vote we unanimously passed the soldiers and sailors' civil-rights bills, which in terms suspends the sovereign power of the States to collect taxes due by soldiers and sailors.

Mr. Choate said in his argument in the Pollock case:

> We believe that Congress has plenary power in the last exigencies of the Government to reach every man, every dollar, every inch of ground to secure the common defense and the general welfare: that it was the purpose of the convention that created the Constitution to give Congress that power, and it is one of the absolute essentials of a great sovereignty which was to cover a continent and to last for untold ages.

To contend that there is any principle in our Constitution that permits any form of wealth to escape taxation, if its taxation is necessary to carry on a defensive war, is to contend that the Constitution contains a principle more sacred than the Nation itself, a principle not of ethics but of law, and one that must be preserved even though the Nation perish.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, any argument presented by the able Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX] is entitled to more consideration, before an attempt to discuss his position, than can be given to it in the few moments intervening between the making of the statement and the present time. I am not going to undertake to discuss at length or attempt in any extended way to meet his arguments. But before the matter passes out of the minds of those who heard the argument I want to call the attention to one or two cases which, it seems to me, may well be worthy of the further consideration of the able Senator from Pennsylvania.

If I correctly understand the position of the Senator, it is that, a state of war existing, the law of self-defense and of self-protection enables the National Government to lay its taxing

hand upon the instrumentalities of the State or the salaries of the officers of the State, whereas that would not be true in times of peace. I call attention to the fact that this principle, as first laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States so far as the taxing of the instrumentalities of the States is concerned, was laid down upon the precise condition of affairs which is supposed to exist at this time.

The law of 1864, passed June 30 of that year, provided as follows:

> There shall be levied, collected, and paid annually upon the gains, profits, and income of every person residing in the United States, * * * whether derived from any kind of property, rents, interest, dividends, or salaries, or from any profession, trade, employment, or vocation carried on in the United States or elsewhere, or from any other source whatever, a tax of 5 per cent on the amount so derived over $1,000.

This act was passed in the midst of the Civil War and for the purpose of raising revenue to carry on the conflict upon the part of the Union. A clause of it came under the consideration of the court. In discussing this measure—a revenue measure—under those conditions, the court said——

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator to give the volume and title of the case?

Mr. BORAH. This is the case of Collector against Day, in eleventh Wallace. I am reading from page 125:

> Two of the great departments of the Government, the executive and legislative, depend upon the exercise of the powers or upon the people of the States. The Constitution guarantees to the States a republican form of government and protects each against invasion or domestic violence. Such being the separate and independent condition of the States in our complex system, as recognized by the Constitution, and the existence of which is so indispensable that without them the General Government itself would disappear from the family of nations, it would seem to follow, as a reasonable if not a necessary consequence, that the means and instrumentalities employed for carrying on the operations of their governments, for preserving their existence, and fulfilling the high and responsible duties assigned to them in the Constitution, should be left free and unimpaired, should not be liable to be crippled, much less defeated, by the taxing power of another government, which power acknowledges no limits but the will of the legislative body imposing the tax. And, more especially, those means and instrumentalities which are the creation of their sovereign and reserved rights, one of which is the establishment of the judicial department and the appointment of officers to administer their laws—

The person who contested this law was a judicial officer, and, the tax being laid upon his salary, the question thus arose—

> Without this power and the exercise of it we risk nothing in saying that no one of the States under the form of government guaranteed by the Constitution could long preserve its existence. A despotic government might. We have said that one of the reserved powers was that to establish a judicial department; it would have been more accurate, and in accordance with the existing state of things at the time, to have said the power to maintain a judicial department. All of the 13 States were in the possession of this power and had exercised it at the adoption of the Constitution, and it is not pretended that any grant of it to the General Government is found in that instrument. It is, therefore, one of the sovereign powers vested in the States by their constitutions, which remained unaltered and unimpaired, and in respect to which the State is as independent of the General Government as that Government is independent of the States.
>
> The supremacy of the General Government, therefore, so much relied on in the argument of the counsel for the plaintiff in error in respect to the question before us, can not be maintained.

And why? Because the sovereign power of the State with reference to those instrumentalities which are necessary to its existence and to the performance of its functions is just as independent of the National Government as the National Government's powers and instrumentalities are independent of the State government. It is not an instance in which the superior government exercises its taxing power upon a subordinate government or a subdivision of the government, but it is an effort and an attempt upon the part of one purely independent government to tax another entirely separate and independent government. Here are two governments in these particulars wholly independent of each other and both indispensable to the Union. Neither can tax the instrumentalities of the other. Each is in this respect independent of the other; and neither can be said to be superior to the other in their respective sovereign powers:

> The two governments are upon an equality, and the question is whether the power "to lay and collect taxes" enables the General Government to tax the salary of a judicial officer of the State, which officer is a means or instrumentality employed to carry into execution one of its most important functions, the administration of the laws, and which concerns the exercise of a right reserved to the States.
>
> We do not say the mere circumstance of the establishment of the judicial department and the appointment of officers to administer the laws, being among the reserved powers of the State, disables the General Government from levying the tax, as that depends upon the express power to "lay and collect taxes," but it shows that it is an original inherent power never parted with and in respect to which the supremacy of that Government does not exist and is of no importance in determining the question; and, further, that being an original and reserved power, and the judicial officers appointed under it being a means or instrumentality employed to carry it into effect, the right and necessity of its unimpaired exercise and the exemption of the officers from taxation by the General Government stand upon as solid a ground and are maintained by principles and reasons as cogent as those which led to the exemption of the Federal officer in Dobbins against The Commissioners of Erie from taxation by the State, for in this respect—that is, in respect to the reserved powers—the State is as sovereign and independent as the General Government. And if the means and instrumentalities employed by that Government to carry into operation the powers granted to it are necessarily and for the sake of self-preservation exempt from taxation by the States, why are not those of the States depending upon their reserved powers for like reasons equally exempt from Federal taxation? Their unimpaired existence in the one case is as essential as in the other. It is admitted that there is no express provision in the Constitution that prohibits the General Government from taxing the means and instrumentalities of the States, nor is there any prohibiting the States from taxing the means and instrumentalities of that Government. In both cases the exemption rests upon necessary implication, as any government whose means employed in conducting its operations, if subject to the control of another and distinct government, can exist only at the mercy of that government. Of what avail are these means if another power may tax them at discretion?

I also call the attention of the able Senator from Pennsylvania to the case of Lane against Oregon, in which the acts of 1862 and 1863 were called in question. I think this case will be found equally conclusive on this subject.

At some other time I expect to discuss this matter more fully.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, the Senator from Idaho perhaps was not in the Chamber when I put in the RECORD his own argument in 1910, which I think is the ablest argument that has ever been made upon that side of the question, and which contains a reference to the cases to which he has just alluded. I also included in the RECORD a recent opinion written by Mr. Charles Spooner, of New York, which has followed the cases down to the present time.

Mr. BORAH. I was in the Chamber when the Senator presented my remarks for the RECORD, and I simply called attention to this because the argument which I had submitted did not call particular attention to the fact that the acts of 1863 and 1864 were war measures.

Mr. KNOX. I wish the Senator from Idaho, as well as all of my colleagues, to understand that my whole purpose in raising this question is this: There is a rugged equity in trying to unlock the coffers where these millions of State securities are confined. I know of persons who have several millions of dollars of State securities that do not pay one penny of income tax, and, by the way, do not buy as many bonds as many men of very much less wealth than themselves. If there is a way—and I was only endeavoring to give to the Senate the way that I thought was possible, and my attitude was not didactic or dogmatic at all—I want this question thrashed out and a sound conclusion reached, and this wealth reached, if possible.

Mr. BORAH. I am exceedingly pleased that the Senator from Pennsylvania has started the discussion and has given his opinion upon the subject, which will of course have great weight; but, in discussing the question of equity, may I say that the States are quite as hard pressed for subjects to tax these days as the National Government? It is undoubtedly within the power of the States to tax these securities and to tax their officers or their salaries, and so forth; and, in proportion that the National Government seizes other sources and other subjects of taxation, it must necessarily follow that the State will seek other subjects of taxation. The States could do this, undoubtedly.

I think, however, that while it seems we are engaged in these days in an unconscious, if not a conscious, movement to destroy the sovereignty of the States, we may pause before taking the final step to consider whether it is wise to go all the way. I do not believe a few million dollars is any price to put up against the Federal system which was originally constructed by the fathers. If we take away the rights of the State to control the franchise, and then go further and lay taxes upon the very instrumentalities of the State governments, certainly we shall have concluded that the States as sovereign entities are no longer essential. That may be the doctrine which we are to accept, but under no conceivable circumstances shall I ever subscribe to it. I repeat, as I have said elsewhere, you can have no great Federal Union without great and powerful Commonwealths upon which the Federal Government may rest.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 200) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, in order to call back to the attention of the Senate the business which is before it, I will read the joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women. It is as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the leg-

islatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE —.

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

If we were engaged in making a Constitution, and at this period of our history the question should come forward for the first time, I am disposed to believe that there would be very little opposition to taking away the discrimination which has ordinarily obtained against woman as a woman. California is one of the 19 States of the Union which have recognized, by State action, the justice and expediency of giving the suffrage to women; and while necessarily that does not bind the representatives of the State of California in Congress, because there is also another question, a question of the method, involved here, yet it is interesting to know that in a typical State of the Union the suffrage which has been enjoyed by women in California for the past seven years has been an eminent success, and none of the dangers feared by those who oppose woman suffrage have presented themselves.

There are two classes of men who oppose woman suffrage: Those who do not believe in it in itself, and those who do not believe that by amendment of the Federal Constitution women should be granted suffrage, but that they should be granted suffrage, if at all, by the States.

It seems to me a late day to discuss in this body the desirability of granting suffrage to women, and yet there are those who, doubtless in good faith, believe that if women were given the suffrage it would in some way act to the detriment of the State. That certainly grows out of the ancient prejudice which comes down from the dim past, where force was the principal weapon used and where man dominated by reason of his superior strength. That was the period, as described by John Stuart Mill, of the subjection of women. But since that time—due, doubtless, to Christian civilization—women have steadily advanced until, in the arts and sciences and professions, they are in most respects equal to men. In the great universities they very often excel men. They are engaged everywhere in the practice of the professions of law and medicine. In my own city a woman is United States district attorney to-day. So there is nothing strange now in women assuming the work for which they have capacity; and if they have not shown capacity in the past it is because men have withheld from them the rewards, the allurements of fame, the honors and the distinction that come from industry and study. They have been relegated to a place by themselves, and man has proudly assumed the right to represent them upon all occasions.

But if woman has attained the position of taking care of herself in the industries and in the professions, certainly she has a right, under the spirit of our laws to-day, to have representation. We tax her in her industry and in her property, and we deny her representation, which is contrary to one of the cardinal principles of our institutions. If we require that she obey the laws, it follows inevitably that she must be given a voice in making the laws. So the great principles of our Government have to-day in spirit conferred upon her this right, and all we ask is that it be expressed in law so that it will have binding effect; and the appeal is made to men because they control the ballot.

I will not claim for woman that she is equal in all respects to man. She is different. Woman is not undeveloped man, as Tennyson says, but diverse; and yet in manly pursuits we have everywhere exceptional historical examples of women even engaging in combat—the great Queen Semiramis; Boadicea, who fought the Romans in Britain; Joan of Arc; the Maid of Saragossa—

> She, whom once the semblance of a scar
> Appall'd, an owlet's larum chill'd with dread,
> Now views the column-scattering bay'net jar,
> The falchion flash, and o'er the yet warm dead
> Stalks with Minerva's step where Mars might quake to tread.

Coming down to the present time, we know that women have engaged in actual warfare, and yet we would not establish a claim upon her ability to fight. Behind the lines, however, there is work for women to do, as essential as the work done by men at the front. They have to attend to the wounded; they have to care for those who have fallen in the strife; and in all these things they are called upon, as you know, in preference to men. Women have work to do in the world at peace and the world at war.

PRESIDENT WILSON ADVISES CONGRESS.

When the President of the United States sees fit to come to the Senate of the United States during the course of the debate and answer a question which was propounded by one of our colleagues, I should think his course would meet with an eager response.

The Constitution, Article II, section 3, says of the President:

> He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper.

So the President is well within his prerogatives when he comes here in person—a compliment which, indeed, we should appreciate—and answers a question thus propounded.

What was that question? The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BENET], who was for some time regarded to be in doubt as to what position he should take upon this subject, said in his address that in case he was convinced that the proposed constitutional amendment was a war measure, notwithstanding the objections which he otherwise had, he would vote for it. Now the President has come before us and stated that it is a war measure.

Times change, and we change with them. The platform of the great Democratic Party only two years ago declared for peace; and now a united country—Democrats and Republicans—declares for war. So rapidly are times changing that that instrument in some respects is already obsolete. Why, then, has the country changed? Because since that time we have actually entered the war; since that time the whole panorama of the war has been opened to us, and we see that it is not a contest between one or two nations and another, but it is a people's war, a contest in which the people of the world are engaged for the preservation of their independence and their rights by land and sea. There is no doubt whatever now in the minds of men as to the meaning of the war; and that conviction, having come to men, has set aside whatever declarations may have been made in the past.

Senators who vote with an apparent reluctance against this amendment on the ground that their constituencies have instructed them—that is to say, their constituencies have, by referendum or plebiscite, declared against woman suffrage, not necessarily against the constitutional amendment, but against woman suffrage—feel that they are bound by the action of their constituencies. One Senator, the Senator from Ohio, said in his recent address that the people of his State had expressed their views, and I beg you to concede that he should have said the male voters of his State have expressed their views. One-half of the people of his State are actually disfranchised, and he comes here with a scrap of paper meaning nothing, so far as the sentiment of the women of his State are concerned. Men are selfish, especially in the possession of power; they are loath to give it up. That is true of all autocrats, but it is equally true that those who are denied power and who are subject to the autocracy are constantly making protests; and for 50 years the women of this country have never ceased to make protests.

WENDELL PHILLIPS STATES THE CASE.

I have in my hand, sir, the resolutions adopted at a meeting in Worcester, Mass., on the 15th day of October, 1851, 67 years ago. In reading the speeches of Wendell Phillips I came across his address on that occasion, and I think that everything which can be said in favor of granting suffrage to women is embraced within the pages of this volume as expressed in his speech. It is so absolutely logical that no one can avoid it. It is quite immaterial, as the President said to-day, what may be "the predilections of the drawing-room." The women of the drawing-room have breadwinners to provide for them. We are talking of the women who for one reason or another do not acknowledge dependency upon man in intellectual, educational, and spiritual matters, but assert an individuality of their own. But the women of the drawing-room, after years of long subjection, come to regard themselves as more or less dependent because the necessity of their condition does not require of them either the acquisition of knowledge upon public questions or the exercise of public duties. Their male representative does that for them and they doubtless are quite content. But we are engaged in the business of emancipating women, even those who are so complacent.

I am going to read those resolutions into my address for the purpose of reaching the ears of the New England Senators particularly, because the opposition to this amendment comes from the New England Senators and from the southern Senators, certainly an unholy alliance. The very name of Wendell Phillips ought to arouse the New England conscience to believe that there is something in this contest higher than mere material gain, that there is something, as the President describes, of a spiritual nature, something involving the impalpable rights of

persons. For those rights the men of New England gave Wendell Phillips as a missionary to the country and as a result of the gospel which he preached the black race was freed. The black race is the greatest obstacle to-day in this body to woman suffrage, but standing alone the opposition that arises from that source would not be sufficient unless it was reenforced from New England.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator's position, then, as I understand it, is that in the old battle against human slavery Massachusetts and South Carolina were divided, but in the present battle for the political emancipation of women Massachusetts and South Carolina are united.

Mr. PHELAN. That is my understanding, Mr. President, and that is why I call it an unholy alliance.

The resolutions adopted on that October day in 1851 were drafted by Wendell Phillips:

1. *Resolved*, That while we would not undervalue other methods, the right of suffrage for women is, in our opinion, the corner stone of this enterprise, since we do not seek to protect woman, but rather to place her in a position to protect herself.

That is one of the essential arguments in favor of woman suffrage, to put her in a position to protect herself.

2. *Resolved*, That it will be woman's fault if, the ballot once in her hand, all the barbarous, demoralizing, and unequal laws relating to marriage and property do not speedily vanish from the statute book; and while we acknowledge that the hope of a share in the higher professions and profitable employments of society is one of the strongest motives to intellectual culture, we know, also, that an interest in political questions is an equally powerful stimulus; and we see, besides, that we do our best to insure education to an individual when we put the ballot into his hands, it being so clearly the interest of the community that one upon whose decisions depend its welfare and safety should both have free access to the best means of education and be urged to make use of them.

3. *Resolved*, That we do not feel called upon to assert or establish the equality of the sexes, in an intellectual or any other point of view. It is enough for our argument that natural and political justice and the axioms of English and American liberty alike determine that rights and burdens, taxation and representation, should be coextensive; hence women, as individual citizens, liable to punishment for acts which the laws call criminal or to be taxed in their labor and property for the support of Government, have a self-evident and indisputable right, identically the same right that men have, to a direct voice in the enactment of those laws and the formation of that Government.

4. *Resolved*, That the democrat, or reformer, who denies suffrage to women is a democrat only because he was not born a noble and one of those levelers who are willing to level only down to themselves.

5. *Resolved*, That while political and natural justice accord civil equality to woman; while great thinkers of every age, from Plato to Condorcet and Mill, have supported their claim; while voluntary associations, religious and secular, have been organized on this basis, there is yet a favorite argument against it, that no political community or nation ever existed in which women have not been in a state of political inferiority. But, in reply, we remind our opponents that the same fact has been alleged with equal truth in favor of slavery; has been urged against freedom of industry, freedom of conscience, and the freedom of the press; none of these liberties having been thought compatible with a well-ordered state until they had proved their possibility by springing into existence as facts.

Nineteen American States since Wendell Phillips's time have proved, as in the case of free press and free conscience, the living fact that suffrage for woman is compatible with the well-being of the state. Continuing:

Besides, there is no difficulty in understanding why the subjection of woman has been a uniform custom, when we recollect that we are just emerging from the ages in which might has been always right.

"Might has always been right." To-day the President came here to tell us that this is a war measure. We are engaged in this war, in the business of proving that might is no longer right; that the biological theory of the German philosophers subordinating the weak to the strong and knowing no other right or power than brute strength is the very proposition which we are contesting on the battle fields of Europe. That is the only reason why women have not been in full partnership with men, the partnership to which the President referred to-day when he said that we ask from women a partnership of sacrifice and toil only and not a partnership of equality and right.

Certainly, Mr. President, this is a war measure, because when you ask why we are in this war we are told that it is not a contest between nations, but it is a contest for the supremacy of the right; it is a contest against the claims made by an autocracy that force is the only arbiter between men and between nations. If we deny suffrage to women it is because we are superior in strength to women and deny their intellectual and moral fitness and right to that copartnership which should obtain between men and women in the conduct of the country's affairs.

So the very issue involved in this war is involved in the conflict between the forces opposed to suffrage and in favor of suffrage. We are asserting that men have a superior right because they have greater strength than woman, a condition that prevails in primitive society. That is all there is to it. We are denying civilization. We are denying to women an equality just as the Hun denies to the Belgians and the Serbs the right to independent existence. So we deny the women the right of an independent existence with respect to their political rights. In the language of autocracy we are saying, "We can do better for you, so remain comfortably subservient."

How can we justify ourselves? As the President says, he wants to be put in a position where he need not be ashamed when he goes before the nations of the world speaking for this democracy. It is clearly our duty to perfect our democracy at home before we preach democracy abroad. Therein also is it a war measure. The hour has arrived when this can be accomplished in this body by the change of a few votes. Why should not those votes be given? Have Senators a pride of opinion which would put them in opposition to the spirit of the age? Do Senators who inquire whether it is a war measure or not deny the authority of the man who came here to-day to speak, the first authority in the world on that subject, the leader of the American people, the Commander in Chief of the boys in the field and the sailors on the sea? After due deliberation, meeting that inquiry, he has said it is a war measure. He wants that weapon with which to win the war. What weapon? Not a new voting constituency in the United States to-day or to-morrow, because if we submit the amendment to-day it will take several years in order to get the ratification of the States, but he wants a clear conscience; he wants to set the country right, if possible, by persuasion of the minds of men; for unless we accept this policy of giving the women the vote, of democratizing the country in a true and real sense, he will just to that extent be weak in presenting the cause of justice and equality, of independence, and of right to the nations of the world. He is only half armed with half the people of the United States disfranchised.

He wants the weapon of equal rights to smite the fiends of kingcraft.

He wants, he says, "a spiritual weapon." What is a spiritual weapon? It is built of the thoughts and ideals of a nation. It is built of the hopes and aspirations of one-half of our population. It is built of democracy unalloyed and undefiled and a democracy which embraces not some of the people but all of the people. He asks that the spiritual weapon by the vote of this body be put into his hands. When we go back to our constituencies, with that speech of the President ringing in their ears, because he is their leader, coming to Congress and asking for a weapon, will we say that we denied it? We have given him shot and shells and cannon and we have given the material things with which to fight, but the battle of our inspired leader is to be fought by weapons other than these—by the great idea of liberty and justice for the world. That is the idea which wins the battles, which gave us our own independence—the idea of man being free. I say to-day the idea of men and women being free is something that carries with it an impelling force to those who believe in a full and absolute acceptance of democracy.

A great orator said: "Set an idea upon its feet and bid it to march from Maine to Georgia it will as surely overturn the Government as if to destroy the Capitol you put gunpowder under the Senate House." That is a rather apt quotation: "Put gunpowder under the Senate House." Wendell Phillips used those words, and in that campaign, sending of an idea from Maine to Georgia, you will recollect that he did in fact overturn the Government.

The President has put spiritual gunpowder under the Senate House. He, the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, has told us what he believes is necessary for him as a weapon to make democracy safe in the world. I trust that when the vote is counted it shall appear that an authority so high to whom we are so devoted, men and women, Democrats and Republicans, will not have spoken in vain.

STATES RIGHTS AND THE RACE PROBLEM IN THE SOUTH.

I have always sympathized with the South on the race phase of this discussion. In my own State, when a candidate for this office, I was opposed by the representatives of what is now known as the Woman's Party. They personally came to my State for the purpose of defeating all men who were candidates under the Democratic auspices because they held that party responsible for the failure of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. At that time I was openly opposed to the Susan B. Anthony amendment on the ground that the States under the Constitution as now organized have jurisdiction over such matters, and hence that the door was not closed under the Constitution to the women of the country who sought suffrage; that they could go from State to State and convince the people of the several States, and, indeed, they had succeeded so admirably I rather resented their seeking an extraordinary means of giving suffrage to women. But I was afterwards informed that there were at least 11 States in this country whose constitutions were so rigid that it was practically impossible for the people themselves of those States to give an expression of their views.

The constitutions were made so rigid by those who were heedless probably of subsequent development, not anticipating an unusual demand, thinking doubtless that all necessary acts could be passed by the legislature, that they could not be changed. Hence the women found an impassable barrier to their progress. Then they came to Washington with new vigor, having exhausted the field of the States, in order to give an equal benefit to the women of the country and not to allow those States that had conferred the suffrage to enjoy the benefit alone. In other words, they sought to make what I consider a very desirable thing in itself, a homogeneous electorate, just as I am disposed to believe we should have uniform marriage and divorce laws, because people ought to know whether they are married or not as they travel the length and breadth of the Republic. I also am disposed to believe that this is one country and under one flag. Yet so dissimilar are the laws affecting marriage and divorce that a man and a woman might well doubt whether they were legitimately wedded in passing on a railroad train from one State to another. In some great questions there is need for a Federal amendment which does not in itself involve any trespass upon the just and proper rights of the individual States.

Suffrage is now conferred by the States under the reserved power of the States. The Constitution when drafted many years ago was an instrument for the purpose of meeting only conditions which then prevailed. Steam and electricity and gasoline were unknown. There was no communication between the States worthy of the name, and individuality so far as the several commonwealths were concerned was absolutely established. With the development of steam and electricity, the country has been bound as with iron bands, and it would certainly be a great hardship if we could not amend the Federal Constitution to meet the new conditions which now confront us. When we go into the States by statute and tell the States who shall enjoy suffrage and who shall not, we may trespass upon their reserved power. But when we simply provide by constitutional amendment that there shall be no discrimination on account of sex, that certainly is not trespassing. That is something fundamental. We do not pretend to impose a property or intellectual qualification. We do not pretend to interfere with matters as intimately and as closely associated with the people as *that*. They may have reasons for discrimination in favor of property ownership and of intellectual accomplishments. They have that justification in the South, and when this amendment prevails that will remain. It simply extends to all of the women, white and black, within a State the same privilege enjoyed by the men.

I do not know why the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] should express so much fear of the Federal Government. What is the Federal Government? Is it an alien and a hostile government seeking to destroy, by power of taxation, constitutional amendment, or otherwise, the individual State? The Congress of the United States alone, having the power to submit a constitutional amendment or to pass laws, is composed of the representatives of the States, and in the lower House it is in proportion to population, but in this Chamber absolute equality between States, small and great, is guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States, even against the power of amendment to change it.

There is no danger whatever of the equality of representation in the Senate ever being destroyed except by revolution. Hence it is rather absurd for gentlemen to grow excited over dangers that menace States when the States themselves control the power of the Federal Government. If they wish to impose restrictions upon themselves, it would have to be done in this instance by two-thirds of this entire body and ratified then by three-fourths of the States. There can not possibly be any danger of the Federal power usurping the State government when its exercise is so safeguarded. So I do not sympathize with the Senator from Alabama in making his protest on the broad constitutional ground.

He said that the power to tax was the power to destroy. In practice it is not the power to destroy, because, as I have said, the Congress of the United States has the power to tax, but being deeply concerned by reason of its essential constituents in the well-being of the States, there is no danger of the States being destroyed or any of the reserved instrumentalities of the States needlessly disturbed.

We are here, some of us more provincial than others, to protect our States. Sometimes we allow that sentiment to cloud our judgment, not fully realizing the vision of the glory of the Republic as one Nation, "an indestructible Union of indestructible States," one Capital, one flag. We are so close to our constituents, which is the condition of our existence, that we refuse very often to take the Federal view, but we should not excuse ourselves on the absurd ground that the Congress of the United States is a menace to the individual States, because that is not true. The Congress of the United States can correct any of its own errors, and there would be an appeal from the States if there was any danger involved.

But what do we find in the Southern States? A large negro population. It is unfortunate that the negro population, a non-assimilable body, a foreign substance, is lodged in those States; but we need not go back into history to show that they came there not of their voluntary act but by bidding and invitation; indeed, transportation was provided. They came from their own jungles in Africa to work upon the plantations, and there they are to-day. As the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] has so often stated, there can be no democracy where there is no equality; and there is but a feeble democracy possible in those States which have upon their back a large non-assimilable and ignorant population. It is a grave and serious menace to the South, unless the South by education develop the men and women of that race and make them worthy of citizenship.

The white people of the South do educate the negroes in the schools and they do not object to the exercise of the franchise by those who, by the ownership of property or by education, are qualified to vote. So by extending the suffrage to women you do not change the present condition, deplorable as it may be in the eyes of the men of the South. You simply increase the electorate by the addition of women; and if they are less literate than the men, or if they hold no property—as the Senator from Alabama admitted, the property being all in the names of the men—there is very little likelihood of their ever exercising the suffrage. If that is so, where is the danger?

The negroes cultivate the plantations; to that extent they are welcomed; and when they sought to run away to employment more remunerative in the shipyards last year the South called them to come back. When we went to war there was no hesitation in recruiting our troops from among the negroes. So the South has that problem to solve, whether we pass this joint resolution providing for this constitutional amendment or not; and they have solved it admirably and in good temper up to this time. The amendment, I am told, will increase by 20 per cent the voting white population in the South as a whole. So the South will be stronger. Where, then, is the danger?

In California we have race problems, and I look to the South to protect the western coast some day against the encroachment of Asiatics. Our sympathies are bound by a common problem. I recall that the West and the South united in the last election and gave to the country in the person of Woodrow Wilson its great leader. The West is all for woman suffrage; it has already given suffrage to women; it believes in it; and it believes in making the country homogeneous so far as the electorate is concerned, so that a western woman can go north or east or south and not be deprived of the privilege which she enjoys in the West.

I think if the South were sympathetic and associated itself more closely with the hopes and aspirations of the West it might serve a great purpose in resisting the forces of reaction which ultimately, sooner than later, will seek to assert themselves before the American people.

If the West understood the South and the South understood the West as well as they did in 1916, there would be a great bulwark for democracy in the Union of the two great sections of the country which would radiate far afield and perhaps finally penetrate New England. New England, the cradle of liberty, the home of human freedom, through its representatives opposing equal suffrage is a spectacle to make the angels weep. The former good Republican leader from the State of New Hampshire, a venerable and respected figure of this body, was ready to give the women his voice and vote for this measure. I should think that his influence might have some effect upon the men from New England, unless, he being dead, they repudiate his leadership.

Mr. President, State rights, in so far as it relates to this measure, is a bugaboo. I did not hear from my colleagues on this side of the Chamber any protest against the invasion of State rights when they wished to get a Federal appropriation for the extermination of the boll weevil. The boll weevil was destroying the cotton in the South, but, instead of the good Federal Government relegating the Southern States to their own resources, lest it should trespass upon their sovereignty, it voted millions of dollars for the extermination of the boll weevil. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS], with the influenza of the Spanish variety prevailing, the other day did not turn to the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts to suppress their own epidemic, but came here and by unanimous consent took a million dollars out of a depleted Treasury. If the epizootic or the Spanish influenza found a fruitful soil in Massachusetts

and did not bother California, it strikes me they ought certainly to provide by State means for its suppression; and yet those of us who are as broad as the continent, knowing the infectious character of the disease, among other reasons, regarded it as a Federal or national problem. So the police powers of the States are to be invaded and doctors and nurses are to be sent into these outraged sovereignties, but it being done at the request of their representatives, and, I suppose, because there was acquiescence in it by the States, the thrifty States, it can hardly be called usurpation.

So as to many other questions, the States are unable to protect their so-called rights; but we should look upon this as a great national problem, embracing all of the people, and we should offset the advantages of so-called interference against the disadvantages.

There is some slight disadvantage to the Southern States having a large population of negro women in imposing this constitutional amendment upon them by which there shall be no discrimination because of sex; but I think I have demonstrated that the disadvantage is slight, that it can be easily overcome, for they have negro suffrage there now as nearly as they would have it with a slight enlargement under the Susan B. Anthony amendment; so that we are not imposing negro suffrage or possible negro domination upon the South. If negro domination were the only question before this body now, we might well pause; but their problem is there and they are working it out admirably, and this will not aggravate it. By 20 per cent they will be stronger to resist it. There is no complaint of hardship or discrimination from any quarter, even from the negroes themselves; and there seems to be a perfect understanding between the men who use the labor of the negro and the laborer who seeks employment.

We have as Representatives in the United States Senate and in the House of Representatives men from the Southern States who are worthy of the great traditions of the respective bodies. So why say that the South, on account of a very slight disadvantage, would obstruct by its vote in this body to-day the great advantage as a matter of justice, equality, and right, as well as a war measure, of granting suffrage to women? There is no question in the world that the honest sentiment of the country is in favor of it. Even New York the other day, released from prejudice, swung with 100,000 ballots to its side. Is not that indicative of what is to come?

It is said that the West is for it because we are a hardy and independent people; and I know that the East is only opposed to it because they fear their own people, and when that is told to the constituencies there may be no very generous response. The South is opposed to it on account of race conditions, and the East is opposed to it because of their congested cities. In their sweatshops, in their factories, there is a great aggregation of women, and they fear that if they are invested with the suffrage there may be an outburst of democracy—meaning not in a partisan sense democracy, but democracy with a small "d"—that there may be such an outburst of democratic manifestation at the polls that the old order will change, the "predilections of the drawing-room" will no longer obtain, and the advice of Wall Street no longer be heeded, but that the sweatshops shall be made wholesome; that the homes shall be made livable; that the tenements shall be made sanitary; that the working conditions of the people in the factories shall be made better. A movement of that kind necessarily will carry, probably, increase in wages, because a person endowed, I will call it, with the beneficent ballot is in a position to protect himself or herself. That is what Wendell Phillips means when he says that we should give woman suffrage not for the purpose of protecting woman, but rather to place her in a position where she can protect herself. That is the secret of opposition to woman suffrage—the fear of an enlargement of democracy; the same fear that kept the franchise restricted in England until by slow degrees it dawned upon those who gave laws to that country that the strength of the Empire consisted in its dependence upon the people, upon trust, not fear, of the people, and the evils of democracy are cured always by more democracy.

I can see an enfranchised womanhood in this country springing to the defense of the flag, not dishonoring it; women who will love their country because their country loves them. I can well understand why women might rebel, even in the shadow of the Capitol, against the inequality of the present laws by which they are condemned to subjection. I am not one of those who are alarmed by these occasional ebullitions of feeling. I do not believe for a minute that there was any disrespect meant to the flag, as we understand the flag as the emblem of the Nation, marching with the boys at the front, but it was a criticism of the Congress that has the power to make the policies which the flag protects, and as Congress deprived the flag of the privilege of extending its ægis over American womanhood, the said, if they are correctly quoted, "The flag is the cause of all our trouble," meaning you and me, meaning the House and the Senate.

It was a woman's hand that first wove the flag; it is women who have given every one of the boys to fight the battles of their country under the flag. Who shall deny the privilege to his mother to participate in the affairs of government? Who is so mean and selfish as to arrogate power exclusively to himself, knowing that he sprung from woman, who in many respects was his superior in judgment and in wisdom, in love and devotion?

Woman is endowed with intuition, a faculty or sense which men do not possess. It enables her to see things which are obscured from our vision, and in the economy of nature she possesses a heart, and the heart has reasons of which the reason itself knows nothing.

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. HENDERSON] very properly said that in no case in the suffrage States have women lost their femininity, their gentleness, their grace, and their confiding nature by conferring upon them this benefit. In many cases they seek advice of their men even where they are breadwinners on their own account, but where they are thrown upon the world they look to the ballot as the source of their protection, for as voting citizens they receive better protection from the men and more respectful hearing from legislatures. The ordinations of nature can not be repealed by man-made laws. Nature has given to woman her charm for the purpose of holding together the human family and peopling the earth. Nature has provided for the care of women in that respect and no legislation passed by man can in any way repeal its God-given laws.

In conclusion, Mr. President, let me say that woman suffrage in California has made public life more attractive to men. It has purified the elections, once disgraceful; it has in all its ramifications strengthened the State, and it has upon a sure basis of equality and justice laid the foundations of a real and true democracy, which, thus buttressed, will survive all the storms of time and passion. At last has come to the West what we fain would give to the world, a reign of law based upon the consent of the governed.

I have in my hand a survey of the results of woman suffrage in California:

Women have been interested in legislation along humanitarian lines for the protection of women and children and the general community welfare. Though no women have served in the State legislature, these State laws are directly due to their influence—

To a large extent. For instance, married women enjoy community property rights, which is an evidence, embalmed in the law to-day, not in California alone but throughout the Union and the world, of the real partnership that exists between men and women, because what a man earns in his shop during coverture becomes one-half the possession of the wife upon his demise, which is an admission of the fact that the wife participated in the creation of the wealth, a copartner. If she did not stand behind the counter nor plow in the field, she provided for the breadwinners at home; she gave them comfort and sustenance; she cared for the family, and did a thousand and one things necessary to keep the worker behind the counter or in the field.

So the law has recognized her equal partnership in the results of such labor. Why does the law not extend it to her political activities? She is given the education and the intelligence but is denied the power of expressing herself. There is no equity and no justice in that, and I may say to those who doubt the expediency of this measure that justice is always the highest expediency.

The abatement law, placing the responsibility of disorderly houses on the property owners rather than on the inmates and providing for the prohibition of such houses—

They found a solution for disorderly houses—

The age of consent, raising the age from 16 to 18 years.

Establishing State training schools for girls, with a board of women trustees.

The teachers' pension law—

They have added a pension law for teachers to the statutes and have been instrumental in amending the juvenile-court law to separate dependent from delinquent children.

A joint guardianship law, giving women equal rights over minor children.

Women are so closely interested in all governmental activities—in juvenile courts, the rights of minor children, schools, nurseries, things which come within what some gentlemen would fain call her proper sphere—that certainly the right to vote should not be denied when matters over which she has undoubted knowledge are involved. Yet we find men voting about minor children, juvenile courts, infant hospitals, and matters of local concern of which they only have knowledge so far as it is imparted to them by their wives, and the wives and mothers are excluded from the ballot. Should we not in war and peace

mobilize the resources of our womanhood? Col. Roosevelt, in his speech on Saturday in Baltimore, advocated the registration of women as well as men. Then the burden and the benefit must go together.

The extending of the eight-hour law in California for women was a great reform, because the covetous manufacturers worked them 9 and 10 hours without hindrance from the male legislators until the women invested with the ballot simply made the request and the men acquiesced. It was not the compulsion of justice. It is the power of the ballot.

Making tuberculosis reportable to the State board of health.
Creating minimum-wage commissions.
A psycophathic parole law.
Birth, death, and marriage registration.
The home-teachers law.
Changes in the compulsory-education law.
A pure-milk law.

At the 1917 session of the legislature laws making important changes in the community-property laws, giving a wife greater equality with her husband with regard to their community property, were passed by the legislature; also laws making women eligible to jury service, and appropriating $250,000 to establish a colony for the feeble-minded. These were the especial laws advocated by women and carried.

So their usefulness must appeal to us, because men, involved in the discussion of the greater questions, very often lose sight of the smaller questions none the less important to the welfare of the community.

One word more, Mr. President: There can be no question that if this body regards this measure as a war measure it shall prevail. It is a war measure, because women have been called to places left necessarily by the men when, at the instance of their country, they have gone to the front. Women have been given the identical work performed by men. In England I am told there are only a million women not employed in war industries, and in this country munition factories, the shipyards, administrative offices, and the hospitals are to a considerable extent manned by women, because the men on account of the war have left their accustomed posts. So we find women substituted for the men in the industrial life of this country. The United States Cartridge Works, at Lowell, Mass., employ 17,000 persons, two-thirds of whom are women. At a shipyard in Philadelphia where 3,000 men are employed there are out of that number 827 places where women can replace men, and this is about to be done. Woman must be regarded as possessing a new status since the war, and, because she has a new status, she must be treated on terms of equality with the men; otherwise, she might very properly rebel and say, "If I am given the responsibility I must also have the right to express my views concerning governmental affairs; if my labor is taxed and my property is burdened with debt I must, on terms of equality with men, have the right to express my consent or my dissent." I do not think there can be any answer to that reason urged in favor of the adoption of this proposed constitutional amendment, and I do not believe there is any answer to the President's appeal that this is in truth and in fact a war measure, and if it is a war measure, since we have supported the President in all other matters, we must, to be consistent, support him in this.

Mr. KENDRICK. Mr. President, in the discussion of this question a day or two ago the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] very truthfully stated, as it seemed to me, that everything that could be said on this question has been said for and against it; and yet during the recent discussion, at least, we have had no word of testimony here as to how woman suffrage has actually applied in the State that first granted women the franchise. In spite of the late hour, I ask to detain the Senate for just a few moments in testifying as to the effect of woman suffrage.

Mr. President, at this moment when, as I confidently believe, the United States, through the action of this body, is about to commit itself definitely to a policy that was adopted half a century ago by the people of Wyoming, it seems to me fitting that I should say just a word on behalf of my State and its voters—men and women.

Wyoming is the pioneer equal-suffrage State in America. In 1869, almost 50 years ago, the first Territorial legislature granted to the women of the Territory the right to vote and to hold office. At the end of a period of more than 20 years, when the people were arbitrarily required to pass judgment on the merits and demerits of the question, their decision, rendered through the medium of the legislature again, was both prompt and positive. When the application of the Territory for admission as a State was under consideration by the Fifty-first Congress, in 1890, vigorous opposition developed to the admission of a State with a constitutional provision for woman suffrage. So strong, indeed, was the sentiment that our Delegate in Congress, Hon. Joseph M. Carey, telegraphed to the legislature, which was then in session, expressing his fears that statehood would be denied unless the suffrage clause were abandoned. To its lasting credit, the legislature, without equivocation or delay, telegraphed in reply, "We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than go in without woman suffrage." Congress very properly yielded to the wishes of the State, and Wyoming came into the Union without curtailing the rights or privileges of any of its citizens.

It could not have been otherwise, for the women of the frontier had shared with the men all the burdens and dangers of building the new State upon the plains. In the hard experience of pioneer life the men of Wyoming learned how surely they could depend upon the courage, judgment, and initiative of their women. The ranchman and the settler worked side by side with his wife, his mother, and his daughter in laying the foundations of government, and when the time came to establish government, he could have found no reason, even if he had had the disposition, to withhold from her a share in its responsibilities.

Here I wish to say, Mr. President, incidentally, that I agree with the view expressed here that this is not a political question; but in view of the statement made by the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] that if this joint resolution fails it will fail on account of a lack of Democratic votes, I wish at this time to call attention to the fact that the first legislature of my State granting woman suffrage was a Democratic legislature.

So she got the ballot. The act of the Territorial legislature in granting her the right to vote was nothing more nor less than a formal recognition of the part she had played in reclaiming the wilderness. It was the fair and open tribute of American men to American women, and I have always believed that when the men of Wyoming gave recognition to the principle of equal suffrage they were speaking the voice of the real America, the America that first established democracy in the modern world, the America that is now ready to give its all to endow all nations and all races with that same democracy. The conditions which existed in Wyoming were the same as those which existed in the early days of the Colonies, and I am convinced that had the question of granting suffrage to women been raised in those times the Revolutionary fathers would have been as prompt to make it a part of the fundamental law as were the men of the West.

The quality of the citizenship of Wyoming is distinctly American. The State was settled by the sons and daughters of the men who had shaped the destinies of the Eastern States, representatives of the finest type of American manhood and womanhood. Alien emigration did not reach Wyoming, but men and women from the East and the South and from what was then the West, men and women who knew nothing but Americanism, were the ones who guided its development. Is it any wonder that they did not know how to limit democracy, and that even when threatened with exclusion from the Union they could not bring themselves to deny a full share in the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship to the women who had helped to make that citizenship worth while?

That, Mr. President, is how Wyoming came into the Union vindicating the motto which appears upon her State seal, "Equal rights," and I have yet to hear a responsible citizen of the State express regret. Forty-nine years of experience have placed the question beyond the experimental stage and have demonstrated to all fair observers the success of suffrage. Just as the woman of the pioneer days met all the responsibilities that devolved upon her, so is she meeting them to-day, and so has she been meeting them for the past half century. Surely it is not necessary to say to any rational man or woman that the exercise of the right to vote has not in the slightest degree lessened the interest of the women of my State in their home life. It has not in any manner affected the high personal qualities with which they are endowed, nor has it in any way made them less feminine. If any man fears that women may be contaminated by politics, to him I would say that in Wyoming the very reverse has been true and the plane of government has been raised. The extension of the suffrage has not made "politicians" out of them nor has it transformed them into office seekers. The records of my State will show not only that they are disinclined to accept the responsibilities of office, but that they can rarely be induced to do so. They are, nevertheless, keenly alive to their duties as voters at every election, and they display quite as much interest as the men. While not often found among the candidates for public office, they are with each succeeding election becoming more and more concerned as to the qualifications, the character, and integrity of those who claim their support.

When equal suffrage was first proposed in Wyoming I have no doubt there were some men then, as now, who argued that women lacked both experience and judgment, but who, after the ballot had been granted, were ready and anxious to set themselves up as mentors to the new voters. I feel certain

that when this amendment is passed and suffrage has been adopted nationally, the same characteristic generosity in giving political advice and counsel to the women of the present time will be displayed by these husbands and brothers, who are so loath now to see them soil their hands with politics. But there is a seeming inconsistency to be found in the history of suffrage in my State which will probably repeat itself elsewhere—for so long as the women of Wyoming allowed themselves to be guided by this more mature judgment and this superior knowledge, just so long did they fail to get results. It was not until they began to exercise the benefits of the full emancipation that comes with independent and individual action at the polls that they began to exert an influence by securing reform legislation. No woman who reviews the legislative record of the last few years in Wyoming but will be proud of the achievements of her sex, and no man who is anxious to see the advance of social reform and the improvement of politics but will rejoice that the women were given the opportunity to enforce their judgment at the polls.

Speaking from a personal knowledge that covers a period of 40 years, I can say in all sincerity that I have never known the women of Wyoming to champion or even to lend their sanction knowingly to an unworthy piece of legislation. They ofttimes have a very keen and active interest in matters pending before the legislature or in problems for popular decision. They ofttimes organize for political purposes and unite to secure political results; but, Mr. President, I have yet to learn of the first instance in Wyoming of any organized effort on the part of women voters to gain private and selfish ends through legislation. Their interest is in public welfare. Their aim is to bring about social reform. Their political object is to make the city in which they live, the country in which they live, the State in which they live a better place in which to build a home.

That has been the effect of woman suffrage in Wyoming, where the record of legislative accomplishment brought about through the votes of women is an enviable one. When they helped to write an antigambling law upon the statute books, the women of Wyoming brought about a reform that would have been long delayed without them. When they secured the adoption of a law limiting the hours of labor of women and children, they performed a service for both the State and for the home. When they fought for and obtained a mothers' pension law, they won another battle for the strengthening of the home. They gave their active support to the campaign for the workmen's compensation law, for pure-food laws, for a law raising the age of protection for girls to 18 years, for a law improving conditions in the State penal and charitable institutions, for laws limiting the traffic of liquor. These, Mr. President, are but typical of the objects for which the woman in politics strives in Wyoming. You will never find her in the lobbies of the legislature trying to win support for some measure of doubtful ethics—you will not find her besieging city councils and county officials with pleas for special privileges. When she speaks, she speaks only in the name of morality and clean government. I do not mean by this that women are always right, nor that the extension of suffrage throughout the States will immediately elevate the Nation. I mean that wherever women are given the right to express themselves politically and wherever they use their influence as women, you will find them standing for the same high principles for which they have stood since the beginning of civilization.

The light thrown upon this question by its practical application in this one State in which the law has now been effective for nearly half a century is all the evidence that would be necessary to convince any unprejudiced mind that women are as highly qualified for citizenship as men. A woman has as good a right to vote for those who exercise authority over her property, either acting in the capacity of taxgatherers or in passing upon questions of law in the courts, as she has to own that property, and she certainly has even a greater interest in those who are chosen to administer the laws for the protection of herself and her children. The people of my State who have applied this principle through many years are committed to it as a matter of right and have but little patience with those who, living in the present time of enlightenment, are clinging tenaciously to the theory of restricted suffrage and who at the same time are boasting of their anxiety to lead other people out of a condition of bondage.

The political influence of women, Mr. President, is a moral and uplifting force of which no man need be afraid. Rather is it an influence we should seek to strengthen. And particularly at this moment in our Nation's history, when we are calling upon the women for every possible assistance and sacrifice, should we be ashamed to deny her full citizenship. Now above all times are we learning the lesson that the men of the frontier learned long ago—that the women are needed to help carry our burden, and that they are taking it up unselfishly and efficiently. We are not only asking them to give their sons and brothers and husbands to our Army, but we are asking them to do all manner of labor on the farm and in the factory in order that the Army may be properly supplied. We are sending them into every avenue of trade and business to release men for the fighting front. How can we demand these sacrifices and these labors and at the same time pretend that they are incapable of properly exercising the franchise?

I think I can perhaps understand the chivalrous attitude of some men who would withhold the vote from women out of the belief that to do so would be to protect them from unpleasant contact with the world. I think I can understand the point of view of the man who honestly believes that woman's place is in the home. But to such a man I will say that to deny women the right to vote will not cure the evil he has in mind. Even if it were granted that his argument is sound, to which of course I will not for a moment agree, I ask him what protection can he afford to the woman who has neither brother nor father, to the widow who has lost her husband? What protection will he afford to the thousands of women who have no protector but who are forced to live under a Government in which they have no voice?

The man who would deny her the vote in order to protect her is beginning at the wrong end to shield woman from the world, and until he can protect her from the necessity of earning her own living, until he can furnish her a home in which to live without cares or responsibilities save those of the home, he is depriving her of her most effective means of protection when he refuses to grant her the ballot. If, because of changed economic and industrial conditions, we can not keep women in the home, then let us by all means help her to make the Nation her home, let us help her to raise all the standards of business and of industry to the standards of the home. This we can best do by permitting her to express herself politically.

Mr. President, the very spirit of this resolution is in keeping with democratic principles as I have, in my limited judgment, been able to interpret them from my boyhood days. Suffrage, equal and complete, can not be dissociated from the march of progress. It is part and parcel of our advancement toward the universal realization of the ideals of liberty, fraternity, and equality.

Those of us who come from the West, from those sections which only a few years ago were the frontiers of civilization, have always been proud that in our communities the lines which divide men into classes have always been vague. The farther west you go the farther behind do you leave caste and privilege, the closer do you come to that ideal land where outward trappings count for naught and every man's rank is determined by his worth. The West is the birthplace of equal suffrage, because in the West men have come closest to democracy.

It is not without its significance that it is in the suffrage States that the greatest progress has been made toward the equalization of opportunity for all. It is not without meaning that what we call the progressive movement in legislation and in politics has found its greatest impetus, if not its origin, in the States where women have been regarded as in all respects equal to men and entitled to all the rights and privileges which men enjoy. Equal suffrage and progress go hand in hand, because equal suffrage breaks down the last barrier of division behind which one part of the population may think, legislate, and govern for the other.

We have entered upon a war against such barriers; we have pledged ourselves to the deliverance of the world from a caste which has thought of itself as alone fit to rule. Surely the Senate of the United States, while giving all its thought and energies to the battle which the free peoples of the world are waging against that narrow conception of destiny, will not by its vote to-day fail to tell all men everywhere that in this country the basis of our civilization is as broad as our population. While assuming an attitude of generosity toward the people of other lands we can not afford to be less than just to all the people of our own.

Mr. BECKHAM. Mr. President, it has not been my purpose to take part in the discussion of this question, and I have intended to do no more than vote against the proposed constitutional amendment compelling every State in the Union to grant suffrage to women; but, that my position in opposing it may be understood, I have decided to submit to the Senate some of the reasons which have influenced me in it.

In the first place, Mr. President, even if I favored woman suffrage as a general proposition, I should oppose this amendment, because I believe that under our system of government this question is one that should be left to the control and regulation

of each State. It is a question entirely of State concern, and the Federal Government would make a serious mistake if it should undertake by the adoption of this amendment to deprive each State of its right to settle the question for itself. Conditions are not the same in all the States. In a country so large, so diversified, and so populous as ours a policy or a law that might be wise in some States might be very unwise in other States.

I have no doubt, from the assurance of many worthy gentlemen, that woman suffrage has been successful in some or in all the States where it has been adopted, and there should be no obstacle in the way of any other State to adopt it if the people of that State should desire it; and wherever the people of any State in this country desire that the women of their State shall vote in local, State, or national elections, even for the election of the President himself, they can now, without the aid of a Federal amendment, give the right to vote to women. I can not understand, therefore, why it is that the very ardent and active leaders in this movement should not be satisfied with that situation.

If an amendment were proposed the converse of the one now before us, which would prohibit a State from allowing women to vote, such a proposition, I believe, would be unfair and unreasonable and I would earnestly oppose it. There are many States in the Union where a large majority of the people do not desire to have woman suffrage and see no reason for it. I believe it is true that in many States a large majority of the women themselves do not wish it and are well satisfied with their present relations to the matter of suffrage.

There are some of us who oppose this amendment and yet who supported the constitutional amendment for Federal prohibition, and have been charged with inconsistency; and it has been suggested by some that if it was right for the Federal Government by constitutional amendment to impose prohibition on every State, regardless of whether or not every State wished it, then there should be no question upon our part to the Government's imposing by constitutional amendment woman suffrage upon every State, whether or not every State wished it. They lose sight of the very essential difference between the two questions. Prohibition could not be made effective by State action, and the laws in prohibition States were in many instances nullified or evaded by the liquor interests in other States where prohibition did not exist. Prohibition, therefore, could not be made completely effective except by Federal action, and that action followed as a natural consequence of the invasion of the laws of dry States by the liquor interests in wet States. But the suffrage question is an entirely different proposition, and it is no concern whatever of the people of one State whether or not the people of an adjoining State allow women to vote, nor have they any concern whatever in the suffrage regulations of any other State. I have no doubt that if any considerable majority of the women of any State where they are not now permitted to vote seriously desire to do so, they will, without any trouble, secure by State action the right to do so. I do not believe that there is a State in the Union—and I am convinced that such is the condition in my State—where the women, if reasonably united in their wishes or demands upon any proposition, can not secure it without having the right themselves to vote. I am sure that in the laws and the administration of the laws in my State there is not an instance of discrimination against women, and I have not heard of any such discrimination existing in the laws or the administration of them in any other State. There is no doubt that many of the reforms enacted into laws in this country in the last generation and much legislation beneficial to the welfare of the people have been accomplished by the influence of women without the vote just as effectively, and probably more so, than could have been done if they had had the vote.

If there were any legislation that the women wanted in my State and they could not get it without the ballot, then I would be in favor of giving them the ballot. We hear a great deal, Mr. President, from some enthusiastic advocates of this movement, about the rights of women, about the justice of their demands, and from the fervid and excited declarations of some we might be led to believe that the women of this country were an oppressed people and denied the opportunities and advantages that men enjoy. Many intelligent people have been misled by these statements, and they have been misled, I believe, because they lose sight of the fact that the right to vote is not itself a substantive benefit, but merely an instrument by which the benefits of government may be secured. They lose sight, too, of the fact that the right to vote is not only a privilege but it is an obligation. Merely giving to woman the vote would not in itself benefit her and she could not secure any advantage whatever in that mere right. But if there are any benefits or advantages of a substantive or concrete nature which she should have and can not secure without the vote, then, I repeat, she should have the vote. I have not heard a single advocate of this movement state a substantial right denied to woman in any State in this Union, and if she has all of the benefits and advantages that she could ask, why should she be burdened with the obligation of suffrage, for I consider it, Mr. President, more of an obligation than a privilege.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BECKHAM. I yield.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Does not the Senator consider that if he were deprived of the right to vote it would be a substantial right that was interfered with?

Mr. BECKHAM. I do not.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Does the Senator mean to say that he does not believe that the right to cast his vote is a substantial right?

Mr. BECKHAM. I value the privilege of voting, but the vote itself is not of substantial advantage. It is merely an instrument or means by which you can secure the benefits or advantages of government.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Does not the Senator think that the women would appreciate the right—whether it is a substantial right or not, according to the Senator's theory—to cast their votes in the determination of questions that affect them?

Mr. BECKHAM. As I have said, if there is anything of a substantial nature in the administration of government that is denied the women, then I think they should have the right to vote. If there is any discrimination against them in the laws, they should have the right to change them.

Mr. SHAFROTH. The discrimination is that woman is not allowed to vote.

Mr. BECKHAM. The Senator has a different view of the matter than I have.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Does not the Senator believe that the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed?

Mr. BECKHAM. The Senator and I have our different views on the application of that principle.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Can it be possible that any two persons have different views on that?

Mr. BECKHAM. That is not the question.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Then, as woman is evidently governed, as she is subject to the laws that man makes, what right has man to make all the laws, not only for himself but also for his mother and his sisters and his wife, without consulting them in any way whatever?

Mr. BECKHAM. I should like to ask the Senator if he can cite, in any State in the Union, especially where women do not vote, any legislation, any measure of reform of advantage to them, that has been denied them because they have not the right to vote?

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. BECKHAM. I yield to the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. PITTMAN. It occurs to me that in some of the States of the Union they are working children under age, undoubtedly against the wishes of the mothers of the country and the wishes of the mothers of those States; and yet the men of those States, from their viewpoint, think it is proper. It is very possible that if the women in those States voted the condition that the Senator asks about would not exist.

Mr. BECKHAM. That condition does not exist in my State.

Mr. PITTMAN. The Senator said "any State in the Union where only men vote."

Mr. BECKHAM. I do not know of any State where that condition exists.

Mr. PITTMAN. The Senator does not know that they have child labor in North Carolina and South Carolina?

Mr. BECKHAM. Does not the Senator from Nevada think the people of North Carolina and South Carolina are able to determine that question for themselves, without interference from the people of other States?

Mr. PITTMAN. The question the Senator asked was if there were any wrongs there that the men themselves did not remedy. I say that that is a wrong that in the nature of things women would remedy and men will not remedy.

Mr. BECKHAM. There are States where the women do not vote where those wrongs have been remedied long ago.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President——

Mr. BECKHAM. I yield to the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. By actual comparison, the so-called "child-labor bill" which the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional was vastly inferior in the provisions it made for the protection of children to the statute on the books of South Carolina in reference to that matter.

Mr. SHAFROTH. That is no reason why we should prevent the women of other States from participating in government.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. If the Senator will allow me, I have no objection to letting the women in the Senator's State vote; but I do contend that you should give me the same privilege to say whether they shall vote in my State.

Mr. SHAFROTH. But if you have the general principle acknowledged that the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed, your Nation is not a democratic Nation, your State is not a democratic State, your city is not a democratic city, your county is not a democratic county, if that principle is true. If it is not true, then, of course, there is a denial of the fundamentals of the Declaration of Independence.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Have we not had a good democratic form of government during all these years?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I have no doubt the people can live absolutely without it, but at the same time you are denying the right. People can live under a monarchy; there is no doubt of that. But we do not like a monarchy; we think it violates the principle of democracy, and we therefore think that it ought to be abolished in a democracy.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. That is not what I asked the Senator. I asked him whether he thinks we have been living in a democracy and under a democratic form of government until this time.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I think it can not be possible that you have a true democracy when you deny the right of persons to vote, when you deny them the right to participate in government and help to make laws for themselves. Whenever you do that you fail in the very fundamental principle that lies back of democratic government.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. May I ask the Senator a question? Does he believe in any qualification for suffrage at all?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I believe in every other qualification. This is an attempt to control simply to the extent that you can not pass any law discriminating against the people on account of sex. When you do that it is nothing more than a species of the divine right of kings, and when you withhold this privilege you are substituting therefor the divine right of sex.

Mr. BECKHAM. The Senator from Colorado illustrates the point which I was undertaking to make, that so many men are misled by the idea that the right to vote is a substantive right or benefit.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President——

Mr. BECKHAM. If the Senator will pardon me——

Mr. SHAFROTH. Very well; I will not interrupt the Senator if the Senator wishes me not to do so.

Mr. BECKHAM. If women are secure of the benefits and advantages of government without the vote, why need they be given the vote? Why should we double the number of voters and further complicate electoral difficulties that now exist in the country? It is a fact well known, Mr. President, that one of the serious dangers in our Government is the lack, upon the part of so many who now have the right to vote, of a full and proper appreciation of the obligations and responsibilities which such a right imposes. Too many of our voters already do not realize the importance of this responsibility and do not participate in our elections in such a way as they should do.

It is more sentiment than reason that is back of this movement; it is the form rather than the substance which is seen by so many who have been led to favor it. Never would I for an instant oppose any measure that would give to woman any substantial right that she may desire, nor would I for a minute have anyone think that my opposition to woman suffrage is due to any idea that woman has not the intelligence, capacity, or patriotism to exercise that right as well as man can exercise it. No such thought as that has ever entered my mind and my opposition to it is for entirely different reasons. I may be considered somewhat old-fashioned and romantic in my ideas, but I look upon woman as superior to man. I am opposed to all of this talk about giving her equal rights because I am in favor of her having greater rights than man has, and I believe that granting her the suffrage does not lift her up to the plane of equal rights with man, but rather drags her down to it. Woman is the civilizing, refining, elevating influence that holds man from barbarism. It has been said that the civilization of any country can be determined by the condition in which women live in that country. The higher the plane of woman's standing and influence, and the more she is looked up to and respected, the more civilized are the people of that country. In no country on earth, and in no country in all history, have women occupied a higher station in life or exercised a greater influence, even in those States where they do not vote, than they do in America. If there is anything they want and are reasonably well united in their wishes, they should have it and they always get it. I do not wish to see woman put on an equal footing with man at the polls because I fear when that is done she will be put on an equal footing with man in other stations of life, and she is entirely too good for that. It is the duty of man to work and labor for woman; to cut the wood, to carry the coal, to go into the fields in the necessary labor to sustain the home where the woman presides and by her superior nature elevates him to higher and better conceptions of life. It is his duty and not hers to go to the battle field with his weapons of war to defend her home and her country from the invasion of an enemy; it is his duty and his obligation to go to the polls, guided by the refining influences of her character, to exercise the responsibility placed upon him by casting his vote in such a way as will bring the best results possible in government for her and for her home. There is no more need for him to take her to that place where the votes are cast than there is for him to take her with him upon the battle field. This, Mr. President, in my opinion, is no war measure, notwithstanding the fact that some very able leaders have allowed themselves to be persuaded that it is. This is an inopportune time to consider it. Our whole attention and energy should be directed to the successful prosecution of this war and not to a matter like this which can well wait until the minds of the people are in a calmer and better condition to deal with such a radical change in a fundamental question of government. It is not necessary to grant to woman the right to vote in order to express the full appreciation and gratitude which the men of this country and our allies feel toward her for the heroic sacrifices, the splendid services, and the noble work she has done and is doing in the cause of liberty and freedom. I believe that only a comparatively small percentage of women ask for such recognition of their services. Should not this question be removed from the scene of congressional action and relegated to the States, where it properly belongs? That was the declaration in the last Democratic national convention a little over two years ago; that was also the declaration of the Republican convention. Why should we not, therefore, representatives of those two great parties, be guided by the last solemn declarations which those parties have made upon this question? In our deliberations here it seems to me that those Senators who come from States where they already have woman suffrage should be satisfied and not seek, by this extraordinary and uncalled-for method, to impose such conditions upon other States which do not want woman suffrage.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, a few days ago I proposed an amendment to the pending joint resolution. While I realize that the Senate is fatigued, I shall be forced to be away to-morrow if I can arrange a proper pair, and I would like to speak briefly upon my amendment. I ask that the Secretary may read the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be read.

The SECRETARY. At the end of the joint resolution add the following:

but no male person who is not a citizen of the United States shall exercise the right of suffrage at an election for Senators and Representatives in Congress or for electors for President and Vice President of the United States, and no female person who is not such a citizen otherwise than by marriage, or who, having acquired citizenship by marriage, has not complied with such requirements and conditions as may be prescribed by the Congress shall exercise such right.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, the avowed and the obvious object of the resolution now pending before the Senate is to place women who are citizens of the United States upon an equality with men who are such citizens in the matter of the exercise of the right to vote; to confer suffrage upon female citizens of this country throughout the length and breadth thereof. My object in proposing an amendment to that resolution is to make it possible, in what seems to me the best way open to us, for the resolution actually to accomplish that obvious purpose and to avoid what seems to me to be the very serious danger that, in the very act of conferring the right to vote upon women and of abolishing the inequalities in that regard which have heretofore existed we shall perpetuate and increase evils already existing and create new ones that will prove a constant and increasing source of embarrassment to us in the future administration of governmental affairs.

At the outset I desire to make it perfectly plain that I am not opposed to the adoption of the woman-suffrage amendment—on the contrary, I am distinctly in favor of its adoption—but my attention has been attracted to the situation which I shall now endeavor to explain to the best of my ability, and I have felt that this situation is so serious that I should be derelict in the performance of my duty as a Member of this body should I fail

or neglect to call its dangers to the notice of each and every Member of the Senate.

With this by way of preface I shall proceed to state the purposes of and reasons for the additions to the proposed constitutional amendment which I have offered in the form of an amendment to the resolution. My first object is this: To place in the Constitution itself a provision which will safeguard the country against the exercise of the right of franchise in Federal matters by aliens residing or sojourning within our midst. And it has seemed to me that not only is this of such great importance as to justify efforts toward the accomplishment of the reform at any and all times, but the pendency before the Senate of the resolution under discussion affords an opportunity for its accomplishment in an appropriate and efficient manner that ought not by any means to be overlooked.

Under the constitutions of seven States of this Union aliens now exercise the right of franchise in connection with every elective office candidates for which are ordinarily voted for in the other States, to wit, Indiana, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and Texas. Recognizing the menace to the safety of government of such a policy as this, a number of States have recently amended their constitutions so as to allow only native-born persons and persons who are fully naturalized under the regular legal process to vote therein, to wit, Alabama, Minnesota, Michigan, Wisconsin, and others that I can not recollect.

To show the abuses which arise under such a policy, which is contrary to the very spirit of the Federal naturalization laws, attention might be directed to the fact that the following methods have recently been applied in a certain Western State where the declarations of intention made by aliens in the course of a year would hardly approximate two dozen and the declarations made within 30 days preceding and including election day—made under the influence of vote manufacturers—have approximated a thousand or more in several of the courts exercising naturalization jurisdiction in the State. The ambitious candidate has his henchmen line up all the foreigners in the district whom he can enlist. He makes his drive through the industrial plants, foregathers with the aliens in their club organizations, extols the virtues of his candidate—and this applies regardless of party—and by various inducements and blandishments prevails upon the foreigners to assemble at convenient places and in the day and night time the accommodating clerk of the court supplies the necessary blank forms and accepts the statutory fees coming from an appropriate source. Up to and including election day this business continues. All day long, in the presence of Government officials, the stream of aliens has been seen to enter the room where the clerk of the court is located and to leave that room with statements from the clerk showing that the aliens have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, and, in the light of the provision of the State constitution, showing also by implication that such aliens have become clothed by the mere act of declaring an intention to become citizens with such character, intelligence, and understanding of our institutions that they are entitled to exercise the franchise in the same way and with the same effect as a person born in our midst.

Under the resolution pending before the Senate, unless the part of my amendment directed to this situation, or some similar amendment, should be adopted, the evils and abuses to which I am calling attention will not only be perpetuated, but will perhaps be practically doubled; for, if and when the amendment proposed in the resolution is ratified by the requisite number of States, each and every foreign woman now living in the seven States I have mentioned and each and every one who shall take up residence there later who has attained the statutory age will be able to declare her intention, if she is unmarried, and by that simple act will be clothed with the right to vote alongside of the man.

With this situation existing, any unmarried woman coming from the most anarchistic section of Russia, from the fastnesses of bolshevikism, from the I. W. W. ranks, or from any other source inimical to our interests or even believing in the utter destruction of our Government—any unmarried woman, no matter what her character may be, might be induced in the States mentioned to declare her intention to become a citizen, whereupon she could proceed to stamp the impress of her views and of her character, through the exercise of her right to vote, upon the laws of this country. This is an illustration none too extreme; but even if it should be regarded as extreme, the answer is that we must think through to the very depths of the possibility of an evil if we are correctly to measure the extent of such evil.

Is it desirable or wise to lay a foundation in a constitutional amendment for the perpetuation of such a situation as this, especially when it may be so easily guarded against? I think not; and, because of that view, I have inserted in my proposed amendment the provision—

But no male person who is not a citizen of the United States shall exercise the right of suffrage at an election for Senators and Representatives in Congress or for electors for President and Vice President of the United States—

And have, in addition, so worded the remainder of my proposed amendment, the direct purpose of which is to meet another situation, to the description of which I am about to proceed, that the same result will be accomplished with regard to females.

The second object which I have in view is this: To insure that, in conferring the right to vote upon women who are citizens, we do not create a legal situation in which foreign women might, through the operation of the almost universally recognized principle that a married woman's citizenship follows that of her husband, qualify to exercise the franchise in Federal elections, although wholly unfitted by character, education, residence within the country, and knowledge of and regard for its institutions, or otherwise, to have a voice in public affairs. My second object, in other words, is so to change the wording of the resolution before us that it shall be made actually to confer upon women rights equal to those enjoyed in this regard by men, and not greater than those enjoyed by men.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KIRBY in the chair). Does the Senator from New Jersey yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. If the Senator rises to ask me a question, I would be very glad to answer it after I conclude. I know the Senate wants to adjourn, and I hope the Senator will not interrupt me now.

Mr. CALDER. Very well.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. As I have already remarked, the object of the pending resolution is to place women on the same footing as men so far as the right of franchise is concerned. I am in favor of a constitutional amendment properly drawn which will permit the worthy women of this country who are citizens, either by birth or through the regular and orderly processes of naturalization, to have the right of suffrage; but I want that amendment so drawn that it will protect the worthy women, who should vote, against the unworthy, who should not vote, and I want it so drawn that Congress can hereafter pass laws properly protecting this enlarged and increased electorate. I conceive it to be our duty under our oath as Senators to pass an amendment that will do this.

I do not know who prepared the pending constitutional amendment, but I believe it has been drawn without proper consideration or study of the Constitution and conditions that exist under our naturalization statutes, the careless disregard of them, the abuses that have crept into the making of citizens, and the apparent indifference of some authorities to the grave menace to the institutions of popular government that thus arise.

In giving to this subject that careful study which its gravity demands, my attention has been attracted to two circumstances in particular. The passage of a resolution of this kind is closely related to the precarious situation in regard to aliens which has been brought about by the war and our participation in it. Congress has been forced to pass drastic laws at the eleventh hour to protect this country against sedition, treason, and deep-seated disloyalty, arising from the fact that so many foreigners reside amongst us and that Germany has carried on a surreptitious propaganda here ever since the war and evidently, from latter-day developments, even for many years before the war. It is not necessary for me to recite the many outrages, bombings, dynamitings, murders, committed by the disloyal foreigners residing here. The consideration of this amendment conferring upon female citizens the right to vote necessarily brings up at this critical time the grave question of our immigration and naturalization laws and policies, especially in their relation to and effect upon women of alien birth already here or who may hereafter come.

The other particular circumstance was not fully appreciated by me, in its relation to the constitutional amendment as drawn, until I conferred with officials of the Bureau of Immigration and learned its extent and seriousness. It arises from the abuses that exist in connection with the traffic in women for immoral purposes. While our immigration laws have been framed with the object of protecting society against this traffic, nevertheless many women become citizens of the United States through pro forma marriages contracted simply for the purpose of giving the poor, unfortunate women a status of citizenship under our laws and preventing them from being deported. The pimp, the procurer, these vice scavengers of humanity, products of the swill barrel of foreign lands, carry on their immoral, unspeak-

able practices almost within the shadow of Ellis Island, the women being brought in from Europe, from the Orient, and from the Latin countries, and, except in the cases of Chinese and Japanese, a pro forma marriage contract can be entered into and these women become citizens of the United States and can not be deported unless the Government can show—under the most recent amendment to section 19 of the immigration act—that the marriage was contracted after the woman became liable to deportation under the law; and heretofore the enforcement of the act has been seriously impeded through the fact that a foreign woman, no matter what her character, can secure citizenship simply by going through with a marriage ceremony, the other party to which is an American citizen.

The foregoing are the two respects in which, it seems to me, the importance of the second part of my proposed amendment is made especially apparent at this time. I desire now to proceed to a more detailed discussion of the matter in its legal as well as its practical aspects.

Generally, married women are regarded as citizens of the country of which their husbands are citizens. This principle is recognized by the laws of the United States, section 1994 of the Revised Statutes providing that—

> Any woman who is now or may hereafter be married to a citizen of the United States and who might herself be lawfully naturalized shall be deemed a citizen.

It is of fundamental importance that in considering this provision of law the fact shall not be overlooked that Congress, in adopting it, was proceeding in pursuance of authority conferred upon the Congress by Article I, section 8, paragraph 4 of the Constitution—the authority "to establish an uniform rule of naturalization." Therefore, the marriage of a foreign woman to an American citizen is, in its effect upon the status of the woman, a process of naturalization, and it must be borne in mind that the woman who acquires citizenship in this manner is, by virtue of the language of section 1994 itself, as fully naturalized as though she had gone through the court processes of naturalization required in the cases of males and in the cases of unmarried females, and as completely a citizen of the United States as though she had been born here. The Constitution "contemplates two sources of citizenship, and two only—birth and naturalization," said the Supreme Court in the leading case on citizenship, entitled United States *v.* Wong Kim Ark (169 U. S., 649, 702).

The procurement of United States citizenship by a foreign woman through marriage to a citizen is not, of course, surrounded with any of the safeguards that are, and have been for many years, placed round the procurement of citizenship through the regular court processes provided by law. Some of those safeguards are the following:

A male alien desiring to become a citizen of the United States must make a declaration that he is not an anarchist, a polygamist, or a believer in the practice of polygamy, and that it is his intention in good faith to become a citizen of the United States and permanently to reside therein. Not less than two years and not more than seven years after he has made his declaration of intention he must again petition the court and take an oath that he is not "a disbeliever in or opposed to organized government, or a member of or affiliated with any organization or body of persons teaching disbelief in organized government," and so on. Then he is examined by the United States examiners, and if the court so directs he becomes a citizen, but under the Revised Statutes a foreign woman who has attained her citizenship by marriage to an American citizen is not held to conform to that process of law.

What is the object of the resolution? It is to give men and women the same rights under the Constitution, to place them upon an equality in regard to the elective franchise. Does it do that? Will it attain its object?

Under the Federal statute already quoted an alien woman who marries a man who is a citizen of the United States by birth or naturalization becomes a citizen, and under this resolution, as drawn, she would be entitled to vote; but a male alien or a female alien not married must be naturalized in a regular court proceeding under our naturalization laws before he or she becomes a citizen qualified under this proposed resolution, as drawn, to vote. Is that equal rights?

A male alien—a German, for instance—marries an American woman, but he does not thereby become a citizen, and under this constitutional amendment he could not vote by reason of that marriage relation. But a female alien—a German woman, for instance—marries an American citizen, perhaps a German who has been naturalized. She thereby, ipso facto, becomes a citizen, and under this constitutional amendment could vote. Is that equal rights? Certainly not. It is conferring upon married women rights not conferred upon unmarried women or upon any man—rights which ought not to be conferred upon either women or men in any such haphazard, unregulated fashion.

Again, the foreign man or unmarried foreign woman must reside here continuously for at least five years before the boon of citizenship will be conferred; but the foreign woman may, by marrying a citizen become invested with all the rights and privileges of citizenship immediately upon landing upon our shores, including, if the constitutional amendment as proposed should be adopted, the right to vote. The foreign man or unmarried woman seeking in good faith, through the regularly ordained channels, to become a citizen of this country must be of "good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same." But in the case of the foreign woman who marries a citizen no such standards are enforced; the marriage, ipso facto, confers citizenship, even though she is of bad character and even though she knows nothing and cares less about the principles of the Constitution. She does not have to be of good character, because the Supreme Court long ago held, in the case entitled Kelley against Owen, Seventh Wallace, 496, that the qualifying phrase, "and who might herself be lawfully naturalized," found in section 1994 of the Revised Statutes, means no more than that she must be of the general class—races—for which naturalization is authorized. Under this situation will the rights conferred be equal? Obviously not. Upon this fact too great emphasis can not be placed: If this resolution passes in its present form, foreign women married to citizens will become voters without any of the safeguards of naturalization through court processes.

Mr. President, how many foreign women are there in the United States?

The census of 1910 recorded 13,500,000 persons of foreign birth in our population. During the years 1911 to 1914, 3,000,000 more were added, according to the estimate of the Immigration Bureau. This is net—makes allowance for those who returned to their native lands. From 1915 to 1918 it is estimated immigration has been about 300,000 a year, making in these years of the war 1,200,000 immigrants added to our population. The total number of foreign-born persons here would, therefore, seem to be about 18,000,000.

Mr. President, there are in the United States to-day 5,821,757 women of foreign birth. They are mostly in the large industrial States. I shall not read the statistics relative to them now. Suffice it to say that New York State has 1,296,849; Massachusetts, 526,922; Pennsylvania, 586,085; but that number has been increased by reason of the fact that the figures that I have read are from the Census of 1910, and since that time immigration has increased by over 3,000,000. Therefore it is safe to assume that there are nearly 7,000,000 women of foreign birth in this country. I ask to have the letter which I hold in my hand from the Department of Labor giving these statistics inserted in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The letter referred to is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, September 24, 1918.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 23d instant requesting certain data regarding alien women in the United States, and will reply to your inquiries seriatim.

1. Table 15, page 259, volume 1, of the Census Report of 1910, gives the number of foreign-birth white women in the United States as 5,821,757, divided as follows:

New England:	
Maine	52,165
New Hampshire	45,890
Vermont	21,939
Massachusetts	526,922
Rhode Island	87,442
Connecticut	151,691
Middle Atlantic:	
New York	1,296,849
New Jersey	301,652
Pennsylvania	586,085
East North Central:	
Ohio	251,104
Indiana	62,139
Illinois	528,965
Michigan	261,867
Wisconsin	222,130
West North Central:	
Minnesota	222,529
Iowa	116,055
Missouri	97,040
North Dakota	63,528
South Dakota	40,932
Nebraska	74,284
Kansas	54,096

South Atlantic:	
Delaware	7,496
Maryland	49,857
District of Columbia	11,434
Virginia	9,900
West Virginia	15,773
North Carolina	2,197
South Carolina	2,335
Georgia	5,554
Florida	13,137
East South Central:	
Kentucky	18,442
Tennessee	7,312
Alabama	7,130
Mississippi	3,431
West South Central:	
Arkansas	6,302
Louisiana	22,139
Oklahoma	14,414
Texas	103,162
Mountain:	
Montana	27,084
Idaho	12,345
Wyoming	7,003
Colorado	48,777
New Mexico	7,822
Arizona	16,238
Utah	27,447
Nevada	4,172
Pacific:	
Washington	80,476
Oregon	33,241
California	191,833

2 and 3. Section 1994 of the Revised Statutes provides as follows:

"Any woman who is now or may hereafter be married to a citizen of the United States and who might herself be lawfully naturalized shall be deemed a citizen."

Section 4 of the act approved March 2, 1907 (34 Stat. L., pt. 1, p. 1228), which is merely declaratory of section 1994, Revised Statutes, provides as follows:

"That any foreign woman who acquires American citizenship by marriage to an American shall be assumed to retain the same after the termination of the marital relation if she continues to reside in the United States, unless she makes formal renunciation thereof before a court having jurisdiction to naturalize aliens, or if she resides abroad she may retain her citizenship by registering as such before a United States consul within one year after the termination of such marital relation."

4. The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution defines those who shall be deemed citizens by virtue of their birth. Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution gives Congress power "to establish an uniform rule of naturalization, * * *." The various provisions of law under this authority will be found in the Revised Statutes.

Yours, very truly,

JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE,
Acting Secretary.

Hon. J. S. FRELINGHUYSEN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, it will be seen from the foregoing that we already have here a very large number of foreign-born women. Of course, many of these are illiterate, many have had no educational advantages. Another fact that should not be overlooked is this: The tendency to enter into marital relations is marked among these immigrant races. Of course, we know little or nothing about the loyalty and the real allegiance of these women and less about their character; many of them may be anarchists, nihilists, polygamists, yet these women may, simply through the performance of a marriage ceremony, become citizens of the United States.

Is it not essential that we should write in the Constitution a provision which will enable Congress to pass legislation that will restrict the menace arising from this condition? I do not think the amendment as drawn does this, and I believe that Congress should take the precaution to lay the foundation for protecting the country in this regard. After consultation with the legal advisers of the Immigration and Naturalization Bureaus I am firmly of the opinion that if the amendment should be adopted as drawn it will not be possible thereafter for Congress to remedy the situation described by me by passing legislation. In other words, the constitutional amendment, unless it shall be changed in some such manner as that I suggest, will prevent the passing of any legislation to place any restriction with regard to the exercise of the franchise upon foreign women who have become citizens by marriage.

This citizenship-by-marriage provision was enacted by the Federal Congress when women could not vote and at a time when Congress had no thought of giving them the vote, its object being to protect property and dower rights and to care for many legal and international questions. To accomplish these purposes Congress conferred the benefit of such citizenship upon such women. Now women are asking for the additional benefit of the right of suffrage—too long denied them—but a changed situation is created, which Congress should carefully consider before passing a constitutional amendment. The view has been expressed by some lawyers that Congress could afford protection to the elective franchise under this constitutional amendment by hereafter passing statutes naturalizing foreign women married to citizens and worthy of the privilege of voting. Possibly a statute could be passed that hereafter would protect the electorate and compel married women who have become citizens by marriage to be naturalized in a court proceeding before they vote, but I do not believe it.

To hold that it can is tantamount to holding that the Congress can by statute compel a woman who has already been naturalized by marriage and who has by that process of naturalization become as full a citizen as though born here, to go through another process of naturalization, the court process, before she will be allowed to vote, notwithstanding a provision in the Constitution prohibiting the United States or the several States from denying or abridging on account of sex the right of a citizen to vote. No law will or can be passed hereafter in that regard that will protect the electorate against the unworthy or unqualified women who are given this right under this constitutional amendment unless you lay the foundation in the amendment itself by the use of words that will confer upon Congress the power to do so.

Perhaps it might be thought that the second section of the article of the amendment proposed in the resolution, providing that the Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of the article, would lay a sufficient foundation for subsequent legislation dealing with the subject I am discussing. But I think that, obviously, such is not the case. The purpose of the second section of this proposed article of amendment is exactly the same as the purpose of section 2 of Article XIII, section 5 of Article XIV, and section 2 of Article XV of the Constitution. Its purpose is to indicate which of the three branches into which our Government is divided is to be charged under the Constitution with the enforcement of the particular article; and it confers a power to enforce—that is, carry out, not a power to modify, regulate, abbreviate, or extend. If it conferred a power of the latter character it would, moreover, be absolutely inconsistent with the first section of the proposed article of amendment.

I contend that under this amendment providing that the right to vote shall not be abridged or denied on account of sex, the right being conferred when this constitutional amendment is ratified by the States, such right having been created through marriage—which marriage relation is possible because of sex—the moment you attempt to compel these women to go through any additional requirements before they exercise the franchise, you will be doing the very thing the amendment prohibits, because you will be abridging the right of a female citizen to vote. Any such statute, if passed, would be unconstitutional. Of course, I do not contend that Congress can not at any time, under the authority conferred upon it by the Constitution to pass uniform naturalization laws, either amend or repeal section 1994 of the Revised Statutes. The power of Congress in this regard is no doubt plenary. This fact might naturally lead some to ask the question, "Why attempt to cover this point in a constitutional amendment? Why not leave it to Congress to repeal the statute lying at the foundation of the difficulty?" But to such a question there are two sufficient answers.

In the first place, section 1994, although a statute and therefore open to repeal or revision, is simply declaratory of a principle of law that is almost universally recognized and runs infinitely into important legal questions of both a local and an international nature. It is not likely, therefore, that Congress will ever go so far in amending and extending the naturalization laws as to abandon this principle. And just so long as citizenship can be acquired by women through the performance of a marriage ceremony will there exist the inequalities and evils to which attention has been called.

In the second place, by such a constitutional provision as that proposed by me, the past as well as the future can be cared for. There are, of course, now in the United States a great many women, formerly foreigners, who have acquired citizenship through marriage. It may be seriously doubted that Congress could legally divest these women of the citizenship already acquired in that manner. The Supreme Court has said, in the Wong Kim Ark decision, already mentioned, that "the power of naturalization vested in Congress by the Constitution is a power to confer citizenship, not a power to take it away." But wholly aside from this legal doubt, it would hardly be fair and just to pass a law changing the status of these women from that of citizenship to that of alienage—certainly it would not be just or fair in many of their cases. On the other hand, no unfairness or injustice—and nothing in any sense illegal—is involved in so qualifying the conferrence of a constitutional right to vote as to make it possible for Congress hereafter to enact legislation requiring those whose citizenship arises merely from marriage to meet, in every substantial respect, before they will be allowed to exercise the right of

suffrage, the conditions that males and unmarried females are required to meet before citizenship is conferred upon them.

Accordingly, the purpose I have in mind in inserting in my proposed amendment the provision that "no female person who is not such a citizen otherwise than by marriage, or who, having acquired citizenship by marriage, has not complied with such requirements and conditions as may be prescribed by Congress, shall exercise such right" is to pave the way for the passage through Congress, in the event that the constitutional amendment should be adopted, of a law which would compel foreign women who acquire citizenship in the instantaneous and unregulated manner of going through a marriage ceremony to meet conditions and requirements similar to those now governing the conferrence of citizenship through court processes before they would be permitted to stand alongside men and women born here and men and women born abroad and naturalized here in the regular safeguarded manner and cast votes having the same effect in determining the course of government as the votes cast by the native-born and regularly naturalized citizens.

I repeat, Mr. President, I am in favor of adopting a constitutional amendment which will bring about equality between men and women citizens in the matter of the vote; but I am also in favor of so wording such amendment that we will not perpetuate and increase already existing evils and create new inequalities that could not hereafter be rectified otherwise than by the slow and uncertain method of adopting still another constitutional amendment.

I ask to append to my remarks, without reading, a statement showing citizenship qualifications for voting in woman-suffrage States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, permission is granted.

The statement referred to is as follows:

CITIZENSHIP QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING IN WOMAN-SUFFRAGE STATES.

FULL SUFFRAGE.

Arizona: Citizens only. (Const., VII–2.)
California: Citizens only. Naturalized citizens must have been admitted to citizenship 90 days prior to the election. (Const., II–1.)
Colorado: Citizens only. (Const., VII–1.) "The same qualifications as to * * * citizenship * * * required by law to entitle male persons to vote shall be required to entitled female persons to vote." (Courtright's Stat., 1911, §2147.)
Idaho: Citizens only. (Const., VI–2.)
Kansas: Citizens and persons who have declared their intention to become citizens. (Const., V–1.) An amendment has been submitted to be voted on at the 1918 election limiting the right to vote to citizens of the United States. (Laws, 1917, c. 353.)
Montana: Citizens only. (Const., IX–2.)
Nevada: Citizens only. (Const., II–1.)
New York: Citizens only. Must have been a citizen for 90 days. A citizen by marriage must have been an inhabitant of the United States for 5 years. (Const. amend., Laws, 1917, p. 2784.)
Oregon (a senate joint memorial [Laws, 1917, p. 975] has been submitted to Congress requesting "that equal qualifications be required of and equal privileges granted to each individual voter, irrespective of sex or the marriage relation in the States adopting woman suffrage"): Citizens only. (Const., II–2.)
Utah: Citizens only. (Const., IV–5.)
Washington: Citizens only. (Const., VI–1.)
Wyoming: Citizens only. (Const., VI–5.)

LIMITED SUFFRAGE.

Illinois: Citizens only. (Const., VII–1; Laws, 1913, p. 333.)
Michigan: Citizens only. (Const., III–1; Laws, 1917, No. 191.)
Nebraska: Citizens and persons who have declared their intention to become citizens at least 30 days prior to election. (Const., VII–1; Laws, 1917, c. 30.)
North Dakota: Citizens only. (Const., V–121; Laws, 1917, c. 254.)
Rhode Island: Citizens only. (Const. amend., VII; Laws, 1917, c. 1507.)

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, without entering into a discussion of the merits of the question, I wish to say in reply to the argument of the Senator from New Jersey——

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Minnesota if it will be just as agreeable to him to proceed to-morrow?

Mr. NELSON. I shall not occupy over five minutes. I wish to say to the Senator from New Jersey in brief that I am opposed to his amendment for two reasons: In the first place, to amend the joint resolution now would necessitate its going back to the House of Representatives and being concurred in there. In the next place, the relief he seeks by an amendment to the proposed constitutional amendment is in the power of Congress to grant without such action. Congress is given full jurisdiction over the naturalization of foreigners, and Congress can at any time pass a law preventing foreign-born women who marry American citizens from becoming citizens by their marriage. Congress also has the right to prescribe who are qualified to vote for President, electors, and Members of Congress; there is no doubt about that. Therefore no constitutional amendment is needed at all on these subjects, for Congress has plenary power without it, and I shall vote against the amendment proposed by the Senator from New Jersey.

EXTENSION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. GORE. I ask unanimous consent—and I do so with the consent of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations—that the Committee on Appropriations be relieved from the further consideration of House joint resolution 334, which is a continuing resolution taking care of the objects intended to be provided for by the special food-production bill which is in conference. I may state that the conferees have agreed upon everything except the rent amendment, on which they have reached a disagreement; but, as this is the last day of the month, it is thought necessary to pass a continuing resolution. As I understand, it relates only to the special food-production bill, and will provide for the activities intended to be provided for by that bill to go forward without interruption.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Oklahoma, that the Committee on Appropriations be discharged from the further consideration of House joint resolution 334? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. GORE. I now ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business may be temporarily laid aside, and that the Senate proceed with the consideration of the House joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent that the unfinished business be laid aside temporarily, and that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the House joint resolution named by him.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 334) making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of October, 1918, and for other purposes, which was read, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the provisions of the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government and of the District of Columbia for the months of July and August, 1918, and for other purposes," approved July 8, 1918, except so far as they relate to the support of the Army and of the District of Columbia, are extended and continued in full force and effect for and during the month of October, 1918.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

RECESS.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon to-morrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until to-morrow, Tuesday, October 1, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *September 30, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon and was called to order by the Clerk of the House.

The CLERK OF THE HOUSE. The reading clerk will read a communication from the Speaker designating a Speaker pro tempore.

The reading clerk read as follows:

SEPTEMBER 30.

Hon. SOUTH TRIMBLE,
Clerk of the House:

Because I am to assist in conducting draft lottery, I assign the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. FOSTER, to act as Speaker for this day.

CHAMP CLARK, *Speaker.*

Mr. FOSTER took the chair as Speaker pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

We bless Thee, Infinite Spirit, our Heavenly Father, that the President of the United States, in a recent speech, voiced the sentiment of the American people in pure English and clear-cut sentences, which those who run may read our purpose for entering the war and the object for which we seek, liberty and justice for all men and for all nations.

Grant that the plan he suggests in a league of nations may obtain and a permanent peace be established upon the principles enunciated and illustrated in the incomparable life and character of the Prince of Peace; and glory and honor and praise be Thine forever. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday was read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection——

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I object to the approval of the Journal, and make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

Mr. ESCH. Will the gentleman withhold that for a moment?

Mr. WALSH. I will withhold the point temporarily.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for an indefinite leave of absence for my colleague, Mr. BROWNE, on account of illness.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

By unanimous consent, Mr. LITTLE was granted leave of absence indefinitely, on account of illness.

Mr. GRIFFIN was granted leave of absense for two days on account of the death of his nephew, J. Harvey Griffin, chief gunner's mate in the United States Navy.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of privilege, and I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Arkansas asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, does the gentleman desire to take up the question of privilege with a quorum not here?

Mr. WINGO. Yes; I think we had better, if the gentleman will withhold his point.

Mr. WALSH. I will withhold the point for five minutes.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, the record of the last proceedings of Saturday is as follows.

Mr. WALSH. What page?

Mr. WINGO. Page 10924, the last part of the proceedings:

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I was requested by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. ROUSE] to ask unanimous consent that the following letters be printed in the RECORD, a letter by Mr. Tumulty and one from W. J. Cochran.

Mr. WALSH. On what topic?

Mr. SIMS. I have not read the letters closely.

Mr. WALSH. I reserve the right to object.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, those gentlemen who were present in the House Saturday just before adjournment will remember that the gentleman from Tennessee submitted a request to print letters. If he stated who the writers were, I did not hear it. Of course there was great confusion. There was a conversation between him and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] in which it was disclosed that the gentleman from Tennessee did not know anything about the letters, that he had not read them, and I understood that the gentleman from Massachusetts had objected, that the gentleman from Tennessee and the gentleman from Massachusetts were engaged in a private conversation examining the letters, and the impatience of the House was evident, and therefore I made the motion to adjourn. I have no objection to anybody extending remarks in the RECORD by having letters printed, provided they know what the letters are and can tell what they are about and by whom written.

I do not know what the letters are now. I asked the privilege to see the letters, which was denied by their custodian. I do not doubt that the reporters correctly transcribed their notes and did their best in the confusion, but to those who were present it is evident that some things were not heard. I do not object to printing the letters in the RECORD, did not object, and did not move to adjourn until after objection was made, and the two gentlemen named were engaged in a conversation that promised to be interminable and unsatisfactory.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I want to ask that the Speaker lay before the House the water-power bill, so that I can move to agree to the conference asked for by the Senate and have the conferees appointed. That is all I ask that for.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee asks that the water-power bill——

Mr. SIMS. Senate 1419——

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object after I have propounded a parliamentary inquiry to the Chair—I should like to know, if I may make the parliamentary inquiry of the Chair, just exactly what situation we are going to be in if we proceed with the transaction of business before the approval of the Journal of Saturday? That will bring about another Journal of to-day with other business. We have not transacted any business so far, but the appointment of conferees upon any measure will be a transaction of business. I submit that inquiry in order to prevent confusion later, if possible.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair, without looking up the matter, is inclined to think that the Journal ought first to be approved.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I think there is no question about that.

Mr. SIMS. I am only asking for unanimous consent in order to expedite these matters along.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. That is business.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. That does not change the necessity of keeping a Journal for to-day's transactions.

Mr. SIMS. There is no objection to this——

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. But that does not avoid the necessity for the Journal Clerk to keep the Journal of to-day's proceedings.

Mr. SIMS. Certainly not.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. The Journal of the last day's proceedings must be approved before we begin with the Journal of another day.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair would like to state that in his opinion the first order of business is the approval of the Journal.

Mr. SIMS. That is all I am asking.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. DOOLITTLE. I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The regular order is the approval of the Journal.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I object; and I make the point of order there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts makes the point of order there is no quorum present. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Evidently there is no quorum present.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts that the House do now adjourn.

The question was taken, and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. WALSH. Division, Mr. Speaker.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 7, noes 51.

So the motion to adjourn was rejected.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question now is on the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] for a call of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The roll was called, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Anthony	Elston	Kitchin	Saunders, Va.
Asweil	Emerson	Kreider	Scott, Iowa
Bacharach	Estopinal	La Follette	Scott, Pa.
Baer	Fairchild, G. W.	LaGuardia	Scully
Barkley	Flood	Larsen	Sells
Bell	Flynn	Lea, Cal.	Shackleford
Beshlin	Fordney	Lesher	Sherwood
Borland	Foss	Linthicum	Shouse
Britten	Francis	Little	Siegel
Brodbeck	Freeman	London	Slayden
Browne	Fuller, Ill.	Lufkin	Slemp
Browning	Fuller, Mass.	Lundeen	Smith, T. F.
Buchanan	Gallivan	McClintic	Snell
Butler	Gard	McCormick	Snyder
Byrnes, S. C.	Garner	McKenzie	Stafford
Byrns, Tenn.	Glass	McKinley	Steele
Caldwell	Glynn	McLaughlin, Pa.	Steenerson
Candler, Miss.	Godwin, N. C.	Maher	Stephens, Miss.
Cantrill	Goodall	Mann	Stephens, Nebr.
Caraway	Goodwin, Ark.	Martin	Sterling, Ill.
Carew	Gould	Mason	Sterling, Pa.
Carlin	Graham, Ill.	Mays	Stiness
Chandler, Okla.	Graham, Pa.	Meeker	Sullivan
Church	Gray, N. J.	Merritt	Sweet
Clark, Pa.	Greene, Mass.	Miller, Minn.	Swift
Classon	Griest	Montague	Switzer
Connally, Tex.	Griffin	Moore, Pa.	Tague
Cooper, Ohio	Hamill	Morin	Talbott
Cooper, W. Va.	Hamilton, N. Y.	Mott	Templeton
Cooper, Wis.	Harrison, Miss.	Nolan	Thomas
Copley	Haskell	Oliver, N. Y.	Thompson
Costello	Hayes	Olney	Tillman
Crago	Heaton	O'Shaunessy	Tilson
Cramton	Heflin	Paige	Tinkham
Crosser	Heintz	Parker, N. Y.	Treadway
Currie, Mich.	Hensley	Peters	Van Dyke
Curry, Cal.	Hicks	Phelan	Vare
Dale, N. Y.	Hollingsworth	Platt	Venable
Darrow	Hood	Porter	Vinson
Davis	Howard	Powers	Walton
Delaney	Hull, Iowa	Pratt	Ward
Dempsey	Humphreys	Price	Watson, Pa.
Dewalt	Husted	Purnell	Weaver
Dickinson	Hutchinson	Rainey, J. W.	Welling
Dies	Johnson, S. Dak.	Randall	Whaley
Dill	Johnson, Wash.	Rankin	White, Me.
Dixon	Jones	Riordan	White, Ohio
Donovan	Kearns	Robbins	Wilson, Ill.
Dooling	Kelley, Mich.	Robinson	Wilson, Tex.
Doremus	Kelly, Pa.	Rose	Winslow
Drukker	Kennedy, R. I.	Rowe	Wise
Dyer	Kettner	Rowland	Woodyard
Edmonds	Key, Ohio	Sanders, La.	Young, N. Dak.
Ellsworth	Kiess, Pa.	Sanford	

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair announces that 190 Members have answered to their names—not a quorum.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, if there is any hope of having a quorum by making further efforts and waiting, we will be very glad to do it. Of course, I do not know.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SIMS. It seems that we have not got quite a quorum from what I have heard. Is it in order to take a recess during a portion of to-day?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. It is not. The only thing that can be done under the circumstances is to take such action as is necessary to secure a quorum or adjourn.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as no doubt a number of Members have gone away for the purpose of making liberty-loan speeches, and with no thought of obstructive tactics, and especially not even permitting the Journal to be read, I do not feel at the present time like asking for their arrest, and, therefore, I move an adjournment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] moves that the House do now adjourn.

The question was taken, and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. NORTON. Division, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The noes have it, and the House refuses to adjourn.

Mr. NORTON. I withdraw my request.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. A division was requested, I understood, on the motion to adjourn.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair understood the gentleman from North Dakota to withdraw his request.

Mr. NORTON. I withdrew the request.

Mr. SIMS. Did the Chair declare the motion was not carried?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Then I renew the request for a division.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee demands a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 79, noes 34.

Mr. QUIN. Mr. Speaker, I call for the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Mississippi demands the yeas and nays.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that 38 Members had arisen, a sufficient number.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Speaker, I make a point of order. If I understood the announcement correctly, there were only 38 Members who rose?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Yes.

Mr. HAMLIN. It requires 44, does it not?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. One-fifth of those present.

Mr. HAMLIN. I raise the point of order, Mr. Speaker, that the Chair is in error. If the Chair will consult the rule, he will find it takes one-fifth of a quorum—not of those present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will suggest that probably the gentleman from Missouri has in mind the ordering of tellers, which requires 20 in Committee of the Whole and one-fifth in the House—one-fifth of a quorum.

Mr. HAMLIN. Then I ask for the other side, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Those opposed will rise and stand until they are counted. [After counting.] Forty-two gentlemen have risen; 38 is a sufficient number. The yeas and nays are ordered. The Clerk will call the roll. Those who favor the motion to adjourn will, when their names are called, answer "yea," and those opposed will answer "nay."

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 73, nays 130, answered "present" 1, not voting 227, as follows:

YEAS—73.

Almon	Eagan	Kraus	Rucker
Bankhead	Esch	Lobeck	Sanders, N. Y.
Barnhart	Ferris	Lonergan	Schall
Black	Fess	Longworth	Sears
Bland, Va.	Fisher	Lunn	Sims
Bowers	Garland	McArthur	Stevenson
Brand	Garrett, Tenn.	McFadden	Strong
Burroughs	Gillett	Madden	Sumners
Campbell, Pa.	Green, Iowa	Mansfield	Temple
Candler, Miss.	Greene, Vt.	Mudd	Waldow
Cannon	Hamlin	Neely	Walker
Clark, Fla.	Hardy	Nicholls, S. C.	Walsh
Cleary	Hayden	Oldfield	Watkins
Coady	Helvering	Overstreet	Watson, Va.
Cox	Holland	Parker, N. J.	Wilson, La.
Dent	Houston	Pou	Young, Tex.
Denton	Huddleston	Ramsey	
Dominick	Hull, Tenn.	Rayburn	
Dunn	Kincheloe	Rouse	

NAYS—130.

Alexander	Beakes	Blanton	Campbell, Kans.
Anderson	Blackmon	Brumbaugh	Carter, Mass.
Austin	Bland, Ind.	Burnett	Carter, Okla.
Cary	Hamilton, Mich.	Magee	Scott, Mich.
Claypool	Harrison, Va.	Mapes	Shallenberger
Collier	Hastings	Miller, Wash.	Sherley
Connelly, Kans.	Haugen	Mondell	Sinnott
Dale, Vt.	Hawley	Moon	Sisson
Dallinger	Helm	Moores, Ind.	Sloan
Decker	Hersey	Morgan	Small
Denison	Hull, Iowa	Nichols, Mich.	Smith, Idaho
Dillon	Igoe	Norton	Smith, Mich.
Doolittle	Jacoway	Oliver, Ala.	Smith, C. B.
Doughton	James	Osborne	Snook
Dowell	Johnson, Ky.	Overmyer	Steagall
Dupré	Juul	Padgett	Stedman
Eagle	Kahn	Park	Taylor, Ark.
Elliott	Keating	Polk	Taylor, Colo.
Evans	Kehoe	Quin	Timberlake
Fairchild, B. L.	Kennedy, Iowa	Ragsdale	Towner
Fairfield	King	Rainey, H. T.	Vestal
Fields	Kinkaid	Raker	Voigt
Focht	Knutson	Ramseyer	Volstead
Foster	Langley	Reavis	Webb
Frear	Lazaro	Reed	Wheeler
French	Lehlbach	Roberts	Williams
Gallagher	Lever	Rodenberg	Wingo
Gandy	Littlepage	Rogers	Woods, Iowa
Garrett, Tex.	McAndrews	Romjue	Wright
Good	McCulloch	Rubey	Zihlman
Gordon	McKeown	Russell	The Speaker
Gray, Ala.	McLaughlin, Mich.	Sabath	
Hadley	McLemore	Sanders, Ind.	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1.

Ireland

NOT VOTING—227.

Anthony	Edmonds	Kiess, Pa.	Saunders, Va.
Ashbrook	Ellsworth	Kitchin	Scott, Iowa
Aswell	Elston	Kreider	Scott, Pa.
Ayres	Emerson	La Follette	Scully
Bacharach	Estopinal	LaGuardia	Sells
Baer	Fairchild, G. W.	Larsen	Shackleford
Barkley	Farr	Lea, Cal.	Sherwood
Bell	Flood	Lee, Ga.	Shouse
Beshlin	Flynn	Lesher	Siegel
Booher	Fordney	Linthicum	Slayden
Borland	Foss	Little	Slemp
Britten	Francis	London	Smith, T. F.
Brodbeck	Freeman	Lufkin	Snell
Browne	Fuller, Ill.	Lundeen	Snyder
Browning	Fuller, Mass.	McClintic	Stafford
Buchanan	Gallivan	McCormick	Steele
Butler	Gard	McKenzie	Steenerson
Byrnes, S. C.	Garner	McKinley	Stephens, Miss.
Byrns, Tenn.	Glass	McLaughlin, Pa.	Stephens, Nebr.
Caldwell	Glynn	Maher	Sterling, Ill.
Cantrill	Godwin, N. C.	Mann	Sterling, Pa.
Caraway	Goodall	Martin	Stiness
Carew	Goodwin, Ark.	Mason	Sullivan
Carlin	Gould	Mays	Sweet
Chandler, N. Y.	Graham, Ill.	Meeker	Swift
Chandler, Okla.	Graham, Pa.	Merritt	Switzer
Church	Gray, N. J.	Miller, Minn.	Tague
Clark, Pa.	Greene, Mass.	Montague	Talbott
Classon	Gregg	Moore, Pa.	Templeton
Connally, Tex.	Griest	Morin	Thomas
Cooper, Ohio	Griffin	Mott	Thompson
Cooper, W. Va.	Hamill	Nelson	Tillman
Cooper, Wis.	Hamilton, N. Y.	Nolan	Tilson
Copley	Harrison, Miss.	Oliver, N. Y.	Tinkham
Costello	Haskell	Olney	Treadway
Crago	Hayes	O'Shaunessy	Van Dyke
Cramton	Heaton	Paige	Vare
Crisp	Heflin	Parker, N. Y.	Venable
Crosser	Heintz	Peters	Vinson
Currie, Mich.	Hensley	Phelan	Walton
Curry, Cal.	Hicks	Platt	Ward
Dale, N. Y.	Hilliard	Porter	Wason
Darrow	Hollingsworth	Powers	Watson, Pa.
Davis	Hood	Pratt	Weaver
Delaney	Howard	Price	Welling
Dempsey	Humphreys	Purnell	Welty
Dewalt	Husted	Rainey, J. W.	Whaley
Dickinson	Hutchinson	Randall	White, Me.
Dies	Johnson, S. Dak.	Rankin	White, Ohio
Dill	Johnson, Wash.	Riordan	Wilson, Ill.
Dixon	Jones	Robbins	Wilson, Tex.
Donovan	Kearns	Robinson	Winslow
Dooling	Kelley, Mich.	Rose	Wise
Doremus	Kelly, Pa.	Rowe	Wood, Ind.
Drane	Kennedy, R. I.	Rowland	Woodyard
Drukker	Kettner	Sanders, La.	Young, N. Dak.
Dyer	Key, Ohio	Sanford	

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Clerk will call my name.

The Clerk called the name of Mr. CLARK of Missouri, and he answered "Nay."

So the motion was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Until further notice:

Mr. SANDERS of Louisiana with Mr. COOPER of West Virginia.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY with Mr. CHANDLER of Oklahoma.

Mr. HUMPHREYS with Mr. WHITE of Maine.

Mr. KETTNER with Mr. IRELAND.

Mr. CONNALLY of Texas with Mr. JOHNSON of Washington.

Mr. VAN DYKE with Mr. PURNELL.

Mr. RANDALL with Mr. FOSS.

Mr. OLIVER of New York with Mr. SWITZER.

Mr. TAGUE with Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island.

Mr. TALBOTT with Mr. BROWNING.

Mr. SULLIVAN with Mr. TINKHAM.

Mr. STEELE with Mr. BUTLER.
Mr. SLAYDEN with Mr. HAYES.
Mr. HOWARD with Mr. PAIGE.
Mr. GODWIN of North Carolina with Mr. ELSTON.
Mr. MCCLINTIC with Mr. HEATON.
Mr. DICKINSON with Mr. DYER.
Mr. GALLIVAN with Mr. GOULD.
Mr. ASWELL with Mr. FARR.
Mr. CALDWELL with Mr. DARROW.
Mr. DOOLING with Mr. PETERS.
Mr. THOMAS with Mr. WINSLOW.
Mr. MAHER with Mr. ROWE.
Mr. SHERWOOD with Mr. SWIFT.
Mr. DONOVAN with Mr. LUFKIN.
Mr. LEA of California with Mr. MCKINLEY.
Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee with Mr. STEENERSON.
Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina with Mr. ANTHONY.
Mr. MONTAGUE with Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota.
Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska with Mr. CLARK of Pennsylvania.
Mr. BELL with Mr. SNYDER.
Mr. THOMAS F. SMITH with Mr. TREADWAY.
Mr. CAREW with Mr. BACHARACH.
Mr. RIORDAN with Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois.
Mr. HAMILL with Mr. GRIEST.
Mr. SCULLY with Mr. BROWNE.
Mr. TILLMAN with Mr. ELLSWORTH.
Mr. WHALEY with Mr. PARKER of New York.
Mr. DALE of New York with Mr. BRITTEN.
Mr. VINSON with Mr. MOTT.
Mr. ROBINSON with Mr. STINESS.
Mr. LINTHICUM with Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The House refuses to adjourn.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following privileged resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee offers a resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms take into custody and bring to the bar of the House such of its Members as are now absent without leave of the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a second or a minute?

Mr. SIMS. I can not yield the floor.

Mr. CANNON. I do not ask the gentleman to yield the floor. Eighteen or twenty short of a quorum are shown to the motion to adjourn. I have no objection to the resolution passing, but it seems to me there is no doubt that as a quorum is demanded and the news goes by telegraph the movement of Members will set this way. That was the reason I voted against the motion to adjourn. I have no objection. We have not come to the issuing of warrants, have we? What does the resolution provide?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the Clerk will again report the resolution. It is not debatable.

The resolution was again read.

Mr. REAVIS. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. For what purpose does the gentleman from Nebraska rise?

Mr. REAVIS. To ask unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. You can not get unanimous consent in the absence of a quroum.

Mr. REAVIS. I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes out of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. No unanimous consent can be given, and nothing can be done except to adjourn or to secure the attendance of a quorum. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. REAVIS), there were—ayes 44, noes 13.

Accordingly the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I desire to vote.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. GILLETT. Did the gentleman who has just come in vote on the last roll call?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. He did not.

Mr. GILLETT. I am perfectly willing that the gentleman should be recorded as present——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will be recorded as present under the call of the House, but he can not vote on the motion to adjourn.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. There is no question in the world that when Members come in they should be recorded as present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair so holds.

Mr. GILLETT. Of course they ought to be recorded as present, but it did not require a quorum on the motion to adjourn.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman is correct about that.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask how many we lack of a quorum.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The clerks are counting to ascertain. The clerks will record as present the names of the following Members who answered on the roll call for adjournment but have not answered on the call of the House: Messrs. BURROUGHS, CAMPBELL of Pennsylvania, CARTER of Massachusetts, CARY, CLARK of Florida, DUPRÉ, FAIRFIELD, GARLAND, HAUGEN, LEVER, LITTLEPAGE, LONGWORTH, MCLAUGHLIN of Michigan, MUDD, RAGSDALE, ROBBINS, RUSSELL, CHARLES B. SMITH, VOIGT, and WEBB.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry. Were the names just read the names of those who answered on the roll call on the motion to adjourn who had not previously answered on the call of the House?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. That is correct.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to learn just exactly what has been done.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman is perfectly right in making the inquiry. A motion was made and carried for a call of the House. The roll was called. One hundred and ninety Members answered to their names. Then the motion was made that the House adjourn. The yeas and nays were ordered on that motion, and on the vote by yeas and nays the House refused to adjourn. There were certain Members who voted on the motion to adjourn who did not answer present on the call of the House, so the Chair directs that those Members be marked present on the call of the House, because they have been here and have answered to their names. The Chair thinks that is the only way that the presence of a quorum can be ascertained.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. GILLETT. As I understand, we have ordered the Sergeant at Arms to bring in absent Members, and we are now proceeding under that original call of the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Certainly. That has not yet been dispensed with.

Mr. GILLETT. So that anybody who comes in is recorded on that roll, and therefore by the same logic those who voted on the motion to adjourn ought to be recorded on that call also.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Certainly. They are entitled to be recorded on the call of the House.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I think it may be further added that the gentlemen who answered when their names were called on the motion to adjourn are presumed to have been present but failing to answer on the call of the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. That is correct, and the Chair understands this is the only way in which the presence of a quorum could be ascertained. These gentlemen have come in voluntarily and answered to their names. Two hundred and sixteen Members, a quorum, have answered to their names.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I move to dispense with further proceedings under the call.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Doorkeeper will unlock the doors.

Without objection, the Journal of the proceedings of Saturday will be approved as read.

There was no objection.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. MCCLINTIC, indefinitely, on account of illness; and

To Mr. SLAYDEN, indefinitely (at the request of Mr. GREGG), on account of the death of Mr. SLAYDEN's brother.

IMPROVEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF WATERWAYS.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I ask that S. 1419, the water-power bill, be laid before the House for the purpose of agreeing to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table S. 1419 and agree to the conference asked by the Senate. Is there objection?

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman yield? That is a peace bill?

Mr. SIMS. Why, certainly, it is a peace bill.

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman acknowledges it. We are all for war propositions.

Mr. SIMS. The gentleman will not oppose the appointing of these conferees, I suppose?

Mr. CANNON. I think the best way to dispose of it is to wait until after the war closes, being peace legislation covering the whole country, very important under normal conditions. I will not object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk read the title of the bill (S. 1419) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of dams across navigable waters," approved June 21, 1906, as amended by the act approved June 23, 1910, and to provide for the improvement and development of waterways for the uses of interstate and foreign commerce.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the Speaker pro tempore will announce the conferees.

There was no objection; and the Speaker pro tempore announced as conferees on the part of the House Messrs. SIMS, FERRIS, LEVER, ESCH, SINNOTT, and HAUGEN.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the order of the House for the arrest of absent Members be vacated.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that the order of the House for the arrest of absent Members be vacated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House——

Mr. WALSH. It needs no motion. The House goes into Committee of the Whole automatically.

Mr. SIMS. That is a fact.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The House automatically resolves itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, was the Journal approved without a motion?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. It was.

Mr. CANNON. I think, if the rule is examined, it is only when the Committee of the Whole finds itself without a quorum and rises that it goes into Committee of the Whole automatically.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Speaker of the House has held that under this rule the House goes into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union automatically.

Mr. CANNON. The House goes into Committee of the Whole automatically when it finds itself without a quorum, and rises when a quorum is obtained. We have not been in Committee of the Whole yet.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The gentleman from Illinois misunderstands. This bill is being considered under a special rule which carries it into Committee of the Whole automatically.

Mr. CANNON. Let me read the rule. [After reading the rule.] I do not think that claim can be sustained. Is it claimed that after the House adjourns once, the very moment the Journal is read, in we go into Committee of the Whole? The gentleman has just had conferees appointed and the Speaker has signed bills. This does not change the general rule of the House. I think it takes a motion to go into the Committee of the Whole under this rule. The effect of this rule is not to change the general rule of the House so far as going into Committee of the Whole is concerned. If we get into Committee of the Whole and a point of no quorum is made, and the committee rises, and if a quorum is developed, then we go back automatically into Committee of the Whole. But that is not this case.

Mr. SIMS. I will say to the gentleman from Illinois that the Speaker of the House himself has held two or three times that the House went automatically into Committee of the Whole. Nobody made any point about it, and therefore I did not examine the rule.

Mr. CANNON. After the House has adjourned and a new session comes in——

Mr. SIMS. That is just what happened.

Mr. CANNON. We go automatically into Committee of the Whole, although a conference report might be pending?

Mr. SIMS. The Speaker has announced that that is the course under the rule we are acting under.

Mr. CANNON. I do not think the Speaker's attention was called to it. In my judgment this does not change the general rule.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday last—I have not looked any further back than that—the House went into Committee of the Whole House by motion and not automatically; whether it was announced on the date prior to that I do not know, but I wish to say, because I think a correct ruling is important, that I am inclined to agree with the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON]. Unless the rule had in it the words that it is simply a continuing order—that is, be the order of business until concluded—my construction of that is that it makes it in order to consider the bill under the general rule on the same status as an appropriation bill or a revenue bill would have under the general rule; that it is necessary under that rule to go into Committee of the Whole by motion. We do sometimes bring in a rule saying that it shall be a continuing order. If this is a continuing order the House goes into committee automatically, but without that it is under the general rule.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair is inclined to hold——

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, the Speaker ruled on Friday that the House went into Committee of the Whole automatically.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The recollection of the Chair was that on Saturday the gentleman from Tennessee moved to go into Committee of the Whole, and the statement was made by the Chair that in his judgment, under the ruling of the Speaker, the House went into Committee of the Whole automatically; yet the RECORD shows that it was by motion.

Mr. CANNON. I hope the RECORD will be examined. It is exceedingly embarrassing, and I do not believe the Speaker of the House would have made the ruling if his attention had been called to the rule. What position does it leave us in? From the moment after the reading of the Journal until the bill was concluded nothing could be done if the House jumped into Committee of the Whole automatically. There was business transacted this morning, conferees were appointed, and I call attention again to the signing of bills necessary to be signed by the Speaker and reported to the House. That was not done by unanimous consent.

Mr. GILLETT. Will the Chair allow me a moment?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Yes.

Mr. GILLETT. As I read this rule I can not see that it literally gives this bill any privilege after the first day. Whatever may have been its purpose it simply says "immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union." That, of course, applied simply to that date. Then it goes on and says that at the conclusion of general debate upon the bill, and so forth; but it does not say it shall have a privilege after the first day. It does not say we should go into Committee of the Whole——

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. If the gentleman will permit, the rule provides, and it is a fair construction, I would submit, for the completion of the bill in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union. It does not limit it to a single day. That is the usual regular form the Committee on Rules has worked on ever since I have been a member.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This rule provides that this bill shall be considered and completed in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union. The Chair does not understand that as a sensible thing the House would require the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union to sit continuously until this bill was finally completed, but now it is simply provided, without further provision in reference to the consideration, and the rule says it shall be considered in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and completed. Now, the Chair thinks that the House, when it got to the rule, did not believe we could finish it in one day. So the Chair believes that would be the sensible view to take, that the House should consider it that day, and after adjournment for that day the next day should go on, and so forth, until completed.

Mr. GILLETT. I am inclined to agree with the Chair that would be a sensible interpretation, if you can make it, and I would be very glad to have it stretched or strained for that purpose, because, I confess, I do believe that is what the Committee on Rules and the House meant. If it has been the custom to adopt a rule in that form I should gladly acquiesce in such a ruling, although personally my recollection was that when such rules come from the Committee on Rules they provide ordinarily that there should be a continuing order or something to that effect.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. No; if the gentleman will permit. We only use that language when we desire to make it to exclude all other business, but really it is very seldom that we bring in a rule of that sort. I do not recall we brought in one during this Congress. I believe in one or two instances it was

done in the last Congress when that was intended to make it the exclusive business. That was the argument I made a moment ago in attempting the explanation of the argument of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON]. When we use that language we make it exclusive of everything.

Mr. GILLETT. I entirely agree on that proposition. It is clear we should not go into it automatically.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. That is the language we should use where we desire to make it exclusive.

Mr. GILLETT. If the precedents show that, I think it would be a sensible interpretation, and I do not——

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, what is the regular order?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question of order here.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, if the Chair is inclined to permit discussion of the point of order, I should like to submit a few observations; it would seem to me the only effect of this rule is to say that it shall be in order to make the motion to go into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union each day until this bill is completed, and that if the motion is voted down the House does not have to consider this measure, but it seems to me it is a dangerous construction to put upon a rule with this language, and say that this bill shall be a continuing order, particularly in view of the absence of these words, and to preclude the House from declining to discuss this measure on any particular morning. Now, upon Saturday the question of going into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union was submitted and the House voted upon it. Upon Friday the Speaker ruled that it was automatic, and it would seem to me that if we are going to interpret this rule in the same manner as we would when it contained the language, "to be a continuing order," that we are establishing a precedent which absolves the Committee on Rules hereafter from using the words "continuing order." Now, of course, there will be no vote against going into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and I submit that the proper construction of this rule is to hold that it only shall be in order each day to move to go into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union until the consideration of this measure has been completed.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I only want to give the facts: On the 27th—it does not appear in the RECORD—I did rise and address the Chair to make the motion, and the Speaker announced that the House automatically resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration, giving the name, and so forth, of the bill. The next day, Saturday, after quite a lot of business that had been considered with reference to the resolution appropriating $1,000,000 I arose to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole, but not remembering the fact that the Speaker had so held on a previous day I moved that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. WALSH. And the motion was agreed to.

Mr. SIMS. Yes. But the Speaker, I would like to say, on that morning was the Speaker pro tempore and was not Speaker CLARK; and very likely his attention had not been called to the ruling of the Speaker, and when the gentleman from Indiana wanted unanimous consent for five minutes I said that I insisted on my motion, and that the gentleman could put in his telegram later, and then the Speaker pro tempore put the motion, and it was agreed to. Speaker CLARK was not in the chair and I do not know that the attention of the Speaker pro tempore was ever called to the ruling of Speaker CLARK.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. Certainly.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman realizes that if the Speaker should have ruled that the resolving of the House into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union was automatic, and no exception was taken to it, that it clearly would not establish a precedent and bind the House if the attention of the Chair is directed to the language of this rule.

Mr. SIMS. It is a construction of the rule as to this particular bill.

Mr. WALSH. It was not a construction of the rule, because the rule was not specifically brought to the Speaker's attention.

Mr. SIMS. It was brought to the attention of the regular Speaker, because I made the motion and he held it was not necessary.

Mr. WALSH. Yes; but he took the rule as it was before him, and there was no objection to it.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, as a matter of fact, on Friday morning the gentleman from Tennessee made a motion to go into the Committee of the Whole, and the Speaker turned to the Clerk and got the rule and read it, and the Speaker of the House specifically passed upon this question. It was not argued. The only way it was raised was that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] made the motion to go into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and the Speaker then took the rule and read it and made the announcement, which was that it was automatic.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman from Arkansas yield?

Mr. WINGO. Yes, sir; if I have the floor.

Mr. WALSH. Does the gentleman from Arkansas contend that a rule phrased as this is would have the same effect and be construed exactly the same as the rule containing the words "and shall be a continuing order"?

Mr. WINGO. I think the way to construe the rule is to find out what was intended at the time it was adopted. There are two classes of rules. One says that it shall be in order on the adoption of the rule to move to go into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and there is another class that says that automatically on the adoption of the rule the House shall go into the Committee of the Whole, and in this instance the rule provided that on the adoption of the rule the House should go into the Committee of the Whole for the consideration of a certain bill. The rule further provided that after the bill had been completed in the Committee of the Whole it should then be reported to the House.

Mr. WALSH. That does not have to be in the rule.

Mr. WINGO. It went further and provided that the previous question should be considered as ordered. In other words, the rule is a comprehensive rule, providing for the immediate and uninterrupted consideration of that bill from the moment it goes into the Committee of the Whole up until the moment that the previous question is ordered in the House. I submit that the rule does more than to have a consideration of the bill for one day, which would be the only logical conclusion if you followed the logic of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH].

Mr. SIMS. I am very anxious to proceed with the consideration of the bill. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] is not present. I was going to ask him to withdraw his point of order, and I would make the motion as I did on Friday.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Tennessee make his motion?

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the emergency power bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee moves that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 12776 and——

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield to me for a moment?

Mr. SIMS. Certainly.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the Speaker permit me to ask unanimous consent?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. I will.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I think one statement of the Speaker might indicate a ruling adverse to the point of order. I should like to ask unanimous consent, if it meets with the approval of the Speaker, that he have permission to withdraw any words that might amount to a ruling, because I understand the purpose of this is to avoid a ruling.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will be glad to do that.

The Chair will state that he is not clear on this. His mind is open for argument.

Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by publishing an analysis of certain votes cast by myself on amendments to certain bills that passed the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman to extend his remarks in the RECORD? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague, Mr. WILSON of Texas, be excused for the balance of the day on account of illness.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

EMERGENCY POWER BILL.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] to go into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the emergency power bill.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 12776, with Mr. HOUSTON in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 12776) to provide further for the national security and defense and for the more effective prosecution of the war by furnishing means for the better utilization of the existing sources of electrical and mechanical power and for the development of new sources of such power, and for other purposes.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, when the committee rose there was pending an amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] as an entire substitute for subsection 2 of section 2. I suppose the gentleman from Massachusetts wishes to discuss it.

The CHAIRMAN. The amendment pending before the committee is the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], which is offered as a substitute for subsection 2 of section 2.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I desire at the outset, in order to relieve the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] of any fear or apprehension that this amendment is offered for the purpose of obstructing the passage or consideration of this measure, to assure him that it is offered in good faith for the purpose of perfecting this bill and making more clear the powers which we are undertaking to bestow upon the President.

Now, I submit that an amendment framed as is the amendment offered by me provides all the essential elements that it is sought to confer in the language of the bill as printed. We should not attempt to confer upon the President power to make a lease or a contract and then immediately say what the terms of the provisions of that contract ought to be. It seems to me that if we give him the authority to enter into a contract and set forth the length of time which it should run and provide for the manner in which it is to be terminated, we shall have done all that it is necessary to do by way of legislation.

So my amendment provides that the President is authorized under the provisions of the act to install in any existing private power plant any machinery, and so forth, as he may deem necessary to increase the capacity and productivity of such plant, upon such terms and conditions as he shall determine; and then there is a proviso that the agreement or arrangement shall not continue longer than five years after the termination of the war period, and there is a further proviso that within five years after the expiration of the war period the President shall dispose of the title to such property in a manner that will be for the best interests of the United States.

Now, I wish to submit to the chairman of the committee that there is no need of our putting in there any provision to the effect that he can lease the machinery if he prefers, nor is there any need that when the appliances have been installed the title shall remain in the United States. If we are going to authorize the President to do this and carry out the idea contained in section 2, let us give him the authority to go ahead and do it, and let him say what the conditions shall be. Let us only fix the period within which this arrangement can continue. Let us only provide for the termination of the arrangement.

Now, it has often been said here that you have got to trust somebody, and of course you have to trust the person who will be designated by the President to carry out these very comprehensive powers. But the gentlemen who will have charge of this will know what will be needed and they will know what kind of an agreement they can enter into, and they will know enough, I think, to protect the interests of the United States in entering into these agreements and leases; and I submit that the section, even as it has been perfected, is not exactly in the form in which we should legislate upon this particular subject.

Why, we have even got a provision in this section, as the committee reported it, that the President shall have at all times the power to enter upon the premises where this machinery and these plans are to be installed. That should not be a clause in a legislative act. That should be a clause in the lease or in the agreement, and before he should make any lease or agreement he should get the consent of the owners or operators of these plants where he is going to put this machinery that if it is put in there he shall reserve that right for himself.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent to proceed for two minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WALSH. I see that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] has now risen to his feet, and I desire to direct his attention to one further clause in this section, and that is that he shall be allowed to install and operate these machines for the use of the United States free from any rent or any charge, or take possession of or remove them, or any of them, from the premises.

I submit to the Chairman and to the members of the committee that those provisions ought not to be written into the statute. Let us give the person who will administer this law the authority to require compliance with those terms and provisions, or such other terms as he might wish to make. We are authorizing him to put these machines into existing private plants. We are authorizing him to erect structures which will be extensions or additions to the private plants. That is a very broad power.

Now, then, if we are going to give him that power, can we not let it rest with that same authority, that same administrator, to say under what conditions it shall all be done? He may be able to get more favorable terms than are called for under the terms of the act, and it seems to me, if the gentleman will permit, if he has had an opportunity to study the provisions of my amendment since last Saturday, he would perhaps be impelled to agree that the provisions of the amendment comprehend everything that is included in the section as presented.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. WALSH. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SISSON. Take the second clause of the gentleman's amendment: "*Provided, however,* That no contract, lease, or agreement shall be entered into exceeding five years after the termination of the war period." Would the gentleman think that that language might be susceptible to the construction that the Government might go, after actual hostilities had ceased and peace was declared, within a term of five years after the war had actually been concluded—the President could go into the premises?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; and he could do it under the bill as reported by the committee. But the term "war period" is one of those illuminating and elucidating definitions that——

Mr. SISSON. "Five years after six months." At any time within that five years whoever might be President, if he saw fit and proper to do so, could go into private property for war purposes and take over a man's plant to make power. I think the gentleman's amendment is subject to the same objection that I had to the language used in the original bill. There ought to be a limitation, so that when the war is actually ended——

Mr. WALSH. No. I will say to the gentleman that as to the point he makes about the President being permitted to enter into an agreement after the five-year period, he is not authorized to do that under my amendment or under the original bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has again expired.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts may have two minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts may have two minutes more. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WALSH. The provision is that no such contract or agreement shall be entered into for a term exceeding five years after the war period. That, by implication, means that a contract or agreement shall be entered into before and shall not run beyond.

Mr. SISSON. That ought to be the unquestioned construction to be placed upon the law. But does the gentleman believe that if his amendment is adopted that will clearly be the construction placed upon it?

Mr. WALSH. I will say to the gentleman from Mississippi that I am not the strict constructionist that he is and have not had the experience in complex legislation that he as a member of a great committee has had, but it would seem to me that this amendment, taken as a whole—

To install in any existing private power plant such machinery or appliances or to erect such structures as he may deem necessary to increase the capacity or productivity of such plant upon such terms

and conditions as he may determine: *Provided, however*, That no contract, lease, or agreement shall be entered into for a term exceeding five years after the termination of the war period: *And provided further*, That prior to the expiration of such term the title of the United States to such appliances, machinery, or structures shall be disposed of by the President in such manner as he may determine to be for the best interests of the United States—

would be construed to say in effect that you are now authorized to enter into this list of agreements before the termination of the war; but if you do enter into those agreements, the agreement shall not run beyond five years after the termination of the war period, and before the termination of that period you must dispose of the title of the United States to the property for the best interests of the United States.

Mr. SNOOK. The gentleman's amendment in that regard would be construed exactly the same as the language in the bill.

Mr. WALSH. I think so. I think it would be construed just the same as the language which the committee has reported.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, when this amendment was submitted to me by the gentleman from Massachusetts, before it was offered, I gave it such consideration as I could here on the floor of the House in trying to listen to everybody talking at once; but it struck me as including all the powers granted the President that are included in subsection 2 of section 2 as it has been perfected; and if it includes all the powers and all the benefits that may be derived under the section as perfected, being shorter and in fewer words, it seems to me that it is rather to be commended than objected to; but——

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. I have not quite finished my statement. When a committee has given a bill as thorough consideration as it has this bill, and when numerous amendments have been adopted by the Committee of the Whole itself, I feel great hesitancy in saying right off the bat that I think this is just as good a section as the other for which it is a substitute, and that it embraces all the powers and will accomplish the same purposes as the other. Here is my colleague, the ranking member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH], who has been on that committee much longer than I have, and I want to say in all candor that I have never known a more hard-working, conscientious, patriotic public servant than the gentleman from Wisconsin. [Applause.] Never on the floor of the House or in the committee, as far as I know, has he evinced any disposition or desire to do anything except that which has seemed to be for the best interests of the country. Now, he has studied this section of the bill. Other members of the committee have studied it. Just speaking for myself personally, not as chairman of the committee but as an individual member, it seems to me, as far as I have looked into it, and as far as I am able to say, looking at it in this way, looking at it as an emergency measure in war times, I do not see any harm in the amendment. It seems to me that in fewer words it provides ample power for the same purposes as section 2; but there are other members of the committee and other members of the House who may think otherwise. The section has been perfected in Committee of the Whole. Therefore I feel great hesitancy in saying right off the bat that I will accept it, because I am representing the committee rather than myself.

Mr. ANDERSON. I should like to call the attention of the gentleman to the fact that one of the purposes of this bill is to enable the administration to finance the installation of extensions, as well as to install them.

Mr. SIMS. Certainly.

Mr. ANDERSON. And that the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts eliminates from subsection 2 of section 2 the power which was given in that section to finance these new installations.

Mr. WALSH. That is provided for in subsection 3.

Mr. ANDERSON. The gentleman is in error about that.

Mr. SIMS. I was under the impression that that power was contained in other sections of the bill. If it is not, of course the gentleman's criticism is a valid one.

Mr. ANDERSON. In the gentleman's time I should like to direct attention to this proposition: There are two different financial situations arising which it is desired to meet. One of them is where the operator of the power plant is unable to finance the installation. He is perfectly willing to put in the machinery and operate it himself, but he can not borrow the money upon the terms which will enable him to operate.

Mr. SIMS. That is correct.

Mr. ANDERSON. This subsection 2 is intended to cover that situation, and it is intended that when it is covered, the amount shall be repaid to the Government under the terms which may be prescribed by the President. Now, the next subsection intends to take care of a situation where the Government actually installs——

Mr. SIMS. Let me state to the gentleman something that perhaps has not been called to his attention, that we have prepared an amendment as a substitute for section 3, and when I said it was provided for in another portion of the bill I had that in mind. The subsection proposed contains this provision:

(a) In equipping any private power plant or in expanding any such plant to such extent as he may direct, by making advances upon such terms as he may deem proper to the operator of such plant.

I read that the other day on the floor of the House. The gentleman may not have been present at the time. That is intended to follow, and if it does, it seems to me it cures the very matter that the gentleman has referred to in section 2.

Mr. ANDERSON. I do not think so, because two entirely different situations are intended to be dealt with in two entirely different ways. In the one case, which is intended to be dealt with under subsection 2, the owner of the plant is willing to assume any possible depreciation in the value of the property. All he wants is the money. If he gets his money he is willing to take his chances on the subsequent depreciation in value. Perhaps he gets enough profit so that he can afford to do it. Subsection 3 undertakes to provide for the depreciation of the plant. The two propositions are distinct and ought not to be dealt with on the same basis. The gentleman will remember that when he struck out "the then fair value" I had a great deal of doubt about it. I do not know just what the gentleman intended, but it seems to me the thing that he intends to do under the two sections are so different, and so substantive in themselves, that they ought to be dealt with separately and there ought to be no connection.

Mr. SIMS. The gentleman thinks the subsection offered is not accomplishing the purpose as well as the original bill?

Mr. ANDERSON. I do not think so.

Mr. SNOOK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes.

Mr. SNOOK. The gentleman's intention is to provide for the loaning of the money, and it provides for security while section 3 is to aid in equipment and at the same time provide for an amortization.

Mr. ANDERSON. To take up the depreciation that would result from the difference between the war prices and prices after the war.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I want to see if we can not get some agreement on this section for debate. I have not moved to close debate on a single paragraph. This is an important section and has been already considered two hours, but I think there should be reasonable time for debate. How much time does the gentleman from Minnesota want?

Mr. ANDERSON. Five minutes.

Mr. SIMS. And the gentleman from Iowa?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I do not think I can say what I want to on this question in less than 10 minutes.

Mr. SIMS. Does the gentleman from New Jersey want time?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I do not want to offer the gas and toluol amendment to this section although it is left out. I am going to suggest to the chairman that before we get through we shall return to the definition and get suitable language so that it will not be necessary to offer the amendment every time.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate close upon this amendment in 15 minutes—5 minutes to be given to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] and 10 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN].

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. WALSH. If the gentleman from Minnesota will yield, I desire to ask him if he does not think that the provision for advancing the money, and the rate of interest, should come in subsection 3 and not in the section providing for the installation and leasing of appliances in the buildings of the structure. The purpose of the question is, Does not the gentleman think his amendment could be reformed and come in more harmoniously in subsection 3?

Mr. ANDERSON. The gentleman will not get me to say that I am in entire accord with the structure of this subsection 2; but one thing I am desirous of seeing done, and that is to have a separation between the thing which was sought originally to be done under subsection 2 and the thing which is sought to be done under subsection 3.

Let me call attention to the proviso inserted at the end of subsection 3:

Provided, That the powers conferred by this subdivision shall be exercised only if the President shall deem that the emergency is such as to render it impracticable or undesirable to act with respect to such plant under any of the other powers conferred by this act.

I think that proviso ought to be in that subsection because that subsection contemplates a real financial loss to the Government in the transaction of this business. It contemplates that the Government will absorb the war wastage represented by the difference between the cost of installing the new appliances and extensions during the war period and the value of the extensions at the end of the war period. Obviously where a method of procedure involves the Government actually assuming a loss in value, which might otherwise be borne by the operator of the plant, that power ought not to be exercised unless there is no other way of reaching the proposition.

Now, then, subsection 2 contemplates that where an operator of a power plant is unable to borrow money to make the necessary extensions required by the greater market produced by the war the President may loan him the necessary funds. This may be done, of course, on such a basis of repayment and security as the President deems proper. That is a business transaction, and it does not contemplate any loss to the Government. It ought to be done in that way in every instance where it can be done in that way, but there are some occasions where the profits in the operation of the plant during the war period will not be sufficient to take up the wastage or depreciation which will result between the time of making of the loan when the property is installed and the end of the war period. In these cases it is necessary that the Government should assume the burden of the wastage. That is what is contemplated in section 3. But as I said before, that method ought not to be pursued if there is any other way. And subsection 3 contemplates that it shall not be done except where it is actually found that there is no other way to do it. Now, if the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts is adopted it is my intention to offer an amendment which will permit the President to loan an operator of a power plant funds to be applied for purposes described in the bill upon such terms and security as he may deem proper. Because it is apparent to me that if you only leave the power in the hands of the President to act under subsection 3, you are inviting him to make contracts which you ought not to ask him to make, and which he would not make if you left him any other method which involved less loss.

Mr. SIMS. I do not have any purpose in moving to strike out the proviso on page 6, at the end of subsection 3.

Mr. ANDERSON. I know, but if the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts is adopted it strikes out the power to loan money upon security and upon repayment, and then the only method you leave is the method prescribed in section 3, and if this is the only one provided, it is the only method the President can pursue.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, before entering upon the discussion of the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts, I want to say I am delighted to see the large attendance upon the Democratic side in the discussion of this important bill. There are present one or two members of the committee and perhaps half a dozen others also.

Mr. BLACK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. With pleasure.

Mr. BLACK. Has the gentleman also made a count of the number on the Republican side?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I have done so and discovered there are more.

Mr. BLANTON. Eight members.

Mr. BLACK. I will state to the gentleman there are eight.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The gentleman does not count well.

Mr. SCOTT of Michigan. Fifteen.

Mr. BLANTON. They are talking about politics over there in the corner.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Now, in reference to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts. It has at least the merit of clearness and directness. It is easy to tell what it means and I think it has great advantages over the paragraph for which it was intended as a substitute. Yet I have some doubt whether it ought to be adopted. There is one important provision—the only provision that really protects the Government at all—subsection 2, which is omitted in the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts. That is the provision that whenever any such structures, machinery, or appliances shall have been installed and until the sale or disposition thereof the title shall remain in the United States. There is always a question when machinery or other appliances are annexed to a freehold, whether they do not become part thereof. Although I have some doubt whether this principle will apply as against the Government, yet I think it is well to have it made clear as in the provision of subsection 2; and that is not done by the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts. The gentleman from Massachusetts criticizes, and very properly criticizes, the last sentence of subsection 2 as being unnecessary, and he might have gone further and said it was simply absurd. This last sentence provides that the President shall be empowered to enter upon the premises and the President shall maintain and operate this machinery. Now, of course, the President is only the agent for the Government, for the United States. The President will not in person enter the premises. He can not himself operate it. The proper language and the legal phraseology that should have been used in that sentence was to refer to the United States in proper terms and say that the United States could take possession of it, and if the United States be authorized to take possession of it, the Government could do so through any of its agents and officers. That follows as a matter of law. As it stands it does not protect the Government at all for that reason. Further, it says that upon default in the payment of any such sum possession may be taken, but suppose there is no default in such payment, then there is no provision at all in this paragraph for taking possession of the property.

Yet when the lease is up the Government should have the power to take possession of the property.

At this point I want to call attention to an argument which was used Saturday by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER]—and I am sorry he is not here, because I think he did not fully understand his own bill. The gentleman from Missouri seemed to think, he and other gentlemen who argued yesterday, that the provision that the Government or the President might lease this property for a certain period determined the time when the Government must take it over and was for the protection of the Government. But if he examines that provision more closely he will be satisfied that instead of protecting the Government it protects the operator. It can be leased for a period not exceeding five years, but that does not help the Government in taking possession of the property when the lease expires. There seems to be no provision here whatever to protect the Government and enable it to take possession when the lease expires, and this whole discussion has gone upon the wrong theory because the bill had not been sufficiently considered in committee, so that the members of the committee themselves knew just exactly what it meant. Read this provision:

To lease the machinery, appliances, and structures thus installed, or any parts thereof, to the owner or operator of such plant for a period—

And so forth.

Mr. ANDERSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I will.

Mr. ANDERSON. Suppose that the operator at any time during the lease says to the Government, "here is your property, take it." The only remedy for that under this bill is either to operate it themselves or to take it out?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Yes; there is no provision giving the Government any other alternative.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Does not the gentleman think that this provision should be a part of the lease or agreement rather than a part of the law authorizing the lease or agreement?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Yes; I agree with the gentleman there. I think it would be more difficult to put them in proper form in the bill, and if we undertook it we would be likely to so hedge about the powers of the President that a proper lease could not be made. Then, again, when we consider subsections 2 and 3 we find the two are overlapping and all should have been put in one subsection. I think every Member will agree to that. In fact, this bill is in the shape I have found every bill coming here from a department—in a form in which it ought to be rewritten from start to finish.

That is the only way to get such a bill in proper form. Now, these two sections, overlapping as they do, are necessarily confusing. It is hard to tell where one begins and the other stops, and it is hard to tell where one is limited or restricted by the other. I do not really think it is possible to adjust these two sections and bring them together so that they will probably correlate in any other way except as suggested by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] when he said the bill ought to be recommitted to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and there be rewritten and put in proper form. If this bill had been committed to some of the committees of this House—and I might say definitely the Ways and Means Committee—two-thirds of it would have been stricken out and the appropriation reduced accordingly. In fact, there is no neces-

sity for using this money except in a few instances that might have been definitely named, so that the House would know what it was doing. Instead of that we have all of these blanket powers to manufacture briquets up in the southwest part of North Dakota, where there is no demand for a power plant and no use for it if constructed, and also to go into all sorts of experiments. All of these things ought to be out of the bill. There will be waste enough here, I will say to my colleague, even if we restrict it in every manner possible.

Why is this bill here, in the first instance? It is here, I take it, because these gentlemen went to the War Finance Corporation and did not get the money. The War Finance Corporation has ample authority to furnish the money for all these things that are provided for in this bill, if they have anything to do with the war. Of course, some of them have been admitted by gentlemen on the floor here as not to have anything to do with the war, but they wanted the money because they considered it to be a good thing for their respective communities to have it spent therein. I think, on the whole, the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] ought to be adopted.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. SISSON). The time of the gentleman has expired. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] to strike out subsection (2) and insert.

The question was taken, and the Chair announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 7, noes 11.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I ask for tellers.

Tellers were refused.

So the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

(3) To aid in equipping any private power plant or in expanding any such plant to such extent as he may direct by making advances, upon such terms and conditions as he may determine, to the person operating or authorized to operate it, and in connection with such advances, to agree with such person that, if the actual reasonable cost of equipping or expanding such plant shall be in excess of its value at the termination of the war period, or at such later time not more than five years after the expiration of the war period, as he may deem reasonable for such valuation, and the machinery, structures, or appliances constituting such extension or expansion, or their equivalent, shall have been maintained and operated in accordance with his directions until such time, repayment of the whole or any part of such excess will be waived, and to provide by agreement for the manner of determining such costs and values by arbitration or otherwise and for the terms and time of such repayment: *Provided*, That the powers conferred by this subdivision shall be exercised only if the President shall deem that the emergency is such as to render it impracticable or undesirable to act with respect to such plant under any of the other powers conferred by this act.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I wish to offer an amendment striking out all of subsection 3 except the proviso. I offer the following amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

Mr. WALSH. Is this a committee amendment?

Mr. SIMS. The committee as a committee has not acted on it, but it has been submitted to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH] and other members of the committee, and we believe that it is an improvement on the bill as reported.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SIMS: Pages 5 and 6, strike out the subdivision and insert in its place:

"To aid in equipping any private power plant or in expanding any such plant to such extent as he may direct by making advances, upon such terms as he may deem proper, to the operator of such plants. Such terms may include an agreement that, if at the time provided therein, which shall not be later than five years after the expiration of the war period, it shall appear that the actual reasonable cost of equipping or of extending such plant exceeded a sum fixed in or to be ascertained by a method prescribed in such agreement, and if the machinery, structures, or appliances constituting such extension or expansion, or their equivalent, shall have been maintained and operated in accordance with his directions, repayment of the whole or in part of such excess will be waived. Such agreement may provide further for determining the amount of such excess by arbitration or otherwise."

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, those who have examined it think, and I have consulted——

Mr. WALSH. Does the gentleman desire the proviso retained?

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. The amendment as read says to strike out subsection 3.

Mr. SIMS. Strike out all of subsection 3 except the proviso.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee has not made perfectly clear just exactly what he wants. I am told by the Clerk that you ask to strike out, as it is stated first, all of this subsection 3 down to the proviso.

Mr. SIMS. Yes; but not to strike out the proviso.

The CHAIRMAN. The written amendment here does not make that statement. Now, the gentleman offers the motion to amend by striking out all of subsection 3 down to the proviso and substitute in lieu thereof what the Clerk has just read?

Mr. SIMS. Absolutely. That is what I stated all the time.

Mr. MADDEN. I want to know in what special respect this changes the language that was stricken out?

Mr. SIMS. It changes it in this way: This is to provide for the contract provisions, and if you notice the section we have just adopted we struck out the words "at the then value" and added "the amount," so that it might be fixed in the contract. This amendment is put in here in the interest of the Government and for the purpose of protecting it.

Now, I will read an explanation of the substitute section I have offered in lieu of the provisions of the bill down to the proviso:

"As the bill was drawn the standard for determining the Government's loss was 'the then value' of the property. This requires that a valuation be made, with all the attendant difficulties and uncertainties. Probably no term is productive of greater divergency of opinion or is more difficult to apply.

"The adoption of this standard means double payment for depreciation, it once being collected from consumers through rates and paid a second time by the Government.

"The fundamental reason for the advance of funds by the Government is that 'war-time' prices are excessive, and it is this excess that should be measured in ordinary cases rather than a difference between cost and value.

"Concretely, if the then value is fixed as a standard, the Government will lose probably from 10 to 20 per cent more than it reasonably should and would if 'post-war' cost were adopted. Applying the minimum percentage, the loss caused by the then value would approximate $20,000,000.

"While it will be admitted that the fair standard in normal cases is normal reproduction cost instead of the then value, neither standard will be fair both to the Government and to the company in all cases. There will be instances where the Government must pay the cost of building an extension, because the extension will not be needed by the company after the war. Its then value to the company will be a small part of its cost, although it may have been in use only a short time. Consequently, the then value standard would not be fair to the Government, because the property might have a greater value in a sale to others or for governmental use; but the Government could not take advantage of either alternative if the company had the right to purchase it at its value to the company. The reproduction-cost standard would not be fair to the company, because the property would not be worth such an amount to the company that had no use for it.

"Those who have worked upon the drafting of the bill and have negotiated contracts of the same character as those that will come before the President under this bill are of the opinion that in order to deal fairly with all situations it is necessary to leave to the contract the method of determination and the principles to be followed in each case. The contract can specifically provide what shall be done in each case, and thus make the standard definite and justly applicable to the conditions which exist. Further, such a plan will, in many instances, make unnecessary any valuation, which will save expense both to the Government and to the companies in reaching an adjustment.

I. TYPICAL CASE.

"(1) Facts assumed:

"(a) Required electrical apparatus to cost $5,000,000.

"(b) Government to provide or pay for 40 per cent, or $2,000,000.

"(c) Time of settlement to be four years after end of war. (Bill allows five years.)

"(d) Normal reproduction cost then of property represented by advance, 75 per cent of cost.

"(e) Property to depreciate at the rate of 3 per cent per annum.

"(2) Results under plan that Government will bear loss or difference between actual cost and normal reproduction cost at time of settlement:

Cost		$2,000,000
Normal reproduction cost (75 per cent)		1,500,000
Loss to Government		500,000
Government's investment		2,000,000
Amount returned to Government		1,500,000

"(3) Results under plan that Government will bear loss or difference between actual cost and the then value at time of settlement:

Cost		$2,000,000
Normal reproduction cost	$1,500,000	
Depreciation—3 per cent × four years=12 per cent	240,000	
		1,260,000
Loss to Government		724,000
Government's investment		2,000,000
Amount returned to Government		1,260,000

"(4) Difference between plans:

(a) Loss on basis of normal reproduction cost	$500,000
(b) Loss on basis of then value	740,000
Excess of (b) over (a)	240,000

"Percentage of excess to Government's investment, 12 per cent.

(NOTE.—If the war were to last four years, the excess would be 24 per cent of Government's investment.)

"(5) If the Government were to assume loss upon all facilities or upon the entire cost instead of upon 40 per cent, as above, the results would be—

"(a) Under plan that Government will bear loss or difference between actual cost and the normal reproduction cost at time of settlement:

Cost	$5,000,000
Normal reproduction cost (75 per cent)	3,750,000
Loss to Government	1,250,000
Government's investment	2,000,000
Amount returned to Government	750,000

"(b) Under plan that Government will bear loss or difference between actual cost and the then value at the time of settlement:

Cost		$5,000,000
Normal reproduction cost	$3,750,000	
Depreciation, 3 per cent×4 years=12 per cent	600,000	
		3,150,000
Loss to Government		1,850,000
Government's investment		2,000,000
Amount returned to Government		150,000

"(c) Difference between plans:

(A) Loss on basis of normal reproduction cost	1,250,000
(B) Loss on basis of then value	1,850,000
Excess of (B) over (A)	600,000

"Percentage of excess to Government's investment, 30 per cent.

II. EXCEPTIONAL CASE.

"(1) Facts assumed:

"(a) Additional electrical apparatus to cost $500,000.

"(b) Government to provide all or pay for all, because apparatus would not be needed after the war.

"(c) Time of settlement, two years hence. (Bill allows five years.)

"(d) Normal reproduction cost then of property, 80 per cent.

"(e) Property to depreciate to a value of 20 per cent, because company would have no use for it.

"(2) Results under plan that Government will bear loss or difference between actual cost and normal reproduction cost at time of settlement:

Cost	$500,000
Normal reproduction cost (80 per cent)	400,000
Loss to Government	100,000

"(3) Results under plan that Government will bear loss or difference between actual cost and the then value at time of settlement:

Cost	$500,000
Value (20 per cent)	100,000
Loss to Government	400,000

"(4) Difference between plans:

(a) Loss on basis of normal production cost	100,000
(b) Loss on basis of value	400,000
Excess of (b) over (a)	300,000

"(NOTE.—Neither plan is fair both to the Government and to the company under the facts assumed. The value standard is not fair to the Government, because the property might have a greater value in a sale to others than to the company, which has no use for it. The reproduction cost standard is not fair to the company, because the property would not have such a value to a company that had no use for it.)"

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Tennessee has expired.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee may have five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks that the gentleman from Tennessee may have five minutes more. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIMS. Now, that was prepared, after considering the bill, by the gentlemen who suggested these amendments—those who have been sponsors for the bill—and a concrete case is stated here by calculation to show the difference in the effect it will have on the contract provided for. The object of this amendment, the substitute for all of subsection 3 except the proviso, is to make it fair both to the party who may borrow or whose property may be improved by the Government, and also to the Government, providing that the contract for making the improvement shall specify the conditions of settlement. The term "then value" was such as to bring on endless trouble and confusion after the war period and the lease period had expired. I submitted it to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH], who had a whole day and a night or two to study it, and he, like myself, thinks it an improvement on the section as written, and is worthy of our best consideration before deciding to reject it.

Mr. MADDEN. Now, if the gentleman from Tennessee is through——

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a parliamentary question. Will the substitute be subject to amendment before it is adopted or after it is adopted? I would like to change the "five years" to "one year," and I would like to give my reasons for it. I do not want to argue the adoption of this substitute. It seems to be in good form, however. I may want to add something about gas plants. May I make the motion after its adoption? If so, I move, before it goes further, that "five years" be changed to "one year."

Mr. SIMS. In what part of the amendment?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I can not tell in what part of it it is. You have got "five years" in it.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment submitted by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER].

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. PARKER of New Jersey to the substitute amendment offered by Mr. SIMS: "Strike out 'five' and insert in lieu thereof 'one.'"

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to ask the House what under the sun the Government will do during the five years, if they make an agreement according to this clause? The proposition is that the United States agrees to aid and equip existing plants by advances.

Suppose a big plant, and that it is aided and is equipped by advances from the United States. Now, then, there is an agreement with the party that if the cost of equipping—and that is the amount spent by the United States—shall be in excess of its value, or whatever the amount is in excess of what the real amount given to the party is found to be five years after the war is ended, then the man shall pay less. He does not pay anything until then; and all he is asked to do, if the language of the bill is maintained in that amendment—and I do not know whether it is or not, because it was read hastily—is that during the five years the plant shall be maintained and operated in accordance with the President's direction. I believe that is in the amendment. Thereupon, after the war is over, after the demand for this power stops, the Government says to the man maintaining this and operating this property, "If you have got anything to do, or even if you have nothing, we will wait for five years, and then we will have a valuation and see what you shall pay." In the meantime the owner got the benefit of this equipment, and he got the benefit of the work he had done during the war. He has got the benefit of the plant, and all he has to do is to say he has no work afterwards and let it lie.

In such case the Government does not get a single cent until five years after the war. These matters ought all to be settled soon after the war. The war period ends six months after the declaration of the treaty of peace.

The declaration of the treaty of peace, if there is much negotiation about the reconstruction of the Balkans and Baltic Provinces, will be a year after the war, and it will be six years and six months after the war before anything will be done if an agreement for five years is made with these parties. In the meantime the man has all of this equipment in his factory. I do not believe, with the witnesses before the committee, that it ought to be five years, for the reason they give, that after the war there would probably be a slump and then a revival, and that the United States would get the benefit of that revival.

What business has the United States to speculate on what will take place after the war? We know that after the Civil War, with inflation not half as great as it is now, and business not half as great as it is now, business continued with great momentum, and it was not until 1870 that we had a slump, and after that property would bring nothing.

Let us settle up our affairs as soon after the war as possible. I moved to substitute one year instead of five before, but the House did not see fit to stand by me in that. I insist that neither the President nor anyone else should postpone the right of the United States to get back its money for five years after the close of the war.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I do not know whether I want to talk upon the gentleman's amendment or not.

Mr. SIMS. This is only an amendment to the substitute.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER].

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I ask for a division on that.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 7, noes 14.

Accordingly the amendment was rejected.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I have another amendment.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. HOUSTON). The gentleman from New Jersey offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. PARKER of New Jersey: Page 5, line 23, after the word "plant," strike out the word "or" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "including plants in connection therewith for the production of gas, coke, toluol, benzol, coal-tar products, and any other useful products that may be produced through or in connection with the coking of coal or carbonizing of lignite, or through or in connection with the combustion of any fuel; or."

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I do not like to lengthen this bill by inserting these words every time a power plant is mentioned, and I ask the chairman of the committee whether he does not consider it worth while to recur to page 1, line 8, after the words "mechanical power," and to insert the words of my amendment, and then strike out all these other amendments where they come afterwards, so that we will not have to add them in four or five places again?

Mr. SIMS. This section provides for the equipping of private power plants, and nearly all the things referred to by the gentleman from New Jersey are by-products, for which plants are not established in the first instance.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. There are private power plants and gas works that may want to be enlarged and equipped in just the same way. You have to give the power to the President——

Mr. SIMS. When you establish a gas plant you establish it for the manufacture of gas and not for the manufacture of by-products, and when you establish a coking plant you establish it for the manufacture of coke and not for the manufacture of by-products. This amendment would give the President the power to loan money to aid in establishing plants for the manufacture of by-products only.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. No; to equip plants which manufacture by-products in connection with the other products. I think if it was put in the definition in the beginning you could omit it afterwards. It cumbers the bill to have these many amendments, and I submit to the gentleman that if we put it in the definition it will relieve the bill from complications. If this amendment is inserted after the words "mechanical power," in line 8, page 1, I will offer no more amendments on this subject and will be content that all the amendments which I have offered on this subject shall be stricken out.

Mr. SIMS. The purpose of this section is to give the President the power to aid in the equipping of private power plants and in the extending of such plants.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. If these power plants produce these by-products, you want to enlarge that production, too?

Mr. SIMS. This says a plant, but it does not provide what the plant shall manufacture or what it shall produce. I know the gentleman's purpose is all right, but it does not seem to me that it is necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER].

The question being taken, the amendment was rejected.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I think the amendment offered as a substitute by the committee is better than the original draft of the bill; but the explanation made by those who drafted the substitute seems to leave the question in doubt as to whether or not a piece of property that may be enlarged by the Government would not be confiscated by the Government at the end of the period of the war. For example, the Government is authorized under this act, if it becomes an act, to enter upon the premises of a power-plant company, to increase the size of the plant, and the explanation here indicates that if the Government can not reach a satisfactory settlement of the amount to be returned by the owner of the plant at the end of the war, the Government shall then have the right to sell a man's property to some outsider. It does not seem fair that the Government, which needs this additional power and hence is anxious to advance the money to enlarge the plant, and which enters upon private property for that purpose, should be permitted to sell that part of the property on which it enters for the purpose of enlarging the plant, to some one beside the owner of the plant. While I am not at all clear that the amendment would carry that conclusion, the explanation of the man who wrote the amendment clearly indicates that that is what would happen.

Mr. SIMS. Let me say to the gentleman that the substitute simply provides that the method of settlement and payment shall be made a part of the contract at the beginning.

Mr. MADDEN. Yes, I know; and, of course, I think that is a wise provision; but the man who wrote the provision, and who suggested that a contract should be entered into, stipulating the conditions upon which the money shall be advanced, wrote an explanation as to what the amendment means, and I am going to try to explain what that explanation means.

Mr. STEVENSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. STEVENSON. Is it not simply a case of a man having assigned a faulty reason for a good provision, like the case of a court that renders a proper decision, but puts it on the wrong ground?

Mr. MADDEN. It is just as well to call attention to it, even though it is a faulty reason for a good case. I am not a lawyer, but I once heard of a young lawyer who lost his case in the court below because he assumed that the court knew about the law. When he appealed to the Supreme Court he went into a very elaborate explanation of the law, and the court interrupted him and said, "You must give this court credit for having some knowledge of the law." The young lawyer replied, "Your honor, that is the mistake I made in the court below, which lost me the case there, and I am not taking any chances now." [Laughter.] The man who wrote this explanation says:

Consequently the then value standard would not be fair to the Government, because the property might have a greater value in a sale to others or for Government use, but the Government could not take advantage of either alternative if the company had the right to purchase it at its value to the company.

Now, the point I am trying to impress on this vast audience is that it is not fair for the Government to enter upon the premises of a private concern for the purpose of enlarging its plant, which the person who owns the plant may not want enlarged, but the Government does, and then at the end of the war say to the man, "Because this plant is not worth anything to you it must be worth something to somebody else, and so we will just confiscate part of your property and sell it to some man who may want to go into competition with you." I do not think the Government wants to do that.

Mr. STEVENSON. Will the gentleman yield again?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. STEVENSON. Would it not be equally unfair to the Government for the man who has it in his plant to say, "You have got to let me have it at such a price and figure, because you can not sell it to anybody else, and therefore you are helpless"? Now, is not this proposition a proper one, to fix in the contract itself the method of arriving at what the value shall be?

Mr. MADDEN. I agree with the gentleman's conclusion, but I am explaining what this explanation means, which was written by this man. I assume that this bill was drawn by experts down in the War Industries Board, or some other place where they have the benefit of the learning of all the great lawyers of the United States, and no doubt this amendment was written by these same wise men, and this explanation was written by one of the wise men who wrote the substitute and wrote the bill. And so we have before us a complicated situation which perhaps the contract suggested in the amendment may obviate in the long run. In the meantime we are dealing with an uncertain problem. It is a farce from the beginning to the end.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I want to say that this argument which the gentleman from Illinois treats so facetiously was a statement why the substitute should be adopted rather than the original language. The contract is entered into not by compulsion; it is to aid in equipping the private plant. The Government enters into a contract with the owner as to what shall be paid at the end of the contract period instead of using the "then-value" provision. It goes on to show that the "then value" at the end of the contract period may be worth practically nothing, whereas they provide in the contract what shall be paid and what to write off for war losses in advance. They make an estimate; the power plant might make the best guess and the Government lose, or the Government may make the best guess and the private owner lose. Anyway, it is a contract and agreement entered into in advance as to the terms of the settlement between the Government and the aided plant when the lease period has expired.

As the gentleman from Illinois says, it is better than the language of the substitute, and I hope there will be no objection to adopting it.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that the objection to the proposed substitute is that it does not clearly state its purpose; it does not clearly set up any standard upon which the remission of the wastage can be determined. The original bill does clearly state that the Government can enter into a contract with the operator of the plant whereby repayment of the difference between the value of the extensions at the time it is made and the value at the end of the contract period will be waived. That purpose is specifically set out in the original

draft of the bill and furnishes a guide to those making the contract as to what the intention of Congress was with respect to the amount which might be so waived. Under the substitute proposed by the gentleman from Tennessee the amount which will be so waived becomes the subject of agreement in advance and thus may be an entirely arbitrary amount.

In other words, suppose that extension is made to a plant for which the Government advanced the operator $50,000. We will assume that the difference between the value now and at the end of the war period is $20,000. Under the original draft the Government would waive repayment of $20,000; and under this proposition, if the Government agreed in advance that the difference would be $25,000, it would have to waive the amount, and if the agreement was for only $15,000 it would have to waive that amount. The matter must be determined in advance under the substitute proposed by the committee. It is an arbitrary amount, and it assumes that those who make the agreement in the first place are good guessers; that their judgment in advance is a perfectly good judgment. It seems to me that is assuming a good deal.

As I said in the first place, there is absolutely no language in the amendment at all which establishes the measure of the amount which it is intended the Government shall waive. Now, somewhere in this amendment it should be stated that the purpose of the amendment is to permit the Government to waive the payment of the difference between the value of the extensions at the time of the installation and at the end of the contract period. Then, it seems to me, the administration, under this portion of the act, would have some sort of a standard by which they might be guided. But if they take the language of the substitute they have no gauge at all, and it might become entirely an arbitrary matter. When the contract for the extension is made, a purely arbitrary amount which is to be waived at the end of the contract period is established. This amount is likely to be largely favorable to the operator.

This sort of an arrangement opens the way for error, mistake, and for favoritism. I do not believe we ought to open up the matter in that way without some sort of a standard by which the amount of the waiver shall be determined.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I favored the substitute as suggested by the gentleman from Tennessee and did so for the following reasons: The bill originally provided for a basis of allowance of war wastage upon the then value at the time of the settlement, whether it be at the end of five years or any intervening period. If you use that as a basis, you are likely to do an injustice to the operator, because at the time of that adjustment the plant, machinery, and appliances which the Government has put in may be of very little or any value to the operator. He may have sufficient appliances or machinery already of his own to take care of his normal business. If you enforce upon the operator the then-value basis, you do him an injustice.

On the other hand, suppose you make the basis the cost of reproduction at the time of the adjustment or settlement. That may work a hardship to the Government, because the cost of reproduction at the time of the adjustment may be in a period of peace when values may have tumbled, and hence the Government would not get nearly what it was entitled to, and it therefore would cover a very large per cent of the war wastage. So in lieu of either of these standards of measure we thought best to contract in the first instance the measure of the amount which the Government should recover out of the advances it had made to the operator. Measured in that way there can be no doubt because the Government can know every dollar it has put into the plant and the amount it cost. It can figure, and the operator can join in the figuring, upon the percentage of the reduction of the war cost of these additions, appliances, and machinery so as to fix the amount the Government is to recover.

Mr. HAMLIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ESCH. Yes.

Mr. HAMLIN. As I understand, the provisions of the bill as originally drawn provided that at the settlement period they might agree by arbitration or otherwise at the then value, and the President had the right to waive any portion or all of it.

Mr. ESCH. Yes.

Mr. HAMLIN. And the amendment provides for contracting in advance, and also gives the President the right to waive all or any part of it.

Mr. ESCH. Yes.

Mr. HAMLIN. Is not that the difference between tweedledee and tweedledum? Why is the language any better in the proposed substitute because they can still do it by arbitration? If you agree then you ought to agree, otherwise you should waive any part or all of it.

Mr. ESCH. Because the use of the words "then value" itself involved an elaborate consideration of the relationship between the operator and the Government. We obviate all of that by putting in the contract in the first instance the ratio the Government is to receive from the amount of its advances.

Mr. HAMLIN. If the gentleman will pardon me again, the very fact it gives to the President the right to waive any portion or all of it, yet your substitute involves the very language you say you are seeking to avoid, and that is an investigation and agreement between the Government and the owner as to the then value or value of this new machinery and new appliances and new business that the Government puts in the plant?

Mr. ANDERSON. You guess in advance.

Mr. HAMLIN. You guess in advance, and if not satisfied with the guesses then go ahead with the same performance again.

Mr. ESCH. No; it is more than a guess, because we know every dollar the Government has invested; we know the percentage of depreciation—all that can be determined. We can fix it in the contract and by so doing we can insure the Government at least a reasonable return upon its expenditures, and I think the substitute is better than the original text.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield for one question?

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I want to offer an amendment to the amendment.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I want to be heard on the original amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. All debate on the original amendment is exhausted.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Then I make the pro forma amendment to strike out the last word of the amendment.

Mr. SIMS. Let us see if we can not have an agreement as to the conclusion of debate on the substitute and all amendments to the substitute.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Very well.

Mr. HAMLIN. How much time does the gentleman want—five minutes?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Five minutes will be sufficient for me.

Mr. ANDERSON. I want to offer an amendment to the amendment—I do not know that I shall require much time on it—and possibly another amendment.

Mr. SIMS. Does the gentleman from Iowa care to proceed before the gentleman from Minnesota offers his amendment.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I have no objection to letting the gentleman from Minnesota proceed and I will defer to him.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Minnesota offers an amendment to the substitute, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment to the substitute amendment offered by Mr. SIMS: Line 4 of the amendment, before the word "such" insert "in order that the United States may assume the difference between the cost of such equipment or expansion at the time of installation and the value thereof to the operator at the end of the contract period."

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, of course the amendment which I have offered has no binding force upon anybody. All I seek to do is to make the purpose of the substitute clear. The purpose of it is that the Government shall assume the difference between the cost at installation of the structures and expansion of the plant and the value at the end of the contract period. I state that purpose in order that those who administer the provisions of this subsection will have some sort of legislative declaration as to what was intended to be done by the subsection.

Mr. SIMS. I want to ask the gentleman from Minnesota if the gentleman from Wisconsin has considered his amendment, and if it is acceptable to him I have no objection to it?

Mr. ANDERSON. I have not submitted it to the gentleman. I do not know what his position is with respect to it.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Chairman, may we have the amendment reported as it would read with the amendment of the gentleman from Minnesota?

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment will be reported as it would read with the amendment of the gentleman from Minnesota.

The Clerk read as follows:

In line 4 of the amendment, before the word "such," insert the following, so that it will read: "in order that the United States may assume the difference between the cost of such equipment or expansion at the time of installation and the value thereof to the operator at the end of the contract period; such terms may include an agreement that if at a time provided for therein, which shall not be later than five years after the expiration of the war period, it shall appear that the actual reasonable cost of equipping or expanding such plants exceeded the sum fixed in or to be ascertained by the method prescribed in such agreement, and if the machinery, structures, or appliances constitute such extension, expansion, or their equivalent shall have been maintained and operated in accordance with his direction, repayment of the whole

or any part of such excess shall be waived. Such agreement shall provide further for determining the amount of such excess by arbitration or otherwise."

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Minnesota has made a laudable attempt to clear up the meaning of this amendment, but I respectfully submit that it is beyond the ability of any gentleman upon the floor to make it perfectly plain. I think for that reason not only his amendment, which might otherwise be helpful, but the amendment offered by the gentleman from Tennessee, ought to be voted down. Now, the amendment offered by the gentleman from Tennessee does not accomplish what the gentleman intended and does not accomplish what the original provision effected. The original provision gave the President power to waive the difference between cost of the machinery and its value after the war.

But this provision is "that such terms may include an agreement," and so forth, and "that when it shall appear that the actual reasonable cost of equipping or expanding such plant exceeded the sum fixed," and so forth, the difference may be waived. Now, that refers back to the terms "reasonable cost."

Mr. SIMS. Fixed by the contract.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Oh, yes; fixed by the contract, but it refers to the cost of the machinery. But, as I understand the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH], that is not the reference that is intended at all. By the words "the sum fixed" is intended the amount of loss.

Mr. SIMS. Certainly.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. But you can not make that language include that.

Mr. SIMS. Of course the cost at the time would be the amount of money that is advanced and whether or not the man to whom it was advanced shall pay it back or not is all provided for in the contract.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. With all deference to my friend from Tennessee, you can not make this provision bear such a construction. That may be what you mean, and doubtless is what you mean, but that is not what this amendment says at all. It does not define what is meant by the sum fixed. If it refers to anything, it must refer to something that is in the provision itself and has preceded it, and the only thing that is in the provision itself and has preceded is "the reasonable cost" of the machinery. But that is not what this is intended to refer to at all. Now, I am not very much worried about this provision, because I am satisfied it will not be in this bill when it comes back to us, but I do not like to see it go through the House in that form. The original provision for which it is intended as a substitute, while it may have the defects that were set forth by my friend from Wisconsin, at least was fairly clear in its meaning and as to what it intended to do. But this is not. If it does anything at all, it will do something that is not intended by the parties who proposed it, and for that reason it ought not to be adopted. In my judgment, it is so drawn as to be entirely unintelligible, and nobody can tell what is meant by it except as it is explained, and when the explanation is given it is found that the terms do not comprehend any such meaning as is thought to be given to it.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question recurs on the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS].

The question was taken, and the Chair announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. WALSH. Division, Mr. Chairman.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 10, noes 4.

Mr. WALSH. Well, Mr. Chairman, I make the point of no quorum.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts makes the point of no quorum. The Chair will count.

Mr. WALSH. I see that a large number of Members have just come in and I will withdraw it.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, if other Members of the House have the same experiences that I have had in the last day or two with the telegraph operated by the Government, and if they continue I am afraid we will find it very hard for us to vote for this bill, with its public-ownership tendencies.

I never thought that the service of the Western Union Telegraph Co. was perfect, except as I compared it with the slow and unreliable methods of communication which the Post Office Department has given us ever since it became demoralized under its present management. Of course, compared with that, the Western Union did seem excellent. However, yesterday I had such an experience with the telegraph, now under the control of the Post Office Department, that I look back with great regret and admiration to that service that I formerly got from the private corporation. And that makes me feel that a bill like this, which is going a step further in Government ownership, is going to have a rocky road if we Members are all going to have daily these experiences with the present Government agencies.

I am afraid the Western Union has already become almost as unreliable and disappointing in its service as we have been accustomed to in the Post Office Department since this administration took charge of it and it is obviously falling into that same rut of incompetency.

Another fact came to my notice yesterday which emphasized the disappointment I was having with my telegraph service, and which no doubt all of the rest of you are having daily.

Each of us has had hundreds of letters complaining about the mail service to the soldiers in France. I know that some months ago I complained, and that a great many other Members have complained, and you have all wanted to complain, but the answer was given us from the Post Office Department that the reason for that delay was because they could not identify the soldier over there; that he was moved about so rapidly that they could not locate him. And I had thought perhaps that was one reason that it was not entirely the intrinsic incapacity of the Post Office Department which caused all the trouble. But yesterday it was brought to my attention that a general of the United States Army had had letters written to him regularly from April to July and during that time never received one of them.

Now, we have not so many generals over on the other side, at the head of American forces, that they could not identify and locate the generals. They can not get distributed about in such inaccessible places that that would be an excuse for the Post Office Department. And this was back months ago, before the department was given over, as they tell us now that it has been, to the military. So that brought to my attention again this culpability which we have so often criticized, in that a general in the American Army could not get letters from home, although they were written to him regularly from the month of April to the month of July.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILLETT. Certainly.

Mr. BLANTON. Does the gentleman realize that the Post Office Department here in the city at this time is about 100 clerks short by reason of the salary that is paid to them, and that the men are walking out every day to take better positions?

Mr. GILLETT. I am rather surprised, from the treatment they get from the Post Office administration, that it is able to keep any clerks.

Mr. BLANTON. Is not the treatment that is given them there the result of the action of Congress?

Mr. GILLETT. Who has control of Congress?

Mr. BLANTON. In fixing the salaries——

Mr. GILLETT. Who has control of Congress?

Mr. BLANTON. But just now a salary which would be a good salary under ordinary circumstances, although not as good a salary as other businesses are paying, is not a good salary, and naturally the men walk out to take better positions.

Mr. GILLETT. If we are not giving them adequate salaries, you are responsible for that.

Mr. BLANTON. We can not compete with war-time wages that are paid, where an ordinary mechanic in Baltimore can make more than a district judge of the country can make.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] has expired.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I want to oppose the important amendment just offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH]. The gentleman must recollect that at the time the wire-control bill was introduced the stimulating, moving cause was a threat of a strike.

Mr. MADDEN. That was only a pretense.

Mr. GILLETT. We were told that was not it. We were specifically told from high authority that that was not it.

Mr. SIMS. One moment, if you please. It was considered by the committee, and the argument was made on the floor of this House, that because notice of a strike had then been given by a large number of Western Union operatives. But that was not the only or the chief reason. The chief reason was that during the war the transmission of intelligence and dispatches of every kind should be in the hands of the Government, and every operator on the lines—the cable lines and the telegraph lines and the telephone lines and the wireless operators—should be at the beck and call of the Government during the war.

Mr. MADDEN. But the trouble was——

Mr. SIMS. Let me make my statement first, please. Those were the chief reasons. Nobody who supported the bill supported it simply because it was Government operation either permanently or temporarily. I do not suppose anybody thought that the American Telephone Co. needed aid. Its stock was away above par. The Western Union Telegraph Co. did not need financial aid. And, coming to this bill—because I do not think the gentleman stated all the reasons moving the committee and the House in passing the bill—the gentleman will remember that there was much criticism on the floor about that wire-control bill, the wire-control legislation, and when it went to the Senate certain Senators said, "The House of Representatives know that we will consider these measures thoroughly, and that is one of the reasons why they send them over here half considered"; and it was stated here on the floor of the House that it would take three weeks' hearings on that resolution before it could be reported to the Senate. But it was reported to the Senate without any amendment.

Mr. MADDEN. And sent back to the committee that reported it because the committee did not have any authority to report it.

Mr. SIMS. It was reported to the Senate without amendment, just as it was passed by the House, and Senator UNDERWOOD, who used to be the talented leader on this side of the House, whom we all know and whose ability we all recognize, said that it was the best-drawn resolution that had ever been sent from the House to the Senate, and no amendment whatever was adopted by the Senate.

Gentlemen are extremely critical in this time of war. The gentleman from Massachusetts balks at Government ownership. Is there one line in this bill that purposely looks to Government ownership? Are we going to refuse to the Government in time of war the authority to all that may be necessary to be done for the successful prosecution of the war because somebody who may favor Government ownership sees fit to claim that what is done is an argument in favor of public ownership. The gentleman from Massachusetts alleges that the service is worse in the hands of the Government than it was in the hands of private owners, as an argument against Government ownership. If the service is not so good as when in private operation, why does he fear that Government ownership will result from the poorer and less efficient service?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Tennessee has expired. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

(4) To acquire any private power plant within the boundaries of the United States.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment to offer to that.

Mr. WALSH. Well, let the gentleman offer it.

Mr. MADDEN. Is that for Government ownership?

Mr. SIMS. The amendment is:

Provided, That no plant owned or operated by a body politic shall be acquired without the consent of the body politic.

That is the amendment to this section offered by the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SIMS: Page 6, line 21, insert, after the words "United States," the following: "*Provided*, That no plant owned or operated by a body politic shall be acquired without the consent of such body politic."

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I offer a substitute.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin offers a substitute, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ESCH as a substitute for the Sims amendment: Page 6, line 20, strike out subsection (4) and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"To acquire by any known method of procurement any private power plant within the boundaries of the United States that the President may deem necessary for the prosecution of the war: *Provided*, That no plant owned or operated by a body politic shall be acquired without the consent of such body politic."

Mr. SIMS. I am very willing to accept the substitute.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, just a word in explanation. We struck out the definition of "to acquire," so I have put in the words here that are really the same as in the national-defense act, and then incorporated the amendment we put in on the motion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. SNELL].

Mr. SIMS. I have no objection to it.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I want to discuss it. I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. WALSH. It would seem, Mr. Chairman, that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH] is to be preferred, with the exception that I do not think the proviso ought to be in there.

Now, we are attempting to give the President the authority to acquire any plant that he deems essential for the winning of the war, and in the very same language we are putting it in the power of some small municipalities to prevent the President from acquiring a plant which he might deem essential for the winning of the war. For those reasons I think the section is not only contradictory, but we are conferring a power which contains within its provisions an opportunity for any small group of citizens incorporated as a village to refuse to permit the President to take over their power plant, and I do not think, in view of conditions throughout the country, that we ought to limit the authority of the Commander in Chief to take over any of the instrumentalities which he deems essential to the winning of the war.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I want to say to the gentleman that I heartily approve just what he has said in every respect, but on account of the possibilities of fear that might arise as to municipal plants, that are serving cities and communities, being taken over and being cut out of service or having its service reduced, it has been thought best to require the consent of the municipalities before doing anything of the sort for the purpose of preventing disturbances and things of that sort.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the chairman of the committee how much of this $175,000,000, which is to be available, is intended to be used for the acquisition of private power plants?

Mr. SIMS. The $138,000,000, I believe it was, as pointed out by Lieut. Stanley, is what will be required for the increase of the power where it is now short.

Now, I do not know that there will be a single construction from the bottom up. I do not know that there will be a single new plant required. I know that the object and purpose of the bill is—and I take it that this is the purpose of those who are promoting it, which is to help existing power plants by assistance from the Government to render extra needed service during the war period.

But it was thought not wise to pass a law that would not authorize the President to acquire a power plant or even to build a new one. But the whole purpose of it, as shown by the Secretary of War, by Mr. Baruch, by Mr. Dillon, by Mr. Myers, and Mr. Cook, who was representing the Shipping Board, was to aid in increasing the output of power plants that might not otherwise need the increase, and could not do it if not aided, who, if they did it, would stand to suffer a great loss after the war was over, because the amount of the increase necessary for war purposes probably would not be needed after the war was over. Now, as far as I know, no one has any idea of constructing a plant anywhere from the ground up by the Government unless it is to develop power at navigation dams which have already been constructed by the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SIMS. I ask for two minutes more.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman has been using my time.

Mr. SIMS. I ask that the gentleman may have the extension, so that I may answer his question.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Massachusetts be extended two minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIMS. There are a number of navigation dams, some in Ohio, some in Minnesota, some in Arkansas, where the Government has already built the dams, and water power of considerable horsepower can be immediately developed by putting in generating machinery and transmission lines that will serve industries engaged in the manufacture of war material. Now, that is contemplated if needed and if thought advisable. That would be original construction, not so far as putting in the dams is concerned, but so far as putting in the generating plants and the transmission lines, where a private company, in all probability could not do it, or else to aid some private company in installing this generating machinery where a dam has already been constructed at Government expense. Now, that is all I have heard in private or in any other way, and if any gentleman who has been sponsoring this bill is trying to foist upon the Government of the United States a policy of permanent Government ownership and operation, no one has communicated that fact to me, either in private or in public.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman knows that this provision is for the acquisition of private power plants. There is nothing in here as to how the Government shall divest itself of the ownership of these power plants after it has acquired them.

Mr. SIMS. There is in another portion of the bill. There are provisions for selling or otherwise disposing of them. It applies to all of them.

Mr. WALSH. That applies to leases and agreements.

Mr. SIMS. Yes; and to the title also.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. WALSH. I move to strike out the proviso in the substitute offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Tennessee desire to withdraw his amendment?

Mr. SIMS. No; the amendment is offered to the substitute. The amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts is to the substitute offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee accepts the substitute?

Mr. SIMS. I said I had no objection whatever, and that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin might be treated as a committee amendment, so far as I am concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the gentleman from Tennessee withdraws his amendment. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. MADDEN. I beg the pardon of the Chair. There is a motion to strike out the proviso.

Mr. SIMS. The proviso to the substitute.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts offers an amendment to the amendment of the gentleman from Wisconsin. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WALSH to the amendment offered by Mr. ESCH: Strike out the proviso, as follows: *"Provided,* That no plant owned or operated by a body politic shall be acquired without the consent of such body politic."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. WALSH. To the amendment of the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The question being taken, on a division (demanded by Mr. HAMLIN) there were—ayes 6, noes 10.

Accordingly, the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question recurs on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. WALSH) there were—ayes 9, noes 3.

Accordingly, the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Chairman, I wish to get a little information, if I can, from the chairman of the committee. The chairman, Mr. SIMS, has given the House a great many interesting and illuminating speeches on this bill, which I have listened to with great interest; and I enjoyed some of them so much that I thought I should like to read them in the RECORD. I looked through the RECORD this morning for a speech which the gentleman made the other day, which I enjoyed very much, in which he urged on the Members more faithful attendance, and with his usual accuracy and more than his usual candor, stated that during the debate on this bill the Members on the Republican side had generally been more numerous than the Members on the Democratic side, and he made some other complimentary remarks about us, which, coming from that side, were very unusual, and of which I appreciate the fairness and the courtesy. I remember that some gentleman arose and interrupted him. I think it was the gentleman from South Carolina who asked him if he was making a Republican speech or a Democratic speech, and he said, "I am making a patriotic speech," which, of course, we on this side knew to be a synonym for a Republican speech, and were correspondingly grateful to him. But when I looked to read that historic statement in print, to my astonishment I could not find it anywhere in the RECORD. I should like to ask the gentleman what has become of it, for I hope he has not repented of his patriotism and suppressed it permanently from the RECORD.

Mr. SIMS. I am very glad to answer the gentleman from Massachusetts. That speech has not been published in the RECORD, and I will tell the gentleman the reason why. At the time I made that speech I only asked for two minutes, and my purpose was only to make an appeal to Members on both sides of the House to attend its sessions. When I was given five minutes instead of two, and I began to state my reasons for making the appeal, some confusion arose and questions were asked me by gentlemen who, I suppose, did not know from what I was saying whether I was making a Democratic speech or not. I answered the question candidly. I wanted to finish that speech, and it would take about five minutes more to do it. The withholding of the speech was intentional. I intended to ask that I might have five minutes more in which to finish it, and then publish both parts of it at the same time. When I used the five minutes I thought I had better wait until further along in the debate before I asked for the unanimous consent.

Mr. GILLETT. I withdraw any criticism which I seem, perhaps inferentially, to have made.

Mr. WALSH. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee have five minutes in which to conclude that speech at this time.

Mr. SIMS. I object. There are too few Members here. I made the other speech to a pretty full House.

Mr. WALSH. We can get them in.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of no quorum.

Mr. SIMS. Oh, let us go on with the bill.

Mr. MADDEN. But the gentleman wants an audience.

Mr. SIMS. I do not want to finish that speech now.

Mr. MADDEN. Well, I will withdraw the point and give notice that I will make it at half past 4.

The Clerk read as follows:

(5) To construct any pipe or other transmission lines, or other structures, facilities, or appliances that he may deem necessary or useful for the purpose of better utilizing or of increasing the facilities of any power plant, or of combining the facilities or power of two or more such plants, or of better utilizing the gas, power, or products generated by them.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I would like the chairman to explain the extent to which subsection 5 goes which gives the Government the right—

To construct any pipe or other transmission lines, or other structures, facilities, or appliances that he may deem necessary or useful for the purpose of better utilizing or of increasing the facilities of any power plant, or of combining the facilities or power of two or more such plants, or of better utilizing the gas, power, or products generated by them.

The purpose of my question is to ascertain whether or not it would extend the power of the President to the construction of pipe lines from the gas fields to points in Indiana, Illinois, New York, or Pennsylvania, if it was thought proper by the President to extend pipe lines for that distance.

Mr. SIMS. I do not think anything of that kind was contemplated. I never heard it discussed. The extension of the pipe lines was for use in the production of the by-products from coal, because the by-products are necessary in the manufacture of steel and are necessary for shipbuilding and other war material. There has never been a word said that it was to cover the ordinary pipe lines in use in natural-gas fields. It was intended for central power plants in regard to coal mines, where one large power plant furnishes the power to a number of coal mines. There may be quite a lot of gas accumulated which might be piped to where it was needed for use, as I have tried to explain. But as far as piping gas from the natural-gas fields, I do not think anything of that kind was contemplated, as I never heard it mentioned.

Mr. MADDEN. I was wondering whether it went that far, but if it applies only to the construction of a line from a central power plant to coal mines, and these manufacturing plants operated from a central power plant, that would be a very proper power to give to the President. But in view of the fact that we already have pipe lines carrying gas and oil and commodities of that kind all over the United States, and that the pipe lines are owned by people who can afford to extend them at their own expense, I would not like to see the Government enter upon a policy of advancing money to those corporations—the Standard Oil Co., for instance—to enable them to increase their output.

Mr. SIMS. There is no thought of that.

Mr. MADDEN. I apprehend that they could come to the assistance of the Government better than the Government to them. I am glad the gentleman has been able to explain it satisfactorily.

The Clerk reads as follows:

(6) To maintain, operate, and extend any plant, pipe, or other transmission line, or other structure, facility, or appliance which he shall have constructed or acquired pursuant to the provisions of this act, and to deliver the power generated, and the products produced in any such plant to such persons and in such proportions and at such times and at such rates as he may deem proper.

Mr. SIMS. I offer a committee amendment, on line 9.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 7, line 9, insert after the word "persons" the words "or body politic."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment.

Mr. WALSH. I would like to ask the chairman a question. Upon what theory is this amendment offered at this particular point? Is it going to facilitate the manufacture of munitions or the construction of ships to extend the pipe line for illumination purposes to some municipality which is not even engaged in building ships or making munitions?

Mr. SIMS. I do not suppose it was intended to aid a municipality that had no connection with war production. But where a municipality is engaged in the production of war material and

it is necessary to increase the power, then the Government would aid in furnishing the power to do so if necessary.

Mr. WALSH. This would give him the power to maintain or to operate a plant or pipe line or transmission line owned by a private corporation, by a lighting or power corporation, for the purpose of furnishing power to a municipality.

Mr. SIMS. Delivering power to it.

Mr. WALSH. How is that compatible with the theory of the previous provisions of this bill?

Mr. SIMS. Let me give the gentleman a concrete case: Los Angeles has a municipally owned plant. There is a shipbuilding plant at its port a little distance off, and the shipbuilding plant is furnished with power by this municipality. Now, it might not be convenient, right, or just to force that municipality to increase its power plant in order to deliver all the power that might be needed by this shipbuilding plant, and this bill will permit the Government to increase its power by building pipe lines or construction work or adding to or aiding the municipality in doing what was essential in order to do the war work. The same situation exists at Portland, Oreg., but I understand they are able to do it without Government aid.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman knows that if they needed more power at the Los Angeles shipyard the Government would not go to the trouble of building an extension and furnishing the power to the municipal power plant.

Mr. SIMS. It might do it.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman thinks it might do it?

Mr. SIMS. It might be absolutely necessary; otherwise the municipal power plant would have to reduce its supply to the shipyard.

Mr. WALSH. Of course, the subsection has nothing to do with the building of power plants.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman take five minutes so that I can ask him a question?

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I ask to be recognized.

Mr. WALSH. Is it not true that this section only refers to the extensions of plants, pipes, or transmission lines with reference to delivering power that has already been generated?

Mr. SIMS. Well, it refers to maintaining, operating, or extending any plant, pipe or other transmission line, or other structure, facility, or appliance which the President shall have constructed or acquired pursuant to the provisions of this act and, to deliver the power generated, and the products produced in any such plant to such persons or body politic and in such proportion and at such times and at such rates as he may see proper. That seems to be very clear that it is to deliver power the Government has generated and developed or aided in creating.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment.

The question was taken and the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

(7) To require the operator of any private power plant within the boundaries of the United States to place at the disposal of the United States or to acquire from such operator, during the war period, the whole or any part of the power generated by such plant; and during such period to transmit or distribute, or to require such operator to transmit or distribute, such power to any other power plant or to any other persons for such periods, in such manner and quantities, and upon such terms as he may direct.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. We already provide, Mr. Chairman, that the owner or operator of any private power plant within the boundaries of the United States must place at the disposal of the United States during the war period the whole or any part of the power generated by such plant, and during such period the President is empowered to require such operator to transmit or distribute such power to any other power plant or to any other persons for such periods in such manner and quantities and upon such terms as he may direct. Now, we require first the owner of the private power plant to turn over all of his plant to the President of the United States and then we require him after he has turned it all over to furnish the power to the United States or to anybody in the United States in such quantities and upon such terms and at such times as the President may direct. It seems to me rather conflicting that a man when he is giving up all that he has shall, after he has done that, be required to make distribution of what he has not by the order of somebody else to whom he has turned it over.

Mr. HAMLIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. I will.

Mr. HAMLIN. Does not the gentleman think he is drawing on his imagination just a little bit? The first part of this refers to the operator of a private power plant within the boundaries of the United States to place it at the disposal of the United States, or, failing to do that, give the Government the right to acquire, if it desires to do so, all he has or part of it. He has the choice to do either.

Mr. MADDEN. If I am drawing on my imagination, of course, I am just following out the logic of the men who wrote the bill, because they seem to have drawn upon their imaginations for their facts and upon their memory for their wit and it would not do to be inconsistent in the consideration of a bill like this, so I am trying to be as consistent as I can under all the circumstances.

Mr. HAMLIN. Well, I think this section is about as clear as any other section of the bill.

Mr. MADDEN. If that is the best the gentleman from Missouri can say, it is not very clear. However, I have not any desire to obstruct the consideration of the bill whether it is clear or muddy. I do not want to disturb the unrestricted current of the stream.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment will be withdrawn.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

(8) To lease for the war period or for such period thereafter not exceeding five years or for any shorter period and upon such terms as he may deem reasonable, to any person or body politic for use or operation by such person or body politic, any plant, transmission line, or other property or part thereof, constructed or acquired pursuant to the provisions of this act.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the words "five years" in line 21, page 7, and insert "one year."

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 7, line 21, strike out "five years" and insert in lieu thereof "one year."

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I only desire, Mr. Chairman, to call the attention of the committee to the fact that if the President puts a single machine inside of a big factory plant he can lease that machine to somebody else not the owner of the power plant for five years after the war period and let them operate it against the desire of the owner instead of having control of it only for the war period. I think that that is not a reasonable time and it is entirely too long. I think that one year is sufficient.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is upon the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey.

The question was taken, and the Chair announced the noes seemed to have it.

On a division (demanded by Mr. PARKER of New Jersey) there were—ayes 9, noes 7.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out subsection 8.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 7, beginning in line 20, strike out all down to and including line 2, page 8.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, this provision here gives the President the authority to put into private plants machinery and appliances or to erect structures and additions and extensions to private plants and then to come along and lease them to somebody else besides the operator of the private plant. Now, that is not authority that we ought to give the President in connection with the development of this power. If he is going to improve these private plants by putting machinery in there he ought to do it under agreement or a contract with the operator of the private plant and provide that the owner or operator should operate this machinery and conduct the business of the private plant for the benefit of the Government in connection with its war program. We ought not to make it possible for the person who will be charged with the administration of this measure to have part of a private plant under Federal operation and control and the other part under private control, and I am opposed to this provision, because it seems to me entirely out of harmony with the rest of this bill, and it does not in any way come up to the representations as to what the measure provides as set forth by the chairman of the committee when he explained the measure here the other day and as he has explained it from time to time. Now, it says he can lease for the war period, or for any shorter period, upon such terms as he shall deem reasonable to any person or body politic for use or operation by such person or body politic, any plant, transmission line, or other property or part thereof. Before he can lease the plant to somebody else he has got to acquire it. That would mean that the Government would acquire the ownership of these private plants and that then it would lease them to somebody else or it would put machinery into the private plant or build an addition to it, retaining the title in the United States, and

lease that to somebody else outside of the owner or operator of the plant.

It seems to me it would just confuse the situation and it would not result in the harmonious operation of this law. And I do not recall having come across in the hearings any particular reason why this power should be granted, nor do I recall that the chairman of the committee or any member of it has given a sufficient explanation. It seems to me that before the President can exercise this power, so far as a plant is concerned, the Government would have to acquire the ownership of it. Now, before he could exercise it, so far as machinery or structures are concerned, he would have to put them into a private plant under some understanding or arrangement with the owner or operator, and there is nothing to be gained, and certainly I can not see any situation which would arise where the Government would derive benefit by having a part of a private plant go under and operate under the owner's direction and supervision and another part operated and conducted by somebody else to whom the property or machinery had been leased.

Mr. HAMLIN. If the gentleman will read the last three or four lines, which he did not read, of that subdivision——

Mr. WALSH. I read it all.

Mr. HAMLIN. He will see it says "plants constructed or acquired," not extensions made to private plants.

Mr. ANDERSON. If they are constructing it, why not operate it?

Mr. HAMLIN. I was calling attention to the fact that it does not apply to plants where the Government is putting them in by way of extension.

Mr. WALSH. It says:

Any plant, transmission line, or other property or part thereof, constructed or acquired.

Part of a plant would be machinery put in there which the Government would certainly acquire before they put it in there.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, this is such an important provision of the bill that we ought to have a quorum here to consider it or adjourn overnight.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] makes the point of no quorum. The Chair will count. [After counting.] A quorum is not present. The Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. MADDEN. Most everybody thinks they can go to their office all day, but there are those here who have as much business as they have, that do not have the time to go to their offices.

Mr. SIMS. I think the gentlemen ought to stay here, but they do not do it, and to call them here wastes half an hour.

Mr. WALSH. Is the gentleman going to rise?

Mr. SIMS. Not on the point of no quorum. Let us work half an hour, and then we will rise. We could not adjourn here at 4.30. The sun is two hours and a half high. Our boys in France are not adjourning at half past 4 and going home.

Mr. MADDEN. The gentleman must realize that, although we are not adjourning, we have lots of work to do, and there are lots of men now over at the Office Building attending to their office work.

Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] moves that the committee do now rise.

Mr. SIMS. If the gentleman from Illinois, who is not even a member of the committee, wants to take charge of the bill, all right.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the gentleman's motion comes too late.

Mr. MADDEN. I beg the gentleman's pardon.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The Clerk had commenced to call the names.

Mr. MADDEN. The Clerk had not called the first name since the point was made.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk was instructed to call the roll and had called the first name.

Mr. MADDEN. I ask the Clerk to say whether or not he had called the first name.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk says he has called the first name. The Clerk will proceed.

The roll was called, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Anthony	Brand	Caldwell	Chandler, Okla.
Aswell	Britten	Campbell, Pa.	Church
Bacharach	Brodbeck	Candler, Miss.	Clark, Fla.
Baer	Browne	Cannon	Clark, Pa.
Barkley	Browning	Cantrill	Classon
Bell	Buchanan	Caraway	Connally, Tex.
Beshlin	Burroughs	Carew	Cooper, Ohio
Blackmon	Butler	Carlin	Cooper, W. Va.
Borland	Byrnes, S. C.	Carter, Mass.	Cooper, Wis.
Bowers	Byrns, Tenn.	Cary	Copley
Costello	Greene, Mass.	Mann	Sherwood
Crago	Gregg	Martin	Shouse
Cramton	Griest	Mason	Siegel
Crisp	Griffin	Mays	Slayden
Crosser	Hamill	Meeker	Slemp
Currie, Mich.	Harrison, Miss.	Merritt	Smith, Mich.
Curry, Cal.	Haskell	Miller, Minn.	Smith, C. B.
Dale, N. Y.	Haugen	Mondell	Smith, T. F.
Darrow	Hayes	Montague	Snell
Davis	Heaton	Moore, Pa.	Snyder
Delaney	Heintz	Morin	Stafford
Dempsey	Helvering	Mott	Steele
Dent	Hensley	Mudd	Steenerson
Dewalt	Hicks	Neely	Stephens, Miss.
Dickinson	Hollingsworth	Nelson	Stephens, Nebr.
Dies	Hood	Nolan	Sterling, Ill.
Dill	Howard	Norton	Sterling, Pa.
Dixon	Humphreys	Oldfield	Stiness
Donovan	Husted	Oliver, N. Y.	Sullivan
Dooling	Hutchinson	Olney	Sweet
Doremus	Jacoway	O'Shaunessy	Swift
Drane	Johnson, S. Dak.	Paige	Switzer
Drukker	Johnson, Wash.	Parker, N. Y.	Tague
Dyer	Jones	Peters	Talbott
Edmonds	Kahn	Phelan	Taylor, Ark.
Ellsworth	Kearns	Platt	Templeton
Elston	Kelley, Mich.	Porter	Thomas
Emerson	Kelly, Pa.	Powers	Thompson
Estopinal	Kennedy, R. I.	Pratt	Tillman
Fairchild, B. L.	Kettner	Price	Tilson
Fairchild, G. W.	Key, Ohio	Purnell	Tinkham
Farr	Kiess, Pa.	Ragsdale	Treadway
Ferris	King	Rainey, H. T.	Van Dyke
Fess	Kitchin	Rainey, J. W.	Vare
Fisher	Kreider	Ramseyer	Venable
Flood	La Follette	Randall	Vinson
Flynn	LaGuardia	Rankin	Volgt
Fordney	Larsen	Riordan	Walker
Foss	Lea, Cal.	Robbins	Walton
Francis	Lee, Ga.	Roberts	Ward
Freeman	Lesher	Robinson	Watson, Pa.
Fuller, Ill.	Lever	Rose	Weaver
Fuller, Mass.	Linthicum	Rowe	Welling
Gallivan	Little	Rowland	Whaley
Gard	London	Russell	Wheeler
Garner	Lufkin	Sanders, La.	White, Me.
Glass	Lundeen	Sanford	White, Ohio
Glynn	McArthur	Saunders, Va.	Williams
Godwin, N. C.	McClintic	Scott, Iowa	Wilson, Ill.
Goodall	McCormick	Scott, Pa.	Wilson, Tex.
Goodwin, Ark.	McKenzie	Scully	Winslow
Gould	McKinley	Sears	Wise
Graham, Ill.	McLaughlin, Pa.	Sells	Woodyard
Graham, Pa.	McLemore	Shackleford	Wright
Gray, N. J.	Maher	Sherley	Zihlman

Thereupon the committee rose; and Mr. FOSTER as Speaker pro tempore having resumed the Chair, Mr. HOUSTON, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee, having under consideration the bill (H. R. 12776) to provide further for the national security and defense and for the more effective prosecution of the war by furnishing means for the better utilization of the existing sources of electrical and mechanical power and for the development of new sources of such power, and for other purposes, and finding itself without a quorum, he had directed the roll to be called, whereupon 170 Members, a quorum, had answered to their names, and he reported a list of the absentees for printing in the RECORD, under the rule.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The committee will resume its session.

The committee resumed its sitting.

The CHAIRMAN. When the committee rose a motion was pending, offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts, to strike out the subsection.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I wanted to ask the gentleman from Massachusetts a question. I was recognized before the committee rose.

Mr. SIMS. I understood the time of the gentleman from Massachusetts had expired. If it had not, of course the gentleman was entitled to continue.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I wanted to ask the gentleman from Massachusetts if he really wishes to strike out the eighth section because it gives to the President the power to lease acquired property during the war. I believe the President ought to have all necessary powers, and I think the gentleman also thinks so.

Mr. WALSH. I do not think the interpretation of this section is susceptible of that construction.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. It says in the last three lines that he is to lease property that was constructed or acquired.

Mr. WALSH. The point I make is that the President under this section could lease a part of the property which he had acquired to somebody else other than the owner of the plant.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Exactly. He ought to have that power.

Mr. WALSH. I do not think that is going to tend to harmonize the administration of the powers of this act.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. But during the war he ought to have full power. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. WALSH. Then if that is the gentleman's view, the gentleman ought to endeavor to pass a bill to that effect.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. WALSH. I was assured by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] that he would answer one or two queries that I wanted to propound to him.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman's time had expired.

Mr. WALSH. I did not hear the Chair state that.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair thought the gentleman had concluded, because he turned around. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

(10) In furtherance of any of the foregoing purposes to acquire any property or property rights, including any public or private rights, or any interest in any such rights; or any material, machinery, appliances, or processes, patented or otherwise, which he may deem necessary or useful for the construction, development, expansion, or operation of any such plant or transmission lines.

With a committee amendment, as follows:

Page 8, line 13, after the word "purposes," insert the words "of this act."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 8, line 14, after the word "property," where it first occurs, strike out the words "or property rights, including any public or private rights, or any interest in any such rights; or any material, machinery, appliances, or processes, patented or otherwise."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

(11) If in his judgment such action shall be necessary or useful for the purpose of this act to form one or more corporations under the laws of any State, Territory, District, or possession of the United States for the purchase, construction, extension, lease, maintenance, or operation of any such power plants or facilities, or for the merger or consolidation of any private power plants, or for the purchase of the whole or any part of the capital stock thereof or of the property thereof: *Provided*, That not less than the majority of the capital stock of any corporation thus formed shall be subscribed, and during the war period shall be retained by the United States, and that at no time shall it be a minority stockholder therein.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Minnesota offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ANDERSON: Strike out paragraph 11.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I have been a Member of this House now pretty nearly eight years. During that time some of the most difficult and politically dangerous propositions have arisen in the history of the country. The period includes some of the greatest crises in the entire history of the country. But I think that during that period no proposition has ever been offered which is so dangerous and which so affronts every proper ideal of public morality or so subverts every principle upon which the institutions of free government are founded as this one.

It provides that the President may authorize a corporation to be formed for the merger or consolidation of private power plants or for the purchase of the whole or any part of the capital stock thereof or of the property thereof. That authorizes the creation by the Government of a holding corporation. It is not so long since every orator in the country was inveighing against a holding corporation as a device of high finance and alleging that under its shadow every species of financial chicanery was indulged in. This provision authorizes the holding corporation to gamble and speculate in stocks of other corporations. It does not require that the Government shall own all of the stock in the corporation, but, on the contrary, it provides that 49 per cent of the stock may be held by private individuals.

In other words, the purpose of this provision is to permit the Government to go into partnership for purposes of stock ownership with anybody in the country who desires to buy stock in a Government enterprise or who is sufficiently interested in the power proposition to want to be on the inside. The Government, of course, can not say who the owners of the other 49 per cent of the stock may be. If it can, then this bill simply gives to the persons authorized to administer this provision the power to grant to some men the privilege of purchasing stock in the corporation and to deny it to others.

If it can not say who the other stockholders shall be, then anybody who is sufficiently interested in the development and control of the power situation in the country can be a joint stockholder in the corporation with the Government.

It is bad enough to have men who have official responsibility to the Government issuing orders that make some men rich and other men poor, without providing that some person who has no responsibility to the Government at all accept the responsibility of an officer or a director in a private corporation and shall issue the same kind of orders.

Suppose, for instance, the Government organizes this holding corporation and subscribes 51 per cent of the stock and private individuals subscribe the other 49 per cent. Suppose that those who administer this law, under the power which this bill gives them, increase the rates for power, and thus make a lot of money for the Government and a lot of money for the private stockholders. Do gentlemen see what a scandal there would be in connection with such a transaction? Do gentlemen not see how this provision offends against every principle of free government? What will be the attitude of these private stockholders in this corporation if the corporation loses money instead of making it? Does anybody think that they will accept their losses without recourse to the Government? Will they not insist that those who administer this law see to it conditions are created which will insure a profit? Oh, it seems to me that if democracy means anything it means that governments are instituted to make men free, not to make men rich. This provision that the power of the Government may be exercised for the purpose of making a profit or, for that matter, for making a loss for private individuals so affronts every notion of proper public ethics that it seems to me obvious that it ought not to be permitted in the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Minnesota.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. ANDERSON) there were—ayes 39, noes 24.

Accordingly the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

(12) To sell or exchange any plants or structures constructed by him and any property to which he shall have taken title, and any rights acquired by him, whenever in his opinion the interests of the United States will be furthered by such sale or exchange: *Provided*, That no public right acquired by him shall be alienated for any term in excess of five years after the war period upon any terms or conditions other than those prescribed by the sovereignty from which such public rights shall have been acquired: *Provided further*, That whenever in the opinion of the President any structure or appliance which he shall have installed in any private power plant or any structure or appliance in any such plant to which he shall have taken title, or any property or right which he shall have acquired from the owner of such plant, shall constitute an integral portion of such private plant, or shall be of such character that it would be uneconomical to separate it therefrom, the owner of such private power plant shall be accorded an option to purchase the same at the then reasonable value thereof, to be ascertained either by agreement or by arbitration wherein the President shall select one arbitrator, the operator a second, and the two thus selected a third, before the same shall be otherwise offered for sale or exchange.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 9, line 12, after the word "sale," insert the words "or exchange."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, on page 10, line 1, to strike out the last three words of the line and the first three words of the second line, the words stricken out reading—

At the then reasonable value thereof—

And insert in line 1, after the word "at," the words "an amount," and before the word "agreement" insert the word "the," and before the word "arbitration," in the third line, insert the word "an."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 10, lines 1 and 2, strike out the words "the then reasonable value thereof" and substitute therefor the words "an amount."

Page 10, line 2, after the word "by," insert the word "the." Line 3, after the word "by," insert the word "an."

Mr. WALSH. Let us hear it as it will read when amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

So that it will read: "The owner of such private power plant shall be accorded an option to purchase the same at an amount to be ascertained either by the agreement or by an arbitration, wherein the President shall select one arbitrator—

And so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Tennessee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out, in line 14, page 9, the words "five years" and insert in lieu thereof the words "one year."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. PARKER of New Jersey: Page 9, line 14, before the word "after," strike out the words "five years" and insert in lieu thereof the words "one year."

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I desire to state simply that this is a proviso that no public right acquired by the President shall be alienated for any term in excess of five years after the war period upon any terms or conditions other than those prescribed by the sovereignty by which such public right shall have been acquired. Now, it is quite possible that the President may take a municipal power plant or he may take one having State rights and franchises; but any such plant is taken only for the war, and I respectfully submit that he should not sell it to anybody else to be used free from the rights of the State or the municipality for a term of five years after the war. One year is enough. Really it ought to be simply for the war period. Therefore I offer this amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey.

The question being taken, on a division (demanded by Mr. PARKER of New Jersey) there were—ayes 29, noes 32.

Accordingly the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

(13) To appoint and fix the compensation of such attorneys, engineers, draftsmen, clerks, and other employees as he may deem necessary for the execution of the powers herein conferred.

Mr. ESCH. I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ESCH: Page 10, line 7, strike out paragraph 13 and insert in lieu thereof the following:
"(13) To employ in the District of Columbia and elsewhere and fix the compensation of such attorneys, engineers, draftsmen, accountants, clerks, and other employees as he may deem necessary for the execution of the powers herein conferred: *Provided*, That such draftsmen, accountants, clerks, and other employees shall be appointed from lists of eligibles to be supplied by the Civil Service Commission and in accordance with the Civil Service laws."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

(14) To amend or modify any contract made by him pursuant to the provisions of this act so as to include therein any terms or conditions which it would have been lawful to include in such contract at the time of the making thereof.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Does this mean that the President could modify a contract by putting in a provision which would have been lawful at the time he made the contract, whether the other party wanted the contract modified or not?

Mr. SIMS. I never consulted anyone about it, but my construction is that we give him the power to do so, provided he had the power to make such a contract originally.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman means to modify by a mutual agreement?

Mr. SIMS. That is, provided the President had the power to make the modification originally.

Mr. WALSH. Does the gentleman object to inserting the words "by mutual agreement"?

Mr. SIMS. That was the impression I had; and while he would have the power to cancel the contract, the Government would have to pay compensation in the way of damages, if any resulted.

Mr. WALSH. I will not offer an amendment, in view of the statement of the gentleman.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the section.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. MADDEN: Page 10, strike out paragraph 14.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that when the Government enters into a contract with an individual or a corporation it is bound by the terms of the contract. It ought not to have the right to modify a contract whenever it pleased any more than either one of the contracting parties, individuals, or corporations in a contract between themselves.

Mr. SIMS. It is by consent of the contracting party.

Mr. MADDEN. It does not say so.

Mr. SIMS. That is what it means.

Mr. MADDEN. It says:

To amend or modify any contract made by him pursuant to the provisions of this act so as to include therein any terms or conditions which it would have been lawful to include in such contract at the time of the making thereof.

Mr. SIMS. The first contract is a voluntary act, and the amendment is by mutual consent.

Mr. MADDEN. All contracts are voluntary acts. Does the gentleman presume to say that if he entered into a contract with me to do something that I have the power to modify the contract whenever I please?

Mr. SIMS. You can not do it—the Government can not do it—without paying due compensation.

Mr. MADDEN. This does not make any such provision.

Mr. SIMS. It does not have to do it. That is the general law of the whole country, and you can not vary a contract unless you pay damage.

Mr. MADDEN. I do not think the Government should have the right to modify a contract any more than an individual.

Mr. SIMS. In time of war we give the Government a great many privileges that we do not give individuals.

Mr. MADDEN. Does the gentleman presume to say that an individual that enters into a contract with the Government has any right to modify it?

Mr. BLACK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. BLACK. Would not the condition be met by changing the section so as to read: "To amend or modify by agreement any contract made by him"?

Mr. MADDEN. That would be all right, but neither contracting party should have the right to modify a contract without the consent of the other.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I was going to suggest that the Government contracts under the general law are made subject to change at the Government's will; the Court of Claims has considered many such cases, and invariably held that the contractor is entitled to increased compensation and any damages he sustained. The gentleman's view of the paragraph is correct; it gives the Government the right to change it without the consent of the contractor.

Mr. SIMS. But the Government has to pay damages. It ought not to be left in a loose way, as the gentleman from Illinois proposes. The Government should have the right to change it, if it was lawful to include it in such contracts; that is, to make a new one covered by the law and paying such damages as may be incurred.

Mr. MADDEN. Why not write that into the law?

Mr. SIMS. You do not have to write it into the law.

Mr. MADDEN. If the other party suffers damages——

Mr. SIMS. The Constitution gives him the right to compensation.

Mr. MADDEN. But he has to go into the Court of Claims to get it.

Mr. SIMS. Yes; if they do not pay him.

Mr. MADDEN. Sometimes they don't get them there.

Mr. SIMS. Oh, millions of dollars.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield. As I construe the language in the latter part of the paragraph it says "to include therein any terms or conditions it would have been lawful to include in such contract at the time of making thereof." That is a limitation. In other words, even by agreement between the governmental authorities and the private owner there can not be put into it a proposition beyond the scope of this bill.

Mr. MADDEN. I realize that. The point I want to impress on the committee is that there ought not to be any contract modified without the consent of both parties to the contract.

Mr. SIMS. That is all right between private parties, but not between the Government and contractors in a time of war.

Mr. MADDEN. There is no reason why the Government of the United States should be permitted to confiscate the private property of a citizen by changing a contract.

Mr. SIMS. The Government could not do it.

Mr. MADDEN. Why force a man to go into the courts to enforce his constitutional rights?

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I quite agree with the statement made by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] that subsection 14 would not give the President the right to put into this contract any matter which he was not authorized to contract about in this bill, but if his contract should be made with an individual not covering all the matters about which he could contract in the bill and then the President sought to en-

large the terms of the contract, do not you in so many words say to the President that he would have the right to enlarge the terms of the contract so as to cover all purposes and provisions of this bill without consulting, if you please, the other party to the contract? Now, the only limitation here is that the President, turning back to section 2, the President is hereby authorized and empowered to do what? To amend or modify any contract made by him pursuant to the provisions of this act so as to include therein any terms or conditions which it would have been lawful to include in such contract at the time of the making thereof. Now, the only limitation upon the President in this language is the limitation upon the authority granted him by this act and if the original contract was not as broad as the act, whether the taking over of the property at the time included in the contract a matter which might have been included or not; whether the other party agrees to it or not the President could compel him under this language to agree to it.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. I do.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I think I follow the reasoning of the gentleman from Mississippi. Ordinarily I would be in sympathy with the argument he is making, but if I understand correctly the theory of this bill the only reason that it is brought in here is purely and simply as a war proposition. Now, if that be the correct theory upon which we are proceeding if it were peace times there are not many men in this House who would vote for the bill. Now, suppose they fail to reach an agreement. Suppose the other party does not agree but refuses to agree, then upon the theory of this bill is the Government to be held up in its war operations, if it be a war bill, and that is the theory upon which I support it——

Mr. SISSON. Absolutely not.

Mr. MADDEN. If the other party does not agree——

Mr. SISSON. There would be no contract except as he may seek——

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. He would have the right to go into an agreement, but if you put into this bill a requirement that the second party must agree to the proposal of the Government to amend this contract, make that the condition precedent before such an amendment can be made, are not you defeating the very theory upon which we are supporting this very remarkable bill?

Mr. SISSON. Now, Mr. Chairman, I yielded to the gentleman in order that I might get his view, and I hope if I have to have a little additional time I may get it. Now, I agree absolutely that the power ought to be exerted under this bill, owing to the fact it is for the purpose of taking powers the Government needs irrespective of whether the man owning the power is willing to let him have it or not.

That is, the Government would not be held up, that it shall not be mulcted, and that the Government shall not be called upon to pay too much and enter into too hard a bargain; all of that ought to be contained in this bill, but after the Government shall have entered into a contract I do not believe that the Government then should have any more power than the Government has under subsection 12, where, under subsection 12, when we originally take over the property in the event the parties can not agree under subsection 12, there is a complete remedy given to both parties. Now, the President selects one arbitrator, the operator the second, and so on. Now, after the contract is entered into and the property taken over and the man then surrenders control of his property, feeling at the time that the contract is going to be carried out, I do feel that he ought to have some greater protection other than that, not the President, because it is going to be the man whom the President appoints—the man whom the President appoints is going to be the man the President is going to follow. Now, in practical operation of the Government we know that is exactly what happens. The President, the Commander in Chief of the Army, has the right to pardon whom he pleases, and yet it does not matter how outrageously a man may have acted in the Army in reference to some young soldier, they are nearly always referred back to the original parties with reference to military discipline, and it comes up through all the channels, and the President might frequently do a great injustice to a soldier, and the excuse is war times. Now, just so here great injustice may be done to private individuals. Now, if the private individual enters into a contract there ought to be some protection to him before there should be arbitrary action by some man.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. I will.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Does the gentleman think it is sufficient protection to the contractor that he has the right of compensation for any damage he may have sustained by reason of the change?

Mr. SISSON. No, sir; I do not believe, although——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the gentleman may have five additional minutes.

Mr. SISSON. I may not use all of the five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee that the gentleman from Mississippi have five minutes? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Is not the gentleman familiar with the fact that every Government contract has in it a provision that the Government shall have the right to alter, amend, or change at any time?

Mr. SISSON. The gentleman understands these things come before the committee of which I am a member more frequently than other committees. If the gentleman will permit me one moment, that is not the contract we are talking about here. This is the law. Under the law we authorize all these contracts in reference to public buildings, and the law provides that the Government shall contract with the contractor just as other people contract, and the Government, in order to protect itself, puts into the contract itself this agreement with the man. Here you are giving the Government the right not to enter into a contract with the man, but that the Government may alter, change, or amend, and he enters into a contract with nothing said about it, and the President has the absolute power, or those under him, to change the contract at will, so far as it does not exceed the authority of this bill.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. I will.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I just wanted to ask the gentleman if this is not exactly the same as though such a term were incorporated in the contract? It simply protects the Government against the case where some negligent official would fail to put that term in the contract.

Mr. SISSON. I do not think it is equal in force and effect to merely putting it in the contract, because you say the Government shall have the right to change, annul, and abrogate the contract. For example, the most noted modification lately was a modification of the contract with reference to the cantonments of the country. They had the right to do it. Up to the time it was modified the Government made an arrangement through the Secretary of War that was satisfactory.

Mr. SIMS. Does not the gentleman see that this section provides that the President may amend or modify any contract made by him pursuant to the provisions of this act? Of course, when he makes a contract this provision will be a part of the contract.

Mr. SISSON. Oh, no.

Mr. SIMS. Oh, yes; it will.

Mr. SISSON. Not necessarily.

Mr. SIMS. He makes it pursuant to the provisions of this act so as to include therein the terms and conditions which would have been lawful to include under such contract at the time of the making thereof.

Mr. SISSON. I do not yield any further.

Mr. SIMS. Every contract will have this——

Mr. SISSON. Do not take it out of my time.

Now, I want to say to my friend that if I had a factory that was manufacturing certain articles mentioned in this bill as manufactured articles that you expect to manufacture when you take over the plant, and I agree with the Government they might take it over and manufacture those particular things I was manufacturing, it would be in accordance with this act. But within a few months afterwards they may endeavor to change the whole of my factory and put it into the manufacture of a line of industry that I know nothing about, and that I myself would not have permitted to be done if I could have avoided it in the original contract that I entered into freely and voluntarily; and then they take my factory over and operate it five years after the war is over, and my property may be literally destroyed.

You have simply given me a lawsuit, the right of complaint against the Government, at the end of five years, by going into the Court of Claims, and, by the way, to go into the Court of Claims Congress has got to authorize it. The mere fact that you leave him the right to sue is frequently as hurtful to him as taking the right away from him entirely.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Does the gentleman think it takes an act of Congress to go into the Court of Claims in order for a party to get relief from the Government? No doubt the gentleman remembers the Annapolis contract. There, without an act of Congress, they got an allowance of $80,000.

Mr. SIMS. How can anybody be hurt by it?

Mr. SISSON. By reason of the fact that you permit a little person appointed by the President at any time, in accordance with his wish or will, to change the terms of the contract in which my property may be involved.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of no quorum.

Mr. SIMS. Let the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH] go ahead, and then I will move to rise.

Mr. ESCH. As bearing on the motion of the gentleman from Illinois to strike out the subsection, I wish to read from the testimony. The witness was Mr. Gans, the draftsman of the bill:

Mr. ESCH. On line 7, page 10, subsection 14, there seems to be a rather unusual provision in legislation. It reads:

"To amend or modify any contract made by him pursuant to the provisions of this act so as to include therein any terms or conditions which it would have been lawful to include in such contract at the time of the making thereof."

Mr. GANS. I had some doubt about that provision when I drew it, but I was drawing the bill in consultation with a number of people, and there were some among them who had the idea that the power to make a contract, unless there was a power to amend or modify, might be too rigid, and that the President or the agent through whom he operated would be bound by the terms of the contract and could not agree to the ordinary amendments and modifications that the development of the situation might require, and therefore, in deference to that opinion, this provision was inserted. My own opinion is that it doesn't provide for anything that wouldn't be accomplished without it.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, it wouldn't materially injure the purpose of the bill if it were stricken out?

Mr. GANS. Not at all, sir, in my opinion.

Mr. SISSON. Let it go out, then.

Mr. SIMS. Strike it out.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the Chairman announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. A division, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. A division is demanded.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 33, noes 14.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I want to ask that section 3, which is a very short one, be read, and then I will move that the committee rise.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 3. That the President may exercise the power and authority hereby vested in him and expend the moneys herein and hereafter appropriated, through such officers, agents, or agencies as he shall create or designate from time to time, may require any such officers, agents, or agencies to perform the duties which he shall impose upon them, and fix the reasonable compensation for the performance of such services. But no official or employee of the United States shall receive any additional compensation for such services except as is now permitted by law.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and Mr. FOSTER as Speaker pro tempore having resumed the chair, Mr. HOUSTON, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12776) to provide further for the national security and defense and for the more effective prosecution of the war by furnishing means for the better utilization of the existing sources of electrical and mechanical power and for the development of new sources of such power, and for other purposes, and had come to no resolution thereon.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. DRANE, indefinitely, on account of sickness; and

To Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas, for two days, on account of sickness.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bills and joint resolution of the following titles, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 12714. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919;

H. R. 11259. An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of those ores, metals, and minerals which have formerly been largely imported, or of which there is or may be an inadequate supply; and

H. J. Res. 333. Joint resolution to aid in combating "Spanish influenza" and other communicable diseases.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that this day they had presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bills and joint resolution:

H. R. 12714. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919;

H. R. 11259. An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of those ores, metals, and minerals which have formerly been largely imported or of which there is or may be an inadequate supply; and

H. J. Res. 333. Joint resolution to aid in combating "Spanish influenza" and other communicable diseases.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. LUNN. Mr. Speaker, I want to ask unanimous consent to address the House to-morrow, after the reading of the Journal, for 30 minutes on war activities.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent to address the House to-morrow, after the reading of the Journal, for 30 minutes on war activities. Is there objection?

Mr. LUNN. I might add that that is the first request of this kind I have ever made.

Mr. GILLETT. Reserving the right to object, I think it ought to wait until after this bill is disposed of.

Mr. SIMS. I thoroughly agree with the gentleman from Massachusetts about that. I am not so much concerned about this speech, but I am anxious lest others should make similar requests. Of course, I would be delighted to have the gentleman from New York make his speech.

Mr. LUNN. Then I will amend that by asking that I may have that privilege immediately after the conclusion of action on this bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York modifies his request by providing that it shall apply after the conclusion of the pending bill.

Mr. LUNN. May I change the request and make it 15 minutes to-morrow? I have not made a request like that before to the House?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman make that request for to-morrow?

Mr. LUNN. Yes; for to-morrow.

Mr. SIMS. If the gentleman will put his request, I shall not object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York modifies his request and asks unanimous consent that he may be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes to-morrow, after the reading of the Journal. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, on account of this speech, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Mr. MADDEN. I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois objects.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, October 1, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Acting Secretary of War, transmitting copy of a bill designed to amend Paragraph I of section 302 of the soldiers and sailors' civil relief act (H. Doc. No. 1310); to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Attorney General, submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation required by the Department of Justice (H. Doc. No. 1311); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Acting Secretary of War, transmitting the draft of an item of legislation to authorize the requisitioning of lands, including buildings thereon, or the temporary use thereof, required for hospital purposes (H. Doc. No. 1312); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BOOHER: A bill (H. R. 13030) granting an increase of pension to John H. Steele; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CARTER of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 13031) granting an increase of pension to George A. Spofford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD: A bill (H. R. 13032) granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Weeks; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13033) granting a pension to Herman Lazarus; to the Committee on Pensions.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *October 1, 1918.*

(Legislative day of Monday, September 30, 1918.

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon.

RELIEF OF JOHN CHICK.

Mr. DREW. Mr. President, I should like to ask unanimous consent to call up a bill on the calendar, the bill (S. 3985) for the relief of John Chick.

Mr. THOMPSON. Will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Baird	Henderson	New	Smith, Mich.
Bankhead	Johnson, S. Dak.	Norris	Smith, S. C.
Beckham	Jones, N. Mex.	Nugent	Smoot
Brandegee	Jones, Wash.	Overman	Sterling
Calder	Kellogg	Page	Sutherland
Chamberlain	Kendrick	Penrose	Thomas
Colt	Kenyon	Phelan	Thompson
Culberson	Kirby	Pittman	Townsend
Cummins	Knox	Poindexter	Trammell
Curtis	Lenroot	Pomerene	Underwood
Dillingham	Lewis	Ransdell	Vardaman
Drew	Lodge	Reed	Wadsworth
Fernald	McCumber	Robinson	Walsh
France	McKellar	Saulsbury	Warren
Gerry	McLean	Shafroth	Watson
Goff	McNary	Sheppard	Wilfley
Gronna	Martin, Ky.	Shields	Williams
Gulon	Martin, Va.	Smith, Ariz.	Wolcott
Hale	Myers	Smith, Ga.	
Hardwick	Nelson	Smith, Md.	

Mr. MYERS. The Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST] is temporarily detained from the Chamber on official business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Seventy-eight Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present. The Senator from New Hampshire asks unanimous consent for the consideration of a bill, which will be read.

The Secretary read the bill (S. 3985) for the relief of John Chick, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of the pension laws and the laws conferring rights and privileges upon honorably discharged soldiers, John Chick, late of Company K, Third Regiment United States Artillery, shall be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a member of said company and regiment on the 2d day of August, 1865: *Provided*, That no pension shall accrue prior to the passage of this act, and no pay nor bounty shall become due or payable by virtue thereof.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (S. DOC. NO. 284).

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the address delivered by the President of the United States to the Senate yesterday on the question of suffrage be made a public document.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by G. F. Turner, one of its clerks, announced that the House insists upon its amendment to the bill (S. 1419) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of dams across navigable waters," approved June 21, 1906, as amended by the act approved June 23, 1910, and to provide for the improvement and development of waterways for the uses of interstate and foreign commerce, agrees to the conference asked for by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. SIMS, Mr. FERRIS, Mr. LEVER, Mr. ESCH, Mr. SINNOTT, and Mr. HAUGEN managers at the conference on the part of the House.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled joint resolution (H. J. Res. 334) making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of October, 1918, and for other purposes, and it was thereupon signed by the President pro tempore.

BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED.

A bill and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 4967) granting an increase of pension to Aaron H. Perry (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GORE:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 178) to make citizenship of the United States a prerequisite to a vote for Senators or Representatives in Congress of the United States or for electors for President and Vice President of the United States; to the Comtitee on Pensions.

THE REVENUE.

Mr. GORE submitted five amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 12863) to provide revenue, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

STIMULATION OF AGRICULTURE—CONFERENCE REPORT (S. DOC. NO. 285).

Mr. GORE. I ask unanimous consent to present a conference report on House bill 11945, the food-production bill. I will not ask for its consideration at this moment. I suggest that the report be printed. I want to try to bring it up to-day if I can. We have agreed upon everything except the rents amendment, and on that we have reached a disagreement. I shall at the proper time move to accept the report and further insist upon the rent amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEWIS in the chair). Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the report will be printed and lie on the table.

The report is as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 17, 20, 29, and 30.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 9, 11, 12, 16, 19, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, and 31, and agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 15, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the language and figures stricken out by the Senate amendment insert the following: "market news service on grain, hay, feeds, and seeds, $150,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 15a, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the language and the figures stricken out by the Senate amendment insert the following: "food and fertilizer surveys of the United States, $300,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 18, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the Senate amendment insert "$1,955,608"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House numbered 21, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Strike out the words "grape sirup" and insert in lieu thereof "grape sirups"; and the House agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 23, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the language stricken out by the Senate amendment and insert the following language after the word "thereof" in the restored language on page 10, line 7: "which are now or heretofore have been used for such purposes"; and the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference have been unable to agree on the amendment of the Senate numbered 28.

T. P. GORE,
E. D. SMITH,
HOKE SMITH,
JOSEPH I. FRANCE,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

A. F. LEVER,
GORDON LEE,
E. S. CANDLER,
G. N. HAUGEN,
J. C. MCLAUGHLIN,
Managers on the part of the House.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 200) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The yeas and nays have been ordered on the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS].

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I very much fear that "a little group of wilful men" are about to defeat a measure which the President of the United States has declared in all the richness of his vocabulary and with all the emphasis which he could command is vitally necessary for the successful prosecution of the war.

It is a strange spectacle, Mr. President, to me, and I address myself mainly to my brother Senators upon the other side of the Chamber. You are about to flout, disparage, repudiate, and humiliate your President. I sincerely hope that there will not fall upon you that severe condemnation which was at a former time visited upon another "little group of wilful men" who desired nothing more than an opportunity to amend a measure that was then before the Senate.

You are driven to one of two positions. You either refuse to accept the solemn declaration of the President that the passage of this joint resolution is vitally necessary to the prosecution of the war, or you choose to defeat the right of women in this country to vote rather than to aid him in the great conflict in which he is engaged. You refuse to give to him an instrumentality which he has asserted to you with the utmost seriousness is necessary to enable him to accomplish the great purposes he has in view.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a moment?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield for a question only.

Mr. HARDWICK. A question only. The Senator is an advocate of this proposition. Does he regard it as a war measure in itself?

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I will come to that question a little later. I intend to state my position with regard to the matter with the utmost frankness, but I am now addressing myself to men most of whom I have heard declare over and over again that whatever the President regarded as essential and necessary to the prosecution of the war they would give him, without regard to their own conclusions on the subject. I have heard, and all of you have heard, the senior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] lecture those of us who now and then insisted we had a right to use our own consciences and our own judgment with regard to measures that were pending before Congress, saying that when the President, who was not only your leader but our leader in the great struggle that is now in progress, declared any proposal or any legislation was necessary to enable him to successfully carry forward his work you would vote for it, that you would accept his judgment. I have heard the senior Senator from Mississippi hour after hour denounce those who undertook to assert their own judgment. Why does he not accept the judgment of the President now at this vital moment? Why does he repudiate him now if he was willing to accept him then without inquiry?

I have heard my dear friend, the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. OVERMAN] time after time, in measures of the utmost importance, declare with all the fervor of his eloquence that we had no right to question the necessity of a particular enactment if the President told us that it was necessary for the successful prosecution of the war. I listened last night to the very clear and lucid statement of the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECKHAM]. It has not been long since I listened to him, standing where the Senator from North Carolina now sits, when the Senate had under consideration a bill which bears the name of the great Senator from North Carolina, as I recollect it, declare that he intended to vote for it simply because the President had declared that it was necessary that he should have the unbridled power conferred upon him in that bill for the successful prosecution of the war.

Mr. BECKHAM. Mr. President, I think the Senator is not quite correct in that statement. I did not state that that was simply the reason why I would vote for that measure. I undertook in that address to give other reasons why I should vote for it.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I understood the Senator from Kentucky to accept without question the judgment of the President upon that subject. I was not present when the bill which transferred the telegraph and telephone companies to the possession of the President was considered. It was understood when I left Washington for a very brief visit to my home that there would be given an opportunity on the part of those of us who questioned the exercise of that power to inquire into its necessity. I am told—I have it only upon hearsay—that the distinguished Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], the chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, who yesterday lifted up his voice in those mellifluous and eloquent phrases which would deceive the very elect, insisted then that there should be no inquiry into the necessity of taking over the telegraph and the telephone companies; that it had been asserted by the President and those who were expressing his views that it was necessary that these facilities should come into the possession of the Government, and that it was the duty of Congress, without any inquiry, without investigation, without a word of testimony, save the declaration of the Executive, to transfer to him that great power. Why is the Senator from South Carolina now questioning the wisdom of the President? Why is he now saying that woman suffrage, as contemplated by the adoption of this joint resolution, is not necessary to the successful prosecution of the war?

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President, "the Senator from South Carolina" certainly would not insult the intelligence of this body by saying that a temporary surrender of a power that belongs to the people, in order to win the war, and that we may get back as soon as the war is over, is on all fours with an attempt to change the perpetual and fundamental form of our Government.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I am not asserting any parallel between the two instances. I am asserting that in everything else, save woman suffrage, so far as it has developed in the legislation since the war began, the great majority of the Senate has been willing to accept, and has accepted implicitly, the judgment and the determination of the President that a particular thing was necessary in order vigorously, energetically, and successfully to bring this war to an end and to compass the nations of the earth after the conflict shall cease. It matters not what the character of the question may be, you either accept his view of it or you repudiate it. If you repudiate it, and he thereby is unable to bring the war to an end, to accomplish the peace which he hopes to accomplish and establish the conditions throughout the world that he hopes to establish, you are responsible for his failure in that regard.

Mr. President, I sincerely hope that the President may deal kindly and leniently with those who are refusing to remove this obstacle which stands in his way. It has not been very long since the President retired the junior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. VARDAMAN] from public life. Why? Because he refused at all times to obey the commands which were issued for his direction. The junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK] suffered the same fate. How do you hope to escape? Mr. President, my Democratic friends are either proceeding upon the hypothesis that the President is insincere or that they may be able to secure an immunity from him that these other unfortunate aspirants for office failed to secure.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President——

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. NELSON. The Senator from Iowa seems to be oblivious of the fact that this is not the first time in the history of the world that the voice of the prophet has not been heard in the wilderness. [Laughter.]

Mr. CUMMINS. Quite true. The voice of the prophet was heard in the wilderness very clearly and obeyed implicitly until he spoke in behalf of humanity, until he spoke in favor of the enfranchisement of one-half of the population of the United States. It was only then, may I suggest to the Senator from

Minnesota, that the voice was lost, or at least that it was not heeded.

But what shall I say to my associates upon this side of the Chamber? It has been the distinguishing characteristic of the minority leader of the Senate that he was always ready to stand by the President in the prosecution of the war. I do not say that upon every occasion he has abdicated his own judgment, but the one cry has been, "Let us do whatever the President believes ought to be done in order to carry on the conflict successfully and to bring the United States into that high position of honor which we hope she will occupy at the end of the war."

I have not escaped the criticism of my political associates from time to time, because I have insisted that when a proposal was made for the prosecution of the war it was for me to determine whether it ought to be accepted or rejected. I, together with some other Senators, whose names I will not mention, have been crucified on every cross in America because we would not yield our judgment as legislators, and I am amazed at our leader, not only for political reasons—those are unworthy of consideration, although he might bear them in mind, possibly, now and then—I have been amazed that our political leader in the Senate does not sense the situation and do what he can do toward the accomplishment of this great purpose.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] is the only—I will not say "the only," but he is almost the only logical and consistent Senator upon the other side of the Chamber; he has maintained the attitude which he now insists upon from the beginning; but how the rest of you, or most of the rest of you, will square what you are about to do with your protestations and assertions in the past I am utterly unable to perceive.

Now, I answer the Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK]. I do not put my support of the resolution for woman suffrage on the ground that it is a war measure. I have been for woman suffrage, expending in its behalf all the energies that I had for more than a quarter of a century. It is a little abhorrent to me, I will confess, to hear it said that women ought to be given the right to vote because a war is in progress. I have no doubt that their enfranchisement will help to win the war, but they are entitled to suffrage without regard to the existence of war. They are entitled to the suffrage because, until it is given to them, this is not a perfect republic; until they are given the power to select representatives who shall make or help to make their laws and help to execute them this is not a true democracy. I am for this resolution because I believe that the Government of the future will be a wiser and better and juster government if women vote than if they are excluded from the vote, as they have been heretofore.

It is a strange thing to me—and now I address myself to both sides, all sides, and from the very depths of my heart—that 33 or 34 men who happen to be for the time being Senators of the United States are about, if appearances indicate the outcome, to deny to the people of the United States the opportunity to determine for themselves whether or not they desire the Constitution to be amended in this respect. What a situation! More than one-half, I am sure, of all of the men of the United States are in favor of submitting this resolution to the States for ratification or rejection; a very large and overwhelming proportion of the women are in favor of submitting it; the House of Representatives by a two-thirds majority has declared for its submission; the sentiment in its favor is everywhere; and now 33 men out of 100,000,000 people are about to arrogate to themselves the privilege and the power of preventing the electors throughout the country from expressing their judgment with regard to woman suffrage. It is a responsibility that I would not want to bear.

I know that it is according to the letter of the Constitution. Our forefathers naturally were somewhat afraid of the people, and they formulated, and there was adopted, a Constitution that was extremely difficult to amend. I believe that the Constitution should not be amended except after full consideration and after grave and serious reflection; but I do not believe that 33 men in the Senate of the United States should have the right to say that an amendment should not be submited to the people for such disposition among them as they might see fit to make of it. We will not have a true democracy until that part of the Constitution is amended as well as the part now proposed to be amended.

I do not wonder that the President stands here and appeals with all his earnestness and with all his heart to put him in a position where he can go before the world and say that if the letter of our Government requires two-thirds majority in the Senate before an amendment to the Constitution is proposed, at least the Senate was democratic enough, liberal enough, and generous enough to submit a proposal that has the support of so large a proportion of our people.

So far as I am concerned, if I were opposed to woman suffrage I would vote to submit this resolution to the people. I think whenever there is a fair and reasonable sentiment or demand for the submission of a constitutional amendment that Senators ought not to allow their individual convictions to prevent the submission to our sovereigns of a proposed change in the fundamental charter of the country. We are not the custodians of the Constitution; we did not make the Constitution; and Congress ought to have nothing to do, logically speaking, with amendments to the Constitution. Amendments ought to be initiated either by the States whose agreement formed the Consitution or by a petition of the people themselves, and I think both courses should be permitted under the law.

I sincerely hope that those Senators who value Republican or Democratic principles, who believe that this is, or at least ought to be, a Government of the people, for the people, and by the people, will not stand in the way of doing this just and righteous thing.

Mr. President, the only argument which I have heard upon the other side of the question that has impressed me at all is the argument made by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK], which is that from the beginning the States were intended to have complete authority over the qualifications of the voters who were to vote either for Members of Congress, the President, or State officers, and that the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution is the only disregard of what he calls a fundamental compact lying beneath the Constitution itself. I disagree wholly with that view. It is not true, from my standpoint, that the Constitution intended that that subject should always remain at the disposal of the States. Why, the very first thing the Constitution did was to declare that—

> The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

Here is an explicit direction with regard to the qualifications of voters in the States for Members of the House of Representatives. It is quite true that it is not complete, it is not specific, it is not in detail; but it indicates that the framers of the Constitution never dreamed of allowing the States under all circumstances to decide what should be the qualifications of voters for Members of the House.

This same provision was carried forward into the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution, when Senators were made elective by the people instead of by the legislatures; and when we enacted the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution we entered the subject again.

The first section of the fourteenth amendment has been very much quoted, and is very well known; but the second section is one upon which we ought to dwell before we concede that this is a subject which should be confined to the legislation or decision of the State. That section reads in this way:

> Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being 21 years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens 21 years of age in such State.

Here is a direct and—if it were enforced—a most powerful and influential interference with the power of the State to deal with this subject without interference upon the part of the General Government. Every naturalization law which we have passed concerns and governs in a measure the suffrage in the States, and the right to legislate upon naturalization, and the terms upon which aliens may become citizens of this country, is complete. It has no limit whatever. It is reposed entirely in the Congress of the United States.

That is true, likewise, of our legislation respecting Indians. How do Indians get their right to vote? Will it be said that notwithstanding the legislation of Congress the States can deprive an Indian of the vote who, under our treaties with him or with his tribe, and our legislation made pursuant to them, has had the right to vote? Do you mean to say that the States can take away or alter or modify the privilege that is thus given?

It is all wrong to assume that the Federal Government has surrendered its authority to regulate and control the qualifications of voters in the various States. Logically speaking, and if I had my way about it, if I could bring about just that condition which I most desire, I would say that with regard to the qualifications of voters for Members of Congress, for Senators, or for electors, and such other elective Federal offices as we

may make in the future, if we make any, Congress should not only declare negatively who should not be excluded, but should declare affirmatively who should be admitted to vote. In other words, Congress should prescribe the qualifications.

I agree that, following this logical development of our system, the States should be permitted to determine the qualifications of the voters for State or local officers. I would have no objection in the world to that; but that is utterly impracticable. We can not hold two elections. The people have tried that plan, and have found it too inconvenient and too expensive to be followed; and therefore we are driven to the alternative. We must either allow the States to declare the qualifications for voters for Members of Congress and the President of the United States or we must undertake, in this negative way at least, to interfere with the qualifications of voters for State officers. The latter is the better way. The latter collides less frequently and less injuriously with the established practices of the people; and I, for one, have no hesitation whatever in going a very little way in that direction—and this joint resolution does not go a great way. It is negative, pure and simple.

If I had my way, I would prescribe the qualifications for the voters for Members of the House, the Senate, and the President; but this joint resolution does not propose that. It asks only the little thing that the States, in determining the qualifications of their voters, shall not discriminate against persons on account of sex. It is entirely compatible with the theory of our Constitution. It is entirely consistent and harmonious with the legislation which we have from time to time adopted with regard to suffrage and the right to vote.

Mr. President, I listened with tremendous interest to the speech made by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED]; and I can not close what I am about to say without referring to it. He denounced in his terrific way, first, the women who lobby; second, the so-called militants who sought to bring their influence to bear upon the situation in rather a more forcible and decisive method than was employed by the national association.

So far as representations are concerned, so far as so-called lobbying is concerned, I marvel that the women have been as patient and forbearing as they have been. I think they have a God-given right to swarm about this Capitol, presenting not only to Members of Congress but to everyone else the injustice that is inflicted upon them and insisting upon the repair of that injustice. I do not set any limit to the energy and the persistence and the enthusiasm of women who are engaged in attempting to secure the right to participate in the affairs of a Government whose laws control and compel them.

So far as the militants are concerned, I did not believe in the campaign they were pursuing; but the only reason which led me to doubt or to disapprove it was because I did not think that it was the most effective and persuasive way in which to proceed. I did not believe, either, as I told them many, many times, that they ought to attempt to coerce the President of the United States into bringing his influence to bear upon Members of Congress. I do not believe in that any more now than I have believed in it throughout this administration. I have always protested against it, and if I maintain my senses and keep my reason I always shall protest against it.

But that was simply a question for them to determine; and if they thought that in accordance with the established custom the President should bring his influence to bear more effectively and emphatically than he had, they had a perfect right to burn his message; they had a perfect right to carry banners in Lafayette Park, in front of the White House, or anywhere else; they had a perfect right to bring their banners into the Capitol and display them with all the force and vigor which they could command. I did not agree with them; but they also were making a campaign for an inestimable and a fundamental right.

What would you have done, men, if you had been deprived of the right to vote? What would you have done if you had been deprived of the right of representation? Have the militants done anything worse than the revolutionary forces who gathered about the tea chests and threw them into the sea, and thereby lit the fires of a revolution which emancipated the whole world? Those men were criminals, according to the view of the Senator from Missouri. They did not obey the law; and therefore, according to his logic, they were unfit to become makers of law.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEWIS in the chair). Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield.

Mr. REED. Of course, the Senator recognizes the fact that the gentlemen who constituted the Boston tea party were in a state of rebellion. It was their purpose to overthrow the Government and set up a new form of Government. Does the Senator put the ladies in that catalogue, and if not——

Mr. CUMMINS. The Senator from Missouri is historically incorrect. The proposition to set up an independent government did not arise for some little time after the Boston tea party.

Mr. REED. Oh, yes; the Senator will agree with me, that the Boston tea party were a band of rebels who had not yet declared their independence, but were getting ready to do it. They had not made war on King George, but intended to do it. Surely the Senator does not mean that these dear ladies would really start a rebellion in the United States?

Mr. CUMMINS. I quite agree that the Boston incident was more vigorous than anything that has occurred in Washington; but I still want to be historically correct. The men of Boston who organized and carried out that protest against the taxes which had been levied upon the colonies were not rebels. They still believed that the King and Parliament would give to them the right of representation in the passage of laws which affected them and particularly the passage of laws which imposed taxes upon them. It was not until much later that the continued resistance of the King and Parliament to their just demands led to the proposal to organize an independent government.

Mr. REED. Are we to understand, pursuing the parallel of the Senator, that if we do not yield and give the ladies the right of suffrage they will set up an independent government?

Mr. CUMMINS. I do not know what they would do. I do not think that is so improbable. You sneer about women voting, but why could they not run this Government as well as we can? I think sometimes if they could not do it better than we are doing it they have but little right to participation, because although they may not have established to the satisfaction of all Senators their competency to make laws and execute them, we have established very clearly to the world our partial incompetency to make laws and execute them. I do not say that we do not make many just laws and that we do not carry into effect many high, exalted principles, but we at least can not claim exemption from radical and sometimes fatal mistakes.

I recur to the militants. I do not believe they committed any crime; and while I had not one particle of sympathy with the manner in which they were conducting their campaign, I think their arrest and imprisonment and the treatment which they received while in confinement are a disgrace to the civilized world, and much the more a disgrace to the United States, which assums to lead the civilized world in humane endeavor. They disturbed nobody save that disturbance which is common to the carrying forward of all propaganda by those who are intensely and vitally interested in it. I wish they had not done it, but I am not to be the judge of their methods so long as they confine themselves to those acts and to those words which are fairly directed to the accomplishment of their purposes. I can not accept the conclusion that because these women burned a message in Lafayette Park or because they carried banners upon the streets in Washington therefore they are criminals and therefore they are unfit to become participants with us in the affairs of the Republic.

This movement has been in progress for 40 years. It is not confined to any particular organization of women. I understand that by far the greater organization is the one whose activities were so beautifully portrayed in the eloquent address of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS]; but it is not even a nation-wide movement; it is a world-wide movement. If it were true that there have been excesses here and there in the conduct of the campaign, it is more than illogical, it is absurd, for anyone to contend that, therefore, the movement should fail and that therefore it is unjust and unfair and unwise to extend to the women of the land that privilege which we have monopolized for ourselves these many years.

Mr. President, we may be defeated now. These 33 or 34 men may assume the responsibility of denying to the millions of America the right to pass upon this fundamental advance in government. But they can no more arrest the onward sweep of this ocean of intelligence and sea of justice than though they were to attempt to force back the tides of the sea with their feeble hands. They may just now be able possibly to disappoint these millions of loyal, intelligent, God-fearing women, but they will not be able to disappoint them long.

Just a year or two ago the Senate could command only a majority for woman suffrage, and barely that. It now commands within one or two votes two-thirds of its membership. If that does not teach this "little group of willful men" something of the future, if it does not warn them of the advancing tide of public sentiment, nothing could admonish them.

Mr. President, we vote upon a question as vital as any which commanded the interest and the thought of our forefathers when they framed the Constitution under which we have lived so hap-

pily for more than a hundred years; and I can only hope that each vote may be cast remembering that into the hands of that vote is committed the welfare of the greatest country upon earth and justice to one-half of its hundred millions of people.

Mr. MARTIN of Kentucky. Mr. President, the question under discussion has never been at issue in my State and as a consequence my information on its merits has been obtained mostly through the able debate of the subject on the floor of the Senate.

I have reached the conclusion that I should support the resolution on a ground entirely apart from consideration of the merits of the proposition to enfranchise the women. I am led to this conclusion because of the provision of Article V of the Constitution, to the effect that "the Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution," and so forth.

The question arises as to what are the conditions which should move the Congress to permit the people through the legislative bodies of the various States to consider a change in their organic law.

Certainly amendments might be proposed so frivolous in character or so contrary to the spirit of our institutions as to warrant a refusal upon the part of the Congress to even extend the opportunity for action by the States.

It can not be maintained, however, that this resolution before the Senate is either frivolous or offends the principles of our form of government.

The claim of the right of suffrage by thousands of patriotic and intelligent women, their insistent demand for it, the opinion of two-thirds of the Members of the House that they should have it, the advocacy of it by approximately 60 Members of this body, and the plea of the President that it should be granted as a war measure argue to my mind that the proposal is one of such grave moment as that the Senate should "deem it necessary" within the spirit of Article V to submit it to the States.

The debate on the floor of the Senate has been to me interesting and enlightening. I acknowledge the force of the strong reasoning of those who advocate the merits of suffrage on the ground that it is a right due the female sex, and a sentimental chord of my nature responds when I hear the plea of my colleagues, principally from the South, who are apprehensive that the exercise of the franchise by our women will result in depriving them of many of their womanly attributes, lessen their attractions, and place upon them a responsibility they do not wish. My own belief is that the transition of the women into a voting population would not create such a radical and revolutionary change as to work an upheaval of social conditions; likely their chief interest, as now, would still be in the home and home life; that active attention would not be given to matters political, except when social and moral life is directly affected by the questions that may be at issue.

The Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, upon the floor of the Senate yesterday, urged this measure as vital to the solution of the great problems which must be settled when the war is over, advocated it as a war measure, and asked that the executive tasks of this war resting on him be lightened by placing in his hands instruments which he is not now able to employ.

The President's deep concern about this question, his request for favorable action, and the strong and intelligent public opinion behind the measure persuade me that loyalty to our chieftain and fair consideration of the claim of right to have the States pass upon the subject demand that the people should be given the right to ratify or reject the proposal.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, for two days the distinguished Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] constantly threw out suggestions to the Republican side of the Senate that so long as the Republicans furnished two-thirds of their membership in favor of this resolution it was in the interest of the Republican Party that the resolution be defeated, and carried with it the implied intimation that if there were any Republicans who were in doubt as to how they should vote upon this measure, Republicans who had not committed themselves in favor of it, it was to their political advantage to resolve that doubt against the measure and vote against it.

Mr. President, that intimation has had no effect upon this side of the aisle, but I am very sorry that it was made, because there should be no politics in the consideration of this question at this time.

Mr. President, what I shall have to say I do not suppose will have the slightest effect upon any Senator, so far as his vote is concerned. So far as the other side of the aisle is concerned, if the appeal of the distinguished leader of their party, the President of the United States, could not affect those who intended to vote against this measure, then no speech of any Senator, Republican or Democrat, could affect it.

But I do believe it proper, Mr. President, before the vote is taken that a statement of the exact situation should be made for the RECORD.

In the first place, upon the other side of the aisle those who vote against this measure do so upon one of two grounds, either that they are not willing to do everything to help win the war, or else they do not believe their leader, the President, when he says that the passage of this measure is necessary to help win the war. It is unthinkable that any Senator is not willing to do everything that he thinks is necessary to win the war. So it follows that every Democratic vote against this measure to-day will be because they do not believe the President of the United States when he solemnly tells them that the passage of this measure is necessary to help win the war.

But, Mr. President, there is another consideration to which I wish very briefly to refer. We constantly hear it said, and we shall hear it said more frequently between now and November, that the success of the Democratic Party is essential to the successful prosecution of the war. I hold in my hand a pamphlet bearing the imprint of the Democratic national committee, a pamphlet signed by W. D. Jamieson, assistant treasurer of the Democratic national committee, and I wish to quote from this phamphlet one paragraph, as follows:

> The election of a Republican Congress in November would be viewed as a defeat for President Wilson by our allies, and particularly by our enemies. It would be viewed in Germany as a proof of their unwarranted claim that our country is not behind our war President. It would be a source of comfort and elation to the Kaiser and his cohorts.

Mr. President, I shall not at this time even attempt to characterize that statement as it ought to be characterized, to condemn that statement as it ought to be condemned and will be condemned throughout the United States by every loyal American, regardless of his political affiliations. I do not believe that that statement, coming from the Democratic national committee, finds indorsement upon the other side of the aisle. Democrats in the Senate know better than that; but, Mr. President, it is fair to assume that upon the Democratic side of the aisle those Members should feel that a continuance of Democratic control in the Senate and in the House would be better for the country in the prosecution of the war. That is a fair subject for debate; that is a subject that will be debated in the campaign that is soon to come upon us.

But, Mr. President, I want to call attention to the fact now that any Democrat who believes that the Democratic Party should succeed in the fall elections, if he does believe it, is in duty bound to vote for this joint resolution to-day. Why do I say that? The Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] the other day made the statement which I now quote from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

> You, Senator SMOOT, pledged them 33 votes, so that they would induce the Democratic members of the committee to get this bill on the floor and you could kill it, and then you could make campaign material out of it in the Western States. You knew that through that action you could carry Montana and Colorado and that you could probably carry the Senate. You know that. You, from a suffrage State, know that if you kill this amendment by a Democratic vote, giving one-half of the two-thirds yourselves and one less than half of two-thirds on this side, you will sweep those States with the women's votes.

That is the statement of the Senator from Nevada, and there is no Senator who is better qualified to speak of conditions in those States or who knows them better than does the Senator from Nevada. He might have added—but I think he did not add through courtesy to his colleague—Nevada to the States of Montana and Colorado. I think the Senator from Nevada is mistaken, however, that the defeat of this amendment will in itself result in the sweeping of those States by the Republicans. Mr. President, the Republicans in the Senate will make their record and furnish more than the two-thirds vote that is necessary. In the House of Representatives, out of 214 Republicans, there were only 33 Republican votes against this joint resolution, while the Democrats furnished but a bare majority for it.

But, now, what I am coming to is this: Is there any Democratic Senator who believes sincerely that the success of the Democratic Party in November is essential to the most efficient prosecution of the war? If there is, how can that Democrat vote against this joint resolution in the face of the statement of the Senator from Nevada that the defeat of the resolution means a Republican Senate and a Republican House? Mr. President, any Democrat who votes against this joint resolution to-day estops himself during this campaign of asserting that Democratic success is necessary to the successful prosecution of the war, for he by his vote, according to the statement of one of his own colleagues, is doing more to injure the success of the Democratic Party than all of the speeches that he might make between now and November.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. LENROOT. I do.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I still believe that the defeat of this joint resolution, the Democrats failing to give one-half of two-thirds, is going very seriously to affect the Democratic vote in those States, because it is almost impossible for the condition to be realized. We might as well face it frankly. When I made that statement, however, it was in view of the fact that the women of those States, mind you, were not informed of the trickery attempted to be played to bring about that condition. In the present circumstances of the case, and under the evidence submitted by the Senator from Nevada, which stands undenied, I take it that the women of those States will visit upon the Republicans and upon the Democrats alike in this Chamber who vote against this measure the punishment which each and every one of them separately deserves.

Another thing: At the time those statements were made, not only was it in view of the trick that was attempted to be played, but at that time the President of the United States, who is to-day not only the head of this Nation but must remain the head of the Democratic Party, was being charged throughout the United States with treachery to woman suffrage, and the argument was made in support of that charge that he had never gone as far in the support of that war measure as he had in support of other war measures. The President of the United States has come before this body with a sincerity of purpose that not even his enemies will question, and I say to you now that the argument that I hoped would appeal to the Democrats on this side, and which the Senator from Wisconsin has now repeated, is not necessary, as it was before, because the President of the United States is the man who carries the responsibility to-day; and the President of the United States and the men of both parties who have proven their loyalty to him will be backed up by the women of the suffrage States and returned to the Senate and House of Representatives to uphold his hands and lighten his great burdens.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, I said in the beginning of my remarks that the effect of the Senator's speech the other day was an implied invitation to the Republicans who might be in doubt to vote against the resolution. I am very sorry, indeed, to find that now not only the effect but the direct statement of the Senator from Nevada to his Democratic colleagues is that, while the other day he was pleading with them to vote for the resolution to promote Democratic success, he says to them to-day, "Gentlemen, it is not necessary for you now to vote for this resolution upon any such grounds." He says the President having set himself right with the women of the country, that now they can win these States whether this resolution shall pass or not.

Mr. President, I was trying in my feeble way to make an appeal to the other side of the aisle to get some votes for this resolution which it has not hitherto had; but now comes the champion of this resolution and destroys whatever effect my appeal might otherwise have had, and says to his colleagues that, so far as political considerations are concerned, it is not necessary for them to-day to vote for this resolution.

Mr. PITTMAN and Mr. SHAFROTH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield, and if so, to whom?

Mr. LENROOT. I yield first to the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I did appeal on political grounds the other day to my colleagues on this side of the Chamber who are opposed to this resolution. My object in that appeal, as the Senator from Wisconsin discerned, was to get votes for this resolution. I appealed to them on the ground that we might lose the Senate; that the Republicans would be in an advantageous position if they could give us half of the necessary two-thirds, and could say "we did all that we could," and endeavor to incense women of the country because the Democrats did not give their half. I appealed to the Democrats on political grounds, but at the same time I attempted to expose the Republicans on the other side of the Chamber for the purpose of compelling them to keep their promise and give us 33 votes. You were going to give 33 votes, and you are still going to give 33 votes. The 33 votes the other day when I was talking would have carried this resolution; they will not carry it, possibly, now, since the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BENET] has declared his intention to vote against it. Now, be generous, and give us 34 votes. You can give us 40, if you want to do so; there is not the same obstacle, as you know, on your side that there is on this. I want to say to you if you will give us enough votes to carry this resolution, then you can claim all the credit you want, and I will give my word that never during the campaign will I say another word against the Republican Party in connection with this amendment; but I thank God now that it is not necessary, so far as the western Senators are concerned, to appeal on political grounds to anybody on this side, and I have ceased to make such an appeal, for when the President of the United States comes before this body and states, with all the solemness of his being, that he needs this power to win the war, no other argument is needed; and if that will not reach them, then the mere political argument that it is needed in the West will amount to nothing, and I will never use it again.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, I did not intend to refer to the charge of trickery which the Senator from Nevada has so often made, because it has been apparent to every Senator in this Chamber that there was no foundation whatever for a charge of trickery. There was a mistake made; a mistake made i good faith on the Republican side, just exactly as it is now apparent that there was a mistake made in good faith on the Democratic side.

Mr. PITTMAN. But, Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield further to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes.

Mr. PITTMAN. The mistake made on the Republican side was a mistake that would bring this resolution before the body; that was the mistake. As I have heretofore said, the chairman of the committee was very anxious not to bring it up until he could be assured of carrying it. I think he is still of the same view, and I think the Senator from Wisconsin would like not to have had it voted on until it could carry.

Mr. LENROOT. Now, Mr. President, in reply to that, let us see what the situation would have been in regard to the charge of trickery upon the Republican side because there was one vote less than was expected on this side. Supposing that we had had that vote, in the matter of trickery we would have been in exactly the position to charge the other side with trickery after they had lost the one vote that they expected to have. We would not have done so, however.

Mr. PITTMAN. The answer to that is simply this: That the Republican caucus, in which the antis participated, had prior to all of this time unanimously, according to the statement of Senators on this floor, resolved that they intended to bring this resolution immediately before the Senate. The Democratic members of the Woman Suffrage Committee had not resolved to bring it before the Senate; they opposed bringing it before the Senate; they presented a united opposition to the Republican side; and I say to you they only brought it before the Senate by reason of information from the Republican side.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, the Senator may think he can make the country believe that it was in the power of the Republican side to bring this resolution before the Senate whenever it saw fit, but the Senator knows better than that; the Senator knows that, whatever attitude the Republican side might have, this resolution could not come before the Senate until the Democratic side was willing that it should come before the Senate.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, that is an incorrect statement, as I will show to the Senate. If the Republicans had unanimously voted to bring this resolution up at a time when it must have known that it would be defeated, I am perfectly confident that we would have had sufficient Democrats on this side who are not suffragists who would have joined in that unhappy solution by assisting you in defeating it.

Mr. LENROOT. Furthermore, Mr. President, the only effect of that Republican resolution was to serve notice upon the Democratic side and upon the country that the Republicans were ready to do their part in furnishing the two-thirds vote necessary and that the Republican side was ready to vote at any time when the Democratic side would do their part.

Mr. PITTMAN. And that they did not care whether it was won or defeated, so that they did their part; is that it? That is exactly what you meant.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, that is absolutely immaterial, because it has been within the power of the chairman of the committee to withdraw this resolution at any time; he could know exactly in what position it was before he called for a vote, and this unfinished business could have been displaced at any time upon the motion of the chairman of the committee.

Mr. President, just one word with reference to the charge of playing politics upon this side.

If politics were the sole consideration, if party advantage were the sole consideration upon the part of these Senators who are opposed to this joint resolution, of course we could furnish votes enough to pass it; but there is no such appeal upon this side of the aisle as there has been upon that side of the aisle. The appeal of your party leader necessarily, it would seem, should

be more influential upon that side of the aisle than this. Certainly, the appeal for party success which the Senator from Nevada made so strenuously the other day for his party would not appeal to this side of the aisle, because the Republican Party is willing to go before the country upon the record it has made in the support of the war, and appeal for success upon that ground. No one upon this side has made any such admission as the Senator from Nevada made the other day, that a particular vote upon a particular measure was essential for the success of his party.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. LENROOT. I yield.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Let me suggest to the Senator, as a compromise, that he deliver us as many votes as he can for the success of the Republican Party, and we will try to deliver as many votes upon this side of the Chamber for the success of the Democratic Party; and I hope you will get all of them on that side to enter into such an agreement, whether we get any more or not.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, the difference that exists is the constant claim made by the members of the Senator's party that the success of the Republican Party would give comfort to the Kaiser. You have never heard a Republican make any such claim with reference to the Democrats. You have heard no Republican make any assertion that Democratic success would be an aid to the Kaiser. The Republicans do believe, have believed, and will believe that Republican control of Senate and House will mean a more efficient prosecution of the war; but that is far from saying, as Democrats do, that Republican success will give comfort to the enemies of our country. If the Senator does not see the distinction, I think others do.

Mr. President, in conclusion, I am sorry that the Senator from Nevada has now given notice to his Democratic colleagues that it is immaterial, so far as party success is concerned, whether they vote this joint resolution up or vote it down. I am extremely sorry, for that reason, that I rose to speak at all, because if I had not perhaps that statement from the Senator from Nevada would not have been called out, and perhaps the statement which he made the other day, that it was necessary for party success, might have had some influence upon some of his colleagues upon that side of the aisle.

Mr. ASHURST. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GUION in the chair). The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Henderson	New	Smith, Md.
Baird	Johnson, S. Dak.	Norris	Smith, Mich.
Bankhead	Jones, N. Mex.	Nugent	Smoot
Beckham	Jones, Wash.	Overman	Sterling
Benet	Kellogg	Owen	Sutherland
Borah	Kendrick	Page	Thompson
Brandegee	Kirby	Penrose	Townsend
Calder	Knox	Phelan	Trammell
Culberson	La Follette	Pittman	Underwood
Cummins	Lenroot	Poindexter	Vardaman
Curtis	Lewis	Pomerene	Wadsworth
Dillingham	Lodge	Ransdell	Walsh
Drew	McCumber	Reed	Warren
Fernald	McKellar	Saulsbury	Watson
Fletcher	McLean	Shafroth	Weeks
France	McNary	Sheppard	Wilfley
Goff	Martin, Ky.	Shields	Williams
Gronna	Martin, Va.	Simmons	Wolcott
Guion	Myers	Smith, Ariz.	
Hale	Nelson	Smith, Ga.	

Mr. LEWIS. I announce the absence of the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] because of illness, and that of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY] because of official business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Seventy-eight Senators having answered to their names, there is a quorum present.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, as it seems that we are about to begin voting on the various amendments that have been offered to the joint resolution, I want to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that this is a House joint resolution and that it was passed in the House of Representatives by exactly a two-thirds majority, there being not one vote to spare. I feel that no matter how meritorious any amendment may be its adoption would complicate the parliamentary situation and would require that the joint resolution be sent back to the House of Representatives. Consequently, those who are in favor of the measure really run the risk of perhaps losing it in the other House in the event that it has to go back to the House of Representatives to be voted upon.

We therefore feel that there ought to be no amendment made to this joint resolution, because it might jeopardize the chances of the passage of the joint resolution in the other House. In other words, we think that no matter how meritorious a proposed amendment may be it ought not to be adopted and added to this joint resolution.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, "mountains labor, and ridiculous mice are born." When I hear an argument from a Senator of the United States to the effect that "parliamentary complications" might intervene, and that therefore great public measures in the interest of the maintenance of the white man's social fabric in the cotton States of the United States should not be considered at all, and that on account of "parliamentary complications" every voice should be stilled, every aspiration of the white man in the cotton States for his family life and his civilization should be ignored, I confess I do not quite understand it. Parliamentary complications! A joint resolution with an amendment to go back to the other House to see whether or not the other House wants to adopt it, and a lot of speculative argument about whether the other House would or would not adopt it! That is all of his alleged argument.

I do not want the slightest misunderstanding of my position upon this question to go abroad. There is just one thing that I love better than the Democratic Party; there is just one thing that I love better than the United States; there is just one thing that I love better than I do my wife or my children or myself, and that is the hope of the purity and the integrity and the supremacy of the white race everywhere, but, so far as I am concerned, especially in my own native State.

When I think of the past, and the mistakes we have made, and the mistakes I have made, I feel a degree of intellectual humility that I can hardly express; but, notwithstanding all that, in some essential things we were right, and we are right now; and I can not for the life of me see why a Senator from the State of Colorado—bought with the money and the service and the blood of the South in gaining the Revolution and in fighting the Mexican War—merely bought territory with no original sovereignty of any sort—should rise and ignore as if it were hardly worth mentioning a proposition which I have made, which is not in limitation of the suffrage but which is in extension of the suffrage.

My amendment, when it is analyzed, means that we enfranchise every white woman in the United States, and that we do not enfranchise any Japanese, Chinese, or negro woman in the United States, but that we leave to each State the question as to whether or not it shall do that. If California wants to enfranchise the Chinese and Japanese women, let her do it; if Mississippi wants to enfranchise the negro women, let her do it; but do not force upon California and Mississippi the enfranchisement of those women who are not of our race, who are not of our aspirations, who are not of our ideals, who are not of anything that makes an essential part of us.

I can only repeat, as I have done I do not know how many times before this body and the body at the other wing of this Capitol, the old truism that a house divided against itself must fall. When you undertake to erect a structure of democracy, it must be founded upon the four pillars of justice, equality, fraternity, and liberty.

You can not have any real liberty unless you have real equality. You can not have any real equality—and I apologize for repeating this thought now, for it is about the eighth time I have done it—unless you have real fraternity, which means potential blood relationship in lawful marriage. You are not going to have it with Japanese and Chinese upon the Pacific coast and you are not going to have it with negroes in the Southern States. You can not have any fraternity unless you have real equality, and you can not have justice unless the superior race occupying a given territory is endowed with the right to prescribe the terms of justice. Just as long as you keep them menaced, just as long as you keep them frightened, just as long as you keep the women imagining that family life may be threatened, there will be no justice, because there will be no friendly feeling toward justice.

I am astonished at the Senator from Colorado [Mr. SHAFROTH]. I served with him for years in the Senate and the House. I am a Democrat and he is a Democrat. I am a Democrat not only by environment but by temperament. I am not only a Democrat with a big "D," but I am a democrat with a little bit of a "d." Among my friends I count ditch diggers and millionaires. I have never known, even by any inquiry of my own, how much money or how much birth any man has behind him. I have merely known the man. I am a democrat of the democrats with a little bit of a "d." I am almost a social democrat, in fact, in certain respects. But when the Senator comes to me and asks me to menace my wife and my daughters rather than to have a little "parliamentary complication," as he calls

it, I confess I am deaf and dumb to the appeal. I am only astonished at one thing.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Deaf but not dumb.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I can not help my deafness. I am not dumb, and if under the circumstances I had assumed to be dumb in order to please the Senator from New Mexico I would be false to Mississippi; I would have been false to her family life; I would have been false to the white man's civilization; I would have been false to Mississippi's traditions and her ideals.

I love the President of the United States personally better than any man on this floor, I expect. I would follow him in any real war measure, that I thought was a real war measure, to the limit. My boys are following him, my sons-in-law and nephews are following him, and I have been doing everything I knew how to help him. I would not put a feather's weight upon his shoulder to save my own life so far as his shoulders are bearing the burdens of this war. But when the President of the United States tells me that we can not whip Hindenburg, that we can not outmaneuver Ludendorff, that we can not scatter the Bulgarians, that we can not reconquer Palestine unless the negro women in the State of Mississippi can vote, I decline to agree with him, and I decline to agree with the Senator from New Mexico, who is here assuming to speak for him.

Now, I want a vote on this proposition, and I want a square, frank, honest vote. I want every man on the other side of the Chamber to express by his vote his real convictions, as I do want every man on this side to do it. I have seen in the last two days—never mind what I have seen; let it go—I have seen men trying to avoid a vote upon this proposition, men who want white civilization, white supremacy, and a homogeneous population, racially speaking, coming to me and begging that they may be relieved of the bitter dose of facing a yea-and-nay vote upon this question.

Do you think that you can make a great world power of America upon any other basis in the world except a white basis, a basis of white man's civilization, white man's traditions and ideals and code of ethics and family life? If you do, you have not sense enough to shake within the limits of a mustard shell. Nine out of ten of you agree with me and seven out of the nine have not the courage to face the chalk mark.

Now, Mr. President, one word more and I am done, and done for good. I leave the result in the lap of the gods; I care nothing about it. God will take care of the result. I take care of my conscience and my vote and my voice. Whatever happens in the long run, happens all right, because God rules this world.

Mr. President, the last word that I want to say is this: I belong to the old slave-holding class of the South. I never belonged to the nigger-hating and nigger-baiting class of the South. They were never composed of slaveholders. We took care of our darkies like they were members of our own family in a way, because in a sense they were. There are 50 or 75 I have upon my roll, and amongst them some of the most honest and true and loyal men and women I have ever known in my life, white or black. Nobody can make a nigger baiter out of me; nobody can make a nigger hater out of me; and nobody in Mississippi can ever make out of me a man who gained, or would gain, office by "cussing" negroes. I not only have no hate for them; I have a positive gratitude to them. On a plantation with 150 negroes during the Civil War, only 6 left. How many Yankee raids there were I do not remember. Three of those six came back and said that they were impressed to drive teams.

One of them stayed out and was killed with Custer—out West, where Custer was killed—a very good boy. I have none of that general talk about race hatred and race prejudice, but I have got race knowledge, and I have race knowledge from a knowledge of both races under my own eyes. It is not a question of color. It is not a question of hair. It is a question of inward racial tendencies and traits.

I am not willing to cast this vote, even at the behest of the President of the United States, whom I love as if he were my only brother. I have only one brother, and he and I are closer kin than any two brothers in the world, so close that we meet to have business transactions only once in a year. He keeps my own private affairs and tells me how much I owe him or how much he owes me. I love the President of the United States with that sort of intense personal affection, but I can not see for the life of me what Ludendorff and Hindenburg and the Bulgarians and Turks in Macedonia and Palestine can have to do with the right of negro women to vote in the State of Mississippi.

Now, adopt my amendment and enfranchise the white women. Your wife and your daughter are just as fit to vote as you—racially, traditionally, ideally. Enfranchise them and mine. Then I will vote with you, and then you will accomplish a great purpose, and you will save the Pacific slope from Oriental domination remotely, and you will save the South from any sort of domination except the white man's and woman's domination now and hereafter.

The Senator from Colorado tells me there are "parliamentary complications." That may be. The two Houses might spend a little time in conference debating whether or not they should enfranchise white women. I want to enfranchise white women, because I love them with all my soul. I started my life loving my mother, and I shall end it with loving my wife, and I shall end it by loving a lot of the sweetest daughters that you ever knew. Talk about "complications!" Why should you complicate this question of the white women's right to vote with the right of the Japanese, Chinese, and negroes to vote? By the way, Mr. President, I hope you heard me say negroes and not "niggers."

If I were taking care of my own darkies upon my own plantation, with no motive in the world except their interest, I would take the exact stand I am taking to-day, because I want to disarm the hostility of the white demagogues against the negro race; and the minute that the negroes are helpless and powerless to threaten white domination and white supremacy and the supremacy of the white man's civilization and family life these demagogues are disarmed. If I were a negro standing here to-day, I would take this position in behalf of the negroes of the States of South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, Texas, and the balance of the cotton States where they form such a proportion of the population as to constitute a menace in the mind of the white man and woman, and therefore constitute a cause of hostility, and therefore constitute a pretext for demagogues to run for office on a pure negro question and nothing else.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, the suggestion which I made to the Senate in order to avoid further discussion upon this measure and to get it to a vote must have been a very important suggestion, for it seemed to raise a storm of indignation upon the part of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS]. The Senator from Mississippi is against this measure.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I beg the Senator's pardon. If the measure enfranchises the white women of the United States and does not enfranchise the negroes and Japanese and Chinese, I am for the measure.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I will ask the Senator if the measure is not amended in any particular, will he vote for it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SHAFROTH. That is what I thought.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Of course not.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, the Senator is against this measure. He knows, or he ought to know, that with his amendment and other amendments on the joint resolution there would not be a ghost of a show of ever having it ratified by three-fourths of the States of the Union.

The parliamentary situation to which I referred becomes an important factor in determining how friends of the measure should vote. As I suggested, no matter how important or how wise the amendment might be, the very fact that it is to be placed on the House joint resolution and the House in order to carry the measure must again vote in favor of its passage by a two-thirds majority shows the danger of the situation. Any amendment attached to it in the Senate would compel the joint resolution to go back to the House and run the hazard of the loss by one vote; and it seems to me that any friend of this measure would not put upon the joint resolution any amendment that would make it run that hazard of defeat.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President——

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do not like to have the statement of the Senator from Colorado go uncontradicted. The truth is—I am very sure I am right—that any amendment placed on the joint resolution requires a majority vote in the House of Representatives to pass it, and only a majority vote. The statement of the Senator from Colorado ought not to go unchallenged. While I do not sympathize with the amendment proposed by the Senator from Mississippi and, of course, would not vote for it, it is not quite accurate to say that the loss of one vote from the vote as it passed in the House would defeat the joint resolution. If a conference is asked, the report could be adopted by a majority vote there, or it could here.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, that will have to be the case upon the final passage of the joint resolution in the House, and I can not agree with the position of the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am sorry the Senator can not agree with me. We have both served in the House, and I am

sure I have stated the rule correctly, and I favor the joint resolution.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I concede that here in the passage of this proposed amendment a majority vote can carry it and as to amending the joint resolution hereafter, but upon the final consummation of the passage of the measure we have got to have a two-thirds majority. That being the case, I can not see how by sending it over to the House it can maintain itself unless it has a two-thirds majority on final passage.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Does the Senator from Colorado really believe that extending the suffrage in the United States to his wife and daughters and sisters and mine and to the white women of the United States, and stopping it there, would weaken the vote of the white race, solely represented in both Houses of the National Legislature by men like him and me?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I believe in the extension of the franchise in every particular. I believe it is simply a question of giving——

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Senator does not answer my question.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I do not know that I took it in. I was reading a note at the time.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I will ask it again.

Mr. SHAFROTH. All right.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Does the Senator really believe that with white men in the House and in the Senate a proposition for woman suffrage would be weakened in their minds by confining it to white women?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I say you can never pass the joint resolution by three-fourths of the States of the Union——

Mr. WILLIAMS. I will ask the Senator——

Mr. SHAFROTH. I believe the placing of this amendment upon the joint resolution would absolutely prevent its adoption by three-fourths of the States.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I will ask the Senator this question, and then I will not worry him any further.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Very well; I am willing to yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have known the Senator for a long time in the House and in the Senate. We have been friends, and very close friends.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Very close friends.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Would the fact that if white women alone were enfranchised weaken this amendment in the mind of the Senator from Colorado himself?

Mr. SHAFROTH. Yes; I believe that you could not get a measure of that kind through.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is not the question I asked the Senator. I asked whether in his opinion it would weaken it.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Yes; I think it would. I think we must recognize democracy. That is what you have got to do, and you must recognize it in everybody.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I understand the democracy of the Senator from Colorado consists in holding to the enfranchisement of women without regard to race or anything else?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I decline to yield.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I think the Senator ought to yield; there is no chance for a real disagreement on the rule.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I do not think so.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado declines to yield.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Very well; I will take my own time if the rule is raised.

Mr. SHAFROTH. All right; I am perfectly willing that the Senator should take all the time he cares to take.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I will not take the Senator's time; the danger is not that the House will not concur, but the States might refuse to ratify the resolution with the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi attached. This is the only real danger which I apprehend from amendments.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I am perfectly willing to yield, but let me get in one expression concerning this matter, and then the Senator may either ask me a question or he can take his own time in explaining the situation.

Mr. President, the situation is that bills and joint resolutions can be and are defeated continually, both in this body and in the House of Representatives, by the creation of parliamentary situations. They can be defeated by filibusters; they can be defeated in a number of other ways. We have a situation now where we have had this measure before the Senate for about a year and one-half, and it has run the gantlet of parliamentary tactics to the present time.

If it were sent back to the House of Representatives, the chances are that that body would not consent to any amendment, because, knowing that amendment would not meet the favor of three-fourths of the States, they would say it would be a useless thing to pass the joint resolution after it was amended, for the very reason that it would be defeated. I have not any doubt that the Senator is earnest in this matter. I have not any doubt that he thinks civilization is at stake with relation to his home people. I do not think so.

But, Mr. President, three-fourths of the States have a right to determine that as well as the Senator has, and inasmuch as the Constitution has provided a method by which a constitutional amendment can be passed, it creates a test which has been made in the Constitution itself as to the wisdom of the measure. The Senator himself ought to concede that when three-fourths of the States say that the constitutional amendment is good he might be mistaken in his thought that it would be so detrimental to the people of his section.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEWIS in the chair). Does the Senator from Colorado yield to his colleague?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield.

Mr. THOMAS. I desire to ask my colleague whether at this hour, when thousands of both white men and black men under the colors of the United States are fighting the battle for democracy on the bloody fields of France, it is the appropriate time in the consideration of a great constitutional amendment to discriminate as we would discriminate if the amendment proposed by the senior Senator from Mississippi were adopted?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I thank my colleague for the suggestion. That was one of the reasons why I did not feel it was exactly the proper thing to enter into a discussion with relation to the merits of the amendment, and I rose solely for the purpose of expediting the votes that are to be taken upon amendments to the joint resolution.

Mr. President, as I was saying, parliamentary tactics often defeat a measure. You can load a bill with so many amendments that even if they are good amendments you will find people will differ with relation to them, and consequently the bill might be lost. That is done even in ordinary legislation. That can be done even in the passage of bills; but when you add to that the fact that this joint resolution not only would have to go to the House of Representatives again but would have to go to all the States, with the danger that 12 States in the Union might defeat it, it would be almost criminal, it seems to me, to couple with this joint resolution an amendment that might make the measure disputable as to its merits. We have three amendments here. Suppose you were to put all three of them on the joint resolution, would there be a chance on earth of having the joint resolution passed by three-fourths of the States?

That is one of the methods of defeating a measure. One of the ways is to load it up so that somebody will object to it. That is the method which can be invoked in behalf of some of those who are directly opposed, for the purpose of getting aid in some other direction, to a limited extent, and then the joint resolution will fail.

Mr. President, I have called attention to this matter, because I think it is paramount at this time with relation to the success of this vote. That being the case I hope that we can proceed to vote.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, I have already addressed the Senate upon this question, but I desire at this point to correct what possibly is an erroneous impression created by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] that the wives of Japanese or Chinese are in any way affected by this amendment. The Chinese and Japanese under our naturalization laws are ineligible to citizenship. The naturalization laws provide for the naturalization only of persons of the white race. Therefore, their fortunes are not at all involved in this amendment.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, I am sure we have all been impressed by the earnestness of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] in discussing his amendment. I know that he feels that he has touched upon a very important subject, and I would not undertake in any way to treat with levity any proposition which he might advance. On yesterday I listened with great interest to an able speech by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] discussing an amendment which he has offered. I know that he feels that he has presented a thought that is worthy of the serious consideration of the Senate. These are subjects which at the proper time or on some proper occasion might be discussed by the various Senators who entertain divergent views regarding them.

But I want to make one statement, and that is that this proposed amendment to the Constitution as it comes to us from the other House is in the same form which it had when it was presented to Congress many decades ago. It has become sanctified by age. The people of the United States, the women and the men who have been discussing this tremendous question, have framed their arguments around the joint resolution as it comes to us from the House; and I know, Mr. President, that if any amendment were put upon the joint resolution it would be a decided disappointment to the millions of men and women of this country who give to this resolution their hearty support. So, with all due deference to Senators who have proposed amendments, I can only request that such amendments be laid aside for future consideration, should the Congress of the United States deem the time opportune. Therefore, Mr. President, I move that the amendment proposed by the Senator from Mississippi be laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion before the Senate is that of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES], that the proposed amendment of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] be laid upon the table.

Mr. REED. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum. I simply want to get every Senator here.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri suggests the absence of a quorum. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Gulon	Martin, Va.	Smith, Ga.
Baird	Hale	Nelson	Smith, Md.
Bankhead	Hardwick	New	Smith, Mich.
Beckham	Henderson	Norris	Smith, S. C.
Benet	Johnson, S. Dak.	Nugent	Smoot
Brandegee	Jones, N. Mex.	Overman	Sterling
Calder	Jones, Wash.	Page	Sutherland
Chamberlain	Kellogg	Penrose	Thomas
Colt	Kendrick	Phelan	Thompson
Cummins	Kenyon	Pittman	Townsend
Curtis	Kirby	Poindexter	Trammell
Dillingham	Knox	Pomerene	Underwood
Drew	La Follette	Ransdell	Vardaman
Fernald	Lenroot	Reed	Wadsworth
Fletcher	Lewis	Robinson	Warren
France	Lodge	Shafroth	Watson
Gerry	McKellar	Sheppard	Weeks
Goff	McLean	Shields	Wilfley
Gore	McNary	Simmons	Williams
Gronna	Martin, Ky.	Smith, Ariz.	Wolcott

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair begs to announce the absence of the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING], on account of illness.

Eighty Senators having responded to their names, there is a quorum present. The question is on the motion of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES] to lay on the table the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS]. The yeas and nays having been ordered on the motion, the Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WALSH (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN], who, I notice, is not in the Chamber. I am advised, however, that if he were present the Senator from New Jersey would vote as I propose to do, and I accordingly vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. WILFLEY (when his name was called). I have a pair with the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON], who is not here. If I were allowed to vote, I should vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BECKHAM. I have a pair with the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS]. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. THOMPSON (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a pair with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN], but I have an understanding with him that either of us may vote on this proposition. The Senator from Illinois, if present, would vote as I do; so I will let my vote stand.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I desire to say that my colleague [Mr. SWANSON] is detained from the Senate by serious illness in his family. If he were present, my colleague would vote "nay."

Mr. BRANDEGEE (after having voted in the negative). I have voted under the impression that the question was on the adoption of the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi, but now understanding that the motion is to lay his amendment on the table, I change my vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. WATSON (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. WOLCOTT]. I now discover that he did not vote. I therefore transfer my pair with him to the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON], and will permit my vote to stand.

Mr. COLT (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY], but I am at liberty to vote on the amendment. I will, therefore, allow my vote to stand.

Mr. CURTIS. I desire to anounce the absence of the junior Senator, from Ohio [Mr. HARDING] on the liberty-loan campaign. Were he present, the Senator from Ohio would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 61, nays 22, as follows:

YEAS—61.

Ashurst	Henderson	McNary	Smith, Ariz.
Baird	Hitchcock	Nelson	Smith, Mich.
Brandegee	Johnson, S. Dak.	New	Smoot
Calder	Jones, N. Mex.	Norris	Sterling
Chamberlain	Jones, Wash.	Nugent	Sutherland
Colt	Kellogg	Owen	Thomas
Cummins	Kendrick	Page	Thompson
Curtis	Kenyon	Penrose	Townsend
Dillingham	Kirby	Phelan	Wadsworth
Drew	Knox	Pittman	Walsh
Fernald	La Follette	Poindexter	Warren
France	Lenroot	Pomerene	Watson
Gerry	Lewis	Ransdell	Weeks
Goff	Lodge	Robinson	
Gronna	McCumber	Shafroth	
Hale	McLean	Sheppard	

NAYS—22.

Bankhead	Hardwick	Reed	Trammell
Benet	McKellar	Shields	Underwood
Borah	Martin, Ky.	Simmons	Vardaman
Fletcher	Martin, Va.	Smith, Ga.	Williams
Gore	Myers	Smith, Md.	
Gulon	Overman	Smith, S. C.	

NOT VOTING—13.

Beckham	Harding	Saulsbury	Wolcott
Culberson	Hollis	Sherman	
Fall	Johnson, Cal.	Swanson	
Frelinghuysen	King	Wilfley	

So the amendment of Mr. WILLIAMS was laid on the table.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, at the request of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] I present the amendment I send to the desk, and I should like at the same time to ask for a yea-and-nay vote upon it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah, in behalf of the Senator from New Jersey, presents an amendment, which will be read by the Secretary.

The SECRETARY. At the end of the joint resolution, after the word "sex," it is proposed to insert the following:

but no male person who is not a citizen of the United States shall exercise the right of suffrage at an election for Senators and Representatives in Congress or for electors for President and Vice President of the United States, and no female person who is not such a citizen otherwise than by marriage, or who, having acquired citizenship by marriage, has not complied with such requirements and conditions as may be prescribed by the Congress, shall exercise such right.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, I believe that all Senators present understand that there are substantial reasons why no amendment is desired. The reasons have been given at considerable length, and I therefore move that this amendment——

Mr. SMOOT. Will the Senator withhold his motion for a moment, because I wish to make a statement?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Very well.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I am in full accord with the statement just made by the Senator from New Mexico. I shall vote against the amendment if it is voted on directly; and if the vote comes on a motion to lay it on the table I shall vote in favor of that motion.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Mexico yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I yield.

Mr. BORAH. Why can we not have a vote direct on the amendment? We can take it quite as quickly as on a motion to lay on the table.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I will say to the Senator that I do not want to show any partiality. I moved to lay the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] on the table, and would really prefer that the same action be taken regarding the amendment now offered.

Mr. CALDER. Will the Senator from New Mexico withhold his motion for a moment?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I have not made the motion as yet, and I yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, I am opposed——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York has the floor by the consent of the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. If the Senator from New York desires to address the Senate, I will yield the floor for that purpose.

Mr. CALDER. I should like to occupy the floor for a moment or two.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I wish to ask the Senator from New Mexico a question. Why did he move to lay my amendment on the table and not move to lay the amendment just offered on the table?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I have just stated, if the Senator will pardon me, that I intended to move to lay the amendment offered by the Senator from Utah for the Senator from New Jersey on the table.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Ah, I understand; the Senator has just yielded to allow the Senator from New York to make a few remarks of a desultory and unnecessary character on his proposition. Why did the Senator from New Mexico come to that determination?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair has recognized the Senator from New York.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. With all deference to the Senator from Mississippi, I think he had an opportunity to make some remarks.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, yes; before the Senator made the motion to lay my amendment on the table.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. And every Senator had an opportunity to discuss it.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I ask for the regular order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The regular order being demanded by the Senator from Connecticut, the Chair will have to hold, the Senator from New Mexico having yielded to the Senator from New York, and the Senator from New York having been recognized by the Chair, that the Senator from New York has the floor.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I am sure the Senator from New York will yield to me in order that I may put myself right with the Senator from Mississippi.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. CALDER. I do, with pleasure.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I submit to the Senator from Mississippi that every Senator present who desired to discuss the amendment proposed by the Senator from Mississippi had an opportunity to do so before I made the motion to lay the amendment on the table; and I am only according a like privilege to the Senator from New York and to any other Senator regarding the amendment now pending. I am sure the Senator from Mississippi will not feel that I have been at all partial as against him. The Senator from Mississippi knows that if there is any Senator in the Chamber to whom I would extend deference it is the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I knew that, and I knew, as a matter of personal friendship between the Senator from New Mexico and me, that everything was all right; but I just wanted to indicate to the galleries, who seem to be present in considerable number to-day and who seem to be very influential in controlling Senators' votes, that there were discriminations against Senators from the South as compared with Senators from the North, in that the Senator from New Mexico made a motion to lay my amendment upon the table, thereby cutting off further debate, while he had refrained from making a similar motion with regard to the amendment of the Senator from New Jersey, who is a very much more important democratic factor, spelled with a little "d," than I

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. If I had known that the Senator from Mississippi desired to speak, I should have withheld my previous motion, as I will withhold my motion in this instance, so as to give the Senator from New York an opportunity to discuss the pending amendment.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, I am opposed to the amendment of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN], first, for the reason given by the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES]. I do not think it wise to imperil the passage of the suffrage amendment by attaching to it any amendment of this character. Secondly, I oppose it for the reason given by the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] yesterday, when he stated that this matter could be amply provided for by legislation. Thirdly, and perhaps most important, I am opposed to it because we have in this country to-day 5,800,000 white women of foreign birth, many of whom are now voting, and all of whom would be disfranchised by this provision, although married to citizens of the United States. I have in mind a woman who came to this country from Europe when she was 1 year of age, who has lived here for seventy odd years, who was educated here, and who is the mother of children born in this country. Under the terms of the amendment now pending she would be disfranchised. I think the amendment is a very unwise one, and hope it will be defeated.

Mr. McLEAN. Mr. President, I shall not occupy the floor more than seven minutes, and I do that only because of the appeal which was addressed to me in common with my colleagues by the Chief Executive on yesterday.

I have voted for every real or alleged war measure since the war began, and I have done so because I believed that those measures were wise and reasonable under all the circumstances. I deeply regret, therefore, that I can not respond favorably to the appeal made by the Chief Executive; but I can not do so, because the more I have thought and the more I have heard upon this matter the firmer has become my conviction that this resolution, if adopted, will impose upon the women of America war responsibilities which they neither desire nor anticipate.

Discouraging and depressing as it is to them and to all of us, we must all admit that to-day force, physical force, physical force without stint, still remains the ultimate defender of all we hold most sacred. We must see to-day that the bayonet is all that stands between us and unspeakable disaster. Mr. President, it is not the fault of the mothers that they are not as well fitted by nature to use the bayonet as are their sons. I think it is to the credit of the sons that, so far in the history of this Republic, they have never declined to use the bayonet in the defense of their mothers, and it is unthinkable to me that they will not in the future, as they have in the past, defend their mothers in peace as well as in war, with the ballot as well as with the bayonet.

It is my opinion that there is no one within the sound of my voice who believes that the time will ever come when a majority of the men in any legislative assembly in this country will cease to love and cherish and defend their mothers. Nevertheless, Mr. President, and unnecessary as it seems to me to be, I would be willing to support a measure that would confer upon the women the burden of the ballot upon all matters where their responsibility is coextensive with that of men. I say "the burden of the ballot"; I call it a burden. It may be a right, it may be a privilege, but it is always a grave responsibility, and one which I sincerely hope will not prove to be too heavy for mortals to bear.

The women should have the right and the duty to vote upon all questions affecting the education of their children. This has been for many years the law in the State which I have the honor in part to represent, and it may be fair for me to state here that the women of Connecticut have substantially ignored that duty. The laws of my State give every preference to the wife, and they carefully guard every property interest of the women. This is as it should be; but this joint resolution goes beyond that. This joint resolution goes beyond the seas and above the clouds. It attempts to tamper with the ballot box, over which mother nature always has had and always will have supreme control; and such attempts always have ended and always will end in failure and misfortune.

We have had a recent demonstration of the accuracy of this statement, and I am surprised that the President of the United States seems to have forgotten it. He may have been disappointed, but I was pleased and reassured in April, 1917, when I read in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that the woman Representative in this Congress, when subjected to the "acid test," had proved herself to be just what God made her—a womanly woman under all circumstances—and I was reassured and pleased when I was told by one of the leaders in the suffrage movement in my State that had she been a Member of Congress in April, 1917, she would have voted as Miss RANKIN did, against war, although she believed in a vigorous prosecution of the war once it had been declared.

I was again pleased and reassured when, upon inquiry, I found that she fairly represented her sex. I should despair of the future if such were not the case. Mr. President, I dare not think of what would have happened to all of us if in April, 1917, the balance of power in the American Congress had been in the hands of those so constituted physically and spiritually that they could not vote for war under any circumstances, and I shudder when I think of what will happen to this country in the future when such conditions prevail.

So, Mr. President, it is my belief that until wars and rumors of wars shall cease justice, simple justice, to the women of this country demands that all questions involving declarations of war and terms of peace should be left to that sex which must do the fighting and the dying on the battle field. It may be that the Almighty made a mistake when He gave superior strength to the male; but if He did, I do not believe that this Congress or the Chief Executive can remedy it.

That is all I care to say upon this subject, Mr. President. Of course, the women have done a noble work and made every sacrifice required. There is nothing in language that can adequately measure the value of their services in this war,

But, Mr. President, if the responsibility of the franchise is to be extended or limited, those of us above the fighting age should be denied the ballot, and it should be given to the boys between 18 and 21 who have just been called to the colors; but they are not asking it, and they will not ask it unless they fear that their representatives in the American Congress will accept less than unconditional surrender from our foe, and until they ask it it is my belief that their mothers should be and remain both proud and content.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, two minutes is all that I desire.

The civilized world to-day is following two great leaders in statecraft, believing in them, trusting in them. One is the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson; the other is Lloyd-George, the premier of Great Britain. The President has spoken to the Senate on this great question. I think it is altogether fitting to place as a companion piece to his remarks the letter of Lloyd-George to the Interallied Woman's Congress in Paris, held in August last, and I therefore ask that the Secretary read the letter, which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

WOMEN OF ENGLAND HAVE SAVED THE ALLIED CAUSE, LLOYD-GEORGE TELLS WOMEN'S CONGRESS IN PARIS.

PARIS, *August 21.*

Premier Lloyd-George sent this letter to the Interallied Women's Congress:

"I am anxious to bear testimony to the tremendous part played by the women of England in this vital epoch of human history. They have not only borne their burden of sorrow and separation with unflinching fortitude and patience, but they have assumed an enormous share of the burdens necessary to the practical conduct of the war.

"If it had not been for the splendid manner in which the women came forward to work in the hospitals and munition factories, in administrative offices of all kinds, and in war work behind the lines, often in daily danger of their lives, Great Britain and, I believe, all the allies would have been unable to withstand the enemy attacks of the last few months. For this service to our common cause humanity owes them unbounded gratitude.

"In the past I have heard it said that women were unfit to vote because they would be weak when it came to understanding the issues and bearing the strains of a great war. My experience in South Wales last week is what has confirmed me in the belief that the women there understand perfectly what is at stake in this war. I believe they recognize as clearly as any that there can be no peace, progress, or happiness in the world so long as the monster of militarism is able to stalk unbridled and unashamed among the weaker peoples.

"To them this war is a crusade of righteousness and gentleness, and they do not mean to make peace until the allies have made it impossible for another carnival of violence to befall mankind. I am certain that this resolution of the women of South Wales is but typical of the spirit of the women of the rest of Great Britain.

"This war began in order that force and brutality might crush out freedom among men. Its authors can not have foreseen that one of its main effects would be to give women a commanding position and influence in the public affairs of the world. To their ennobling influence we look not only for strength to win the war, but for inspiration during the great work of reconstruction we will have to undertake after victory is won.

"The women who have been flocking to France to work for the allies are among the foremost leaders in this great movement of regeneration. My message to their representatives gathered in Paris is this: 'Well done. Carry on. You are helping to create a new earth for yourselves and your children.'"

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I merely wish to say that I favor the object sought to be accomplished by the amendment of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN]. I think that unnaturalized aliens ought to be disfranchised. I think that citizenship of the United States ought to be made a prerequisite to voting, not only for Senators and Representatives in Congress, but for electors for President and Vice President of the United States. If the several States will not disfranchise unnaturalized aliens, then I think the Congress and three-fourths of the States, in accordance with the Constitution, ought to take that necessary step—a step to safeguard the elections in this country.

Some seven or eight States to-day permit unnaturalized aliens to vote under certain conditions and limitations. Several of these States are pivotal States. It might happen that a sufficient number of unnaturalized aliens would vote in these States to constitute the controlling factor in electing a sufficient number of Senators and Representatives to constitute the controlling factors in the two Houses. It might be that unnaturalized aliens in these States would constitute the controlling factor in electing a sufficient number of presidential electors to constitute the controlling factor in the electoral college. I say that may happen. Of course, it may be answered that it has not happened and will not happen; but, sir, the possibility of such an occurrence ought to be prevented.

I have offered an amendment substantially the same as that presented by the Senator from New Jersey. I send it to the desk and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma tenders an amendment, which will now be read by the Secretary.

The SECRETARY. At the end of line 11 it is proposed to add the following:

No person other than a citizen of the United States shall be entitled to vote for Senators and Representatives in Congress or for electors for President and Vice President of the United States.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, if this amendment or the amendment offered by the Senator from New Jersey were agreed to, it would not disfranchise, as I understand, the women described by the Senator from New York [Mr. CALDER]. It would permit citizens of the United States, native-born or naturalized citizens, to vote. The women described by him are naturalized citizens of the United States, as I understand. There are different methods of naturalization. A person can become a citizen of the United States in only two ways—either by birth or by naturalization—and every person who is a citizen of the United States has acquired that character in one or the other of these two ways.

Mr. President, while I had given notice of my intention to present this amendment, I have decided not to offer it and not to press it upon the consideration of the Senate at this time. I have two reasons for this conclusion. First, I do not desire to encumber the pending joint resolution. In the second place, I have assurances coming from members of the Judiciary Committee on the part of Senators who are much interested in the pending joint resolution, that they will take up the joint resolution which I have offered and undertake to report it, or some similar resolution, to the Senate. At some future time this measure can be considered upon its own merits. I trust that it will be reported at an early date, that it will be submitted to the States by the Congress, and will be ratified by the required number of States.

While I can not vote to table the amendment of the Senator from New Jersey, I was not willing to take the responsibility of pressing such an amendment upon the consideration of the Senate at this time.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, I move that the amendment of the Senator from New Jersey be laid upon the table.

Mr. LODGE. Upon that I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi makes a parliamentary inquiry. The Senator will state it.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I should like to know if the amendment offered by the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] was an amendment to the amendment offered by the Senator from New Jersey?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair informs the Senator that it was not, as the Chair is informed. The Senator from New Mexico moves that the amendment of the Senator from New Jersey be laid upon the table, upon which motion the Senator from Massachusetts asks for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BECKHAM (when his name was called). Announcing again my pair with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS], I withhold my vote.

Mr. THOMPSON (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as before, I vote "yea."

Mr. WALSH (when his name was called). As announced before, I have a general pair with the mover of the amendment [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN]. I transfer the pair to the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] and vote "yea."

Mr. WATSON (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as on the last roll call, I vote "nay."

Mr. WILFLEY (when his name was called). Again announcing my pair with the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON], I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I again announce that my colleague [Mr. SWANSON] is detained from the Senate by serious illness in his family. If he were present, he would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 50, nays 33, as follows:

YEAS—50.

Ashurst	Hitchcock	Myers	Smith, Ariz.
Calder	Johnson, S. Dak.	Nelson	Smith, Mich.
Chamberlain	Jones, N. Mex.	Norris	Smoot
Colt	Jones, Wash.	Nugent	Sterling
Culberson	Kellogg	Owen	Sutherland
Cummins	Kendrick	Page	Thomas
Curtis	Kenyon	Phelan	Thompson
Fernald	Kirby	Pittman	Walsh
France	La Follette	Poindexter	Warren
Gerry	Lenroot	Ransdell	Weeks
Goff	Lewis	Robinson	Williams
Gronna	McKellar	Shafroth	
Henderson	McNary	Sheppard	

NAYS—33.

Baird	Dillingham	Hale	McLean
Bankhead	Drew	Hardwick	Martin, Va.
Benet	Fletcher	Knox	New
Borah	Gore	Lodge	Overman
Brandegee	Guion	McCumber	Penrose

Pomerene	Smith, Ga.	Townsend	Vardaman
Reed	Smith, Md.	Trammell	Wadsworth
Shields	Smith, S. C.	Underwood	Watson
Simmons			

NOT VOTING—13.

Beckham	Hollis	Martin, Ky.	Swanson
Fall	Johnson, Cal.	Saulsbury	Wilfley
Frelinghuysen	King	Sherman	Wolcott
Harding			

So Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN's amendment was laid on the table.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I move to amend by striking out, in line 11, page 1, the words "or by any State," so that if amended the amendment would read:

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States on account of sex.

I have already made some allusion to the purpose of that amendment.

Mr. SMOOT. I call for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida having made the motion heard by the Senate, the Senator from New Mexico is recognized, but the Chair desires to say to the Senator from New Mexico that there has been a request for the yeas and nays.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I have no objection to that. I desire to make motions similar to those I have previously made regarding the other amendments. I move to lay this amendment upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico moves to lay the amendment of the Senator from Florida upon the table.

Mr. FLETCHER. I ask for the yeas and nays on that motion.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I ask that the Secretary state the amendment. Some Senators do not seem to understand it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from Florida will be stated by the Secretary.

The SECRETARY. On line 11 of the amendment it is proposed to strike out the words "or by any State," so that if amended the section will read:

SECTION. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States on account of sex.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment as read the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES] moves to lay upon the table. The yeas and nays were requested, and a sufficient number having seconded, a roll call will be had.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BECKHAM (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS]. In his absence, I withhold my vote.

Mr. WALSH (when his name was called). I am informed that my pair, if present, would vote in the affirmative, and I shall vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. WILFLEY (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON]. In his absence, I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. SWANSON] if present would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 65, nays 17, as follows:

YEAS—65.

Ashurst	Hale	McLean	Sheppard
Baird	Henderson	McNary	Smith, Ariz.
Brandegee	Hitchcock	Myers	Smith, Mich.
Calder	Johnson, S. Dak.	Nelson	Smoot
Chamberlain	Jones, N. Mex.	New	Sterling
Colt	Jones, Wash.	Norris	Sutherland
Culberson	Kellogg	Nugent	Thomas
Cummins	Kendrick	Owen	Thompson
Curtis	Kenyon	Page	Townsend
Dillingham	Kirby	Penrose	Vardaman
Drew	Knox	Phelan	Wadsworth
Fernald	La Follette	Pittman	Walsh
France	Lenroot	Poindexter	Warren
Gerry	Lewis	Pomerene	Watson
Goff	Lodge	Ransdell	
Gore	McCumber	Robinson	
Gronna	McKellar	Shafroth	

NAYS—17.

Bankhead	Martin, Va.	Smith, Ga.	Williams
Benet	Overman	Smith, Md.	Wolcott
Fletcher	Reed	Smith, S. C.	
Guion	Shields	Trammell	
Hardwick	Simmons	Underwood	

NOT VOTING—14.

Beckham	Harding	Martin, Ky.	Weeks
Borah	Hollis	Saulsbury	Wilfley
Fall	Johnson, Cal.	Sherman	
Frelinghuysen	King	Swanson	

So Mr. FLETCHER's amendment was laid on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will ascertain if there be other amendments pending not disposed of. [After a pause.] The joint resolution is as in Committee of the Whole and is still open to amendment. If there be no further amendment, it will be reported to the Senate.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution having been read the third time, the question is, Shall it pass?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BECKHAM (when his name was called). On this vote I am paired with the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS] and the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN]. They are both absent, and I understand that if present would vote "yea." If at liberty to vote, I would vote "nay." In their absence, I withhold my vote.

Mr. BORAH (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL] and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HARDING]. If those Senators were present, they would vote "yea." If I were permitted to vote, I would vote "nay."

Mr. CURTIS (when Mr. HARDING's name was called). I was requested by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HARDING] to announce that because of the action of the Republican State convention of Ohio, were he present he would vote "yea."

Mr. KENDRICK (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL], who is unavoidably absent. I am informed that if he were present he would vote "yea." I therefore feel at liberty to vote, and I vote "yea."

Mr. KNOX (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND] and the junior Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON]. Those two Senators, if voting, would vote "yea." If I were voting, I would vote "nay." I withhold my vote under the circumstances.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia (when Mr. SWANSON's name was called). My colleague [Mr. SWANSON] is detained from the Senate by illness in his family. If he were present and at liberty to vote, he would vote "nay." He is paired on this vote with the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. WILFLEY] and the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. KING].

Mr. TOWNSEND (when his name was called). As has been stated by the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX], the junior Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] and I are paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX], but I transfer my pair to the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN], who, if present, would vote "yea." He is detained, being a member of the committee of the Federal Reserve Board in Chicago, and is out on a liberty-loan campaign. I vote "yea."

Mr. WILFLEY (when his name was called). As has been announced by the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN], I am paired with the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON], who is absent on account of illness in his family. If he were present, he would vote "nay." If I were permitted to vote, I would vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico (after having voted in the affirmative). I desire to change my vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 53, nays 31, as follows:

YEAS—53.

Ashurst	Johnson, S. Dak.	Nelson	Smith, Mich.
Calder	Jones, Wash.	New	Smoot
Chamberlain	Kellogg	Norris	Sterling
Colt	Kendrick	Nugent	Sutherland
Culberson	Kenyon	Owen	Thomas
Cummins	Kirby	Page	Thompson
Curtis	La Follette	Phelan	Townsend
Fernald	Lenroot	Pittman	Vardaman
France	Lewis	Poindexter	Walsh
Gerry	McCumber	Ransdell	Warren
Goff	McKellar	Robinson	Watson
Gore	McNary	Shafroth	
Gronna	Martin, Ky.	Sheppard	
Henderson	Myers	Smith, Ariz.	

NAYS—31.

Baird	Hale	Penrose	Smith, S. C.
Bankhead	Hardwick	Pomerene	Trammell
Benet	Hitchcock	Reed	Underwood
Brandegee	Jones, N. Mex.	Saulsbury	Wadsworth
Dillingham	Lodge	Shields	Weeks
Drew	McLean	Simmons	Williams
Fletcher	Martin, Va	Smith, Ga.	Wolcott
Guion	Overman	Smith, Md.	

NOT VOTING—12.

Beckham	Frelinghuysen	Johnson, Cal.	Sherman
Borah	Harding	King	Swanson
Fall	Hollis	Knox	Wilfley

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Not having a sufficient two-thirds majority, the joint resolution does not pass.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, I desire to give notice that on the next legislative day of the Senate I shall move to reconsider the vote which has just been taken.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico subsequently said: It has been suggested to me by some Senators that in giving notice I would move to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed I should state that I did not mean to intimate that I expected to call for another vote within the near future. My purpose is to permit the motion to reconsider to remain on the calendar, so that it may be taken up later on should there be a change in the Senate between now and the 4th of next March. I desire to announce, however, that no action will be taken without due notice to all Senators.

Mr. REED. Four or five days' notice?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Certainly; there will be ample notice of a vote.

STIMULATION OF AGRICULTURE—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the conference report on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses upon the bill (H. R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products."

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I object to the consideration of the conference report to-day. The Senator from North Carolina says to me that the conference report is very important. That is very true, but the distinguished conferees have omitted a very important part of their duty. They have left out amendment No. 29, which the Senate unanimously put on, and I hardly think the conference report will be agreed to to-day under that situation of affairs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Arizona object to the consideration of the report?

Mr. GORE. It does not require unanimous consent. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the report.

Mr. ASHURST. That motion can not be made under the rule on the same day the report is presented.

Mr. GORE. The Senator is mistaken. That rule does not apply to a conference report.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I know the Senator has a perfect right to move to proceed to the consideration of the conference report under the rule, but the bill has been in the Senate or the House or in conference for months. It is a very important measure. The conference report has not been printed. I ask the Senator from Oklahoma not to press it to a vote at this time. Let the conference report be printed, and then we will see just what the conferees have agreed to.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, in response to the suggestion of the Senator from Utah, I will state my reason for asking for the present consideration of the conference report. The other House lost a quorum on Saturday last. They succeeded yesterday in obtaining, I understand, a bare quorum. It is feared that they will lose a quorum and that it will not be possible for them to act on the conference report unless they receive it at an early day. I am also informed that the chairman of the House committee had a death in his family that requires his absence from the city. I have no desire from any other consideration than that to press this matter upon the Senate. If there be any question which I can answer and clear up any misunderstanding or any doubt touching the conference report, I shall be very glad to do it. Of course if we can not reach a decision to-day and Senators insist on its going over, I realize that they really have a right to have the report printed before it is considered; but I am very anxious to have it considered while the House is in a situation to act upon it.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 10 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

ADJOURNMENT TO THURSDAY.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that the Senate adjourn until 12 o'clock Thursday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Thursday, October 3, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Nominations received by the Senate October 1 (legislative day of September 30), 1918.

UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE.

George W. Anderson, of Boston, Mass., to be United States circuit judge, first circuit, vice Frederic Dodge, resigned.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

Edwin G. Moon, of Ottumwa, Iowa, to be United States attorney, southern district of Iowa, vice Claude R. Porter, resigned.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

Cooper Stout, of Danville, Ill., to be United States marshal, eastern district of Illinois.

APPOINTMENT IN THE ARMY DURING THE EXISTENCE OF THE PRESENT EMERGENCY.

Col. Samuel McRoberts to be brigadier general, Ordnance Department, with rank from August 8, 1918.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENTS, BY PROMOTION, IN THE ARMY.

INFANTRY.

Second Lieut. Evan C. Williams to be first lieutenant with rank from February 9, 1918.

Second Lieut. Joel A. Fite to be first lieutenant with rank from November 29, 1917.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 1 (legislative day of September 30), 1918.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY.

Lieut. Alfred W. Brown, jr., to be a lieutenant commander.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants:

Edward K. Lang,
Robert Gatewood,
John A. Fletcher,
Daniel J. Callaghan,
Richard S. Field,
George D. Murray,
Howard H. Good,
Herman E. Fischer,
Warren A. Shaw,
Anton B. Anderson,
Elliott Buckmaster,
Ralph W. Holt, and
William G. Greenman.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade):

Winfred H. A. Pike, jr.,
John F. Bates, jr.,
Harry H. Chenoweth,
Stuart B. Clark,
Herbert V. Wiley,
Glenn H. Easton,
Robert T. Darrow,
Alan Barnet,
Elmer R. Henning,
James E. Maher,
Allen G. Quynn,
Archer E. King, jr.,
Preston Marshall,
Hilbert A. Fisher, and
John S. Ray.

Midshipman Chauncey Camp to be an ensign.

The following-named assistant surgeons to be passed assistant surgeons with the rank of lieutenant:

Charles E. Treibly,
Roscoe M. Waterhouse,
Chalmer H. Weaver, and
Henry McDonald.

Dental Surg. William N. Cogan to be an assistant dental surgeon with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade).

The following-named dental surgeons to be assistant dental surgeons with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade):

Harry E. Harvey,
James L. Brown,
Eugene H. Tennent,
Joseph A. Mahoney,
Leon Martin,
Joseph D. Halleck, and
Anson F. McCreary.

Dental Surg. John W. Crandall to be an assistant dental surgeon with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade).

The following-named dental surgeons to be assistant dental surgeons with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade):
Marion E. Harrison,
Ernest W. Lacy,
Lucian C. Williams,
Harry W. Blaisdell, and
Harry D. Johnson.

Dental Surg. Paul G. White to be an assistant dental surgeon with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade).

The following-named dental surgeons to be assistant dental surgeons with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade):
Cornelius H. Mack,
Arthur A. Rehm,
Hugh T. Meyers,
William L. Darnall,
Logan A. Willard,
John R. Barber,
George H. Reed,
Franklin L. Morey,
John V. McAlpin,
Marson W. Mangold,
Edward E. Harris,
Thomas L. Sampsell, and
Thomas J. Daly, jr.

The following-named dental surgeons to be passed dental surgeons with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade):
Alexander G. Lyle and
Alexander J. Zuehlke.

Asst. Dental Surg. William N. Cogan to be a passed assistant dental surgeon with the rank of lieutenant.

The following-named assistant dental surgeons to be passed assistant dental surgeons with the rank of lieutenant:
Harry E. Harvey,
James L. Brown,
Eugene H. Tennent,
Joseph A. Mahoney,
Leon Martin, and
Anson McCreary.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Robert S. Robertson, jr., to be a lieutenant on the retired list.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Michael A. Leahy to be a lieutenant on the retired list.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Richard E. Byrd, jr., to be a lieutenant on the retired list.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Walter L. Heiberg to be a lieutenant on the retired list.

Pay Clerk Edward R. McKenzie to be a chief pay clerk.

Ensign Oliver H. Ritchie to be a lieutenant (junior grade).

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants:
Raymond E. Kerr,
Emory W. Coil, and
James A. Crutchfield.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade):
Howard L. Vickery,
William Granat,
Morris H. Spriggs, and
Ralph Kiely.

Machinist William Twigg, jr., to be a chief machinist.

Lieut. Edward D. Washburn, jr., to be a lieutenant commander.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Harry D. McHenry to be a lieutenant.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants:
Willard E. Cheadle,
Harry G. Patrick,
Robert A. Hall, and
George L. Woodruff.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade):
Arthur C. Davis,
Benjamin F. Perry,
Charles F. Osborn,
Henry P. Burnett,
Forrest B. Royal,
Harvey E. Overesch,
Millard G. Gamble, and
John H. Campman.

Ensign Jesse H. Smith to be a lieutenant (junior grade).

The following-named commanders to be captains for temporary service:
Willis G. Mitchell,
John J. Hyland,
Samuel W. Bryant,
Edward S. Jackson, and
Henry L. Wyman.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders for temporary service:
Claude A. Bonvillian,
Edwin A. Wolleson,
Robert W. Cabaniss,
Claude B. Mayo,
Hamilton F. Glover,
Gardner L. Caskey,
John B. Rhodes,
George H. Bowdey,
Robert A. Theobald,
Fletcher C. Starr,
William L. Beck,
Garret L. Schuyler,
Charles F. Russell, and
Guy E. Baker.

Ensign John S. Upton to be a lieutenant (junior grade) for temporary service.

Ensign George L. H. Dolan to be a lieutenant (junior grade) for temporary service.

The following-named acting pay clerks to be assistant paymasters with the rank of ensign for temporary service:
Ralph J. H. Oldegeering,
John D. Gagan,
Robert J. Monteith,
Fillmore S. C. Layman,
Harold R. Lehmann,
Howard R. Jackson,
James M. Thomas,
John H. Skillman,
Martin M. Friedman,
Allen D. Turner,
Leon I. Smith,
Myron W. Willard,
Archie A. Antrim,
John H. Gallion,
Wayne Prather,
Charles W. Gerhardt, jr.,
Jesse A. Scott,
Harold E. Humphreys, and
Hugh A. Phares.

Francis J. Ludwig to be acting chaplain with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service.

Rudolph Ericson to be acting chaplain with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service.

The following-named lieutenants on the retired list to be lieutenant commanders on the retired list, for temporary service:
George Joerns,
John E. Iseman, jr.,
Walter L. Heiberg, and
Robert N. Miller.

Lieut. Charles E. Reordan to be a lieutenant commander, for temporary service.

Chief Sailmaker Michael P. Barr to be an ensign, for temporary service.

Ensign Michael P. Barr to be a lieutenant, for temporary service.

Boatswain Alva Henderson to be an ensign, for temporary service.

The following-named warrant officers, for temporary service, to be ensigns, for temporary service:
William E. Woods,
Daniel F. Kelly,
John H. Conroy, and
Oscar E. Whilden.

The following-named enlisted men to be ensigns, for temporary service:
Alfred C. Headley,
Lester Carpenter,
Thomas J. Coffee,
Bert Ketcherside,
John H. Herke,
Frank L. Miles,
David G. Gray,
Joseph L. McCann,
Howell O. Jones, and
Montie Wood.

The following-named ensigns of the United States Naval Reserve Force to be ensigns, for temporary service:
Warren H. Hastings and
Howard A. McKee.

Ensign Earl F. Chandler, of the United States Naval Reserve Force, to be an ensign, for temporary service.

Asst. Surg. Paris V. Corey, of the United States Naval Reserve Force, to be an assistant surgeon with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service.

The following-named acting pay clerks to be assistant paymasters for temporary service, with the rank of ensign:
Howard F. Bowker,
Tipton F. Woodward,
Robert G. Robeson,
George P. Smallman,
George E. Duffy,
Chris J. Norstad,
Charles A. Cook,
Robert R. Thompson,
Allen C. Smith,
John C. Poshepny,
Gordon S. Bower,
Edward Mixon,
Henry C. McGinnis,
William F. Shaw,
Frank J. Manley,
Harry F. Hake,
Julius J. Miffit,
Harry G. Kinnard,
William E. McCain,
Golden F. Davis,
Grandison J. Tyler,
Clyde A. Moser, and
Stamford G. Chapman.

Ensign Robert E. Sammons to be a lieutenant (junior grade) for temporary service.

Ensign Harold M. Jones, of the United States Naval Reserve Force, to be an ensign for temporary service.

The following-named chief boatswains on the retired list to be lieutenants on the retired list, for temporary service:
William Manning,
Thomas Savage,
Andrew Anderson,
John Winn,
Charles T. Chase,
Aaron B. Irelan,
Haydn Williams,
Thomas F. Greene,
James E. Quirk,
John E. Murphy,
Waldron P. Simmons,
Nelson R. King, and
Thomas L. McKenna.

The following-named boatswains on the retired list to be lieutenants on the retired list, for temporary service:
Hjalmar E. Olsen,
Charles Wouters,
Lee R. Boland, and
William H. Johnson.

The following-named chief gunners on the retired list to be lieutenants on the retired list, for temporary service:
Edward Beakes,
Isaiah Wilbur, and
Charles F. Uhlrich.

The following-named gunners on the retired list to be lieutenants on the retired list, for temporary service:
Peter Hanley,
Frank A. McGregor,
Humboldt J. Palmer,
Vista R. Thompson,
Theodore C. Wester,
Arthur S. Williams, and
William Carroll.

The following-named chief machinists on the retired list to be lieutenants on the retired list, for temporary service:
James W. Murray,
Arthur T. Percival,
Adam Gibson,
Lee Grossenbaker,
James Quill,
Bernard Gebhardt,
Richard B. Smith,
George T. Brownridge,
Jacobus J. Corino,
William J. Trevorrow,
John St. C. Hothersall,
Thomas J. Hayes,
William E. Stiles,
James H. McDonough,
Martin Huber,
Frank R. Barker,
William P. Davis, and
Robert E. Rucker.

The following-named machinists on the retired list to be lieutenants on the retired list, for temporary service:
Martin Casey,
August Anschuetz,
William C. Dronberger,
Herbert E. Kershaw,
Joseph J. Duffy,
Edwin J. Cutherill,
William F. Mullinix,
Charles W. Jackson,
James Wilson,
George M. Heinen,
John O'Neil,
Peter J. Hanlon,
John McPhee, and
Max Vogt.

Chief Sailmaker Charles E. Tallman, retired, to be a lieutenant on the retired list, for temporary service.

The following-named boatswains on the retired list to be lieutenants on the retired list, for temporary service:
William Johnson and
Gustaf Dahlman.

Gunner Harry Webb, retired, to be a lieutenant on the retired list, for temporary service.

Chief Machinist Fabian P. Noel, retired, to be a lieutenant on the retired list, for temporary service.

The following-named machinists on the retired list to be lieutenants on the retired list, for temporary service:
William E. B. Grann,
William P. Little,
Anthony P. McCarthy,
Daniel J. McCarthy,
Thomas F. Hobby, and
Harlan B. Heath.

The following-named boatswains on the retired list to be lieutenants (junior grade) on the retired list, for temporary service:
Alvah M. Smith,
Charles C. Beach,
William G. A. Schwerin,
Norman McIntire,
Henry Feehan,
John L. Kelley, and
Thomas G. MacDonough.

The following-named gunners on the retired list to be lieutenants (junior grade) on the retired list for temporary service:
Edgar A. Robie,
Arthur Rogier,
John Westfall,
James Munro, and
Alfred Barker.

The following-named machinists on the retired list to be lieutenants (junior grade) on the retired list for temporary service:
Oscar Bragonier,
Herbert J. Wiseman,
Michael A. Rossiter,
Jesse E. Jones,
Edmund H. Klamt,
Charles G. Wheeler,
William C. Staufer, and
Daniel R. Shackford.

The following-named chief pharmacists on the retired list to be assistant surgeons on the retired list with the rank of lieutenant for temporary service:
John W. Wood and
John D. Milligan.

The following-named pharmacists on the retired list to be assistant surgeons on the retired list with the rank of lieutenant for temporary service:
William H. Huntington and
Isaac N. Hurd.

The following-named chief carpenters on the retired list to be assistant naval constructors on the retired list with the rank of lieutenant for temporary service:
Milton F. Roberts,
Benjamin E. Fernald,
Frederick J. Simmonds,
Harry L. Demarest,
Joseph F. McCole, and
Sverre Floathe.

The following-named carpenters on the retired list to be assistant naval constructors on the retired list with the rank of lieutenant for temporary service:
Benjamin D. Pender and
Joel D. Griffin.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

John F. Short to be United States marshal, western district of Pennsylvania.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Thomas Jones, of Oregon, to be register of the land office at Vale, Oreg.

POSTMASTERS.

MASSACHUSETTS.

James E. Cadagon, Adams.
John H. McDonald, Andover.
Edward J. Hayden, Athol.
William J. Kenney, Attleboro.
John L. Markham, Ayer.
Henry L. Pierce, Barre.
Charles Prescott, Beverly.
Edward F. Delaney, Brookfield.
James J. Harrington, Chester.
Thomas E. Luddy, East Bridgewater.
Forest B. Estabrook, East Northfield.
Thomas J. Drummey, East Pepperell.
Henry L. Ripley, Edgartown.
Richard M. Raymond, Framington.
John R. McComb, Great Barrington.
Harvey F. Shufelt, Housatonic.
Arthur W. Gibbs, Huntington.
Edward F. Maher, Hyannis.
James H. Lakeman, Ipswich.
John M. Johnson, Lenox.
Michael T. Kane, Ludlow.
James M. Hurley, Marlboro.
James H. Creedon, Middleboro.
Daniel J. Dempsey, Millbury.
Thomas F. Coady, North Attleboro.
Elmer E. Landers, Oak Bluffs.
Michael E. Comiskey, Plymouth.
Frank E. Gray, Reading.
Eugene Meagher, Rockport.
Dennis A. Smith, Rutland.
John H. Sheedy, Salem.
Merton Z. Woodward, Shelburne Falls.
Robert H. Howes, Southboro.
Luther W. Clark, South Deerfield.
Daniel J. O'Connell, jr., South Hadley.
Douglas H. Knowlton, South Hamilton.
Herbert E. Lanagan, Spencer.
Thomas J. Costello, Springfield.
Fannie E. Wood, Swansea.
John O'Hearne, Taunton.
George H. Hadley, Templeton.
John Dobson, Townsend.
Michael W. Hynes, Wayland.
James Kinsley, West Acton.
John F. O'Leary, West Warren.

TENNESSEE.

Melville B. Capps, Livingston.
Hiram M. Moore, Portland.
Isaac M. Steele, Ripley.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, *October 1, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

We thank Thee, our Father in heaven, that out of the world-wide war is coming a clearer and broader view of life and its purposes.

"He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it."

What hurts one hurts all; what helps one helps all, since each man is an integral part of the human family.

Make therefore our paths straight, that we may be one with Thee in thought and purpose, and thus bear our part in the dispensation of Thy Providence, our God and our Father, in His Name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. MILLER of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I ask leave of absence for three days for my colleague, Mr. DILL, who is detained at his home by sickness.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Washington asks unanimous consent for three days' leave of absence for his colleague [Mr. DILL] on account of sickness. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FREAR. I ask leave of absence for my colleague, Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin, for 10 days.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks leave for his colleague for 10 days. Is there objection?

Mr. SIMS. Is it on account of illness for himself or his family?

Mr. FREAR. I am not sure. He is in Wisconsin, and it will be very difficult for him to get back sooner.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it will be so ordered. Gentlemen requesting leave of absence should fill out the printed slips.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi, indefinitely, on account of sickness.

BILLS FROM THE COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that after the disposition of the pending power bill it shall be in order for the Committee on Military Affairs to call up, until finally disposed of, such bills as are on the House and Union Calendars that have been favorably reported by that committee.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the pending bill it shall be in order to take up and consider until disposed of bills on the House and Union Calendars reported by the Committee on Military Affairs. Is there objection?

Mr. GILLETT. Reserving the right to object, I certainly do not wish to prevent any necessary or desirable military legislation. At the same time one of the important matters which ought to be considered immediately is the Unanimous Consent Calendar. I think we had better wait and see when we are going to get through with this pending bill. We can not tell from the progress we have made in the last few days how long it will take. After that is finished, then we can decide on subsequent business. For that reason I object temporarily.

Mr. DENT. I hope the gentleman will withhold that for a minute.

Mr. GILLETT. I certainly will.

Mr. DENT. Notwithstanding the fact that we are in the midst of a war, outside of the regular supply bills and the new draft legislation the Committee on Military Affairs have had only two days of the time of this House during this session of Congress for the purpose of enacting war legislation.

Mr. GILLETT. The gentleman can get the bills considered at any time he wishes, if it is important. All that is necessary is to have the Committee on Rules bring in a rule.

Mr. DENT. I will state further to the gentleman that there are only about half a dozen of these bills. I do not think they will take over one day. There will probably be three or four more bills reported by the time the occasion is reached.

Mr. GILLETT. I think for the present I will object. I would like to see the bills, and also I would like to see how soon we get through with the pending power legislation.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects.

WINNING THE WAR.

The SPEAKER. Under the special order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. LUNN] has 15 minutes. [Applause.]

Mr. LUNN. Mr. Speaker, during my 15 minutes I desire not to be interrupted.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman announces that he does not wish to be interrupted during his 15 minutes.

Mr. LUNN. Mr. Speaker, 17 months after Congress declared war against the Imperial German Government the Army of the United States numbered 3,200,000 men. When we pledged all our resources in a death struggle against autocracy in all its forms we registered our determination to prosecute this war to a successful finish, regardless of cost or sacrifice.

Few realized the colossal tasks ahead of us and the almost impossible problems that had to be solved. The greatest task was that of raising and equipping an adequate army. Upon the Military Affairs Committee of the House was laid the responsibility of first deciding and recommending what, in their judgment, seemed to be the best method for providing the man power essential to the great task confronting the Nation. There were members of the committee who sincerely believed that the volunteer system should be adopted. There were others who, with equal sincerity, believed that a selective service law would constitute our strongest support.

During the several weeks of deliberation not one note of partisanship was sounded within that committee room. When a test vote was finally taken it revealed that there were 13 members who favored reporting to the House a volunteer bill. There were 8 members who believed otherwise. The following incident reveals how completely absent was any thought of partisanship: Immediately after this test vote was taken a Democratic member of the committee, favoring the selective draft, called the other seven members of similar view to his room for a conference. He stated his own unalterable conviction as to the necessity of adopting some form of selective draft, and that he would be one to bring in a minority report and report the same, even if his were to be the only vote cast in its favor. The remainder of the eight expressed themselves as being equally determined. It was then decided that the eight members would stand together and make a minority report.

Democrats and Republicans alike of that minority agreed that they would tolerate no partisanship, and in that spirit, and swayed by that spirit, they turned to the oldest member of the committee, JULIUS KAHN, as their leader. These eight members of the Military Affairs Committee, Democrats and Republicans, worked hand in hand and perfected the minority report which was offered to the House.

The result is well known. The House sustained the position taken by these eight Members. In the long debate preceding the action of the House I do not recall a single speech containing a phrase of partisanship. It is, therefore, unfortunate, to say the least, that anyone should attempt to claim partisan credit for a nonpartisan accomplishment.

We had in the Regular Army of the United States at that time 127,588 men. If the Nation at that time had said to the War Department, We shall expect you to take your Regular Army of 127,588 men and, in effect, divide them into companies of 10 each, and by September, 1918, we shall expect each of these companies to be recruited up to full strength of 250 men, giving us an army of 3,200,000 men; and, further, we shall expect these men to be thoroughly equipped with rifles and other munitions, thoroughly trained as fighting forces, well clothed, sufficient food provided, shelter—in the form of great cantonments—arrangements for medical service, with hospital accommodations for thousands; the development of an air service; the development of ocean transportation, that we may send hundreds of thousands of troops to France—I say that if such an order had been given the War Department at the declaration of hostilities it would have seemed an impossible task. But the Nation went further, saying, in effect, to the War Department: We shall expect you to have a fighting force of 3,200,000 men by September, 1918; and between April, 1917, and August, 1918, we shall expect you to furnish the following articles: Shoes, marching and field, 27,276,000; coats, cotton and wool, total, 19,537,000; breeches, cotton and wool, total, 29,820,000; shirts, cotton and flannel, total, 25,487,000; undershirts, cotton and winter, total, 83,971,000; drawers, cotton and winter, total, 83,042,000; stockings, cotton and wool, total, 156,672,000; hats, service, 7,779,000; and blankets, 21,005,000. We shall expect you to furnish between April, 1917, and September, 1918, the following quantities of six staple food articles: Bacon, 11,451,670 pounds; flour, 625,461,392 pounds; dry beans, 102,894,742 pounds; rice, 38,421,256 pounds; tomatoes, 72,274,529 cans; sugar, 186,582,316 pounds. We shall expect you to purchase 15,800 rolling kitchens to properly prepare this food. We shall expect you to purchase 1,064,251 tons of hay and 592,749 tons of oats. We shall expect you to purchase 278,732 horses and 131,917 mules. As a necessity for the transportation of materials and men by land, we expect you to provide 106,000 motor trucks, 10,700 passenger cars, 54,400 motorcycles, 11,500 bicycles, and 13,000 cargo and tank trailers. In air service we shall expect you to increase your officers from 65 to 7,465; we shall expect an enlargement of your enlisted men from 1,120 to 147,434. Instead of your three small aviation fields we shall expect you to provide 29 flying fields, thoroughly equipped for the training of America's flying forces. This will be in addition to the American airdomes and assembly fields in France and England. We shall expect you, by September, 1918, to produce 6,931 training planes, 1,440 De Haviland planes, 7,647 Liberty motors, and 12,500 training engines. By September 1918, we shall expect you to have 8,000 aviators training in the United States, besides 4,000 awaiting assignment to the ground schools. In addition to the large number of planes and engines delivered to our Army from the French and British, we shall expect American-made planes and American-made engines to be in actual combat service by July, 1918. We shall expect the ordnance section to meet the heavy requirements of our Army, producing in addition to purchases in France the following program:

American production in August, 1917, January, 1918, July, 1918, and August, 1918.

[July, 1918, includes four weeks, June 29–July 27, and August, 1918, includes five weeks, July 27–Aug. 31, except for explosives and propellants, which are for calendar month.]

	August, 1917.	January, 1918.	July, 1918.	August, 1918.
Artillery guns, complete with carriage	.....	25	118	161
Artillery ammunition (types in France) (total)	.....	145,677	1,526,221	1,945,428
Shell	.....	3,190	772,613	1,163,215
Shrapnel	.....	142,487	753,608	782,212
Machine guns	855	1,200	24,942	35,447
Rifles	13,000	163,309	201,439	263,989
Pistols and revolvers	6,908	27,200	53,092	71,000
Small-arms ammunition	7,000,000	153,703,000	292,498,000	337,732,000
Propellants and explosives	.....	11,173,000	51,789,000	52,890,000
Tractors	.....	81	160	484

United States production of propellants and major explosives for the months of January, July, and August, 1918.

[For United States Army and allies.]

	January, 1918.	July, 1918.	August, 1918.
Smokeless powder	37,590,000	41,360,000	44,100,000
Guncotton (export)	1,176,000	2,681,000	1,999,000
Total propellants	38,766,000	44,041,000	46,179,000
T. N. T.	8,661,000	13,966,000	15,368,000
Ammonium nitrate	7,255,000	15,405,000	19,255,000
Picric acid	6,242,000	11,372,000	12,085,000
Total major explosives	22,158,000	40,743,000	46,708,000
Grand total	60,724,000	84,784,000	92,887,000

We shall expect you, on June 5, 1917, to have the young men between the ages of 21 and 31, inclusive, register throughout the Nation, which number shall total 9,586,508 men. We shall expect you to register on June 5, 1918, the young men who have become 21 since June 5, 1917, to the extent of 744,865 men. A similar registration we shall expect on August 24, 1918, to the extent of 159,151 men. Out of this total registration up to September 1, 1918, we shall expect the fighting forces under arms to number 3,200,000 men.

If the Nation had called upon the War Department at the declaration of war to meet this colossal program it would have seemed too staggering for achievement, and yet it has been done. If the Nation had said to the War Department in April, 1917, We shall expect you to transport more than 1,800,000 troops for foreign service by October 1, 1918, it would have sounded like the weird tale of the impossible—and yet it has been done.

The figures I have given are not the figures of estimates but the figures of accomplishment. The most tremendous program in the history of mankind has been successfully carried out by the war Department in the last 17 months. Germany's vaunted efficiency has nothing to compare with this achievement.

If the frontier of democracy had been on the American Continent instead of on the French front, and we were battling on our own soil against an overwhelming enemy; and to our rescue France, England, and Italy—with little to begin with—had at the end of 17 months dispatched to our shores an army of more than 1,800,000 men we would have called it marvelous. Is it any less marvelous that America has accomplished this gigantic task?

Mistakes have occurred, unquestionably. Is it even conceivable that such a tremendous program could ever have been achieved without mistakes? It would have been utterly impossible for this Nation to have reached its present progress in our war program without mistakes, unless every activity had been carried on by a host of perfected beings from heaven above; and yet we have had continuous and carping criticism from some individuals who do not hail from that particular region.

I entertain no feeling of resentment at criticism as such. Criticism coming from a heart pulsating with a desire for greater accomplishments is always helpful. Criticism that is constructive is always beneficial. But criticism that is simply carping and political is little less than treason. Happily such criticism has been crushed in the light of actual results.

But the accomplishments of the War Department during the past 17 months is not the whole story. They have a prodigious program still before them. The present Army of 3,200,000 men actually in the field, thoroughly armed and equipped, with

every provision made for them, is being increased and will be increased without limit.

It is difficult to conceive the actual size of our present forces, let alone the larger forces yet to be. Do you realize how long it would take the present American Army of 3,200,000 men to pass a given point? Let us see how long it would take for the American forces, if it were possible to assemble them, to march in infantry formation by the steps of the National Capitol. It would appear to me that six hours a day for this type of marching, continued day after day, would be a fair average. If they were to begin such a march to-day—October 1, 1918—they would continue marching every day during the month of October, and not until the 20th day of November would the last column of soldiers pass the Capitol. If such a march in review were possible, and were delayed until next June, the time for marching troops by the Capitol would consume nearly three solid months.

But mere bigness is not the essential of strength. We might multiply our Army tenfold and still be weak. We might build guns without number, and not be strong. We might produce material resources mountains high, and still be overwhelmed. The strength of America lies in the spirit of her people at home and on the battle front. They are animated by a real love of their country, not because of her material greatness; not because of her broad acres; not because of the riches of her fertile valleys, nor the wealth hidden within her mountains. They love America because of the ideals and principles for which she stands—principles without which life would be a mockery and civilization a madman's dream.

Challenged by a brutal military autocracy the spirit of America was aroused in defense of interests the most vital and sacred. There followed the mobilization of our tremendous material forces. America was rich, and she willingly poured forth the utmost of her treasure. This was what Germany feared most of all. Steeped in her philosophy of the unconquerable might of the material forces, Germany failed utterly to realize the incalculable strength of our spiritual assets. She took no account of the soul of America. She estimated our strength in the number of our soldiers, failing completely to realize the kind of soldiers that we were sending. She did not—I dare say she could not appreciate the spirit back of American arms. To Germany, America was but the melting pot of nations, incapable of national unity and wholly contemptible as a military power. Little did Germany realize the influence of America in retaining the devotion of her native-born sons, and transforming the foreign-born sons into citizens equally patriotic, equally loyal and devoted. Let me quote two short speeches delivered in Madison Square Garden, New York City, in celebration of the Fourth of July. One boy, a descendant of a native American, spoke as follows:

I am an American. My father belongs to the Sons of the Revolution; my mother belongs to the Colonial Dames. One of my ancestors pitched tea overboard in Boston Harbor; another stood his ground with Warren; another hungered with Washington at Valley Forge. My forefathers were American in the making; they spoke in her council halls; they died on her battle fields; they commanded her ships; they cleared her forests. Dawns reddened and paled. Staunch hearts of mine beat fast at each new star in the Nation's flag. Keen eyes of mine foresaw her greater glory; the sweep of her seas, the plenty of her plains, the man hives in her billion-wired cities. Every drop of blood in me holds a heritage of patriotism. I am proud of my past. I am an American.

This was followed by a foreign-born lad, who arose and said:

I am an American. My father was an atom of dust; my mother was a straw in the wind of His Serene Majesty. One of my ancestors died in the mines of Siberia; another was crippled for life by 20 blows of the knout; another was killed defending his home during the massacres. The history of my ancestors is a trail of blood to the palace gate of the great white Czar. But then the dream came—the dream of America. In the light of liberty's torch the atom of dust became a man and the straw in the wind became a woman for the first time. "See," said my father, pointing to the flag that fluttered near, "that flag of stars and stripes is yours; it is the emblem of the promised land. It means, my son, the hope of humanity. Live for it; die for it." Under the open sky of my new country I swore to do so, and every drop of blood in me will keep that vow. I am proud of my future. I am an American.

The true spirit of America had gripped the heart of these lads as it has gripped your heart and mine. Boys of this type, grown to manhood's state, native born as well as American born, loyal to the core, devoted in soul, are standing foursquare on the western front, while over them floats the flag that has never touched the ground. Many have already fallen on the battle fields of France. Others yet will die, and in their death we witness the blood sacrifice for democracy's salvation. We do not expect Germany to understand this holy spirit of democracy which is inspiring America in all her war activities.

In the brief time allotted me I have only given an outline of the wonderful results which have been accomplished by one arm of the Government up to September, 1918. What has been done up to that time by the War Department constitutes a marvel of achievement. Such results have never been equaled in the history of man. It never could been accomplished had not partisanship been vanished, while patriotism led the way. Provincial politics would have wrecked our preparation. Any attempt to have made this a Democratic war or a Republican war would have been disastrous. Partisanship is not only petulant and provoking but at such a grave time as this it is absolutely perilous.

The present administration has stood on the solid rock of national devotion and loyalty. In the administrative work connected with the most stupendous task ever confronting any Government are associated men who are Democrats, men who are Republicans, working side by side in a unity of plan and purpose that has made the American Republic another name for magnificent achievement. Yet there are Members of this body who, clothing themselves with the paraphernalia of partisanship, are crying aloud for a change in the House of Representatives to assure a more vigorous prosecution of the war. Their cry is insincere. It is the equivalent of a severe arraignment of the administration or a calculated condemnation of the present Congress, or both.

They dare not attack the President and his administration, for they know well enough that the people of America are back of the President in this great war. They dare not openly attack the present Congress without thereby attacking themselves. Is there any Member of this House, be he Republican or Democrat, who will contend that the Sixty-fifth Congress has failed in a most vigorous prosecution of the war? If they have failed, then not simply one side of the House should be relieved of further duty, but the entire membership—Republicans and Democrats alike—deserve the most ignominious defeat possible at the hands of the people.

Just the opposite is the fact. The war Congress, as a whole, has been a loyal, hard-working, patriotic body. The most far-reaching and effective legislation has been passed, most of it with practically no opposition. Bond issues of staggering proportions and revenue bills of tremendous amounts have been enacted into law because of war necessity. Man-power bills have been authorized until nearly 25 per cent of our population has been made subject to military duty. Can another Congress, of whatever complexion, pass measures that will insure a more vigorous prosecution of the war?

Has the present Congress failed in voting sufficient money? Has the present Congress failed in voting sufficient men? Has the present Congress failed in making proper provision for these men? If not, what constitutes a more vigorous prosecution of the war? Such a question ought to be answered by those parochial politicians who seek to hoist the flag of partisanship where the flag of patriotism should wave. This is no time for men of township mind to insinuate their narrow thinking into the serious affairs of the Nation, when the country's destiny is at stake.

It would be fortunate, if it were possible, to have every Member of Congress and the political leaders of the Nation to visit the western front just as our American boys were rushing forward to meet, unflinchingly, the murderous fire of the Germans. There would be no delay in that attack in order to have a roll call to find out which were Democratic boys and which were Republican boys. As they went over the top, many of them to their death, their eyes would flash with Divine determination to fight to the last against the foes of civilization. At such an hour they could not think of partisan phrase or shibboleth, but, rather, would they be inspired by the big thoughts of world destiny. They would advance fearlessly as crusaders of civilization, warriors of liberty, defenders of freedom.

In the face of such an experience, where nothing less than national and world thought could inspire to action, I am sure that every Member of Congress and every political leader would throw aside the useless garments of partisanship and return home clothed about with a patriotism made resplendent by the glorious ideals and purposes of this mighty world war. Narrow thoughts could not then find expression. Partisan plans would be hurled aside. Baptized under that fire of world conflict, they would forget they were Democrats or Republicans in their consecrated devotion to the greatest cause that ever plunged nations into the mad vortex of war. [Applause.]

In this spirit alone can we be worthy of the splendid men who are defending the world's most sacred principles. It is this spirit of loyalty and devotion to the tremendous issues at stake that must control all our thoughts and energies. It is with this spirit of deepest consecration to our great cause that we can win the war and bring again to earth the blessings of a righteous and lasting peace. [Applause.]

EMERGENCY POWER.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the emergency power bill, H. R. 12776.

The SPEAKER. It is not necessary for the gentleman to make that motion. The rule evidently contemplates the automatic going into Committee of the Whole.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. WALSH. Is the ruling of the Chair to the effect that tomorrow, Calendar Wednesday, will be dispensed with?

The SPEAKER. No. It takes unanimous consent or a two-thirds vote to dispense with Calendar Wednesday. Now, this is a curious question. The Chair has not had time to investigate it and does not know how far back it runs, but evidently the first man who ever drew a rule like this one did it when somebody was conducting a systematic filibuster. It may have been a Democrat or it may have been a Republican, but there would be roll calls on everything, among other things on the motion to go into Committee of the Whole, and that would delay business. If I had time I would investigate to find out the reasons which prompted the drawing of that first rule. The question has been raised here three or four times, and the Chair has always ruled the same way. Evidently that was the origin of it. Of course, no condition of that kind exists here now, but still the Committee on Rules brought in this rule in the usual language, providing that immediately upon the adoption of the rule the House should resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. WALSH. Then the Speaker rules that this particular rule making this bill in order should be interpreted in the same manner as a rule containing the words "and shall be a continuing order"?

The SPEAKER. That is exactly what the Chair holds.

Mr. STAFFORD. May I inquire whether, under the phraseology of this rule, if this bill is not finished in the Committee of the Whole on Saturday evening when the House adjourns, this bill will supplant the business in order on next Monday, the Unanimous-Consent Calendar, and suspension of the rules?

I am asking for the construction of the present rule with that in mind—this does not say it shall be a continuing order.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks by this rule, by its verbiage, that it would cut out business on the first and third Monday. But certainly it does not on Calendar Wednesday. The Chair is not so positive about the business on Monday as he is on Wednesday, and will investigate that matter before next Monday.

Mr. STAFFORD. Why should it cut out the business on Calendar Wednesday and not on suspension day, except that the rule provides that the committee shall not report any rule cutting out Calendar Wednesday? I suppose that is the basis of the Chair's opinion.

The SPEAKER. The rule says:

It shall always be in order to call up for consideration a report from the Committee on Rules, and, pending the consideration thereof, the Speaker may entertain one motion that the House adjourn; but after the result is announced he shall not entertain any other dilatory motion until the said report shall have been fully disposed of. The Committee on Rules shall not report any rule or order which shall provide that business under paragraph 7 of Rule XXIV shall be set aside by a vote of less than two-thirds of the Members present; nor shall it report any rule or order which shall operate to prevent the motion to recommit being made as provided in paragraph 4 of Rule XVI.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Does the Chair predicate his ruling upon the language "*Resolved*, That immediately upon the adoption of this rule the House shall resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union"?

The SPEAKER. Yes. This rule has an addendum to it, and it may be in all the rules: "After the bill shall have been perfected in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union it shall be reported to the House."

Mr. WALSH. What else could be done with it?

The SPEAKER. The committee might drop it.

Mr. WALSH. Do I understand that a motion to strike out the enacting clause is not now in order in the Committee of the Whole?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is asking so many parliamentary questions that the Chair——

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, it is not in order in Committee of the Whole under the rule. The rule says you can not move to strike out the enacting clause because the House has ordered the Committee of the Whole to consider it in Committee of the Whole, and you can not move to strike out the enacting clause after it has been ordered to be considered by special order.

Mr. WALSH. That is what I am asking the Chair.

Mr. FOSTER. I hope the Chair will not decide that that can be done, because the decisions and the rule says that where the bill is being considered in Committee of the Whole by order of the House it is not in order to move to strike out the enacting clause. I think that is very plain.

The SPEAKER. That question is not presented here. But if this rule does not mean what the Chair construes it to mean, there is no sense in the rule at all.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. May I be permitted to say a word, if the gentleman will permit? The only purpose of the Committee on Rules in reporting the rule was to give it a privileged status. I do not think it was the thought of any member of the committee that they were giving it an exclusive status, and that by reporting the rule we were going to cut off conference reports and matters of the highest privilege. The purpose of the report was to give the bill a privileged status, and we put that language at the end, so that it would not require it to be completed in a single day. I make that statement in justice to the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. The Chair would not hold that this rule, or any rule, would shut off conference reports. They are the very essence of legislation. There is not a Member of the House who uses the English language more precisely than does the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT], and the chances are ten to one that the Committee on Rules went on and reported the rule in the stereotyped way.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I fully concur in the statement of the gentleman from Tennessee with respect to the intent of this rule. I hope the Chair will not find it necessary to decide the question whether or not the rule sets aside the first and third Mondays in the month.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is not going to decide that question now.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I am quite sure it was not the intention of the Committee on Rules to give any greater privilege to this bill than a privileged status under the rules of the House.

Mr. WALSH. How do conference reports get any privilege if the House resolves itself automatically into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will rule on that when the time comes. All of these rules ought to be construed in the direction of expediting business. Speaker Reed never did lay down a proposition clearer than that or one that had more sense. He said that all rules were made for the purpose of expediting business and not retarding business, and he followed that with an iron hand.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, is it possible to get a division on the question of going into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union each day on this bill?

The SPEAKER. Not under this rule.

Mr. ROGERS. Then it seems that the rule in not permitting the House to raise that question is a rule that defeats the expediting of business of the House.

The SPEAKER. Here is the situation. The Committee on Rules of the House comes in with a rule which fixes the order of business. The House has adopted that rule by the committee.

Mr. WALSH. Will the Chair permit a suggestion, that under this phraseology it does not contain the words "and shall be a continuing order." This simple little rule, under the construction of the Chair, gives this measure a higher status than an appropriation bill, because on appropriation bills we have to move to go into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union each day.

The SPEAKER. The time to have remedied that was when this rule was up.

Mr. WALSH. I do not think that the question is beyond argument now, even after the statement of the Chair.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is perfectly willing to hear argument about it. There are two things this House does in a kind of automatic way—one is agreeing to a rule and the other is ordering the previous question.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the Chair will permit, if this is an automatic call, is it right for the Speaker even to receive a message from the Senate?

The SPEAKER. Oh, those things have to be done.

Mr. STAFFORD. There are other matters under the rules of the House that should be considered, too.

The SPEAKER. You can not stop the business of the House stock still.

Mr. STAFFORD. The decision of the Speaker, if adhered to, would stop the business of legislation, even to the extent of refusing to receive a message from the President or the Senate; it would block all legislation.

The SPEAKER. If they did not want it that way, they ought not to bring in a rule of that kind; and if they do bring in a rule of that kind Members ought to beat the rule. There is nothing sacred about a rule.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the Speaker will bear with me, this language simply gives this bill a privileged character. If they wished to make it a continuing order, so it would be in the province of the Chair to hold that the House resolve itself automatically into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, why, then, they would express this that way; but this just gives it a privileged status, that is all.

The SPEAKER. The Chair serves notice on the House that he is going to rule this way every time this kind of a rule comes up; and if the House does not like it, it has its remedy.

Mr. WALSH. No opportunity is given to amend the rule when it is brought in.

The SPEAKER. The real remedy is to appeal from the decision of the Chair.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Vote down the previous question on the rule.

Mr. SEARS. As the Chair has ruled that the House resolves itself automatically into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, I make the point of order that the gentlemen on the other side are out of order.

The SPEAKER. Everybody has been out of order, on both sides. The House automatically resolves itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 12776), with the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. HOUSTON] in the chair.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 12776, with Mr. HOUSTON in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 12776, which the Clerk will report by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 12776) to provide further for the national security and defense and for the more effective prosecution of the war by furnishing means for the better utilization of the existing sources of electrical and mechanical power and for the development of new sources of such power, and for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 4. That whenever any act done pursuant to the provisions of this act shall constitute a taking of private property within the meaning of the Constitution just compensation shall be made therefor in an amount to be determined by the President; and if the amount so determined by the President is unsatisfactory to the person entitled to receive the same, such person shall be paid 75 per cent of the amount so determined by the President and shall be entitled to sue the United State to recover such further sum as, added to said 75 per cent, will make up such amount as will be just compensation therefor, in the manner provided for by section 24, paragraph 20, and section 145 of the Judicial Code.

The committee amendment was read, as follows:

Page 11, lines 3 and 4, after the word "constitution," insert "and the laws of the several States."

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The committee amendment was read, as follows:

Page 11, line 5, after the word "amount," insert the words "and in the manner."

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to recur to section 3 for the purpose of offering an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SIMS. There is no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 10, line 15, after the word "President," insert "subject to the limitations set forth in paragraph 13 of section 2."

Mr. ESCH. We rewrote subsection 13 yesterday by providing that these employees, clerks, and so forth, could come under civil service. This section 3 brings in another list of employees, so I wish to make the same application as to them.

Mr. SIMS. This is the same amendment that has already been adopted.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ESCH. I have another amendment to offer, and I think the chairman will admit it ought to be made. On page 10, line 19, there appears a comma after the word "time." Either there ought to be a semicolon or the word "and" ought to be inserted, and I suggest that we insert the word "and" and strike out the comma.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 10, line 19, after the word "time," strike out the comma and insert in lieu thereof the word "and."

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 6. That no structure affecting the navigable capacity of any navigable waters of the United States shall be constructed or installed under the provisions of this act until the plans therefor have been approved by the Chief of Engineers and the Secretary of War, or such other body as may be authorized by Congress.

The committee amendment was read, as follows:

Page 12, lines 5 and 6, after the word "War," in line 5, insert the following: "or such other body as may be authorized by Congress."

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 12, line 4, after the word "until," insert "a hearing has been held and."

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, I submitted that amendment to the chairman of the committee, and he expressed himself as in favor of it.

Mr. SIMS. I see no objection to it.

Mr. ROGERS. If the gentleman is of the same opinion, I do not care to discuss it.

Mr. MADDEN. I want to be heard on that.

Mr. ROGERS. Is the gentleman opposed to the amendment?

Mr. MADDEN. I am opposed to it.

Mr. ROGERS. Then perhaps I will say a word. I believe, Mr. Chairman, it will be agreed generally by the committee that a hearing is a fundamental element in our procedure; that in criminal, in civil, and in administrative law of all kinds the person against whom a proceeding of law is moving is permitted to be heard, to state his case, and to offer such objections as he may see fit against the action which is contemplated.

Mr. ESCH. Would not the use of the word "approve" imply a hearing?

Mr. ROGERS. I think not. The section now reads "until the plans therefor have been approved by the Chief of Engineers and the Secretary of War." It would seem to me perfectly clear that the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers might frequently reach a decision and "approve" the action of their subordinates without affording an opportunity to the interested private party to be heard.

Mr. ESCH. The language in italics inserted in the section are in view of the provisions in the general water-power bill which contemplate a commission, and under the water-power bill the commission has full jurisdiction over the subject matter and, under the practice, would have the hearing.

Mr. ROGERS. The practice is a very excellent thing, but the practice can be changed at will, of course. Does the gentleman see any objection to providing in the law that the interested person may be given a chance to be heard?

Mr. ESCH. I have only this possible objection, that a hearing may necessitate delay, and this is an emergency matter, and the Government may have to act on the instant.

Mr. ROGERS. Of course, it would be true that it would be in the hands of the Chief of Engineers and of the Secretary of War when the hearing should be held and how much notice of it should be given. The other party would be obliged to conform to the suggestions which were made by the Government officials. Under the circumstances I can not think that there would be any danger of delay which would imperil the advancement of any project.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I hope that this amendment will not prevail, because it will have a tendency to delay perhaps the most important thing that may be required to be done in connection with the development of power, and time in a case like this is of the greatest importance.

This bill has been pending now for about a week, and a great many of us have not really understood the importance of its early enactment. I have not been very enthusiastic for the bill myself, but I took the liberty this morning of spending an hour or two in going through the plans which the Council of National Defense has for the development of power and the purposes for which the power is to be used. I was amazed to find after looking the plans over that the emergency is not only here, but it is imperative that action should be taken not only on this bill but upon the work that is to follow the enactment of the law. The calculations made by the Council of National Defense for the development of power for the manufacture of equipment for the war were based on an Army the size of which was not much more than a quarter of what the Army is finally to be. We have been proceeding on the

theory that we had equipment enough to meet the needs of the emergency. But as the Army grows from day to day it is found that the manufacturing plants throughout the United States needed for the production of material necessary to supply the Army in the field are inadequate and that plants must be increased in size and volume and power supply if we are to meet the expectations of success abroad. I had no idea that the thing was as important as it is until I made this investigation.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. As the gentleman has made this investigation, could he inform us just where it was planned to place these plants and whether they are steam or water plants?

Mr. MADDEN. They are all over the United States, and I have a typical drawing of one district, for example, taking in the Pittsburgh territory and eastern Ohio and some of West Virginia, beginning down here at Windsor and Wheeling, and moving along to Washington, Pa., and down to McKeesport and Connellsville and Duquesne, Cheswick, Pittsburgh, Lincoln, Freeport, Butler, Junction Park, Ellwood, West Pittsburgh; and Lowellville, Youngstown, Brier Hill, Warren, Alliance, Massillon, Canton, and Bolivar, Ohio.

And these are only typical towns which I have named. And the proposition is to consolidate, as far as possible, the power to supply any plant within the area of this district from any power plant that may have a surplus of power. That will necessitate the construction of the pipe lines that I had some doubt about a day or two ago, and in connection with which I asked some questions, and it is found that in the territory of which I have this plan the present possible development of power is 100,000 kilowatts, whereas the need for 1919 will be 230,000 kilowatts. It requires an addition of 130,000 kilowatts. The development of power necessary to meet the needs throughout the country will require an additional million kilowatts during the year 1919.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MADDEN. I would like to ask for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes more. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. MADDEN. And since the Army has gone to—from what we originally proposed, 1,200,000—3,500,000 men, and is going up to 5,000,000 men, it is of the utmost importance that power be developed or supplied from where it is to places where it does not exist, through transmission lines, so that we can keep the men who are working in the factories that are making war munitions employed. In some of these factories, I may say now, the men are required to lay off part of two or three days a week because of the shortage of power. And if that continues to a very considerable extent throughout the country it will embarrass the War Department in supplying the needs of the Army. Every calculation that was made with respect to the needed power in the beginning was based on the original size of the Army. The greatest objection to the attitude of the Council of National Defense or the War Department that can be made in this connection is the fact that they did not see the need of this question earlier. But perhaps they are not to blame for that. They had to investigate to find out what power existed everywhere in the United States. My investigation shows that they have done that systematically; that they have a record of all the power that exists everywhere. They have divided the country into zones. The department contemplates the concentration of power within the zones so that it can be supplied from any plant that has more to any plant that has less power than needed; that new power plants can be created, and hence the importance of not adopting the amendment suggested by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ROGERS], because if that amendment should be adopted and hearings were necessary, in the case of navigable streams, the delay might be fatal.

Under ordinary circumstances I would favor the amendment of the gentleman, but this is not an ordinary case. And I hope that he will withdraw the amendment, because I think the urgency of the case is such as to make it imperative that no delay shall be had when power development is necessary at any particular place in the United States. For example, I found from my investigation that the tabulations that were made show there is considerable power in the city of New York that could be transferred across the river into New Jersey if this bill gives the President the authority to make the transfer. Until the law is passed he would not have the power to make the transfer, and inasmuch as it is to be transferred from one State to another, negotiations would probably have to be had between the States. But with this law in force I think the President would have the power to make the order. In the present emergency the New Jersey plants are short of power to the extent of keeping some of the great munition plants idle in New Jersey, whereas if the President had the power he could order the transfer of that power from New York, where they have a surplus, and thus keep the New Jersey plants working to their fullest extent. And so I think I have learned from the investigation that I took the trouble to make that this bill is of greater importance than any of us had any idea it was.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes; surely.

Mr. ROGERS. Does the gentleman think that the hearings in the infrequent cases where they would probably be asked for would result in any material delay, so as to prejudice the war preparations of the country?

Mr. MADDEN. That is the only thing I am afraid of, I will say to the gentleman from Massachusetts. No matter how infrequent it might be, it might be all important to avoid delay. The delay might be fatal in the matter, no matter how infrequent it might be. If so, it ought not to be allowed. I hope that the gentleman will withdraw the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I want to say that I am glad to hear the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] say what he has. When the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ROGERS] mentioned to me privately about the proposed hearing I took the same view of it that the gentleman from Massachusetts does now—that it would not be a hearing requiring any particular length of time, and that it would not be given unless there was a demand, and where there was a demand, of course, I thought it would be by some man who had a complaint and whose property might be injured; and all the hearing, as I understand, that is contemplated by this amendment is that when the request for a hearing comes to the engineers of the War Department it would be acted on in the most expeditious manner and without any appreciable delay. Of course, if it would involve serious delay I am confident that the gentleman from Massachusetts himself would not press his amendment.

Mr. ROGERS. That is true. But the gentleman would assume, would he not, that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the hearings would be asked for and given promptly and no delay would intervene?

Mr. SIMS. That is what I understood from the statement of the gentleman from Massachusetts. All the way through I have welcomed suggestions as to amendments. This is no party bill. It is not my bill. I never wrote a word of it, as I have tried to convince the House from time to time, lest some one, having a feeling against me, might try to take out his grudge against me by opposing this measure. I have not opposed amendments where I have felt no harm would be done by them, even where there is no good in them. I realize that the gentleman from Massachusetts is anxious to do all that can be done in the winning of the war. I saw no practical harm in the gentleman's amendment, but the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] has made a very illuminating statement as to the situation, and I think what he has said ought to be taken into consideration by the committee.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman, if it is not embarrassing to him, state to the committee whether or not he favors or opposes the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

Mr. SIMS. I do not think an informal complaint made by somebody who might be interested would result in serious and material delay. If it would in practice cause delay, of course I would oppose it. It is just a question of what kind of a hearing is to be had and the length of time it is to cover. I think nobody can controvert what the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] has just stated as to the main purposes of the bill.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, it does not seem to me that the brief time that might be taken in one of these hearings would appreciably delay the execution of the work. In the hearings I find the statement of one of the witnesses that they do not expect to get this work completed inside of a year or 18 months. If they expect to spend even $20,000,000 on some particular plant, as I understand they do, they certainly would not expect to get it completed in much less than that time.

But I did not rise to speak so much of that matter as upon another subject. I got some information from the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] as to the location of these plants. Apparently they are to be located mostly in the East, and in a congested district. I hold in my hands a map of one of these districts, which the gentleman from Illinois has kindly furnished me. I wish the committee had seen fit to go into the matter more fully and attach a list of these maps to their report.

Mr. SIMS. I will say to the gentleman that the committee did go fully into this matter, and Lieut. Stanley in his testi-

mony gives all details. Now, why do we not have maps with the hearings? I would have been glad to have incorporated maps with the report, but when I asked for information as to whether it would materially delay the printing of the hearings I was answered that the Printing Office could not immediately print the maps. I was trying to expedite the matter and did not think the maps were so important as to warrant the delay in the printing of the hearings for the length of time required for the production of the maps. Now, what I want gentlemen to do is to be candid and not to make captious criticisms not founded on substance.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The gentleman can make his speeches in his own time. The printing of these blue prints would not take any time. They could be run off in a few minutes by electric light. The testimony of the witness does not identify the localities so that we can tell anything about it.

My friend from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] stated that they have gone all over the whole country in search of sites for power plants. It does not seem to me that they have been looking very carefully. If they had gone out to Keokuk, Iowa, they would have found 100,000 horsepower going to waste right there to-day. All it needs is putting in the turbine wheels. There is the great dam that cost over $20,000,000. There are the wheel pits, power house, transmitters, and everything except the turbine wheels to furnish 100,000 more horsepower if they wanted it. Of course, gentlemen will say that they have got their plants located in the East, and I must admit they persist in putting them there. Notwithstanding attention has been repeatedly called to the situation, new plants are still being constructed in the East.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I would like to have three minutes more. My friends will not permit me to talk without interruption.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. ESCH. I understand the Keokuk Dam is now supplying 90,000 or 100,000 horsepower, of which the city of St. Louis takes 60,000. They do have wheel pits for six or more turbines, but to utilize all of those turbines would require a larger water supply, and they could not have a continuous power using all of the wheel pits. They would have to put in supplemental steam power. I have been there, and I am familiar with the conditions.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The gentleman is in error if he thinks they could have no more continuous power there.

Mr. ESCH. I admit that they could by raising the general level of the pools.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Without raising the level, much more power could be obtained; and by a very slight expense they could get the whole 100,000 horsepower additional by raising the general surface of the reservoir.

Mr. SIMS. Will not this bill permit the very thing to be done the gentleman is discussing?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Yes; but they are not proposing to do it.

Mr. SIMS. How does the gentleman know that?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Because nobody here, or anywhere within the hearing of the committee, has ever mentioned it.

Mr. SIMS. We propose to do it wherever it is needed for the purpose of expediting the manufacture of war materials, whether at Keokuk or anywhere else. If my friend is waiting to have every one of these places identified in this debate, I am afraid the war will end before it is done.

Mr. SLOAN. We want the war to end.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I repeat that the great Father of Waters is sending down 100,000 horsepower there at Keokuk which is being wasted, which at very slight expense could be utilized. It would not need $100,000,000 or $20,000,000, and I do not believe it would need $1,000,000 to enable the Government to use this whole 100,000 horsepower. The trouble is that they persist in locating all of these plants in the East. If they construct any new plants or buildings they put them in the East, notwithstanding that out there is the great river which can be used to obtain iron from the North and coal from the Ohio, and down which the completed products can be shipped to the Gulf. Along this great river there are barges waiting, with plenty of transportation, and there is no occasion to congest the railways as we are doing now and clog up our ports with the products of the factories on its banks.

The port of New Orleans can be used, and that is not congested to the extent that eastern ports are. In spite of all these facts these gentlemen, who are mainly interested in the East and for some reason or other can only see through eastern spectacles, keep all these plants in the East, when they ought to be transferred to the West to a large extent, where all these natural resources are ready for them and there are ample supplies of power. That is the situation. That is what needs remedying to-day. They say they are going to do it; but I am unable to find that they are taking any steps in that direction, and that is what I am complaining about. There is plenty of power in Chicago, but little war work is being done there. Why the war work is not brought to the power is something that no one has undertaken to explain.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ROGERS] is pending, and debate on that amendment has been exhausted.

Mr. STAFFORD. I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for five minutes on the pro forma amendment.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ROGERS]. I believe there has been too much delay already in the presentation of this necessary power bill to the attention of Congress.

A complete survey has been made by representatives of the Government, which shows where power conditions are normal, where there is a power shortage, and where there is an excess of power. The argument of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN] has no relevancy in connection with this bill. There is no shortage of power in the vicinity of Keokuk, Iowa, or within 200 miles of that place. If the gentleman had studied the report of this survey carefully he would have seen that the survey made by the officials of the Government shows that there is no shortage of water power for 200 miles around Keokuk. At Chicago there is no shortage of power, according to this survey.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. That is just what I am complaining about. They will not put any of these plants in the West, where there is plenty of power.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman, with his impracticable theories, would delay the winning of the war for two years or more to establish plants out there where there would be power, rather than to bring the power right to the plants. If he had any practical knowledge of the mechanics of manufacturing he would know that what is necessary is to bring power to plants already established. Canada has met this issue. She is away in advance of this country. She has developed to its maximum capacity the water power of Niagara Falls on the Canadian side. We have been laggard and backward in that particular. There are certain districts in this country where munitions are being manufactured. The remedy suggested by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN] is not to utilize these plants in the East to their maximum capacity, but to establish new plants out in the Middle West. That is all past. We are now right in the midst of winning the war. The thing to do is to bring the war to a sudden close, and it is necessary to have additional power to run these plants, wherever they are located, to their maximum capacity.

What would be the effect of the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ROGERS]? I can not agree with the gentleman who has charge of this bill that it would only provide for an informal hearing. Anyone who knows anything about investigations by the Government knows that it means that any such hearing as is prescribed by this amendment would mean delay.

Mr. SIMS. I am not advocating the amendment at all.

Mr. STAFFORD. I tried by a direct question to ascertain whether the gentleman favored the amendment or not. I could not ascertain. I did not want to embarrass him by asking how he was going to vote, because that is a matter for his own conscience; but as chairman of the committee having this bill in charge I did try to find out from him whether he favored it or not, but I got an evasive answer. I am utterly opposed to any such delay as is contemplated. The wording of the bill is ample protection. You can certainly leave it to the Chief of Engineers and the Secretary of War to determine whether it is necessary. They are not going to impair the use of streams for navigation, unless it is necessary to generate power to win the war.

Mr. ROGERS. Does not the gentleman think that even the Chief of Engineers may sometimes err, and that it is fair that

a private individual should have a chance to present his case?

Mr. STAFFORD. Private individual to have boats navigating the stream!

I would far rather have the Chief Engineer err on the side of winning the war by creating additional power even though it might infringe on the private rights of individuals. Their rights are secured under the bill.

Mr. ROGERS. They are not secured unless they can present their case.

Mr. STAFFORD. They are secured; the next section or two gives ample guaranty to all private property. Under the gentleman's amendment we would have delay. You would allow these persons to come before the War Department and there would be delay of weeks and weeks. What is necessary is to give authority to the Secretary of War and the heads of the departments so that they can go ahead and equip these power plants wherever it is necessary so that they will have adequate power to meet war needs.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire of the chairman of the committee if the Niagara Falls has been taken over by the Government?

Mr. SIMS. I do not understand that Niagara Falls has been commandeered, I do not think it has.

Mr. CANNON. I presume not; but under this bill could the power on the American side be increased?

Mr. SIMS. I understand that it is possible to increase the power on the American side, and I think the means could be furnished under this bill.

Mr. CANNON. So that the power that is going to waste, which is a very large amount, could be utilized?

Mr. SIMS. Yes; and it is very badly needed.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the amendment again be reported.

The Clerk again reported the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 7. That any person who shall knowingly neglect or refuse to comply with any order or requisition made by the President or by any officer, agent, or agency whom he shall have designated or created pursuant to the provisions of section 3 hereof, or who shall knowingly obstruct or attempt to obstruct the enforcement of or the compliance with any such requisition or order, or who, by means of any false statement or fraudulent representation, shall induce or attempt to induce the President or any such officer, agent, or agency to lend, advance, or provide any moneys, or to provide or install any property, or to enter into any contract, or to perform any other act authorized by the provisions of this act shall be punished by a fine of not more than $5,000 or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 12, line 8, after the word "requisition," insert: "authorized by the provisions of this act and."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 8. That the President may retain any property and operate any plants, transmission lines, structures, facilities, or appliances constructed or acquired under the provisions of this act for such time as he may deem necessary or advisable for the purpose of selling or otherwise disposing thereof.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 13, line 2, after the word "thereof," strike out the period and insert the following: "not exceeding one year after the war period."

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I want to say a word about this amendment. This question may be very troublesome. Probably it would be better if the whole clause was omitted, because it gives power after the war is over, not only to maintain power plants acquired by the Government but to operate them whether they are required or not, so as to be a sort of a permanent thing. It seems right that a reasonable time should be allowed in which to sell plants unless the Government wants to keep them, say, for its own powder plants. Their operation is possibly necessary to hold them, but I am really very much worried at keeping these plants, generally, for such time as anyone pleases and going on with their operation. It looks very much like establishing a monopoly of power throughout the United States.

Mr. ESCH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I will.

Mr. ESCH. Would the gentleman be satisfied in lieu of his amendment to strike out the words "or acquired," in line 24, and substitute the words "by the United States," so that it would read:

That the President may retain any property and operate any plant, transmission line, structures, facilities, or appliances constructed by the United States under the provisions of this act—

And so forth?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I am thinking on my feet and I can not answer the gentleman's question right away. The United States expects, as I understand it, to have constructed through a fund provided for the period of the war these additions and structures, and they get title to enormous connections between all of these plants which would give them absolute control over the production. It is not merely the machinery in them, but the connections of one with another which makes them a tremendous, enormous, single power plant. We ought to be cautious about authorizing the Government to control the power of the country by such means, and yet I am very much worried as to how we can do it by statute without hampering the Government. My own idea is that it would be better to leave this question until we find out what conditions are after the war, and that it would be better to strike out the whole clause. But in order not to embarrass the bill my amendment limits the time for the period of one year after the war period. I do not know whether that would be sufficient or not, but Congress will be in session before the treaty of peace, and will be able to dispose of that question. I want gentlemen to realize what this means. They will construct connections between those plants and put machinery in them which may become absolutely essential to the operation of those plants and which ought to be settled for after the war unless we intend to have Government operation of power indefinitely and forever. That operation ought really to be limited therefore to a reasonable time. I will not object to two years in this particular clause, but I think it is better to say one, because one year is time enough for Congress to sit. There are six months in the war period after the treaty of peace, and it would probably be a whole year between the termination of the war and the declaration of the treaty of peace, so that there is really two years and six months, which is ample time to dispose of the matter. I therefore move, as I say, an amendment by which the power granted by this bill to continue to operate plants during peace time shall be limited to a year after the war period, which I think will be two years and six months after the termination of the war. The administration must dispose of it by that time unless Congress makes some other arrangement.

Mr. SIMS. I want to ask the gentleman from Wisconsin what his suggestion was?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. The gentleman from Wisconsin suggested that we strike out the words "or acquire," so this should apply only to plants or property constructed by the United States, but the United States under the bill, as I say, constructs everything, whether it gets a man to build for it by advancing funds or builds by its own agents.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I ask for recognition. I want to ask the gentleman from Wisconsin why he moves to strike out the word "acquire"? Would it not be necessary, if the President or the Government acquire a plant, to have some time for sale or disposing of it as if it were constructed by the Government itself?

Mr. ESCH. My thought in that connection was this: Where the Government builds a plant or a transmission line with its own money, and therefore owns it, we should not compel the President to dispose of that property within the limitation of time prescribed in other sections of the bill, and that under the limitation prescribed by the amendment of the gentleman from New Jersey the Government might still wish to continue the operation of that plant built by the Government's money, that transmission line, for years thereafter, and I have in mind the development of power, for instance, at a navigation dam where there is surplus water for power production.

Mr. SIMS. I agree with the gentleman. I wanted to know why he was not willing that the same power should exist where the President had acquired property. The Government would still own it.

Mr. ANDERSON. The term "acquire" would include a situation where the Government had a lease or right of possession and occupation.

Mr. SIMS. I know; but the whole object expressed in this bill is, as he may deem necessary or advisable he might sell or otherwise dispose of it. He must sell if he acquires as well as if he constructs.

Mr. ANDERSON. Not if it is only right of possession or lease upon the property.

Mr. SIMS. The gentleman makes a fine distinction. I was discussing what is the difference in fact in having no limitation where the Government constructed it or acquired it. If the Government owns the property and gets possession of it, it needs the time to dispose of it; it ought to apply to acquired property as well as to property constructed by the Government, and I was asking the gentleman from Wisconsin what his reason was for striking out "acquire." I know he always has a reason, and a good reason, for anything that he proposes.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, under subsection (1) of section 2 we provide for the construction at any place, and so forth, of power plants and provide for coking of coal and the production of toluol, and so forth. Now, that is construction that would be by Government money, and the plant after it has been constructed would be owned by the Government, and it might be advisable that the Government should continue operation of that plant long after the war time.

Mr. SIMS. I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. ESCH. I therefore did not want to put any limitation of time in a case of that kind. Now, in subsection (2) of section 2 we provide for the advancing of money, leasing of machinery, equipment, and so forth. In that case I do not think that the Government should continue operation of those plants, and not being Government owned, I did not want the Government to be compelled to relinquish.

Mr. SIMS. I agree with the gentleman exactly where the Government acquires title to the property—and we had a long discussion here as to what the word "acquire" meant—if the Government acquires and owns property, there may be reason to give time to dispose of it as well as if the Government built it.

Mr. ESCH. We have stricken out the part defining "acquire."

Mr. SIMS. I know; and we had a long discussion about that. I, of course, am opposed to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer an amendment to the amendment by striking out "one" and inserting the word "five," so it will read "five years after the war period."

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BLACK to the amendment offered by Mr. PARKER of New Jersey: Strike out the word "one" and insert in lieu thereof the word "five."

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I want to see if we can agree to a limitation of debate. I will ask unanimous consent that debate on this paragraph and all amendments—not the section, but the paragraph, and all amendments thereto—close in five minutes. Do other gentlemen desire to be heard?

Mr. SLOAN. I want five minutes.

Mr. CANNON. I want to offer a further amendment if the amendment of the gentleman from New Jersey is adopted.

Mr. SIMS. The gentleman can offer a further amendment.

Mr. CANNON. I want to offer a further amendment, and I will be very frank with the gentleman. I think I have great confidence in the gentleman from Wisconsin, and I understand the gentleman from Tennessee agrees with the gentleman from Wisconsin, substantially. It seems to me that amendment ought to go in.

Mr. SIMS. That can be made afterwards.

Mr. CANNON. That cuts off discussion of it.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that all debate on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER] and amendments to that amendment close in five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that all debate on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER] and all amendments to that amendment be closed in five minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, I object. I asked for five minutes.

Mr. SIMS. Make it 10 minutes.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I would like two minutes in which to reply.

Mr. SIMS. Then make it 12 minutes. I ask unanimous consent that the debate on the amendment of the gentleman from New Jersey and all amendments to that amendment close in 12 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that all debate on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey and all amendments thereto close in 12 minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLACK] is recognized.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Chairman, in this bill the war period has been definitely defined to be six months after the conclusion of a treaty of peace as proclaimed by the President. The amendment I have offered would have the effect to direct a disposal of the Federal ownership in these plants within a period of five years and six months after the conclusion of a treaty of peace. I think that a direction of this kind conforms to the intent and purpose of the bill in a very harmonious way, as it has been explained and interpreted by the members of the committee who are in charge of it.

As I understand this bill, it is not the purpose of it to put the Federal Government into the ownership of public utilities. It certainly ought not to be its purpose to do a thing of that kind, and it is our duty to see to it that no provision in it will permit a happening of that sort.

Now, I am not going to try in the few minutes that I have at my disposal to undertake a discussion of Federal Government ownership of public utilities. That is a big question, and along that line I care only to say that I am opposed to the general idea of Government ownership of private business, but if Government ownership of public utilities should become advisable at all, it should be ownership by the States or their political subdivisions, and not by the Federal Government, except, of course, in matters of strictly interstate concern.

Now, during the hearings on this bill this question of Government ownership of public utilities came up in the committee. Mr. DEWALT, one of the members of the committee, asked the Secretary of War the following question about this identical section 8, which we are now considering. Here is the question:

Does not that look almost like permanent ownership of these various plants, and might it not be so construed, if the President so desired? There seems to be no limitation there at all as to the ownership of these various plants, except in so far as it says that he shall hold them as long as he may think it necessary.

Gentlemen, let me emphasize there is no limitation at all of the duration of this ownership, but it may continue as long as the President may will it so. Now, what did the Secretary of War say? He replied and admitted that such was the proper construction of the section, and then further said:

I would not be able to suggest the language which might be appropriate to carry out that idea. The lawyers will be here and will doubtless be able to do it. But I will say, generally, that I agree with you perfectly. This is not the place to settle the great policy of Federal ownership. What we want to do now is to get the power.

Now, before the committee also appeared Mr.——

Mr. SIMS. Will the gentleman read what Mr. DEWALT said right there in connection with what you read?

Mr. BLACK. I read exactly what he said.

Mr. SIMS. I mean right below, right where the gentleman finished reading.

Mr. BLACK. I will permit you to read it in my time. If Mr. DEWALT said anything else which you think is pertinent to the subject under discussion, I shall be glad to have you read it.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. DEWALT said to the Secretary of War:

The immediate purpose is to get power and not get permanent ownership?

Secretary BAKER. Yes.

Mr. BLACK. It does not change the interpretation which I have made of section 8 at all. Mr. DEWALT pointed out that there was absolutely no limitation to the duration of the time of Federal ownership except the limitation of the will of the President, and the Secretary of War admitted as much.

Now, before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce also appeared Mr. Eugene Meyer, jr., director of the War Finance Corporation. He was one of the leading advisers in the preparation of this bill. Let us see how he interprets it. Mr. DEWALT also quoted the section to him and asked the following question——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the time be modified and extended to 15 minutes instead of ending in 12 minutes.

Mr. SIMS. I hope consent will be given to extend the time three minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman asks unanimous consent that the time be extended three minutes and that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLACK] shall have that time. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. BLACK. I thank the Chairman for that courtesy. As I was proceeding to say, Mr. Eugene Meyer, jr., one of the directors of the War Finance Corporation, was one of the principal advisers in the preparation of this bill. Now, Mr. DEWALT asked him the following question:

Wouldn't that leave in the hands of the President an unlimited power to retain any of these plants, transmission lines, or structures indefinitely, and thus almost inevitably lead to public ownership of these facilities? He has the right to determine whether he will sell,

how he will sell, at his own sweet will. Secretary Baker said he was not against public ownership of such utilities. Now, some people differ with him.

Now, here is Mr. Meyer's reply:

We have tried to straddle and not take sides.

Gentlemen, I submit now is no time to undertake to saddle upon the American people, either directly or indirectly, the fact of the Federal ownership of public utilities. [Applause.] It is no time for gentlemen to undertake to straddle upon questions of this kind or to try to undertake to induce Congress to straddle upon them. We should deal with all such questions in a spirit of entire frankness to the American people. It is our duty to do so, and anything short of it will not be meeting the measure of service which they have a right to expect of us in these times of serious responsibility. And yet here is a director of the War Finance Corporation and one of the principal advisers in the preparation of this bill who admits that the framers of it tried to straddle and not take sides on the question of permanent Government ownership. That question should not be in here at all, but a time limitation should be fixed, just as my amendment proposes to do. The question of the Federal Government ownership of public utilities can soon enough be taken up after the excitement and the turmoil and the distractions of war have passed away and the public mind has regained its normal processes. Now is no time for any great committee of this House or any of its legal advisers to drag in a Trojan horse which may in its final results commit us to the policy of Government ownership of these public utilities.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLACK. Yes.

Mr. SIMS. There are a number of navigation dams which have been built at the expense of the United States Government that may be improved under this bill. I mean generating plants. Now, where the Government has already spent millions, and spends other millions in order to use them for war purposes, does the gentleman think the President should be limited in the time necessary to dispose of those war facilities that were put in under stress of war for a stated period of time, when nobody knows who would bid on them except some power monopoly?

Mr. BLACK. I think the amendment I have offered, to wit, five years and six months after the expiration of the war period, is ample time to enable the Government to conclude its activities in so far as they are authorized under the terms and provisions of this particular bill, and I therefore hope that my amendment will be adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired. The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN] is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise to indorse the principle of the amendment proposed by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER]—perhaps not its specific details—because one year added to the six months post-war period might not be sufficient for the Government to adjust its relations with the private individuals with whom it has dealt or to dispose of the property that it has established.

But I desire to say in a general way that we ought at every opportunity to emphasize the fact that we are not going to use these stresses of war for the purpose of creating conditions that will give us control and ownership of public utilities and wrest from the citizens of the United States the opportunities they have had during the last 125 years, under which this great Government was built up to the proud position that it now holds.

Well might it be said of this bill that it comes here twelve times disavowed and repudiated, so far as authorship is concerned, by the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. It seems to be some legislative waif, left at the door of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. There are only two sources that I as a Member of this body recognize for legislation. One is from a Member of this body, and the other upon the suggestion of the President of the United States. We do not delegate constitutionally, and should not, as a matter of practice, our legislation, or any part of it, to the heads of departments, or men within the departments.

I want to say here, and say it again, as I have said it before, that this bill is of doubtful standing in this body. The President of the United States has not, in a constitutional manner, informed this body that we have a war measure here. It does not arise or originate with the President of the United States. It is disavowed by the membership of the committee having it in charge. Therefore it is used as a means for clamping upon the private property of the United States for the construction of various utilities throughout the United States. We should emphasize at every opportunity the policy that we do not propose to extend the operation, ownership, or control of these war-made activities longer than is absolutely necessary after the war has closed.

Now, our railroads are taken over by the Government, with what wisdom we are yet to discover. It is a mooted question as to the wisdom of it. We are not to take this property over, or to assume these powers, or to enter into these relationships with any expectation whatever of keeping them for any great length of time, or letting the Government be a monopolist of power or a great competitor in the control of power after the war is closed.

It is very easy now for 20 men out of 435 to sit in this Hall day after day and consider a bill that only duty prompts some of us to remain and consider. Many of us are expressing our disapproval of its features, especially in the repudiation of authorship. It is very easy for 20 of us, I say, to do that, ashamed, perhaps, of yielding the power of this Government and of seizing the property of private citizens. But I think in whatever we do we ought to emphasize the fact that whatever we do seize now is seized as strictly a war necessity, with the determination that it shall be released and surrendered to its original holding and form as soon as this war is over.

I think that should be the policy of this House; I think it should be the policy of Congress; I think it should be the policy of this great Government not to use the stress of war for the purpose of creating conditions in which only the pressure of war could prompt us to legislate.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER] is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I agree entirely with the considerations that have been advanced by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN]. They are the same that were adopted in the much more complicated questions of railroad management and telegraph management. They were limited in both Houses, or both Houses insisted that there should be a limitation of power. That time was put at 21 months in the railroad act—the longest period fixed. This amendment that I have offered is one year and six months after the treaty of peace. That is a year after the war period. That is really two years and six months after the war will probably have ended. It is enough.

Now, so much for that. If the Government goes into this business, the important part will not be the separate plants that the Government creates, for those might be in rivalry with other plants. But if the Government is to build transmission lines, or get transmission lines built, of which it holds the title, connecting all the power plants of a district together, and still continue to hold the title to those transmission lines, it has every plant in the whole district by the throat and can make them do what it pleases. It is a power that ought not to be put in Government control if we do not wish to have it stay there; certainly not for as much as five years and six months after the declaration of peace, and probably six years and six months after the end of the war. And therefore I agree entirely with the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLACK] in what he has said in support of his amendment, but I hope that his amendment of five years will be defeated and that mine will be adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLACK] to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER].

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. A division, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. A division is called for.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 9, noes 10.

Accordingly the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question recurs on the amendment of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER].

The question being taken, Mr. PARKER of New Jersey demanded a division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 6, noes 13.

Accordingly the amendment was rejected.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I reoffer the amendment, at page 12, line 24, to strike out the words "or acquired" and insert in lieu thereof "by the United States." I have already discussed it.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is upon the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

If, at the termination of the period provided by the contract relating thereto, or of such extension of the time of payment therein provided for as in furtherance of the interests of the United States, the President may deem it expedient to grant, the owner of any plant or transmission

line in or upon which any machinery, appliances, or structures shall have been installed pursuant to the provisions of subdivisions 2 and 3 of section 2 hereof, shall have failed to pay to the United States the value of such installations and all rentals or other return due for the use thereof, or shall have failed to provide for the payment thereof upon terms satisfactory to him, or shall thereafter default in such payments, the President may acquire title to such power plant and may thereafter sell it or maintain and operate it for such time as he may deem necessary for the purpose of protecting the interests of the United States.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey offers an amendment which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. PARKER of New Jersey: Page 13, line 15, after the words "the President may," strike out, in lines 15, 16, and 17, the words "acquire title to such power plant and may thereafter sell it or maintain and operate it" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "remove and sell said installations, or may bring suit in the district court of the United States to recover said value, rentals, or return and to enforce any contract or lien to secure the same; and the court may appoint a receiver with power to maintain and operate such machinery, appliances, or structures."

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have the attention of the chairman of the committee [Mr. SIMS]. This provision contains a meaning which I had not realized and which I think nobody in the committee realized when it was before them. It provides that when the United States has put machinery or equipment into a plant and the machinery or equipment has not been paid for, and the time has expired, long after the war, for any lease or contract, and such additional time as he please has been granted by the President, and the United States does not get its pay, then the President may go ahead, after the war, and acquire the power plant itself and operate it. Now, that is a very curious provision. We will suppose that a boiler and machinery have been put into a certain plant, and that is all the interest the United States has. The bill says that if the boiler and machinery are not paid for the United States may acquire the plant. Now, the amendment I offer is simply to provide that if these additions are not paid for the United States may remove the machinery or appliances that they have put in or else that they may go into court and sue the power plant for the amount that it may owe—for rental, and so forth—and may enforce any lien which they may have, like a mortgage on the power plants, and the court shall have the right to appoint a receiver. I think that is the remedy the gentleman wants. He certainly does not want the remedy provided in the bill, that after the war is over the United States may buy the plant.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, with all respect to the gentleman from New Jersey, this paragraph only provides that the Government may acquire where it is necessary to acquire in order to collect the debt. Of course, that, perhaps, would have to be by a foreclosure sale; but if the Government could not purchase it at a foreclosure sale, then there would be no means at all of collecting it. Besides that, you can not remove a transmission line. You could not do anything with it. They would have no use at all for it. Suppose it is a pipe line for the transmission of gas. You could not withdraw such a facility as that and sell it or otherwise dispose of it.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Will not the Government, when putting in those things, take a proper lien of some kind which can be enforced by a suit in court? That is all you want. If they do not take proper liens, you do not want to give them full power to go and buy the whole plant after the war.

Mr. SIMS. Suppose that the plant had to be sold to enforce the lien, would you then prevent the creditor, the United States, from buying at that sale and acquiring title to the property?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. There would be no objection to its buying its own property, but I would not have it buy the whole plant. They have the right always to protect themselves at a sale; but all this ought to be taken care of after the war, if there is any special case of that sort. It ought not provide, as this does, that wherever the United States has a machine in a plant and the machine is not paid for, it can go in after the war and buy the plant itself.

Mr. SIMS. This whole provision contemplates a contract to furnish machinery to the owner of the plant. This is only a means of enforcing payment. The gentleman ought to be willing that the Government of the United States should have the same opportunity to collect a debt that any business concern would have.

Mr. ANDERSON. How do you propose to enforce payment under this provision? Where the Government has installed certain structures which are not paid for, all it can do under this provision is to buy the entire plant, is it not?

Mr. SIMS. It says the President may acquire title to such plant, and may thereafter sell it or maintain and operate it for such time as he may deem necessary for the purpose of protecting the interests of the United States. It might not be a good time to sell it. It might be a very bad time to sell it. Why not give the President of the United States the same opportunity to protect the Government that you would give to a mortgagee to collect a debt by purchasing the property at the foreclosure sale?

Mr. ANDERSON. The situation is not at all the same.

Mr. SIMS. If the time is fixed for the payment of this debt, and it is not paid, and the Government has to collect it, this is one means of collecting it. The President can acquire it by contract, upon agreement with the owner of the power plant. If not, he can resort to legal proceedings, and purchase at the foreclosure sale.

Mr. ANDERSON. The foreclosure sale of what?

Mr. SIMS. On what the power plant owes the Government for money advanced.

Mr. ANDERSON. Is there any time limit on that? It says "such time as he may deem necessary." The five-year clause was amended to one year, was it not?

Mr. SIMS. Oh, no; that amendment failed.

Mr. ANDERSON. Does the five years apply here?

Mr. SIMS. This says when the Government acquires it after failure to collect the debt. The failure may be near the end of the five years and there might not be any remedy at all except to sell the power plant to some other company that wanted to consolidate power plants. This only gives the President, whoever he may be at that time, the right to acquire title to such plant, and thereafter to sell or operate it for such time as he may deem necessary to operate it for the purpose of protecting the interests of the United States; for the collection of the debt that is owed to the United States. There is nothing drastic about it at all, and although there are gentlemen who have a chill every time you mention the possibility of Government ownership of anything that some banker or some syndicate or trust might make money out of if the Government was prohibited from engaging in the same business in a competitive way, I have no fear of that at all. I am not here to advocate Government ownership or to oppose it on this bill. This is purely a war measure, and simply provides that where liabilities are incurred by contract with a private power plant the Government shall have the right to protect itself.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I think this amendment ought not to prevail and for this reason: While the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey is clear and the purpose plain—and I am not prepared to say that the purpose is not good—unfortunately the paragraph which it seeks to amend conflicts with another paragraph of the bill, and if the gentleman's amendment is inserted it would still more conflict with it. It only illustrates the carelessness with which the bill was prepared; that when we turn back to page 5, the latter part of line 14, we find a provision stating what shall be done in case of the default of payment. It is quite different from the provision in this particular paragraph under discussion, which also attempts to state what shall be done upon default, and is still more different from the amendment of the gentleman from New Jersey, which I think would be better than either if it could stand by itself. What ought to be done with the paragraph is to strike it out entirely, because it conflicts with the provision in the first part of the bill.

What ought to have been done to protect the title of the Government could have been put in five lines in the form of a simple provision that until the property is paid for the title should remain in the Government, with the further provision, as is made on page 5, that the President be empowered upon default to enter the premises, take possession of the property sold or leased, and operate it for the United States. With that we would have all that was needed. A little change on page 5 would fix the whole matter.

This will neither be properly adjusted by the amendment of the gentleman from New Jersey, which will add to the conflict in the bill, nor will it be covered by the paragraph under discussion. The only thing that can be done now to make the bill what it ought to be is to strike out this paragraph entirely and avoid a conflict between it and section 5.

There is another provision, with reference to the title of the property, which also conflicts with the provisions of the paragraph on page 13. At the end of line 8, page 13, I find the following:

Whenever any such structures, machinery, or appliances shall have been installed and until the sale or other disposition thereof, the title thereto shall remain in the United States and shall be free and exempt from any liens, mortgages, judgments, or other encumbrances, whether created by act of the operator of such plant or by operation of law.

Just how far that goes, owing to the peculiar way in which it is worded, I can not say. It should be replaced by a simple provision that until the property is paid for and all claims on the part of the United States fully settled the title shall be in the Government.

Mr. ANDERSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. ANDERSON. Does not the gentleman think that all of that could be just as well taken care of by the contract instead of putting it into the law? If it were done in the contract, it could be done in cases where it was proper to make such provision. When it is done in the law it becomes a part of every contract made for the installation even of the most minor character.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The gentleman's position is well taken. We could not provide for every contingency in the statute, and we should presume that the officers of the Government would take such measures and make such provisions and contracts as would protect the Government, and we would have the ordinary provision of a contract that where the property was not fully paid for the title should remain in the Government until the purchase price had been fully paid.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 13, line 3, before the word "If," insert: "The contract for the installation of any structure, facilities, or appliances by the United States may provide that."

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I see no objection to that amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment:

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 13, after line 18, insert "No power plant equipment, structure, machinery, or appliances shall be constructed, acquired, increased in productivity, equipped, or extended, nor shall funds be provided or advances made for this purpose, except during the actual continuance of the war and for the purpose of carrying on the war."

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, the suggestion I make is this: The war period will be one year and six months after the war is concluded. It is perfectly well understood that there should be no more construction of lines, and all that sort of thing, except for war purposes while the war is going on. I can not see any objection to this. I want to do that because it is said in the next clause that all power not herein specifically provided shall be limited to the war period and because the war period extends to a year and six months after the war. I think that there ought to be no more new work done after the war.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey.

The question was taken; and on a division there were 14 ayes and 4 noes.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Except as is herein otherwise provided all other authority granted to the President by the provisions of this act shall cease at the termination of the war period, but the termination of such authority shall not affect any contract executed, act done, or any suit or proceeding had or commenced under the terms of this act prior to the date thereof; and any offense committed or liability incurred prior thereto may be prosecuted in the same manner and with the same effect and shall be subject to the same penalties as if such authority had not terminated. Nor shall the termination of such authority prevent the collection of any moneys due the United States; or the sale or other disposition of any property which it shall have constructed or acquired pursuant to the provisions of this act.

The committee amendment was read, as follows:

Page 13, line 24, strike out the words "the date thereof" and insert the words "said determination."

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I wish to amend the committee amendment by making it read "such termination." We have used the word "termination," and it should not be "determination."

Mr. SIMS. I did not offer the amendment, and I think it ought to be amended.

Mr. ESCH. I move to substitute for the words "said determination" the words "such termination."

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend the committee amendment by striking out the words "said determination" and insert in lieu thereof the words "such termination."

Mr. SIMS. There is no objection at all.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

Mr. SIMS. Just a moment. Did we agree to the substitute as amended by Mr. ESCH? We agreed to the substitute that took the place of the other.

Mr. ESCH. I do not think we agreed to the amendment as amended.

Mr. SISSON. We have not agreed to the amendment as amended; we have agreed to the amendment to the amendment, but not as amended.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment as amended by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The question was taken, and the committee amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 13, line 23, after the word "done," insert the words "or any right or obligation accruing or accrued."

Mr. ANDERSON. Has the gentleman any objection?

Mr. SIMS. None whatever.

Mr. ESCH. I think that is the language used in the Federal-control act.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 9. That all administrative expenses incurred in the exercise of the powers herein conferred shall be allowed and paid on the presentation of itemized vouchers therefor; and in order to defray such expenses there is hereby appropriated the sum of $150,000, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be paid out upon warrants drawn on the Secretary of the Treasury by the President or by any officer, agent, or agency whom he shall have designated or created pursuant to the provisions of section 3 hereof.

The committee amendment was read, as follows:

On page 14, line 16, after the word "created," insert the words "for that purpose."

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment: In line 11, page 14, after the word "hereby," insert "authorized to be," so that the line will read, "and in order to defray such expenses there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $150,000," and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 14, line 11, after the word "hereby," insert the words "authorized to be."

Mr. SISSON. Now, Mr. Chairman, this is the amendment that I addressed myself to on a former occasion in the House. There is nothing in the hearings to indicate what sort of salaries are going to be paid or what sort of salary organization they are going to have. Now, of course, it would not be contended except for the haste of this bill that this ought to carry an appropriation at all, because this is a purely legislative measure and it ought not to carry an appropriation, but the Committee on Appropriations is now in session, the Subcommittee on Appropriations, and if this bill is to be hastily passed here and passed through the Senate hastily that organization can be taken up and the number of employees and the number of salaries that the department says it wants to create, and no delay occasioned by this amendment at this time. I think Congress ought to keep constantly in its hand the fixing of salaries and the number of employees, not simply a gross lump sum, because after you get your salary once fixed and once created it is next to impossible to reduce those salaries.

Mr. GOOD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. I will.

Mr. GOOD. Would not the gentleman accomplish the same thing if he would strike out, after the word "therefor," in line 10, the word "and" and all of lines 11, 12, and 13, down and including the word "hereof"?

Mr. SISSON. Well, that might do it; I had not thought of that. That might do exactly the same thing I am seeking to do by putting in the words "authorized to be."

Mr. GOOD. Of course, if it is necessary to expend more than $150,000 in the administration of the law, Congress could then appropriate that without that provision that limits it to $150,000.

Mr. SISSON. There is that difference; and I will say, Mr. Chairman, this, that if the Committee on Appropriations at any time should find $150,000 was not sufficient it would not prevent the Committee on Appropriations from authorizing a larger appropriation and adding additional employees whose aggregate salaries would exceed $150,000. Now, Mr. Chairman, I have nothing further to say, except when I asked the chairman of the committee about what the salary roll would be made up of and what salaries would be paid he could not tell us, and frankly admitted that he had not gone into that matter in detail. The hearings did not show anything about that, and therefore I felt——

Mr. ESCH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. Yes.

Mr. ESCH. It is really no fault of the committee, because the hearings will disclose the fact that we asked for this information from the officials——

Mr. SISSON. And they failed to furnish it.

Mr. ESCH. And they promised to send us a detailed statement as to the administrative expenses.

Mr. SISSON. And they failed to send it.

Mr. ESCH. And when the testimony was printed I was surprised not to find that estimate.

Mr. SISSON. I will say to the gentleman from Wisconsin frankly if they had put in this bill an itemized statement of salaries they expected to pay, the number of employees they expected to have, thereby committing themselves in the hearings to a salary roll, so far as the clerks and those employed under civil service are concerned, I would not say a word, but I am utterly unwilling to turn this $150,000 loose in order that you might give one man half as salary—I do not mean to say that would be done—but Congress ought not carelessly to legislate in that way, and I think the committee were acting properly when they asked and demanded a schedule of salaries and number of employees, that is a skeleton organization which they proposed to have, but in the absence of that I do not think we ought to be called upon to do it. I think Congress should know how many employees are going to be employed, what salaries are going to be paid to those people, and I think it is wise that Congress should insist upon that, and therefore I have offered this amendment.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH] is exactly right. The committee did call for the estimates and they were not sent up until the bill was reported, and therefore could not be included in the hearings. But there was great hurry in trying to get the bill on the way to passage without delay in making up a long detailed estimate of expenses of administration, and Mr. Baruch promised to present the estimates and state what they were for. And to-day I had him called on the telephone and asked to send it up, and he did send it, and I have it here in my hand. It seems to me, inasmuch as the House of Representatives will have to pass on the appropriations if they should be made by the Committee on Appropriations, it can pass on them right now.

Mr. SISSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. Yes.

Mr. SISSON. You can not pass on a schedule of salaries and number of employees unless you have time to make inquiry as to what duties are to be performed by each and to know something about it. That gives absolutely no information, except that the maximum salary that he proposes will be so much and the scale of salaries will be so much. But as to what they shall perform and whether or not we are measuring properly the salary of each man it does not say anything about, and we will not know it unless he gives you a schedule showing in substance what each man shall do. We can not legislate in that way.

Mr. SIMS. What I object to, and most seriously object to, is to absolutely cripple the bill. Now, this committee has authority to appropriate. There is no question about that. I understand the gentleman does not object——

Mr. SISSON. Your committee is not an appropriating committee, and if you bring in a legislative bill as a legislative committee, you have got to handle your bill as a legislative bill and not as an appropriation bill.

Mr. SIMS. The rule fixes that. This estimate was sent up. The gentleman might not agree to it and the House might not agree to the items or the amount of it. It says:

> The above estimate is on the basis of utilizing Army engineers for practically all field and engineering work. Should this procedure prove to be impossible or inadvisable, the estimate should be raised to include an allowance covering the salaries and traveling expenses of a suitable number of expert power engineers. Such additional sum, if required, is believed to be not less than $125,000, covering 20 engineers at an average salary of $4,000 each and a total traveling allowance of $45,000.

Now, remember that this work has all to be done in a year or so, and all the Government has to do, as far as engineering is concerned, is to make surveys and estimates, provided the Government is to look after the value of the property on which any lien is taken. This is rough, in a sense, but it is an estimate of the amount:

Estimate of administrative expense per year for emergency power bill.

Administrator	$12,000
Two assistants, at $7,500	15,000
Four civilian engineers, at $5,000	20,000
Clerical help and miscellaneous supplies, Washington office	20,000
Rent of eight district offices, estimated at $1,200	9,600
Clerical help and supplies for eight district offices, at average of $4,000	32,000
Traveling expense, exclusive of Army engineers, estimated at	$7,000
Legal expense, estimated at	10,000
Allowance for expansion and other unforeseen contingencies	24,400
Total	150,000

Of course, it is an estimate and nothing but an estimate, and it is a very modest one, considering the amount of work that will have to be done. They expect to utilize the officers of the Government as much as possible. One provision of this bill is that no person employed by the Government shall receive any extra pay when serving as authorized under this bill.

Now, as I said before, I do not care who does the appropriating or what committee does it. But this bill is an emergency bill. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] stated that fact just as strong as it can be stated, but no stronger than it really is. Suppose we made an authorization as I originally wrote the bill. The Appropriations Committee, that is now sitting, might, if the bill is passed in the Committee of the Whole, include an appropriation for this amount or a larger amount or a less amount, just as the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD] said a bit ago. But I do not know. The House appropriation bill, I understand, is to come in pretty soon——

Mr. SISSON. I will state that it is not at all probable that that bill will get out of the committee until the latter part of next week.

Mr. SIMS. And then it comes in here to be acted on——

Mr. SISSON. And then it will go to the Senate.

Mr. SIMS. But the gentleman is not on the Senate committee, and consequently can make no guaranties as to what it will do. We may ball up this whole thing by providing power here and providing legislation for installing machinery, and so forth, and then failing to appropriate the money for it.

The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH] the other day discussed this amount of $175,000,000, and he showed very clearly that our committee had the right to appropriate, and the estimates as to sections of the country where money was needed were made in detail. That is the only reason the appropriation for expenses should remain in this bill. Some of the estimates are made in excess of what gentlemen might think they ought to be, but it should not cripple this whole bill and hang it up just to give the Appropriation Committee the satisfaction of having gone through the details of administrative expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, there is no pride on the part of any member of the Committee on Appropriations in seeking to have legislation take its due course. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS], on the showing made, proves beyond a peradventure of question that this item has not received any consideration by his committee. I am, indeed, surprised to see the chairman of this high and important committee laboring under the delusion that his committee has jurisdiction over appropriations.

Permit me to direct his attention to what the manual says as to what is the authority of his committee in that particular. If he were acquainted with this provision, perhaps he would not be so sure in reporting an appropriation. I read respecting the authority conferred upon the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in the footnote:

> It formerly reported the river and harbor appropriation bill, but in 1883, after the wording of the rule had been adopted, the Committee on Rivers and Harbors was created to care for the river and harbor bill (IV, 4096). So this committee has no jurisdiction over appropriations, although the words of the rule imply that it may appropriate for commerce.

Now, we know that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has been supererogating to itself authority that properly belongs to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. SIMS. Will the gentleman read the rule?

Mr. STAFFORD. I will read the rule with pleasure. I have read the opinion of a most expert parliamentarian of the House, that of Mr. Hinds, the compiler of the precedents. That is what I read a moment ago as to the authority of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Now, I read the rule:

> To commerce, Life-Saving Service, and lighthouses, other than appropriations for Life-Saving Service and lighthouses—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Mr. Hinds construed that, in view of the precedents of the House, and furnished his construction of it; so that this committee has no jurisdiction over appropriations, although the words of the rule may imply that it may appropriate for commerce. I know the gentleman from Tennessee can construe many things, but the gentleman has been here long enough to know that the rules of the House have been construed by precedents and interpretations from time to time, and that construction does not rest with any one man to impose his individual judgment upon the House. That rule should be construed in connection with precedent upon precedent. It has long been

the established acceptation of this House that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has no power to appropriate.

Does not the gentleman remember his distinguished predecessor, the distinguished leader of the minority [Mr. MANN], than whom there is no better parliamentarian in this House, who admitted that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce had no power to appropriate except for the Life-Saving Service and lighthouses? That was the position of the distinguished predecessor of the gentleman. Now, the gentleman comes in here and wants to set aside all the accumulated practices of this House and assume jurisdiction held by the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. STAFFORD. Surely.

Mr. SIMS. Has not the committee several times, and even recently, reported bills carrying appropriations, and the appropriations have gone through, pertaining to commerce? And did not the gentleman hear the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH], who, if we should be so unfortunate as to have the Republicans carry the House in the next Congress, will be the chairman of this committee, when he made his unanswerable argument the other day in favor of the jurisdiction assumed by this committee?

Mr. STAFFORD. I am sorry to say to the gentleman that I was not present during the discussion of this bill under general debate.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, may I have five minutes more?

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. The committee admits that they have given no consideration whatever as to this amount of $150,000. In all these cases Congress has been very careful in trying to safeguard the interests of the Government by placing limitations upon the expenditure of these lump-sum appropriations, and the Committee on Appropriations or any other appropriating committee would make an inquiry as to how these funds would be expended, placing limitations that no amount shall be expended greater than so much for rent in the District of Columbia, or so much for clerk hire, or so much for the salaries of officers. Certainly the Committee on Appropriations does not wish to take additional work upon itself, but some committee ought to investigate this matter carefully, and upon the showing made by the chairman of the committee himself this subject has not been given careful consideration by his committee. I say the Committee of the Whole should adopt the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON]. It will not delay the enforcement of this bill a week. It will only provide for the orderly procedure by having an investigation made as to the real need of appropriating this $150,000 for administrative expenses here in the District. The Committee on Appropriations, I say, does not wish to take additional work on itself, but the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has not performed the work necessary to enable it to learn the actual needs. The gentleman from Tennessee has merely received a brief memorandum from some person connected with the administration. No opportunity has been furnished to the committee to ascertain the real needs, whether those salaries are required, and whether those rentals are required. Somebody should make that investigation. We say the Committee on Appropriations or some other committee should make it.

Mr. JUUL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. JUUL. Is not the lack of authority on the part of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to appropriate counteracted by the fact that the committee has procured a rule to bring in the bill in its present shape?

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, I am not raising a question of order; I am raising a question of propriety. Here is a committee that has not general authority to make appropriations. They have not made an investigation into it. I say that the committee that usually makes these investigations should exercise this authority, and that is the Committee on Appropriations. We are seeking to safeguard the interests of the Treasury.

Mr. JUUL. I understand that.

Mr. STAFFORD. And we should not allow $150,000 without any restrictions whatsoever to be placed at the discretion of any administrative official without an investigation made and a hearing. No such hearing has been had. I agree with the gentleman's position that this would not be subject to a point of order, because the rule has made it in order——

Mr. JUUL. Has not practically every Member present—and that means the whole House—in granting unanimous consent to bring in the bill in the shape it was brought in practically consented to the consideration of the bill in the form in which it is brought in?

Mr. STAFFORD. By no means. The gentleman's position, if carried out to a logical extreme, would mean that no amendments could be offered. But we are amending this bill from time to time. The chairman of the committee has accepted many amendments which have improved the bill. I contend that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON] improves it. I contend that the committee, with less than 50 Members present here, may decide that the position of the gentleman from Mississsippi is correct. Certainly when unanimous consent is given to consider a bill that does not mean that we should not amend it or improve it so as to protect the interests of the Treasury. The amendment of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON] should be adopted.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, conditions at this time are such that the House can not afford to risk the crippling of this bill simply on the question as to whether full and detailed estimates have been made as to administrative expenses. This House several times has voted to give the President a lump sum of $100,000,000 to be expended as he saw fit, without any estimate, without details, without a word; and this money is to be turned over to the President to carry out the objects and purposes of the law. Will any gentleman here, regardless of what side he happens to sit on, do that which may prove a real hindrance to the successful prosecution of the war in order that an examination may be had before the Committee on Appropriations or any other committee, to the last meager detail, as to how much an assistant engineer can be procured for and what his salary should be?

It looks to me, gentlemen of the House, as though some gentlemen are going a long way to hold up and possibly to delay for a considerable period the time when work may actually begin under this bill. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN], who has made a personal investigation of this power shortage, pointed out this morning that which I have pointed out a dozen times, that the most material element in this thing is time; that climatic conditions are such that the season must be considered. To delay for one day the letting of contracts providing for assistance to be given in developing this additional power might cost the Government ultimately much more than $150,000. I have no criticism of the industry, foresight, and care of the Committee on Appropriations. They do their duty properly; but I appeal to every man on this floor who has one particle of patriotism in his heart, do not stand and hesitate in doing your manifest duty on a petty question of procedure. Even if the bill had been reported by the Committee on Ventilation and Accoustics, the question for us to consider is the objects and purposes of the bill and not whether this, that, or the other committee reported something beyond its normal peace-time jurisdiction. The other day a resolution was brought in here to appropriate $1,000,000 to help stamp out the epidemic of influenza. It had been referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. When the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY], from the Committee on Appropriations, asked unanimous consent to have that resolution passed, did any member of the Interstate Commerce Committee object and raise the question of committee jurisdiction because the bill had been referred to that committee? Whenever I get so that I can not serve my country in time of war except through some plan established by precedents that have been established in peace times, then I will feel that I am a failure. It is no time to haggle over details or questions of procedure. I think a man is a victim when he is fettered by rules of procedure, when he can not serve his country in time of war except according to the technical rules of procedure that apply in time of peace. I hope this amendment will be voted down, as it ought to be voted down.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. Chairman, I think the people of this country appreciate very thoroughly the shortage of fuel in Europe. The newspaper dispatches cover that phase of the war situation over there pretty thoroughly. I do not believe we recognize yet over here as we should the shortage of gasoline in Europe. Once a week we are having a reminder that the supply of gasoline may become short in this country. In Italy, France, and England gasoline is not permitted to be used by private citizens to any extent whatsoever. A man who lives in Rome may be as rich as John D. Rockefeller, yet he can not have an auto for his own personal use. A limited number of

taxicabs are permitted in each city, and the only way a man can ride in an auto over there is to get one of these taxicabs, if he can file his order long enough in advance to get one. On one occasion we had to wait three hours to get a taxicab.

Mr. ESCH. Why did you not walk?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. The distance was too great. The situation may become serious in the United States—very much more so than at this time—and it would seem to me as though this bill ought to carry an appropriation with it in order to guard against any possibility of delay. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, recently I had the privilege of visiting Italy, France, and Great Britain with a group of 11 Congressmen. I have already told the House something about observations made in respect to the reconstruction of disabled soldiers and sailors. I made some remarks to the soldiers at the Young Men's Christian Association auditorium, Potomac Park, upon some other phases of the war, which I desire to have printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

ADDRESS OF GEORGE M. YOUNG, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, SECOND DISTRICT, NORTH DAKOTA, TO SOLDIERS AT YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION AUDITORIUM, POTOMAC PARK, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

CONGRESSMAN BAER'S GOOD RECORD.

Mr. Chairman and men of the National Army, I count it a privilege and an honor to appear before you to-day. I am glad, also, to speak in this auditorium, where the first address, the dedicatory address, was delivered by my colleague, Congressman JOHN M. BAER, of the first district, North Dakota. Congressman BAER was to have spoken to you again to-day, and I am here to take his place. He has gone home to boost the sale of liberty bonds. When the liberty-loan campaign is completed on October 18, I hope he will remain to tell the people about his own good record. He is a splendid man, and has a record in Congress in which his worst enemy can not find a flaw. He has consistently supported war legislation without exception, and none know better than you men in uniform that he is a genuine friend of the soldiers. I am sure you join with me in the hope that he will be reelected, which is in harmony with the prevailing thought at this time that men who do their duty should be reelected. [Applause.]

The chairman informs me that there are no soldiers in this camp from North Dakota. Notwithstanding this I feel at home here, as we are now one great undivided family. Our country has never been so strong and so united as at this moment. The chairman has told you of my visit to Europe with a group of Congressmen to see how our boys were getting along and to study war problems at first hand. I shall not detain you to give incidents occurring on our trip over and back, though there was much to interest us. As this is a day meeting your time as well as mine is limited.

WHAT OUR GOVERNMENT IS DOING.

It is next to impossible to get an accurate idea of what our Government has done in France without going there. It has been a tremendous task, which has been done in a big way by big men. A railroad has been built across France, and believe me the big mogul engines marked "U. S. A." looked good to me. Immense storage capacity has been constructed at various points—at one of them the biggest cold-storage plant in the world. We have seven well-equipped ports. At one of them 100 miles of sidetracks have been constructed. Along these 152 warehouses had been built, and material for many more was on hand. All this to take care of our brave boys. In the same port long wharves had been constructed and equipped with the latest loading and unloading machinery and devices. The biggest freighters which had formerly in that port required 21 days to unload are now unloaded in 5 days.

Everything back of our lines shows foresight and thorough organization. Our medical service, both in field and hospital, is admittedly the best of any of the armies. It was my privilege to check up the medical service by personal visits all the way from the battle field back, successively, through the emergency field hospitals, the evacuation hospitals, the base hospitals, and, on this side of the water, our general hospitals. The general hospitals look after those soldiers who are so severely wounded that they can not be returned to the fighting forces. It tugged on the heartstrings to see our poor wounded boys on the battle field and in the hospitals, but we were filled with admiration for the skillful work of our surgeons and nurses and the exceptional facilities of every kind furnished by our Government for the use of the surgeons, nurses, pharmacists, and all others connected with the Surgeon General's department. Of all the activities of this wonderful department I was most impressed by the very comprehensive plans to make every disabled man self-supporting before being discharged from the hospitals. A boy who had lost his left arm and who had been working in a factory was being taught telegraphy, not only in the hospital but right in bed. It eased his mind to know he would be able to do something useful, and the time devoted to practicing with the telegraph key in bed took his mind from his troubles and hastened recovery. A boy at Walter Reed Hospital from Bismarck, in my own State, lost his left arm at Cantigny. He had been a musician and played the violin beautifully. It was clear he could never hope to make a living out of music.

The reconstruction men discovered he had artistic ability and could draw well. He is being trained for a magazine illustrator, and his instructor says he will succeed, declaring he has a skillful touch, originality, and imagination. I felt so enthused and happy over all that had been done for the health, welfare, and restoration of our wounded boys I made a special trip to the War Department to personally thank such men as Surgeon General Gorgas, Col. R. B. Miller, in charge of personnel, Col. Frank Billings, director of reconstruction, Col. Harry Mock, assistant director, Maj. A. C. Monahan, and Maj. M. W. Murray, of the education section of reconstruction. Any of you who desire to know more about this wonderful reconstruction work should write to me or speak to me about it, and I shall send you a printed copy of my address in Congress upon this subject, telling what is being done for disabled soldiers, not only in our hospitals, but also in the British reconstruction hospitals which I visited.

HAVE PLENTY OF WHITE BREAD AND SUGAR.

I wish the fathers and mothers of this country could understand how completely the needs of the boys have been anticipated and provided for. I have heard, and perhaps you have heard, more or less grumbling about eating dark bread, and I have even heard men say that they objected to eating dark bread here in order that the French might have what they were accustomed to—white bread. I want to assure you that not only the French but the English and Italians have been and are still eating a war bread darker than we were eating up to the time Mr. Hoover raised the ban on white bread. The only white bread being eaten on the entire continent of Europe at this time is eaten by our soldiers, and they have all they want of it. And another thing: Our boys are not rationed on sugar. God bless them, they have all they want of it. [Applause.] That should take the sting out of any trifling inconvenience we have been to in this country.

FRENCH CHILDREN LOVE OUR BOYS.

Another thing I would like to have our people know, and I can not emphasize it too greatly: Our boys are clean morally, are temperate, and the healthiest aggregation of men ever gotten together in the world. It is said they are giving money to the little French children and teaching them the vulgar habit of chewing gum. This is all true, but I think we should be proud that our men love these little children, and that the little children of France love and trust them. [Applause.]

FIRST GREAT DRIVE 1918.

Mr. Chairman, after Russia was put out of the war, Germany determined to mass her strength against the allies, with the hope of capturing Paris and forcing a decision before America could put an army in the field.

After greatly increasing the strength of their army by soldiers withdrawn from Russia, the first great German drive was made this year upon March 21 in the direction of Amiens along a front from Arras to Soissons. As a part of this drive a blow was struck south of Ypres. The first drive was very successful from the German point of view. The British were rolled back with apparent ease. Finally, the British and French balked the drive.

SECOND GREAT DRIVE.

Then, after about a month's preparation, the second great German drive was launched on May 27 along a line extending from Vauxaillon, almost directly north of Soissons, and Brimont, almost directly north of Rheims. This great offensive was begun by striking a terrific blow with massed forces all along this line, a distance of approximately 40 miles.

The first day they advanced 5½ miles, reaching Pont Arey on the Aisne River. The bombardment was just as violent as that which heralded the great drive of March 21, and the infantry attack was upon a more formidable scale. Dense waves of infantry followed closely in the wake of a lifting barrage, and fresh troops were pushed up with characteristic recklessness. The back areas were heavily shelled with high-velocity guns, and German airplanes were unusually venturesome.

The Germans forged ahead 7 miles the second day, capturing a portion of Soissons, menaced Rheims, and reached a point in the hills south of St. Thierry and the southern banks of the Vesle. The Germans were strongly reinforced the third day and continued the drive southward, every hour creating uneasiness in Paris and throughout France. When and where would end this last and most powerful German drive? In this emergency

Gen. Pershing volunteered to send some divisions of American soldiers in training at a certain point west of the fighting area. These were men who had not completed their training and who were not thought to be ready for actual warfare by British or French officers. The only ones who believed they were really ready were the men themselves. But the emergency was great, so these partially trained troops were hurried along the railway and upon gas trucks to join in the fight. They left the training camps Thursday night and Friday and arrived at the various points along the front between Friday night—May 31—and Sunday morning.

A large unit was loaded into railway trains on Thursday night, traveling all that night and next day without sleep, reaching a point about 5 miles from Chateau-Thierry at 10 o'clock at night, and immediately went into position at Chateau-Thierry. The machine gunners were sent to guard four bridges over the Marne. They had been there only three hours when the German shock troops made a strong attempt to cross the river. They were repulsed. But for three days our men stood there like a stone wall preventing the passage over the river. Then in the face of a withering fire from cannon and machine guns the American engineers advanced and destroyed the bridges, finally stopping the drive at this point, one of the gateways to Paris. [Applause.]

At the same time while the fight was going on at Chateau-Thierry warm fighting was in progress at other points, one of them nearer to Paris than Chateau-Thierry, where the Germans were sweeping forward like a mighty tidal wave. An American brigade reached that point on Sunday morning after having traveled all day and night without sleep. By 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day they had been in three fights, in one of which they drove the Germans back for 2 kilometers on a front of 4 kilometers. In this locality was fought the now famous Battle of Belleau Wood by the gallant marines. No more glorious page of American history has ever been written. [Applause.]

THIRD GREAT DRIVE.

At midnight on July 14 the Germans began what was to be, according to their expectation, the greatest drive of all. They called it the Friedensturm, storm of peace, the great peace offensive. The plans for this were more carefully laid and upon a greater scale than for any former offensive. They confidently expected to go through to Paris, and many in France held the same view. Our congressional party was at the time near Paris, and we were assured that we would not be permitted to enter, as it was claimed that preparations were being made to have all the civilian population leave the city to be ready for a siege or possible evacuation. This may not have been in actual contemplation, but it reflected the feverish condition of the public mind. The people back of the lines were very apprehensive. They believed if the Germans were to go as far as they had upon the two former drives that if they would not reach Paris they would get near enough to it to shoot it to pieces with their big guns.

The German drive of March 21 was a surprise. The drive of May 27 was almost a surprise, the notice of it being very short. The last big drive was no surprise at all. The allies had been expecting it for several days and had troops massed to meet it. It was expected that the enemy would attempt to break through toward Paris at Chateau-Thierry and points northwest, and also east of there, and that is where the fighting occurred for the most part. As the Germans were in great force, and as Foch had massed forces of almost equal numbers, the shock of battle was terrific. The Germans confidently expected to override all opposition and the charge was made all along the front with great dash in massed formation. At places the allied lines broke. The Marne was crossed at 10 places, but at none of these points did they get very far, excepting south of Jaulgonne, where they penetrated several miles. They were soon driven back here and elsewhere. Americans figured largely in these operations. The troops which had been rushed over in May to help stem the Hun advance were still there and had been liberally reinforced. The Government has not given out any figures as to the number of Americans employed in the fighting just referred to, but from what I know of the units employed there must have been more than 150,000. This was a strong force to add to the already strong forces of French and British, and was sufficient to turn the gauge of battle. The enemy was obliged to fall back and was kept on the move pretty fast for the next couple of weeks. I think it may be truthfully said that the most critical time in the war, after the first battle of the Marne, was during May 31 and June 1 and 2, and the turning point of the war was definitely settled on July 15, 16, and 17. We Americans should be very proud that our troops were present at both these periods in sufficient numbers to save the day. The belief was general with those with whom I talked in France that if our men had not been available the Germans would have gotten at least close enough to Paris to have shelled it to the limit. There seems to be a notion that our troops did not figure in these operations in a big way, that they were only participating in battalion units wedged in between the British or French. That is not true. We had several divisions along that line, and they were handled in division units. The reason the newspaper dispatches of that period did not reveal this was doubtless to keep from the Germans as long as possible the extent to which Americans were being used. And I will say this: The American newspapers contain very much more complete and thorough accounts of the war than the Paris or London papers.

BELLEAU WOOD AND CHATEAU-THIERRY.

It has been my privilege to be at practically all the places referred to but at only part of them when the fighting occurred. Where I was not an eyewitness I obtained information at first hand from such men as Col. McClusky, who commanded a brigade at Bois de Belleau. No one is waiting more anxiously than myself for an authentic and thorough history of this war. I wish it were possible to give you a running account of all the places visited. It would take too much time. Mieux was a most interesting point. This point was reached by the Germans in the first battle of the Marne. It is located about 20 miles from Paris. Here we found trench systems prepared ready for use in case the allied armies were pressed back. This confirmed the fears of the people, or at least showed that the army men were preparing for such an emergency. At this place we were furnished with metal helmets and gas masks. Chateau-Thierry was left in horrible shape by the retreating Huns. The fine homes were ransacked and all things of value "if portable" were carried away. We visited the chateau, located upon an elevation at the edge of the city. Two soldiers were guarding it, but there was little of anything left to guard. If Chateau-Thierry is a fair sample of what was done by the Germans in other occupied territory no wonder the French fight furiously.

MARKSMANSHIP SUPERB.

Vaux furnished us with the evidence of the wonderful accuracy of the American Artillery. The town was actually shot full of holes. Not a single building escaped, and each building was struck from one to three times. It was here, after the artillery preparation, that our boys advanced rapidly, taking 654 German prisoners from the basements of the buildings, which was done without the loss of a single soldier. And the remarkable thing about it was that all of the shooting was done simply by the use of a map. The map was an accurate one, but the marksmanship was not aided by observation balloons or aeroplanes. It reminds me of a story of my friend, Congressman BARKLEY, from Kentucky. He tells about an old darkey who said: "Them new long-distance 44-caterpillar guns can just nat'ly get you anywhere. All they need is your name and address." [Applause.]

HOW THEY FIGHT.

Of course the most thrilling thing of all was to see our boys actually fighting—and how they do fight! No one who has not been present to see some of the fighting and talk with the men can appreciate the eagerness of our boys to get into the battle. When they are back at the training camps they are impatient to get to the front, and when they get to the front they are not easy until they get into the thickest of the fighting. I talked with Capt. Campbell, of Grand Rapids, Mich., who stood with wounded hand and a wound in the leg and told of the trouble he had had to hold his men back. He had deployed some of his men to capture some machine guns from the flank. The remaining portion of the company evidently did not know that this had been done and he could see very plainly that they were intending to charge the machine guns from the front without any order from him. He called out that he did not want any charge, and still noticed evidence of their intention to go forward. So he rushed out in front of his men with a pointed revolver, saying, "I have not ordered a charge; I do not want a charge, and the first man who gets in line with this gun will be shot." [Applause.]

We were told, but I can not vouch for the truth of it, that the commanding officer told a certain major that his objective would be to a certain rock on an elevation and that he was to halt his battalion there. Instead of stopping there he went on a mile. The commanding officer criticized him. He said, "I told you to halt at that big rock. Why didn't you stop there?" To which the major replied, "Well, if these Germans could not stop our boys, how in thunder do you think I could?"

In the fighting in May, northwest of Chateau-Thierry, one of our boys received a bullet wound in the neck from a machine

gun. The bullet went about half way through and dropped down into his stomach. He got out of the hospital in time to be back with the boys again when they began fighting in July, and the company with which he served was ordered to clean out a nest of machine guns. When the boys started forward this wounded boy turned to the others with a laugh and said, "Let me take care of those machine-gun bullets; I'll swallow them." [Applause.]

MAGNIFICENT FIGHTERS—BUT ROUGH.

The Australians have the reputation of being rough-and-ready fighters, with the accent on the rough. They call their captains Bill and Tom, and when they got to France the British officers thought they would not amount to much, because it was said they had no discipline; but when the fighting began it was discovered the only trouble was to have them stop when they reached their objectives. While we were in London an invitation was extended to us to attend a Government concert on Sunday night in one of the big theaters. There are no theatrical shows permitted on Sunday night in Great Britain, but Admiral Sims assured us we need not be scared away by the name "concert." The show was certainly a live one. I have never seen anything to equal it upon the vaudeville stage here. Talent was picked up from all the big theaters in London—grand opera singers and others—but the most interesting and exciting thing of all was some stunts put on by a company of Australian soldiers. Among other things they put on a bayonet drill. The stage was very large, and the men rushed at each other with great speed, pointing the bayonets straight at the men opposing them. It was up to the man who was being charged to strike the bayonet quickly enough and hard enough to ward it off. On one of these rushes, while the bayonet thrust was warded off, one man was struck with such terrific force he was thrown upon the stage, his head hitting the hard floor with great force. He was carried from the stage insensible. Having heard these things about the Australians and having seen this performance at London, we were able to appreciate a joke which one of the Australian boys got off. He was asked, What kind of fighters are the Americans? "Oh," said he, "they are splendid; they are great; they are magnificent fighters; but," with a twinkle he added, "they are pretty rough." [Applause.]

SAVED PARIS.

Capt. Liggett, a Civil War veteran, now an official in the Interior Department at Washington, called to see me last Thursday, because he heard that I had seen his son in France. He said, "Mr. YOUNG, I am hoping that our boys will march into Berlin." I replied, "Captain, they have done a bigger thing than that. They stopped the Germans from marching into Paris." [Applause.]

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Chairman, I am getting weary of the argument that those who ask for proper consideration of this class of legislation can not trust the President. The argument made by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] in this respect is unworthy of him. The gentleman trusts the President, and he knows that everybody in this House would gladly trust the President in this or any other matter, if the President could give any attention at all to the enormous powers that we are conferring upon him in this bill. But the gentleman knows that the President will not consider a single thing that is provided for in this bill. Engineers will be called upon to pass on the plants to be acquired, and bureau chiefs will be called upon to say how many clerks will be wanted in Washington in the department, and what their salaries shall be. One of the things that this House is very frequently called upon to remedy is the unjust discrimination between the various employees in different branches of the service. That injustice creeps into the law or into its administration through these lump-sum appropriations, which give to some bureau chief the right to fix the salaries of all the persons employed, and to designate the number of persons to be employed, and too frequently he does not base his decisions upon salaries in like positions in other branches of the service. When the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance was created a young girl from my own State, who happened to be here in the telephone office working for $11 a week, was called down to the bureau and given a place at $1,100 a year. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] has gone into this subject somewhat fully, and I want to say to him and to the House that when the legislative bill was before the committee one of the bureau chiefs who appeared before the committee, in explaining what the greatly increased number of clerks would do, simply said, "We can prepare these clerks for service at such and such a rate." The estimate was based upon the ability of the department to educate the new clerks. When asked what they would do, he did not know what they would do; but thought they would have work for them; and to-day we have here in Washington clerks who have been here two months on the salary roll of the Government who have not yet been assigned to do a single thing. I insist that it will do no harm to allow this bill to go through as amended by the amendment of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON]. Then the committee can take up the question with regard to how many clerks will be needed, and how many engineers will be needed, and what their salaries should be.

I am a little doubtful whether we want to give some man the right to pay a bureau chief or superintendent $12,000 a year, as is suggested by the chairman. I believe that the House ought to be called upon to pass on the question of whether the two assistant engineers should have $7,500 apiece, when we have hundreds of assistant engineers just as well qualified in the river and harbor work and other branches of the service who are receiving only half of that amount or less. If we are going to legislate intelligently matters of this kind must be referred to some committee that will go into all of the facts, and after they have possession of the facts, report to the House for its consideration how much the engineers should receive, how many clerks should be employed in the bureau, and how much those clerks should be paid. Let us be fair with the clerks that are now in the service and put a stop to lump-sum appropriations for clerk hire, for then we hold the old clerk down to the salary fixed by law and allow the new clerk to receive any salary which the new bureau chief may fix.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. WINGO). Debate on the pending amendment is exhausted.

Mr. SISSON. I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The pending amendment is to strike out two words.

Mr. SISSON. I ask unanimous consent to speak for five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I do not know any better reason why this appropriation should be scrutinized closely than this apparently unauthorized document, unsigned by anybody, sent up here, I presume, at the request of the chairman of the committee after this question was raised.

Now, take the document that has no earmarks to show who prepared it or who was responsible for its preparation.

Mr. SIMS. It was sent by Mr. Baruch.

Mr. SISSON. I do not know, perhaps Mr. Baruch might have sent it to the gentleman, he may or not have prepared the details of it.

Here is a director at $12,000, and two assistants at $7,500 each. Why, if you do that you will disarrange the salaries of almost every bureau chief in this Government. Go into the legislative bill and you will find that there is not a single bureau chief who has got a salary anything like that. You will find as a rule that $5,000 is a big salary for most any bureau chief. In rare instances they are fixed at $6,000. If you want to put a prize in the hands of every bureau chief you will do it by fixing the salary at this enormously high rate. Then you will find that you have raised up an enormous amount of trouble in the future.

But first I want to know what character of a man you will have to administer the provisions of this bill and the sort of experience and business ability that he has, and we want to know something about these assistant engineers. Here are four civilian engineers at $5,000 each, clerical help, miscellaneous supplies, without telling you anything about the salaries, $20,000. Rent of eight district offices in Washington, $9,600; clerical help and supplies for eight district offices, $32,000. Traveling expenses exclusive of Army Engineers estimated at $7,000. Legal expense estimated, $10,000. Allowance for expansion and other unforeseen contingencies, $24,400.

Is there an appropriation committee in this House that on that mere statement without any further explanation would appropriate that sum of money?

As far as delays are concerned, I want to say to the gentleman that it will never delay the bill one minute because in bills of this kind, if this amendment shall be adopted, before the bill gets out of the Senate the Appropriation Committee can go into the details having before us the amount of money and the character of service and will try to keep up some harmony in the salaries and not disorganize the whole program.

If this is to be the policy adopted in future, you will have no sort of rule for the salaries of men to take charge of these bureaus. Let this bill pass making an authorization of $150,000 to pay for a temporary organization and if this business shall grow rapidly, as it may, $150,000 may not be enough, but when

you come to the Appropriations Committee you will find the committee confronted with this status of giving enormous high salaries, and we will be embarrassed in attempting to reduce them.

My friend from South Carolina calls my attention to the fact that even a Cabinet officer's salary is only $12,000, and yet you propose to give to this bureau under this bill $12,000 right off the reel without knowing a thing on earth who he is, what the duties are that are going to be devolved upon him. So, gentlemen of the committee, the mere display of this detailed statement sent to the chairman of the committee is the highest evidence of why we ought to let this take its orderly course.

As far as patriotism is concerned, I take it that no man could be charged as being unpatriotic who refuses to take from the taxpayers of America while we are appealing to them all over the country to respond in the buying of the bonds to pay the expenses of the war. I do not think it would lie in the mouth of any man to say that he is unpatriotic when he is trying to save as much money as possible to make it kill as many Huns as possible. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I make that pro forma amendment in order to have read from the desk a letter addressed to me by the Secretary of the Treasury on an important matter.

The Clerk read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, September 2[illegible], 1918.

Hon. HENRY T. RAINEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. RAINEY: Mr. Roper has handed to me your letter of the 17th instant. You state that you have been requested by the Hon. Herbert Hoover, United States Food Administrator, to present to the Ways and Means Committee a bill for the repeal or suspension of the mixed-flour laws, acts of June 13, 1898, as amended by the act of April 12, 1902, for the duration of the war, in order to carry out the international food program recently agreed upon at the conference of food administrators of all the allied countries, which provides for the admixture of 20 per cent of other cereal flours with wheat flour, and ask whether there is any objection by this department to the suspension of the mixed-flour law and whether such action would make possible the adulteration of flour or if there is anything in the mixed-flour act which prevents the use of deleterious substances.

There has been no change in the attitude of this department as expressed in the letter of the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, addressed to you under date of August 3, 1914, in which he recommended favorable action upon H. R. 16675, Sixty-third Congress, and in a letter of the former Commissioner of Internal Revenue, addressed to you under date of May 3, 1916, favorably recommending H. R. 9409, Sixty-fourth Congress, for the repeal of the mixed-flour law.

These recommendations of repeal were based upon the fact that it is of no importance as a revenue measure, and the purpose for which it was intended—that is, prevention of adulteration of wheat flour—is adequately taken care of by the pure-food law, act of June 30, 1906. The revenues derived from this source are negligible and would not pay the cost of the administration of the act. The total collections for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1917, were only $5,526.13, and the collections for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1918, only $6,414.02. There were but 18 qualified manufacturers, packers, and repackers engaged in the production of mixed flour at the time of the issuance of circular No. 1156, of August 26, 1918, by the Food Administration, but since the publication of this circular inquiries received by this office indicate that a large proportion of the millers of this country intend to engage in the production of flour in accordance with the food program, which would come within the classification of mixed flour and subject such manufacturers to the taxes imposed by the act and compliance with the provisions thereof, and the regulations issued by the department regarding stamping the product, keeping records, and rendering monthly returns.

Much additional labor will be required on the part of our field officers to inspect the records covering the large increase in manufacturers under the program of the Food Administration, as well as in the handling of the large number of additional returns in the bureau. This work would require an increase in our force for field work as well as for office work.

In view of the fact that the department is on record in recommending the repeal of the mixed-flour law and of the increase in administrative difficulties and expense out of proportion to the tax return that would be received from this source under the food program, and in view of the further fact that the pure-food law and regulations thereunder fully protect the public against the adulteration or misbranding of flour, I would recommend the repeal of the mixed-flour law for the duration of the war.

Sincerely, yours, W. G. MCADOO, *Secretary.*

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the pro forma amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

For the purpose of construction, acquisition, maintenance, and operation of plants, transmission lines, and other material and property which the President is hereby empowered by the provisions of this act to construct or acquire and of providing funds pursuant to the provisions of subdivisions 2 and 3, of section 2 hereof, there is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $200,000,000.

The committee amendment was read, as follows:

On page 14, line 25, strike out the sum of "$200,000,000" and insert the following: "$175,000,000, to be available during the time this act is in effect."

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I desire to amend the committee amendment. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out all of line 26 of the committee amendment on page 14.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment to the committee amendment: Page 14, line 26, strike out the language "to be available during the time this act is in effect."

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I want to ask a question. I want to ask the gentleman from Wisconsin if this is the amendment he suggested, I have forgotten which member of the committee suggested it, and if so, I want the gentleman from Wisconsin to take care of it.

Mr. ESCH. Yes; I did so in the committee, but I do not want to take up the gentleman's time.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman is familiar with the constitutional provision that you can not make an appropriation longer than two years for war purposes. I am addressing myself to the gentleman from Wisconsin. The gentleman knows under the Constitution we can not make appropriations for longer than two years.

Mr. ESCH. That is for the support of the Army.

Mr. SISSON. I understand; in support of the Army. I know, as a matter of fact, you might be able to avoid that provision in the Constitution upon the idea that this is for the purpose of producing materials to be used by the Army, but that would not necessarily cause my opposition to cease if I thought it did not impinge upon that constitutional provision, but I do want to say that language ought to be stricken out, because I am going to offer the same amendment at the proper time after this committee amendment has been disposed of that we adopted in section 9. In line 24, just before the word "appropriated," I am going to offer at the proper time an amendment "authorized to be," and so forth.

Now, if that amendment should be adopted having in the language "to be available during the time this act is in effect," the peculiar language of the bill virtually gives them $175,000,000 appropriations which will be reported to Congress, they say, but if reported to Congress, Congress will be powerless to do anything in reference to checking up that appropriation. That $175,000,000 ought not to be turned loose to this gentleman whose salary is to be fixed later. We do not know who he is; we ought not to turn over to him, in my judgment, $175,000,000 to be used not one year, not two years, not five years, but during the life of this act, during the time this act is in existence. Now, you certainly can trust Congress and he should be called upon at the end of every year to make a detailed statement as to how he has used this money and why it has been expended.

Mr. MADDEN. This bill provides for that.

Mr. SISSON. I understand, but there is no compulsion except this, that the President may report. Listen: Everything that has been done may not meet with the approval of Congress, and then you would be helpless unless we repealed this bill, but as long as you keep your hands on the purse strings, you can say, your conduct has not been what it ought to be, or if you will do certain things in the future or curtail certain things, we will give you enough money in order to wind this thing up.

Mr. MADDEN. I am in favor of the Appropriations Committee taking jurisdiction of the expenditure of money and appropriations and making full investigation before the money is appropriated.

Mr. SISSON. That is what we want. I do not believe that the mere fact you give Congress information, if it would be information like the statement made about the salaries, it would be no information at all, and then with this language in the bill they can continue to operate irrespective of whether it meets with the approval of Congress or not.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, having offered the amendment in the committee, having taken verbally section 19 of the food-control act, and believing it is not essential to this bill, I move to strike out that line, or I leave the motion to the gentleman from Mississippi to save time.

Mr. SIMS. There is no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman withdraw his amendment?

Mr. SISSON. I do not; they accept it.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is upon the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the question is upon the amendment as amended.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I want to offer an amendment to the amendment as it stands now.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will submit his amendment.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I desire to offer an amendment as follows: Strike out the figures "$175,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$100,000,000."

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state the amendment has not been adopted finally as amended.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I understand; but I am offering an amendment to the pending amendment.

Mr. SIMS. To so much of the amendment as remains.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I accept the correction of the gentleman from Tennessee—to so much of the committee amendment as remains.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Strike out "$175,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$100,000,000."

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Now, Mr. Chairman, in reference to this amendment, I would say that much of the remarks of the gentleman from Mississippi are applicable and also the remarks of my colleague from Iowa [Mr. GOOD]. We only need enough money in this bill to start this proceeding, and after it is started then the Committee on Appropriations ought to continue appropriations which are necessary to carry it on. I would have made this sum $50,000,000 instead of $100,000,000 in my motion if I thought it would be adopted, because I believe $50,000,000 is ample for that purpose. The parties who will be charged with this matter by the President will not be able to use any money for their organization for several months, and it will be six months before they will get matters in shape so that they will need to pay out any sums upon contract.

It will probably be a year before any of these contracts are finished, and even if they desire to use money for the purpose of condemning property and paying the cost as determined by the court several months will inevitably elapse before they can need the money. I do not understand, and no gentleman has given any reason, why $175,000,000 should be appropriated right off, before we know where they are going to put a dollar of it, and why the attempt should be made to take away from the Appropriations Committee, which properly has jurisdiction of these matters, the right to go over and ascertain what sums ought properly to be paid out. There has been no extended investigation by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. They evidently had not time for it and thought that the bill needed to be put through in such haste that they could not go into these items; but they ought to be gone into by the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. SISSON. Will the gentleman yield for just a moment?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. SISSON. As to the amendment which I suggested a moment ago I would offer at the proper time to make this an authorization instead of an appropriation of $175,000,000. The committee having adopted the other amendment, identical to this, in section 9, I presume it will adopt this amendment here. If you leave $175,000,000 in, it becomes a limitation upon the appropriation rather than an appropriation.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I would be perfectly willing to accept the suggestion of the gentleman from Mississippi if I was sure the committee would do that.

Mr. SISSON. I feel sure the committee will do it, since they have adopted the other. I might ask the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] now if, having adopted the amendment in section 9, he will agree that we insert before the word "appropriated," in line 24, the words "authorized to be"?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. If the gentleman from Tennessee has no objection to the proposition of the gentleman from Mississippi, I will withdraw my amendment.

Mr. SIMS. Of course, I can not agree to that.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I will withdraw my amendment. I think the committee will sustain the amendment of the gentleman from Mississippi when it is presented.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is first on the committee amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment:

In line 24, before the word "appropriated," insert "authorized to be."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 14, line 23, after the word "hereby," insert the words "authorized to be."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I want to oppose the amendment.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I have the floor. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, if the words are adopted, would not the words "out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated" be superfluous?

Mr. SISSON. I think they would be superfluous.

Mr. ROGERS. It devolves upon the Committee on Appropriations to name the source from which they are to be taken.

Mr. SISSON. In our appropriation bill we would appropriate from any money not otherwise appropriated, and we then would carry an appropriation in the exact language of this heading. You would find this head in our bill exactly as it is here. So I do not think that would cut any figure. Now, gentlemen of the committee, I do not care to discuss this. I suppose the committee understands my reason for offering this amendment.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I want only two or three minutes.

The War Department has had a long and expensive survey made and reported in detail to the committee, and Lieut Stanley, who was authorized to make the report of the survey, shows the following amounts needed right now, in the sections and districts mentioned as follows:

Power district.	Additional horsepower required for 1918–19.	Estimated cost.
Philadelphia, Chester, and adjacent territory	120,000	$14,500,000
State of New Jersey	94,000	5,500,000
Western Pennsylvania and Eastern Ohio (Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Akron, Canton, Wheeling, Connellsville, and adjacent territories)	440,000	35,000,000
Baltimore, Lancaster, and adjacent territories	53,000	3,942,000
Wilmington, Del., and vicinity	13,300	610,000
Pennsylvania anthracite region	53,000	8,000,000
New England States	75,000	14,625,000
Southern States	135,000	15,000,000
Miscellaneous smaller power systems scattered in Eastern and Middle West States	250,000	31,250,000
Pacific slope, west of Rocky Mountains	.....	10,000,000
Total	1,233,300	138,427,000

Not a piece of machinery can be bought or installed until this appropriation goes through.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIMS. Certainly.

Mr. WALSH. It certainly could not be bought or installed after this bill passes the House. It will have to wait until the bill becomes a law.

Mr. SIMS. That is true; but we will do our part now, and then it will not have to go to any other committee of the House. Any other committee would have to take up and go over these amounts. It is not a question like the other. It is not on all fours at all. There was ground for the criticism made by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON] and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD] as to administrative expenses; but here is an actual survey made by competent experts, and now this House proposes to say that simply on a question of jurisdiction, after the hearings have been had, after they have been held at great expense, that you will not appropriate now the amounts carried in the bill, but simply authorize it and take the chances of delay that may prove to be very dangerous. I have nothing more to say. Let those who claim they want to support the President do it in the only effective way it can be done, in the most expeditious manner, and not quibble over the jurisdiction of committees. I have nothing more to say.

Mr. GOOD. Will not the gentleman explain his estimate? What are you going to buy with $35,000,000 in the Pennsylvania anthracite coal region?

Mr. SIMS. The hearings show all of it. I am not going into quibbles over details. Let the gentleman assume the responsibility for the flimsy excuse offered, if he wants to do so.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I want to answer my friend.

The CHAIRMAN. The debate on this amendment has been exhausted.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, to proceed for two minutes.

Mr. SIMS. This thing has been fully discussed. It will be practically a repetition.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I resent the intimation of the gentleman from Tennessee that any gentleman upon this floor desires to tie the hands of the President or to hold up this project.

If the gentleman for a moment would consider what this particular language involves, he would understand that none of his argument has any application whatever to it. This has nothing to do with contracts. They can go right ahead making the contracts if the amendment prevails. All this pertains to is the payment of the money after the contracts have been let. In this

bill we have authorized the President to go ahead ad libitum and contract for any amount he wants to.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I question the gentleman's line of argument in that respect. You can not go on with the contract until the money is available.

Mr. SIMS. You can not do it at all.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. There is no question about it. The language is express in the bill itself giving the President power to make contracts without restriction.

Mr. ESCH. In an enormous expenditure like this it would be a dangerous practice for a Government official to make a contract without an appropriation.

Mr. SIMS. It would be an illegal performance.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Repeatedly authorizations are made without any appropriations whatever, from time to time, in bill after bill. A common example is found in the bills which authorize the making of contracts for the construction of public buildings, in which no appropriation is ever inserted.

In this bill we repose unlimited confidence in the President, for we authorize him to make contracts to any amount. He could under this bill bind the Government for billions, if he so desired. But no one has any fears that he will make contracts for more than in his judgment is necessary to successfully carry on the war. While I have criticized severely the wording of the bill and the careless manner in which it is drawn, neither I nor any any other gentleman has made any objection to these vast powers being conferred upon the President, nor has anyone tried to delay the bill, but only to better it, and that it has been improved I think everyone will agree.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out, on page 14, line 24, the words "out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated."

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GOOD: Line 24, page 14, after the word "*appropriated*," strike out the following: "out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ESCH. Then, Mr. Chairman, a like amendment ought to be made in lines 12 and 13.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ESCH: Page 14, line 12, after "$150,000," strike out the following: "out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

All revenues derived from the sale of any product of any plant or property which shall have been constructed or acquired pursuant to the provisions of this act, or from the lease or operation of any such plant, property, or transmission line, shall be available for the maintenance and operation of such plant, property, or transmission line; and all revenue in excess of the expense of such maintenance and operation and all sums received upon the sale of any property constructed or acquired pursuant to the provisions of this act or in repayment of any funds expended or provided pursuant to the provisions of subdivisions 2 and 3 of section 2 hereof shall be deposited and covered into the Treasury to the credit of this appropriation.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the chairman of the committee what is intended by the words "to the credit of this appropriation"?

Mr. MADDEN. That should be stricken out.

Mr. SIMS. The appropriation has been stricken out.

Mr. MADDEN. The words "to the credit of the appropriation" should be stricken from the bill.

Mr. SIMS. I take it that there is no use in using the language of the appropriation here, in view of the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the words "to the credit of this appropriation," in lines 12 and 13, of page 15.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GOOD: On page 15, line 12, after the word "Treasury," strike out the following: "to the credit of this appropriation."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 10. That as soon as practicable after the 1st of January in each year the President shall cause to be submitted to the Congress a detailed report of all property constructed, acquired, or installed, of all moneys loaned or advanced, and all receipts and expenditures made pursuant to the powers conferred by this act.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I move to amend the section by inserting after the word "advanced," in line 18, "and a list of all persons employed under the authority of this act."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WALSH: Page 15, line 18, after the word "advanced," insert the following: "and a list of all persons employed and salaries paid under this act."

Mr. WALSH. "And a list of all persons employed under the authority of this act."

The Clerk read as follows:

And insert the following: "And a list of all persons employed under the authority of this act."

Mr. WALSH. Now, Mr. Chairman, this section is the one which requires the information to be presented to the Congress, and it would seem to me that it would be wise to follow the practice we have established in other measures of this sort, where we require reports, to require also a list of persons who are employed to carry out the provisions of the act.

Mr. SIMS. Does the gentleman mean by that day laborers?

Mr. WALSH. No. I mean the persons employed by the President.

Mr. SIMS. In the administration of the act?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SIMS. I do not see any objection to the amendment, as I understand it.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. Does the gentleman include all the salaries?

Mr. WALSH. I think the other phraseology of the act will possibly cover that.

Mr. SIMS. If the Appropriations Committee gets jurisdiction and fixes the salaries of officials it will not be necessary to report as to that.

Mr. BLACK. The gentleman from Wisconsin yesterday offered an amendment by which most of these employees will be under civil service. Does the gentleman think it will be necessary to give a list of all these civil-service employees?

Mr. WALSH. I do not see why not. This is the report the President will make to the Congress.

Mr. BLACK. It is the usual custom to transmit a list of these employees?

Mr. WALSH. I do not know whether it is the custom, but it is the practice of Congress to ask that it be done. I know that in connection with some of the departments of the Government the reports we have asked for have not been all that could be desired in that respect.

Mr. SIMS. Asked for in a legislative bill?

Mr. WALSH. No; I mean where we had provided special powers.

Mr. SIMS. In legislation?

Mr. WALSH. Oh, yes; in legislation.

Mr. SIMS. I am not opposed to any amendment that does not hurt the bill.

Mr. WALSH. That is not the purpose for which I am offering it.

Mr. SIMS. I see no objection to this.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, I move to amend section 10 by striking out, in line 14, after the word "that," the words "as soon as practicable after the 1st of January," and to substitute therefor the words "not later than the first Monday in December."

Mr. SIMS. I think the other reports have nearly all been required as of the 1st of January. That is the provision in the railroad-control bill. Of course, it cuts no figure, any more than that it makes it the calendar year instead of the fiscal year.

Mr. ROGERS. If the practice of adhering to the calendar year is general in legislation, I should not think it was necessary to depart from it in this case.

Mr. SIMS. There is a bill before my committee now to make the calendar year the fiscal year in all things.

Mr. ROGERS. But every department of the Government, as far as I know, is required to report to the Congress by the first

Monday in December. Now, that is the time when the Congress needs the information.

Mr. SIMS. In the railroad-control bill we provide for a report by the 31st of December, as I now recall, but I may not be correct as to the exact date.

Mr. ROGERS. And furthermore the language "as soon as practicable after the 1st of January" vitiates the provision altogether. It may be three months or six months or a year.

Mr. SIMS. I know the gentleman is friendly to the purposes of the bill. There can be very little of this work completed between the time the bill passes and the 1st day of January.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ROGERS: Page 15, line 14, after the word "that," strike out "as soon as practicable after the 1st of January" and insert in lieu thereof "not later than the first Monday in December."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is upon the adoption of the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 11. That this act may be cited as the "Emergency power act."

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the words "may be cited" and insert "shall be known."

Mr. SIMS. I have no objection to that.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WALSH: Page 15, line 20, after the word "act," strike out the words "may be cited" and insert in lieu thereof the words "shall be known."

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk resumed and completed the reading of the bill.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee rise and report the bill to the House as amended, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

Mr. STAFFORD. I make the point of order that that is superfluous. The rule provides for that.

Mr. SIMS. I had overlooked that fact. I am so accustomed to acting without a special rule that I had forgotten about this.

The committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. HOUSTON, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12776) to provide further for the national security and defense and for the more effective prosecution of the war by furnishing means for the better utilization of the existing sources of electrical and mechanical power and for the development of new sources of such power, and for other purposes, had directed him to report the same back to the House with sundry amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them in gross.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the reading of the engrossed bill.

Mr. SIMS. Does not the gentleman understand the bill?

Mr. WALSH. There has been several amendments adopted here that I did not understand any more than I understood several of the committee amendments which were eliminated. I withdraw the demand, however.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was accordingly read the third time.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I move to recommit the bill with instructions.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. No.

The SPEAKER. Does any gentleman in the House who is opposed to the bill desire to make a motion to recommit? If not, the Chair will recognize the gentleman from New Jersey.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey moves to recommit the bill with instructions to report the same forthwith with amendments as follows: "Strike out the words 'five years' wherever they occur in the bill and insert in lieu thereof 'one year,' viz, in section 2, clause (2), page 4, line 25, in clause 3 as amended by substitute; also in clause (12), page 9, line 14." Second amendment: "After the word 'thereof' at the end of the first paragraph of section 8, on page 13, line 2, by striking out the period and inserting the following: 'not exceeding one year after the war period.'"

Mr. SIMS. I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. PARKER of New Jersey) there were—ayes 8, noes 29.

Accordingly the motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

On motion of Mr. SIMS, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

STIMULATION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I present a conference report on H. R. 11945 and ask that it be printed under the rule.

Mr. ANDERSON. Is this a complete report?

Mr. LEVER. It is not.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT (NO. 819).

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 17, 20, 29, and 30.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 9, 11, 12, 16, 19, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, and 31, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 15: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 15, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the language and figures stricken out by the Senate amendment insert the following: "market news service on grain, hay, feeds, and seeds, $150,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 15a: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 15a, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the language and the figures stricken out by the Senate amendment insert the following: "food and fertilizer surveys of the United States, $300,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 18: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 18, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the Senate amendment insert "$1,955,608"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 21: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 21, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Strike out the words "graps sirup" and insert in lieu thereof "grape sirups"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 23: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 23, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the language stricken out by the Senate amendment and insert the following language after the word "thereof," in the restored language, on page 10, line 7: "which are now or heretofore have been used for such purposes"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 28: The committee of conference have been unable to agree on the amendment of the Senate numbered 28.

A. F. LEVER,
GORDON LEE,
E. S. CANDLER,
G. N. HAUGEN,
J. C. MCLAUGHLIN,
Managers on the part of the House.

T. P. GORE,
E. D. SMITH,
HOKE SMITH,
JOSEPH I. FRANCE,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT.

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11945) making appropriations to

enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conference committee and submitted in the accompanying conference report as to each of the amendments of the Senate, namely:

On amendment No. 1: This amendment strikes out the language of the proviso to the enacting clause of the bill providing that no part of the money appropriated in the bill shall be used in paying the salary or expenses of any man who on account of employment in which he is or may be engaged under the provisions of this act has been or shall hereafter be certified by the Secretary of Agriculture, or by any other official of the Department of Agriculture, for deferred classification, or by any other Federal official or authority has been or may hereafter be placed in a deferred class under act No. 12, Sixty-fifth Congress, entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917, or under any act amendatory thereof that has been or shall hereafter be enacted. The Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 2: This amendment strikes out the provision for an appropriation of $105,000 for production of beef cattle. The Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 3: This amendment strikes out the provision for an appropriation of $52,950 for making cottage cheese on the farm. The Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 4: This amendment represents an amended total. The Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 5: This amendment strikes out the word "seeds" and inserts in lieu thereof the words "seed wheat and beans." The Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 6: This amendment strikes out the word "seeds" and inserts in lieu thereof the words "seed wheat and beans." The Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 7: This amendment strikes out the entire paragraph carrying appropriations aggregating $811,300, for the prevention, control, and eradication of insect and plant diseases injurious to agriculture, and the conservation and utilization of plant products. The Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 8: This amendment changes the number of the paragraph by striking out "Fourth" and inserting in lieu thereof "Third." The Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 9: This amendment inserts the words "including edible nuts" in the paragraph making provision for increasing food production and eliminating waste and promoting conservation of food by educational and demonstrational methods. The House recedes.

On amendment No. 10: This amendment strikes out the provision of the paragraph making an appropriation of $35,000 for general administration of extension work. The Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 12: This amendment strikes out language providing that no part of the appropriation carried in the preceding paragraph shall be available for any purpose unless there shall have been previously issued the proclamation authorized by section 15 of the act of August 10, 1917, entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," such proclamation being the prohibition of the use of foods, fruits, food materials, or feeds in the production of malt or vinous liquors for beverage purposes. The House recedes.

On amendment No. 13: This amendment, having been passed by the House in exactly the same language as previously passed by the Senate, was not a subject of conference.

On amendment No. 14: This amendment strikes out "Fifth" and inserts in lieu thereof "Fourth." The Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 15: This amendment strikes out the language of the paragraph appropriating $480,720 for market news service on grain, hay, feeds, and seeds. The House recedes with the following amendment inserted in lieu of the matter stricken out by the Senate: "market news service on grain, hay, feeds, and seeds, $150,000."

On amendment No. 15a: This amendment strikes out the language of the paragraph appropriating $449,700 for food and fertilizer surveys of the United States. The House recedes with the following amendment inserted in lieu of the matter stricken out by the Senate: "food and fertilizer surveys of the United States, $300,000."

On amendment No. 16: This amendment corrects a grammatical error by striking out the word "and." The House recedes.

On amendment No. 17: This amendment strikes out "$229,937" for conservation of food products in transportation and storage and inserts in lieu thereof "$4,484." The Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 18: This amendment represents an amended total.

On amendment No. 19: This amendment strikes out the language of the paragraph making provision for the establishment of a market news service in the District of Columbia. The House recedes.

On amendment No. 20: This amendment strikes out "Sixth" and inserts in lieu thereof "Fifth." The Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 21: This amendment inserts "including graps sirup," between the word "sirups" and the figures "$5,000," in the section of the bill providing for the preparation of sweet sirups. The House recedes with an amendment striking out "graps sirup" and inserting in lieu thereof "grape sirups."

On amendment No. 22: This amendment strikes out "control of noxious rodents" and inserts in lieu thereof "destruction of prairie dogs, gophers, and ground squirrels." The House recedes.

On amendment No. 23: This amendment strikes out a proviso authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture under certain conditions to requisition the use of and take possession of any building or space in any building, and appurtenances thereof, in the District of Columbia, other than a dwelling house occupied as such or a building occupied by any other branch of the United States Government. The House recedes with the following amendment: Restore the language stricken out by the Senate and insert, between the word "thereof" and the word "in" in the restored language, the following: "which are not or heretofore have been used for such purposes."

On amendment No. 24: This amendment adds new language providing that under such rules, regulations, and bonds as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe distilled spirits or alcohol produced prior to October 3, 1917, from products the growth of the island of Porto Rico may be admitted from said island into the United States for industrial purposes in the arts and sciences. The House recedes.

On amendment No. 25: This amendment adds new language amending section 9 of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," approved August 10, 1917, so as to permit the admission to the United States for immediate slaughter of tick-infested cattle from Mexico, South and Central America, the islands of the Gulf of Mexico and Carribbean Sea, at ports above the southern cattle quarantine line, upon the same conditions as such cattle are now permitted entry at ports below that line in accordance with regulations prescribed under the authority conferred by the act of August 10, 1917. The act further provides for the deferred slaughter, under regulations of the Secretary of Agriculture, of such cattle imported into Porto Rico and for the exportation of tick-infested cattle from the Virgin Islands to Porto Rico in accordance with joint regulations of the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Treasury. The House recedes.

On amendment No. 26: This amendment adds new language authorizing the President to extend invitation to other nations to appoint delegates or representatives to the Farmers' National Congress, to be held at Jacksonville, Fla., in connection with the Pan American International Farm and Live Stock Exposition. The House recedes.

On amendment No. 27: This amendment amends the proviso to paragraph 2, section 7, of the act approved April 5, 1918, entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense, and for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war to provide credits for industries and enterprises in the United States necessary or contributory to the prosecution of the war, and to supervise the issuance of security, and for other purposes," by making an exception of advances secured by loans for agricultural purposes or loans based on live stock, and thereby modifies the requirement of the act, as to these loans, to the extent that the corporation named in the act may lend 100 per cent of the face value of this class of security. The House recedes.

On amendment No. 28: This amendment adds now language and constitutes what is commonly known as the Pomerene antirent profiteering bill, and among other things provides for the appointment of a rent administrator for the District of Columbia. The conferees have been unable to agree as to this amendment.

On amendment No. 29: This amendment adds new language authorizing the Secretary of the Interior under certain condi-

tions and terms to lease to citizens of the United States and others any part of the unallotted lands within any Indian reservation within the States of Arizona, California, Montana, New Mexico, Washington, or Wyoming heretofore withdrawn from entry under the mining laws for the purpose of mining for deposits of gold, silver, copper, and other valuable metalliferous minerals. The Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 30: This amendment makes it unlawful, except under certain stipulated requirements, for any person, firm, or corporation knowingly to ship, offer for shipment, or transport in commerce among the several States or for commerce with foreign countries any concentrated feeding stuffs containing certain specified ingredients. The Senate recedes.

On amendment No. 31: This amendment prohibits the payment to employees under this act of any greater salary or compensation than that paid to other persons employed in the Agricultural Department for similar or like services. The House recedes.

A. F. LEVER,
GORDON LEE,
E. S. CANDLER,
G. N. HAUGEN,
J. C. MCLAUGHLIN,
Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. ROGERS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEVER. I will.

Mr. ROGERS. Can the gentleman inform the House when he expects to call up the conference report?

Mr. LEVER. I am unexpectedly called home this afternoon, and I do not think it can be reached before Saturday.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEVER. Yes.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Did the conferees agree to the prohibition amendment?

Mr. LEVER. The two bodies had already agreed to that so that it was not in conference.

DISPENSING WITH BUSINESS ON CALENDAR WEDNESDAY.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order to-morrow—Calendar Wednesday—may be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to dispense with business on Calendar Wednesday, to-morrow. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, does the gentleman from Illinois do that for the purpose of calling up the measure relating to the sanitorium?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

DISPOSITION OF USELESS PAPERS.

Mr. TALBOTT, from the Committee on Disposition of Useless Executive Papers, reported (H. Rept. No. 820) that the files and papers described in the report of the Acting Public Printer in House Document No. 1034, Sixty-fifth Congress, second session, dated April 10, 1918, are not needed in the transaction of the current business of such departments and bureaus and have no permanent value or historical interest.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask consent for leave of absence for three days, on account of a death in the family.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent for leave of absence for three days. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment joint resolution of the following title:

H. J. Res. 334. Joint resolution making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of October, 1918, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had insisted upon its amendments to the bill (H. R. 11231) to regulate the hours of duty of the officers and members of the fire department of the District of Columbia, had agreed to the conference asked for by the House, and had appointed Mr. SAULSBURY, Mr. KING, and Mr. DILLINGHAM as the conferees on the part of the Senate.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled joint resolution of the following title, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. J. Res. 334. Joint resolution making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of October, 1918, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 38 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, October 2, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. STEENERSON: A bill (H. R. 13034) to validate and confirm certain erroneously allowed entries in the State of Minnesota; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. DENT: A bill (H. R. 13035) to amend section 4 of Chapter V of "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919," approved July 9, 1918, and to make said amendment retroactive; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13036) transferring jurisdiction and control for the period of the war over the Southern Branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers from the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers to the Secretary of War for use for Army hospital purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13037) to amend the fiftieth article of war; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII,

Mr. FRENCH introduced a bill (H. R. 13038) granting an increase of pension to Alwilda Smith, which was referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin: Petitions of Rev. Harland C. Logan and other citizens of Waukesha, Wis., in favor of wartime prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Memorial of the New York Sunday School Commission (Inc.), protesting against the zone system for second-class postage rates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ESCH: Memorial of the market committee of the National Live Stock Association, indorsing the report of the Federal Trade Commission on the meat-packing industry; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. HAMILTON of New York: Resolution of a public meeting held at Houghton, N. Y., urging constitutional amendment to prohibit polygamy and polygamous cohabitation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SLOAN: Petitions of Dr. A. J. Nielson, of Beatrice, Nebr.; of Charles H. Bath and 120 others; and of Charles F. Barth and 60 others, all relative to House bill 5118, concerning chiropractic practice; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. STEENERSON: Petition signed by Miss J. Anna Norris, 509 Sixth Street SE., Minneapolis, Minn., in favor of House bill 12767, relative to child-labor regulation; to the Committee on Labor.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, *October 2, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

With gratitude in our hearts and praise upon our lips, we approach Thee, our Father in heaven, for the good news and glad tidings of great joy which come to us from all along the lines, promising victory to the entente powers, looking to a peace which shall fill all pure hearts with joy and make the old world ring with gladness in a liberty and justice which shall right all wrongs and usher in Thy Kingdom with all its hopes and promises for Thy children; and everlasting praise be Thine. In His Name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

EMERGENCY POWER BILL—CORRECTION.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to correct the RECORD. In an amendment offered yesterday to the emergency power bill (H. R. 12776) by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH] he referred to subsection 13, but afterwards a section was stricken out so that subsection 13 will become subsection 12. In the enrolling of the bill I ask unanimous consent that it may be enrolled in the amendment as subsection 12 instead of subsection 13 to section 2.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that in enrolling the bill passed yesterday subsection 13 may be enrolled as subsection 12. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

OFFICE OF THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for three minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California asks unanimous consent to address the House for three minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago the gentleman from New York [Mr. SNYDER] presented a communication from the Judge Advocate General's office, which was placed in the RECORD. This communication was of a somewhat unusual character. I have received a similar one, and with the permission of the House I shall read it and my reply thereto:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.,
Washington, D. C., September 30, 1918.

Maj. Gen. ENOCH H. CROWDER, United States Army,
The Judge Advocate General.

DEAR GEN. CROWDER: Under date of September 19, 1918, I have a letter from the office of the Judge Advocate General, as follows:

"This office is in receipt of your communication concerning Mr. Frank Buren, of Los Angeles, Cal.

"Replying thereto, permit me to say that the offer of the many lawyers throughout the country who have applied for service in this department is deeply appreciated. Such are to be commended for the patriotic motives by which they are inspired. However, after thorough consideration and in the light of its experience, the department has found it necessary and in the interests of the military service to inaugurate a different method of selecting officers for this branch of the service. Accordingly, it has undertaken, after a thorough investigation through its own representatives, who will get into personal and confidential touch with the best professional sources of information, to assemble, thus upon its own initiative, a list of those lawyers from the country at large and from those already in the Army who, as a result of such investigation, are deemed best qualified for the service; and from such a list all appointments to this department will hereafter be made.

"Obviously, under such a system of selection, applications for appointment to this department must be without influence or effect. Therefore, I have the honor to advise you that they can not be considered."

I learn that other Members of Congress have received letters identical with this in reply to their letters filing applications from patriotic attorneys in their several districts offering their services in the Army and applying for commissions as judge advocates, if found worthy and the War Department needs them.

I assure you, General, that I do not present applications to the Judge Advocate General's office, and I do not think that other Members of Congress do, with a view of unduly pressing them upon the attention of that office or of embarrassing the office in any way. It so happens that that branch of the War Department is the only one where attorneys' training and education have special value. Those who desire to serve their country in war naturally apply to that office. They send these applications to the Congressmen representing their several districts or the Senators representing their States because they know them personally and possibly have no personal acquaintance with anyone else at the Capital. They know that each Congressman represents a district embracing from a quarter to a half million people; that he is their representative in a very direct way, being chosen by popular vote at frequent intervals; and they think that the presentation of their application or its recommendation by their Congressman or Senator will assure it courteous and careful consideration.

The Congressman or Senator is probably better acquainted with the personal character and capability of most men in his district than anyone else. That is a necessity of his selection as Congressman. He therefore feels that in furnishing this information to the War Department, or any other department of the Government, with his personal knowledge of the applicant, he is rendering the officials who have the choice to make a real service. Generally, and in my own experience almost universally, such information is received courteously and with assurance that it will receive consideration.

For myself, I think that any American citizen who deems himself qualified should have the right to apply to the proper authority for any public place open to American citizens, including the Army when in the making. Endorsements of other American citizens usually and properly accompany such applications as to the fitness and character of the applicants. In passing upon such applications the statements of endorsers are proper subjects of consideration for the appointing authority. For those of a Congressman I would ask no greater consideration than for those of any other American citizen, taking into account his opportunity for forming an opinion. But they ought to receive some consideration, and his suggestions ought not to be thrown out because he is a Congressman. These remarks are called out by the last paragraph of the letter quoted, as follows:

"Obviously, under such a system of selection applications for appointment to this department must be without influence or effect. Therefore I have the honor to advise you that they can not be considered."

May I inquire what becomes of the application of Mr. Frank Buren, and of all the other attorneys whose applications are on file in your office, which are "without influence or effect," and which you advise me "can not be considered"? What becomes of them? Are they sent back to the applicants and their authors, who were patriotic and vigorous enough to file their applications, left out of consideration, and the places they aspired to filled by men chosen through "personal and confidential touch"? Why should the "confidential" feature enter into the matter at all?

I have great admiration, General, for the effective manner in which you have organized our armies. I believe that most Congressmen have. With your heavy load of duty, I presume that you do not see everything that emanates from your office. But one thing that you are in a position to realize, an obstacle that you have had to overcome, is the widespread dread in this country of autocratic military power. We all know that great power is necessary, but it ought always to be exercised with great care and discretion, and generally it has been so exercised. No one, even Congressmen, ought to be told that applications for commissions "must be without influence or effect," or that "they can not be considered." While it may be true, it is unnecessary and irritating.

As to Congressmen as such, they have had much to do with officers of the United States Army, and since the founding of the United States Military Academy at West Point the career of every successful soldier graduate of that institution has had its beginning in the good opinion and official action of a Congressman, except the few appointed by the President. That is true of Gen. Grant, of Gen. Sherman, of Gen. Sheridan, of Gen. Robert E. Lee, of Gen. "Stonewall" Jackson, of Gen. Pershing, of Gen. Goethals, of Gen. Liggett, of every one of Gen. Pershing's corps of commanders, and of yourself.

As Congressmen have done so well in choosing and recommending for military life, as this list, mostly of boys chosen from the farms of the country, would indicate, is it really necessary to inform their successors in Congress at the present day that their recommendation for judge advocates "must be without influence or effect" and "can not be considered"?

With great personal esteem, I am,
Very truly, yours,
H. Z. OSBORNE, M. C.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the bill (S. 3985) for the relief of John Chick, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested.

SENATE BILL REFERRED.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, Senate bill of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the appropriate committee, as indicated below:

S. 3985. An act for the relief of John Chick; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that this day they had presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following joint resolution:

H. J. Res. 334. Joint resolution making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of October, 1918, and for other purposes.

BUILDING FOR PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE, CITY OF WASHINGTON.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I present the following privileged report (No. 821) from the Committee on Rules, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 439.

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of H. R. 12404, entitled "A bill authorizing the construction of a building for the Public Health Service in the city of Washington, D. C."; that there shall be not to exceed one hour of general debate. At the conclusion of such general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. After the bill shall have been perfected in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union the same shall be reported to the House with such recommendations as the committee may make, whereupon the previous question shall be considered as ordered upon the bill and all amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to have the attention of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL]. This rule provides the same as did the rule under which we considered the power bill, that immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union. There seemed to be some objection to that, and if there is to this I shall be glad to ask unanimous consent, before I move the previous question, to change that so as to strike out the words "shall resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union" and insert "It shall be in order to move to resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union." If that is better and it suits the House better, I shall be glad to ask that that change be made.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, while I have no objection to the suggestion made by the gentleman from Illinois, yet for the purposes of this rule, because of the statements made before the Committee on Rules with respect to the bill, and because I think we shall give only about one hour or more to its consideration, I would not insist upon that change. I hope to see the bill passed within two hours. But, in order to avoid any such complication as was feared by some Members of the House was possible under the language of the rule under which the power bill was considered, I shall make no objection to the suggestion of the gentleman from Illinois if he makes a request for unanimous consent to modify the rule as indicated.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this resolution be changed according to the amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 1, lines 2 and 3, after the word "House," in line 2, strike out the words "shall resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union" and insert in lieu thereof the words "it shall be in order to move to resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union."

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I suggest that the word "House" should be stricken out and inserted in the new language.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman is right about that.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment as modified.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend the amendment as follows: Strike out the words in line 2, after the word "resolution," "the House shall resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union" and insert the words "It shall be in order to move that the House shall resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the modification?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois is entitled to 20 minutes and the gentleman from Kansas 20 minutes.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, this rule provides for the consideration of the bill H. R. 12404, which authorizes the construction of a building for the Public Health Service in the city of Washington, D. C. This building is for the hygienic laboratory under the control of the Public Health Service, which is located in the southwestern part of the city near the Naval Hospital. Since the war has been upon us this service has been called upon to do a great deal more work than it ever did before. All of the toxins of every kind and character and description must be passed on by the Public Health Service before they can be sent out to be used. We have now a great many soldiers in the Army, and the typhoid serum, the tetanus serum, and others are necessary to properly take care of the Army and Navy.

So the work of this laboratory has been very much increased. This is also to provide along with this laboratory a larger animal house where they can take care of more animals necessary on which to experiment. They now have three horses, and they desire during this time especially that they may have room for 24 head. They must use, as you know, the blood of horses for making these experiments, and a horse can only be bled about once a week, so they are short of material with which to work. The Secretary of the Treasury has very strongly urged this. As I understand, there appeared before the committee Mr. Perry, the consulting engineer of the Public Health Service, describing what this building should be and what they wanted, and this bill has the indorsement of the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, and I think, Mr. Speaker, in view of the work that these physicians in the Government have done in the past in the way of studying the germs of disease and the cause of these epidemics and what you may do to check them, it is one of the most important functions connected with the Government. Let me remind you, as I am sure you all know, only a few years ago and in the recollection of all of us yellow fever was the scourge of the South. Each year they dreaded the time when yellow fever might come to them and when business would be demoralized, when families would go away from their homes who were able to do so, and many, many of the residents of that section died as a result of this disease. You remember that the Government appointed a commission composed of three surgeons of the Army, and that Dr. Walter Reed, for whom the great hospital here is named, was head of that commission. Those three noble men and surgeons lost their lives in investigating this disease, but they determined the cause and as a result of that we have yellow fever under control and nobody in the South fears it now. [Applause.] We remember that there was sent to the Rocky Mountains of the West a celebrated surgeon to study mountain fever, that he had discovered the cause of that dreaded and fatal disease out there, and as a result of his investigation he lost his life by contracting the malady. He performed a noble service for humanity. This bill is only an effort to extend the facilities for doing a great work in which the Public Health Service is engaged and I think that the Congress of the United States could perform no better service to-day than to give every facility necessary that those men who are battling against diseases, endeavoring to find out the cause and put a stop to them throughout the country, that they may do their work more efficiently, if possible, than they have been able to do it in the past. There is to-day spreading throughout the United States and possibly throughout the world an epidemic of influenza in which many lives have already been sacrificed and probably many more will go the same way. It will be important if this Public Health Service can study diseases of this kind that some day our country may be free of these terrible scourges that go over it at times as an epidemic.

Mr. LAZARO. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. I will.

Mr. LAZARO. Is it not a fact, too, that it was following these investigations by these medical men and as a result of these experiments that it was possible for this country to build the Panama Canal?

Mr. FOSTER. There is no question about it. Gen. Gorgas, whom everybody honors, a great sanitary surgeon, went to the Panama Canal Zone and made it possible for us to build that canal. I dare say if we had not discovered the cause of malaria and knew to a certainty that malaria only came from the bite of the mosquito, that to-day, if we were endeavoring to dig that canal, we would still be trying, and trying to do it without any success, and many lives would have been sacrificed in that great undertaking.

I now yield to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU] two minutes and reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I am very heartily in favor of the adoption of this rule. Two or three days ago a gentleman called at my office and urged the passage of this measure providing for the erection of an addition to the Government laboratory. He was very earnest in his plea for immediate action. When he went out, a very brilliant physician, who at that time was also in the office, said, "That is the man who is largely entitled to the credit for stamping out bubonic plague. He was one of the men who conducted the investigation which showed that bubonic plague was brought in by rats; that the rats were often covered with fleas; that the fleas escaped from the rats when the ship landed and often attacked human beings; and that human beings developed this awful plague." He said, "That man was one of the men who followed out that thing, and they have now established a system by which the bubonic plague is practically eliminated." The gentleman who called to urge prompt action was Dr. Blue. I am willing to act on the recommendation of men like that. Now, these men say we need additional facilities, and I believe this House will take pleasure in passing the act with practical unanimity.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I concur in what the gentleman from Illinois and the gentleman from North Carolina have said about the importance of the bill provided for by this resolution. I would not, however, have the House or the country get the impression that this is a bill authorizing physicians or others to experiment upon the subjects mentioned. This is a bill authorizing the construction of a building to add necessary facilities to enable the health service to prepare serums, the value of which have already been demonstrated not only to the Army but to the civilian population, serums that prevent fevers and diseases and that effect cures of other diseases.

Mr. LAZARO. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I will.

Mr. LAZARO. The gentleman does not mean to say that in preparing these serums that have been tested already that it shuts the door to experiment?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Oh, no.

Mr. LAZARO. Those things go hand in hand.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. And I want to say that this bill provides facilities for the making of serums, the value of which have been thoroughly tested out and established and is not primarily for experiments.

Mr. LAZARO. I know; but the men who have charge of this work and who are preparing those serums are constantly experimenting and therefore the two go hand in hand.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. For other serums, oh yes; but in addition to that I was about to say this will afford opportunity for developing other serums and the value of such serums in the prevention or cure of diseases.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I understand the measure that is sought to be given a privileged status it is to provide an extension of a building now in existence.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Virtually doubling the capacity of the present laboratory for the purpose of testing out serums that are

manufactured by private concerns to determine whether they are up to the required standard?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. That is true.

Mr. STAFFORD. The additional recommendation providing for accommodations for additional horses, so as to take care of 24 horses for the Public Health Service to experiment directly upon for the manufacture of salvarsan—they give it a new name now, which I was not acquainted with before—is a minor matter, so far as the appropriation in this bill is concerned. It is merely for the enlargement of a shed so as to accommodate 24 horses.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. It was stated to the Committee on Rules that it had been discovered during the progress of the war that certain serums that had heretofore been a specific or have been regarded as a specific for certain diseases were not up to the standard at which the serum should test, and that the serum did not affect the cure for which it was known it was a curative if the serum itself were of the standard or grade that was essential. And it is for the purpose of not only testing that serum but of making serum that I understand this building is to be erected.

Mr. STAFFORD. Can the gentleman give any information as to the amount of floor space that is now occupied by the present laboratory? I believe they have some 145 employees down there. Can the gentleman inform the House as to the amount of floor space and the congested condition of that laboratory?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. As to the floor space, I am advised that it was stated that now they had only 3 horses, and that they needed 24 horses to experiment on.

Mr. STAFFORD. Twenty-four horses would merely require the enlargement of a shed, but what the department has really desired and what they have been seeking since 1913, and which has been refused by the Committee on Appropriations, has been an extension and enlargement of their present laboratory, where they are employing some 145 persons, engaged in the testing of serums of private manufacture.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. That was not called as fully to the attention of the Committee on Rules as probably it was to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, which committee no doubt will give the information when the bill is under consideration.

Mr. STAFFORD. I do not believe that question was investigated at all by either committee. I wish somebody on the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds would give the information. That is the main question.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. The Committee on Rules does not always go into the details of all the measures that are brought before it. And it would obviously be impossible for the committee to do that. It goes into the general purposes of bills. Since the war began, and when it is disclosed that the general purpose of a bill is to add to the efficiency of the administration in the conduct of the war, the Committee on Rules has been always willing to bring in a rule for the consideration of such a measure.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman knows that this laboratory has been used very largely in connection with experiments relative to nutritional diseases, and that is one of its very important purposes and functions. They desire to enlarge their experimentation along those lines, and it is very important they should.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. That is true. The rule simply makes this bill in order and, as now modified, I think there will be no question that it does not give this bill precedence over important legislation that has always been regarded under the rules of the House as privileged business.

I yield two minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. WALDOW] for the purpose of reading a letter.

Mr. WALDOW. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of the adoption of this rule, but I rise for a different purpose.

I have received hundreds of letters from the boys in camp and in France, but I believe this one, coming at such an opportune time from one of my constituents, deserves space in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is as follows:

SOMEWHERE IN FRANCE,
September 8, 1918.

MY DEAR FRIEND CONGRESSMAN WALDOW: I am located in France at last, having arrived here about two weeks ago after a very interesting trip across the Atlantic. Everything is fine. Our quarters are clean and dry, our eats are excellent, and our officers are all fine men.

From the news you get you know that the Americans are living up to their past reputation, and I am sure we will all soon be home again with victory in tow.

I understand the fourth liberty loan campaign has started at home, and I earnestly hope that the folks at home will do their bit and back up the boys over here. We men are certainly doing "our bit" and "our best." All we ask is a solid backing at home. I wish the authorities in charge all the success in the world and hope they get a larger amount than they are setting out for. Another large oversubscription will make Kaiser Bill stop for a while in his mad work and realize that we are in it and are going to win.

Very truly, yours,
GEO. ALTES,
A. E. F.—American address, Hamburg, N. Y.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, does the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER] want to use any time now?

Mr. FOSTER. The gentleman may go ahead if he desires.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. NORTON].

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, in my judgment the Committee on Rules has acted very wisely in reporting in a rule for the consideration of this bill in view of the fact that the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds has found after full investigation that the construction of this building is necessary to the proper and efficient carrying on of the work of the Public Health Bureau. I have had occasion at different times to examine into some of the various classes of work the Public Health Bureau is doing. From such observations as I have made of the work of the Public Health Bureau during the past six years I am led to believe that there is no department of the Government performing better or more efficient work.

I was much interested in the statement made by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU] in regard to the work performed in the eradication of the bubonic plague. I had in mind, however, that a large part of the actual work had been done by another in the Public Health Bureau than Dr. Blue. Still I presume there was and is glory enough in the great, good work that was done in eradicating this terrible plague from the Pacific coast to extend deserved honor and distinction to Dr. Blue and at the same time to the brilliant young doctor whom I had in mind was entitled to the chief credit for the results accomplished in San Francisco in eradicating the disease there and stopping its further spread throughout the country. The young doctor I have in mind spent his boyhood days and young manhood in North Dakota. Leaving our State university he took up the study of medicine at Rush Medical College, from which he later graduated. Some years ago when the bubonic plague made its appearance in San Francisco he was sent out there by the Public Health Bureau to assist in its eradication. As I now recall the matter, I am under the impression that most of the actual work of blotting out the plague from this country was carried on by him. I know that this young man is considered by medical men throughout the world as a leading authority on means and methods of eradicating the bubonic plague. The young man I refer to is Dr. William Colby Rucker, who for a number of years has been one of the most valuable and effective workers in the Public Health Bureau. Three or four years ago when a few cases of the bubonic plague were reported in New Orleans he was sent there by the Health Bureau, and soon had the plague under control. His methods of control and eradication are so thorough and effective and his genius and his fidelity to his work so marked that when his work was finished in New Orleans he was extended the highest praise and gratitude of the people of that city.

I do not think that the amount of $250,000, such as is called for in this bill, is an item that we should hesitate at this time for a moment to appropriate if it is needed, as it has been represented to be needed by the very able and very competent physicians and surgeons and scientists who are to-day at the head of the Public Health Bureau. The work they are carrying on in safeguarding the health of our soldiers as well as the health of those of our citizens in civil life is incalculable in its value.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LAZARO].

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I am heartily in favor of this measure, because it helps in the preservation of health. For years and years the medical men of the world have been trying to impress upon the people this fact, that good health is the most valuable asset we possess. It is often said on the floor of this House that this war, as horrible as it is, will teach the American people many valuable lessons. And there is no doubt in my mind but that one of the most valuable lessons that will be taught in this war will be the importance of preventing disease. To-day we understand as we never understood before that it is necessary not only to preserve the health of our boys on the firing line, but it is also equally necessary to preserve the health of the people at home, who are united and working earnestly to produce the necessities for these boys on the firing line. I hope that the American people especially will never forget this lesson, and that from now on they will be willing to appropriate the money necessary,

so that medical men can experiment and carry on the work that is necessary in order to prevent disease, and not wait until people are sick and then spend ten times more to be cured. [Applause.]

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I, too, recognize the importance and the value of this bill, and I do not rise to criticize the rule. But there is one feature of it which I regret, and that is that the building is to be erected in the city of Washington.

We all, of course, appreciate how congested Washington is just now. I do not know enough about the details to form an opinion, and it may be quite essential that this proposed building should be constructed here; but I noticed that yesterday the papers said the President had written to various bureaus, asking them why they should not move from Washington to some other city.

That same suggestion has been made here in the House about those same bureaus and some others many times, and I was very glad to see at last that the Executive had taken it up, for it certainly did seem and does seem that when the city is being overcrowded so dangreously, and when there are such hardships imposed upon the new influx of people coming here, there should not be here these various bureaus which just as well and better could be located somewhere else.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILLETT. Certainly.

Mr. LONGWORTH. In addition to what the gentleman said, I observe this morning that a change had been made in the hours of meeting in the various departments to avoid congestion on the street cars.

Mr. GILLETT. Yes. I noticed one omission from the President's list, which caused me surprise. I wondered why he did not suggest that the Railroad Administration, over which Mr. McAdoo presides, should also be asked why they could not have their headquarters in some other city. When the bill to purchase the Arlington Hotel property and make an office building of it was introduced in the House we were told that that, the most magnificent office building in the city, was to house the War-Risk Insurance Bureau; but the other day my committee was informed that the top three or four floors of that magnificent building, accommodating hundreds of clerks, instead of being given to the War-Risk Insurance Bureau as was pretended, were to house the Railroad Administration

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILLETT. If I have time I will. Now, I can not see why the Railroad Administration needs to have this great office force in Washington. While, of course, the Secretary of the Treasury is nominally the Railroad Director it is impossible for any one man to really conduct the great variety of organizations which he is at the head of, and we all know that Mr. McAdoo can not be the real executive head of the railroads of this country. We know that others have to do most of the work. He does the spectacular work, he is the figurehead, and no doubt he does a great deal of good work. But he can not do all the administrative work, and I can not see any reason why this great force of the Railroad Administration offices should be here in Washington. When it was first suggested that we were to have that building it was stated that it was for the War-Risk Insurance Bureau, and if there was any intention then to put in the Railroad Administration, it was carefully suppressed before our committee.

Everyone knows that the War-Risk Bureau needs everything it can have to improve its efficiency, for I am sure we all have daily letters complaining of its incapacity. Only within a few days a letter was brought to my attention where a woman said that she had written to the War-Risk Insurance Bureau half a dozen times trying to get them to stop sending her checks which did not belong to her. She had applied for an allotment under her own name, giving her full name, and her husband, a soldier, had applied for her allotment, giving simply her initials. She had put her residence in one place, with her father-in-law, and he had put it in another, and consequently every month she got a check for the amount her husband asked for and another check for the allotment she asked for. Every month she sent back one of the checks, and asked them to stop sending her this extra check. But no; they kept sending her two checks every month. She can not stop them. I do not suppose the Government will have to pay the checks, for fortunately this woman is unusually honest and will not allow even the Government to force upon her money which does not belong to her; but if that is an illustration of the work that is being done in the War-Risk Insurance Bureau, and if handsome and sufficient housing would improve them they certainly ought to have it, and not have it taken away from them by Mr. McAdoo for his force, which could work just as well in some other city where space is not so scarce. The Administration of the Railroads, it seems to me, is one of the instrumentalities which the President might very well have included in the list of those which it was possible could be removed from Washington.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILLETT. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. How could we spare Mr. McAdoo?

Mr. GILLETT. Well, as I suggested, I do not think it is necessary that this large force of hundreds of clerks should be in the same city where the nominal head of the bureau is, because they could be located in New York or Chicago or any other great railway center, where it seems to me they ought to be, and he could have his personal staff here. Of course I do not know the details, but it seems to me the President might have been able to get into communication with this distinguished Cabinet officer as well as with these others, and ascertained whether it was indispensable that this magnificent suite of rooms which, as we were told, was destined for the War-Risk Insurance Bureau, was to be taken away from the War-Risk Insurance Bureau and given to the Railroad Administration.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILLETT. Yes.

Mr. DENISON. I notice in the papers that one of the bureaus that the President recommended to be removed from Washington was the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance.

Mr. GILLETT. I did not know that.

Mr. DENISON. So that there might be an intention to take that entire building for the Railroad Administration, because there are already many people connected with that organization who think it is going to be a permanent thing.

Mr. GILLETT. It does not seem necessary, even if it is to be a permanent thing, that its headquarters should be in Washington.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman will permit, it was originally intended by the Secretary of the Treasury to house all the activities of the War-Risk Insurance Bureau in the Arlington Office Building.

Mr. LANGLEY. As a member of the Committee on Public Bulidings and Grounds I will say that that was the statement before our committee, and the strong reason urged by the department for the purchase of that site and the erection of that building.

Mr. GILLETT. That is what I understood.

Mr. LANGLEY. So as to furnish them with quarters.

Mr. SLOAN. Here in Washington, where we do so little railroad business. [Laughter.]

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, we would like to hear some of that conversation that is going on over there.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's point of order is well taken. The question is on the adoption of the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. STRONG, for several days, on account of illness in his family; and

To Mr. VESTAL (at the request of Mr. SANDERS of Indiana), for five days, for the purpose of making liberty-loan speeches.

BUILDING FOR THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

On motion of Mr. BURNETT, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12404) authorizing the construction of a building for the Public Health Service in the city of Washington, D. C., with Mr. SHALLENBERGER in the chair.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry. The rule provides for an hour of general debate on this bill. I suppose under that rule perhaps I would have control of that time. I am desirous of yielding to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. LANGLEY], the ranking minority member of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, who is present, one-half of that time, if I may do so.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Alabama is recognized under the rule for one hour. He may yield such time as he desires to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. BURNETT. I will ask that the bill be read.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to contract for the construction of an additional building for laboratory purposes and research work and for enlarging and remodeling the present animal house connected with the Hygienic Laboratory, Public Health Service, Washington, D. C., at a limit of cost of $250,000.

With the following committee amendment:

After line 9, page 1, add the following:

"In carrying the foregoing authorization for additional buildings to the Hygienic Laboratory into effect the Secretary of the Treasury may enter into contracts or purchase materials in the open market, or otherwise, and employ laborers and mechanics for executing the work as in his judgment may best meet the public exigencies, within the limits of the authorization herein made."

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Chairman, the purposes of this bill have been so well explained by the gentlemen from the Rules Committee and the gentlemen to whom they have yielded that I am only desirous of occupying a very short time.

This bill was requested by the Treasury Department as an emergency proposition. The Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds so regarded it, or they would not have reported it, and the Rules Committee so regarded it, or they would not have reported the rule.

The Secretary of the Treasury, in a letter to our committee, says:

There are unprecedented demands for viruses, serums, and toxins, which are used in the prevention and cure of diseases, especially meningitis, pneumonia, tetanus, and typhoid fever. Both our own military forces and those of our allies depend largely upon establishments licensed by the Treasury Department for such supplies.

In the interest of national efficiency, it has become necessary to require the examination of a certain percentage of samples of every lot of serum put on the market by licensed establishments. In addition, studies have been begun recently relative to the standardization of arsphenamine and allied preparations, and tests are made of each lot of these important products before they are permitted to be placed on the market.

This means a very large increase in the amount of work done at the Hygienic Laboratory, and in order to furnish the necessary facilities it is absolutely necessary to provide an additional building of, approximately, the same size as that of the present Hygienic Laboratory, and to enlarge and remodel the animal house so as to give stable accommodations for 24 horses.

In order that provision may be made to take care of this important work, it is deemed absolutely necessary that an authorization as above outlined be obtained as soon as possible. Any special expedition that can be given this matter will be particularly appreciated.

In 1913 this laboratory had become considerably congested and was inadequate, and the Treasury Department then asked for an authorization, I believe, of $175,000 for the purpose of duplicating or enlarging the building that they were using. Since the war came on they need more in addition to that. They need more stable room. The statement was made before the Rules Committee the other day that their accommodations were for only 3 horses and that they need 24 horses for the purposes of these tests and that their present quarters were totally inadequate. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] asked in regard to the floor space that they already had. My recollection is that that was stated before the committee, but it does not appear in the hearings, and I state candidly to the gentleman that I do not remember the amount of floor space that they said they now have.

Mr. STAFFORD. That is the one question that justifies this resolution, whether the accommodations at present are inadequate to meet the growing needs of the service.

Mr. BURNETT. Certainly.

Mr. STAFFORD. I believe the hearings disclose that there are 145 employees.

Mr. BURNETT. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. As far as providing additional housing accommodations for the 24 horses are concerned, that would be a minor matter. The main appropriation is for the enlargement, to double the capacity of the present laboratory building.

Mr. BURNETT. Of course, that is the more expensive part of the authorization. I suppose there is no question about that, because the increased facilities for stable room would require a much smaller expenditure than the other. At the same time that must be sanitary, and all safeguards must be thrown around it, and if it is true that the laboratory was congested and inadequate in 1913, certainly with the increased amount of work put upon these people, it must be more inadequate now. It is not so much a question of housing 145 people, but the laboratory fixtures and appliances, and things that are used for this work must be housed also. They need an enlargement for that purpose in order to have more floor space. The gentleman has referred to the fact of removal to other cities. Certainly this work should be right here under the control of the Health Bureau, and there could not be any good reason for saying that it ought to be somewhere else. I am not going to combat the argument gentlemen have made about other bureaus or activities being removed, but so far as this one is concerned it ought to be here, and they ought to have the building right now. This bill was introduced on June 17. Representatives of the Bureau of Health felt so keen an interest in the urgent, immediate necessity for it that they came before the committee early and the committee reported the bill early. On account of the recess and other matters this is the first opportunity we have had of securing the rule and its consideration. It is a matter of immediate necessity. The authorization is for only $250,000. The Committee on Appropriations felt correctly that they had no authority to allow it unless it was first authorized by our committee.

Mr. Perry, who was before the committee, says:

The war has thrown into the laboratory the entire control of the most important of the drugs made under license of the Federal Trade Commission. This refers to arsphenamine, better known under the old name of salvarsan. This drug is used in perfectly enormous quantities by the military forces and by the civil population. It is imperative that it be controlled by the most rigid laboratory tests. It would indeed be possible to devote all of the space of the laboratory to this work without giving it undue importance. It became necessary recently to transfer one branch of this work to a laboratory connected with a teaching institution in Chicago, as there was absolutely no space for the work at the Hygienic Laboratory. Important researches on nutritional diseases which are of the utmost importance at the present time have so little space that the work is seriously cramped. Without additional facilities it will not be practicable to continue giving instructions to State, municipal, and other health officers as has been the custom in the past. Probably no other laboratory in the country doing work of similar importance is so inadequately provided in the matter of space and buildings as is the Hygienic Laboratory. One but has to visit a few of the larger research institutions to realize how seriously handicapped the Government is in this respect. The building provided should be of fireproof construction and should conform in size and architectural features with the present building.

Now, Mr. Chairman, that is all I desire to say at this time, and I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. LANGLEY] one half an hour.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MORGAN].

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Chairman, we are all interested in this bill to conserve the health of our soldiers and citizens, but I want to discuss another proposition which would also conserve the health of our citizens, because it proposes a method whereby honorably discharged soldiers, seamen, and marines may acquire homes. I have introduced H. R. 13007, entitled "A bill to provide homes for soldiers, seamen, and marines." It proposes to create a commission called the soldiers and seamen's Federal home founding commission. This commission is to be supervised by the Secretary of the Interior and directed by a board consisting of the Secretary of the Interior and four other persons to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Evidently any plan that is practicable and feasible to provide means whereby our soldiers may acquire homes must contain three essentials: First, the loans must be made on long time at the option of the borrower; second, they must be made at a low rate of interest; and, third, they must be loaned in an amount approximating from 80 to 90 per cent of the value of the home.

How many of our soldiers, seamen, and marines are not the owners of homes, and, under present conditions, with our existing institutions, have no reasonable prospect of ever owning homes can not be definitely stated. We do know, however, that the census of 1910 showed that 54.2 per cent of the people in the United States were living in rented homes; that 37.2 of our farm homes were rented; and of homes other than farm homes, 61.6 per cent were rented. These statistics show that over one-half of our people are living in rented homes. Evidently one-half of the boys in our Army and Navy are sons of parents who are not home owners. Many of the parents who own homes are not able financially to give their sons homes. Probably 65 to 70 per cent of the men who now constitute our Army and Navy are not owners of homes. More than this, unless the Federal Government adopts some policy to aid them, by far the greater part of them never will own homes.

The plan which I propose does not contemplate the purchase and the gift of a home. It merely inaugurates a credit system by which our soldiers may purchase and pay for homes. A credit system to meet this purpose must have three essentials. First, a low rate of interest; second, a long term in which to pay; and, third, loans in an amount up to at least four-fifths the value of the property. An institution of this character would make it possible for any soldier to acquire title to a home either in the country or in the towns and cities.

The soldiers' and sailors' Federal home-founding commission, to be created by my bill, will loan money at 3 per cent per annum for a period of 60 years and in an amount up to 80 per cent of the value of the homestead, and in special cases up to 90 per cent. The principal is to be paid in small annual installments of one-half of 1 per cent per annum, with the privilege of paying all or any part of the loan at any interest payment. The plan which I have proposed does not require the Government to pay any part of the purchase price for any home. It does loan its credit, with a margin of from 10 to 20 per cent, to insure against losses. In addition to this, the borrowers are each required to pay a small annual fee into a "mutual aid fund"

which will be amply sufficient to meet all losses sustained by occasional depreciation of property.

The commission will be an incorporated body with a capital stock of $50,000,000. The capital is to be furnished by the Government, but will be paid only as needed. Probably not half of the capital will ever be needed. The corporation is authorized to issue and sell bonds based upon the mortgages given by borrowers. The payment of these bonds shall be guaranteed by the Government. They are to be nontaxable and will be equivalent to a United States Government bond; in peace, a 3 per cent nontaxable Government bond, without the circulation privilege, sold at a premium. To-day, in war times, a 3½ per cent liberty bond, subject to the inheritance tax, sells above par. We may therefore assume that, through the sale of bonds based upon the mortgages and guaranteed by the Federal Government, loans can be made at 3 per cent interest per annum.

WHAT OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE DONE.

In adopting a plan we should study what other nations have done to provide homes for their citizens. Denmark has provided the means whereby any able-bodied citizen between the ages of 25 and 50 may secure a loan to purchase a rural homestead, on long time, at 3 per cent interest per annum and in an amount up to 90 per cent of the value of the homestead. The plan was adopted in 1899, and up to 1911 nearly 6,000 persons had availed themselves of the benefits of the act and the State had expended nearly $7,000,000 in its administration. In 1903 Norway established the Norwegian bank for laborers' holdings and dwellings and endowed it with a capital of $2,680,000. Any person whose assets are less than $402 may avail themselves of the use of this bank to purchase a home on long time at 3½ per cent interest.

In 1900 France created an institution, endowed it with $25,000,000 capital, to enable farm laborers to purchase homes at rates of interest ranging from 2½ to 3 per cent, depending upon the number of children the laborer had.

In 1908 England passed the small-holding and allotments act, under the terms of which, in England and Wales, the State may compel any individual to sell any land which he may own in excess of 50 acres, the land purchased to be used to provide homes for farmers and laborers. The purchaser is required to pay one-fifth of the price in cash. The act is administered through county authorities, and up to 1913 the counties had borrowed, for the purpose of carrying out the act, $12,250,000. Scotland has a similar act, under which landowners may be compelled to subdivide and lease their land in small holdings on terms prescribed by the land court.

In 1881, under the guidance of Gladstone, the Parliament passed the land-law act, appropriating $25,000,000 to aid Irish tenants to purchase land. Tenants were required to advance one-fifth of the purchase price. Ten years later the State authorized the issuing of guaranteed land stock, bearing 2¾ per cent interest per annum, in order to provide funds to carry out the act. In 1903 the Irish land act was passed creating the estimates commission and placing at its disposal $500,000,000 to be used in making loans to tenants, and in addition thereto appropriated $60,000,000 as a free grant to enable tenants to make the first payment on the purchase price of the land. Loans are paid by an annuity of 3½ per cent per annum, and the purchaser is allowed 68½ years in which to pay. In the main the plan adopted by England to enable the Irish tenants to become the owners and proprietors of their own homes is financed by the State guaranteeing the bonds issued and sold to secure funds necessary to carry out the provisions of the act.

IN LINE WITH LONG-ESTABLISHED POLICY.

I feel sure that every Senator and Representative in Congress, as well as every loyal and patriotic citizen, will heartily approve the object and purpose of this bill. It is clearly in line with the long-established policy of the Nation. On the 16th of September, 1776, two months and a half after the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence—indeed before we were a government and possessed public domain—Congress passed a resolution to grant bounty land to officers and soldiers who would enlist in the Army. In 1812, when enlistments were slow, in order to encourage enlistments, Congress promised to give to those who would enlist certain bounties in money and also 160 acres in land.

Our soldiers who fought in the Mexican War were granted lands, ranging in amount from 40 to 160 acres. Soldiers of the Civil War and of the Spanish-American War were granted special privileges in obtaining lands for a home under the United States homestead law. Under these various acts of Congress millions of acres of public land have been granted. Scores of thousands of soldiers, seamen, and marines have acquired homes. No one would now criticize these acts. No one would question the wisdom of their enactment. But we have provided homes for our soldiers in an entirely different line. Twenty-seven of the States of the Union have provided homes for their disabled soldiers. Millions of dollars have been spent in the erection of these homes, and in the care and support of needy and disabled soldiers. The Federal Government established the National Home for Disabled Volunteers, and established branches thereof in 10 different States. Here in the District of Columbia we have the United States Soldiers' Home built to provide homes for disabled soldiers of the Regular Army. In the erection of these homes, and in providing for the maintenance thereof, the Federal Government expended vast sums of money. No one questions the propriety of establishing these homes. No one believes the money appropriated to erect and maintain these homes has been wasted or unwisely expended. The American people have never complained about money expended which has been used to provide for the care, comfort, well-being, and happiness of the men who have fought their battles. Such is the attitude of the American people to-day. So it will always remain. It may therefore be said that it has always been the policy of the American Government to provide homes for its soldiers. That policy has continued for 142 years. We should not abandon it now when we have more homeless people in proportion to our population than we ever had before, and when the difficulties of acquiring a home were never so great.

PUBLIC LANDS EXHAUSTED.

The available public lands suitable for general farming purposes, and desirable for homes, have been practically exhausted. The Hon. Franklin K. Lane, the Secretary of the Interior, has suggested that through extensive irrigation works, the reclamation of swamp lands, and the utilization of cut-over timberlands, homes may be provided for a large number of our soldiers. Secretary Lane deserves great credit for the work he has initiated. His proposition deserves the most careful study and consideration. In my opinion, if his plan should be adopted, it will be the means of enabling thousands of soldiers to acquire homes who otherwise never could do so. The plan does not, however, entirely meet the situation. The irrigated lands, the swamp lands, and the cut-over timberlands, are remote from the bulk of our population. They are not within easy reach of the vast majority of the men who will constitute our Army and Navy when peace shall come. It will be wholly impracticable for the vast majority of these men to leave the States and communities wherein they have been born and reared and to go to another section of the country, perhaps more than a thousand miles away, to acquire homes. We should therefore seek other means which will enable every honorably discharged soldier, seaman, or marine to secure a home at the place of his choice.

FRIENDLY ATTITUDE OF CONGRESS.

The present Congress has manifested a most friendly attitude toward our soldiers. It has shown an earnest desire to contribute in every way possible to their safety, comfort, and welfare. It raised the pay of a private soldier from $15 to $30 per month. It passed the soldiers' and sailors' civil relief act to shield them from law suits, to preserve their property rights, and to protect their families. It enacted the compensation, allotment, and war-risk insurance act, the most wise, comprehensive, and liberal act of its kind ever enacted by any government. It passed the act known as the rehabilitation measure for the especial benefit of wounded and crippled soldiers, to enable them to become self-supporting, independent, useful, and happy citizens—an act which will be far reaching in its influence, contribute to the industrial strength of the Nation, and be a blessing to a class of soldiers and seamen whose sacrifices for their country will be surpassed only by those brave men who have died for it. All these acts have met my hearty approval. I have voted for them with genuine pleasure. The same may be said of all the Members of this House, for all these bill were passed practically without opposition. The American Congress should be commended for its splendid work along all these lines. But let us remember that $30 per month is nothing compared with the service our soldier boys are rendering. If it were a question only of dollars and cents, $300 per month would not be adequate pay for them. The soldiers' and sailors' civil relief act will benefit only comparatively few. The compensation act provides a pension only for those who are wounded or injured in body or health when in line of duty, and to their widows and orphans. The rehabilitation act applies only to those who have been severely wounded. Liberal, just, and magnanimous as are all of these acts, their benefits will reach far less than a majority of our soldiers, seamen, and marines who have done so much for their

country and humanity. The service-pension act for the soldiers of the Civil War did not come for nearly half a century after Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox. It did not come until a large majority of the veterans of that war had passed to the Great Beyond. A service-pension act will come some day for those who fought in the war with Germany, but the day of its enactment may be long deferred. There is one thing more that this Congress should do. It should provide some means whereby every honorably discharged soldier, seaman, or marine may acquire a home. The proposition is practicable. It is wise, just, and patriotic. It is easily within the reach of the Government. It can be done without any extraordinary expenditure of money, and without the imposition of any undue burdens upon the taxpayers. The patriotic people of the United States will approve it. Congress should proceed to study the question, to adopt the most feasible and practicable means and to crystallize the proposition into law.

PUBLIC POLICY.

Regardless of the question of the service these men have rendered to the Nation, it should be the policy of this Nation to encourage the owning of homes. With more than half of our people homeless, living in rented property, the Government may well take into consideration by what means and by what methods homes may be provided for our citizens. We can do that as a wise public policy to add to the strength of the Nation. If this Nation is to stand in the future, if it is to continue to do the splendid work it is doing in the world to-day, our people must be attached to it. We can not expect men who are homeless, and who are living under conditions and circumstances where they are powerless to acquire homes, to make the best citizens or the best soldiers.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman is making a very interesting speech and I know has given this subject careful consideration. I wonder, however, if he has considered whether this plan which he proposes might not be administered by some of the existing departments of the Government, rather than to create another commission or board.

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; I have pretty thoroughly studied that. You can take our Federal land banks. They could administer the business in so far as farm homesteads are concerned, except for this reason. The loans in that system are supposed to be self-supporting and they are limited to 50 per cent of the value of the land and improvement. If a man wants to buy a home worth $4,000 he must have $2,000 before he can secure a loan. To provide soldiers with homes we must have a system that will be within the reach of all.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Does not the gentleman think that the criticisms which were originally made against the bill for the creation of the farm-loan system, that it would not enable the poor man to obtain a home, are now shown to be well taken; and now would it not be better, instead of creating a new commission and adding to all the numerous ones we already have, to extend the powers of the Federal Farm Land Board so that it could work in behalf of the poor man and enable the poor man to get a home?

Mr. MORGAN. I have thought about that. We might create a department in each land bank, to be operated separately and from the other, to make loans to the soldiers. The idea is that the soldier shall be given an advantage that the civilian shall not have. This advantage is given by reason of the service that he has rendered. Another difficulty is the land banks are not permitted to loan on town and city property.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. That objection was made also at the same time and seemed to me to be a valid one, that the whole purpose, really, of the Federal Farm Land Board was in the wrong direction; and I think it has been shown, at least in my own district, to work in the wrong direction, because it has forced up the value of the land, making it harder for the poor man to get a home than otherwise, and at the same time there is no provision in it whereby a man who goes out of the Army or who for any other reason has no means in advance can obtain land or a home.

Mr. MORGAN. There is something in those suggestions. I would not be particular what institution you create. In preparing a bill you have to select some plan. Among other plans suggested to my mind were some of these, and on further consideration I might adopt another plan in preference to the one I have presented. But whatever instrumentality you adopt, you must provide loans at a low rate of interest; they must be long time, running up to 60 years, at the option of the borrower, and the amount of the loan must be up to 80 or 90 per cent of the value of the land; otherwise a poor man can not use it in acquiring a home.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. If the gentleman will permit further, I am in sympathy with his project entirely, but as the gentleman well knows, we have boards and commissions galore now at high salaries, and the gentleman also well knows we are having difficulty in raising money to carry on this war, and, if possible, I would like to avoid the expense of an additional commission.

Mr. MORGAN. All those things are important, and, of course, will be considered before any action would be taken.

Mr. SLOAN. Would the gentleman be willing to delay the establishment of these commissions until our victorious boys return, so that they could stand some show of being members of these commissions?

Mr. MORGAN. I certainly would be in favor of giving the soldier boys places on the commission, or giving them anything else they want.

Mr. SLOAN. Can the gentleman speak for those in charge of the appointments of members of such commissions?

Mr. MORGAN. No; I have no authority to speak for anyone. I know that every Member of Congress is in sympathy with any reasonable plan that will do anything to add to the comfort and well-being and happiness of these boys when they return and as they live out their natural lives.

A HOME THE BEST PENSION.

Mr. Chairman, a home is the best pension a soldier can possess. It affords protection to the family, gives satisfaction, security, and contentment to the soldier, makes him a better citizen, and strengthens the very fabric of our Government. The best, wisest, and most practical way that a nation can show its gratitude to its soldiers is to provide them with homes. We now have over 3,000,000 men in our Army and Navy. We are calling 2,000,000 more. Nearly 2,000,000 of these men are now in France fighting the battles of humanity. Every month a quarter of a million more are being transported to France. Our hearts have been thrilled with the splendid manner in which our troops have acquitted themselves on foreign battle fields. Every American citizen is proud of the victories they have won. We can not find words to express our admiration for them. We feel now that there is absolutely nothing we would not willingly and gladly do to aid them, to lighten their burdens, to reduce the dangers to which they are exposed, to preserve their health, to protect them from wounds, and to save them from having to make the supreme sacrifice. They have shown that they are soldiers of the highest type. They have exhibited fighting qualities of the highest character. They have manifested courage and bravery never surpassed. The people everywhere throughout the land are praising their deeds and cheering their victories. All this is eminently fitting and proper. But words alone are not sufficient. The deepest gratitude is not expressed by the lips. Real, true, genuine gratitude to our soldiers will be shown by what we do for them. However great a debt we may owe at the close of war it will not equal the debt of gratitude we owe our soldiers. We will still be able to aid them in acquiring homes.

To provide these homes is a duty we owe them. Every citizen in this way should be glad to show his appreciation of what our soldier boys have done and his gratitude to them. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LANGLEY. I yield the gentleman one additional minute.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Chairman, in conclusion let me say that the best way to demonstrate our gratitude to our brave soldiers, seamen, and marines is to contribute the means whereby they can secure homes, homes in which they and their families may reside throughout the remainder of their lives, honored, respected, and loved by all the citizens of the Nation they have preserved and under the protection of a flag they have carried to a glorious victory. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, by the permission of the House I herewith have printed a copy of H. R. 13007, which I have introduced. It is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 13007) to provide homes for soldiers, seamen, and marines, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the short title of this act shall be "The soldiers' and seamen's Federal home-founding act." Its administration shall be under the general supervision, direction, and control of the Secretary of the Interior.

DEFINITIONS.

SEC. 2. That whenever the term "first mortgage" is used in this act it shall be held to include such classes of first liens on farm lands or other real estate as shall be approved by the commission and the credit instruments secured thereby.

BENEFICIARIES.

SEC. 3. That every private soldier and officer who served in the Army of the United States during the war with Germany, or during any previous war of the United States, for 90 days, and who was honorably discharged (herein called a beneficiary), and every seaman, marine, and officer who served in the Navy of the United States or in the Marine Corps in the war with Germany, or in any previous war of the United States, for 90 days, and who was honorably discharged (herein called a beneficiary), shall be entitled to all the benefits of this act, subject to the terms, conditions, limitations, and restrictions herein provided.

WIDOWS AND MINOR ORPHAN CHILDREN.

SEC. 4. That in case of the death of any person who would be entitled to the benefits of this act, his widow, if unmarried, or in case of her death or marriage, then his minor orphan children, by guardian duly appointed, and officially accredited with the commission, shall be entitled to all the benefits of this act: *Provided*, That the guardian shall become personally liable and bound to meet the obligations of the said minor children until they shall have reached their majority: *Provided further*, That the said guardian shall have a first and prior lien on any interest said minor children may have in the homestead purchased for them under this act, for any advances in money or payments made by him in behalf of said minor children to the commission under this act.

NOT TRANSFERABLE.

SEC. 5. That the privileges granted under this act shall not be transferable or assignable, and no beneficiary shall sell or assign, convey, or transfer the land purchased or mortgaged under this act except on the payment in full of the amount due the commission, and any such attempted sale, transfer, or conveyance shall be null and void.

LOANS TO BENEFICIARIES.

SEC. 6. That every beneficiary, under the terms and conditions of this act, shall be entitled to obtain a loan from the commission to enable him to purchase a farm homestead of not exceeding 160 acres of land, or a farm homestead the appraised value of which does not exceed $4,000, or a homestead in a village, town, or city (herein called an urban homestead) the appraised value of which does not exceed $4,000. No beneficiary shall receive a loan for more than $3,200, and no loan shall be made for an amount which exceeds 80 per cent of the appraised value of the homestead, including improvements thereon: *Provided*, That any beneficiary who shows, to the satisfaction of the commission, that he is unable financially to purchase a homestead with a loan limited to 80 per cent of the appraised value thereof, shall be entitled to a loan not to exceed in amount 90 per cent of the appraised value of the homestead, including improvements thereon. All loans not in excess of 80 per cent of the appraised value of the homestead, including improvements thereon, shall be secured by a first mortgage. The amount loaned to any beneficiary in excess of 80 per cent of the appraised value of the homestead, including improvements, shall be secured by a second mortgage on such homestead and such other security, if any, which in the judgment of the commission the beneficiary may be able to furnish and which may be approved by the commission. Loans in amount not in excess of 80 per cent of the appraised value of the homestead shall run for a period of not more than 60 years, with the privilege to the beneficiary to pay any part or all of said loan at the time of any interest payment. Loans secured by second mortgages as herein provided shall run for a period of five years, payable in such installments and on such terms and conditions as shall be prescribed by the commission. Every beneficiary securing a loan on first mortgage shall pay an annual charge thereon sufficient to cover an interest rate of 3 per cent per annum, and a payment on the principal annually of not to exceed one-half of 1 per cent.

RESTRICTIONS OF LOANS.

SEC. 7. That the commission shall make loans on first mortgages only upon the following terms and conditions:

First. Said loans shall be secured by duly recorded first mortgages.

Second. Every such mortgage shall contain an agreement providing on an amortization plan by means of a fixed number of annual or semi-annual installments sufficient to cover, first, an interest of 3 per cent per annum, and, second, such an amount to be applied on the principal as will extinguish the debt within a period of not less than 60 years, not to exceed one-half of 1 per cent per annum.

Third. No loan on mortgages shall be made under this act at a rate of interest exceeding 3 per cent per annum, exclusive of amortization payment on the principal.

Fourth. Such loans may be made for the following purposes and for no other.

(a) To provide for the purchase of a farm homestead or an urban homestead.

(b) To provide for the purchase of implements and machinery and live stock necessary for the proper and reasonable operation of the farm homestead.

(c) To provide buildings and other permanent improvements on the land mortgaged, subject to rules and regulations, terms and conditions as shall be prescribed by the commission.

Fifth. In case of the death of the mortgagor, his heir or heirs or his legal representative or representatives may assume the mortgage and the interest of the deceased according to the law of the State in which such land is located.

Sixth. Every applicant for loan shall make application therefor on a form to be prescribed for this purpose by the commission and furnish such reasonable information as shall be required.

Seventh. Every borrower shall pay simple interest on defaulted payments at the rate which the mortgage bears, and by express covenant in his mortgage shall undertake to pay when due all taxes, liens, judgments, or assessments which may be lawfully assessed against the land mortgaged. Taxes, liens, judgments, or assessments not paid when due and paid by the mortgagee shall become a part of the mortgage debt and shall bear simple interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum. Every mortgagor shall undertake to keep insured to the satisfaction of the commission all buildings the value of which was a factor in determining the amount of the loan. Insurance shall be made payable to the commission as its interest may appear at time of loss, and at the option of the commission sums so received may be used to pay for reconstruction of the buildings destroyed.

Eighth. Any beneficiary obtaining a loan shall furnish an abstract of title and shall pay legal fees and recording charges imposed by law in the State where the land to be mortgaged is located.

THE SOLDIERS' AND SEAMEN'S FEDERAL HOME-FOUNDING COMMISSION.

SEC. 8. That the Secretary of the Interior and four additional persons (who shall be the directors first appointed as hereinafter provided) are hereby created a body corporate and politic in deed and in law by the name, style, and title of "The Soldiers' and Seamen's Federal Home-Founding Commission" (herein called the commission), and shall have perpetual succession, unless Congress shall otherwise provide. The principal office of the commission shall be located in the District of Columbia, but there may be agencies or branch offices established in any city or cities of the United States under rules and regulations prescribed by the board of directors.

CAPITAL STOCK.

SEC. 9. That the capital stock of the commission shall be $50,000,000, all of which shall be subscribed by the United States of America, and such subscription shall be subject to call upon the vote of three-fifths of the board of directors of the commission, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, at such time or times as may be deemed advisable; and there is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $50,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary for the purpose of making payment upon such subscription when and as called. Receipts for payments by the United States of America for or on account of such stock shall be issued by the commission to the Secretary of the Treasury and shall be evidence of stock ownership.

MANAGEMENT OF THE COMMISSION.

SEC. 10. That the management of the commission shall be vested in a board of directors, consisting of the Secretary of the Interior, who shall be chairman of the board, and four other persons, to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Each director, except the Secretary of the Interior, shall devote his time entirely to the business of the commission. Not more than two of said directors shall be of one political party, and all of them shall be citizens of the United States. Before entering upon his duties, each of the four directors so appointed and each officer shall take an oath faithfully to discharge the duties of his office.

The officers of the commission shall consist of a president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer. The directors to serve as such officers shall be designated and appointed by the President at the time such directors are appointed. Of the four directors so appointed the President of the United States shall designate two to serve for two years, and two for four years, and thereafter each director so appointed shall serve for four years. Whenever a vacancy shall occur among the directors so appointed, the person appointed director to fill any such vacancy shall hold office for the unexpired term of the member whose place he is selected to fill. Any director shall be subject to removal by the President of the United States. Three members of the board of directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. The four directors of the commission appointed as herein provided shall each receive an annual salary, payable monthly, of $7,500.

COUNTY COMMISSION.

SEC. 11. That there is hereby established in each county or parish in each State of the United States a county soldiers' and seamen's home-founding commission (hereinafter called the county commission). Every county commission shall consist of the postmaster of the county seat of each county, the county agent of the Department of Agriculture in each county, and one other person, a resident of said county, to be appointed by the commission: *Provided*, That in any county having no county agent the commission shall appoint another person to be a member of the county commission. The members of the county commission shall receive and transmit applications for loans, act as appraisers of lands to be mortgaged, aid generally in the administration of this act, and perform such other duties in relation thereto as shall be prescribed by the commission, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. Members of the county commission shall receive such pay for actual services rendered as shall be prescribed by the commission, but members of said county commission are hereby prohibited from demanding or receiving any fee, pay, or compensation of any kind whatsoever from any beneficiary.

CITY COMMISSION.

SEC. 12. That in any incorporated city having a population in excess of 20,000 the commission in its discretion may appoint a soldiers' and seamen's city home-founding commission (hereinafter called the city commission), consisting of three persons who are residents of the city for which they shall be appointed. Every city commission shall act for the commission within the limits of the city for which they are appointed in like manner as county commissions, and the members thereof shall receive such compensation from the commission as shall be prescribed by it, and are hereby prohibited from demanding or receiving any fee, pay, or compensation of any kind whatsover from any beneficiary.

OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES.

SEC. 13. That the commission, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, shall be authorized and empowered to appoint and employ such inspectors, appraisers, attorneys, experts, assistants, clerks, laborers, and other employees as it may deem necessary to conduct the business of the commission. The salaries of all such employees, together with the salaries of the directors, shall be paid by the United States, and all such appointees and employees shall be public officials or employees of the United States. During the first year after the organization of the commission said appointees and employees shall be appointed without regard to the provision of the act of January 16, 1883 (vol. 22, U. S. Stats. L., p. 403), and amendments thereto, or any rule or regulation made in pursuance thereof: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall prevent the President at any time from placing said employees and appointees in the classified service.

REPORTS.

SEC. 14. That the commission shall annually make a full report of its operations to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who shall cause the same to be printed for the information of Congress.

MAY ISSUE BONDS.

SEC. 15. That the commission, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, may issue and sell bonds for the purpose of obtaining funds with which to make the loans authorized in this act. Said bonds shall bear a rate of interest not to exceed 3 per cent per annum. Said bonds shall be issued on such terms and conditions and shall be payable at such time or times as shall be prescribed by the commission, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. The total amount of bonds to be issued by the commission shall at no time exceed the total amount of first mortgages held and owned by the commission. Such bonds shall have a first and paramount floating charge on all the assets of the commission, and the commission shall not at any time mortgage or pledge any of its assets.

The United States of America hereby guarantees the payment when due of both principal and interest of any bond or bonds issued by the commission under the provisions of this act.

FORM OF BONDS.

SEC. 16. That bonds provided for in this act shall be issued in denominations of $25, $50, $100, $500, and $1,000; they shall run for a specified minimum and maximum period, subject to payment and retirement, at the option of the commission, at any time after five years from the date of their issue. They shall have interest coupons attached, payable semiannually, and shall be issued in series of not less than $1,000,000.

The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to prepare suitable bonds in such form, subject to the provisions of this act, as the Secretary of the Interior may approve, such bonds when prepared to be held in the Treasury subject to delivery upon the order of the commission. The engraved plates, dies, bed pieces, etc., executed in connection therewith shall remain in the custody of the Secretary of the Treasury. Any expenses incurred in the preparation, custody, and delivery of such bonds shall be paid by the Secretary of the Treasury from any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. They may be exchanged into registered bonds of any amount and reexchanged into coupon bonds at the option of the holder, under rules and regulations to be prescribed by the commission.

That the commission shall be bound in all respects by the acts of its officers in signing and issuing bonds and by the acts of the commission in authorizing their issue.

EXEMPT FROM TAXATION.

SEC. 17. That any and all bonds issued by the commission shall be exempt, both as to principal and interest, from all taxation now or hereafter imposed by the United States, any State, or any of the possessions of the United States, or by any local taxing authority. The commission, including its franchise and the capital and reserve or surplus thereof and the income derived therefrom, shall be exempt from all taxation now or hereafter imposed by the United States, any State, or any of the possessions of the United States, or by any local taxing authority, except that any real property of the commission shall be subject to State, county, or municipal taxes to the same extent, according to its value, as other real property is taxed.

PAYMENTS ON INTEREST AND PRINCIPAL.

SEC. 18. That interest payments on first mortgages shall be available for the payments of coupons and the interest on bonds as they shall become due.

Amortization and other payments on the principal of first mortgages shall constitute a trust fund in the hands of the commission and shall be applied or employed as follows:

(a) To pay off bonds issued by the commission as they mature.

(b) To purchase at or below par bonds issued by the commission.

(c) To loan on first mortgages on a farm homestead or an urban homestead, as provided in this act.

(d) To purchase United States Government bonds.

PURCHASE OF BONDS BY GOVERNMENT.

SEC. 19. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall, upon the application of the commission, approved by the Secretary of the Interior, purchase from the commission its bonds issued under this act in an amount not to exceed $25,000,000 during any one year, and shall pay for the same out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. Whenever the Secretary of the Treasury shall have purchased any such bonds, he may hold the same until maturity or may sell the same at his discretion.

INVESTMENT IN BONDS.

SEC. 20. That bonds issued under the provisions of this act shall be a lawful investment for all fiduciary and trust funds, and may be accepted as security for all public deposits.

Any Federal reserve bank and any member bank of the Federal Reserve System may buy and sell bonds issued under this act to the same extent that it may buy and sell United States Government bonds.

EARNINGS AND RESERVE FUND.

SEC. 21. That all net earnings of the commission shall become a part of its capital unless Congress shall otherwise provide, and the commission may use any part of its capital to meet any of its financial obligations.

BEQUESTS AND GIFTS.

SEC. 22. That the commission is hereby authorized and empowered to accept and receive gifts and donations, by bequest or otherwise, to be used exclusively for the benefit of beneficiaries who are unable financially to purchase homes under the general provisions of this act, and to aid such beneficiaries in erecting and constructing improvements thereon, and in purchasing equipment and live stock reasonably necessary in conducting the business of farming. The funds received under this section shall be used only for the purpose of making loans for such periods of time, upon such terms and conditions, upon such security, and at such rate or rates of interest as shall be prescribed by the commission.

MUTUAL PROTECTIVE FUND.

SEC. 23. That every beneficiary purchasing a homestead under the provisions of this act shall pay to the commission annually until his loan shall be paid in full, a fee of $2, which shall be set aside as a separate fund, to be known and designated as the "beneficiaries' mutual aid fund," which shall be a trust fund, under the management and control of the commission, by which and through which beneficiaries may render mutual aid and assistance to each other. The fund shall be used by the commission to aid deserving beneficiaries to purchase a homestead, who are unable by reason of lack of means or credit, sickness, physical injuries, or any other justifiable cause, to purchase a homestead under the general terms and provisions of this act, and to pay the interest or amortization charge on any mortgage due from any beneficiary, who by reason of sickness, physical injuries, or some misfortune, is unable to meet such payments. The commission shall be authorized and empowered to suspend the payment of the foregoing fee, or any part thereof, at any time that said fund shall be deemed large enough to meet the purposes for which it shall be created.

DEPOSITORIES.

SEC. 24. That prior to commencing business the commission, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, shall select one or more Federal reserve banks or one or more member banks of the Federal Reserve System or one or more State banks, including trust companies and savings banks, as a depository or depositories in which the commission shall daily deposit all its funds of every kind and character, and no part or portion of such funds shall be withdrawn from such depository or depositories except on check or order duly signed by the treasurer of such commission and countersigned by the president. The commission shall require from any depository or depositories such security as may be agreed upon and as may, in the judgment of the commission, be sufficient to insure the safety thereof. Interest on such deposits shall be paid at such rate as shall be approved by the commission.

BANKS AUTHORIZED AGENCIES.

SEC. 25. That all member banks of the Federal Reserve System and all State banks, including trust companies and savings banks, and Federal reserve banks and Federal land banks are hereby authorized to act as the agents of the commission in the payment of the proceeds of any loan to beneficiaries, in collecting payments on mortgages, in selling bonds issued under the provisions of this act, and to do such other acts as shall be specifically authorized by the commission, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

PURCHASE AND SUBDIVISION OF LANDS.

SEC. 26. That the commission, from time to time, may use not to exceed 5 per cent of its capital as a revolving fund in the purchase of land to be subdivided into farm homesteads of not less than 10 nor more than 80 acres each, or in the purchase of land within, adjacent to, or near a town or city suitable for residence purposes, to be subdivided and platted into urban homesteads. The commission may sell and convey any homestead so acquired to any beneficiary and erect for him thereon a house and other improvements, suitable for residence purposes. Before erecting a building or other improvements under the foregoing provisions the beneficiary shall execute and deliver to the commission a first mortgage on the purchased premises covering the purchase price of the homestead and the cost of the buildings, and other improvements, less 20 per cent thereof, which amount shall be paid in cash by the beneficiary. When the loan is finally closed the funds used shall be charged to the general loan fund, and when paid shall be restored to or credited to the revolving fund provided in this section.

PENALTIES.

SEC. 27. That any applicant for a loan under this act who shall knowingly make any false statement in his application for such loan, and any member of a loan committee or any appraiser provided for in this act who shall willfully overvalue any land offered as security for loans under this act, shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding $5,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both.

Any person who shall falsely make, forge, or counterfeit, or cause or procure to be falsely made, forged, or counterfeited, or willingly aid or assist in falsely making, forging, or counterfeiting any bond, coupon, or paper in imitation of, or purporting to be in imitation of, the bonds or coupons issued by the commission; or any person who shall pass, utter, or publish, or attempt to pass, utter, or publish any false, forged, or counterfeited bond, coupon, or paper purporting to be issued by the commission, knowing the same to be falsely made, forged, or counterfeited; or whoever shall falsely alter, or cause or procure to be falsely altered, or shall willingly aid or assist in falsely altering any such bond, coupon, or paper, or shall pass, utter, or publish as true any falsely altered or spurious bond, coupon, or paper issued, or purporting to have been issued, by such commission, knowing the same to be falsely altered or spurious, shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding $5,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both.

Other than the usual salary or fee paid to any officer, director, or employee of the commission, no officer, director, attorney, or employee of the commission shall receive, directly or indirectly, any fee, commission, gift, or other consideration for or in connection with any transaction or business of such commission. The commission shall not charge or receive any fee, commission, bonus, gift, or other consideration not herein specifically authorized. Any person violating any provision of this paragraph shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding $5,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both.

Any person connected in any capacity with the commission, who embezzles, abstracts, or willfully misapplies any moneys, funds, or credits thereof, or who without authority from the directors draws any order, assigns any note, bond, draft, mortgage, judgment, or decree thereof, or who makes any false entry in any book, report, or statement of such commission with intent in either case to defraud such commission or any other company, body politic or corporate, or any individual person, and every person who with like intent aids or abets any officer, clerk, or agent in any violation of this section, shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding $5,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both.

ORGANIZATION EXPENSES.

SEC. 28. That the sum of $100,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this act, including the rent and equipment of necessary offices.

LIMITATION OF COURT DECISIONS.

SEC. 29. That if any clause, sentence, paragraph, or part of this act shall for any reason be adjudged by any court of competent jurisdiction to be invalid, such judgment shall not affect, impair, or invalidate the remainder of this act, but shall be confined in its operation to the clause, sentence, paragraph, or part thereof directly involved in the controversy in which such judgment shall have been rendered.

REPEALING CLAUSE.

SEC. 30. That all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed, and this act shall take effect upon its passage. The right to amend, alter, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD].

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, being, as I am, very deeply interested, as I feel other Members of the House are, in the question of the conservation of the public health of the country, I shall, of course, support very heartily the proposed bill. In my judgment there is no activity of the Federal Government that, in proportion to the number of men employed and the amount of money appropriated for its activities, has performed a more magnificent public service for the last 25 years than the Public Health Service of our country. I think that the problem of the protection of the public health of the country through the assistance and aid of the Federal Government has been one that has been sadly neglected. I believe that in view of its impor-

tance, in view not only of its humanitarian aspects but of its economic value, that we should establish a great department of health as a Cabinet position. It is estimated that possibly 1,000,000 human lives are sacrificed in the United States every year by absolutely preventable human diseases, a loss in human life that could be in a large measure saved by proper information and intelligence upon the part of the people who do not know the preventive remedies that might have availed to keep them alive. In addition to that it is estimated that the economic loss in dollars and cents on account of sickness and death caused by preventable human diseases amounts to the staggering total in this country of $3,000,000,000 a year. When we think of what has been accomplished along the line of medical research the last 25 years and when we consider the great plagues that sometimes ravage different sections of our country that have been absolutely, we might say, eliminated by medical research work carried on by the Public Health Service, I feel that all Members will agree with me in the tribute I have attempted to pay to the value of that bureau. For typhoid fever, which carried off thousands and tens of thousands of people in the country heretofore every year, a specific remedy has been found, an absolute preventive almost, and the same thing applies to smallpox, diphtheria, malaria, its attendant diseases, and the bubonic plague and other great human diseases that have so often ravaged and devastated sections of our country. So I say that in view of the great importance from a humanitarian and economic aspect the value of conserving human life and attending problems certainly, after these great war-emergency measures are passed, should receive the thoughtful and earnest attention of the Congress of the United States and that a large measure of appropriation and of coordination of the different branches of the medical service of the United States should be provided. And, in this connection, Mr. Chairman, it just occurred to me that in a very few weeks, on account of reaching the age limit, the great Surgeon General of the United States, Gen. William C. Gorgas, will be retired from his present position. I want to say that the people of my native State of Alabama took a great pride in the achievements of that great medical man. His usefulness not only reflects itself in the gratitude of the people of Alabama, but the people of the United States and of foreign countries are under everlasting obligations to that man, whose genius and skill have accomplished so much in the conservation of human life.

As was suggested a few moments ago, he made it possible by the sanitation that he perfected in the Panama Canal Zone to make that great interoceanic canal a reality, and inasmuch as it is largely conceded it was a dream of that great old Alabaman. Senator John T. Morgan, to construct that canal, in just as large measure Gen. Gorgas played a part in the fruition of that enterprise. [Applause.] I feel sure that the Government itself, that the Members of Congress and those who are familiar with his service, will regret the retirement from his present official position of Gen. William C. Gorgas, Surgeon General. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, I desire to ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks on this subject of public health.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent to revise and extend his remarks. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Chairman, I do not care to occupy all of the time remaining and shall only take a moment or two. This measure, with the committee amendment which has been referred to, was unanimously reported by the committee of which I am a member. That report was made more than three months ago, and I do not fully recall all of the arguments presented to us that led to this unanimous report, but I do recall that at the time I thought it wise and necessary. I wish heartily to concur in the splendid tribute which my friend from Alabama, Mr. BANKHEAD, has paid to Gen. Gorgas, whose personal friendship I have had the honor to possess for many years. His marvelous scientific equipment and achievements, as well as his courteous and manly demeanor and kindness of heart, have endeared him to us all. I also indorse every word that my friend has said about the importance of the Public Health Service. I wish to add, however, that I am in full sympathy with the suggestion of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] and other gentlemen regarding the advisability of locating some of these buildings outside of the city of Washington. I would like to see some of them in Kentucky. I will say, further, that in view of the enormous expenditures that this elaborate building program involves I think there ought to be some legislative safeguards, some greater measures of protection to the Government, in the expenditure of this money than have thus far been provided, and hereafter I propose as a member of that committee to offer some suggestions in that direction and seek to have them adopted. That is all I care to say. [Applause.]

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Chairman, I have no other requests for time, and, after speaking a few minutes myself, I shall ask that the bill be read for amendment.

In addition to what my colleague from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] has said about Gen. Gorgas, I desire to call the attention of the committee to the fact that there is another great Alabaman that stands perhaps second to him in rank and ability in the Surgeon General's office, and that is Gen. Noble, of Anniston, Ala., who was with Gen. Gorgas all through his wonderful career in Panama. Alabamans had hoped that when Gen. Gorgas retired Gen. Noble would be promoted to the position of Surgeon General. The press carries a report, however, that perhaps another great surgeon, who is now in France, will probably be transferred to this great work on this side, and that Gen. Noble will be assigned to the duties now being performed by that other great surgeon, Gen. Ireland.

I desire to say that those of us who know Gen. Noble believe that there can be no more efficient man assigned to either one of the duties. I know him; I know his family; I know his ancestry, and I believe that to whatever field of operation he may be assigned he will perform the work with the same efficiency that has accompanied every work that he has been assigned to by the Government since he has been in its service.

Now, Mr. Chairman, unless some other gentleman desires to make further remarks, I will ask that the bill be read for amendment.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, including the copy of a bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent to revise and extend his remarks. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to contract for the construction of an additional building for laboratory purposes and research work and for enlarging and remodeling the present animal house connected with the Hygienic Laboratory, Public Health Service, Washington, D. C., at a limit of cost of $250,000.

Also the following committee amendment was read:

Add after line 9, page 1, the following:

"In carrying the foregoing authorization for additional buildings to the Hygienic Laboratory into effect, the Secretary of the Treasury may enter into contracts or purchase materials in the open market, or otherwise, and employ laborers and mechanics for executing the work as in his judgment may best meet the public exigencies, within the limits of the authorization herein made."

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I desire to discuss the committee amendment. I would like to ask the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BURNETT], who has this matter in charge, what the necessity for this amendment is? It would seem that its purpose is to make this authorization free from some requirements of existing law. What is the necessity for having the safeguards that have been put upon contracts of this character let down in this instance?

Mr. BURNETT. The amendment says:

In carrying the foregoing authorization for additional buildings to the Hygienic Laboratory into effect the Secretary of the Treasury may enter into contracts or purchase materials in the open market, or otherwise, and employ laborers and mechanics for executing the work as in his judgment may best meet the public exigencies, within the limits of the authorization herein made.

The committee thought the very emergency, the very exigency authorized that amendment. And, in the next place, in due course it would have to be constructed by the Supervising Architect's Office. I think that is the rule, unless there is something of this kind authorized. I want to state to the gentleman that the experience of the committee heretofore with the Supervising Architect's Office has been that they were not very expeditious. Their force has been depleted by the draft, and even now they have all they can well do. And this being a matter that needed immediate attention, we felt that there should be some power of this kind given to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Alabama for the explanation, but I certainly can not agree with the conclusion that the committee has reached in this instance. It might have been a good reason on the 17th of June, when this measure was reported, but the emergency was not so great but what since that time Congress took a recess and permitted the bill to rest in security upon the calendar.

Now, the other reason about the Supervising Architect's Office not being very expeditious, I will agree that when we have been engaged on a large public-building program the Supervising Architect's Office has moved carefully, and as a result sometimes slowly. We have, as I understand it now, no Supervising Archi-

tect. The duties of that office are performed by the executive officer, Mr. Wetmore, who is a most efficient administrator. I should not think, with the absence of a large public-building program during this war period, that there is any real need for taking this out of the jurisdiction of the Architect's Office.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALSH. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I want to call the gentleman's attention to the fact that the original bill required the Secretary to contract for the construction of this laboratory. Now, the amendment simply gives him the opportunity to build it himself if he wants to do so, to go into the open market, buy the materials, and employ labor. So the committee thought, in addition to what the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BURNETT] has said, that the Government ought not to be at the mercy of the contractors. We wanted to leave it so that if bids were received that were not fair and reasonable, or anything else occurred to make it advisable, the Secretary could build it himself with his own forces or by the employing of forces. That is what the amendment does. It simply gives him a wider scope, gives him the opportunity to contract for or purchase materials and employ labor and build it themselves if they want to do it.

Mr. WALSH. Of course, that is an entirely different reason from that stated heretofore. If that is the true purpose, I doubt if this amendment is in exactly proper form, although it may carry out that intention.

Does the gentleman from Florida, the chairman of this committee, think that if the Secretary undertakes to construct this building with his own force and purchase materials, the Government will be able to do it within the limit of $250,000?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Well, the gentleman is in just as good a position to give information on that subject as I am and perhaps better. But I do say this——

Mr. WALSH. I think the gentleman's experience as chairman of his committee would be valuable.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I think this, that the Government officials ought not to be limited to the building of it by contract.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent for two minutes more, in order that the gentleman may answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. There may be some advantages in the Government building it. It may be that the Government can procure labor and material where a private contractor could not.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman state whether or not this is the initial step in the inauguration of a new policy, whereby hereafter all public buildings may be erected by the Government itself rather than by letting them out to contract—buildings such as courthouses and post offices?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Well, I will state to the gentleman that the committee has never considered the establishment of a general policy in that regard. We have reported this bill that way, and I think the one following; in fact, I am very sure it has a similar provision—the bill for the proposed tubercular hospital in Kentucky. So far as I am concerned, as one member of the committee, it strikes me as being a very fair provision, a very reasonable one, and I would be in favor of adopting it as a policy and leaving it open.

Mr. WALSH. Then, that particular phase of this legislation is not wholly due to the war conditions?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. How is that?

Mr. WALSH. I say this particular phase is not wholly due to war conditions; that is, giving the Secretary the option?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. The urgent need of more room and the desire to get it finished as speedily as possible, and the fact that the Government can secure materials and their delivery when private persons might not be able to do it—all those considerations together induced the committee to adopt that policy.

Mr. WALSH. Well, I hope the officials of the Government have not forgotten the experience the Government had in building the Post Office Department building, on the Avenue down here, occupied by the Postmaster General.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. I think it is an ill-advised time for the Government to go into the business of erecting buildings by contracting for the labor and the materials direct. Anyone acquainted in the slightest degree with the building industry throughout the country must know that there is a dearth in the line of building and that many contractors in the past who have given exclusive attention to the construction of public buildings are altogether without work, and because of that condition this is a most opportune time for the Government to secure very reasonable bids for the construction of a building like this. We should not, in my opinion, as a business policy, authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to construct this building by the employment of labor and the purchase of materials for that purpose. He has in times past, when there has not been much competition among these contractors, awarded contracts without any complaint of excess charges; and yet to-day, with these contractors all over the country looking for business, you propose to authorize him to go into the field himself and build this building alone. It will result, as any person acquainted with business methods must know, in higher cost to the Government. It will result in delay.

One of the pressing arguments in favor of this bill is its exigency, the need of it at the present time. It was recommended by the Public Health officials as far back as 1913 and refused them then, and at this time it is brought up for consideration because of the enlarged work thrown upon the bureau by reason of war conditions. Certainly you do not wish to change the conditions now, when there are plenty of contractors ready and willing to do this work, which you did not impose when they were few. For instance, take all these temporary buildings that were erected under stress conditions down on the Mall and in Potomac Park. None of them was erected by the Government direct.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. If the gentleman will permit, the different departments, the War Department particularly, have erected nearly all the buildings that they are occupying.

Mr. STAFFORD. Any person who has gone down on the Mall during the erection of the temporary structures, or in Henry Park, would have seen signs, and you will see signs there to-day, or would have just before those new buildings were completed, bearing the inscription, "Erected by So-and-so, contractor." Go down to Potomac Park and you will see—although those buildings were constructed under the immediate supervision of the Navy Department—that they were erected by private contractors. The buildings erected under the Housing Commission on the Plaza this side of the Union Station are being erected by private contractors. Not a temporary office building that has been erected since we went into war has been erected except by private contractors.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I will state to the gentleman that we authorized some $8,000,000 to build temporary office buildings for the War Department and the Navy Department. The war Department, I think, used about $3,000,000 of it. Those were all built by the War Department itself.

Mr. STAFFORD. I will have to take issue with the gentleman as to those buildings. Those buildings were erected by the George A. Fuller Co., of New York, which has branches all over the country. Those buildings at Henry Park and the other additional buildings have been erected by private contractors. I have seen their names posted in front of the buildings.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. The gentleman may be right about that, but——

Mr. STAFFORD. There has not been a building erected by the War Department or the Navy Department by the employment of agencies direct, except through private contractors.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I shall get the information in a very few minutes. I think the gentleman is wrong about the War Department.

Mr. STAFFORD. I will be very glad to be corrected, because with my own eyes I have seen those signs time and time again.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I do not doubt that, but I still think the gentleman is mistaken. I will try to get the accurate information.

Mr. STAFFORD. Now, if that is the condition, that we have heretofore employed contractors, and if there are plenty of private contractors——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. STAFFORD. May I have three minutes more?

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the gentleman's request?

There was no objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. If there are plenty of private contractors looking for building contracts, why should we now adopt this new policy of authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury, through the Supervising Architect's office—because we all know the Secretary of the Treasury himself will not direct this work—to go into the field and construct these buildings by the purchase of materials and the employment of labor?

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes; I yield.

Mr. KNUTSON. I notice in line 1, page 2, "the Secretary of the Treasury may," and so forth. Will the gentleman state what the custom is now, whether the Supervising Architect is the one who lets the contract?

Mr. STAFFORD. The Supervising Architect has full control of contracts. I am emphasizing the fact that the conditions do not demand this departure from the past policy, and the

contractors throughout the country are looking for work in such great numbers that there can not be any valid reason why we should authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to employ men direct and purchase materials direct. It will result in delay. It will result in increased cost.

Mr. KNUTSON. It was claimed awhile ago that he was on the verge of nervous prostration. What is the use of putting this additional work on him?

Mr. STAFFORD. I am not going to enter into the political side of it. We all know that he is a much burdened man, and very busy, and even if we did adopt this authorization we know that the Secretary of the Treasury would not supervise it but that it would be under the Supervising Architect's Office.

Mr. FOSTER. It always has been, and every Secretary of the Treasury has done that.

Mr. STAFFORD. It always has been. Of course the Supervising Architect is under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Treasury. Now, there can not be any argument presented here for the making of an exception in these times when contractors are looking so generally for Government work. We will get better bids and quicker work, and the work will be much more satisfactory if the old method of contracting is followed.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I hope the gentleman in charge of this bill will withdraw the committee amendment. I do not believe it is necessary to change the existing law with regard to letting contracts for erecting buildings of this kind. I have no doubt that it is necessary to give the Public Health Service some additional facilities for carrying on the work that has been thrown upon this branch of the service. But, Mr. Chairman, if we want to read a chapter of history that smells to high heaven, reeking with extravagance, waste, and favoritism, if not with fraud itself, we have but to read the record of the construction of some of these buildings during war time under the cost-plus system. Go down here toward the Union Station, where we are building these houses, and see the men loafing. Go down here on the Mall where we have been constructing some buildings on the cost-plus plan. Some days ago I was shown the extracts from pay rolls of one of the buildings that is being constructed on a cost-plus basis. A man ties the metal laths with a little wire that projects out of the concrete. You or I or any of us could learn to do that work in 10 minutes. Those men are employed by a cost-plus contractor. I never saw men work so slowly in my life as do employees on cost-plus jobs. On Sunday they receive $19 a day for that service. Look at the pay roll and you will find that every man is there on Sunday, but on Monday scarcely anybody appears on that pay roll. Along toward the latter part of the week they are all there again, and on Sunday the gang is all here. They are all there on Sunday, and by changing the law, as is proposed by this amendment, you authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to let these contracts on a cost-plus or any other basis. The proposed plan destroys all competition. At a time when we are appealing to all the people and to the patriotism of Americans everywhere to buy bonds, it is all wrong to do this sort of thing, and to commit this great waste of money, no matter how laudable the purpose or how great the need for this building may be. I am for the building, but I am for economy in the construction of it, and you will get economy only if you authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to let these bids open to everybody, and eliminate favoritism, and create competition, so that the contractors from your district and mine can come here and bid on the construction of these buildings. Why, it is to the interest of these contractors down here to pay $20 or $25 a day for work that they ought to get done for less than $5 a day. If the contractor pays $20 a day and he has a cost-plus contract of 7 per cent, he gets $1.40 profit a day on every man so employed, but if he pays only $5 a day he gets only 35 cents profit on every man. So, under the cost-plus system of building Government buildings, costs have mounted up sky-high. The net result of adopting the cost-plus system is that we are paying no attention to economy, no attention to saving the people's money in the building of these buildings that are desired and necessary. I hope the chairman of the committee who brings out this bill with so many good things in it will agree to the elimination of a thing that is absolutely wrong, and which every Member of this House knows to be wrong. We ought not to consent to it. [Applause.]

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I understand from the gentleman who introduced this bill that this amendment presents an alternative proposition to the Secretary of the Treasury, that he may advertise for bids as the law directs for all contracts. The amendment offered provides that if in his judgment he can get the building in quicker time and for less money, he may employ hands and build the building under the architect to be selected. The amendment does not mean that the Secretary of the Treasury would necessarily pursue that course. It simply gives him the authority to do that. Of course, it is to be hoped that if the Secretary of the Treasury does undertake to build it, he will adopt a policy whereby he will employ hands and let the architect do the supervising, rather than a 10 per cent-plus system; because I believe that not only has Congress gotten quite enough of the 10 per cent-plus system but I am inclined to believe that the country has got about enough of it.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Under the wording of this bill there can not be a contract let under the 10 per cent plus or any other per cent plus system.

Mr. GOOD. I beg the gentleman's pardon.

Mr. SISSON. I believe the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CLARK] is correct about that.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Because the law provides how the contract shall be let.

Mr. GOOD. But it changes existing law.

Mr. SISSON. I have the floor and I decline to yield further, Mr. Chairman. I may be wrong in my view of this thing, and if I am I hope the chairman of the committee will correct me; but as I understand it, if the Secretary of the Treasury lets the contract under the regular law, he must let it in accordance with all the provisions of the law by advertising and so on. Now, this proviso does not give him the right to let it out to a contractor at 10 per cent plus. He can not let it out to a contractor unless he lets it under existing law. If he builds it under the proviso, he has got to build it by hiring the hands and putting a man to supervise the job, and that man will be paid a salary. It will all be done directly under him, and there will be no contract intervening between the Government and the completed building.

Mr. STAFFORD. Has the gentleman given full weight to these words found in line 2, page 2?

In carrying the foregoing authorization into effect, the Secretary of the Treasury may enter into contracts or purchase materials in the open market or otherwise.

The "or otherwise" would allow him to enter into a cost-plus contract.

The word "otherwise" would allow him by direct language to enter into a cost-plus contract.

Mr. SISSON. I may be mistaken in the construction of the following language, but I will say that I think that applies to the purchase of material.

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, no; because there is no comma—"may enter into contracts or purchase material in the open market or otherwise." That is the broadest authority that can be conferred on the Secretary of the Treasury. That language would enable him to enter into a contract on a cost-plus basis.

Mr. SISSON. I had the amendment as printed in the report. I do not think it is punctuated in the report as it is in the bill; but I believe that a fair construction would be that he may enter into a contract to purchase material in the market, or otherwise; that that applies to material and the employment of labor and mechanics. He may buy material in the open market and he may employ mechanics for the purpose of executing the work as in his judgment may best meet the public exigency.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will not the gentleman admit that that is a forced construction; that you are not giving any effect to the words "or otherwise"?

Mr. GOOD. How will he employ the labor—by the day; pay the current wage? No; he can say, "You bring your force here and I will pay that labor $10 a day and the bonus." Where is there anything in this to prevent that?

Mr. SISSON. I believe the construction my friend places upon it is rather a strained construction.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. SISSON. I ask for two minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, if this gave the Secretary the right to buy materials and employ labor, and that was all, I see no serious objection to it. I agree with my friend from Iowa [Mr. GOOD] and I also agree with my friend from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] that we ought not to permit any more of these 10 per cent cost-plus contracts. I think that has done enough to discourage the labor market of this country. I think when they let a contract, saying to a man, "We will give you 10 per cent on the cost of the job," the contractor will make the most money where he takes a 10 per cent cost-plus job by making it cost the Government as much as he can. I think it is bad, but I do not believe the language in this bill is susceptible of that construction. At any rate, if the chairman of the committee and the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BURNETT], who introduced the bill, and the committee say that Congress did not intend to authorize any 10 per cent cost-plus contract, I do not

believe they will put a strained construction on it and do what Congress says it did not intend should be done. I think the language might be improved so as to exclude the cost-plus contract.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Chairman, I think the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON] is mistaken in regard to his construction of this language. I admit the language is not clear, but the words "or otherwise" can not be limited to the purchase of material in the open market alone. It would be necessary to use some qualifying words that would apply directly to the open market in order to give it that construction. The words "or otherwise" would apply to all that had preceded it under the construction that would be usually placed upon such a form of awards. That would give the Secretary of the Treasury an absolute right to make any sort of contract he saw fit regarding the erection of the building. What follows also is not by any means a qualification. It gives the Secretary of the Treasury power to employ labor in any manner and upon any terms he may desire.

I ask the attention of the committee to this fact, which is within the knowledge of every member of the committee: Very many of the contracts that have been let in Washington and those that have been let in the Government operations near Washington are almost completed. If there was any justification for doing away with the safeguards that we all admit are necessary in order to protect the Government against imposition, if there was any reason why those should not be in existence before, certainly they do not exist now.

There will be, if this contract is put up for bids, plenty of bidders. There are many men here now in Washington to get jobs; they have the laborers on hand, they could at once enter on the construction of the buildings. There is no possible reason at this time for any extraordinary means being used.

Now, gentlemen, if we do not do our part as we know now there will be enormous loss to the Government by extravagant waste. We can not relieve ourselves from responsibility by throwing upon these overcrowded departments and upon these overworked superintendents the duty of protecting the Government. It is our duty to protect the Government by proper legal safeguards contained in provisions of the bill; and in view of all this, in justice to the committee itself, we ought not to put this open invitation to the people who have this work and say, "It does not make any difference what kind of a contract you make, the Government gives you a free hand, do as you please, get rid of it in the easiest manner possible." We should say, "We expect you under these circumstances to protect the Government under the law." It should be clear to all of us that the amendment reported by the committee ought to go out of the bill.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I suppose debate is exhausted, but I would like four or five minutes myself, and I would like to see if we can not agree upon a limit to debate.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I would like five minutes. I want to offer an amendment to the committee amendment.

Mr. BURNETT. I want two minutes.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment be closed in 12 minutes, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN] to have five minutes and the gentleman from Alabama two minutes and I five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I would like to have the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN] proceed first.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I have no objection to the gentleman's request. I was merely in consultation with some of my colleagues here who think it better to strike out the amendment than to undertake to improve it.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. If that is all, I shall go ahead. Does the gentleman want his five minutes, anyway?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Yes; I would like to have them in any event.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I had hoped, in the first place, that the chairman of the committee would withdraw this amendment entirely. In the event he would not, I had then prepared a brief amendment to the amendment providing that under it no contract should be let under the cost-plus system; but upon reflection I agree with my colleagues here on this side, who are unanimous upon that point, that instead of amending this amendment, which even after the amendment I had in mind would be vicious indeed, that this amendment ought to be stricken out entirely. As the amendment now stands it presents two alternatives, under either of which the discretion of the Secretary is practically unlimited. The first is with reference to the letting of the contracts, which provides that he may "enter into contracts * * * as in his judgment shall best meet the public exigencies," and so forth. There is also an alternative provision with reference to constructing a building through the direct employment of labor and the purchase of materials. Under the first alternative contracts can be let under the cost-plus plan. Under the second any price can be paid for labor and material.

Mr. Chairman, we have had scandals enough with reference to the construction of these public buildings. At the time when these buildings that are being constructed to the north of the Capitol were proposed I predicted that under the unlimited authority that was given under the bill then before the House just such conditions would arise and similar scandals develop as my colleague [Mr. GOOD] has been calling to the attention of the committee. It is inevitable if you put out this money in this way in lump sums to be expended upon any kind of contract that it will not be spent for the best interest of the public but that graft and corruption will creep in, as it has done.

Mr. STAFFORD. Would not a consequence of this authorization be that the Secretary of the Treasury could go ahead with this work and launch a project and then come back to Congress under the piecemeal provision and say that he did not have enough money, whereas if you state that your building is to be erected at a cost of $250,000, no contract can be let unless the figure is within that amount?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The gentleman's objection is well taken. I had thought that after that riot of corruption, that carnival of debauchery——

Mr. CLARK of Florida arose.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. At Hog Island——

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I was just going to ask the gentleman to specify. I thought he ought to be more definite.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I was about to specify. It occurred at Hog Island, as the gentleman ought to know at this time. My colleague, Mr. GOOD, has given an example, and has referred the gentleman to instances that have occurred in the city of Washington. It has occurred in reference to the aeroplane construction and in many other places, because we made these lump-sum appropriations and authorized the money to be spent in any form whatever. The Hog Island scandal is something that fairly smelled to heaven with corruption and graft, but after that occurrence the House still went on with these housing bills, still authorizing cost-plus contracts, except in one of the housing bills, where I did succeed in getting an amendment placed upon it prohibiting this form of contract, and the other day the gentleman from Alabama, Mr. HUDDLESTON, succeeded in putting on another bill an amendment forbidding cost-plus contracts. How long are we to continue in this manner after all these lessons and experiences that we have had, to the disgust of the public? Are we to continue to raise money by liberty bonds and war stamps, taking the money from those who can ill afford to pay, and in some instances from those who are eking out a bare existence, and then have this money wasted in this manner? By this provision in the bill we are offering inducements and premiums upon corruption. I insist that the committee amendment ought to be rejected.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, if there ever was "much ado about nothing," these gentlemen have given an exhibition of it this afternoon. In the first place, I want to state in my little talk—though I do not see the gentleman from Wisconsin present—that if that gentleman will investigate he will find that units D, E, and F, occupied by the War Department, were built by the construction division in the War Department and were not contracted for at all. I got that information from the War Department by telephone.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I have not much time.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman furnish to the committee what proportion of space those buildings occupy as compared with those which were constructed under private contract?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. No; I can not do that.

Mr. STAFFORD. If he will, he will find that it is a very small proportion.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I am not going to be led into a discussion of that kind. The gentleman challenged me to name one piece of Government work that was constructed in that way, and I have done it, and that ends it. I want to say this about this amendment: Our committee, when we brought in the original housing bill involving $60,000,000, put in it a provision that none of the work should be let by a cost-plus percentage contract, and it passed this House and is a law. The committee is absolutely opposed to that kind of contract.

This original bill provides that the Secretary of the Treasury shall contract for the construction of this building. That means, of course, that he shall contract for it under the law; that he shall advertise for bids; that he shall accept the lowest and best bid among the contractors, but the committee thought we ought to go further than that, and that we ought to give the Secretary of the Treasury power to build it with his own organization if, in his judgment, it could be done more cheaply and for the better interests of the Government in that way. Therefore we agreed upon this amendment—

In carrying the foregoing authorization for additional buildings to the hygienic laboratory into effect, the Secretary of the Treasury may enter into contracts—

That is one thing that he may do—

or purchase materials in the open market, or otherwise—

What does that mean? It means that he may purchase materials in the open market, or he may purchase them otherwise, and it can not mean anything else. It means that he may purchase them out in the open market or he may go to the manufacturer of those materials direct and buy them from him. Or he may call for bids for these materials and buy them in that way. The words "or otherwise" refer exclusively to the buying of material for this building and nothing else.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield in that particular?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. In just a moment—and employ laborers; that is another thing he may do. He may not only make contracts, he may not only purchase materials in the open market or at private sale or otherwise, but he may employ laborers and mechanics for executing the work as in his judgment may best meet the public exigencies within the limits of the authorization herein named. Now, where is there any intimation of any percentage contract? He could not do it because if he builds it by contract he has got to build it under the terms of existing law which requires him to advertise for bids and to let it to the lowest and best bidder. If he does not build by contract, then he is given the power, if he thinks it is for the better interests of the Government, to go into the open market and buy materials, or buy without going into the open market and employ laborers and mechanics to build it under his own construction division in the Treasury Department. I now yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the construction the gentleman places upon the words "or otherwise," as pertaining only to the words "purchase materials in the open market" and not contracts, is a correct one, does the gentleman believe that the Secretary of the Treasury, through the Supervising Architect, should be authorized to purchase materials without limit, privately without advertising for their purchase at the lowest possible bid? Why we have always restricted the heads of departments in the purchase of materials, but here you are seeking to throw open the door.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Chairman, I believe I have two minutes in conclusion. The very exigency of this case, Mr. Chairman, necessitates just what was put in. That is that the Secretary of the Treasury should not be required to wait to advertise for bids but should have the privilege of going into the open market and purchasing the material immediately to meet the emergency. Statutes, as all lawyers know, are to be construed in the light of the common understanding and construction of words, and of language. No one would speak in ordinary language of "contracting in the open market," but it is a matter of common knowledge that we often speak of "purchasing materials in the open market," and hence the construction of the gentleman from Wisconsin is the most strained construction that he or anyone could put upon it. The application of the term "purchase in the open market" is to the material, because, as I said, if any man in common parlance speaks about "contracts in the open market" it simply is absurd, or "contracts otherwise." If it is a contract, it is a contract and hence, Mr. Chairman, the common, ordinary, common-sense, every-day understanding of terms precludes the strained construction that gentlemen have put on this expression, and I hope that they will not handicap this emergency, this exigency, by so construing this amendment, which purposes to expeditiously do the very thing the Committee on Rules and the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds believe ought to be done and ought to be done at once. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a vote.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired; all time has expired, and the question is on the committee amendment.

The question was taken, and the Chair announced the ayes appeared to have it.

On a division (demanded by Mr. STAFFORD) there were—ayes 26, noes 25.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I ask for tellers—I withdraw the demand.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee rise and report the bill with the amendment with the recommendation that the amendment be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

Mr. STAFFORD. That is provided for in the rule. The rule provides that the committee automatically rises and reports the bill.

Mr. BURNETT. Yes; that is true.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. SHALLENBERGER, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill H. R. 12404 and had directed him to report the same with an amendment, with the recommendation that the amendment be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Chairman, I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is in doubt, and the gentleman from Iowa demands the yeas and nays.

Mr. GOOD. I make the point of order there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. No quorum is present, and it is an automatic call. The Doorkeeper will lock the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absentees, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—ayes 107, nays 78, answered "present" 4, not voting 241, as follows:

YEAS—107.

Almon	Doughton	Huddleston	Romjue
Ashbrook	Dupré	Hull, Tenn.	Rouse
Ayres	Evans	Igoe	Rubey
Bankhead	Fields	Jacoway	Rucker
Barnhart	Fisher	James	Sears
Beakes	Foster	Keating	Shallenberger
Black	French	Kehoe	Sims
Blackmon	Gallagher	Kincheloe	Sisson
Bland, Ind.	Gallivan	Langley	Small
Bland, Va.	Gandy	Lazaro	Smith, Mich.
Blanton	Garrett, Tenn.	Littlepage	Snook
Booher	Garrett, Tex.	Lobeck	Steagall
Brand	Goodwin, Ark.	Lonergan	Stedman
Brumbaugh	Gray, Ala.	Lunn	Sumners
Burnett	Gregg	McKeown	Taylor, Ark.
Campbell, Pa.	Griffin	McLemore	Taylor, Colo.
Carter, Okla.	Hamlin	Mansfield	Watkins
Clark, Fla.	Hardy	Moon	Weaver
Cleary	Harrison, Va.	Oldfield	Webb
Coady	Hastings	Overmyer	Welty
Collier	Hayden	Overstreet	Wheeler
Connelly, Kans.	Heflin	Park	Wilson, La.
Cox	Helm	Pou	Wilson, Tex.
Decker	Helvering	Quin	Wingo
Denton	Hilliard	Rainey, H. T.	Wright
Dominick	Holland	Rainey, J. W.	Young, Tex.
Doolittle	Houston	Raker	

NAYS—78.

Alexander	Gillett	McFadden	Scott, Mich.
Anderson	Good	McLaughlin, Mich.	Sinnott
Campbell, Kans.	Gordon	Madden	Sloan
Cary	Green, Iowa	Magee	Smith, Idaho
Chandler, N. Y.	Greene, Vt.	Mapes	Stafford
Curry, Cal.	Hadley	Miller, Wash.	Strong
Dale, Vt.	Hamilton, Mich.	Mondell	Timberlake
Dallinger	Haugen	Moores, Ind.	Towner
Darrow	Hawley	Morgan	Vare
Dillon	Hersey	Morin	Voigt
Dowell	Hull, Iowa	Nichols, Mich.	Volstead
Elliott	Juul	Osborne	Waldow
Esch	Kelley, Mich.	Parker, N. J.	Walsh
Fairchild, B. L.	Kennedy, Iowa	Ramseyer	Watson, Pa.
Fairfield	Kinkaid	Reed	Williams
Fess	Knutson	Roberts	Wood, Ind.
Focht	Kraus	Rodenberg	Woods, Iowa
Francis	Lesher	Rogers	Young, N. Dak.
Frear	Longworth	Rose	
Garland	McCulloch	Sanders, N. Y.	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—4.

Butler	Cannon	Ireland	Sherley

NOT VOTING—241.

Anthony	Caldwell	Crago	Doremus
Aswell	Candler, Miss.	Cramton	Drane
Austin	Cantrill	Crisp	Drukker
Bacharach	Caraway	Crosser	Dunn
Baer	Carew	Currie, Mich.	Dyer
Barkley	Carlin	Dale, N. Y.	Eagan
Bell	Carter, Mass.	Davis	Eagle
Beshlin	Chandler, Okla.	Delaney	Edmonds
Borland	Church	Dempsey	Ellsworth
Bowers	Clark, Pa.	Denison	Elston
Britten	Classon	Dent	Emerson
Brodbeck	Claypool	Dewalt	Estopinal
Browne	Connally, Tex.	Dickinson	Fairchild, G. W.
Browning	Cooper, Ohio	Dies	Farr
Buchanan	Cooper, W. Va.	Dill	Ferris
Burroughs	Cooper, Wis.	Dixon	Flood
Byrnes, S. C.	Copley	Donovan	Flynn
Byrns, Tenn.	Costello	Dooling	Fordney

Foss	Kitchin	Paige	Steele
Freeman	Kreider	Parker, N. Y.	Steenerson
Fuller, Ill.	La Follette	Peters	Stephens, Miss.
Fuller, Mass.	LaGuardia	Phelan	Stephens, Nebr.
Gard	Larsen	Platt	Sterling, Ill.
Garner	Lea, Cal.	Polk	Sterling, Pa.
Glass	Lee, Ga.	Porter	Stevenson
Glynn	Lehlbach	Powers	Stiness
Godwin, N. C.	Lever	Pratt	Sullivan
Goodall	Linthicum	Price	Sweet
Gould	Little	Purnell	Swift
Graham, Ill.	London	Ragsdale	Switzer
Graham, Pa.	Lufkin	Ramsey	Tague
Gray, N. J.	Lundeen	Randall	Talbott
Greene, Mass.	McAndrews	Rankin	Temple
Griest	McArthur	Rayburn	Templeton
Hamill	McClintic	Reavis	Thomas
Hamilton, N. Y.	McCormick	Riordan	Thompson
Harrison, Miss.	McKenzie	Robbins	Tillman
Haskell	McKinley	Robinson	Tilson
Hayes	McLaughlin, Pa.	Rowe	Tinkham
Heaton	Maher	Rowland	Treadway
Heintz	Mann	Russell	Van Dyke
Hensley	Martin	Sabath	Venable
Hicks	Mason	Sanders, Ind.	Vestal
Hollingsworth	Mays	Sanders, La.	Vinson
Hood	Meeker	Sanford	Walker
Howard	Merritt	Saunders, Va.	Walton
Humphreys	Miller, Minn.	Schall	Ward
Husted	Montague	Scott, Iowa	Wason
Hutchinson	Moore, Pa.	Scott, Pa.	Watson, Va.
Johnson, Ky.	Mott	Scully	Welling
Johnson, S. Dak.	Mudd	Sells	Whaley
Johnson, Wash.	Neely	Shackleford	White, Me.
Jones	Nelson	Sherwood	White, Ohio
Kahn	Nicholls, S. C.	Shouse	Wilson, Ill.
Kearns	Nolan	Siegel	Winslow
Kelly, Pa.	Norton	Slayden	Wise
Kennedy, R. I.	Oliver, Ala.	Slemp	Woodyard
Kettner	Oliver, N. Y.	Smith, C. B.	Zihlman
Key, Ohio	Olney	Smith, T. F.	
Kiess, Pa.	O'Shaunessy	Snell	
King	Padgett	Snyder	

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. Speaker, I voted in the negative, but I have a pair with Mr. STEELE, and I wish to withdraw it and answer "present."

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will announce the pairs.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Until further notice:

Mr. CONNALLY of Texas with Mr. JOHNSON of Washington.
Mr. KETTNER with Mr. IRELAND.
Mr. HUMPHREYS with Mr. WHITE of Maine.
Mr. STEELE with Mr. BUTLER.
Mr. SANDERS of Louisiana with Mr. COOPER of West Virginia.
Mr. MCCLINTIC with Mr. HEATON.
Mr. SULLIVAN with Mr. TINKHAM.
Mr. TALBOTT with Mr. BROWNING.
Mr. TAGUE with Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island.
Mr. OLIVER of New York with Mr. SWITZER.
Mr. RANDALL with Mr. FOSS.
Mr. VAN DYKE with Mr. PURNELL.
Mr. MAHER with Mr. ROWE.
Mr. SHERWOOD with Mr. SWIFT.
Mr. DONOVAN with Mr. LUFKIN.
Mr. LEA of California with Mr. MCKINLEY.
Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee with Mr. STEENERSON.
Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina with Mr. ANTHONY.
Mr. MONTAGUE with Mr. STERLING of Illinois.
Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska with Mr. CLARK of Pennsylvania.
Mr. BELL with Mr. SNYDER.
Mr. THOMAS F. SMITH with Mr. TREADWAY.
Mr. CAREW with Mr. BACHARACH.
Mr. RIORDAN with Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois.
Mr. HAMILL with Mr. GRIEST.
Mr. SCULLY with Mr. BROWNE.
Mr. TILLMAN with Mr. ELLSWORTH.
Mr. WHALEY with Mr. PARKER of New York.
Mr. DALE of New York with Mr. BRITTEN.
Mr. VINSON with Mr. MOTT.
Mr. ROBINSON with Mr. STINESS.
Mr. LINTHICUM with Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania.
Mr. SLAYDEN with Mr. HAYES.
Mr. HOWARD with Mr. PAIGE.
Mr. GODWIN of North Carolina with Mr. ELSTON.
Mr. DICKINSON with Mr. DYER.
Mr. ASWELL with Mr. FARR.
Mr. CALDWELL with Mr. GOULD.
Mr. DOOLING with Mr. PETERS.
Mr. THOMAS with Mr. WINSLOW.
Mr. O'SHAUNESSY with Mr. CHANDLER of Oklahoma.
Mr. FERRIS with Mr. FULLER of Illinois.
Mr. OLNEY with Mr. DAVIS.
Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi with Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH.
Mr. EAGAN with Mr. DUNN.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, pending the announcement of the vote, may I make a parliamentary inquiry?

The SPEAKER. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. If it should appear that a decisive result has not been reached upon this amendment by reason of a quorum not being present, would this matter be the unfinished business if the House should adjourn?

The SPEAKER. The previous question having been ordered on it, it would be. One hundred and eighty-eight Members are present, not a quorum.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 53 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, October 3, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriation required by the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance (H. Doc. No. 1314); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Civil Service Commission submitting supplemental estimate of appropriation required for the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1315); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. FIELDS, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 13037) to amend the fiftieth article of war, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 822) which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. GORDON, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 13036) transferring jurisdiction and control for the period of the war over the Southern Branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers from the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers to the Secretary of War for use for Army hospital purposes, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 823), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 13035) to amend section 4 of Chapter V of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919," approved July 9, 1918, and to make said amendment retroactive, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 824), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. FIELDS, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 5167) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide aid to State or Territorial homes for the support of disabled soldiers and sailors of the United States," approved August 27, 1888, as amended March 2, 1889, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 825), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. SIMS: Resolution (H. Res. 440) providing for the consideration of Senate joint resolution 63, entitled "Joint resolution to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service"; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. SMITH of Idaho: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 335) re-creating the rank of ensign in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MADDEN: Concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 53) for the appointment of a joint committee of Congress to investigate and report on certain questions; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma: A bill (H. R. 13039) for the relief of William R. McIntosh; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. GREEN of Iowa: A bill (H. R. 13040) granting an increase of pension to Hamilton W. Manner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. VARE: Resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of the Lithuanian people of Philadelphia, pledging loyalty and support to the United States in this war for justice; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *October 3, 1918.*

Rev. J. L. Kibler, of the city of Washington, offered the following prayer:

We are emboldened to come again to Thee, O God, because Thou hast heard the voice of our supplications and hast inclined Thine ear unto our prayers. Thou hast verified Thy promises and given us prosperity at home and success abroad. Lest we be exalted above measure, we pray that Thou wilt give us the spirit of humility and of continued sacrifice. If in Thy wisdom we must still suffer the dreadful strain, if we must suffer greater losses at home and on the battle fields of Europe, if we must be buffeted by the thorn in the flesh and be chastened for our sins and our forgetfulness of God, O God, grant that we may quickly learn our lesson and return unto the Lord, who will have mercy upon us. May we come back with grateful hearts, and penitent spirit, and sober lives; and may we be purified throughout our great country; and may the purity of our motives justify the successes of our undertakings, when Thou shalt stay the hand of the threatening scourge and crown us with blessings here and beyond the seas. We ask it for Christ's sake. Amen.

On request of Mr. SMOOT and by unanimous consent the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the legislative day of Monday, September 30, 1918, was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Beckham	Hitchcock	Martin, Va.	Smith, Ariz.
Benet	Johnson, S. Dak.	Myers	Smoot
Brandegee	Jones, N. Mex.	Nelson	Sutherland
Calder	Jones, Wash.	New	Thomas
Chamberlain	Kellogg	Norris	Townsend
Culberson	Kendrick	Nugent	Trammell
Cummins	Kirby	Overman	Underwood
Curtis	Knox	Page	Vardaman
Dillingham	La Follette	Penrose	Wadsworth
Fernald	Lenroot	Phelan	Walsh
Fletcher	Lodge	Poindexter	Warren
Gronna	McCumber	Robinson	Wilfley
Guion	McKellar	Saulsbury	Williams
Hale	McLean	Shafroth	
Hardwick	McNary	Sheppard	
Henderson	Martin, Ky.	Shields	

Mr. SAULSBURY. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. WOLCOTT] is in Delaware engaged in liberty-loan work.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I desire to announce that the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] is detained by illness, and that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY] is detained on official business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Sixty-one Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

"TWO THOUSAND QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS."

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, a letter has been sent to me taking exception to some things I said in regard to the book Two Thousand Questions and Answers. The letter is from the Review of Reviews Co., and it is addressed to Mr. G. D. Hartley, a constitutent of mine, of Sleeper & Hartley, Worcester, Mass. The letter reads:

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO.,
New York, September 20, 1918.

Mr. GEORGE D. HARTLEY,
Sleeper & Hartley (Inc.), Worcester, Mass.

DEAR SIR: This is in answer to your notation of September 18. The book referred to by Mr. LODGE in the United States Senate is not only being offered by us to our subscribers but was manufactured in this office and in the office of the Australian Review of Reviews.

Judging from Mr. LODGE'S talk, he has never seen the book because he calls it anonymous, whereas it is stated upon the title page that the book was made by the editorial staff of the Review of Reviews. We can not believe that Mr. LODGE would make a false statement, knowing that the book was published by this company, and therefore we can only judge that he was not familiar with it when he condemned it.

This book was published last April. Five thousand copies have been sold. It has been distributed throughout the United States and even in foreign countries. Mr. Creel wrote a one-page introduction after having seen the proof sheets. When the book was published, he asked us to revise it before making another edition, and pointed out references which he thought ought to be changed. Outside of Mr. Creel's criticism, no word of criticism came from anyone until the National Security League wished to make a political attack upon Mr. Creel. Then the Security League falsely represented various answers to questions and used the book as an instrument for their attack.

The book can not be fairly called pro-German. The very questions to which the National Security League take exception were passed by the British censor and the American censor when the material came to us from Australia. The National Security League knew that the book was being revised at the time they made their attack. The main purpose of revising the book was to introduce more material explaining why the United States went into the war, and in the revised edition the first 40 pages will be devoted to our part in the war.

It is intended to deliver the new edition to those who respond to the circulars recently mailed by this company. This is a true statement of the facts vouched for by the writer of this letter, who had more to do with the making of this book than anyone else in the business department of the Review of Reviews.

Yours, truly,
F. W. STONE.

Mr. President, I have not seen the book, but I have seen some of the circulars, and I have seen nowhere a statement of its author. Certainly anyone who desired to be known as the author of this book, charged as it is in my judgment with distinct pro-German propaganda, anyone who wishes that authorship announced ought to have it announced. It appears from this letter that the authorship consists of the editorial staff of the Review of Reviews. That is not a name of an author, and I argue myself unknown in saying that I do not know the names of all of the staff of the Review of Reviews. I ought to know them, no doubt. But I here say that the work was done by the editorial staff of the Review of Reviews, and I am very sorry if I misled anyone by saying that it was anonymous. They claim and deserve entire credit for the book.

Mr. President, though I have not seen the book I have seen a series of extracts from it which I printed in the RECORD. There can be no doubt about the truth of the questions they took from that book, and they were enough to prove what its character was.

Moreover, I have seen the circulars. A great many have been sent. I have one here, and on the outside of the envelope containing the circular is: "Did the Germans warn the passengers on the *Lusitania?*" The answer is in the book, I understand. If that is not by indirection or by implication a defense of Germany in one of the very most villainous things she has ever done—and that is saying a great deal—then I can not understand what an ordinary sentence means.

The writer of this letter says the book "can not fairly be called pro-German." That depends upon the point of view of the person describing it, I think. But they also say that the book has never been withdrawn. I was guilty of saying that I understood it had been withdrawn, and I admit that I was incautious, for I took Mr. Creel's statement on that point. He says in his letter:

> Because there was not the slightest evidence of any premeditated pro-Germanism in the matter, because the good faith and true Americanism of all the parties in the controversy were so obvious, and because the book itself had been stopped, and a new edition under way, I avoided all publicity in the matter out of my desire to work no injustice to anyone.

He had the proof sheets before him, according to Mr. Stone's statement, and he said it had been stopped, and I took his word for it. It appears that the whole of the first edition of 5,000 copies have been sold, and the revised edition apparently makes but little change, except to enlarge some references and add 40 pages on the entry of America into the war. The book is now being pressed for sale by the Review of Reviews Co., and these circulars are going everywhere. It seems to me very strange, Mr. President, that a book of that sort should have no inhibition placed upon it when the Secretary of War most wisely has excluded from the camps of soldiers library books which certainly are no more objectionable than this.

In order to do full justice to the compilers of the book they are so proud of, I desired merely to make this correction where I made a mistatement.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 12776) to provide further for the national security and defense and for the more effective prosecution of the war by furnishing means for the better utilization of the existing sources of electrical and mechanical power and for the development of new sources of such power, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. WADSWORTH presented a memorial of sundry citizens of New York City, N. Y., remonstrating against the adoption of the proposed Federal suffrage amendment, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SHEPPARD (for Mr. THOMPSON) presented a petition of sundry citizens of Cook County, Ill., praying for the submission of a Federal suffrage amendment to the legislatures of the several States, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also (for Mr. THOMPSON) presented a petition of the congregation of the First Baptist Church of Atchison, Kans., praying that the order denying access to Army camps and cantonments of all camp pastors and voluntary chaplains be rescinded, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I present a resolution from the city council of Seattle, Wash., protesting against the proposed tax upon bonds of municipalities. I move that it be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I also present a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Island County Farm Bureau, sent to me by R. M. Turner, county agent, secretary Farm Bureau, urging Congress to make an appropriation to protect our sheep from depredation. I move that it be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

The motion was agreed to.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. WILLIAMS, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 469) for the relief of the heirs of W. H. Sneed, deceased, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 577) thereon.

Mr. FLETCHER, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (S. 1590) providing for an increase of salary for the United States marshals and for the United States district attorneys for the western and eastern districts of Louisiana, reported it with amendments.

LAFAYETTE NATIONAL PARK, ME.

Mr. MYERS. From the Committee on Public Lands I report back favorably without amendment the bill (S. 4957) to establish the Lafayette National Park in the State of Maine, and I submit a report (No. 576) thereon. I call the attention of the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] to the bill.

Mr. HALE. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of the bill.

Mr. FLETCHER. May I ask the Senator from Montana if the bill has been unanimously reported from the Committee on Public Lands?

Mr. MYERS. Yes, Mr. President; it was ordered reported unanimously by the members of the committee who were present.

Mr. FLETCHER. Is there a report on it from the department?

Mr. MYERS. The bill merely changes the name of a park from the name which the Senate a short time ago gave it in a bill which was passed. It is merely a matter of personal preference on the part of those interested in the establishment of the park.

Mr. FLETCHER. I have no objection.

Mr. HALE. I think it will take only a short time to pass the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to the consideration of the bill, which was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the tracts of land, easements, and other real estate heretofore known as the Sieur de Monts National Monument, situated on Mount Desert Island, in the county of Hancock and State of Maine, established and designated as a national monument under the act of June 8, 1906, entitled "An act for the preservation of American antiquities," by presidential proclamation of July 8, 1916, is hereby declared to be a national park and dedicated as a public park for the benefit and enjoyment of the people under the name of the Lafayette National Park, under which name the aforesaid national park shall be entitled to receive and to use all moneys heretofore or hereafter appropriated for Sieur de Monts National Monument.

SEC. 2. That the administration, protection, and promotion of said Lafayette National Park shall be exercised under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior by the National Park Service, subject to the provision of the act of August 25, 1916, entitled "An act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes," and acts additional thereto or amendatory thereof.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to accept in behalf of the United States such other property on said Mount Desert Island, including lands, easements, buildings, and moneys, as may be donated for the extension or improvement of said park.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I should like to say in explanation of this measure that several months ago I introduced a similar bill, to change over the Sieur de Monts Monument to a national park, to be known as the Mount Desert National Park.

In view of the fact that the land where the park is situated was originally settled by the French, and in view of our present very close relations with France, it has been deemed fitting by those interested in the new park, as a tribute to our well-beloved ally, to name the park after the great Frenchman whose memory is held in such affection by the American people.

With the exception of the change in name, there is no difference between the pending bill and the bill heretofore passed. The other bill was reported favorably by the commtitee, was passed unanimously by the Senate, and is now in the House of Representatives. It is proposed now to allow the other bill to remain unacted upon and to have the bill now under consideration substituted for it. I think there can be no objection to that course being taken.

Mr. KENYON. Let me inquire of the Senator how much of an appropriation is involved?

Mr. HALE. There is no appropriation connected with this measure.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 4969) to amend the fiftieth article of war;

A bill (S. 4970) to amend the first paragraph of section 302 of the act entitled "An act to extend protection to the civil rights of members of the Military and Naval Establishments of the United States engaged in the present war," approved March 8, 1918; and

A bill (S. 4971) transferring jurisdiction and control for the period of the war over the southern branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers from the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers to the Secretary of War for use for Army hospital purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ASHURST:

A bill (S. 4972) to regulate the collection and expenditure of money, other than by the Government of the United States, or by its authority, for the use and benefit of the armed forces of the United States and of its allies, and especially of France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro, or for any auxiliary organizations of said Governments maintained and operated for the use and benefit of such armed forces (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMOOT:

A bill (S. 4973) to increase the pensions of Army nurses; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LODGE:

A bill (S. 4974) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a large dry dock and appurtenant lands; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

FEDERAL COMMISSION ON RECONSTRUCTION.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I introduce the bill which I send to the desk, and I should like to have it read. The war will be over before very long, we all hope. I find that our enemy, Germany, and all of the allies are preparing for what is to take place after the war in the way of reconstruction. There has been a resolution heretofore introduced by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS] to provide for a committee on reconstruction after the war. I have had the bill which I now introduce in preparation for some time, looking to preparation for peace reconstruction after the war shall have ended. I am going to ask that the bill be referred to the Judiciary Committee. I doubt that Congress, through a committee, could do the work, even if it desired to do it, which is in contemplation by the resolution, but I really believe that this question is an executive function rather than a legislative function. There-

fore, as I have stated, I am going to ask that the bill go to the Committee on the Judiciary, because there are some questions of law involved which should properly be considered by that committee. I hope the resolution to which I have referred will also be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, that we may work out something which may operate for the good of the country.

I find that England has appointed several committees, with a view of dealing with this matter in that country after the war, such as the Royal Commission, the Industrial Development Committee, the Belgian Trade Committee, the Committee on Trade Relations After the War, the Commission on Industrial Policy after the War, and a list which I hold in my hand shows the appointment of all kinds of commissions by France, also for the purpose of looking into the questions of trade and finance after the war. I have prepared this bill with that end in view, and after it shall have been read I desire that it shall be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the bill.

The bill (S. 4968) to provide for the creation and establishment of a Federal commission on reconstruction, and for other purposes, was read the first time by its title and the second time at length and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:

A bill (S. 4968) to provide for the creation and establishment of a Federal commission on reconstruction, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That a commission is hereby created and established, to be known as the Federal commission on reconstruction (hereinafter referred to as the commission), which shall be composed of five commissioners, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Not more than three of the commissioners shall be members of the same political party. The commission shall choose a chairman from its own membership. Any commissioner may be removed by the President for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office. A vacancy in the commission shall not impair the right of the remaining commissioners to exercise all the functions of the commission. The commission shall cease to exist two years after the cessation of hostilities of the existing war unless otherwise provided by Congress.

SEC. 2. That each commissioner shall receive a salary at the rate of $10,000 a year. The commission shall appoint a secretary, who shall receive a salary at the rate of $5,000 a year, and the commission shall have authority to employ and fix the compensation of such economists, investigators, special experts, clerks, and other employees as it may from time to time find necessary for the proper performance of its duties. Until otherwise provided by law the commission may rent suitable offices for its use.

SEC. 3. That it shall be the duty of the commission to examine into the problems and conditions that are arising out of the war and that may arise out of the transition of the economic, industrial, and social life of the Nation from a state of war to a state of peace; and with a view of meeting, as far as possible, such problems and conditions before their solution is actually forced upon the Government, the commission shall report to Congress from time to time the results of such investigations with recommendations for new and additional legislation.

SEC. 4. That it shall be the duty of the commission to investigate and report as above described on any and all questions that may be referred to it by the Senate or the House of Representatives or by the President arising out of the conditions of war above described; and more particularly it shall investigate and report on the following problems:

(a) The financing, regulation, control, and development of the merchant marine.

(b) The development, financing, expansion, and direction of foreign trade.

(c) The reorganization, financing, and readjustment of industries engaged in war work by way of reconverting them to normal production.

(d) Technical education and industrial research as a means of developing and strengthening of industry.

(e) The redistribution and employment of labor in agricultural and industrial pursuits and the problems of labor growing out of demobilization.

(f) The supply, distribution, and availability of raw materials and foodstuffs.

(g) The conservation and development of national resources.

(h) Inland transportation by rail and water.

(i) Communication by telephone, telegraph, and wireless.

(j) The reorganization of Government departments, bureaus, commissions, or offices, with a view to putting the Government on an economical and efficient peace basis.

(k) The consolidation of such acts and parts of acts of Congress which relate to the same subject matter but which now appear at various places in the statutes.

SEC. 5. That there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $500,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to carry out the provisions of this resolution.

SEC. 6. That this act shall take effect immediately upon its adoption.

EXEMPTION OF MUNICIPAL BONDS.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, as preliminary to introducing an amendment, and inasmuch as the question has been raised by a communication which has been sent to the desk by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS], I desire to ask the chairman of the Committee on Finance, the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS], a question. In the matter of the exemption of bonds which shall have been issued after the proposed revenue law goes into effect, will there be an exemption of bonds which have been authorized by municipalities? Whether such bonds will be exempted is a question of the interpretation of the word "issued." If the Senator from North Carolina is not prepared now to answer the question, I shall defer the introduction of the amendment.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, the Committee on Finance has not discussed the section of the bill covering the matter referred to by the Senator from California, and I should not care to suggest any interpretation of the House measure until we shall have taken the matter up and discussed it.

Mr. PHELAN. Then I will defer proposing the amendment until I am advised in reference to the matter.

Mr. SIMMONS. I will say, however, generally that I should assume that that language would mean that it applied only to bonds which were issued after the passage of the act.

Mr. PHELAN. Does the Senator mean by "issued" the sale of the bonds or the authorization of a municipality for the issuance of bonds?

Mr. SIMMONS. That would depend upon the exact language. It says "issued after the passage of the act." Of course, it would not affect any bonds issued before the passage of the act. I have not in mind the exact language of the provision referred to by the Senator, because, as I have said, we have not yet discussed it. Therefore I should not like to express a definite opinion in regard to the matter.

Mr. PHELAN. I think there is a doubt as to the interpretation of the word "issued."

THE REVENUE.

Mr. PHELAN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 12863) to provide revenue, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

Mr. GORE submitted three amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 12863) to provide revenue, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

COMMITTEE ON REORGANIZATION.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, I ask that Senate concurrent resolution No. 22, submitted by me on the 28th ultimo, authorizing and creating a committee on reorganization, and which is now on the table, be referred to the Judiciary Committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That order will be made.

A JUDICIAL DEFINITION OF "ALLEGIANCE."

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, it is not in the nature of a petition, but I have just had called to my attention a short statement entitled "A judicial definition of allegiance."

It is a statement made by Federal Judge Charles F. Amidon, of the United States District Court, District of North Dakota, in his decision sentencing Rev. J. Fontana, who was convicted of violating the espionage law. This opinion is so clear, so concise a statement of what is due, not only from the citizen to his country but also what is due from the man who asks to be made a citizen, that I think it ought to be placed in the RECORD. I ask that it may be inserted in the RECORD. It is found in the Outlook of September 18, 1918.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A JUDICIAL DEFINITION OF "ALLEGIANCE."

"The Rev. J. Fontana, pastor of the German Evangelical Church, New Salem, N. Dak., was recently tried at Bismarck, in that State. He was charged with having uttered from time to time seditious language for the purpose of interfering with the military activities of the Government. The presiding judge was Charles F. Amidon, of the United States District Court, District of North Dakota. The jury returned a verdict of guilty against Mr. Fontana on August 15. United States Attorney Hildreth moved for sentence on August 19. In passing sentence Judge Amidon said, in part, what follows. (The Editors.)

"You received your final papers as a citizen in 1898. By the oath which you then took you renounced and abjured all allegiance to Germany and to the Emperor of Germany, and swore that you would bear true faith and allegiance to the United States. What did that mean? That you would set about earnestly growing an American soul and put away your German soul. That is what your oath of allegiance meant. Have you done that? I do not think you have. You have cherished everything German, prayed German, read German, sung German. Every thought of your mind and every emotion of your heart through all these years has been German. Your body has been in America, but your life has been in Germany. If you were set down in Prussia to-day you would be in harmony with your environment. It would fit you just as a flower fits the leaf and stem of the plant on which it grows. You have influenced others who have been under your ministry to do the same thing. You said you would cease to cherish your German soul. That meant that you would begin the study of American life and history; that you would open your mind and heart to all of its influences; that you would try to understand its ideals and pur-

poses and love them; that you would try to build up inside of yourself a whole group of feelings for the United States the same as you felt toward the fatherland when you left Germany. There have been a good many Germans before me in the last month. It has been an impressive part of the trial. They have lived in this country, like yourself, 10, 20, 30, 40 years, and they had to give their evidence through an interpreter. And as I looked at them and tried as best I could to understand them, there was written all over every one of them, 'Made in Germany.' American life had not dimmed that mark in the least. It stood there as bright and fresh as the inscription upon a new coin. I do not blame you and these men alone. I blame myself. I blame my country. We urged you to come. We welcomed you; we gave you opportunity; we gave you land; we conferred upon you the diadem of American citizenship, and then we left you. We paid no attention to what you have been doing.

"And now the world war has thrown a searchlight upon our national life, and what have we discovered? We find all over these United States, in groups, little Germanies, little Italies, little Austrias, little Norways, little Russias. These foreign people have thrown a circle about themselves, and, instead of keeping the oath they took that they would try to grow American souls inside of them, they have studiously striven to exclude everything American and to cherish everything foreign. A clever gentleman wrote a romance called 'America, the Melting Pot.' It appealed to our vanity, and through all these years we have been seeing romance instead of fact. That is the awful truth. The figure of my country stands beside you to-day. It says to me: Do not blame this man alone. I am partly to blame. Punish him for his offense, but let him know that I see things in a new light; that a new era has come here. Punish him to teach him, and the like of him, and all those who have been misled by him and his like, that a change has come; that there must be an interpretation anew of the oath of allegiance. It has been in the past nothing but a formula of words. From this time on it must be translated into living characters incarnate in the life of every foreigner who has his dwelling place in our midst. If they have been cherishing foreign history, foreign ideals, foreign loyalty, it must be stopped, and they must begin at once, all over again, to cherish American thought, American history, American ideals. That means something that is to be done in your daily life. It does not mean simply that you will not take up arms against the United States. It goes deeper far than that. It means that you will live for the United States, and that you will cherish and grow American souls inside of you. It means that you will take down from the walls of your homes the picture of the Kaiser and put up the picture of Washington; that you will take down the picture of Bismarck and hang up the picture of Lincoln. It means that you will begin to sing American songs; that you will begin earnestly to study American history; that you will begin to open your lives through every avenue to the influence of American life. It means that you will begin first of all to learn English, the language of this country, so that there may be a door into your souls through which American life may enter.

"I am not so simple as to entertain the idea that racial habits and qualities can be put aside by the will in a day, in a year, in a generation; but because that is difficult is all the more reason why you should get about it and quit cherishing a foreign life. If half the effort had been put forth in these foreign communities to build up an American life in the hearts of these foreign-born citizens that has been put forth to perpetuate a foreign life, our situation would have been entirely different from what it is to-day. You have violated your oath of allegiance in this: You have cherished foreign ideals and tried to make them everlasting. That is the basic wrong of these thousands of little islands of foreigners that have been formed through our whole limits, that, instead of trying to remove the foreign life out of their souls and to build up an American life in them, they have striven studiously from year to year to stifle American life and to make foreignness perpetual. That is disloyalty. And the object, one of the big objects, of this serious proceeding in this court, and other like proceedings in other courts, is to give notice that that must be stopped.

"I have seen before my eyes another day of judgment. When we get through with this war and civil liberty is made safe once more upon this earth, there is going to be a day of judgment in these United States. Foreign-born citizens and the institutions which have cherished foreignness are going to be brought to the judgment bar of this Republic. That day of judgment looks more to me to-day like the great Day of Judgment than anything that I have thought of for many years. There is going to be a separation on that day of the sheep from the goats. Every institution that has been engaged in this business of making foreignness perpetual in the United States will have to change or cease. That is going to cut deep, but it is coming.

"I recognize the right of foreign-born citizens to hear their religion, if they can not understand it in English, spoken to them in the tongue that they can understand. If they have not yet acquired enough English to read, they are entitled to have a paper that shall speak to them the language that they can understand. I can not go further than that. And this is the capital thing that is going to be settled on that day of judgment, namely, that the right to those things is temporary, and it can not be enjoyed by anybody who is not willing to regard it as temporary and to set about earnestly making the time of that enjoyment as short as possible. That means a fundamental revision of these foreign churches. No freedom of the press will protect a perpetual foreign press in these United States. It won't protect any press or any church which, while it is trying to meet a temporary need, does not set itself earnestly about the business of making that temporary situation just as temporary as possible, and not making it, as has been true in the past, just as near perpetual as possible. Men who are not willing to do that will have to choose. If they prefer to cherish foreign ideals, they will have to go to their own. If it is necessary, we will cancel every certificate of citizenship in these United States. The Federal Government has power to deal with that subject, and it is going to deal with it. Nothing else than that surely can be possible. And the object of the sentence which I pronounce upon you to-day is not alone to punish you for the disloyalty of which you have been guilty, but to serve notice upon you, and the like of you, and all of the groups of people in this district who have been cherishing foreignness, that the end of that régime has come. It is a call to every one of you to set about earnestly the growing of an American soul inside of you.

"The court finds and adjudges that you are guilty under each count of the indictment, and as a punishment therefor it is further adjudged that you be imprisoned in the Federal penitentiary at Leavenworth for the term of three years. The sentences under the three counts of the indictment are to run concurrently and not successively."

ADDRESS BY JAMES H. POU.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, it is not my custom to ask to have matter printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, but there was delivered recently in my State a speech by James H. Pou, one of the ablest lawyers of the South and one of its clearest speakers. It is an address to the workers in behalf of the fourth liberty-bond loan. The head of the liberty-loan work in North Carolina thought the speech was worthy of the widest circulation in the State, and, at the expense of that organization, 10,000 copies have been printed, to be used in the State. The speech is equally valuable upon this very great and important subject for circulation throughout the country, and I ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The speech referred to is as follows:

SPEECH OF MR. JAMES H. POU, DELIVERED IN THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, RALEIGH, N. C., ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1918, BEFORE THE STATE CONVENTION OF FOURTH LIBERTY-LOAN WORKERS.

[For the sake of brevity, the speech has been reduced to questions and answers.]

"Q. What is the fourth liberty loan?—A. It is the duty imposed by our Government upon those of us who are not called for military duty. Our Government asks us to lend it $6,000,000,000, in order that its fighting machinery may be kept at the highest state of efficiency, and that the soldiers at the front and who are preparing to go to the front may suffer for nothing.

"Q. What amount of that loan is North Carolina asked to take?—A. Thirty-six million dollars, or approximately $15 each for every inhabitant.

"Q. Is that a fair share for North Carolina to take?—A. It certainly is not too much. The per capita share for each individual in the United States, if the loan were divided equally, would be $60; but North Carolina is only asked to lend $15, one-fourth the average amount.

"Q. Why is North Carolina's share only one-fourth the average amount allotted to the citizens of the Union?—A. Subscriptions to this loan are expected to be made from money already earned, or certainly to be earned within the next 10 months. It is expected that this loan will be floated from the accumulated capital of the country. Thrift and war-savings stamps are expected to be sold to the people at a per capita basis and paid for out of the money that they shall hereafter earn by industry and save by economy. The thrift stamps are apportioned per capita $20 to every man, woman, and child in the United

States; and North Carolina is expected to do her part in industry and economy in buying stamps along with other States. But the Government knows that, unfortunately, the people of North Carolina have not accumulated as much capital as the average American State has accumulated. The Government assumes that the banking capital of a State or county is a fair index to the wealth accumulation of that section. It has compared our banking capital and assets with that of other communities, and it has found that this State has of such assets only about one-fourth the average amount. It therefore asks us to take not more than the average amount, as it has done the States and counties which have an excess; nor the average amount which those States and communities which possess an average amount of banking capital are expected to take; but only one-fourth of the average amount, because we appear to have of this kind of capital only one-fourth the average amount. Some States are expected to take a very large amount, probably more than $200 per capita for every inhabitant. The average for the entire country is $60. North Carolina is expected to buy only an average of $15 of these bonds for every inhabitant.

"Q. Why should North Carolina buy its share of bonds?—A. For two reasons—the patriotic duty and the investment opportunity.

"Q. Why for patriotism?—A. The war must be supported; and if it is to be brought to a speedy conclusion, it must be hurried. The longer it lasts the more it will cost in treasure and in blood. The sooner we can bring it to a victorious conclusion the less money we will have to pay in taxes, the fewer bonds we will be expected to buy, and fewer American soldiers will lose their lives. The Government asks us who remain at home, sharing none of the dangers or hardships of the war and at most suffering minor inconvenience, to do our part in equipping and supporting those who go to the front. Three million and more of the pick of the land have been called into active service, and 2,000,000 more will soon be called. Out of every 100 people, 5 will be fighting or preparing to fight. Ninety-five will remain at home, suffering no serious discomfort, pursuing their regular avocations, attending to their business, and earning more money, wages, business, manufacturing, and farming than they ever expected to earn. The 5,000,000 who are called to active service must give up their business and receive often but a small fraction of what they earned at home. They must sacrifice their business, their hope of wealth, and they must risk their lives. That is their service, their sacrifice. Ours is to remain at home, push our business, make all the money we can, and use our money in buying bonds. Our service tends to make us richer, and as a sacrifice it can not be mentioned in comparison to the sacrifice expected of those 5,000,000 who have gone or are preparing to go to the front. The person able to buy bonds and who refuses to buy in proportion to his ability has no right to call himself an American citizen or to claim that he has or is doing any part in this war. He is a slacker of the grossest kind, and morally, if not legally, a deserter. So much for the purchase of bonds as a patriotic duty.

"Q. Why are these bonds a good investment?—A. For several reasons: First, they pay 4¼ per cent interest—2⅛ per cent every six months. Only a few years ago a 4 per cent investment was looked upon as the standard of safety. North Carolina bonds bearing 4 per cent sold far above par, and United States bonds bearing 4 per cent were not obtainable in the market except at a great premium. Second, these bonds can now be bought with cheap dollars, dollars which have only a fraction of their former purchasing power. They will be repaid in gold or its equivalent, and at a time when the money will probably have three times its present purchasing value. The money in circulation now is honest money, the equivalent of value in gold, but the market in which that money must be spent, if spent now, is a famine market. Good money spent in a famine market brings but small returns. All money spent now brings but a fraction of its normal return; but money earned now and put in Government securities, either bonds or war-savings stamps, will when repaid have at least its normal purchasing value, and probably a good deal more, and until repaid will return 4¼ per cent interest per annum. The stamps earn 4 per cent, compounded quarterly and paid when the stamps mature. The safest way, and one of the few ways, in which the cheap dollars we now have may be transmuted into valuable money is by investing in Government securities. The Government does not ask people to reduce their business or lessen their production by taking money out of their business and putting it in bonds. This would be a mistake. It would do harm rather than good.

"Q. If the Government does not expect people to take their money out of business and lessen production to put in bonds, what kind of money does it expect?—A. It expects us to reduce our manner of living; to cut out all extravagances, all luxuries, all unnecessary expenditures. It expects us to live simply and economically. It expects us to practice economy in food, clothing, service, and all of those countless things which we regard as comforts, refinements, luxuries, but which are not necessary. Almost every family can revise its manner of living so as to preserve health, comfort, and its intellectual life, and yet save a great deal of money out of their normal manner of living. Live simply, and what you save in the difference between simple living and high living put in bonds. Next, there are a great many useful and proper things ordinarily which ought not to be done now. We should avoid all new construction, buildings, and things of that sort. We should avoid purchase of autos, pianos, refitting and furnishing houses, and interior decorations. Money should not be used in these things during the war. Labor should not be employed in them. Carriers should not be expected to transport them. Save the money that you intend to put into these things; put it in bonds. They will draw interest; they will increase in value; and after the war, when labor needs employment, when railroads need freight, and when prices are normal or below, you can get with the money you put in bonds two or three times as much value in buildings, furnishings, etc., as you could get if you spent your money now. Money wisely spent then will benefit the public and the spender.

"Third. All work of every character, and no matter how useful, which can without serious loss be postponed until after the war, should be postponed. One of the serious problems following the war will be to furnish employment to men who are at the front. The difficulty then will not be to find men to do the work but work for the men. Be ready with your money accumulated now, saved in bonds, and ready to be spent in useful and necessary work when you can get the work done for less and when men will be glad to have the jobs. Another class of money that ought to be put in the bonds is the money which people are tempted to invest in wildcat securities. Peddlers go over the land offering neatly printed certificates of stock in oil wells, gold mines, patents, inventions, town lots in distant cities, etc. Avoid all these investments and tell your neighbors to avoid them as they would a pestilence. I have never known any stock or bond sold in this method to result other than in loss to the purchaser. Good stocks are not sold in this way. The fact that it is necessary to employ an agent to go over the country peddling stocks on big commission, frequently 50 per cent, is proof that the stock in such companies is no good. If an agent offers you such stock ask him if he has a license from the insurance commissioner of this State. If his company is organized outside of North Carolina and the agent has no license, he has violated the law and is subject to arrest, and his company is, in all probability, an arrant fraud. If his company be a North Carolina corporation, ask him to allow you time to consult your banker or some friend who has experience. Nine times out of ten the agent will object and seek to hurry you into a purchase. His conduct will be evidence—and almost proof—of the fraudulent character of the stock he is selling. The law in this State requires a person who is selling the stock of a nonresident corporation to take out a license from the insurance commissioner of this State before offering stocks and bonds for sale.

"Unfortunately, however, there is no requirement upon persons peddling stocks of companies organized in this State. I have this year refused to assist in the incorporation of three different companies. It seemed to me these companies were preparing to offer stock of very doubtful or no value to the people of this State, and I was not willing for it to be said that these companies were incorporated in my office. I hope the next general assembly will enact a law forbidding the peddling of the stocks of North Carolina corporations, unless the agent peddling them has taken out a license, and unless the stocks have been examined as to legality and solvency by some department of our State government.

"Q. What will be the financial situation in this country after the war?—A. Probably the first condition will be two or three years of unprecedented activity in business and apparent prosperity. Prices are likely to mount higher even than during the war. Prices of commodities fixed by the Government will have been removed, and the law of supply and demand, supplemented by speculation, will have its effect. We are apt to have a short period of furious prosperity, boom times. These booms will be followed quickly by a long period of readjustment, liquidation, and declining prices in values and in wages. The man who enters this period of liquidation heavily in debt will be in great danger. He must pay the interest and the principal of debt contracted in cheap dollars with dollars constantly rising in value. The weight of debt will continue to increase despite moderate payments of principal and interest. He will find the balance of his

debt, after making payments, harder to pay than the entire principal was when he made the debt. The man who enters this period of liquidation heavily in debt deserves your sympathy. But the man who enters that period out of debt, owning his home if he lives in town, or his farm if he lives in the country, and who has invested a fair amount in liberty bonds, is safe. No debt presses on this man, and while the value measured in dollars of his home and farm will decrease, he has the home and farm and uses them in the same way as he used them when prices were high. He will get the same enjoyment out of his home or farm, whether the price be five or ten thousand dollars. His farm will be as large in acreage, his home will have the same number of rooms, and for all purposes he will use them just as he did when their values represented twice as much. At the high value the dollars represented were cheap dollars. At the low value the dollars represented by the value were high-price dollars; but the thing he owns, home or farm, is the same and his manner of living need not be changed. If he be the owner of liberty bonds, he will find them constantly increasing in value, for they will go above par, as all American bonds have in the past; and the money that they will pay in interest and in principal will be valuable money, for it will not be spent in a famine market. It will be spent in a market where values are normal and possibly below normal, and the returns for those dollars when thus expended will probably be three times what they would be if they were spent now. Happy will be the man in the postwar period who owes no debt, who owns his house or farm, and who has an amount of liberty bonds. His bonds will be safe and they will be subject to no tax.

"Q. After the war how will our taxes be?—A. Inevitably taxes must be higher than before the war. We will probably never go back to the standard of taxation which prevailed in 1913. The United States will at the end of the war owe a huge debt. Every dollar of this debt must be paid from the proceeds of taxation, except the loans which we will have made and shall make to our allies. Deducting the sum of all loans we make to the allies, the bonds that the United States will owe at the end of the war will be so huge that unless you consider the wealth and earning power of the American people the amounts would seem fabulous. But there is not the least doubt of the ability or of the intention of the United States to pay every dollar of these bonds, interest as it shall fall due every six months, and the principal on or before maturity. Every citizen must pay a proportionate part of this indebtedness. He may not pay it in direct tax, but in some way every person must pay his or her share of the cost of this war. A citizen can arrange now so that he will receive of this money as well as pay his part. If you do not buy bonds you may rest assured you will have to help pay them. You can arrange now to be a recipient of money as well as a payer. You can choose whether you will be one of those persons who after the war does the paying and receives nothing or one of those persons who pays his part and receives back the money which he shall put in these investments. This applies to national taxation. That will begin high but will diminish as the bonds are paid, and it may in time approach the tax standards of 1913. But State, county, and municipal taxes must, it appears to me, constantly increase in the future. The Government has practically abolished the manufacture of intoxicating liquors, and in two years the constitutional amendment will have forever removed these things as a subject of taxation, both State and National. I think this is wise. I believe that every dollar collected in the form of taxes from liquor has cost the body politic $5 in efficiency. But the abolition of the whisky traffic will require the Government to adopt some other form of taxation. The Government has temporarily taken over the operation of railroads and other public-service corporations. Many believe that the Government will acquire the ownership of these properties. If so, it is not likely that the Government will allow the State or any department thereof to levy a tax upon them. The Government will need the revenue itself. There is no precedent for taxation by State or any subdivision thereof of Government property. The precedents are the other way. If these properties be withdrawn from the power of State and local taxation a huge deficit will result and taxes must be increased or other subjects of taxation found. Local taxation, especially in cities, is already a grievous burden. How it can be increased is a problem which already cries out for solution. When States, counties, towns, school districts, road districts, etc., lose the tax on whisky and on public-service corporations, and when they hunt for other subjects of taxation to make good the loss, fortunate will be the man who has a considerable investment in liberty bonds. The United States Government promises not to tax these bonds nor to tax their income unless the taxpayer holds more than $30,000 of them. It absolutely forbids States, counties, and subdivisions thereof to levy any tax whatever either upon bonds or interest. In the days that follow the war, when debts press hard and taxes are high, the person who has invested $30,000 in Government bonds will find the bonds rising in value steadily, and he will receive $1,275—one-half every six months—in interest. And no tax collector, whether he be National, State, county, municipal, road, school, or any other, can touch either the $30,000 principal or the annual $1,275 return. Already the absolute tax-exempt feature of the 3½ per cent liberty bonds has caused them to go above par, and the probability of exempting the income on $30,000 of liberty bonds has caused them to rise on the markets. Soon as peace comes the rise in these bonds, in my opinion, will become steady and constant, if not rapid. This is the one security of all in the world which is absolutely safe, principal and interest, and which, up to the amount of $30,000, will be absolutely exempt from all tax, State and local as well as National.

"Q. If the bonds are as good as you say, why must we canvass the State to induce the people to buy? In short, what objections do people raise to the purchase of these bonds?—A. There are several objections. I will mention them seriatim: First, people say they are likely to go below par; that the other three issues, as soon as they were sold, fell below par, and that these would likewise fall. I think this is true. I think the probabilities are that soon after this loan is floated the bonds will drop slightly below par. This is due to the fact that many enthusiastic, patriotic people will subscribe more than they ought to buy. They will sell some of these bonds at a loss, although they have implicit faith in their value. These people will find that they can not take as much out of their business as their enthusiasm prompted them to take. The fact that they fall below par is not an evidence of weakness, but an inevitable result of floating securities by appealing to patriotism and enthusiasm.

"Q. Then, if the bonds are going below par, why is it not proper for a person to buy at 99 or 98 instead of buying at par?—A. The person that does that does not help the Government in floating the loan. He can not buy until after every one of the $6,000,000,000 of bonds has been taken by some one. He is not doing a patriotic act, but rather the contrary. He is shirking his duty and is depending on his more patriotic neighbor to take more than the neighbor ought to take, hoping that when his neighbor feels the burden he will sell his bonds. This man who did not buy when the loan was floated may make a few points commission. The man who does not buy when the loan is floated and who buys afterwards slightly below par has the patriotism of a note shaver or a pawnbroker. He is not a patriot but a skin-flint. He is a slacker of the commonest kind, a moral deserter, a man whose selfishness is overcoming his patriotism. Such a man deserves, and I believe will acquire, the contempt of all who know him. He will be a byword in his community hereafter and a marked man if he should ever ask the suffrages or consideration of his citizens. He will stand but little better than the man who fakes disease to keep out of the Army, or who deserts the Army and lives in the swamp rather than risk his precious hide.

"Another objection is raised by some men in active business. They say that if they buy bonds their capital will be absorbed and they can not do business. This is a mistake. The bonds are capital, and they can be used almost at their face value. They are the best collateral in the world, good for loans in any bank. It is probable that the circulation privilege will be extended directly to these bonds, as it is now indirectly. They are practically money drawing interest as distinguished from money idle. They are good for any kind of security. They will be accepted as security on any note or bond. Many business men, especially men in the tobacco business and farmers, who do not use their money the entire year but only during what is called the busy or crop season, will find in these bonds an ideal investment. They need the money 6 months in the year. If they keep their capital in money it is used 6 months in the year and is idle the balance. If they put their money in bonds it earns interest 12 months in the year. They can take the bonds to a bank and borrow for 6 months. They will pay 3 per cent on the money borrowed and used for 6 months and they will get 4½ per cent for the money on the bonds. Money invested in these bonds can be used almost as well as the money itself. The purchase of these bonds is one instance where a person can 'eat his cake and have it, too.' The patriotic citizen can do his duty by the Government and not lose one single cent, but, on the contrary, actually make by the operation. The possession of no collateral in the world rates a man higher in the bank or business world than the possession of United States bonds. It is proof of the man's character, patriotism, and intelligence. A

man who owns these bonds will stand distinctly higher in the community and in the business world than the man who does not. The sections of the country which have learned to invest in bonds are now the richest. It is a business transaction which we in North Carolina have neglected too long. It is a business transaction that will transform our habits and will make us richer. The sooner we adopt it the better. Now is the time to increase our patriotism and our prosperity.

"Again, people say these bonds are for the banks, corporations, and rich men. This is unfortunate, if true. They ought to be for the people generally, and especially for old people, widows, guardians, trust estates, and all such institutions as lodges, churches, and societies which have money to invest. They are especially good for those persons who are not engaged in active business and who wish to be assured a certain income, safe from the casualties of business and free from taxation. They are particularly good for farmers and workingmen who wish to accumulate capital, but who do not care to run the risk of loss and who do not want to have litigation over any of their property, with the consequent annoyance and expense. These bonds are the solution of their problems. No tax, no risk of loss, no litigation, no trouble. The Government will permit them to be registered at Washington, so that if a bond be burned or stolen the owner loses nothing. The thief gets nothing except a term in the penitentiary. They are a gilt-edge investment, suited to the needs of a large number of the people, and offered to them on easy terms of payment. If we be wise, we will not let this opportunity pass. We will all be bondholders, and in the period after the war we will not speak bitterly of our neighbors who were wise enough to buy bonds and when we see them enjoying the prosperity they have earned call them 'bloated bondholders.' We will be bondholders ourselves.

"Again, some farmers say, 'We will not buy, because the Government is threatening to fix the price of cotton.' This is no reason. The Government may fix the price of cotton at 30 cents a pound and seed at $1 to $1.05 a bushel, so that an acre of land which shall produce a bale of cotton will return to its owner $180 a year. Twenty years ago we were selling this same bale for $25 and the seed for 12½ cents a bushel. This same bale would bring in the fall of 1898, cotton and seed combined, less than $30. If the Government should fix this price at $180, it would not seem to be a hardship. Fixing the price of cotton will stabilize the price. Everybody will get the same. The man who has to sell during the height of the season will get the same as the man who holds. It is probable that the average farmer will get as much for his cotton under price fixing as he would in the open market. Last year my records show that some cotton sold in September brought only 19 cents and some sold later in the year brought 35 cents or more. The average farmer last year probably did not get 25 cents for his cotton. Few obtained above 30 cents; a great many sold under 20 cents. The fluctuations in a war market are very great, and while I have a good deal of cotton to sell and the present price is delightful, I would not consider it either a hardship or an unreasonable thing for the Government to fix the price at around 30 cents. And I believe the average farmer would get about as much if that price were fixed as if he were left to sell in a market controlled by war conditions and subject to violent fluctuations. Besides this, if the price of cotton be fixed by the Government, mills would be able to sell their goods much cheaper than if the price were not fixed. On the first of February last year cotton dropped 12½ cents a pound—5 cents in one day. During this year it has reached 38 cents a pound, and many predicted the possibilities of 50 cents. A mill taking a contract for cloth and having to buy its cotton in the open market must fix the price for cloth in the light of these violent fluctuations. It must buy the cotton on the open market and carry it till it is needed, or it must buy futures, or it must fix the price at which it sells the goods high enough to protect it from all possible rise. But if the mill knew it could buy cotton at 30 cents, it could calculate and sell profitably at a much smaller margin than at present. Speaking, therefore, as a farmer with cotton to sell and who would much rather ordinarily sell in an open free market, I am convinced that no great hardship will result if the Government shall fix the price of cotton at not under 30 cents a pound. It may be that actual good would be done, not only to the people generally who use cotton and who manufacture cotton but to the men who make the cotton. But whether it be a good thing or not, we ought to remember that the price of sugar and the price of wheat have been fixed for more than a year. Had these prices not been fixed, it is probable that sugar would have been almost unobtainable—25 cents or 30 cents a pound at least. Flour would have been probably $30 a barrel.

"These articles would have been subject to the most violent speculation. They would have been hoarded by selfish people and doled out for blood money. The price would have borne no relation to supply and demand. Many would have suffered while a few would grow rich. We have reasonable prices for these articles of food, because the Government fixed prices, and apparently those who grew or manufactured these articles have suffered no great hardship. A reasonable profit has been left him by the Government. The Government fixed the price of cotton seed last year at $1 to $1.05 a bushel, and the price of the products manufactured therefrom—the meal, hull, and linters. I have heard no great complaint, and people have been able to buy hulls and meal for their stock at prices which have borne a fair relation to the price of cotton seed. The Government furnished a large quantity of nitrate of soda to farmers at cost plus the freight when it needed every pound for munitions. If the Government should decide to fix the price of cotton, we may be sure it will fix it at a price that will leave a profit, and we may also be sure that the Government has taken action only after careful consideration and with a view to doing justice to all sections. The farmers of the South should remember that their product has not been taxed as it was during the Civil War, and its price has not been fixed until long after the prices of sugar and wheat had been fixed. We ought to be just and patriotic enough to consent that the Government shall treat us as it has treated other sections, and we ought not to grumble or forget that we have enjoyed the benefits of price fixing long before we were called upon to suffer any of the inconveniences.

"Q. The Government is offering two kinds of securities, bonds and war-savings stamps. Which is the better?—A. There is no conflict between the bonds and stamps, and the campaign for their sale can be carried on simultaneously. In fact they are the complements of each other. The bonds are intended to furnish a vehicle of investment for money already earned or in sight. The stamps are the vehicle of investment for money which has not already been earned or is in sight, but which must hereafter be earned by industry and saved by economy. I have described the character of money which the Government thinks ought to be put in bonds. The money which ought to be put in stamps is the money which is earned for work, and which will be spent unnecessarily unless the person who earns it has a place to put every single 25-cent piece which he can avoid spending. The rationale of the war-savings stamps is this: The Government asks every person in North Carolina and elsewhere to save during the year 1918 out of his or her earnings $16.75; to lend this money to the Government, and the Government will on January 1, 1923, pay for every $16.75 $20 in good money. This money can then be spent or it can be put in bonds. It will then be accumulated capital. The person who has saved it during the period of cheap money will have the privilege of using it in any way he sees fit, or if he wishes it to become a permanent investment he can buy bonds.

"Q. What will be the effect of the success or comparative failure of this loan?—A. In the first place, the loan will not be a failure. The American people will take it all—every dollar. The only question is whether North Carolina will secure its share, or whether it will let other sections take their share and a part of ours. But the loan will have its effect on the war in comparison as it is taken enthusiastically or grudgingly. If it be taken grudgingly, barely put over, enemy countries will believe the American people are getting tired and they will soon call for a peace by negotiation. They will be encouraged to fight on, hoping that the end may come before they are defeated. If the loan be barely a success, its effect will be to encourage the enemy and to lengthen the war and to cause a greater mortality of American soldiers, as well as increased cost to the American people. On the other hand, if the loan be enthusiastically and willingly taken our enemies will see that the Americans at home are as earnest as our soldiers at the front. They will see that we have just begun, and that we are ready to go to any length.

success her doom; and Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey may one or all decide to quit. If this loan be a huge success, it will reduce the cost of the war greatly, and it will save the lives of

"If the loan be a great success, Germany will read in that thousands of American soldiers. If we wish peace to come quickly, if we wish to stop taxation, if we wish to stop war taxes, if we wish trade to again become free and normal, if we wish to save the lives of our soldiers, if we wish war inconveniences to pass away, if we wish to make our future safe and to get a part of the best investment the world ever saw, we will not fail to take our part, small as our allotment is, and thus do our part.

"Q. How shall we conduct the loan campaign in view of the elections to be held in November—A. I see no embarrassment from this source, but rather a source of strength. Neither party should endeavor to make political capital out of this loan; and I do not believe either party will. I see nothing in this war to change one's political opinions; both parties are loyally supporting the war. As a Democrat, I expect to so continue. Were I a Republican, I would not change my politics because of anything which has developed during this war. Apparently the war is having no effect upon the political status of the country. In New York there were vacancies this spring in four congressional districts—all held by Democrats. The Republicans expected to make gains and probably carry one of the districts. When the election came the Democrats carried all four districts by increased majorities. Last week in Maine there were likewise four districts voting for Congressmen—all held by Republicans. The Democrats were confident of making gains and of electing at least one Congressman, Mr. McGillicuddy. But when the votes were counted it was seen that the Republicans had elected all four Congressmen by increased majorities. Apparently no State is changing its political status because of the war. Republican States and Republicans in Congress are supporting the Government just as valiantly as Democrats. Soon after the war began and conscription was proposed, the Democratic chairman of the Military Committee of the House found he could not conscientiously support the bill, whereupon the President sent for a Republican from California, Mr. KAHN. He took charge of the bill, conducted it through the House, and as large a proportion of the Republicans voted for conscription as did Democrats. Recently when the proposition to reduce the age for military service from 21 to 18 came up a number of Democrats prominent in Congress opposed the bill, but again Mr. KAHN and a number of other Republicans took charge and put the bill through. It is true that when the subject of tariff arises Republicans have a roll call, to go on record and show in the future that they favored raising a larger proportion of revenue from tariff than by direct taxation. But they offer no factious opposition and cause no delay. They assist in perfecting the legislation and merely make a record to preserve their party traditions before the final passage of the bill. You will find the great Republican States of Indiana, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, with hardly an important chairmanship in the House of Representatives, supporting the war just as steadily as our own State, which possesses two important chairmanships in the Senate, four of the most important in the House, and other chairmanships of high rank. This is the more remarkable because in the House of Representatives there are practically as many Republicans as there are Democrats. The Independents, Socialists, Progressives, and so forth, hold the balance of power—neither Democrats nor Republicans have a majority. It would be highly unpatriotic if Republicans were to endeavor to magnify and capitalize those mistakes which inevitably must be made when a peaceful country enters the greatest of all wars.

"Mistakes were necessary; we have made them. All countries make mistakes in war. Our allies have made mistakes. They have made grievous blunders; and we with 50 years of profound peace, except a little trouble with Spain—which was like a police raid—could not avoid mistakes. We have made no such mistakes from a military standpoint as the great war machine of Germany made when it attacked Belgium. Had the supermen of Germany not made the colossal mistake of attacking Belgium they would probably have won the war within six months. The man or party, therefore, that would magnify the mistakes which were inevitable is doing an unpatriotic act, and is giving aid and encouragement to the enemy. I do not believe Republicans of North Carolina will do this. They certainly have not so far. We Democrats should not, in our work endeavoring to float the liberty loan, claim all or an undue proportion of patriotism. Such a claim would be false in fact and unpatriotic in purpose. We are doing our part; the Republicans are likewise doing theirs. If anyone doubt what the Republican States are doing, let him study Pennsylvania. Let him see what this great State has done in the way of furnishing the materials of war and soldiers. Let him see what it has done in buying bonds, as well as doing everything else from the manufacture of the hughest cannon to generating gases with which to pay our debt to Germany. After seeing what this State has done and is doing, let us remember that this State has not voted for a Democratic President since 1856. She has about one-fifteenth of the population of the Union; but her National Guard was in such fine condition that when the war broke out it was sent almost bodily over, and until the middle of August Pennsylvania seemed from the reports in the Official Bulletin to be furnishing much more than 15 per cent of the casualties. The price was fixed last year on all wheat grown and sugar refined in Pennsylvania. But that has not chilled the people's patriotism. The people of America, especially the Democrats, should take off their hats to Pennsylvania as a recognition of what the Keystone Commonwealth has done in supporting the administration. There should be no class in this drive; and I would like to see in every county and district and State the candidates of the respective parties speak for the loan from the same platform. I would like to see our candidates for the Senate, Messrs. SIMMONS and Morehead, speak from the same platform, and urge the people of North Carolina, irrespective of party, to take the modest proportion assigned to us. In every congressional district I would like to see the candidates likewise in friendly rivalry work for the loan. In our county I would like to see Messrs. Beddingfield and Hester, candidates for the Senate, as well as candidates for all other offices, from the same stand, announce their subscriptions to the loan and to call upon the people to take their part.

"Q. Will every county get credit for the bonds it takes?—A. Yes. Records are kept and the amount of bonds taken by each county is made a perpetual memorial; and the Government keeps a list of the individual purchasers of the bonds. Not only will every county get credit for what it buys and this will be published, but the number of people in that county who buy will be kept and published. This has already been done. I hold in my hand the printed record showing what the counties in this State did in the former loans. Some counties did splendidly; some failed almost entirely. The loan itself would have been a failure in North Carolina had it not been that the banks and corporations took all the people did not take. The people were asleep, and the success of the former loans was solely due to the fact that the banks and corporations took their share, and all the share that the people did not take. You will be surprised how few people in some counties participated in this work, and how many shirked their duty. Here is the list. I am willing to read what some counties did; but I don't want to be unpleasant and I would rather not call the names of the counties. Here is a county where only one person in 500 population subscribed for anything. Here is another where instead of taking their part, which would have been $7.50, the people of the county bought to the amount of only 13 cents per capita. If the people wish to know how any county acted, they have only to write to Mr. J. G. Brown, Raleigh, N. C., and the record of that county will be shown. Not only will these records be kept but the name of every person who subscribes and the amount of the subscription will be kept at Washington. Probably after the war a list of all who shall have subscribed in any manner to bonds or war-savings stamps will be printed in book form. It will be a perpetual roll of honor. Those whose names are in that book for a proper amount will have the respect and consideration due them. Those who do not so appear will have missed an opportunity to serve the Government easily and profitably; and their failure in this respect will be made a perpetual memorial, of which their children and grandchildren will be ashamed."

FOURTH LIBERTY LOAN.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I am in receipt of a telegram from one of the great industrial cities of the United States, indicating the alacrity and the liberality with which the fourth liberty loan has been subscribed by the workers of that city. I think it of such interest that it might properly be read from the desk. I ask that it may be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the telegram will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

GREAT FALLS, MONT., *September 28, 1918.*

Hon. T. J. WALSH,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

In answer to the Huns and autocracy, the citizenship of this city marched in orderly procession to the Rainbow Hotel to-day at 11 o'clock, and within exactly 30 minutes subscribed for $1,280,000 fourth liberty-loan bonds. This does not include subscription of A. C. M. Co. or Montana Power Co. Every single employee on pay roll of B. & M. smelter here, numbering over 1,900, subscribed for at least one bond, the total subscriptions from that source alone being over $190,000.

JOHN E. DAWSON.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

H. R. 12776. An act to provide further for the national security and defense and for the more effective prosecution of the war by furnishing means for the better utilization of the existing sources of electrical and mechanical power and for the development of new sources of such power, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Morning business is closed.

EXCLUSION OF ANARCHISTS.

Mr. HARDWICK. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 12402) to exclude and expel from the United States aliens who are members of the anarchistic and similar classes.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. HARDWICK. I do.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I desire to inquire of the Senator from Georgia if the matter which he proposes will require any great length of time?

Mr. HARDWICK. I do not think it will take any time at all. The bill is of such a character that I do not think anyone is opposed to it.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I want to make a motion, of which I gave notice the other day.

Mr. HARDWICK. The consideration of this bill will not interfere with that at all. The Senator will have ample opportunity to make his motion.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Very well.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill named by the Senator from Georgia?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12402) to exclude and expel from the United States aliens who are members of the anarchistic and similar classes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill has heretofore been read.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, on Tuesday I gave notice that I would move to reconsider the action which the Senate took upon House joint resolution No. 200, known as the woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution. I now make that motion; but I should like to make a parliamentary inquiry, if I may, as to whether or not the action upon such a motion will be determined by a majority vote?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is of the opinion that the rule plainly provides that a majority is all that is needed to reconsider.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Then, Mr. President, I ask that the motion which I have just made may be voted upon. I presume there will be no objection to it. There has been some suggestion that the notice which I gave the other day rather foreclosed any action of the kind, but I am sure it was understood that the notice which was in contemplation of being given to Senators was in connection with the vote upon the passage of the resolution itself. There is no intention to bring the resolution itself to the further attention of the Senate at this time.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. President, did I understand there was a ruling by the Chair that a majority vote could reconsider the vote on the suffrage amendment?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator did.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Well, Mr. President, may I ask, is that based on an express rule of the Senate?

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is based on the rule of the Senate. A motion to reconsider is a mere subsidiary motion, which does not go to the main question at all, and there is a plain rule of the Senate reading as follows:

When a question has been decided by the Senate, any Senator voting with the prevailing side may, on the same day or on either of the next two days of actual session thereafter, move a reconsideration—

Omitting the next clause—

Every motion to reconsider shall be decided by a majority vote, and may be laid on the table without affecting the question in reference to which the same is made.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. President, before the Senator from New Mexico proceeds further, I should like to say a few words on the question of the motion to reconsider. If the Senator from New Mexico desires to keep the floor, I will wait until he is through.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I am perfectly willing to yield, and will be glad to hear the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. President, I have no criticism whatever of the Chair's ruling, because the ruling of the Chair seems to be absolutely within the terms of the express rule of the Senate, but what I desire to say at this time is that I think it is an unfortunate rule and an unfortunate condition. The purpose of legislative rules is to dispose of the business of the legislative body. The object of a motion to reconsider is manifestly to give an opportunity, where there is a change in the mind of the legislative body, to allow a resolution or bill that has been disposed of to be reconsidered because the attitude of the body itself has changed. It seems to me that the rules of the Senate were evidently written without having in mind a measure the adoption or rejection of which requires a two-thirds vote. The woman suffrage joint resolution might have been defeated by 10 or 12 votes and yet command a majority in the Senate Chamber, and if a mere majority vote can reconsider the action of the body, a resolution of this nature might be kept before the Senate interminably, there being no final conclusion to it.

The possibility of a motion to reconsider in this case arose not from a real change of the conclusion of this body, but because the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES] reversed his vote after the decision had been reached. I am not critical; I do not say this in the way of criticism of the Senator from New Mexico, because that is a common procedure; it is a procedure that has often been resorted to in legislative bodies; but I point it out as showing that, if we proceed along lines of this kind, any question that requires a two-thirds vote and yet has a majority behind it can never be finally disposed of by the legislative body.

We seem to be in the unfortunate condition that we have reached that point in the consideration of this matter. I think it is most unfortunate. If it were an ordinary question, it might not be of serious moment, but there are men in this Chamber on one side who feel that the woman-suffrage amendment is vital to certain people who are in favor of it, and there are men on the other side of the question who feel that the passage of the resolution will violate the very fundamental principles of government, and that the very life of the States which they represent may be at stake if the resolution ultimately becomes a law.

The joint resolution has been pending before the Senate for a year. It has been brought to the front more than once for the consideration of this body. It has interfered, and seriously interfered, with the consideration of the great war bills that are necessary to the successful prosecution of the war. I do not mean that it has merely interfered with them by reason of the fact that it has occupied a certain amount of time before the Senate, because I do not claim that it has occupied an undue length of time, considering the magnitude and importance of the questions involved; but I say that, with this resolution pending before the Senate, it took Senators away from the important business of the session; it withdrew their attention from the great war bills that are necessary to carry on this Government.

Men feeling as I do about this matter feel that it is just as serious a problem that confronts them to have the individuality and the sovereignty of their States attacked as it is to face the Hun on the battlefields of Europe. It was a question that necessarily had to be fought out. No man can criticize the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES] as to his earnestness or his diligence in trying to bring this measure to a successful conclusion. He reached the battle line more than once; and when he found that he was not strong enough to succeed he withdrew. He has fairly tested his strength in this legislative body; and although we may be unable to prevent the consideration of this measure again, I want to say to the Senator from New Mexico and to those whom he leads in this fight that I am thoroughly convinced in my mind, and I believe the country is, that the men who oppose this joint resolution oppose it from patriotic motives, from a high sense of moral duty to the constituency they represent. Although the Senator may say that we are mistaken in our position, he can not deny the earnestness of the position we take or that we take it from a high sense of patriotic duty to our constituencies.

With that in view, I think it is most unfortunate that the Senator should again threaten the legislation of this session by bringing this disturbing question before us, when there is no indication whatever that a single man in the body who voted against the joint resolution will now or hereafter change his mind on the subject.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, the Senator from Alabama is quite right in assuming that we recognize the earnestness and sincerity of those who have opposed the passage of this joint resolution, but upon the question of procedure I do not believe there can be merit in the position suggested by the Senator. The Chair has ruled that a majority has the right to reconsider the vote. It is a rule adopted by the Senate clearly and in explicit language. While there seems to be no precedent of the Senate itself on the question, there are a number of precedents, as I understand, in the House of Representatives. Moreover, upon the right and justice of the matter, is it not wise that a majority of the Senate should be able to control the procedure of the Senate?

It is true that the Constitution requires that before an amendment to the Constitution may be submitted there shall be a two-thirds vote in favor of it; but do we want to assert that

the majority of the Senate shall not have a right to control the procedure of the Senate? Under the ruling of the Chair it seems to me that the motion to reconsider ought to be carried, but I will state now that it is not the intention to bring the original joint resolution to a vote without ample notice to all Senators.

The suggestion has been made that on Tuesday I stated that no vote would be taken upon the motion to reconsider. That language—not just as stated, however—was used by me, but in connection with other language that I think clearly indicated that there would be no vote upon the joint resolution without ample notice. If this motion required a two-thirds vote for its adoption, I would not ask the Senate to act upon it now, but I think it is generally assumed that a majority can always be assembled to support the motion to reconsider. It is because no advantage can be taken of anyone that I ask that the motion to reconsider may be carried, so that the original joint resolution as it came from the House may go to the calendar, to be taken up at some future time, should it appear that there is an opportunity to pass it, and after giving ample notice to all the Senators.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I can not deny the correctness of the ruling of the Chair, as it seems to be based upon very clear English as expressed in Rule XIII of the Senate. It may be a violent assumption on my part, but nevertheless I am inclined to assume that the authors of this rule when it was written did not have in mind a measure of this sort, which, under the Constitution of the United States, requires a two-thirds majority.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator to ask a question?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield for a question; yes.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I should like to ask the Senator to consider of what avail a contrary decision of the Chair would be. We all know that a mere majority may control the decisions of the Chair; and if the Chair should render a decision which did not meet the views of the majority, the views of the majority would prevail. So in any event, regardless of the construction of the Senator from New York, realizing that the plain language of the rule states that a majority is all that is necessary upon a question of mere construction and of doubtful construction, where the Chair has decided in favor of the plain language of the rule it seems to me a contrary decision would not operate practically to prevent the majority of the Senate from controlling the procedure.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair hopes there are some Senators who will not imagine that the Chair is ruling because he is afraid of the Senate.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The Senator from New York was about to observe that the interruption of the Senator from New Mexico seemed to be based upon grounds of expediency in which the Chair had an interest. I am not approaching the subject from that standpoint.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. No, Mr. President; I simply suggested that as an additional thought; that is all. I did not mean to reflect upon the ruling of the Chair, either now or at any other time. I merely suggested that thought to the consideration of the Senator.

Mr. WADSWORTH. My purpose was to discuss the merits of this rule and to expose, if I could, its inconsistencies. I may be utterly mistaken, but it has always been my experience, in what experience I have had in legislative bodies, that a motion to reconsider, to be successful, must command a number of votes equal to those necessary for the passage of the measure itself.

I can not agree with the definition given by the Chair, to the effect that a motion to reconsider is merely a subsidiary motion, and therefore, I assume, he means comparatively unimportant. As I look upon it, a motion to reconsider involves upon the part of the legislative body a complete retracing of its steps in so far as the passage or defeat of the measure is concerned. It is offered, as I understand, to give an opportunity to the legislative body to correct grievous errors, or to change its mind and give expression thereto.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New York hold that, if reconsidered, the joint resolution immediately is adopted?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Not at all; but it gives an opportunity for the passage of the measure thereafter, consequent upon the correction of some grievous error, or a change of mind and conviction on the part of the body having it under consideration.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Is it not true that if the motion to reconsider should prevail, the whole matter would be left just where it was when the committee reported it, and the previous action of the Senate would go for nothing?

Mr. WADSWORTH. It would. It would be a complete retracing of steps in that respect. If I understand the effect of a successful motion to reconsider, the whole question is opened up anew. The measure may be subject to amendment.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield.

Mr. ROBINSON. Is not that the result of the adoption of a motion to reconsider any measure? When a measure is reconsidered, the whole subject is open for consideration and discussion, just the same as it will be in this case.

Mr. WADSWORTH. That is true.

Mr. ROBINSON. A reconsideration of this joint resolution will not be different from a reconsideration of any other resolution or bill that the Senate may have passed or defeated.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Of course, the adoption of a motion to reconsider in the case of any measure leaves that measure open to treatment de novo, as it were; but in the event that a measure requires for its passage a two-thirds vote it should not be reopened for consideration after it is once defeated, except by a two-thirds vote.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I do.

Mr. VARDAMAN. May I ask the Senator if that has not been the rule of this body for a long time?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I can not say to the Senator from Mississippi how long this rule has been in existence. I do not deny the existence of the rule as printed in the book of rules of the Senate, but I do contend that it is inconsistent with approved parliamentary practice and procedure. I have always believed that a two-thirds vote, when required for the passage of a measure, involves a two-thirds vote for the reconsideration of the failure of the passage of that measure.

Mr. VARDAMAN. The Senator admits that it is the rule now?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I admit that it is the rule now.

Mr. VARDAMAN. What the Senator is proceeding to do is to point out a defect in the rules?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes; in part.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I have not had time to examine these questions at all, but I was impressed with what seemed to me to be the absurdity of allowing a mere majority vote of the Senate to remedy the defect in a situation which required a two-thirds vote when it was not possible to secure two-thirds. I wanted to ask the Senator from New York whether in his investigation he has come across any case or any precedent where there has been a motion to reconsider a vote which has been lost, when the carrying of that vote required a two-thirds vote of the Senate? Has any motion ever been made to reconsider a question which required a two-thirds vote for its passage when that vote had been had and lost?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I know of no such incident. It may be that some have occurred, but I know of no such incident. I am inclined to believe that it has been the thought in the minds of most people that such incidents would have aspects of inconsistency, approaching even absurdity, and therefore that they are not often attempted.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I wanted to make this suggestion to the Senator, if I can do so without interrupting the continuity of his argument: If action requiring a two-thirds vote of the Senate, when that two-thirds is lacking, can be reconsidered by a mere majority of the Senate, then where the question is, say, upon the suspension of a rule, which requires a two-thirds majority, if they fail to produce the two-thirds majority a Member can change his vote and move to reconsider that action by a majority; and then, if they fail again, another Member can change his vote and move to reconsider by a majority, and so on right around a vicious circle, and no judgment ever can be come to upon the question before the Senate. It can be done over and over again.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, that thought has been in my mind and the Senator from Connecticut has expressed it so much better than I could that I shall not endeavor to enlarge upon it. I do think there is an aspect of inconsistency in this situation, and it was to call attention to that which, in my judgment, was inconsistent that I asked the floor.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I desire to ask a question regarding the parliamentary status for information. I understand a motion to reconsider was made and the Chair ruled

that it was in order under an express rule of the Senate. Has there been any appeal from that ruling?

The VICE PRESIDENT. There has not been.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, before the vote is taken I think it not improper to say that, in my judgment, there is no question whatever about the ruling of the Chair, and that all of the precedents sustain the decision which the Chair has made. The limited research I have had an opportunity of making convinces me that there is absolutely no authority to the contrary; and in support of the ruling of the Chair I cite volume 2 of Hinds' Parliamentary Precedents, section 1656, and volume 5, sections 5617 and 5618.

Of course the opponents of any proposition do not favor any step which is calculated to promote that proposition; and I am not surprised that the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] and the Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] should oppose the motion to reconsider, because their attitude upon this subject is just as well defined as that of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES]. Under the parliamentary precedents, however, the motion to reconsider is a means by which a measure which has been lost may be again voted upon; and it is respectfully suggested that, considering the importance of this measure and the narrowness by which it was defeated and the changes that come in the minds of Senators and in the constituency of this body, it is a proper proceeding to give an opportunity to do what we so narrowly failed to do. Every proceeding that may be taken in connection with a constitutional amendment, as has been suggested to me by the Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST], may be accomplished by a majority vote except the passage of the joint resolution.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I wish only a moment, in order to observe that, as has been stated by the Senator from Arkansas, who is a skilled parliamentarian, all proceedings with reference to a constitutional amendment, except the mere vote on the joint resolution, require but a bare majority.

Assume, now, that when this joint resolution is pending here there should be proposed to it an amendment of the most vital character, running to the very roots of the joint resolution. That amendment could be, and would be, carried by a majority vote. Moreover, if there should be a tie, under the Constitution the Vice President would have the authority to break that tie. We all recall, though I was not here at the time, that upon the proposed constitutional amendment looking toward the election of United States Senators by the people three ties occurred within one-half hour on an amendment proposed to that joint resolution; and the beloved and lamented Vice President, Mr. Sherman, cast, and properly cast, the deciding vote on those three ties within that half hour, notwithstanding arguments were made against his right to cast that vote. But the question is parliamentarily settled in my mind that a mere majority may adopt or reject any amendment to the joint resolution; that the Vice President has the right to cast a vote in the event of a tie on an amendment; and the only proceeding where a two-thirds majority of the Senate is required is on the passage of the joint resolution itself.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, of course there can be no question about the rule of the Senate. I do not agree with my friend the Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] that that is merely a technical prohibition. I have not had time to look at the textbooks with regard to it; I know the House precedents are in favor of the majority rule, but on general principles it seems to me it is clear that it can be carried by a majority. I think the term used by the Chair, "subsidiary motion," was correct. Every motion is subsidiary to the decisive motion which decides the fate of the bill or amendment. There is no question that a majority can postpone to a day certain, postpone indefinitely, lay upon the table, amend, substitute. They can do all those things.

There is, to my mind, no question upon the matter of the law, as I understand it, that the majority can also reconsider. I see no escape from it as a logical position on the general principles of parliamentary law.

Does anyone question that if a motion to lay the motion to reconsider on the table prevailed by a majority it would go to the table? If you can kill it by a majority, you can pass it by a majority. Of course, it leaves the whole subject open. It does not by any means go back; it does not retrace all our steps, because that would carry it back to its introduction and its reference. It undoes the vote by which it was defeated, and leaves it in precisely the same position it was before it was defeated, just as if the motion were reversed on an ordinary bill. The bill had been lost. The motion to reconsider the vote brings the bill again before the Senate and then the bill passes. It is the opportunity given by the motion to reconsider to change the action of the Senate on the one single decisive vote.

Although I have not had time to search the textbooks, it is very clear in my own mind that the whole philosophy of the situation demands that a majority should take this action. I see no particular object in doing it, but the merits of the question have nothing whatever to do with it.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, the position taken by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BRANDEGEE], it seems to me, meets with an answer in the statement that no matter how many times a motion to reconsider is made by a majority vote when it comes to the passage of the measure and fails of the two-thirds by not getting a two-thirds majority there is no harm done in the matter. The rights of the parties are not changed; the resolution is not passed. Consequently it seems to me it is a wise rule as to the procedure of the Senate.

Mr. LODGE. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield.

Mr. LODGE. I was only going to say that a two-thirds vote is required by the Constitution.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Certainly.

Mr. LODGE. It must be passed by the Houses and it must be a record vote. If, for instance, the House chose to amend it, it could amend it, and the Senate could accept the amendment by a majority, and put the measure in a new form, but there must be a two-thirds vote on the final passage.

Mr. SHAFROTH. That was the position raised by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] the other day, that the amendment had to be passed by a two-thirds vote, but if the Senate chose to amend the joint resolution the amendment can be passed by a majority vote, and the two-thirds vote is only necessary upon the final passage of the constitutional amendment.

But, Mr. President, all this is a question of policy as to the procedure of the Senate. Those arguments were very proper to be made in determining what kind of a rule should be made, but I can not see how it can be the subject of question here when the very rule which we adopted, and thought was a wise rule to adopt, provides that every motion to reconsider shall be decided by a majority vote.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Nobody is disputing it.

Mr. TOWNSEND. No; let us vote.

Mr. SHAFROTH. That is all I insist on.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I recorded my vote against this proposed amendment at the time it was before the Senate, but did not occupy the floor to discuss it. I am intensely against it. I believe that the debate upon the subject weakened rather than strengthened the amendment. I regret exceedingly that a motion to reconsider is to be made, because I think the agitation of this question and the time consumed with it both in the Senate, in the House, and in the States should not take place when we are in the discharge of a much higher duty, our duty to prepare for the struggle in which we are engaged to defeat the enemy of this country and the enemy of government by the people throughout the world. But, Mr. President, at this time it is hardly worth while to enter into discussion. The decision of the Chair so clearly follows the rule, the rule so clearly controlled the decision of the Chair, that however illogical the rule might be, that was a question for consideration when the rule was adopted.

I can see no possible way by which the Chair could hold a rule expressly declaring that a motion to reconsider may be passed by a majority vote meant it could only be passed by a two-thirds vote. Language could not have been made clearer than that of this rule.

Mr. President, I am earnestly against putting the burden proposed by this resolution upon the good women of this country. I have no doubt that the majority of the best women of my State are themselves strongly opposed to it. I ask to have read a telegram that I received from New Jersey. I ask it while I am on my feet because if the request is not granted I shall read it myself. I send it to the desk, and ask that it be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

SUMMIT, N. J., *October 2, 1918.*

Hon. HOKE SMITH,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

In the name of New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, I congratulate you and commend your courage and steadfast adherence to conviction. The war will be over without sacrificing the ideals and principles of the Constitution, to the lasting glory of the men who have held honor above politics.

Mrs. CARROLL P. BASSETT, *President.*

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I desire thus publicly to acknowledge the receipt of that telegram and to thank the sender.

I hold in my hand an editorial which appeared on yesterday in the New York Journal of Commerce. I regard it as an excellent discussion of this subject. It is a presentation of the real spirit of the Constitution with reference to the right of the

people of each State to control suffrage in their respective States. I ask that it be read from the Secretary's desk, and with that I shall take up no further time, but I shall hope when this subject comes up at a future day to present much more elaborately my objections.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

IS SUFFRAGE A WAR QUESTION?

The main point in President Wilson's appeal to the Senate to join with the House in proposing to the States the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting equal suffrage to women was that it is "vitally essential to the success of the great war of humanity in which we are engaged." He seemed to assume that there could be no two opinions about that. There certainly are two opinions among American women themselves, and those opposed to it are no less loyal and no less devoted to the cause of winning the war than the others. It is not complimentary to them, it is not just to them to assume otherwise. They are not the ones who ever imply that they would be more devoted if they had the vote or that any of them will be less so if it is not granted to all. The suffrage question has been thrust in at this time for the purpose of using this argument, which, if valid, would not be creditable to American women. They are making sacrifices and giving loyal support to the cause at stake in every way they can without distinction of party on this question or any other, and that is the thing that ought to be recognized and heartily credited to them.

Reference to what other nations or governments are doing about it is not pertinent. This Nation is a democratic union of States independent in their local affairs and united in the direction of affairs that concern the Union as a whole as a Nation in relation with other nations of the world. Popular opinion is supposed to control public action, and the closer it comes to the things to be done the more effective it will be in the support of governmental conduct and the stronger will be the force of the Nation as a nation. It is a fundamental principle that those things which closely concern the people in their daily life and their local rights and interests shall be under their control in the several States. Woman suffrage has been adopted in some States and may be in others, ultimately in all of them, when they are ready for it; certainly when a majority of their people desire it. That is likely to be whenever a majority of the women desire it in their own States, for they can make their influence felt. They might even be consulted in advance by a vote on the question, as has been done in certain cases. What is objectionable is that one State should impose it upon another, or any number of States should impose it upon all others against the will of their own people. That is distinctly inconsistent with democratic doctrine, especially as it is applied in this Union of States.

We do not believe that the agitation which has been worked up and carried into Congress is helping in the war, but rather the contrary. Congress can not grant the right of suffrage. It can only propose to the States an amendment to the Federal Constitution, which three-fourths of them—while all are free to adopt it for themselves—might impose upon the rest, however much any of these might object. In no case would this extend the right to vote beyond the present limit before this war is over, unless it is to last for years instead of months, which we do not believe. The proposed amendment would have to be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States or by conventions in three-fourths of them, whichever method Congress might propose. This would keep up the agitation in the States where woman suffrage is not already in effect long after Congress had got rid of the subject by sending it to them. That would not help in the support of the war or tend to bring the people closer together in that support, but rather divert their attention from that task, if not weaken their support of the administration that had insisted upon having it thrust upon them.

People have a right to regard equal suffrage for men and women in these States as a sacred cause, but it is one that has arisen after its Government has been in operation in States and the union of States more than a century. It is not an emergency case springing up in time of war, but it needs to be calmly considered on its merits and with reference to its practical effect in time of peace. As there is no chance of getting it into effect before the war is over, it is far better to wait until that time before it is agitated as a national matter. It is in reality a State matter, and when that time comes it ought still to be considered as such and treated as such, each State deciding the matter for itself. It is to be feared that the President will weaken his present support instead of strengthening it by insisting upon action by Congress now. As he says, it is not a party question, but it is a question upon which there is a wide division of sentiment.

Mr. LODGE. In this connection I ask to have the little extract from a newspaper which I send to the desk read. It records an interesting and melancholy fact.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

JERSEY SUFFRAGISTS LOSE—DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION REJECTS PROPOSED PLANK IN STATE PLATFORM.

TRENTON, N. J., *October 1.*

An attempt to insert a plank indorsing woman suffrage in the platform of the Democratic Party of New Jersey failed to-day after a stormy session of the State convention called to adopt a declaration of principles for the coming campaign. The plank was opposed by James R. Nugent, former State chairman, who offered a substitute leaving the suffrage question to the voters of municipalities to determine.

Mr. ROBINSON. Will the Senator be kind enough to inform us what action has been taken by the Republican State convention in New Jersey?

Mr. LODGE. They adopted a suffrage plank.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion to reconsider the vote by which the Senate failed to pass House joint resolution No. 200.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hardwick	Martin, Va.	Simmons
Bankhead	Henderson	Myers	Smith, Ariz.
Beckham	Johnson, S. Dak.	Nelson	Smith, Ga.
Benet	Jones, N. Mex.	New	Smoot
Brandegee	Jones, Wash.	Norris	Sutherland
Calder	Kellogg	Nugent	Thomas
Chamberlain	Kendrick	Overman	Townsend
Culberson	Kenyon	Owen	Trammell
Cummins	Kirby	Page	Underwood
Curtis	Knox	Penrose	Vardaman
Dillingham	La Follette	Phelan	Wadsworth
Fletcher	Lenroot	Poindexter	Walsh
Gerry	Lodge	Robinson	Warren
Gore	McKellar	Saulsbury	Wilfley
Gronna	McLean	Shafroth	Williams
Guion	McNary	Sheppard	
Hale	Martin, Ky.	Shields	

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. OVERMAN in the chair). Sixty-six Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present. The question is on the motion to reconsider the vote on the rejection of House joint resolution 200, the title of which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A joint resolution (H. J. Res. 200) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion to reconsider the vote whereby the joint resolution failed to receive the two-thirds vote necessary for its passage.

The motion was agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY—BUSINESS OF THE SENATE.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that when the Senate adjourns to-day, it stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian on Monday next.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, does not the Senator from Virginia think he had better withhold that motion until we see whether or not some of the important matters that are to come up are disposed of to-day?

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. There is a very general desire among Senators to know whether or not the sessions will be continued, in order that they may make arrangements accordingly.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I should myself like to know that.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I do not think there are any important matters which will not be disposed of to-day.

Mr. JONES of Washington. My doubt as to whether or not they would be so disposed of was the reason for asking the question.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, the Federal Trade Commission in its report to the President——

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. The Chair has not yet put the question on my motion.

Mr. SMOOT. I thought that it had been declared carried.

Mr. KENYON. There was no opportunity to vote against the motion, and some of us desire to vote against it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa state that certain Senators desire to vote against the motion of the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. KENYON. Yes; to vote against the motion of the Senator from Virginia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair has not yet put the question on the motion.

Mr. GORE. I was trying to get the attention of the Chair as soon as the announcement was made, but I do not think the question was put.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question on the motion of the Senator from New Mexico was put.

Mr. GORE. The question on the motion relative to the joint resolution was put, but I referred to the motion of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] to adjourn over until Monday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair can entertain that motion; but what does the Senate propose to do with the joint resolution the vote with reference to which has been reconsidered?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I ask that the joint resolution may go to the calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, that course will be taken.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President, I merely want to ask the Senator from Virginia to withhold his motion until we may get some statement of the Senator's view as to the future disposition of the Senate as to the transaction of business at this session.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. My motion is that when the Senate adjourns to-day it stand adjourned until Monday next at 12 o'clock meridian. Has that motion been carried?

Mr. HARDWICK. Not yet.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion has not yet been put. Several Senators have asked the Senator from Virginia to withhold the motion.

Mr. HARDWICK. I will say to the Senator from Virginia that a great many Senators want to leave town at an early date, and they would like to know what they are to expect in the way of future attendance. So if the Senator from Virginia can make any statement along that line personally I should appreciate it very much.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, while it is not exactly in order, I am very willing to express my personal opinion as to the probable conduct of the business in the Senate.

I am advised by the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations in the other House that the big Army deficiency bill, which is now under consideration, he thinks will be reported to the House on Monday a week; that is, the 14th of this month. He thinks that two days will be sufficient in which to pass it in that body. That will be the 16th of October, when that bill will be over here. It will have to go to committee. It has, however, been so thoroughly, exhaustively, and ably considered in the other House by the committee there that I do not think it will need remain long in the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate. Neither do I think it will remain long before the Senate.

I am inclined to the opinion that the Army deficiency bill, which carries from $7,000,000,000 to $9,000,000,000, will pass the Senate before the 20th of October. After that bill shall have been passed the revenue bill is the only other matter of vital necessity of which I know that need occupy for any considerable length of time the attention of the Senate. I am advised by the chairman of the Committee on Finance, the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS], that he can not see his way clear to hold out any assurance that the Senate Finance Committee can dispose of that bill before the election. So my opinion is that when the Army deficiency bill shall have been passed, which will be about the 20th of this month, the Senate might wisely and safely take an adjournment to such time as will enable the Finance Committee of the Senate to complete the revenue bill—perhaps for 30 days, though I have not figured on the exact time—but there should be, and in my opinion it is the wish of the Senate, an adjournment; not a recess; that there should be an adjournment after we shall have passed the Army deficiency appropriation bill, which, as I have said, can be done by the 20th of October. Then there ought to be an adjournment for something like 30 days. That, in my opinion, is the wise course for the Senate to take, and I believe, after conference with many Senators, it is the concensus of opinion that it ought to be done.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Virginia yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I should like to ask if between now and October 14 we are to take adjournment for three days at a time, or what is to be the program in the meantime?

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I think we ought to have adjournments for three days at a time unless there is something that requires consideration, and, if any Senator has a matter which he wants the Senate to act upon and he will ask the Senate to sit, I have no doubt the Senate will sit and take up such matters as are presented.

Mr. President, with that explanation, which is simply my personal opinion, I ask the Chair to put my motion, that when the Senate adjourns to-day it stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian of Monday next.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Virginia.

The motion was agreed to.

THE MEAT-PACKING INDUSTRY.

Mr. SMOOT obtained the floor.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair has recognized the Senator from Utah.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to the Senator from Montana that I intend to occupy the floor for only a very few moments.

Mr. President, the Federal Trade Commission, in a report to the President on July 3, 1918, charged that five of the largest packing concerns doing business in this country are working conjointly to violate the laws of the United States. I recognize that it has been very popular in the past to criticize the packers, and I am not going in any way, shape, or form at this time to excuse them for any violation of the law, if the law has been violated in the past by them; but I feel, Mr. President, that the recent investigation of the Federal Trade Commission was ex parte; it was closed without permitting the packers interested in the hearing to meet any of the charges or afford them an opportunity to explain any of the correspondence and other data taken from their files.

Mr. KENDRICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. SMOOT. In a few minutes I will yield to the Senator. I am quite sure, Mr. President, that if the facts were known, instead of criticizing the action of the packers for the last year those engaged in the industry would be commended. Some of the most severe criticisms found in the report have been based upon actions of the packers which they were compelled under the orders of the Food Administration to carry out.

In connection with the report of the Federal Trade Commission, Mr. President, the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. KENDRICK] the other day introduced and had placed in the RECORD a petition signed by the secretary of the National Live Stock Association and by different members of what is known as the "market committee" of that association. I am quite sure that, if that association knew the facts in the case, they never would have written such a petition to Congress. There has been a complete statement and summary of the report of the Federal Trade Commission of July 3, 1918, on the meat-packing industry prepared by certain representatives of the industry which deals with the very questions which have been so bitterly criticized; and I think that if any Senator will read the statement he will admit that not only is the report of the Trade Commission sensational, but that the conclusions in many respects are absolutely false.

Mr. KENDRICK. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; I yield.

Mr. KENDRICK. I ask the Senator if he does not know that the packers were given an opportunity to appear before the Federal Trade Commission on the understanding that they would waive immunity from prosecution and that they declined?

Mr. SMOOT. No; I do not know that; and the Senator does not know it.

Mr. KENDRICK. I do know it; and that is not all. I know also that 28 years ago——

Mr. SMOOT. Oh, well, we are talking now of the year 1918; I am not talking of something that happened 28 years ago.

Mr. KENDRICK. Of course, if the Senator does not want to look at the facts, that is a different thing altogether.

Mr. SMOOT. I am not looking at the facts of 28 years ago; I am confining my remarks to the report of the Federal Trade Commission recently published.

Mr. KENDRICK. Very well; the Senator from Utah confined his remarks the other day to the memorial I introduced, but he overlooked the fact, when he said that that memorial, which represented an expression of the other side of the case, ought not to go into the RECORD, that 10 days or so before that he had introduced into the same RECORD the protest of the chamber of commerce, which occupied two or three times as much space, showing the other side of the question; and, along with that publication, he introduced into the RECORD two long newspaper editorials.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, the Senator is mistaken again. The Senator from Utah did not introduce anything of the kind.

Mr. KENDRICK. Did not the Senator, I will ask the chairman of the Committee on Printing, introduce that matter into the RECORD?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, the Senator need not ask the chairman of the Committee on Printing. He need only ask me; and I say I did not do anything of the kind.

Mr. KENDRICK. The RECORD will show.

Mr. SMOOT. Certainly, the RECORD will show. It will show that the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN] introduced it; and I wish to say that the Senator from Illinois introduced it in connection with a speech he was delivering.

Mr. KENDRICK. I will ask the Senator another question: Did the Senator from Utah oppose the printing of that matter in the RECORD?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, no one is opposed to the printing of anything in the RECORD when it is a part of the speech of a Senator. The opposition to printing in the RECORD, I will say to the Senator, is directed to the practice, during the consideration of morning business, of presenting matter for printing in the RECORD. I will ask the Senator from Arizona, the chairman of the committee, if that is not the case?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. There is ordinarily no objection to a Senator printing matter in the RECORD in connection with a speech he is making. The objection lies to the printing of matter of various kinds in the RECORD during the morning hour.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to the Senator from Wyoming now that so far as I am concerned he can fill the RECORD every day with petitions; he can put into the RECORD now photographs of cattle, of pigs, of men, of shingle mills, of cows, and everything else that he chooses. In the past I have tried to protect the RECORD against all kinds of extraneous matter. My belief is that nothing should go into the RECORD unless it is said upon the floor or in connection with a Senator's speech.

Mr. KENDRICK. Mr. President, I call the Senator's attention to the fact that I was anxious at that time to have something to say upon this subject and to include the memorial as a part of my remarks, but was interrupted and prevented from doing so. I call his attention to another fact in connection with it, and that is that during my year and a half or more of service in the Senate I have not burdened, I think, to as great an extent as two pages, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with anything that I have introduced.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, the Senator from Utah did not know the contents of that petition. The Senator from Wyoming knows that similar protests have been made by the Senator from Arizona when he has been in the Chamber during the morning hour, no matter what the petition contained. The Senator from Arizona has asked the Senator from Utah, in his absence, to object on behalf of the Committee on Printing to the insertion of matter in the RECORD during the morning hour. I have no feeling about it toward the Senator from Wyoming.

I had no information in regard to what the petition he presented contained, and I say to the Senator now that just as soon as the morning business was over he could have taken the floor, could have said what he wanted to say, and could have put the petition in the RECORD, as other Senators do, under the rules of the Senate.

Mr. KENDRICK. Mr. President, I ask permission to interrupt the Senator just once more in order to reply, and then I shall be through.

In a recent issue of one of our daily papers I noticed a severe arraignment of my action in putting this petition into the RECORD, and a statement that "now a number of the citizens of my State would have the pleasure of reading their names in the RECORD," and suggesting that "it would not make any difference to them how much the RECORD was unnecessarily burdened." I call the attention of the Senate at this time to the fact that in that memorial there were only four or five names, and the only name of any citizen of my State was that of a former Member of this body, Hon. Joseph M. Carey, of Wyoming.

Mr. SMOOT. I can not see what the Senator is driving at. I want to say to the Senator that if he takes any notice of newspaper criticisms, he will not be able to do anything else while in public life. On the other hand, I will say to the Senator that I was criticized for objecting to the petition going into the RECORD.

Mr. KENDRICK. The Senator from Utah was not criticized in the article to which I refer, but he was lauded for his efforts to protect the RECORD.

Mr. SMOOT. That may have been in one paper. I am speaking of the other papers that have criticized me for trying to prevent petitions going into the RECORD; but that is all past, Mr. President.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. SMOOT. I do.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Does not the rule—which has been more honored in the breach than in the observance—provide that only memorials from the legislatures of the respective States shall be printed in the RECORD in the morning hour, and that it takes unanimous consent to put in any other kind of petition?

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator from Arizona [Mr. SMITH] and the Senator from Utah have called that rule to the attention of this body not once, not 100 times, but—I was going to say almost a thousand times—but it made no difference in the case referred to. That is the rule; and the Senator from Wyoming, after the rule was called to his attention, moved, notwithstanding the objection that was made, that the petition should be printed in the RECORD, and the Senate voted that it should be done. Since that time the Senator from Arizona and the Senator from Utah have not worried themselves as to what is going in the RECORD.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. SMOOT. I do.

Mr. KENYON. I have a recollection of something being put into the RECORD the other day by the Senator from Utah which occupied two or three pages of the RECORD. What was that?

Mr. SMOOT. I will state what that was, Mr. President; Mr. John M. Browning, of Ogden, the inventor of most of the improvements on pistols and guns that have been invented in this country——

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, how many of them have been manufactured?

Mr. SMOOT. Does the Senator refer to Browning guns? I mean to say that there never was an improvement of which he has not been the inventor on a Remington or most of the other guns.

Mr. POINDEXTER. What good does it do to invent the gun if you do not get the gun?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, in answer to the Senator I want to state that I was intending to read that article into the RECORD in connection with my speech, but at the request of the Senator from Minnesota it was read from the desk; and I want to say that there is not a man in the United States who has done a greater service to his Government or to our allies than John M. Browning. I think a resolution of Congress ought to be passed extending to him the thanks of Congress for his wonderful inventions.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. SMOOT. I do.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Did he not interfere with the production of the Lewis gun?

Mr. SMOOT. No; I do not think he has interfered with the production of any gun.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I know; but the War Department took up the Browning gun and turned down the Lewis gun.

Mr. SMOOT. Because of the fact that the Browning gun was the better gun.

Mr. POINDEXTER. But we have not very many guns. The result is that we have not any guns at all in any large quantity.

Mr. SMOOT. That is not the fault of Mr. Browning.

Mr. POINDEXTER. But the Senator says he has done a service to the country. He interfered with the production of machine guns needed in this war.

Mr. SMOOT. Oh, well, Mr. President, that is lugging into this discussion another question that is entirely out of place, and Mr. Browning had nothing to do with it.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. SMOOT. I do.

Mr. KENYON. I asked the question because I hope the Senator is not going to give up his efforts to protect the RECORD; and I wondered at the time, if the Senator was trying to protect the RECORD, why he really violated what he himself was trying to do.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator from Iowa need not express any such thought as that. The Senator had a perfect right, in connection with the remarks he made, to read that article, and I would not object, as I told the Senator from Wyoming, if after the morning hour he had taken the floor and read the petition and said whatever he wanted to. No Senator would have objected to that proceeding, because that is not a violation of the rules of this body.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I should like to inquire what is the regular order.

Mr. SMOOT. I did not intend to occupy the floor for two minutes.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I do not intend to interrupt the Senator with regard to the matter of the RECORD—what has been inserted in it or what not—but when the Senator was first interrupted he had made, with a great deal of emphasis, what I consider to be a very grave charge, which is that the report of the Federal Trade Commission upon the packers was in some respects absolutely false. That, of course, impugns the integrity or the ability, or both, of the commission. I should like to ask the Senator whether he makes that charge with a knowledge of the facts, or merely upon the report of the packers in answer to the report of the commission?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I make that statement upon a report prepared by the representatives of the meat-packing industry. They are perfectly willing to stand by that report,

and when the attention of the Federal Trade Commission is called to it I think they will admit the fact.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. SMOOT. I do.

Mr. GRONNA. This is a very important matter, and I should like to ask the Senator from Utah, in all seriousness, if he states to this body that he has in his possession either letters or documents from the packers denying the truth of that report and saying that it is not correct?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I intend to put this report into the RECORD just exactly as it is presented to me, and I ask the Senator then to read the report.

Mr. GRONNA. I make this inquiry in all seriousness, because I think it is a matter that concerns the entire country. I will say for the benefit of the Senator from Utah, as a Member of the Agricultural Committee, having taken considerable pains to ascertain the truth, and having an open mind on the question, that at no time have the packers denied the correctness of the report, so far as the committee knows.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I have nothing further to say than this: I have the report here, and as a part of my remarks I ask that it be printed in the RECORD and I ask the Senator from North Dakota to read it, as well as the other Members of the Agricultural Committee.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator what report he refers to? Is it the report of a committee?

Mr. SMOOT. It is a general statement or summary of the report of the Federal Trade Commission of July 13, 1918, made to the President, on the meat-packing industry.

Mr. FLETCHER. It is not the report of the committee of the United States Chamber of Commerce on the report of the Trade Commission?

Mr. SMOOT. No; it is not that. It is a report prepared by the representatives of the meat-packing industry of this country. I want it to go into the RECORD, and I want every Senator to read it, and to see the explanations on some of the criticisms that are made against the packers for carrying out the instructions that were given to them by the Food Administration.

Mr. FLETCHER. Has it not already been printed in the RECORD? Is the Senator certain as to that?

Mr. SMOOT. I will say that it has never been printed in the RECORD; and I ask that it be printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the report will be printed in the RECORD.

The report is as follows:

GENERAL STATEMENT ON SUMMARY OF THE REPORT OF THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION OF JULY 3, 1918, ON THE MEAT-PACKING INDUSTRY.

"The Federal Trade Commission, in a report to the President, July 3, 1918, asserts that five of the largest packing concerns doing business in this country are in combination in restraint of trade and are working collusively to—

"Manipulate live-stock markets.

"Restrict interstate and international supplies of foods.

"Defraud both the producers of food and consumers.

"Crush effective competition.

"Secure special privileges from railroads, stockyards companies, and municipalities, and profiteer.

"The investigation of the Trade Commission was an ex parte proceeding, and was closed without permitting the packers interested a hearing on any of the charges or affording them an opportunity to explain any of the correspondence and other data taken from their files, which, unexplained, has led the commission into making many charges unsupported by the facts, and doubtless is responsible for the constructions that have been placed upon the letters and other data at variance with their true purport and meaning; consequently the report abounds in inaccuracies, contradictions, and misconceptions.

"It is not the purpose to enter into a criticism of the commission or to question the sincerity of its motives, but we shall undertake, briefly, to show that the commission has erred, through lack of full information, and has misjudged and misconstrued much of the material collected by it.

"EARLY HISTORY OF INDUSTRY.

"The report undertakes to establish its charges by setting forth in chronological order some of the early history of the packers, while the industry was in a formative period, beginning with a report made in 1890—28 years ago—by a committee in the United States Senate; following this with a reference to the so-called 'Veeder pool' and the formation by three of the large packers of the National Packing Co.

"The report seems to treat all these matters of ancient history as if they were new discoveries, and attempts to invest them with a living significance, although they admit in their report that the so-called 'Veeder pool' was terminated early in 1902—16 years ago—that the National Packing Co. was dissolved in 1912, and the report expressly says, on page 26:

"NO DRESSED-MEAT POOL.

"'There is apparently no "dressed-meat" pool at the present time such as existed in the nineties, for the reason that it would be as useless as a fifth wheel on a wagon.'

"The National Packing Co. was voluntarily dissolved. Although its history was involved indirectly in legal proceedings, no court ever held that it in any manner violated any law of this country. Yet, notwithstanding this, the commission has undertaken to give a greater significance to it than did the courts of the country, after hearing all the facts connected with its history and the purpose of its formation.

"There has been evolution in the ideas of the business world, as there have been in the political policies of the people.

"The enormous economic difficulties of a quarter century ago, with imperfect and inadequate transportation systems and means of communication, violent political upheavals, and the like, produced conditions that could not be avoided, and this fact is not peculiar to any particular line of business, but is more or less evident in the history of every great industrial enterprise of this country. And it is one of the paradoxes of the age that even in very recent times there has been established many large concerns, seemingly with the sanction of the Government, whose organization was along lines similar to that of the National Packing Co. But be that as it may, it can be positively asserted, without fear of proof to the contrary, that there are not in effect any agreements or understandings among the packers such as are charged by the commission. The old pools and other matters hereinbefore referred to belong to a dead past, and each concern is conducting its business independently and without regard to the policies of any other rival, be it great or small.

"The commission then states that there exists at this time a conspiracy in restraint of trade, but offers no affirmative proof of its existence.

"No witness has testified that there exists an agreement or contract between the five packers to effect or accomplish any of the illegal purposes charged by the commission, nor has any witness testified to any facts from which an inference can be drawn that any such agreements now exist.

"By a broad stretch of the imagination and misinterpretation of the significance of certain quoted documents and letters set forth in the report the commission attempts to establish its erroneous findings.

"Charges of commission: The principal matters offered as proof of the existence of an illegal combination at this time are as follows:

"First. The alleged uniformity from year to year in the percentage of cattle, hogs, sheep, and calves purchased by each of the five packers during the last five years.

"Second. An agreement to form an international meat pool, to regulate and divide the shipments of meat from South America to the United States and certain foreign countries, particularly England.

"Third. Alleged agreements relating to other lines than the purchase of live stock and the sale of meats, namely, cheese and lard compound.

"Fourth. The maintenance by the five packers of certain joint funds raised for the purpose of protecting the interests of the general industry in matters affecting their common interest.

"The foregoing constitute the principal circumstances advanced by the commission in support of its contention.

"Survey of development of industry: Before making specific answer to the several alleged grounds of complaint above stated an answer may be found to much that has been said in the report of the commission by a brief survey of the history of the packing industry.

"It must be constantly kept in mind that the industry is dealing in perishable products. When the industry first began there were scarcely any of the modern means, methods, and equipments for the economical handling of perishable products on a national scale, such as modern refrigerator cars, cold-storage plants, refrigerator ships, etc., and the distribution of fresh meats was principally confined to the large centers of population contiguous to where the animals were slaughtered; hence fresh meats could not be transported very great distances, as at the present time, so that the conditions required the exportation of live stock to Europe and the shipment of live stock to the large centers of population for purposes of slaughter.

"It must be further remembered that in the early stages every great industry in this country underwent evolutionary transformations in order to effect economies in the production, manufacture, and distribution of products essential to the economic welfare of this Nation, and which now constitute the basic commercial power and strength so essential to the sustenance of this great Nation and its allies in their struggle to maintain the ideals of modern civilization, the liberties of the free peoples of the world, and the emancipation of those yet lingering under the yoke of despotism and autocracies, so that the early efforts of the packing industry to effect economical methods in handling a perishable product and to place same on a stable basis was not an action peculiar to that industry, but one common at that time to every great commercial enterprise in this country.

"Stock yards established: It became a necessity to establish markets for the proper receipt and handling of all live stock, wherein the producers thereof would be assured of a constant market of sufficient capacity and financial strength to absorb all live stock shipped to it, no matter at what season of the year or the quantity flowing into it at any time. This made it necessary to establish stockyards of sufficient capacity to handle the receipts of each market, the location being governed by the proximity of the live-stock raising sections of the country. The producers of the live stock were unable and did not provide such facilities for caring for their product from the time of the arrival at the market until sold. and the railroad companies did not provide such facilities, so that it devolved upon the packers, at enormous cost, to establish and maintain the stockyards. In order to maintain a market at each of these points and to assure the producers of a sale of their products, it became necessary for the packers to see that all live stock arriving at the various markets found a ready sale. The packers did not acquire the stockyards and establish new ones at new centers in order to secure any peculiar or mysterious advantage over the industry, but it had to be done in order to secure proper facilities for accommodating the business and furnish fair treatment to the shippers. The stockyard companies have no financial interest whatever in the live stock. In the first place, all live stock is consigned to a commission firm who acts as agent of the owner of the stock, who have their salesmen, being expert judges of the different kinds of live stock, and who are also posted on market conditions, who sell their stock to the different packers.

"After slaughtering the animals it was necessary that a market be found for the sale of the meat, which had to be disposed of quickly, and very often at a loss, due to the fact that each of the packers would ship indiscriminately into all the consuming markets that could be reached large quantities of fresh meats, and often more than could be consumed before it spoiled, thereby entailing large financial losses and the depression of prices that threatened the industry and materially affecting the values of live stock. In this manner some markets would be glutted and others would be short of fresh-meat supplies. This condition no doubt gave rise to the efforts of many engaged in the packing industry to effect economics to prevent the waste of food and financial losses incidental thereto by the unscientific methods employed in marketing their products, which doubtless accounted for their efforts to regulate the quantities of fresh meats to be shipped to the several markets. The same conditions were encountered and, to some extent, exist to-day in other fields of commerce, notably those affecting the producers of fruits and vegetables from California to Florida. Such producers maintain associations and exchanges to direct the distribution of their products in order to prevent glutting of markets and providing insufficient supplies to other markets. Such was the purpose of the so-called Veeder pool, which popular sentiment seems to sanction when effected by producers of raw material, but condemns in the manufacturers and dealers of the products.

"Cold storage: In order that the packers might preserve the surplus meats shipped to the various consuming markets which could not be promptly sold, cold-storage plants had to be established. This also devolved upon the packers.

"Refrigerator cars: Another step in extending the market for live stock and also supplying the public in more remote regions with fresh meats daily came from the development and improvement of refrigerator cars. Such cars for handling fresh meats require special construction and equipment, as the load is suspended from the roof of the car and not loaded upon the floor. In this respect refrigerator cars constructed for carrying fruits, vegetables, and other perishable products differ from the meat cars and are not adapted for transporting meat. The railroads would not furnish same, so this also devolved upon the packers.

"Icing stations. An additional requirement, made necessary to insure the delivery of fresh meats in remote regions in these cars, was facilities for reicing same in transit. This required the construction of icing stations, where plants had to be established for that purpose. This also devolved upon the packers; for, unless reicing is properly and promptly done when necessary, meat in transit will spoil, causing a waste of food and a loss to the packers.

"Refrigerator ships. A further development of the industry came with the creation of refrigerator ships, which revolutionized the trade with foreign countries. Formerly live stock were transported to such countries and there slaughtered. The development of the refrigerator ship enabled the packers to establish plants in South America and to transport fresh frozen meats to foreign countries more economically than under the methods formerly prevailing.

"It is a fact that the packer did not become interested in the development of packing houses in South America and other foreign countries until there was a decrease in the production of live stock in this country, which together with a fast increasing population threatened a shortage that either the American packer had to provide for by shipping products from other countries, or we would have been in the position of buying products that we were short of not only from foreign countries but from foreign companies as well, and until the war broke out in Europe in 1914, regular imports of beef and mutton were being received into this country from South America consisting principally of a quality, the shortage of which existed here through the breaking up of the large ranges of the country.

"The European war changed the situation not only in South America and Australia but in this country as well. In the former it can be readily seen that as practically all the refrigerated ships handling these products were operating under the British flag it was a simple matter for that Government to commandeer them, leaving the only outlet for the product to Great Britain and her allies. This situation became very acute as the war continued and the herds in these various warring countries were rapidly depleted, and that situation so continued until our participation in the war, throwing all of our resources of meat-food products to the support of our armies and those of our allies.

"In this connection it can not be disputed that were it not for the magnitude of the meat-packing industry, both in this country, South America, and Australia, organized largely by the American packers, the feeding of our armies and those of our allies would not have been possible to anything like the extent that it is, as only by the concentration of large numbers of live stock, the slaughtering, packing, and curing of these products, both frozen, cured, and in cans, was it possible to relieve the tense food situation in Europe, and at the same time take care of the increasing demand brought about by mobilization of our forces at the different camps in this country and those abroad. It will be shown later how vital it was to our country and our allies in the present world struggle—the foresight and enterprise of the packers in establishing these plants; and it will be further shown how gravely the commission erred in its misconception of the facts surrounding the handling of that business.

"Branch houses: Finally, the packers established branch houses in various sections of the country where they had established business, and also operated what is known as car routes, through which agencies supplies of fresh meats and other perishable food products were made available to the population in the most remote sections of our country, which caused an enormous increase in the demand for such supplies and furnished a steady market for many products of the farm, which had theretofore been very limited and confined to certain short seasons of the year.

"The branch houses are an essential part of the packing-house business. They are provided with the necessary equipment to handle the business and store surplus supplies, and are operated by a staff of skilled and competent men who have a thorough knowledge of the business, and upon whose energy and ability the financial success of the company must depend.

"Branch houses necessary to maintain markets: It will be shown later how essential it is to a steady market to maintain these branch houses, as they are the prime distributing agencies through which the public must depend for a steady supply of the products handled by them; and likewise they are the agencies which are in touch with local conditions and demands in various sections of the country and furnish much of the information as to daily requirements of such supplies; otherwise, there would be no method of knowing what quantity of supplies each section of the country requires. The demand of the various sections constantly changes, and a thousand different

forces enter into and influence it, such as changing seasons, local supplies of fresh vegetables and other foods, industrial prosperity or adversity, and numerous other causes.

"Alleged market manipulation: The Federal Trade Commission undertakes to shroud the packing business in an air of mystery, and in most general terms charges that, on account of the magnitude of the business, the packers unfairly and illegally manipulated the live-stock markets, and were enabled to do so because the receipts of live stock at the principal markets are divided among the packers on a percentage basis.

"We contend that such a statement and conclusion are without foundation.

"Prices fixed by supply and demand: The price of live stock is fixed by the natural law of supply and demand. Information is received daily of the requirements of every section of our country and foreign countries, and the supply of material arriving on the market absolutely fixes its price.

"It may be of interest to state that the largest factor in fixing values, outside of the foreign demand, is the daily demand arising in that section of the country north of the city of Washington and east of Pittsburgh, Pa. In that section is congested large industrial populations of the United States, with its millions of toiling humanity, whose daily food supplies must be produced in other sections and transported to them. In that region is found the largest distribution of packing-house products, with scarcely any local supplies produced in that vicinity, so that each morning each branch-house manager of each concern, doing business independently, and without any knowledge of what his competitor is doing, notifies his general office in Chicago of his requirements to satisfy his trade. The live-stock buying department of each of the packers knows in this way what their requirements will be for that day and goes into the market and purchases them. If there is not a sufficient run of material to supply the requirements of all the buyers, naturally it influences the price, so in this manner it frequently occurs that even on days of largest receipts highest prices are bid, and on other days of light receipts lower prices will prevail. It can be positively asserted that in no other great industry in this country are the values of raw products more perfectly controlled by the law of supply and demand than in the packing industry.

"The establishment of stockyards by the packers, together with plants capable of utilizing maximum numbers, by reason of their fixed outlet by branch houses located in all parts of the country, and organized distribution by local freight to a great many thousand medium and small size cities, has made it possible for the live-stock producer to ship any quantity or quality at any time to any one of these markets and always find a demand for same, as by the establishment of large manufacturing plants the utilization of all by-products is possible, whereas on a limited scale it would not be profitable to work up some of the by-products. It is a recognized fact that the development of the packing industry, through the utilization of many by-products, has caused, as much as anything else, the advancement in value of live stock.

"Ownership of stockyards do not affect prices: It can be positively stated that the ownership of stockyards, terminal facilities, etc., have no relations to controlling the quality, quantity, or kind of live stock shipped to any market or the price that is paid for same. Any person interested in buying live stock has free access to the yards and can bid on any consignment found therein.

"Small packer purchases: There are numerous small packers in the market with their buyers every day, as well as speculators, who purchase live stock for further feeding and fattening; and it may be of interest here to state that on the Chicago market alone the small packers slaughtered, in the year 1910, 1,302,200 hogs, which represented 23.31 per cent of the total receipts of that market. This number has increased each year until in the year 1915 they slaughtered 2,657,400 head, or an increase of 104.07 per cent over 1910; and in the year 1916 they slaughtered 3,334,639 head, which represents an increase of 156.07 per cent over the year 1910, which shows that, notwithstanding the charges of the commission that the five packers control and dominate the market and destroy competition, these smaller packers, which have no connection with any of the five, have been able to increase their business through these years so that they slaughtered 41.05 per cent of the total slaughter at the Chicago market, as against 28.28 per cent in 1910, which represents an increase of 2,032,439 head for the year 1916 over the year 1910. During the same period at the Chicago market the five packers, in the year 1910, slaughtered 3,301,100 head of hogs.

"In 1911 the receipts at the market increased 25.63 per cent, but the slaughter of the five large packers only increased 22.12 per cent.

"In 1915 the total receipts increased 50.42 per cent, yet the five large packers' increase in slaughter was only 29.27 per cent.

"In 1916 the receipts increased 52.12 per cent over 1910, yet the percentage of increase in slaughter by the five packers was only 44.98 per cent.

"In other words, the five large packers slaughtered 1,485,800 more hogs at the Chicago plants in 1916 than they slaughtered in 1910, and the small packers, during the same year, slaughtered 2,032,439 hogs more than they slaughtered in 1910.

"Commission's table of percentages: The commission attaches extraordinary significance to a table prepared by it undertaking to show that the percentages of live-stock receipts bought by the various packers remain practically the same. This circumstance, taken in connection with certain letters and memoranda referring to the percentage purchased by each of the packers, is accepted as conclusive evidence that the packers have organized a conspiracy to divide the live-stock receipts in definite proportions, and that such agreement gives them the power to dominate the live-stock markets; to fix and control the prices of live stock and prices of meats.

"Packers keep statements of sales: The fact that each packer keeps track of the number of live stock purchased on the markets and by whom, and that data covering this information may be found in their archives, is neither proof nor circumstantial evidence of the charges made by the commission, nor is it a matter peculiar to the packing industry, nor is it a matter of secrecy. The daily receipts of live stock at all the markets of this country, and prices paid therefor, are published broadcast in the newspapers throughout the country. They are also compiled by the Agricultural Department of the Government, and many other agencies.

"Daily receipts and sales published: The papers and journals devoted to the live-stock industry publish daily the receipts and the sales, as well as the names of purchasers and the quantities taken on all the markets, and prices paid, and in the end compiles a 'Year Book of Figures' showing, among other things, the receipts at all the markets of the world and prices paid each week of the year, also the number of live stock slaughtered by each of the packers; in fact, all the facts and figures covering every point of information connected with the live-stock industry is made public and is available to every citizen of this country. There is no secret or mystery about it; and the fact that the packers keep track of all this information in their own records is not evidence of sinister motives or dark designs, but it is a natural and essential matter, vital to the success of every enterprise.

"No secret meetings: Such data is not kept solely by the large packers. We venture the assertion that in the records kept by every successful packer, large or small, in the office of every local buyer, or speculator, every commission merchant and, in fact, everyone trading or having to do with the business on any or all of the markets of this country, similar data and information will be found. The small packer knows as fully what each of the large packers buy, and the prices paid, as the large packers know themselves, for all this information is a matter of public knowledge, and is daily available to any interested person through numerous sources. So that it is not a fact that the large packers gather in secret places to exchange information or to regulate their respective activities. They could not keep their activities in the market secret if they chose; the business of purchasing on the market is open and under the full observation of every interest represented. Each of the packers, large and small, have their respective buyers on the market, each expert in his particular field; likewise the same is true of local buyers and speculators, etc. So that one will find at the yards the sections for hogs, sheep, calves, and cattle, in separate divisions, and buyers expert in each division representing every person and concern trading on the market. Each one knows what his individual requirements will be for that day, gained from a knowledge of the demand of the consumers dealing with his establishment, so that the small packer as well as the large one knows just how many steers, cows, calves, sheep, or hogs he is going to need from the supplies on the market that day, and each buyer receives his instructions from his own people, the number of head of each class he requires, and the buyers go into the market and undertake to fill the needs of their concerns, without regard to any other interest on the market and in spite of any other interest. So that, in practice, it is found that on some days certain classes of live stock will be in greater demand than at other times, due to shortage in the markets of the world of that particular product.

"Large packers support market: The volume purchased by each interest, large or small, is fixed by the requirements of

their respective trade demands, with this possible exception: When the local buyers, local butchers, speculators, and small packers secure their requirements they usually quit the market, no matter what the surplus receipts of the day. Should the large packers do the same, large quantities of material would be left on the market for which no sale could be had; it would have to be carried over at added expense to the producer for feeding, thus entailing losses and demoralizing the market. So that it devolves solely on the large packers to support the market and purchase all offerings each day, willing to accept the market price. In this manner the extraordinary movement of cattle out of drought-stricken regions were cared for at a fair price.

"Similar conditions arise when, at the end of the grass season, there are extra-large runs; and likewise of hogs in the fall season, when it is impossible that current demands of the trade can utilize all the offerings on the market.

"Thus it will be seen that the large packer is the real strength and support of the live-stock industry, rather than a destructive agency, as charged. And in this connection it can be seen how essential to a steady market are the branch houses and cold-storage system and other facilities provided by the packers for storing and preserving surplus stocks until the consuming public require them. Otherwise there would result immeasurable waste and consequent losses that would bankrupt the industry and bring ruin to the producers of live stock.

"Reasons for apparent alleged division of purchases: These reasons account for the situation, at points where there are two packing houses, purchases are made on a basis approximately of 50-50, and at points where three or more packers are represented there are other varying percentages of purchases. This does not mean that there are any agreements for such or that each must buy any particular percentage of the receipts of the market. In practice it works out that, after all interests, large and small, speculative, local, or otherwise, buying upon the market have satisfied the requirements of their trade demands in that market, a duty still devolves upon the large packer to care for any surplus offerings remaining thereon; otherwise producers would stop shipments to any market where uncertainty existed as to whether a sale could be made. One concern could not be expected to carry such a burden, as it would soon find itself bankrupt from continual buying of more material than its trade required; on the other hand, if one concern undertook to purchase all the receipts on the market it would have the effect of shutting down the other plants, throwing thousands out of employment, and give the one concern able to do it an actual monopoly of the meat business. So that these, and a thousand other economic reasons, automatically adjust the percentage of purchases upon each market.

"There is a fundamental law governing live-stock markets which the commission apparently fails to comprehend, and that law is based upon a competitive market. Farmers and producers of live stock do not like to ship in quantity to any market where there is only one packing establishment, for the reason that he has no competitive bidding. For example, when one of the five packers established a plant in Oklahoma the people offered a substantial bonus to secure the location of a second establishment in order to secure a competitive market, and thereby induced the producer to send his shipments to that market. It therefore became automatically necessary that each of the concerns enjoy a sufficient amount of the business in order that he might be able to remain in business; otherwise, as soon as he failed it would destroy the market. The same is true in every market in the country, and any person who can understand that point will appreciate the fact that it requires no illegal agreement to produce the condition of a fair distribution of the receipts. Each voluntarily purchases his requirements and leaves the others to do likewise. Should any one of the packers desire to monopolize the markets and decide to force his competitors out, he can only do so by paying a higher price for his material than it could be sold for at a profit; when that stage is reached the sane business man would drop out of the market until the other fellow had exhausted his resources and became bankrupt, knowing full well that to enter into a destructive conquest, even if one succeeded in destroying the other, the ultimate result would be at the same time to practically destroy that particular market, for when the survivor had it all to himself the producer would not feel inclined to ship to that particular market, where no competitive bidding would be possible. So that it is perfectly logical that under such a system the result would irresistably be the final destruction of the market and the loss of the entire investment. Thus it follows naturally that every business man confines his purchases to the requirements of his trade demands and the additional purchases necessary to absorb the offerings on his market.

"This explains the success of the small packers on all the markets and gives promise to any newcomers who may desire to enter the fields. The law of supply and demand regulates the market prices, which is a solemn fact in the business of today no matter how much doubt may be cast upon it by those who fail to comprehend it. Therefore it matters not whether the relative purchases of concerns on a given market, where only two packers have plants, be on a basis of half and half of their respective purchases. It will be seen that the gross percentage of any given packer on all the markets will be governed by the amount of products he is able to sell in the markets of the world. If he can increase his outlet he will increase his purchases of raw materials.

"Let any section of the country increase its patronage to any particular packer and one will find that he will buy the material for his increased requirements, no matter what packer suffers the loss of percentage. This is proven by the annual variations in percentages of purchases shown by the table published by the commission, which offers more decided proof of competition than of combination. Every successful packer has two eyes, like any other mortal, one of them is looking upon the supply in the markets and the other on the demands of the consuming public. He is willing to risk millions of capital for a small relative return on the turnover of each of his invested dollars. And if the packer is willing to perform this great economical service for the small margin per dollar employed therein he certainly does not deserve the attacks being made upon him by the representatives of our Government, which is largely depending upon him, confidently, and rightfully so, to support its extraordinary needs and those of our allies in these tragic and crucial times. And the authorities are invited to point out, if possible, any occasion on which the packers thus attacked have failed to respond to any demand made upon them.

"Percentages vary from year to year: So that, if the table of percentages set forth in the report of the commission is a correct representation of the relative percentages of purchases by the five large packers for five years it furnishes evidence of the fact that there is no arbitrary division of receipts, as the commission has undertaken to assert; but, on the contrary, the percentage purchased by each of the five companies vary in each of the years—only two of them show increase, while three of the companies show a decrease; and when it is understood that the smallest fraction of a percentage of increase or decrease means many thousand head of cattle, it will be better understood how energetic and progressive concerns must fight to maintain their position in the business world—and this more than any other reason explains the apparent approximate consistency of the percentage of purchases made. For illustration—the percentage of total cattle purchases of Swift & Co., according to the commission's table, increased from 33.90 per cent in 1913 to 35.07 in 1917, an increase of 1.17 per cent in four years. This slight variation meant that in 1917 that company slaughtered approximately 90,000 more cattle than if it had not increased its business over that of 1913. So it will be seen that Swift & Co. had to create a demand and find a sale for that additional quantity of meat and the by-products of that additional number of cattle. This fact bears out the contention of the packers that there is competition; otherwise is it reasonable to suppose that three of the packers would willingly submit to a shrinkage of their percentage of volume of business if it could have been avoided?

"Producers not interested in who purchases: It can not be said that either the producer or general public are interested in the particular pecentage of live stock purchased by any particular concern. It is not a matter of public interest as to who buys the live stock; and likewise it is a matter of no importance to the producer whether Swift & Co. purchase 35 per cent or 50 per cent of shipments on any particular market, or upon all the markets as a whole. The producer's only concern is to receive fair treatment in the markets and to secure the highest possible price for his product commensurate with the demand, allowing the packer a reasonable return on the capital he employs in his business.

"Power to control prices: If the five large packers had the power, which is not true, to absolutely control the percentages of purchases and depress the value of live stock, they could, by the exercise of the same power, increase the selling price to the consumer. There does not exist the slightest evidence of any agreement or combination to control the distribution of fresh meats or other products of the packer. In fact, the commission is forced to say in its report that 'There is apparently no "dressed-meat pool" at the present time, such as existed in the nineties,' and the incontrovertible facts are that the packer only receives less than half a cent per pound profit on dressed beef—

an item of profit so small that it could be entirely eliminated and not affect materially the cost of the product to the consumer. So that if, by the widest stretch of the imagination, it could be argued that the volume of purchases from year to year, by each of the packers, was proof of a conspiracy in restraint of trade, the argument is completely exploded by the fact that such a coincidence has not decreased the value of live stock in the hands of the producer.

"Even a cursory examination of the records will substantiate this statement.

"Average yearly price of cattle: The average yearly price per 100 pounds of native beef catle at Chicago, as compiled by the Chicago Drovers Journal, was as follows:

	1,500 to 1,900. pounds.	750 to 1,050. pounds
1910	$7.70	$5.90
1911	7.00	5.65
1912	9.60	7.10
1913	8.85	8.00
1914	9.75	8.10
1915	9.25	7.70
1916	10.75	8.45
1917	13.75	10.50

Figures for 1918 will show a decided increase in values.

"Average price of hogs: The average price of hogs and pigs, for the same period, likewise proves the contention:

	Mixed.
1910	$8.90
1911	6.70
1912	7.60
1913	8.50
1914	8.30
1915	7.20
1916	9.60
1917	15.10

"With a still larger increase for 1918.

"So it will be seen that live stock sold for an increase of nearly 100 per cent in 1917 over 1910.

"Number slaughtered compared: These values have increased in the face of a constantly growing volume of animals marketed each year; so that we find that there were slaughtered at 919 Government-inspected establishments in—

Cattle.	
1910	7,962,189
1917	9,299,489
Swine.	
1910	27,656,021
1917	40,210,847

"Increase on farms: It is of further interest to note that on July 1, 1918, the relative number of live stock in the United States had increased over July 1, 1917, by the following percentages: Hogs, all ages, 3.3 per cent; cattle, all classes, 3.9 per cent; sheep, 16.5 per cent.

"Thus it is shown that notwithstanding the large increase of live stock marketed and the increased supply in the hands of the producers there has been a phenomenal increase in the prices paid the producer for his products.

"Packers' profits small: The packers have taken all the risk in handling a perishable product, requiring billions of dollars to move, and have passed the finished product on to the consumer at a profit per pound so small as not to affect the price to such consumer if same was entirely eliminated, and were it not for the immense volume handled this could not have been accomplished.

"The figures will further show that for any given year the margin of profit to the packer between the prices paid the producer and the amount received from the consumer has been relatively as small, and such prices have fluctuated according to the supply and demand, and explodes every theory that the packers manipulate the markets and levy tribute upon the consumer. No other business in the world of such magnitude and importance does business on such a small percentage of profit on the volume of business.

"Evidence of competition: The period required to market beef, from the time of its slaughter until the meat is in the hands of the consumer, ordinarily covers from 10 to 14 days. The demand in the various markets fixes the price. Many shrewd buyers examine the stocks on hand of the several packers, and shop from one concern to another, seeking and obtaining the best bargain to be found. The meat can only be profitably kept for a short time, and when the market is overstocked, as frequently happens, the product is sold at a loss. This is easily demonstrated in any market in this country, and can not be successfully controverted. This fact in itself is sufficient to demonstrate that the packers are in active competition with each other in the sale of their products.

"Other evidence of competition is found in the rivalries existing between the companies, in the fluctuation of profits from week to week, in the competition between the packers and speculators, and many other facts patent to anyone who will take the trouble to study the business in all its details.

"Profits: One of the largest packers has figured that during the year ending September 30, 1917, the average price paid for cattle to the purchaser was $84.45 per head; packing house expense, selling, and freight, $7.30 per head; net profit, $1.29 per head; total, $93.04 per head. So that upon an outlay of $91.75 per head a profit of only $1.29 was produced. Even though the profit might be double—for the sake of any possible inaccuracy—it still would make the profit less than 3 cents upon every dollar of business done in a business dealing with a highly perishable product. No fair-minded person can object to such a result, and it explodes the argument that the packers are profiteering.

"South American business: The commission being forced to abandon the "beef-pool" idea, as proof of a conspiracy in restraint of trade, resorted to the argument of a division of purchases on the markets, and as an additional circumstance offered in corroboration they charge a conspiracy to divide the trade from South America. The commission, in its report, included in that alleged conspiracy all of the five packers assailed, although Cudahy & Co. have no establishment in South America engaged in the packing business.

"Ships commandeered: The facts are that at the time of the outbreak of the European war practically all refrigerator ships capable of transporting fresh frozen meats were of British registry and sailing under the British flag. The English Government commandeered all such refrigerated space and used it in transporting fresh meat to supply her civilian population and the armies of the allies. The British Government had contracts with each of the local British and American packers transacting business in South America and allotted certain definite space in these boats to each of the packers. The amount of space so allotted automatically and definitely fixed the percentage or volume of business which each of the packers were able to transact from South America. All this was done with the sanction of the British Government, and under these circumstances the meeting referred to could not possibly have been in violation of any law of this country, nor does it afford a proof, circumstantial or otherwise, of the charges made by the commission.

"Thus the chief corroborating circumstance offered by the commission is exploded.

"Joint funds: The third circumstance offered by the commission is the charge that the packers have maintained joint funds to defray expenses undertaken in matters affecting the general industry.

"It is true that the five packers have maintained a joint fund, which has been used for entirely legal and proper purposes—generally to protect the industry against unfair attacks and to pay attorneys for defending actions involving the product of the general industry. Likewise such funds have been raised to promote the welfare of packing-house employees in providing amusements, entertainments, and outings for the families of workingmen, and many other things to promote their social well-being.

"There is scarcely an organization of any kind in this country relating to any particular branch of business which does not raise joint funds for legitimate and proper purposes incident to the business.

"So that this circumstance also utterly fails to sustain in any way the charges made by the commission.

"Agreements relating to other lines: The fourth circumstance offered by the commission charges that there are alleged agreements relating to other lines than the purchase of live stock and the sale of meats, namely, cheese and lard compound.

"The packers deny that they have any agreements or understandings in effect relating to any commodity handled by them.

"The commission, in support of its contention on this point, offers certain correspondence, quoted on pages 36 and 37 of the report. We quote the following from same:

"It is certain that by no means all the agreements in effect between the big packers came to the attention of the commission. Thus, for example, we have evidence of an agreement on lard compound, which was made at the time the commission's investigation was being vigorously pressed and came to light only by chance.

"Letter, Armour & Co. to H. G. Sharpnack (Armour's branch house superintendent at Pittsburgh), dated January 24, 1918:

"'It's always been our understanding that if our organization had the same price as the other fellow that's all they need. This is certainly a fact on substitute since January 14, and we will be very much surprised if your territory does not triple its business each month. We do not recall having such an opportunity in the history of this firm, and if this practice is maintained it's a pretty safe bet we will get our share.'

"This was followed on January 28, 1918, by a circular letter from H. G. Sharpnack to all managers giving the following instructions:

"'Please give this compound all attention possible. Everybody's price must be the same as yours. If you find any deviation, make doubly sure that you are right by seeing the bill, noting the date of same, quantity sold, and the price, and let me have it.'

"This so pleased Armour & Co. that on January 30, 1918, L. L. Whelen, of Armour's lard department, wrote Sharpnack:

"'Very glad to note your cooperation on White Cloud as per your circular to houses dated the 28th. In this connection, however, it occurs to us that we should not make any noise about competitors' prices being identical, etc. Under present conditions this is not advisable, as you are undoubtedly aware. Also you might destroy this letter on the subject.'

"Evidence of other agreements might be quoted at length, and they will appear in the report. The quotations already made would seem to answer affirmatively the President's question:

"'Are there manipulations, controls, trusts, combinations, conspiracies, or restraints of trade out of harmony with the law or the public interest?'

"No doubt that, under the methods used by the commission to take such correspondence from the files of the companies and place their own construction upon it without calling for any explanation of same, led them to believe that they had secured therein evidence of a flagrant disregard of the law, flaunted at the very time when the investigation was being vigorously prosecute.

"Uniform prices regulated by Food Administration: The facts are that the uniform prices referred to had been suggested by the Food Administration of the Government, which has regulated and stabilized the prices of many basic food products since our entry into the war. And this was merely a letter from one of the companies to its own agent, admonishing him to go after the business, and see that none of his competitors deviated from the prices outlined by the Food Administration; if so, to be certain of his facts and report it.

"So that, instead of being evidence of a violation of law, it shows that Armour & Co. was after all the business they could secure, and desired to cooperate with the Government in maintaining its regulations.

"This affords a fair illustration of the many misconstructions placed upon the memoranda and data collected by the commission.

"Butter, eggs, cheese, etc.: In regard to the packers' various ramifications in other products, such as butter, eggs, cheese, poultry, canned fruits and vegetables, jellies, jams, preserves, etc., this expansion is in keeping with the development of a highly organized and efficient business institution. It must be borne in mind that the packer has branch houses located in practically every important city in the United States, equipped with storage facilities, in charge of a manager, with a force of employees, such as accountants, bookkeepers, delivery systems, etc., which are necessary in the transaction of the meat business alone; therefore the expansion into these other food lines go hand in hand with the meat business, products being sold in most instances to the same retailer who buys meat food products and the business operated under the same fixed expense.

"Hoarding hides: Another equally clear misapprehension is found in the charge made by the commission that the packers were hoarding hides. On page 15 of the report the commission say:

"Finally, the packers' storage facilities and strong financial position make it possible for them to manipulate the markets and dispose of their products without regard to supply and demand. It is admitted in correspondence of the big packers that during the past year, when leather was in enormous demand, certain of the Big Five hoarded hides in such immense quantities for the purpose of inflating the already unreasonable prices that (to quote their own correspondence): 'We were forced to pack them in our cellars and outside in the open, but have reached the point now where we have no place to go with any more.'

"Had the commission permitted an explanation of conditions existing at the time referred to, they would have found the facts to be that, normally, there are about 500,000 hides in storage at the packeries all the time, representing the normal monthly slaughter of cattle. No tannery will accept for delivery hides that have not been cured in salt for at least 30 days. Consequently the packers must hold in storage all hides for that length of time.

"During the period referred to there was an increase in the slaughter of cattle to meet the requirements of our country and our allies in the matter of food. Also, one of the agencies of our Government took an option on 750,000 hides for a period of 60 days, requiring the hides to be held during the period of the option, which created the condition referred to in the quoted letter, and it may be of further interest to state that at the end of the period the Government failed to exercise its option and forced this immense quantity upon the market, which declined materially during the period and caused a loss to the packers of several million dollars. One of the smallest of the packers lost nearly one-half million dollars on the 75,000 hides it was required to hold under the Government option.

"Country hides: It is appropriate to refer to the speech of the Hon. WILLIAM E. BORAH, of Idaho, in the Senate, September 6, 1918. Mr. BORAH takes for his subject the report of the Federal Trade Commission, and undertakes to justify the same, elaborating to some extent upon the question of hides and skins produced by local killing or from animals that died on the farm, making the statement that this product is practically without any market value—that the packer in control of the principal supply of hides dominates the market to the extent that the country hide seller must take what is offered.

"Mr. BORAH has doubtless been misinformed in regard to this situation, as it is not conceivable he would make these statements from hearsay. The facts are that the country hide and skin situation is controlled entirely by local or independent firms who make a business of gathering up these hides and skins, as well as other by-products such as bones, tallow, etc., and there is just as much of a fixed market for country hides and skins as there is for packer hides and skins; the packers are not dealers in or tanners of country hides.

"Action War Industries Board: The lack of any discrimination not alone on the part of the packers but on the part of the large country hide dealers for that matter is conclusively proven by the action of the War Industries Board in stating the differential between packer and country native steer hides at 6 cents per pound. In other words, if the packer native steer hides sold for 26 cents, a country hide would bring 20 cents, and it would be noted that practically the same spread was in existence one year previous, long before the Government ever thought of adjusting these prices.

"Differential fair: This differential is fair and reasonable, being based entirely upon the condition of the hides and its fitness to be turned into leather.

"The country hide and skin, as is well known in the trade, not being taken off by experts, is subject to cuts or scores. Also there is a larger percentage of brands on country hides, which affects the tanning.

"Furthermore, they are not always packed as the packer hides, fresh after being taken off and salted and kept free from deterioration until they go to the tanner.

"There never has been a time when the same market condition affecting packer hides would not also affect the country-hide situation. As a matter of fact, war conditions have brought out more clearly than ever the undesirability of country hides for the reason that the Government specifications are very rigid and will not admit of any defects whatever in production of leather for Government uses.

"Do not fix prices of products: The Senator also charges that the packers, through their attorneys and agents, sit down at a table regularly, either weekly or oftener or less frequently, and agree among themselves as to prices of the products which they sell the people.

"This statement is also based on misinformation as the packers or their representatives are not engaged in any such practices, but, on the contrary, are doing their best to live up to the letter as well as the spirit of all laws.

"Raise-a-pig movement: Aside from the alleged illegal acts complained of, the commission finds its greatest objection to the magnitude of the business done by the five large packers, and complain that the packing plants are concentrated in a few large centers, and at the same time they complain that live stock production is discouraged because the plants are not established near every small community where live stock is raised, and that the failure to so establish such plants has retarded the present 'raise-a-pig' movement, because there are no convenient near-by places to dispose of the pig after it has been raised.

"It has been demonstrated in the past that packing plants of small capacity can not be as economically operated as larger ones; neither can the by-products be profitably utilized.

"Large packers and small ones: In fact, the large packers are a great help to the small packeries situated in outlying sections, in that they purchase the by-products and surplus meats from many of such concerns. And it may be said that some of them would find it impossible to continue operations if the large packers should refuse to purchase their surplus stock.

"Again, it may be said without immodesty that no industry has been of more importance to our country in the present world crisis than the packing industry; and had it not been for the wonderful and highly specialized organization and financial strength of the five large packers, together with their nation-wide system of branch houses, storage facilities, as well as their equipment in the matter of refrigerator cars, a serious calamity would have befallen the civilian population and armies of the allies engaged in the present world war.

"Packers sustain allies with food: In this connection it may be said, as a matter of pride and satisfaction, that on the 22d day of February of this year while the packing concerns were

furnishing food to our armies in cantonments in this country and in the field abroad, as well as supplying meat and food to the families of the civilian populations in this and other countries, our allies found themselves in dire straits for meat. The meat division of the Food Administration on the above date called upon the chairman of the executive committee of the packers, organized in connection with the Food Administration, to furnish immediately for the allies 134,500,000 pounds of meat, the shipment of which they requested to commence within three days and the entire quantity to be moving within 14 days. This extraordinary request called for a shipment of 60,000,000 pounds the first week and 74,500,000 pounds the second week, or approximately 1,550 carloads the first week and 1,900 carloads the second week. And it is to the credit of these concerns that they patriotically responded to the request of the Government and met the requirements on time.

"It is manifest that no such achievement would have been possible had it not been for the great capacity of the plants, the possession of adequate storage branches, cars, and other equipment, and adequate financial strength to handle such an enormous demand, in addition to its regular established business. So that the magnitude of the business and the financial strength of the five large packers, instead of being a menace, has really proven a blessing at this period of the world crisis.

"Recommendations of commission: The first recommendation of the commission is that the Government acquire, through the Railroad Administration, all live-stock cars owned by the packers. It intimates that the ownership of stock cars in the packers give certain power of control and a manipulation of the means of transportation.

"Stock cars: A very small percentage of the receipts of live stock arrives in stock cars owned by the five large packers. All such cars are now under the supervision of the Railroad Administration; and there can be no serious objection to the Government taking over such cars, if the service can be thereby improved.

"Acquire refrigeration cars: Another recommendation is that the Government acquire all privately owned refrigerator cars through the Railroad Administration.

"The reason why the packers own their refrigerator cars has heretofore been explained. Meat cars are of a special construction, and are not furnished by the railroads in quantities sufficient to handle the business. Therefore it became necessary for the packers to provide their own equipment of this character and they are an integral and essential part of the packing business.

"Interstate Commerce Commission report on private car lines: The Interstate Commerce Commission made an exhaustive study of the matter of private cars, covering a period of several years, and, in a report dated July 31, 1918, they say:

"It is clearly established that shippers of petroleum oils, fresh meats, packing-house products and dairy products could not have done the volume of business they have done in the past, or that their plants were constructed to do, except they had possessed themselves of private cars over which they could exercise, and have exercised, control.

"The refiner of oil or the meat packer could no more do business on an economical and efficient basis without his private cars than he could without his modern equipped refining or packing plant. The private car part of the business has grown with the rest. Doubtless in the beginning demands were made by these shippers that carriers should supply tank and meat cars, but it was quickly demonstrated that business could not be done in the most effective manner were carriers to own or control cars of that kind. As a rule, carriers have never furnished these cars, and it has come to be mutually understood that they should not do so. The oil refiner and meat packer demand an adequate supply of cars at all times. It is conceded by shippers that neither an adequate supply nor its efficient distribution can be afforded by carriers. The requirements have been that there shall be the most efficient use of tank and refrigerator cars, which has been one of the results of private ownership. While this has undoubtedly been of benefit to carriers, it has been of incalculable benefit to shippers as well.

"It requires a special department to keep track of and manage these cars in each of the packers' organizations. The mileage compensation received by the several companies is not sufficient to make their operation profitable to the packers, and it is a fact that they are operated at a loss. However that may be, they are an essential part of the business, and it would be manifestly unfair and unjust for the Government to confiscate these cars without providing as efficient service as now exists, and also making provision for future expansion of business.

"Government now supervises packers' cars: In this connection, it is a fact that the Government already exercises certain supervision over such cars, through the Railroad Administration.

"On January 1, 1918, there were approximately 1,000 owners of private cars of all kinds in use in commercial service in this country, not including railroads. The number owned by each ranged from one to eighteen thousand; and as yet we have heard nothing of any movement to take away from any other vital industry, equipment so essential to the business as the refrigerator car is to the packers. The ownership of such cars does not give the packers any control over prices of live stock, nor does their possession in any way affect the prices of meat to the consumer.

"Furthermore, the packer enjoys no advantages in the way of rates, switching charges, demurrage, or anything whatever not enjoyed by a shipper using a railroad refrigerator car.

"Government ownership of stock yards: Another recommendation of the commission is that the Government acquire the principal stockyards of the country through the Railroad Administration.

"The stockyards were established by some of the packers, as heretofore explained, in order to furnish market places supplied with pens for the animals and with watering and feeding facilities. Every packing center must have proper and efficiently operated yards in order to care for the animals.

"The principal reason that the packers have become interested in the yards has been to provide such facilities and extend them as the business expanded. It is doubtful whether such efficient market places would ever have existed had they not been established in this manner.

"Private ownership gives no control of prices: The ownership of the stockyards gives no control over prices of live stock and no control over the commission men at the yards. Yardage and feed charges are reasonable and uniform to all patrons.

"Yards already under Government jurisdiction: There can be no serious objection to the ownership of the stockyards by the Government, if their efficient management and operation shall be guaranteed. But, as in the matter of cars, the stockyards are likewise under Government regulation, which has been established under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Markets of the United States Department of Agriculture, and in furtherance of this plan the Government is holding open meetings, taking up the question of the fairness of stockyards operations and their various charges for service, testimony being taken from shippers, commission men, and packers alike.

"Government ownership of branch houses and cold storage: The fourth recommendation of the commission, that the Government acquire branch houses and cold-storage plants belonging to the packers, is wholly impractical and would unsettle and have a destructive effect upon the entire industry.

"Branch houses are a very necessary part of the system of which large centralized packing plants are the basis. The operation of branch houses requires initiative and skill on the part of an experienced manager, and the efficiency of the organization would suffer if they were made into public markets, with the manager responsible only to the Government.

"We see no reason why the Government may not establish such facilities for the use of smaller packers, unable to afford same, if it is deemed a proper governmental function to perform such service in matters of private business enterprise. But it would be manifestly unjust and unfair to undertake to deprive the packers of the very means upon which they are dependent for the proper and efficient handling of their respective businesses.

"Commission chart: The Federal Trade Commission has prepared a chart in their report showing the packers interests in various outside enterprises, such as land companies, stockyards, cattle loan companies, banks, terminal facilities, publications, etc.

"The inference naturally created by a study of this chart is to a great extent incorrect, as the interest shown is mostly individual, does not in any way affect the packing business or carry any control over the outside business referred to. The relation between the stockyards and packing houses has been discussed. The same thing applies to terminal facilities, as well as some live-stock publications.

"It is no doubt correct to state that practically all of the interest in different banks, as shown by the statement, is represented by personal investments in stock, in some cases very small. The fact that an individual is a director of a bank or corporation does not necessarily mean he is a large stockholder.

"What is more reasonable than a desire on the part of most any bank located at the different packing centers than to want successful business men on their board.

CONCLUSION.

"The recommendations of the Federal Trade Commission were doubtless made under the misapprehension that there exists at this time a conspiracy among the large packers to restrain trade and manipulate prices.

"It would be unthinkable that the commission would make such recommendations wholly on the ground that the magnitude of the business justified such action.

"We submit that there is no evidence shown in the report of the commission upon which any court of competent juris-

diction in the country would find the packers guilty of the charges made against them.

"The packing industry of this country is made up of a large number of competing units—some large and some small. A few are large enough to achieve the economies and render the broad and efficient service resulting from a nation-wide organization. Moreover, there are numerous small packers who are growing into financial strength and power, right under the shadows of these large concerns. They not only offer effective competition in the purchase of live stock in the markets, but also in the sale of the finished product to the consumer. There is no other business which offers so many proofs of the independence of each concern engaged in the business, or more convincing evidence of actual competitive conditions existing in all lines of their business activities. No other line of business is more perfectly supervised by the Government. A minimum price for hogs has been established, while the prices of many of the products of the packers are under supervisory regulation by the Food Administration of the United States Government. So that, even if any of these concerns desired to misuse or abuse the power which the commission complains they possess, they would be powerless to do so, under the efficient and effective regulations now prevailing over their business through the different departments of the Government.

"*Packing industry under Government supervision*: The packing business now is, and has been since November 1, 1917, operating under license from the Food Administration, who have limited the five larger packers profits to 9 per cent on their investments, but in no case to exceed 2½ cents per dollar on the turnover; the smaller packer being limited to 2½ cents straight on the turnover.

"The larger packers' books are being constantly examined, and a uniform system is being devised and installed by the Federal Trade Commission which should remove any doubt in the minds of the most skeptical that the business since November 1, 1917, is receiving the closest possible governmental supervision, and certainly there can not justly be any criticism of the maximum profits allowed the packer. The Food Administion no doubt regarded these profits as reasonable and essential to the proper maintenance and also to provide for the expansion of the plants necessary to care for the growing demand of the Government and of the general business. Likewise, they were necessary to maintain the credit of the packers, who are large borrowers of money. The Government, after thorough investigation, found they could not reduce this profit without eliminating profit altogether, and the packer rightfully feels that the Food Administration's adjustment of control verifies the fact of small profits per dollar turnover—impossible on a small volume—reported as being earned by the packer for a number of years past, should effectively controvert any charge of profiteering.

"The packing business is already regulated by more laws, both State and National, than any other business institution. The food product of every animal is inspected by a representative of the United States Government.

"Edible products not emanating from animals are subject to the United States pure food and drugs act, so that virtually every law of any kind affecting business applies to the packer.

"The very existence of the packing business is so closely related to the continued success of the live-stock raiser and farmer that on anything like a thorough analysis of the relation one to the other would easily show that to disregard their interest would be to deliberately cut their own throat in a business way, if they followed anything like the tactics they are accused of following in the Federal Trade Commission's report.

"To fully comprehend this, it must be thoroughly understood that the packer is wholly dependent for his supply of raw material from day to day on the voluntary shipments of live stock made to the public markets by the individual farmer, as outside of a few personal investments which, compared to their requirements of live stock, are infinitesimal, the packer directly or indirectly does not own or control his live-stock supply.

"From any angle upon which this important subject is approached, the report of the Federal Trade Commission unfortunately throws discredit upon one of the most important industries in the country, and at a time when every such concern should be maintained at its highest standard of efficiency. The recommendations of the commission are purely experimental, and this is no time for such, and if carried out will be destructive to the industry and render it incapable of performing the important services to the country now devolving upon it."

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask that the conference report on the food-production bill be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Oklahoma that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the conference report on the food-production bill.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, before the Senator from Oklahoma asks for that, I should like to inquire whether or not the report of the Federal Trade Commission, to which the report which has just been ordered printed is an answer, has ever been published in the RECORD? I have not been able to find it.

Mr. GORE. I do not think it has been printed in extenso.

Mr. THOMAS. I think not, Mr. President. The Senator from Idaho himself asked to have it printed as a public document some days ago, and the request was referred to the Committee on Printing; but it has not been, I think, printed in the RECORD.

Mr. BORAH. May I ask the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] or the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER]—I think they are both on the Committee on Printing—whether or not any report has ever been made upon my request that so many copies of that report be printed as a public document?

Mr. FLETCHER. I do not think there has been.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to the Senator that I have been in attendance daily on the meetings of the Finance Committee; and I can not say whether or not, at the last meeting of the Printing Committee, it was reported out.

Mr. FLETCHER. I think the committee has not acted on the resolution.

Mr. BORAH. In view of the charges, made in such strong language, that this report is false, I should like to ask that this report be published in connection with the report which is to go into the RECORD to-day. I am unable to find where this report has ever been published in the RECORD.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, I will say that I believe it has been published in the RECORD; that it was presented in the House and published in the RECORD. In fact, I read it, if my memory serves me correctly. I am very much in favor of the request of the Senator. I think it ought to be published in connection with the other report.

Mr. THOMAS. That was the profiteering report.

Mr. BORAH. I would not want to have it put in twice. The Senator says he has read it. I think he must have read it as a public document, or some other document; but it was not published in the House proceedings.

Mr. GORE. I think that was the profiteering report.

Mr. BORAH. I went through the RECORD, and I am unable to find that it ever was published there.

Mr. THOMAS. That was the profiteering report.

Mr. BORAH. Yes; and the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission stated to me that it never had been published, so I do not think this is a request to publish it the second time. I think this is the only time it has ever been published. Therefore, I ask that it may be inserted in the RECORD in connection with the report that is to be printed upon the request of the Senator from Utah.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, I do not wish to be misunderstood. I have reference to the report made by the Federal Trade Commission, calling attention to profiteering in the meat-packing industries.

Mr. BORAH. This is a different report.

Mr. THOMAS. Does not the Senator refer to the report on flour milling and flour jobbing? That was published in the RECORD.

Mr. GRONNA. Yes; and on meat packing, also.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to printing in the RECORD the report referred to by the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. FLETCHER. I will state that the document having reference to profiteering has been made a public document, No. 248.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Idaho? The Chair hears none, and the report will be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. BORAH. Now, Mr. President——

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I am going to feel obliged to insist on the regular order.

Mr. BORAH. I am not going to ask to displace the regular order, but I do not want the printers to get confused as to these two reports. The profiteering report is a different proposition entirely. I want to have published in the RECORD the report which was made to the President upon the meat-packing industry.

Mr. KENYON. The report of July 3.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator send the report to the desk, so that the official reporters can get it?

Mr. BORAH. I will see that they get it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the report will be printed in the RECORD.

The report is as follows:

SUMMARY OF THE REPORT OF THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION ON THE MEAT-PACKING INDUSTRY.

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT.

JULY 3, 1918.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

SIR: On February 7, 1917, you directed the Federal Trade Commission to "investigate and report facts relating to the production, ownership, manufacture, storage, and distribution of foodstuffs and the products or by-products arising from or in connection with their preparation and manufacture; to ascertain the facts bearing on alleged violations of the antitrust acts, and particularly upon the question whether there are manipulations, controls, trusts, combinations, conspiracies, or restraints of trade out of harmony with the law or the public interest," to the end that "proper remedies, legislative or administrative, may be applied."

On July 1, 1917, funds for carrying out this direction became available and the commission undertook the task.

The work fell naturally into various divisions, and reports have already been made to you with reference to the milling and jobbing of wheat flour and the preparation and distribution of certain canned food products. Other divisions will be the subject of reports to you as rapidly as the results of our studies can be reduced to proper form. At this time we are reporting to you on the meat-packing industry.

Answering directly your question as to whether or not there exist "monopolies, controls, trusts, combinations, conspiracies, or restraints of trade out of harmony with the law and the public interest," we have found conclusive evidence that warrants an unqualified affirmative.

This evidence in summary form accompanies this letter and will be set forth in more detailed form in seven reports in support of our findings and recommendations, which will be placed in your hand at the earliest possible moment.

While we have found and will disclose to you an intricate fabric of "monopolies, controls, combinations, conspiracies, and restraints" which would seem to indicate a similarly complex and minute system of legislative or administrative remedies, we believe that an adequate remedy may be more simply arrived at.

We believe that if the fundamental and underlying evils are rooted out the whole structure of conspiracy, control, monopoly, and restraint must fall.

If we are correct in this judgment, the task of applying legislative and administrative remedy is greatly simplified.

It appears that five great packing concerns of the country—Swift, Armour, Morris, Cudahy, and Wilson—have attained such a dominant position that they control at will the market in which they buy their supplies, the market in which they sell their products, and hold the fortunes of their competitors in their hands.

Not only is the business of gathering, preparing, and selling meat products in their control but an almost countless number of by-product industries are similarly dominated; and, not content with reaching out for mastery as to commodities which substitute for meat and its by-products, they have invaded allied industries and even unrelated ones.

The combination has not stopped at the most minute integration, but has gone on into a stage of conglomeration, so that unrelated heterogeneous enterprises are brought under control.

As we have followed these five great corporations through their amazing and devious ramifications—followed them through important branches of industry, of commerce, and of finance—we have been able to trace back to its source the great power which has made possible their growth. We have found that it is not so much the means of production and preparation, nor the sheer momentum of great wealth, but the advantage which is obtained through a monopolistic control of the market places and means of transportation and distribution.

If these five great concerns owned no packing plants and killed no cattle and still retained control of the instruments of transportation, of marketing and of storage, their position would not be less strong than it is.

The producer of live stock is at the mercy of these five companies because they control the market and the marketing facilities and, to some extent, the rolling stock which transports the product to the market.

The competitors of these five concerns are at their mercy because of the control of the market places, storage facilities, and the refrigerator cars for distribution.

The consumer of meat products is at the mercy of these five because both producer and competitor are helpless to bring relief.

The stock car is a part of the equipment of the common carrier, whose services are necessary to the producer of meat animals so that he may reach the market. The railroads furnish suitable cars for the transportation of other kinds of freight, and as to the use of such cars the miner of coal or the manufacturer of furniture are on an equality but in the matter of transportation of live stock to a small degree there comes in a private ownership and a control and a manipulation of the means of transportation—the stock car—so it is that we recommend:

"1. That the Government acquire, through the Railroad Administration, all rolling stock used for the transportation of meat animals, and that such ownership be declared a Government monopoly."

In the transportation of all other kinds of freight the transportation companies provide proper and suitable freight depots. The proper and suitable freight depot for live stock is a stockyard with its equipment of exchange buildings, terminal railways, and means of distributing full, unbiased, helpful market information, etc. We therefore recommend:

"2. That the Government acquire, through the Railroad Administration, the principal and necessary stockyards of the country, to be treated as freight depots and to be operated under such conditions as will insure open, competitive markets, with uniform scale of charges for all services performed, and the acquisition or establishment of such additional yards from time to time as the future development of live-stock production in the United States may require. This to include customary adjuncts of stockyards."

A requisite for the proper transportation of fresh meat and dairy products is that type of rolling stock known as refrigerator cars. The railroads supply proper, special types of cars for other classes of freight, but the beef refrigerator cars and icing facilities, which are absolutely necessary for the transportation and distribution of fresh meats, are in private ownership. This ownership furnishes these five great packing companies one of their most powerful means for controls, manipulations, and restraints. Lacking access on equal terms to these facilities competitors of the five great packers are at their mercy, and, competition being stifled, the consumer similarly is helpless. We therefore recommend:

"3. That the Government acquire, through the Railroad Administration, all privately owned refrigerator cars and all necessary equipment for their proper operation and that such ownership be declared a Government monopoly."

Proper freight houses are provided by common carriers for the various sorts of freight except meat and perishable products. The indicated freight depot for such commodities is a cold-storage house. Such a depot used as a distributing station, if free of access to all, would constitute an agency for fair and free competition. Such a depot in private hands, as now, constitutes an invincible weapon for monopoly and control and manipulation. We therefore recommend:

"4. That the Federal Government acquire such of the branch houses, cold-storage plants, and warehouses as are necessary to provide facilities for the competitive marketing and storage of food products in the principal centers of distribution and consumption. The same to be operated by the Government as public markets and storage places under such conditions as will afford an outlet for all manufacturers and handlers of food products on equal terms. Supplementing the marketing and storage facilities thus acquired, the Federal Government establish, through the Railroad Administration, at the terminals of all principal points of distribution and consumption, central wholesale markets, and storage plants, with facilities open to all upon payment of just and fair charges."

The commission believes that these four suggestions strike so deeply at the root of the tree of monopoly that they constitute an adequate and simple solution of a problem the gravity of which will be unfolded to you in the pages which follow.

Out of the mass of information in our hands, one fact stands out with all possible emphasis. The small dominant group of American meat packers are now international in their activities, while remaining American in identity. Blame which now attaches to them for their practices abroad as well as at home inevitably will attach to our country if the practices continue. The purely domestic problems in their increasing magnitude, their monopolization of markets and their manipulations and controls, grave as those problems are, are not more serious than those presented by the added aspect of international activity. This urgently argues for a solution which will increase and not diminish the high regard in which this people is held in international comity.

Some show of competition is staged by the five great packing companies. It is superficial. There is the natural rivalry of officials and departments, and this is made much of as indicating the existence of real competition. It is not real. How sham it is will be fully set out in the accompanying summary and the complete reports.

Some independent packers exist by sufferance of the five, and a few hardy ones have survived in real competition. Around such few of these as remain the lines are drawing in.

Having answered affirmatively the question to which you directed our attention and having summarized what we believe to be the simplest form of an adequate remedy, and before proceeding to a more detailed discussion of the subject, we make acknowledgment of the tireless industry, the fidelity to the public interest, and the patience and forbearance of the men who have composed the commission's staff in this inquiry.

These men have met and overcome every obstacle that ingenuity and money could devise to impede them. Space forbidding individual mention, we make this general acknowledgment, and this seems the proper time to call to your attention again, and especially the work of Mr. Francis J. Heney, whose conduct of the case, because of its success, has met with condemnation, misrepresentation, and criticism. We contrast Mr. Heney's legal ethics with the legal ethics of the men by whom he was opposed.

The commission, through Mr. Heney, had to meet deliberate falsification of returns properly required under legal authority; we had to meet schools for witnesses where employees were coached in anticipation of their being called to testify in an investigation ordered by you and by the Congress of the United States; we had to meet a situation created by the destruction of letters and documents vital to this investigation; we had to meet a conspiracy in the preparation of answers to the lawful inquiries of the commission.

We will not trespass upon your time to go into details as to the legal and business ethics employed, but on the foregoing statement, which we are prepared to substantiate in every detail, we contrast the ethics of the commission's legal and investigating staff with the legal staffs of the five great companies. And in leaving this part of the subject, we say, as we have said repeatedly to you during the time of the investigation, that Mr. Heney's conduct of the case, as well as that of the other agents and attorneys of the commission, was under the direct supervision of the commission, the acts were performed with the knowledge and under the direction of the commission, and the commission assumes all responsibility for them.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM B. COLVER, *Chairman.*
JOHN FRANKLIN FORT.
VICTOR MURDOCK.

SUMMARY OF REPORT.

This report, while dealing generally with the problem of the meat industry, is more particularly a study of the activities of the five principal meat-packing corporations (Armour & Co., Swift & Co., Morris & Co., Wilson & Co. (Inc.), and the Cudahy Packing Co.) in all fields, in so far as they bear on the production and distribution of food. This concentration of attention is adopted by the commission because we are convinced that their power and influence over the production and distribution of food are dominant and because it is our judgment that until their activities are curbed and their control is eliminated, all measures looking to the improvement of the food situation will be relatively ineffective.

The pages which follow contain a summary of the evidence upon which our findings and recommendations are based. This summary shows:

"First. The magnitude of the large meat-packing companies, the extensive ramifications of their interests, and the instruments by which they have established and maintain control.

"Second. The nature of their combination, with details of the various agreements and combinations.

"Third. The practices of the combination and their social and economic effects.

"Fourth. The remedy proposed."

The detailed evidence, including hundreds of documents taken from the files of the packing companies, about 9,000 pages of sworn testimony, and many thousand pages of field reports of agents of the com-

mission has been carefully analyzed and digested, and will be laid before the President as rapidly as the various sections can be put in final form.

Before proceeding to the findings of the commission it is desirable to consider briefly some of the difficulties encountered in the investigation, because of the light which will thus be thrown upon the facts and the conclusions to be presented. In the first place, the packers have important interests in fields where the commission's inquisitorial powers are limited, but which are nevertheless of the greatest significance in connection with their activities in the food industry. Thus, for example, they are closely linked with a large number of banks, trust companies, and railroads, which connections are utilized, often unfairly if not illegally, for the promotion of the packers' interests in the food industry.

This would not be of vital consequence if the officials of the packing companies could be relied upon to furnish accurate and reliable information, or if their records were kept in such a way as to reveal the true state of their affairs. At the beginning of the investigation the commission attempted to proceed on these assumptions, but it was soon demonstrated that the records of the companies, particularly as regards stockholders' lists and other evidences of ownership, were constructed to conceal rather than reveal facts; that important documents had been removed from their proper places in the files, and that the reports of some of the most important corporations and the statements of their officials could not be accepted. Thus, Armour & Co. in their report, attested by the vice president, Arthur Meeker, among other falsifications, omitted the company's interest in the Chicago Stock Yards, amounting to $1,552,000, although the treasurer of the company testified that the transfer of this property from J. Ogden Armour to the company had been made prior to the time the report was prepared. That the omission was willful and part of a general plan to conceal the interest in the stockyards is evidenced by the facts that admission of Armour's interest was made only when the commission's examiner was on the point of discovering the truth, and that Arthur Meeker on June 6, 1916, stated before the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives that "the Armour people have no interest in the Chicago Stock Yards."

The commission is also in possession of documentary evidence that a committee was formed by Swift & Co. to "coach" employees who might be called upon to testify or give information to the agents of this commission and other Government bodies.

We know also that the five packing companies—Armour, Swift, Morris, Wilson, and Cudahy—conspired together in the preparation of their answers to the commission's inquiries to the end that all should agree. As part of the evidence in our possession substantiating this statement, the following letter is submitted:

AUGUST 2, 1917.

MESSRS. G. F. SWIFT, Jr., F. S. HAYWARD, R. C. MCMANUS, A. D. WHITE, J. M. CHAPLIN, L. D. H. WELD:

Mr. Veeder informs me that he has, at different times, talked to Messrs. Thomas E. Wilson, M. W. Borders, C. J. Faulkner, James Sheehan (retained by Armour & Co. for this investigation), and Thomas Creigh, and has suggested to them that each firm prepare its own answer to the questionnaire received recently from Commissioner Davies, and that when the answers have been completed we have a conference for the purpose of discussing objectionable things, if any, which might be contained in the individual reports.

All of the gentlemen to whom Mr. Veeder has talked have agreed to this policy, and it is Mr. Veeder's idea that as soon as our people have formulated our reply we should have a meeting among ourselves to consider it, and that we should at that meeting discuss the advisability of exchanging copies of letters with the others as against simply bringing our letters into a meeting to be discussed there without exchange of copies.

Told him that I thought that this was a point that ought to be given very careful consideration, and that we would not want to commit ourselves at this time to an exchange of letters with the others.

Told him that when our material was ready would arrange for meeting of all interested who were in town at that time.

Will Mr. White please advise me when the data is in shape to be considered in a conference of our own people?

WM. B. TRAYNOR,
Secretary to Committee.

LL.

In addition to the general "combing" of the companies' files in anticipation of the investigation, attempts were made on certain occasions to abstract important documents from the files under the eyes of our agents. G. S. Shepard, vice president of Cudahy Packing Co., admitted that he had ordered his stenographer to make an incorrect copy of a letter which the commission's agent had requested, and had himself destroyed the document. Finally it may be stated that the attorney for Morris & Co., M. W. Borders, when put on the witness stand under oath, after first demanding immunity on the ground that his testimony might tend to incriminate him, proceeded to make statements which were disproved by the documents, many signed by himself, with which he was later confronted.

Cases of this nature involving violations of the law have been placed in the hands of the Department of Justice for appropriate action.

It should be remembered also in considering the results of this investigation that these corporations are now operating under a Federal injunction issued in 1903; that they had been informed by the Attorney General in 1912, at the dissolution of the National Packing Co., that they would be the objects of close scrutiny and inspection; and that a committee of their confidential employees reported on April 10, 1916, that "as matters now stand criminal prosecutions are sure to follow."

These facts have been cited at the beginning of the report, not so much for the light which they throw upon the character of the corporations and individuals under investigation but because they demonstrate that this report based as it is upon documentary evidence of the corporations, is an understatement rather than an overstatement of the situation.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS.

Five corporations—Armour & Co., Swift & Co., Morris & Co., Wilson & Co. (Inc.), and the Cudahy Packing Co.—hereafter referred to as the "Big Five" or "The Packers," together with their subsidiaries and affiliated companies, not only have a monopolistic control over the American meat industry, but have secured control, similar in purpose if not yet in extent, over the principal substitutes for meat, such as eggs, cheese, and vegetable-oil products, and are rapidly extending their power to cover fish and nearly every kind of foodstuff.

In addition to these immense properties in the United States, the Armour, Swift, Morris, and Wilson interests, either separately or jointly, own or control more than half of the export-meat production of the Argentine, Brazil, and Uruguay, and have large investments in other surplus meat-producing countries, including Australia. Under present shipping conditions the big American packers control more than half of the meat upon which the allies are dependent.

The monopolistic position of the Big Five is based not only upon the large proportion of the meat business which they handle, ranging from 61 to 86 per cent in the principal lines, but primarily upon their ownership, separately or jointly, of stockyards, car lines, cold-storage plants, branch houses, and the other essential facilities for the distribution of perishable foods.

The control of these five great corporations, furthermore, rests in the hands of a small group of individuals, namely, J. Ogden Armour, the Swift brothers, the Morris brothers, Thomas E. Wilson (acting under the veto of a small group of bankers), and the Cudahys.

A new and important aspect was added to the situation when the control of Sulzberger & Sons Co. (now known as Wilson & Co., Inc.) was secured, 1916, by a group of New York banks—Chase National Bank; Guaranty Trust Co.; Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; William Salomon & Co.; and Hallgarten & Co. The report of the committee appointed by the House of Representatives to "Investigate the concentration of control of money and credit" (the Pujo committee) states (p. 59): "Morgan & Co. controls absolutely the Guaranty Trust Co." The Chase National Bank, a majority of its stock being owned by George F. Baker, is closely affiliated with the First National Bank. William Salomon & Co. and Hallgarten & Co. are closely affiliated with Kuhn, Loeb & Co. Thus we have three of the most powerful banking groups in the country, which the Pujo committee classed among the six "most active agents in forwarding and bringing about the concentration of control of money and credit" now participating in the rapidly maturing food monopoly above described. The entrance of the bankers into the packing business, it should also be noted, was not at all displeasing to the big packers. J. Ogden Armour and Louis F. Swift were frequently consulted during the negotiations, and Paul D. Cravath is quoted by Henry Veeder as giving assurance that the final arrangements would be "more than satisfactory" to Armour and Swift.

The menace of this concentrated control of the Nation's food is increased by the fact that these five corporations and their five hundred and odd subsidiary, controlled, and affiliated companies are bound together by joint ownership, agreements, understandings, communities of interest, and family relationships.

The combination among the "big five" is not a casual agreement brought about by indirect and obscure methods, but a definite and positive conspiracy for the purpose of regulating purchases of live stock and controlling the price of meat, the terms of the conspiracy being found in certain documents which are in our possession.

There are undoubtedly rivalries in certain lines among the five corporations. Their agreements do not cover every phase of their manifold activities, nor is each of the five corporations a party to all agreements and understandings which exist. Each of the companies is free to secure advantages and profits for itself so long as it does not disturb the basic compact. Elaborate steps have been taken to disguise their real relations by maintaining a show of intense competition at the most conspicuous points of contact.

The Armour, Swift, Morris, and Wilson interests have entered into a combination with certain foreign corporations by which export shipments of beef, mutton, and other meats from the principal South American meat-producing countries are apportioned among the several companies on the basis of agreed percentages. In conjunction with this conspiracy, meetings are held for the purpose of securing the maintenance of the agreement and making such readjustments as from time to time may be desirable. The agreements restrict South American shipments to European countries and to the United States.

Since the meat supplies of North and South America constitute practically the only sources from which the United States and her allies can satisfy their needs for their armies, navies, and civil populations, these two agrements constitute a conspiracy on the part of the "big five," in conjunction with certain foreign corporations, to monopolize an essential of the food of the United States, England, France, and Italy.

The power of the Big Five in the United States has been and is being unfairly and illegally used to—

Manipulate live-stock markets;
Restrict interstate and international supplies of foods;
Control the prices of dressed meats and other foods;
Defraud both the producers of food and consumers;
Crush effective competition;
Secure special privileges from railroads, stockyard companies, and municipalities; and
Profiteer.

The packers' profits in 1917 were more than four times as great as in the average year before the European war, although their sales in dollars and cents at even the inflated prices of last year had barely doubled. In the war years, 1915–1917, four of the five packers made net profits of $178,000,000.

EXTENT OF "BIG FIVE" OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL.

The meat industry: The most satisfactory single index of the proportion of the meat industry controlled by the Big Five is the fact that they kill, in round figures, 70 per cent of the live stock slaughtered by all packers and butchers engaged in interstate commerce. In 1916 the Big Five's percentage of the interstate slaughter, including subsidiary and affiliated companies, was as follows:

Cattle	82.2
Calves	76.6
Hogs	61.2
Sheep and lambs	86.4

Illustrative of how completely effective competition has been eliminated from the meat industry is the fact that there is only one independent packer, Kingan & Co., who slaughters as much as 1 per cent of the interstate total of cattle, and only nine independents who slaughter as much as 1 per cent of the interstate total of hogs.

The big packers, in presenting their case to the public, have given great emphasis to certain figures purporting to prove that the Big Five handle "not to exceed one-third of the total meat production of the United States." This result can be obtained only by juggling figures; for example, by omitting from the Big Five's total the animals slaughtered by their affiliated companies. Their statement is further deceptive, because under "total meat production of the

United States" are included all the animals killed on the farm for home consumption. On this theory, monopoly could not be considered to exist in the meat industry, even if every pound of meat consumed in towns and cities were handled by a single company, so long as farmers continued to kill their own hogs and cows.

Control of the meat industry carries with it not only control of all kinds of fresh and preserved meats, but in addition a very great competitive advantage in more than a hundred products and by-products arising in connection with their preparation and manufacture, ranging in importance from hides and oleomargarine to sandpaper and curled hair. In all these lines the Big Five's percentage of control, as compared with other slaughterers, is greater even than the percentage of animals killed, because of the fact that many of the small packers are not equipped or have been unable to utilize their by-products.

Foreign interests.—The investigation of the foreign interests of the American packers is not yet complete. The following list of those companies which thus far have been identified as subsidiary to or affiliated with the Big Five is indicative of the extent of their activities abroad:

Armour:
- Armour & Co. of Australasia (Australia and New Zealand).
- Armour & Co. of Uruguay (Uruguay).
- Compania Armour do Brazil (Brazil).
- Frigorifico Armour de la Plata (Argentina).
- Dominion Tanneries (Ltd.) (Canada).
- Armour Canadian Grain Co. (Canada).
- Allen & Crom (Ltd.) (Great Britain).
- Armour & Co. (Ltd.) (Great Britain).
- Fowler Bros. (Ltd.) (Great Britain).
- James Wright & Co. (Great Britain).
- Times Cold Storage Co. (Great Britain).
- Armour & Co. (Frankfort) (Germany).
- Armour et Compagnie Societe Anonyme (France).
- Armour Societa Anonima Italiana (Italy).
- Armour & Co. (Ltd.) (Denmark).

Armour & Morris:
- Sociedad Anonima La Blanca (Argentina).

Cudahy:
- Cudahy & Co. (Ltd.) (Australia).
- The Cudahy Packing Co. (Ltd.) (Great Britain).

Morris:
- Morris Beef Co. (Ltd.) (Great Britain).
- Haarers (Ltd.) (Great Britain).

Swift:
- Australian Meat Export Co. (Ltd.) (Australia).
- Compania Swift do Brazil (Brazil)
- Compania Swift de la Plata (Argentina).
- Compania Swift de Montevideo (Uruguay).
- Compania Paraguaya de Frigorifico (Paraguay).
- Swift Canadian Co. (with its selling branches) (Canada).
- Libby, McNeill & Libby of Canada (Canada).
- Libby, McNeill & Libby of London (Great Britain).
- Curry & Co. (Ltd.) (Great Britain).
- Garner, Bennett & Co. (Ltd.) (Great Britain).
- H. A. Lane & Co. (Ltd.) (Great Britain).
- H. L. Swift Stall (Great Britain).
- Swift Packing Co. (Ltd.) (France).
- Franklin Land & Investment Co. (Great Britain).
- Swift Beef Co. (Ltd.) (Great Britain).

Wilson:
- Frigorifico Wilson de la Argentine (Argentina).
- Archer & Co. (Ltd.) (Great Britain).
- Nuttall Provision Co. (Ltd.) (Great Britain).

Their present and prospective positions in the Commonwealths of the Pacific are well described by the following extract from a communication from the American consul general, Auckland, New Zealand, to the Secretary of State, dated April 26, 1918:

"I have the honor to advise that the Hon. W. D. S. MacDonald, minister of agriculture, industries, and commerce of New Zealand, has asked me to secure for him and the use of the New Zealand Government all the information possible relative to the investigation made by the United States Federal Trade Commission into the American Meat Trust; and I should very greatly appreciate it if I might be furnished with at least two or three copies of this information for the honorable minister, who indicated that he would like at least that many.

"In this connection I wish to explain that the operations of the American Meat Trust are of very great interest to New Zealand stock raisers, since they are very greatly alarmed over their actions in this part of the world, fearing that they propose to get control of the meat business in this Dominion. Armour & Co. already have an office at Christchurch, and have employed one of the most expert stockmen in this Dominion.

"This question is being discussed extensively in and out of Government circles, and I believe it will be wise to make it clear that the American Government is in no wise connected with or fostering the methods used by what is known as the American Meat Trust."

Substitutes for meat: The business of the packing companies originally was limited to the slaughter of live stock and the distribution of meat and animal products and by-products. Now, however, they are rapidly extending their control over all possible substitutes for meat—fish, poultry, eggs, milk, butter, cheese, and all kinds of vegetable oil products—and have secured strategic points of collection, preparation, and distribution of these products.

Swift & Co. is the greatest butter distributor in the United States, handling in 1916, in round figures 50,000,000 pounds, or nearly as much as the combined sales of the two largest nonpacker organizations.

Judged conservatively by trade estimates, the Big Five packers handle at least half of the interstate commerce in poultry and eggs and in cheese. The packers are also important factors in the preparation and distribution of condensed and evaporated milk, and are rapidly increasing their proportion. Wisconsin, the leading State in the production of butter and cheese, is covered by their creameries, condensaries, and buying stations, and a similar process of concentration and control is already evident in the other principal dairy States.

Vegetable-oil products are becoming increasingly important as substitutes for animal fats. The most abundant and widely used of the vegetable oils in the United States is cottonseed oil, of which 31.8 per cent was refined by the five big packers in 1916. The most important by-product of the cottonseed-oil industry is cottonseed cake, which is in great demand by live-stock producers.

Canned fruits, vegetables, etc.: Fruit and vegetable canning and preserving are remote from slaughtering and meat packing, but the big packers, through ownership of refrigerator-car lines and their branch-house system of distribution, possess special advantages for control of this field of industry. The Big Five's advantage in this field rests not so much on their ownership of canning factories, although in some branches their output amounts to more than a quarter of the total for the United States, as upon their rapidly growing control of the wholesale distribution of canned goods. Indicative of the size and rapid expansion of the packers' canned-goods business is the fact that Armour & Co. increased their canned-goods sales from about $6,500,000 in 1916 to about $16,000,000 in 1917, whereas the combined sales of these products by Austin Nichols Co. and Sprague, Warner & Co., two of the largest independent wholesalers, amounted to only a little more than $6,000,000 in 1917.

Staple groceries and vegetables: Recently the big packers began dealing in various staple groceries and vegetables, such as rice, sugar, potatoes, beans, and coffee, and increased their sales at such a great rate that in certain of these lines they have become dominant factors. Here again the immense selling organization of the packers, built up in connection with their meat business, assures them almost certain supremacy in any line of food handling which they may wish to enter.

Armour's drive into the rice market in a single year is perhaps the most striking instance of the potentialities in this direction. Early in 1917 Armour & Co. first undertook the handling of rice, and in that one year sold more than 16,000,000 pounds of rice, thus becoming at a single move, on the statement of the vice president of the company, "the greatest rice merchant of the world." During this period the wholesale price of rice increased 65 per cent.

Grain: Armour is the only one of the big packers who appears to be interested in the grain trade, although James A. Patten, a large stockholder of Swift & Co., is also one of the important factors in the cereal markets.

The Armour Grain Co. is a close corporation, in which J. Ogden Armour owns 64 per cent of the stock and other members of the family 22.9 per cent. Directly or through its subsidiary or trade-name companies the Armour Grain Co. operates over 90 country elevators. Its 8 terminal elevators at Chicago and its 2 elevators at Kansas City constitute 25 per cent of the total elevator capacity of these cities. In 1917 it handled 75,000,000 bushels, or 23 per cent of all receipts of grain at Chicago, the greatest market in the world, and its business is rapidly growing. Nearly all of this was directly merchandised and only a small fraction sold on commission.

In the manufacture of breakfast foods and stock and chicken feeds the Armour Grain Co. is expanding, especially in the line of producing retail brands. Within three years it has undertaken the manufacture of Armour's Oats, has taken over the Buffalo Cereal Co., with its many brands of cereal foods and animal feeds, and within the present year has taken over the Mapl-Flake Co., of Battle Creek, Mich.

In connection with its line of country elevators the Armour Grain Co. merchandises fertilizer, feed, coal, fence posts, wire fencing, builders' hardware, binding twine, lumber, millwork, cement, lime and plaster, brick, sand, gravel, and roofing.

Fertilizers: The fertilizer industry lies at the base of American food production. The packers, controlling the disposal of more than two-thirds of the offal produced in the packing industry, have become the most important factors in the manufacture of animal fertilizer ingredients and have strongly entered the field of production of mineral ingredients. In mixed fertilizers they produce 19 per cent of the total.

Hides, leather, and wool: In addition to the far-reaching ownership and control in the various branches of the food industry outlined above, the Big Five also occupy an important position with reference to the clothing of our civil and military population through potential control of the hide and leather markets of the United States and of a considerable proportion of the total wool production.

There is no question of their dominant position with reference to hides and leather. The Big Five not only handle more than three-fourths of the hides and skins produced by interstate slaughterers, but directly, through their subsidiaries or through leases and contracts, tan a large part of the leather produced in the United States. The big packers occupy an even more important and profitable position in the hide and leather industry than these statements indicate, because of the fact that their hides receive a higher grading than those of independent packers and butchers, whose hides are arbitrarily classed as "country hides," and that they control a large share of hide imports.

Finally, the packers' storage facilities and strong financial position make it possible for them to manipulate the markets and dispose of their product without regard to supply and demand. It is admitted in correspondence of the big packers that during the past year, when leather was in enormous demand, certain of the Big Five hoarded hides in such immense quantities for the purpose of inflating the already unreasonable prices that (to quote their own correspondence), "We are forced to pack them in our cellars and outside in the open, but have reached the point now where we have no place to go with any more."

INSTRUMENTS OF CONTROL AND MONOPOLY.

The actual and potential powers of these corporate groups and individuals are far greater and much more menacing to the welfare and true prosperity of the Nation than this enumeration of industrial possessions would indicate. This greater menace lies in the fact that the Big Five have intrenched themselves in what may be called the strategic positions of control of food distribution. These strategic positions, which serve not only to protect the controls which the big packers have already acquired but to insure their easy conquest of new fields, are:

Stockyards, with their collateral institutions, such as terminal roads, cattle-loan banks, and market papers.

Private refrigerator-car lines for the transportation of all kinds of perishable foods.

Cold-storage plants for the preservation of perishable foods.

Branch-house system of wholesale distribution.

Banks and real estate.

The Big Five do not control banks in the same sense that they do stockyards and car lines, but they possess overwhelming advantages over competitors.

Stockyards: The stockyards are the depot markets through which practically all animals which move in interstate commerce pass. Ownership, partial or complete, of these markets is not only a source of great profit but affords a fundamental business advantage.

How completely the Big Five control these markets will appear from the following list:

Location of yards.	Percentage of stock controlled by Big Five.	Number of big packers interested.
Brighton, Mass	95.0	1
Chicago, Ill	(1)	(?) (1)
Connellsville, Pa	100.0	1
Dallas, Tex	100.0	1
Denver, Colo	100.0	2
East St. Louis, Ill	83.5	4
St. Louis, Mo	(2)	----------
El Paso, Tex	70.0	1
Fort Worth, Tex	69.3	2
Jacksonville, Fla	99.2	1
Jersey City, N. J.:		
Jersey City Stock Yards	[3] 91.4	2
Central Union Stock Yards	99.2	1
Kansas City, Kans	67.3	5
Laramie, Wyo	90.0	1
Louisville, Ky	25.7	2
Milwaukee, Wis	97.5	1
Nebraska City, Nebr	100.0	1
Newark, N. J	99.0	1
New Orleans, La	86.1	1
New York, N. Y	97.4	1
Oklahoma City, Okla	84.7	2
Omaha, Nebr	[3] 60.2	2
Pittsburgh, Pa	97.0	1
Portland, Oreg	92.1	2
Sioux City, Iowa	75.1	3
St. Paul, Minn	63.5	2
St. Joseph, Mo	84.2	2
South San Francisco, Cal	91.0	5
West Philadelphia, Pa	[3] 45.8	1
Wichita, Kans	59.6	1
Yankton, S. Dak	(4)	----------

[1] The commission has definitely located Armour's interest in the Chicago Stock Yards Co. as 19.4 per cent. There is also evidence that Swift and probably Morris were parties to the negotiations by which Armour acquired his interests, but it has not yet been possible to locate Swift and Morris stock, because of the system by which the stockholders' names are concealed through the issuance of "bearer warrants" for the stock.

[2] 96 per cent owned by East St. Louis yards.

[3] Including Allerton family interests.

[4] 82 per cent owned by Sioux City yards.

The cattle-loan bank is the institution through which loans are effected for the purchase of cattle for breeding and fattening. How jealously this monopoly of making loans at the yards is guarded appears from the example at East St. Louis, where the packers would not permit the establishment of a rival bank within half a mile.

Direct control by ownership of market papers and other trade periodicals was definitely established by the commission in the case of six papers, and there are a number of others controlled by various indirect but effective methods. Control of market papers is important, both for their actual and potential influence over shipments and prices by the character of statements published and put on the wires, as well as for protection against criticism. How important this may be is shown by a letter written by the editor of a Texas paper to Henry Veeder, referring to the marked change in the policy of his papers, as he expressed it, "before and after taking" two loans of $5,000 each from Armour and Swift. This and other correspondence from the packers' files indicates that direct ownership is not necessary for control of these publications.

One of the trade journals frequently quoted as a source of authoritative information regarding the meat industry is the National Provisioner. An editor of this journal for years received a joint annual subsidy of $5,000 from Armour, Swift, and Morris.

The big packers' control at these markets is much greater than these statistics indicate. In the first place they are the largest and in some cases practically the only buyers at these various markets, and as such hold a whip hand over the commission men who act as the intermediaries in the sale of live stock.

The packers' power is increased by the fact that they control all the facilities through which live stock is sold to themselves. Control of stockyards comprehends control of live-stock exchange buildings where commission men have their offices; control of assignment of pens to commission firms; control of banks and cattle-loan companies; control of terminal and switching facilities; control of yardage services and charges; control of weighing facilities; control of the disposition of dead animals and other profitable yard monopolies; and in most cases control of all packing-house and other business sites. Packer-owned stockyards give these interests access to records containing confidential shipping information which is used to the disadvantage of shippers who have attempted to forward their live stock to a second market.

Private car lines and transportation privileges: The Big Five own 93 per cent of the total of all kinds of cars owned by interstate slaughterers, including refrigerator, stock, tank, box, flat, and gondola cars. The most important of these from the standpoint of monopolization are the refrigerator cars.

The Big Five own 91 per cent of all refrigerator cars properly equipped for the shipment of fresh meat that are operated upon the railroads of the United States. The railroads have almost no equipment suitable for shipping dressed meat, and, consequently, unless an independent packing company is large enough to afford to make a heavy outlay for refrigerator cars, it is practically impossible for it to attempt to ship fresh meat out of the locality in which it is produced. The smaller independents, therefore, confine themselves either to pork packing or to cattle slaughter for local consumption.

Icing stations advantageously located on the lines of the trunk railroads between St. Louis, Chicago, and the Atlantic seaboard are owned and operated by three of the five packers. At these stations the packers' cars are iced as well as all cars carrying perishable products, including the shipments of competitors. Besides serving as a particular advantage to the owners in that their own ice service is secured at cost, these stations put them in a position to secure valuable information concerning the shipments and customers of competitors.

From a competitive standpoint, however, a great advantage which the big packers have enjoyed has been the preferential treatment accorded their cars. The big packers' cars have been carefully handled, promptly returned, and used only for the shipment of the packers' own commodities. The small packers, on the other hand, have been subject to extreme delays in securing the return of their cars. Six months for a trip from St. Louis to New York and return was not at all uncommon, and there are a number of cases where nine months elapsed before the car came back to its owner. The railroads have also been accustomed to take liberties with the independents' cars, as, for example, permitting their beef cars to be used for the shipment of onions.

The freight tonnage controlled by the big packers has for years given them a great leverage in all their dealings with the railroads. Until the Interstate Commerce Commission interfered, this power was used to obtain money rebates, and in recent years to secure special privileges and concessions. The big packers sometimes acted in combination, throwing their joint power against the railroad or group of railroads from which special privileges were demanded.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the packers have organized various companies to sell railroad equipment and supplies, such as bumping posts, metal bearings, waste, ice, and coal. These companies have been profitable.

Cold storage: Profits and actual market control in the handling of perishable foods are alike dependent upon ability to buy during seasons of surplus production and low prices and to store at reasonable costs until there is a relative scarcity. The packers have such storage facilities. They have gone far beyond the requirements of their own output and have established huge plants in which they store outputs bought from other producers.

Branch houses and car routes: The packers' distribution of their products is effected through a system of branch houses located in the large towns and cities, and a system of refrigerator "peddler car" routes which reach the smaller communities. Swift & Co. reach a larger number of cities and towns by peddler car than all other packers, while Armour & Co. have developed a system of delivering from their branch houses by trucks, reaching by this means over 20,000 towns, and making their total number of towns greater than Swift & Co. The number of such branch houses and car routes controlled by the Big Five is as follows:

	Number of branch houses.	Car routes.	
		Number of routes.	Number of towns reached.
Armour interests	366	197	[1] 24,681
Swift intersts	343	484	23,376
Morris interests	154	229	4,019
Wilson & Co. (Inc.)	117	187	1,903
Cudahy Packing Co	113	200	4,198
Total	1,093	1,297	(2)

[1] Including towns reached by Armour's truck sales.

[2] Total would include a great number of duplications.

This system of wholesale distribution through branch houses and peddler cars is the bulwark of monopoly. There is virtually no limit to the possible expansion of their wholesale merchandising short of the complete monopolization of the primary distribution of the Nation's food.

With the development of their branch house and car-route systems it is unnecessary for the packers to go through the slow process of building up manufacturing plants. Their initial move is to contract for the output of factories. After the manufacturers have been under exclusive contract for a few years they become virtually "tied" to the packers, and unable to break away and develop new outlets for production.

Already even the oldest and most strongly established wholesale houses are seeing line after line of their merchandise absorbed by the packers' branch-house system. First, they saw the packers encroach on the handling of butter, eggs, and cheese, then canned goods, then various kinds of "package goods," and now rice, sugar, coffee, and other staples are being increasingly handled by the packers. Last year the Big Five's combined sales totaled $2,127,245,000. At the present rate of expansion, within a few years the big packers would control the wholesale distribution of the Nation's food supply.

Financial and real estate interests: Lastly, as an element of control, are the big packers' widely distributed interests in banks and real estate, which the commission has not as yet completely explored.

In the financial field the packers' strength is based not so much on actual ownership as upon the influence which they can exert by reason of their volume of business and commanding industrial position.

They are further entrenched in financial institutions throughout the United States as is evidenced by the following list, which relates only to the principal cities and packing centers. In each of the banks shown in this list the packers are represented on the board of directors through members of the individual families, or through officers, directors, or confidential employees of the packing companies. In addition, there are a number of banks not covered by this list in which close business associates of the packers are directors.

Boston:
- Commercial National Bank (Wilson).
- Broadway National Bank of Chelsea (Swift).
- Harvard Trust Co. (Swift).

New York City:
- William Salomon & Co. (Wilson).
- National City Bank (Armour).
- Chase National Bank (Wilson).
- International Banking Corporation (Armour).
- Irving National Bank (Swift, Armour).
- Guaranty Trust Co. (Wilson).
- Irving Trust Co. (Armour).
- New York County National Bank (Swift).
- Hallgarten & Co. (Wilson).

Chicago:
Continental Commercial National Bank (Armour, Cudahy).
Hibernian Banking Association (Armour).
Fort Dearborn Trust & Savings Bank (Swift).
Illinois Trust & Savings Bank (Swift).
First National Bank (Morris, Wilson).
First Trust & Savings Bank (Wilson).
People's Trust & Savings Bank (Armour).
National Bank of the Republic (Swift, Cudahy).
Continental & Commercial Trust & Savings Bank (Armour).
Drovers' National Bank (Swift).
Liberty Trust & Savings Bank (Morris).
Woodlawn Trust & Savings Bank (Swift).
Westside Trust & Savings Bank (Morris).
Mid City Trust & Savings Bank (Morris).
Union Trust Co. (Armour).
Stoney Island Trust & Savings Bank (Armour).
Kenwood Trust & Savings Bank (Swift).
Depositors' State & Savings Bank (Wilson).
South Side State Bank (Armour, Swift).
Central Manufacturing District Bank (Armour).
Drovers' Trust & Savings Bank (Swift).
People's Stockyards Bank (Morris, Armour).
Stockmen's Trust & Savings Bank (Armour, Wilson).
Livestock Exchange National Bank (Armour, Swift, Wilson).
Stockyards Savings Bank (Armour, Swift, Morris).
East St. Louis, Ill.:
National Stockyards National Bank (Morris, Swift, Wilson).
South St. Paul, Minn.:
Stockyards Mortgage & Trust Co. (Swift).
Stockyards National Bank (Swift, Armour).
Sioux City, Iowa:
Livestock National Bank (Swift).
Omaha, Nebr.:
Livestock National Bank (Swift, Morris).
Stockyards National Bank (Armour, Cudahy).
Omaha National Bank (Cudahy).
St. Joseph, Mo.:
St Joseph Stockyards Bank (Swift, Morris).
American National Bank (Swift).
Drovers & Merchants' Bank (Swift).
First National Bank (Swift).
First Trust Co. (Swift).
Kansas City, Mo.:
Drovers' National Bank (Morris, Swift).
Interstate National Bank (Armour).
New England National Bank (Armour).
Wichita, Kans.:
Guarantee Title & Trust Co. (Cudahy).
Kansas National Bank (Cudahy).
Union Stockyards National Bank (Cudahy).
Oklahoma City, Okla.:
Oklahoma Stockyards National Bank (Morris, Wilson).
Fort Worth, Tex.:
Stockyards National Bank (Swift, Armour).
Denver, Colo.:
Denver Stockyards Bank (Swift, Armour, Morris).
Portland, Oreg.:
Livestock State Bank (Swift, Armour).
San Francisco, Cal.:
Anglo-California Trust Co. (Swift).
Bank of South San Francisco (Swift).

The real-estate interests of the big packers apart from the land acquired and held for industrial purposes are very diverse and widely scattered. They range from immense terminal properties in great distributing centers to huge ranches in the West and in South America. Not as a list of holdings, but as examples of the kinds of properties which the big packers are interested in acquiring, the following investments may be cited:

Central manufacturing district, Chicago, Ill.: Owned by Chicago stockyards interests. Consists of 375 acres of factory sites situated "in the exact geographical and population center of Chicago."

North Kansas City real estate enterprises: Jointly owned by Armour, Swift, and the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, including the following companies:

North Kansas City Development Co., North Kansas City Land & Improvement Association, Union Depot Bridge & Terminal Railroad Co., Parkside Land Co., Kansas City Ferry Co., and Guinotte Land Co. The combined book assets of these companies in January, 1918, amounted to $9,840,000, including 3,500 acres of land on the north side of the Missouri River and a strip known as the "River front property" on the south side.

Sutter Basin: The Sutter Basin consists of 120,000 acres of river bottom lands lying at the confluence of the Sacramento and Feather Rivers, which is now being reclaimed by a system of dikes. The Sutter Basin Co., 88 per cent owned by Armour interests, has acquired about 60,000 acres of this land and is now engaged in preparing it for cultivation. The company estimates that this land is worth from $500 to $1,000 per acre, making the total value somewhere between $30,000,000 and $60,000,000.

Among other real estate interests of the packers are the following:

Joint interests:
Kenwood Land Co. (Portland, Oreg.).
Peninsular Industrial Co. (Portland, Oreg.).
North Fort Worth Town Site Co. (North Fort Worth, Tex.).
South Oklahoma Town Site Co. (Oklahoma City, Okla.).
South San Francisco Land & Improvement Co. (South San Francisco, Cal.).

Separate control of 50 per cent or more of stock:
Chowchilla ranch (42,000 acres) (Merced County, Cal.).
Eastern Oregon Live Stock Co. (140,000 acres) (Harney County, Oreg.).
Hawkeye Land Co. (Sioux City, Iowa).
Franklin Land & Investment Co. (London, England).

EVIDENCE OF COMBINATION.

We now examine the character and extent of the relations which exist between these five big packers, with a view to discovering not only whether these relations are contrary to law, but what their effect is upon food production and the general prosperity of the country. The evidence of present-day activities is illuminated by a brief history of these companies and their relationships.

In the first place, these five corporations began as individual enterprises with small capital and, with the exception of Wilson & Co. (Inc.), have been, for two or more generations, under the management of the same families which established them.

Two of these concerns—Armour and Morris—are and always have been close corporations, with stocks almost entirely in the hands of the families. The Cudahy Packing Co. was a close corporation until recently. Its stock is now listed for sale to the public, but it is still dominated by the Cudahy family. The fourth, Swift & Co., although having a large number of stockholders, is now and has always been completely under the control of the Swift family. The 20,000 stockholders, widely advertised by Swift & Co., have never had even an approximately complete list of its subsidiaries and affiliated companies. Sulzberger & Sons Co., the predecessor of Wilson & Co. (Inc.), was also a close corporation, family controlled. To-day, as Wilson & Co., it has a large number of stockholders, but the absolute control of the corporation is vested in a voting trust, consisting of Thomas E. Wilson and four New York bankers—Charles H. Sabin, Harry Bronner, A. Barton Hepburn, and Elisha Walker.

Such concentration of ownership and control of these five companies in a small number of individuals made combination and conspiracy easy.

Furthermore, the "Big Five" are bound together by joint ownership of a large number of companies. In many cases these joint ownerships are not carried in the names of the principals, but, on the contrary, are concealed by all manner of devices. Thus, for example, Armour's and Morris's stock in the Union Meat Co. stands in the names of H. A. Chetham and H. J. Nelson, Swift employees, so that even the most careful scrutiny of the stockholders' list would leave the impression that the Union Meat Co. was merely affiliated with Swift & Co.

The accompanying diagram [p. 12000] presents graphically the joint interests of the five big packers. The 108 companies represented in this chart include only those in which two or more packers own stock or have representation upon the board of directors, with the exception of the National Provisioner, which is included because of the joint subsidy of $5,000 annually from Armour & Co., Swift & Co., and Morris & Co.

HISTORY OF THE CONSPIRACY.

The first public record of an inquiry into the relations of these corporations is the report made in 1890 by a committee of the United States Senate. After two years of investigation, this committee unanimously reported that there was an agreement between the then leading packers, namely, Armour & Co., Swift & Co., Nelson Morris & Co., Hammond & Co., to refrain from competition. The committee found, among other things, that there was collusion with regard to the fixing of prices and the division of territory and business. The conditions revealed by this investigation, it may be remarked, were in part responsible for the passage of the Sherman Antitrust Act on July 2, 1890.

This investigation and the passage of the Sherman Act, however, did not long prevent the big packers from combining, for it was admitted by Henry Veeder under oath, in 1912, that from May, 1893, until May, 1896, representatives of the leading packing companies, Armour & Co., Armour Packing Co., Cudahy Packing Co., G. H. Hammond Packing Co., East St. Louis Dressed Beef & Provision Co., Morris & Co., and Swift & Co., met regularly every Tuesday afternoon in a suite of rooms leased in the name of Henry Veeder, who acted as secretary and statistician of these meetings. It is interesting, in view of certain important evidence developed in the present investigation, to note that the rent for these rooms and other expenses connected with these meetings were apportioned among the packers in proportion to their shipments of dressed beef. At these meetings the territory was divided and the volume of business to be done by each packer was apportioned upon the basis of statistics compiled by Veeder, penalties being levied when any one of them exceeded his allotment in any territory. This was the first of the so-called "Veeder pools," conducted, it should be noted, by the same Henry Veeder whom we find acting now as the joint agent of the "Big Five" in various transactions.

From May, 1896, to January, 1897, no regular meetings were apparently held by the packers; but during the year 1897 Henry Veeder conducted what was known as a statistical bureau, which performed a part of the functions of the original Veeder pool.

In January, 1893, however, a new pool was established under the management of Veeder, differing from the original pool only in that Schwarzschild & Sulzberger took the place of the East St. Louis Dressed Beef & Provision Co., which had been absorbed by Morris & Co.: the penalties for overshipment were increased, and auditors were employed to verify the statements of the packers. This pool terminated early in 1902, probably as a result of the investigation then being made by the Department of Justice.

In May, 1902, the Department of Justice filed sweeping charges of conspiracy and restraint of trade against the big packers and asked for an injunction. The charges were not specifically controverted, and after some delay and slight modifications a permanent injunction was issued by the Supreme Court of the United States on May 26, 1903. (The principal restraints imposed specifically by the injunction were "from entering into, taking part in, or performing any contract, combination, or conspiracy, the purpose or effect of which will be, as to trade and commerce in fresh meats between the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia, a restraint of trade, in violation of the provisions of the act of Congress approved July 2, 1890, entitled 'An act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies,'" either—

(By directing or requiring their respective agents to refrain from bidding against each other in the purchase of live stock;

(Or collusively and by agreement to refrain from bidding against each other at the sales of live stock;

(Or by combination, conspiracy, or contract raising or lowering prices;

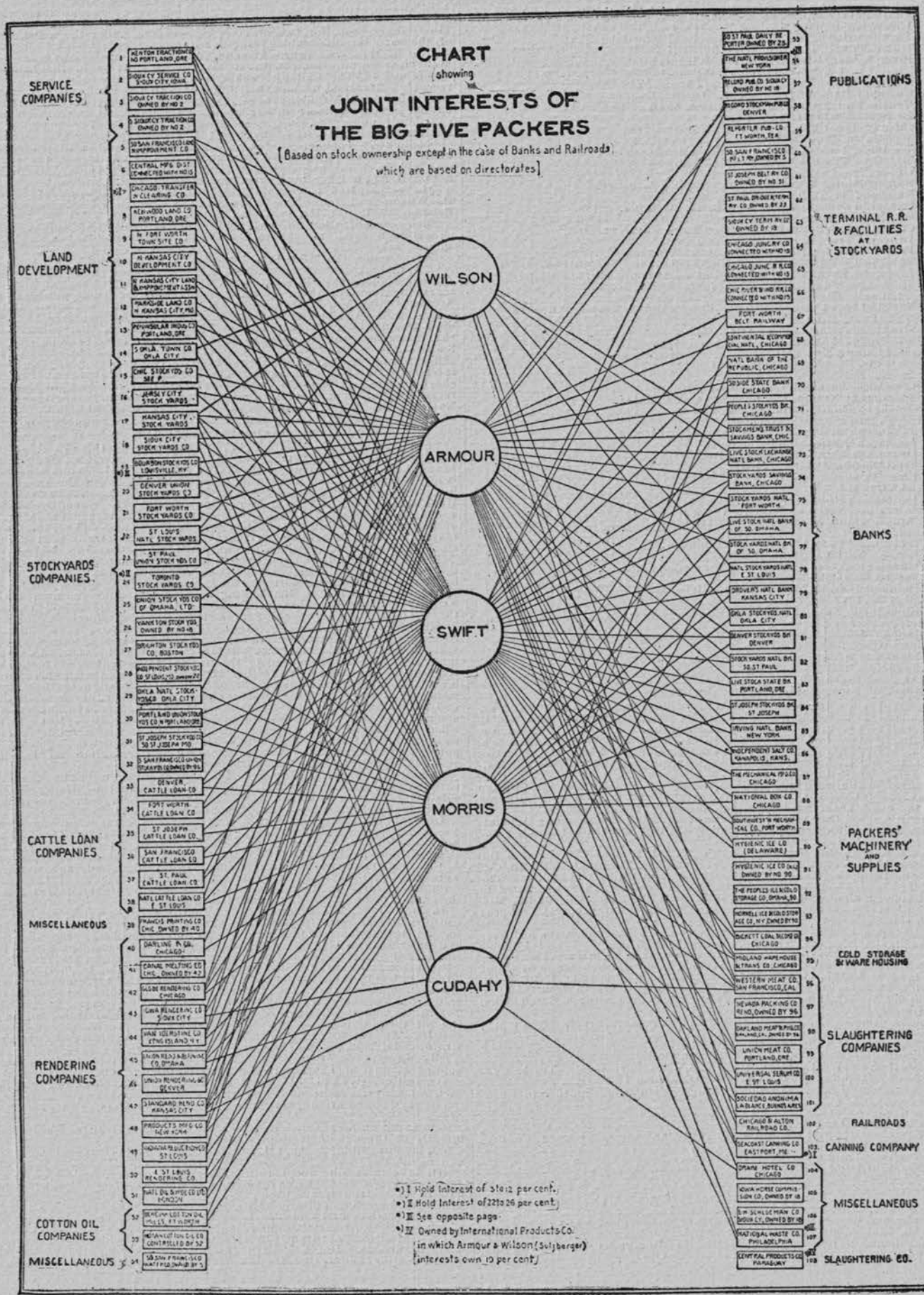
(Or fixing uniform prices at which the said meats will be sold, either directly or through their respective agents;

(Or by curtailing the quantity of such meats shipped to such markets and agents;

(Or by establishing and maintaining rules for the giving of credit to dealers in such meats as charged in the bill, the effect of which rules will be to restrict competition;

(Or by imposing uniform charges for cartage and delivery of such meats to dealers and consumers, as charged in the bill, the effect of which will be to restrict competition.)

This injunction apparently terminated the pool, which exposure had made hazardous. But how little the big packers respected the courts of the Nation and feared its law is revealed by the fact, which has


CHART
showing
JOINT INTERESTS OF
THE BIG FIVE PACKERS
[Based on stock ownership except in the case of Banks and Railroads which are based on directorates]
WILSON
ARMOUR
SWIFT
MORRIS
CUDAHY
SERVICE COMPANIES
LAND DEVELOPMENT
STOCKYARDS COMPANIES
CATTLE LOAN COMPANIES
MISCELLANEOUS
RENDERING COMPANIES
COTTON OIL COMPANIES
MISCELLANEOUS
PUBLICATIONS
TERMINAL R.R. & FACILITIES AT STOCKYARDS
BANKS
PACKERS' MACHINERY AND SUPPLIES
COLD STORAGE & WARE HOUSING
SLAUGHTERING COMPANIES
RAILROADS
CANNING COMPANY
MISCELLANEOUS
SLAUGHTERING CO.
*) I Hold Interest of 9 to 12 per cent.
*) II Hold Interest of 22 to 26 per cent.
*) III See opposite page
*) IV Owned by International Products Co. (in which Armour & Wilson (Schlesinger) interests own 10 per cent)

since come to light, that almost coincident with the application for an injunction the three largest—Armour, Swift, and Morris—secretly set to work to buy up many of their actual and potential competitors, with the object of forming a gigantic merger, monopolizing almost completely the entire meat industry. Cudahy and Schwarzschild & Sulzberger became in a minor degree parties to the merger plan, which progressed so far that more than a dozen corporations, valued at about $10,000,000, had been purchased, a million-dollar bond to insure good faith had been deposited by Armour, Swift, and Morris, and arrangements had been made through Kuhn, Loeb & Co. for a loan of $60,000,000 to finance the merger. All was going well until the head of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., foreseeing the approach of the "panic of 1903," refused to put through the financial arrangements and advised against the merger at the time.

The big packers thereupon decided to merge the properties which they had secretly acquired, and thus it was that the National Packing Co. came to be formed. Cudahy and Sulzberger were invited to purchase stock in the company (reports of Special Agent Dickinson, Bureau of Corporations, May 11 and 19, 1904), but declined to assume these additional obligations, probably for financial reasons. The entire stock of the National Packing Co. was therefore held by Armour, Swift, and Morris in proportion to the capital assets of the respective companies; that is to say, Armour & Co., 40.11; Swift & Co., 46.70; Morris & Co., 13.19; and properties acquired by the National Packing Co. after its formation in 1903 were jointly paid for by the Armour, Swift, and Morris companies in the same proportion.

The board of directors of the National Packing Co. was made up entirely of representatives of the three big companies. When these directors met each Tuesday afternoon at 2 o'clock (the same day and hour as the old Veeder pool meetings) to decide on policies, prices, and buying and shipping plans, they were, in fact, acting for all their joint interests, and no further communication was necessary. This simple and highly effective plan for interchanging information and fixing joint policies persisted undisturbed until, after the failure of the criminal suit against several of the big packers in 1911–12, the threat of a civil suit brought about the dissolution of the National Packing Co. during July and August, 1912. The dissolution consisted in a distribution of the properties of the National Packing Co. among Armour & Co., Swift & Co., and Morris & Co., and left all the strong independents which had been absorbed into the National Packing Co. still in the hands of the packers.

THE AMERICAN LIVE-STOCK POOL.

Although Sulzberger and Cudahy were not directly interested in the National Packing Co. and did not attend the weekly directors' meetings, they were nevertheless participants in the general conspiracy for controlling the meat industry, which had been formed in 1902, after the Veeder pools came under the ban of the temporary injunction. This general conspiracy consisted of a "live-stock pool," which evidence in our possession proves to be in existence.

Under the Veeder pools control of the meat trade was effected by agreements regulating the shipments of dressed meats into the various competitive districts, with a system of fines for overshipments and bonuses for undershipments. This scheme was so thoroughly exposed during the proceedings which led to the injunction of 1903 that it was abandoned. Besides it was a clumsy plan, which required a large statistical bureau and regular weekly meetings to determine the amount of the shipments for the coming week into each district and fix the margins. A much simpler and equally effective plan was then evolved in the form of a live-stock pool, providing substantially for the division of purchases of the cattle, sheep, and hogs sent to market according to certain fixed percentages, which could be agreed upon for long periods and needed to be changed only when conditions were greatly altered, as, for example, when one of the big packers purchased an independent plant.

This division of live-stock purchases is not only an automatic regulator of the relative volume of business of each of the Big Five, but also secures substantial uniformity of prices paid for live stock and, consequently, of the prices at which dressed meats are sold. In brief, the prearranged division of live-stock purchases forms the essential basis of a system by which the big packers are relieved of all fear of each other's competition and, acting together, are able to determine not only what the live-stock producers shall receive for their cattle and hogs but what the consumer shall pay for his meat.

In order that the working of this system shall be clearly understood, it is well to start with the simplest situation—that of a stockyard in which only two of the big packers are represented and where the division is commonly called "fifty-fifty." In such a market the independent packers, local butchers, and speculators will purchase not to exceed 5 per cent of the live stock, far too few to influence the market strongly, much less fix the price. The other 95 per cent of the live stock, it is agreed, is to be divided evenly between the two big packers. This is the situation at Fort Worth and Denver.

Even if there should be no further collusion or communication between the two big packers, it must be obvious that there will be no truly competitive purchases. Each buyer may come into the market with a different idea of what the different grades of cattle are worth, but only a few sales will be made before each will know what the other is offering, and they will come to a common price. In a freely competitive market the common price would tend to reflect the true market value, because the low bidder would be required to meet this price or be left without a supply to keep his packing house running. But in a market where there is an agreed division the natural law of the market is turned topsy-turvy, and the common price inevitably becomes that offered by the low bidder. Thus, even without any collusion beyond the agreement to divide purchases, the market price which the producer receives for his live stock is bound in the long run to be *the lowest price which will keep the producers raising cattle, hogs, and sheep and sending them to the stockyard.*

But the Big Five are not content to trust simply the inevitable tendencies of such a market. They must be sure of their control from the minute the market opens until it closes. Their buyers are all instructed in advance from Chicago just what they must buy on the basis of the estimated receipts; the buyers for the big packers are held back until one, two, or even three hours after the market opens, and then all go out into the yards together. By telephone and telegraph the buyers keep in constant touch with Chicago throughout the day, so that if the receipts run heavier or lighter than had been estimated, or if any other contingency arises, proper adjustments can be made, which will be in line with other markets and with the activities of other packers.

Throughout the entire market day each big packer knows exactly what the others are doing in all the markets, and at the end of the day, the end of the week, the end of the month, and the end of the year the purchases of all are checked up, so that if any of the five has bought more or less than his share, or has bought "out of line," the others may administer the proper measure of correction. If, for example, a packer buys less than his share over any considerable period, he is liable to have his percentage reduced, while if, on the other hand, any packer tries to "hog the market," he is liable to have the others retaliate by "putting the market up on him."

Furthermore, the big packers are not ordinarily content simply with a general approximation to the agreed division, but insist on dividing even the small bunches of animals. Here, for example, is a letter written by Louis F. Swift to Alden B. Swift at a time when he was apprehensive that the cattlemen might become dissatisfied with the conditions at St. Joseph, where the Swifts control the local stockyards:

SEPTEMBER 12, 1914.

Mr. ALDEN B. SWIFT,
Swift & Co., South St. Joseph, Mo.

DEAR SIR: Will be glad to have you advise me if you think our cattle buyer at St. Joseph is all right and is doing as well as Mr. Stemm did.

Also if you notice any difference in Morris's cattle buying.

Awaiting your reply,

Yours, respectfully, LOUIS F. SWIFT.

P. S.—*Has our new plan of not insisting on dividing all the small bunches of cattle given any snap to the market?* [Italics by commission.]

L. F. S.

The agreement among the Big Five for the division of live-stock purchases provides not only for the division at each market on which two or more of the Big Five are represented but also for the division of all the live stock which they purchase for the country as a whole. Thus, so far as the big packers are concerned, each knows in advance that his packing house is assured of relatively the same volume of business as the others and that he will be able to buy his live stock at the lowst price that will keep the producers in the business and induce them to ship their animals to market.

This alone would be sufficient to insure that the dressed-meat prices of all the big packers would be approximately the same. But here again the packers are not content simply with long-run results. Not only is there constant interchange of information regarding "margins" and "test costs" at headquarters in Chicago, but in the different selling districts the district managers inspect one another's stocks and exchange information regarding margins, even if they do not in all districts have such regular meetings as our agents have discovered them participating in at Los Angeles and Tacoma.

There is apparently no "dressed-meat pool" at the present time such as existed in the nineties, for the reason that it would be as useless as a fifth wheel on a wagon. All that the old Veeder pools accomplished, and more, is secured by the live-stock pool and by constant interchange of information at Chicago and at the points of distribution.

PROOF OF THE CONSPIRACY.

So far we have been merely describing the character and methods of the conspiracy among the Big Five. We now offer some of the illuminating proofs, leaving the examination of the voluminous details regarding the workings of the conspiracy for the full report.

The first evidence which came into our possession indicating the existence of a live-stock pool was in the form of a tattered memorandum discovered by one of the commission's agents in the files of Edward F. Swift. This memorandum, which bore signs of frequent consultation, contained only certain percentages, totaling 100, opposite which was scribbled "% live buyers." This document might not have attracted so much attention if in the same files had not been discovered a set of sheets showing the number and percentages of live stock purchased by each of the Big Five at the principal markets and in the entire country. The first glance at these sheets revealed such a remarkable uniformity from year to year in the percentages purchased by each of the big packers as to convince any disinterested person that such results could be attained only by agreement. Here, for example, are the percentages of cattle purchased by each of the Big Five during the last five years:

Per cent of total cattle purchases.

	Swift.	Armour.	Morris.	Wilson (Sulzberger).	Cudahy.
1913	33.90	27.18	17.80	11.74	9.38
1914	34.01	27.16	17.97	11.56	9.30
1915	34.47	27.57	18.14	10.15	9.67
1916	34.59	27.04	17.86	10.94	9.57
1917	35.07	26.96	17.14	10.85	9.98

The percentages for hogs, sheep, and calves displayed the same uniformity, and, even more significant, the figures for the separate markets also were consistently maintained.

Not long after this discovery another agent of the commission, in an examination of documents in the possession of Henry Veeder, counsel for Swift & Co., found a number of sheets containing various percentage figures, opposite a number of which appeared letters which were the initials of the different packing companies. But of particular importance was a series of percentage figures, accompanied by the symbols which Veeder had testified in 1912 represented the various participants in the Veeder pools. These had been bracketed and combined in such a way that the percentages for the companies which have now been consolidated with Armour, Swift, and Morris, following the dissolution of the National Packing Co., were brought together into a second series of percentages which correspond exactly with figures on the Swift memorandum. These figures seemed significant when, immediately after their discovery, Henry Veeder refused further access to the papers in his possession.

When these percentages and records of live-stock purchases were found, certain representatives of the packing companies hastened to explain that there was no significance whatever in the uniformity of purchases from year to year, either for the country as a whole or for the separate live-stock markets; that these percentages were determind by the capacities of the several plants; and that if there was a correspondence between the percentages of purchases and the memoranda which had been found, it was merely an interesting coincidence.

About this time, however, other agents investigating Armour & Co. and Wilson & Co. (Inc.) brought in several letters which demolished the "capacity theory." First was a letter of October 19, 1916, from

Phillip D. Armour to J. Ogden Armour which shows that although Armour's plant at Denver had a much smaller capacity than Swift's the division of live stock was nevertheless "fifty-fifty."

"MY DEAR UNCLE OGDEN: Just a line to tell you that Tom and I arrived here from Fort Worth and had a very pleasant trip.

"I can not tell you how surprised I was in going over the plant here. Of all the plants we have, this one certainly needs our first attention. In my opinion, the best part of it is as bad as the worst part of any of our other plants. *Swift's plant, from what I hear and from the little I saw of it, is far ahead of ours, both as to the size and condition. Of course, as you know, everything here is done on a fifty-fifty basis, and with the facilities we have it is almost impossible to keep this ratio.* [Italics by commission.] * * *

"Hope you are well and that everything is going all right. Tom joins me in kindest regards.

"Very sincerely, yours, P. D. A."

There are also letters between Arthur Meeker, vice president of Armour & Co., and Thomas E. Wilson, president of Wilson & Co., which prove that even so strong a company as Wilson is not permitted to buy on any market it pleases, but must conform to the agreement, which was made "on the bases of the map when peace was declared":

CHICAGO, *March 24, 1917.*

Mr. T. E. WILSON,
President Wilson & Co., Union Stock Yards.

DEAR MR. WILSON: Our hog department say that any hogs that your people bought in 1912 or 1915 in Omaha they bought under cover. They never maintained a salaried buyer there. What few they bought they bought through a speculator named "Red" Murphy, who used all kinds of schemes in shipping them out to have their destination unknown, shipping them to a junction point, and then they would be reconsigned under fictitious names.

As soon as the matter was taken up with the S. & S. Co. they discontinued it. So I fail to see how you can honestly claim any rights to-day for any underhand work that your firm did in 1912.

Yours, very truly,

ARTHUR MEEKER.

—

MARCH 26, 1917.

Mr. ARTHUR MEEKER,
Armour & Co., U. S. Yards, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. MEEKER: Answering your note of March 24, you are misinformed on the matter referred to. Our people did maintain a salaried buyer in Omaha, as I have previously advised you. In fact, Mr. Harry Booth, who is now our head buyer in Chicago, was himself stationed there for periods of several weeks, and if, as you state, Mr. Red Murphy undertook to cover up the purchases that he made for this company and destination, he did it for reasons of his own, and I think you probably know that all of the hogs that he buys are first weighed to him, sorted, and reweighed. This is his practice to-day, and no doubt was in former years, when this concern did business with him.

Yours, very truly,

———.

In the public hearings, when these letters were read, Mr. Francis J. Heney, special attorney for the Federal Trade Commission, said:

"Those letters, Mr. Commissioner, can not mean anything except that the complaint was made that Wilson & Co. did not have any right to buy any hogs in that market. They must get their percentages elsewhere, and they did not have any right, because the map was not fixed that way when the peace was declared and the combination made."

As proof of the existence of these local agreements, we quote also the following excerpts from the testimony of Mr. M. R. Murphy, general superintendent of the Cudahy Packing Co., given unwillingly and only after he had been confronted with the letters from E. A. Cudahy, which appear in the record:

"Question by Mr. HENEY: I want to read you, in connection with that testimony, the copy of letters here taken from the files of the Cudahy Co. The first one is dated June 21, 1911:

"'Mr. M. R. MURPHY,
"'*South Omaha, Nebr.*

"'DEAR SIR: Referring to the attached papers, Mr. McNaughton advised me that he learned from one of Morris & Co.'s men that there was considerable talk about the Kansas City Stockyard that we sold out to the rendering company. Of course, we can't stop the rumors, but all we have to do is just to keep quiet and let them do the talking. I think we are justified in quitting business on account of the position that the commission men have taken.

"'When I was coming to Chicago on Monday night Mr. R. C. Howe was on the train, and he called to see me at this office, and from what he said I don't see anything for us to do only to secure our 30 per cent of the hogs at South Omaha, unless we want to take 29 per cent and let Swift run 26 per cent.

"'I expect our Omaha and Sioux City market will be out of line for some time if we are going to maintain our position. I don't see anything else for us to do. The Omaha market seems to be the only point in question, and I think we ought to figure on keeping the Sioux City market on an independent basis.

"'I will be in Omaha Friday morning.

"'Yours, truly,

"'E. A. CUDAHY.'

"And then down at the bottom are lead-pencil figures—

"'30
30
25 Swifts
15
———
100%'

"Did you receive the original of that letter?

"Answer by Mr. MICHAEL R. MURPHY. I evidently did; but I have no recollection of it now.

"Mr. HENEY. Well, at that time the percentage that you were aiming to buy per year was 30 per cent, wasn't it?

"Mr. MURPHY. Evidently Mr. Cudahy had that in mind.

"Mr. HENEY. Well, you say you buy on directions from Chicago. You had it in mind then, too, didn't you?

"Mr. MURPHY. Well, on his advices; but he never notified me to buy a percentage, or anything like that. He would say, 'Take your requirements, or whatever you need.'

"Mr. HENEY. Well, let's see—let's reread a portion of this [reading]:

"'When I was coming to Chicago on Monday night, Mr. R. C. Howe was on the train, and he called to see me at this office, and from what he said I don't see anything for us to do only to secure our 30% of the hogs at South Omaha, unless we want to take 29% and let Swift run 26%.'

"Now, isn't it a fact that it was within your knowledge that at that time Armour & Co. were aiming to get 30 per cent of the receipts at South Omaha, and Cudahy & Co. were to get 30 per cent, and Swift & Co. were to get 25 per cent, and Morris & Co. 15 per cent of the receipts?

"Mr. MURPHY. Why, it is evidently so from that letter.

"Mr. HENEY. The next letter I will read is dated November 27, 1911, taken from Cudahy's file and is addressed [reading]:

"'Mr. M. R. MURPHY,
"'*South Omaha, Nebr.*

"'DEAR SIR: I had a call from your neighbor to-day, and he agrees that we are paying too much money for hogs at Omaha and Sioux City, and that if we could get Omaha right, of course, it would regulate Sioux City, and he believes the best plan would be to let other people have what they want, and then split what is left. I believe in this plan, and I would advise you to work on it for this week, and I would suggest that you either call him on the phone or see him some time to-morrow and talk the matter over. We are killing a lot of hogs, and there isn't anything in them, and it is about time that we should be able to buy them at a margin.

"'Yours, truly,

"'E. A. CUDAHY.'

"That neighbor was Armour, wasn't it?

"Mr. MURPHY. Not to my—my recollection of this letter was it was his neighbor, instead of 'your neighbor.'

"Mr. HENEY. Whom did he mean by that?

"Mr. MURPHY. I would not know who he meant unless he meant some of the Armours or Swifts, or possibly this National. The National, I think, were——

"Mr. HENEY (interrupting). Oh, you can readily see that was Armour. Don't you see you would not have divided with Swift after what was left at Sioux City, you would have divided with Armour equally?

"Mr. MURPHY. Well, this takes in Omaha also, this letter does.

"Mr. HENEY. Yes; well, Armour's percentage in Omaha is the same as yours, 30–30, and Cudahy was claiming the same percentage as Armour at Sioux City on account of being the only other plant. So, of course, that would be Armour?

"Mr. MURPHY. My recollection was that he had a call from his neighbor instead of 'your neighbor.'

"Mr. HENEY. Well, who did you go to see?

"Mr. MURPHY. I have no recollection of going to see anybody.

"Mr. HENEY. You were just as anxious as anybody to please Mr. Cudahy and get this thing—this Omaha market, in line, weren't you?

"Mr. MURPHY. Yes, sir.

"Mr. HENEY. And naturally you would act on it?

"Mr. MURPHY. As a rule.

"Mr. HENEY. But you have forgotten it?

"Mr. MURPHY. As far as 'neighbor' is concerned, I have no recollection of meeting anyone whom he might have designated as a neighbor.

"Mr. HENEY. Well, Armour was the only other one that was largely interested in getting things right at Sioux City, wasn't he?

"Mr. MURPHY. At Sioux City, I would naturally think he would be."

Out on the Pacific coast, where there have been less frequent investigations than in the East, the conspiracies to control live-stock and meat prices are conducted much more openly. Not only are there meetings of the representatives of the companies such as our agents uncovered in Los Angeles and Tacoma, but the heads of the packing companies are so little afraid that they fix prices by correspondence. We have a large number of their price-fixing letters, dating from 1915 to the time of our agents' visit in 1917, from which we select the two following, which are interesting because they show the Western Meat Co., jointly owned by the Big Five, trying to fix a price so low that the Cudahy Packing Co.'s representative suggested a higher one:

APRIL 15, 1915.

Mr. R. SCOTT,
Mgr., Cudahy Pkg. Co., Los Angeles, Cal.

DEAR SIR: Do not know just when I will be in Los Angeles, but thought I would let you know that it looks to us as though it would be fairly easy to buy cattle on a reasonable basis. I think 6 cents will be the opening price, and whether they go lower or not will depend entirely on how many are offered, as the demand for beef is less than last year, regardless of the exposition.

They tell us that Mr. Fuller is shipping some of his cattle to Los Angeles to kill. Our man went down to see these cattle with Mr. Fuller who priced them at 7 cents. We did not know whether you were figuring on using these cattle or not, but we told him that our ideas were 6 cents, which of course would not hurt you in making your trade. Do you need these cattle, as if you don't we could probably use some of them very nicely, as they are not too heavy and are fairly close by?

Our market is about the same as when you were up here last, 10¼–10½ cents for desirable steers weighing 650/700 lbs., and 9¾–10¼ cents for the heavier weights. I am quoting the Butcherton prices on straight cattle, as we would not consider selling anything under 10½ cents at the present time.

Has anybody bought the Oxnard cattle yet, as I was told they could be purchased for 6¼ cents with a 4 per cent shrink?

With best regards to you and Mr. Benjamin, I remain,

Yours, very truly,

(Signed) F. L. WASHBURN.

FLW–O

P. S.—I received a letter the other day from Mr. Cudahy thanking me for taking you all to the plant, which I very much appreciated.

F. L. W.

—

THE CUDAHY PACKING CO.,
Los Angeles, Cal., April 22, 1915.

Mr. F. L. WASHBURN,
Western Meat Co., San Francisco, Cal.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 15th came duly to hand and would have had my attention sooner were it not on account of my absence in Imperial Valley.

Found the valley looking well, with an abundance of feed in sight and not a great many cattle on hand to consume it. The only disturbing element is an invasion of grasshoppers that were in striking

evidence in parts of the valley. Whether these will increase and multiply so as to become a serious menace or will "fold their tents like the Arab gents and silently steal away" we are unable to say, but hope they will not prove of as great injury as they were last year.

We note your views as to the future of the grass cattle market, which seems to be in line with the views of most of the Los Angeles packers. I can hardly bring myself to believe, however, that we will be fortunate enough to get good grass American cattle for 6 cents per pound, and while we have not yet arranged with Fullers as to the price to be paid for the Chowchilla cattle, I have in mind a figure of 6½ cents. The sample shipment we have had is very good, and two or three weeks more time on good feed, on which they are on, will make them a very desirable herd. The weights are right and they are going to be in good condition. Our idea would be that 6¼ cents for the average run of grass cattle would be about a fair market figure, provided there are sufficient supplies to meet the requirements of the summer trade. Woodward-Bennett & Co. and the Pacific coast people seem to think there is going to be a bountiful supply of good steers. I have not yet heard the Hauser people express themselves. We understand, however, they have already paid 6½ cents for some grass steers from low freight points.

Answering your inquiry as to the Oxnard cattle, they were sold to the Pacific coast at 6¼ cents with a 4 per cent shrink. They were certainly a cheap lot of cattle and should make a nice "pot" of money. The Patterson ranch people must certainly have been in a panic to have sold them at that price with as much cheap feed as there is available at the present time. They could certainly have afforded to carry them into the summer or fall, but perhaps their judgment in disposing of them at the present time may be justified by future prices.

Very truly, yours,

THE CUDAHY PACKING CO.,
(Signed) R. S. SCOTT, *Manager*.

We will need the Chowchilla steers. Expect to use most of them before other coast cattle are fully matured.

S.

THE "BLACK BOOK" MEMORANDA.

These cumulative proofs of the existence of a combination among the Big Five alone would be sufficient basis for the commission's conclusions; but they need not rest even upon this foundation, for we have memoranda by one of the members of the combination telling in detail of the negotiations which took place at several of the meetings in which the agreements were made and perfected. These memoranda were written by Germon F. Sulzberger, then president of Sulzberger & Sons Co., as soon as possible after he left the meetings, which was frequently late at night. As the minutes were for his own guidance, they covered particularly the phases of the agreements in which his company was especially interested. When discovered by the commission's agents in the files of G. F. Sulzberger, the memoranda were contained in a black leather binder, stamped in gold on the cover "G. Sulzberger," for convenience hereafter referred to as the "Black Book."

As a rule, the important parties in these negotiations were designated by code symbols. The translation of the coded proper names of the Black Book is stated by G. F. Sulzberger, and is corroborated by internal evidence to be as follows:

"Sanford"—J. Ogden Armour, or the Armour interest.
"H"—The Swift interest, or one of the Swift brothers.
"Klee"—The Morris interest, represented by Edward Morris until his death, November, 1913, then by Thomas E. Wilson.
"Williams"—Arthur Meeker, vice president of Armour & Co.

In order to understand these memoranda it is necessary to recall that the National Packing Co., jointly owned by Armour, Swift, and Morris, which had been the instrument by which the combination controlled the meat industry after the abandonment of the "Veeder pool" in 1902, had been dissolved in July, 1912, and its properties distributed. This required an adjustment of the percentages, which was effected at some time prior to the 29th of January, 1913. The basis adopted was the actual division of live-stock purchases in 1910, modified by the distribution of the live-stock purchases of the National Packing Co.'s subsidiaries and by certain arbitrary adjustments to meet new conditions which had been created since 1910. These figures are set forth in a memorandum in the Black Book of a "meeting held with Sanford (Armour) at his office January 29, 1913, 3.15 p. m." This memorandum also contains an interesting paragraph which illuminates the apparent competition which takes place, and shows how easily such matters can be adjusted between "friends," if there is no respect for the Sherman Act or the Federal court's injunction:

"Sanford (Armour) seemed very discouraged with the general situation and prospects. I explained this was due, a good deal, to his own foolish tactics in New York; that the situation there had been completely demoralized by his actions and that this was a very sensitive situation. He admitted that he thought they had made a mistake there, but that the rest of the situation did not make him anxious to change his attitude. I explained to him that he was injuring us more than anyone else there, as we had larger proportionate interests. He claimed that this was not so, that 'H' (Swift) had larger interests, but I explained to him that proportionately this was not the case. He said he had no intent to work against us, and said that he would arrange now to do the following: Reduce New York 10 per cent this week; 10 per cent next week."

By the spring of 1914 some questions had arisen as to the percentage agreement, which required settlement, so, in connection with another equally important conspiracy, referred to later, these questions were taken up for discussion at several meetings held during April, May, and June, 1914. In order to show the character of these meetings and the method of arriving at an agreement, we will quote from one of the memoranda, that of the "Meeting at Armour's office June 4, 1914, p. m." The Armour, Swift, Morris, and Sulzberger interests were represented at this meeting, but Cudahy apparently was not there, and it appears from other information that Cudahy, during this period at least, was not recognized as one of the "insiders," but accepted whatever proportion was allotted to him.

"Sanford (Armour) says showed plus 10 last week, but worse this week. (Note: This refers to the margin of profit on dressed-beef sales.)

"Question of eastern killing of sheep and lambs, whether or not this is to be included, was discussed but not decided. Klee (Morris) claimed export cattle 1910 should be included, Sanford opposed. I stated that this was more than the mere purchasing of stock.

"Export figures for 1910, according to Sanford, showed the following:

Armour	2,700
Morris (excluding 17,000 exported from Canada)	43,000
Swift	17,000
S. & S.	13,000

"Klee figures, including exports, 18.10. Sanford claimed this figure should be, excluding exports, 17.59. Sanford shows 11.79, including exports, as against 11.73, excluding exports for Sand. (S. & S.) Klee claimed account beef formerly exported by others having included (sic) therefore cattle exported 1910 should also be included. Sanford claimed this incorrect."

Armour's office appears, from those memoranda, to have been the chief meeting place at which these negotiations were carried on, and it further appears from numerous references that Arthur Meeker, vice president of Armour & Co., designated as "Williams" in the Black Book, acted as a sort of secretary to the combination, telling each what his share was and how nearly each was living up to the agreement.

These memoranda do not stand alone, but are checked and corroborated by numerous documents taken from the files of the packers and from other sources. Together they form conclusive evidence of a criminal business conspiracy.

THE INTERNATIONAL MEAT POOL.

The Black Book memoranda are not limited to a record of the American meat combination, but cover in equal detail the international meat pool formed by the Armour, Swift, Morris, and Sulzberger interests in conspiracy with certain British and South American concerns to regulate and divide the shipments of beef, mutton, and other meats from South America to the United States and certain foreign countries, particularly England.

In 1911 an agreement, referred to by Sulzberger as the "old pool," had been made by the seven packing companies operating in South America, providing for the regulation of the total export shipments and for the proportion each was to ship, as determined by meetings held from time to time. This pool broke up in April, 1913, because La Blanca Co., owned jointly by Armour and Morris, demanded a large increase in its percentage. The Argentine press at the time stated that the break was caused by the insistence of the American companies on increasing their exports to the United States as soon as the tariff was removed. The result of the break in the agreement was an almost immediate increase in cattle prices in Argentina.

About April, 1914, the pool was renewed, and it is to the meetings at which the new agreement was perfected that the memoranda in the Black Book refer. The principal meetings, attended by delegates from the American companies, were held in London, but these were supplemented by meetings and discussions among the big American packers in Chicago.

The notes on the meetings as recorded by Germon Sulzberger in the Black Book tell the story of the perfecting of the pool. We quote the notes on the meeting of June 4, 1914, which are unique in that they drop the code and give the proper names of those present:

MEETING HELD AT ARMOUR'S OFFICE JUNE 4, 1914, A. M.

Present: Messrs. White, Wilson, and Edward Swift.

I explained regarding Lamport (Lamport & Holt, big shipping company) space to States, also misunderstanding in regard to mutton.

I stated that our June shipments to States were 227 tons chilled and 120 tons frozen, and from July should be about 180 tons weekly up to October 1, 1914, and from then it would be about 250 to perhaps 350 tons weekly up to July, 1918. They questioned statement of 350 tons weekly and said they thought this was an error, probably coming on only fortnightly boats, which are starting in after October and which are probably all frozen.

La Blanca (owned by Armour and Morris) stated they had 500 tons from July on and probably 555 to 560 tons from October on up to 1918.

(NOTE.—This agreement was apparently to run until 1918.)

La Plata (owned by Swift) contract with Lamport & Holt is they are to receive one-third of total space, this covering both Uruguay and Argentine plants. I stated I thought this a little excessive for Swift.

Mutton: No one thought this item of any particular importance or interest, as they found the business unprofitable, excepting at a certain particular season of the year. While Patagonia is not included, no mutton can be shipped from there now, it not being the season until December.

Beef: They also stated percentages which had been allotted us on beef for England were as follows: Up to Sansinena (Sansinena Frozen Meat Co., Ltd.) contributed equally by everyone; difference up to one-half of La Blanca contributed by Nelson (James Nelson & Sons, Ltd.), in which they thought probably Poels had also contributed.

Sheep and lambs: *The understanding had been that these were to remain as in the old pool previous to April, 1913.* [Italics by the commission.] Understanding was that sheep from Uruguay, not to exceed 20,000 weekly up to October of this year. As far as the Argentine sheep were concerned, no one cared for this business, as it was not profitable at the moment.

There is no understanding that Uruguay is entitled to 25 per cent of total Uruguay-Argentine sheep; these figures happened to come out in this way at this moment. After six weeks Argentine may or may not be increased without a corresponding change in Uruguay figures; the understanding being simply that Uruguay mutton shipments are not to exceed 20,000 per week up until October, whereas the 60,000 carcasses per week for Argentine extend only for a six weeks' period.

As regards mutton for the United States, this is entirely unlimited.

Regarding beef to the United States, it was understood that Lamport & Holt would give Sansinena space equal to the River Plate (River Plate Fresh Meat Co., Ltd.) space.

I stated that the United States shipments as arranged figured about as follows, which figures were made note of:

La Plata (La Plata Cold Storage Co.)	32.23
Uruguay La Blanca (La Blanca Co.)	23.02
River Plate (River Plate Fresh Meat Co.)	11.97
Sansinena.	
Sansinena Uruguay.	
Smithfield & Argentine (Smithfield & Argentine Meat Co., Ltd.)	11.05
Nelson (James Nelson & Sons, Ltd.)	11.97
F. A. C. (Frigorifico Argentine Central)	9.76

(NOTE.—Swift owns the La Plata; Armour and Morris jointly own the La Blanca; and Sulzberger then and Wilson & Co. now own the F. A. C.)

I stated in reference to these figures that there would be some change on account of Sansinena not being included.

I stated we were not satisfied with our figures, which they explained, however, were all that could fairly be asked.

(Signed) G. F. S. (GERMON F. SULZBERGER).

That this combination and conspiracy to limit the supplies of meat to the United States and our allies has continued to the present time, and with pernicious results, is shown by a statement made in 1917 by the president of a committee appointed by the Argentine Chamber of Deputies to investigate the cost of necessities:

"They (the combination of packing companies) suppress real competition, maintaining it only in appearance, and they determine by common agreement the prices which are to be paid to producers, reserving to themselves the right to sell at the highest price possible in order to obtain enormous profits which do not remain in the country. Thus it is that these freezing companies have been able to show in their latest balance sheets more than 100 per cent of profits; that is to say, that in a single year they have made more than their capital. * * * Here the freezing companies contract with the foreign purchaser, who is to-day, owing to circumstances of the war, a single party, since the allied Governments have concentrated their purchases in a central office—and having made their agreements at prices which they raise as high as possible, they purchase the live stock from the producers, imposing upon them the law of the strongest."

AGREEMENTS IN OTHER LINES.

These agreements and close relationships among the big packers are by no means confined to the purchase of live stock and the sale of meats. Here, for example, are extracts from a few letters taken from the files of the Neenah Cheese & Cold Storage Co., one of the subsidiaries of Armour & Co., which neglected to "comb" its files before the visit of the commission's agents. These extracts, more or less typical of a hundred or more letters in the commission's possession, reveal how closely the American cheese market is controlled.

This control of the cheese market is of particular interest in view of the enormous hoarding of this food indicated by a letter, dated November 4, 1917, from C. E. Blodgett (who, with Armour, owns the C. E. Blodgett Cheese, Butter & Egg Co.) to I. F. Laing, of the Neenah Co., another Armour concern:

"You and I both know that there are enough twins (a form of American cheese) in storage in the United States, if England doesn't come back and buy of us, to last for the next two years to come."

On June 30, 1916, J. W. Brown (manager of the butter, egg, and poultry department of Armour & Co.) wrote to I. F. Laing:

"Your Mr. Nesbit at Spring Green raised the market to 14¾ on cheese. Don't you think this is very bad work? How do you expect we can influence the people at Plymouth (the principal cheese board) to hold the market at 14½ cents if you raise the figures? Wish you would tell this gentleman that he must not do this, because our interests elsewhere are so great that we can not afford to raise the market on ourselves, and Plymouth will certainly go up if you bid over the Plymouth prices on other boards. They all seem to be worked up about this."

Relations between the big packers in the cheese market are well shown by the following letters:

MARSHFIELD, WIS., *July 8, 1916.*

Mr. J. W. BROWN,
% Armour & Co., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. BROWN: Referring to your wire of even date in regard to getting the market down at Plymouth. I doubt very much if this can be done. I have had this up with Plymouth and Sheboygan (two big cheese boards) this week, and again to-day. Also, talked with Mr. Pauly (Pauly & Pauly, Swift buys four-fifths of sales) about it, and they complain bitterly about what Blanke is doing down in that section; about going out to the factories, and paying premiums for cheese and claiming that the dealers are all sore about it, and they can't handle them, although they have agreed with me to put the market down a quarter of a cent, if it's possible; but I tell you one thing. Mr. Brown, I can't handle these people down there any longer unless something can be done to keep Blanke from antagonizing them the way he is, and you are the only man that can handle this. I am doing the very best I can, and sending a carload of cheese down there a week, to be distributed among the brokers, to keep the market in line, and it's costing me a hundred dollars a week to do it, but I can't do it without some help from you.

Yours, truly,

C. E. BLODGETT CHEESE, BUTTER & EGG CO.,
(Signed) C. E. BLODGETT.

(This letter had shorthand annotations, which stenographer in office could not decipher.)

JULY 11, 1916.

Mr. I. F. LAING,
% Neenah Cheese & Cold Storage Co.,
125 W. South Water Street, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: Please note Mr. Blodgett's letter attached. If this man Blanke is causing all this trouble, I wish you would put a muzzle on him. We must keep down the markets if possible when we are accumulating these big stocks.

Let me hear from you, please.

Yours, very truly,

ARMOUR & CO.,
(Signed) J. W. BROWN.

JWB/R

It is certain that by no means all the agreements in effect between the big packers came to the attention of the commission. Thus, for example, we have evidence of an agreement on lard compound, which was made at the time the commission's investigation was being vigorously pressed and came to light only by chance.

[Letter, Armour & Co. to H. G. Sharpnack (Armour's branch house superintendent at Pittsburgh), dated Jan. 24, 1918]:

"It's always been our understanding that if our organization had the same price as the other fellow, that's all they need. This is certainly a fact on Substitute since January 14, and we will very much surprised if your territory does not triple its business each month. We do not recall having such an opportunity in the history of the firm, and if this practice is maintained, it's a pretty safe bet we will get our share."

This was followed on January 28, 1918, by a circular from H. G. Sharpnack to all managers giving the following instructions:

"Please give this compound all attention possible. Everybody's price must be the same as yours. If you find any deviation, make doubly sure that you are right by seeing the bill, noting the date of same, quantity sold, and the price, and let me have it."

This so pleased Armour & Co. that on January 30, 1918, L. L. Whelen, of Armour's lard department, wrote Sharpnack:

"Very glad to note your cooperation on White Cloud as per your circular to houses dated the 28th. In this connection, however, it occurs to us that we should not make any noise about competitors' prices being identical, etc. Under present conditions this is not advisable, as you are undoubtedly aware. Also you might destroy this letter on the subject."

Evidence of other agreements might be quoted at length, and they will appear in the report. The quotations already made would seem to answer affirmatively the President's question:

"Are there manipulations, controls, trusts, combinations, conspiracies, or restraints of trade out of harmony with the law or the public interest?"

We will not elaborate on the fact that these agreements, combinations, and pools are continuing conspiracies. So far as the meat pools are concerned this is proved not only by the present continuance of the agreed-upon divisions of live-stock purchases but by letters of recent date.

In the case of the agreements and conspiracies regarding cheese and lard substitute, the evidence presented relates entirely to matters which have occurred within the last two years and which there is no reason to believe have been changed by later events.

JOINT FUNDS.

Further evidence of the existence of a conspiracy among the five big packers was found in the vault of Henry Veeder, in the form of documents relating to funds maintained by the big packers and oleomargarine manufacturers, primarily for the purpose of protecting themselves from punishment for the divers practices already described in part.

These joint funds, as will be shown in one of the sections of the report, were used:

To employ lobbyists and pay their unaudited expenses;
To influence legislative bodies;
To elect candidates who would wink at violations of law and defeat those pledged to fair enforcement;
To control tax officials and thereby evade just taxation;
To secure modifications of governmental rules and regulations by devious and improper methods;
To bias public opinion by the control of editorial policy through advertising, loans, and subsidies, and by the publication and distribution at large expense of false and misleading statements.

Henry Veeder, the manager of the Veeder pools of the nineties, is the assessor, collector, and paymaster of these joint funds, and his office is the clearing house through which the money passes and to which reports are sent. Although single assessments for these funds range as high as $50,000, Veeder claims that he keeps no books showing the disposition of these large sums of money, but the many letters now in our possession show specifically to whom a part of the money was paid and for what purpose.

At least two separate pools of this character are participated in by the big packers: First, "The Packers' Pool," limited in membership to the Big Five; and, second, "The Oleo Pool," the membership of which varies from year to year, but always includes Armour and Swift.

The Oleo Pool is composed of large manufacturers of oleomargarine, butterine, and other similar products, who are pledged to divide whatever assessments may be determined upon for their joint purposes on the basis of their proportionate production of oleomargarine during the preceding year. In 1917, for example, the membership of the Oleo Pool and the percentages used in collecting the joint funds were as follows:

	Per cent.
A. (Armour & Co.)	12.387
F. (Friedman Manufacturing Co.)	6.246
J. (John F. Jelke Co.)	32.172
M. (Morris & Co.)	10.481
W. J. M. (W. J. Moxley, Inc.)	11.563
W. (Wilson & Co., Inc.)	4.265
H. (G. H. Hammond Co.)	3.652
S. (Swift & Co.)	19.234

The general character and purposes of the Oleo Pool are disclosed by the following extract from a letter written by Alfred R. Urion, former general counsel for Armour & Co., to Henry Veeder:

"I give you the following information to be disseminated amongst those who are associated with us in Pennsylvania oleomargarine. The source of my report you are familiar with. I give you letter on the subject received Saturday:

"'Have been given positive assurance by the big man that there will not be any suits brought in this State during the time named, on tinted goods, provided they are not too yellow; that is to say, you must not go to extremes in color, but that the regular run of tinted goods will be all right. The wholesalers and manufacturers should not go farther in spreading the understanding than to simply notify their trade verbally that no suits will be brought and that there will be no trouble in their handling natural tinted goods.'

"I have gone back to the party by letter and asked to get a definite statement from the big man, calling off the State agents from taking samples and frightening the trade, and have no doubt will receive a favorable answer thereto."

The genesis of what we have called the Packers' Pool, as well as the basis upon which it is operated, is told in the following letter from Henry Veeder to W. B. Traylor, assistant to Louis F. Swift:

AUGUST 23, 1916.

Mr. W. B. TRAYNOR,
Care of Swift & Co., Chicago.

DEAR SIR: You asked me the other day for certain percentages which are generally known as the "usual percentages." On July 30, 1913, L F S, A M, and T E W agreed with C and S & S upon the following percentages to cover general legislative and litigation matters:

S	35751	39723	44689
A	29266	32518	36582
M	14983	16648	18729
C	10	11111	
S & S	10		
	100000	100000	100000

Of course C and S were arbitrary. The A, F, and H figures are the so-called old beef figures which were based upon the volume of beef business in 1902.

Sincerely, yours,

———.

This letter and agreement contain a great deal more meaning than cursory reading would indicate. In the first place this letter, as well as many other documents to be produced hereafter, shows that Henry Veeder, the agent of the former conspiracies, is still acting as the joint agent for the Big Five and the custodian of their agreements.

Analysis of the letter shows that on July 30, 1913, just one year after the dissolution of the National Packing Co., Arthur Meeker of Armour & Co., Louis F. Swift, and Thomas E. Wilson, then president of Morris & Co. (representing the interests which had jointly created and owned the National Packing Co.), came together and agreed upon certain fixed percentages, to be known in the future as the "usual percentages," for use in the settlement of "general, legislative, and litigation matters."

The basis selected for the apportionment is shown by the cryptic words of the last paragraph: "The A, F, and H figures are the old beef figures of 1902, but the C and S & S figures are arbitrary." No F and H figures are mentioned in the letter, but reference to the testimony of Henry Veeder in 1912 shows that in the pools of the nineties each company was designated by a code letter—A for Armour, F for Morris, and H for Swift. Thus the "old beef figures" are the percentages used in the Veeder pool.

The packers joint activities for the prevention of governmental action are illustrated by the vicissitudes of the legislative efforts to secure an investigation of the packing industry. This investigation, it may be remembered, had its origin in resolutions introduced in the House of Representatives in February, 1916. Early in April of that year a committee of three of the confidential employees of Swift & Co.—A. D. White, John M. Chaplin, and R. C. McManus—were sent to Washington to investigate and report on the status and probable chances of the resolution. On April 10, 1916, they prepared a long joint memorandum, copies of which were sent to the principal officials of each of the five packing companies, stating in substance that the resolution could be blocked only by adroit and vigorous action of the packers and their friends along certain indicated lines, and containing the warning:

"We believe the situation to be serious, and recommend that due consideration be immediately given to it and that everything be done to head off the present movement and to relieve the tension. *We believe that as it stands to-day nothing could stop criminal prosecutions* and that the situation is serious where men like Burke (Edward L. Burke, vice president of the American National Live Stock Association), who have been in the business all their lives, regard trivial and irrelevant circumstances as conclusively proving criminal operations." [Matter in italics was underscored in red in original.]

Following this warning the Big Five proceeded to take the following steps:

First, they raised a joint fund of $15,000, assessed upon the basis of the "usual percentages."

Second, they arranged "to flood Congress," and particularly the Judiciary Committee, to which the resolution had been referred, with telegrams from commission men, bankers, and other apparently disinterested people whom they seemed to think they had under some degree of obligation.

Third, they set at work one of their most expert lobbyists, Colin H. Livingston, who in addition to his general influence, indicated by his position as vice president of a Washington bank, had for years been employed as secretary to a Senator and had a thorough knowledge of Congressional affairs.

Fourth, they brought support to a bill providing for the collection of certain data, on the theory that it would serve to sidetrack the proposed investigation.

Through these and other maneuvers, they were able to block the movement for an investigation until the President of the United States, in February, 1917, directed the commission to make the investigation.

What big packers did through their agents and tools to prevent and nullify the present investigation is only typical of their activities in connection with other attempts made by the States or by the National Government to regulate or improve the conditions existing in the industry.

METHODS AND RESULTS OF THE COMBINATION.

The purposes of this combination, which for more than a generation has defied the law and escaped adequate punishments, are sufficiently clear from the history of the conspiracy and from the numerous documents already presented, namely:

To monopolize and divide among the several interests the distribution of the food supply not only of the United States but of all countries which produce a food surplus, and, as a result of this monopolistic position,

To extort excessive profits from the people not only of the United States but of a large part of the world.

To secure these ends the combination and its constituent members employ practically every tried method of unfair competition known to this commission and invent certain new and ruthless methods to crush weaker concerns.

The early strength and rapid growth of the Big Five was stimulated by the extortion of rebates under one disguise or another and special privileges.

Among other well-known methods of unfair competition used by the big packers of which the commission has evidence may be mentioned the following:

Bogus independents.
Local price discriminations.
Short weighting.
Acquiring stock in competing companies.
Shutting competitors out of live-stock markets.

In addition to these recognized methods of unfair competition the Big Five also employ a vicious system of rotation in price cutting. This consists in each of the Big Five, or as many as happen to be represented in a given territory, arranging to cut prices in rotation, a day at a time or a week at a time, so that the burden, distributed among the big packers, will seem light, but will fall with crushing weight on the independent competitor.

These big packers who aim at world monopoly persistently stoop to the commonest of commercial frauds—short weighting. They short-weight the live-stock producers in the sale of grain and hay at the stockyards; they short-weight the retailers on their shipments of meat; they short-weight the Government; and, to make a complete job of it, they short-weight one another. Here is an amusing example of the last-named practice in the form of an extract from a letter written July 6, 1917, by Armour's Neenah Cheese & Cold Storage Co. to its Mineral Point (Wis.) branch, giving instructions with reference to Cudahy's demand for a weighmaster's certificate on his order:

"Now, if you have not an official weighmaster, get some fellow that looks like one and furnish him with blanks, if necessary, yourself. It is hardly necessary to have him make a test on each lot. You can arrange to have a few cheese sitting around for him to weigh that are not going to show up too much shortage. Whatever you do, however, give them good weights on the car."

How considerably this practice of short weighting may affect the retail price of meats appears from a single example, selected at random from several tests made in the presence of the commission's agents:

Barrel of pork butts from Armour & Co.

	Weight in pounds.	
	Marked.	Actual.
Gross	287	284
Tare	21	29
Net	266	255

Here were 11 pounds of pork which the retailer is forced to pay for because of the inflexible rule of the big packers that shipments must be accepted at stamped weights under penalty of having credit cut off. The cost of these 11 pounds had to be distributed in some way over the selling price of the remainder and collected from the consumer.

Foremost of packer practices in evil results is the manipulation of the live-stock markets, manifested primarily in violent and unreasonable fluctuations in live-stock prices from day to day. This constitutes the greatest grievance of the live-stock producers against packer control of the markets. How seriously these market fluctuations are regarded by live-stock producers is expressed in the following statement of E. L. Burke, vice president of the American National Live Stock Association:

"The fact is that beef production in the corn belt has become the most hazardous and uncertain legitimate business that a man can engage in. Outside of gambling on the board of trade or the New York Stock Exchange, I know of nothing to compare with it.

"Probably the worst thing the feeder has to contend with is these violent fluctuations. The plausible contention is made by the packers that the rapid advances are an offset to the declines, but such is far from the case, as fully three-quarters of the cattle are bought on the days of heavy receipts, reducing the average cost far below the average daily prices."

Our information shows that there are three principal causes for these violent price fluctuations:

First, collusive manipulation by the big packers to drive the prices either up or down, depending upon whether they are overstocked with fresh and cured meats and want to sell in a high market or are understocked and want to buy in a low market. This is illustrated by the following extract from a letter written by E. A. Cudahy to M. R. Murphy, his general superintendent at South Omaha:

"There is no use in being very aggressive about our percentage as long as there is a loss in the hogs. * * * I think Swift is long considerable stuff on the market and Armour short, and Swift thinks he has to keep the price of hogs up in order to keep the provision market up. There isn't any particular secret about the business and I don't see that they are doing any better than we are, and the only thing we can do is to wait until they see fit to improve conditions."

Second, violent price fluctuations also occur as the result of disagreements among the Big Five, as, for example, when Mr. E. A. Cudahy, apparently excluded from the inner circle for a while, wrote the following to M. R. Murphy:

"Regarding hog buying—going to have pretty hot time unless allow other fellows to wipe us off map. Better see how our buyers stand in yards. May be at little disadvantage account position we have taken on market for long time. *Notice Chicago market about 15 higher to-day—so must be row on here, too. Don't know what is matter with packers, but things seem to be getting worse instead of better.*"

Third. Unnatural price fluctuations are created when the packers controlling a particular live-stock market decide to keep some competitor out by raising prices. This is illustrated by the following letter from Morris & Co.'s files, signed "E. M., Jr.," presumably Edward Morris, jr.:

CHICAGO, 7/23/15.

Mr. E. G. ELDRIDGE,
Oklahoma City, Okla.

DEAR SIR: Notice Armstrong (Armstrong Packing Co., which Armour had secretly bought in 1908, but which was at the time of this letter regarded as an independent, even by members of the combination) was in your market yesterday and bought 210 hogs. With receipts getting now we can't afford to have Armstrong take any hogs out of our market. If he comes in for any hogs, let us put the market up a bit and make him pay enough so he will stay out. Our receipts are so light it is hard to operate a place even if no outsiders buy on the market.

Yours, truly, E. M., Jr.

Another indefensible practice, which particularly affects the producers of live stock and has done much to dishearten them, is technically known as "wiring on." When a cattleman, dissatisfied with the prices offered at the stockyards to which he has shipped, decides to try another, a telegram is sent forward over the packer's private wire notifying the buyers at the destination that the cattle are being shipped and giving the price offered at the first market. As a result the cattleman finds that at the second market he is offered the same or a lower price, and stands to lose at least the freight and the shrinkage as punishment for trying to beat the system.

The packers have repeatedly denied that they wired on, although sometimes admitting that they used to; but something like a hundred telegrams of recent date now in the possession of the commission completely refute the denial.

It is our opinion that the failure of American meat production to keep pace with population is in large measure due to the conditions created and maintained in the markets by the Big Five. Their conspiracies and unfair practices have disheartened producers of live stock by destroying their confidence in the fairness of the marketing

system to such an extent that large numbers have abandoned or curtailed their operations. Thousands of the more intelligent producers to-day regard the stockyard markets as gambling places in which the packer owners not only take an exorbitant "percentage" but rig and control the game itself.

They see in the violent fluctuations of the market—and our investigation confirms their suspicions—manipulations by the big packers in order to secure their raw material cheaply. They know by repeated experience that these fluctuations are so large and so unnaturally sudden that many a producer loses heavily because he happened to ship his live stock on Monday instead of on Wednesday. When this happens and a live-stock producer loses thousands of dollars on animals whose production and shipment represent a large investment and long months of hard labor, there follows discouragement and a loss of credit which effectually prevents the speedy re-establishment of the same scale of production. It is such conditions which have led able and energetic cattlemen to testify before the commission that under present conditions they would not willingly hand on their business of cattle raising to their children.

But the packers have even more directly affected production. Their very system of concentrating the markets and packing houses at a few large centers, where live stock can be disposed of profitably only in bunches, has discouraged farmers and people in small towns from raising animals which otherwise would readily find sale. The present "raise a pig" movement is retarded by the fact that there are no convenient near-by places to dispose of the pig after he has been raised.

Moreover, the packers have deliberately discouraged production in certain regions where they do not wish to establish packing plants and slaughterhouses. The story of the packers' activities in destroying the raising of sheep and other animals in New England is a chapter by itself.

It is unnecessary to do more than point out the large part which live-stock raising plays in the successful production of other foods. Live stock on farms are not only essential to fertilization but provide a means of utilizing waste and surplus crops which often marks the difference between success and failure. There is room on the farms and ranges of the United States for an immense additional number of animals, but so long as farmers and live-stock men believe that they will have only a "gambler's chance" instead of a "square deal" at the markets there will be great difficulty in securing this production.

What has been said applies specifically to the production and marketing of live stock, but the same methods are being applied by the big packers in other branches of food production, and equally deplorable results are apparent. The producers of milk, butter, cheese, and poultry are finding themselves disheartened by exactly the same conditions and practices, against which the live-stock men have been vainly contending for more than a generation. Little has been heard of these conditions outside the particular regions in which they exist, but they are already causing unrest and dissatisfaction in the regions where these foodstuffs are produced, and sooner or later, unless the conditions are corrected, there will be a situation in connection with each of these as serious as was the live-stock situation which led to this investigation.

With the thought that the road to reasonable food prices lies in the direction of the elimination of monopoly, the curbing of unfair practices, and the assurance of a fair and reasonably stable market, the commission here gives relatively small space to the question of profits and costs. There is no doubt that the packers' profits, particularly since the beginning of the European war, have been enormous, both in the United States and in foreign countries. Measured by prewar profits, the 1917 profits (exclusive of Armour's foreign profits; inclusive of only part of Swift's South American profits) were 350 per cent greater than in the average of the three years before the European war; measured by the amount of sales, they averaged, in 1917, 4.6 cents on the dollar, which was sufficient to produce for the five companies a total profit of $96,182,000; measured by the net worth of the combined corporations (capital stock plus surplus), they averaged, in 1917, 21.6 per cent; measured by the capital stock outstanding, as an indication of the dividend possibilities, they averaged, in 1917, 39.5 per cent; and measured by the packers' actual investment of new capital, they amount to several times even this last figure.

All these are minimum figures for the reason that the packers' accounts are so constructed that they conceal profits rather than reveal them. There are numerous "secret reserves"; there are endless transfers of material from department to department at fictitious or arbitrary values; and there are all sorts of improper items charged in as expenses, ranging from items properly chargeable to capital to improper payments which have no place in any business. To have untangled these accounts so that a complete presentation of profits and costs could be made would have required accountants and clerks as numerous as the several thousands employed by the packers.

Moreover, the parent corporations, and particularly the meat departments, are made to bear the costs of the process of monopolization in various remote fields. Sometimes during periods of cutthroat competition these losses will run on for years, borne entirely out of the current earnings of meat and other lines; but when the fat years succeed the lean, the packers protest against any part of these earnings being carried back to the credit of the departments which bore the losses.

The unreliability of all meat cost-and-profit calculations is increased when they are placed upon a "per head" basis, for a new and difficult question immediately is presented as to what is included in the denominator of the fraction from which the result is obtained. However, since much publicity has been given by Swift & Co. to certain figures purporting to show their net profit on "dressed beef and all by-products" to be $1.29 per head in 1917, some comment is called for. This is best put in the form of a quotation of a letter written by Charles H. Swift to Louis F. Swift and Edward F. Swift under date of June 23, 1916:

[Private.]

CHICAGO, *June 23, 1916.*

MESSRS. LOUIS F. SWIFT, EDWARD F. SWIFT:

Referring to Henry Veeder's letter, June 13th, to L. F. S. regarding Borland resolution, in which Mr. Meeker is quoted as saying that Armour made a profit of $1.19 per head on cattle for certain period (ours for same period $1.28 per head):

Mr. Chaplin understands that Armour's includes their canners, which ours does not; part of their sausage results, and has 10 cents added per head for good measure for by-products transferred at market prices, which ours does not.

If our and Libby's cattle were thrown together for the period, without including sausage or anything for good measure, it would bring ours up over $2 per head.

Mr. Chaplin didn't think there could be as much difference as this, but checked it pretty close and understands definitely that theirs includes all of the above mentioned, which ours does not.

CHARLES H. SWIFT.

The statement of the accountants who prepared the Armour cost figure of $1.19 per head shows that it did not include actual profits from fertilizers and various other by-products. The significance of this letter is that it shows that, when we include a part of the by-products and take in transfer values at market prices, Swift's profit immediately jumps to "more than $2 per head," and if we add other by-products properly chargeable and bring back the branch-house profits, the figure keeps on climbing until it is more than 100 per cent larger than the $1.28 for 1916, and the $1.29 for 1917, which Swift & Co. are spending great sums in advertising.

BUSINESS ETHICS OF THE PACKERS.

The packers, in their recent public statements and advertisements, have striven to create the impression that they have grown to their present size solely as a result of superior efficiency, and that whatever improper or illegal practices were discovered in connection with their business were merely incidental. The conclusion, however, that is produced by a study of their history and present activities is that they have attained their dominant position primarily as a result of unfair practices and illegal methods. The fact that they have so generally resorted to unfair methods of meeting competition discredits their claims of superior efficiency. It is difficult to believe that, if the big packers had been able to extend their business rapidly by efficiency alone they would have resorted to the devious and illegal means of crushing competition which they have employed.

This conclusion is strengthened by a perusal of the packers' letters in which their motives are often frankly stated. The following letters, introduced with merely explanatory comment, were written by the packers or their agents in the course of their everyday business.

Extract from a letter written by Guy C. Shepard, vice president of Cudahy Packing Co., to Mr. R. Murphy, general manager of the company, under date of February 12, 1918:

"I presume that it is true that all of us have not been as considerate as we should have been in view of the great strain and the difficulties under which you and all of the superintendents have been laboring since the first of January. The whole truth of the matter is we have nearly bitten off more than we can chew. *There never was a time in the history of the business when we have had as good a margin on the hogs for as long a stretch continuously, and naturally it has made everyone very greedy to kill every hog they possibly could.* I don't suppose any of us have wasted much time figuring out whether we could or could not handle the business when we saw a chance to land a big allotment over at the Food Administration. The main idea that we had in mind was that it was profitable business, and the first thing to do was to take the order and then get through with it some way or other.

To understand the following telegram, sent by F. E. Wilhelm, of the Cudahy Packing Co., to the assistant manager of their Omaha plant, it is necessary to know that cheek meat, shank meat, and bull meat are inferior kinds of meat, which until very recently were almost valueless.

CHICAGO, ILL., *February 6, 1918.*

W. DEISING, *Omaha:*

Notice you sold some beef cheek meat at 12½c. EAC [apparently E. A. Cudahy, president of the Cudahy Packing Co.] says not to sell any more, but to consider it worth 18c. Would suggest you hold this stock, as we have been discussing recently with the Food Administration about having the specifications for canning meat revised so that cheek meat might be included, and would like to have this extended to shank meat and bull meat.

F. E. WILHELM.

A little earlier Morris & Co.'s sales manager wrote the following letter, relating to th sale of a quantity of "fishy" butter at fresh-butter prices to one of the Army camps:

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *November 24, 1917.*

Mr. C. J. MURPHY,
Morris & Co., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: We are in receipt of your two letters of the 22d relative butter we are holding here for Panama.

Regarding the duty having been paid on these shipments, will say that we will be unable to do anything on this here towards securing a refund or drawback, as the duty was paid by consignee in Panama, and they of course will have to enter their claim down there and collect from the Panama government.

We have advised the foreign department fully as to the disposition of this butter, giving them all the information you request, and suggest you take up with Mr. Carlsen regarding. With reference to your remark "to work a little closer" on a proposition like this, it would seem to us that the fault is not at this end, as we were handling this for the foreign department, and if it was necessary for you to be in touch with this that they should have kept you posted. We certainly kept them fully advised at all times as to what we were doing with this stock.

Regarding shipping this butter to Alexandria, La., to take care of the butter contract for Camp Beauregard, we wired Mr. Simpson night message 11/13, asking if it would be satisfactory to use this butter to fill contract orders Camp Beauregard, and received reply from Chicago 11/14 advising it would be O. K. to use this butter for this purpose.

Might add for your information that we examined some of this stock before shipping to Alexandria and found all we tested to be very fishy, and we feel that the stock was well sold at price you mention. [Italics by commission.]

Yours, truly,

MORRIS & COMPANY,
(Signed) W. J. FITZGIBBONS.

WJF-HM

Of somewhat similar character is the following letter, written by Armour & Co.'s branch house superintendent at Philadelphia to the manager of the dressed-beef sales department:

ARMOUR & CO., CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

917-925 NOBLE ST., PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
February 23, 1918.

Mr. V. H. MUNNECKE,
Armour & Co., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: This has been a very unsatisfactory week, because of the great quantity of bad-condition beef we have had to sell. Even our kosher cars coming into Noble Street were off condition. Ninety per cent of our beef unloaded this week was very stale.

Morris and Wilson had just as much trouble as we had. Swift got by with practically no trouble at all. Possibly this trouble may partly be accounted for by the beef being held a long time at the plant, while Swift had cars and was able to keep closer up to date on his shipments.

Wilson froze quite a little beef, some out of their own shipments, and some they bought. They bought beef from us at 132 N. Delaware Avenue that had been wiped up twice before we sold it to them. They bagged it up and shipped it to New York for freezing. They bought beef from Arch Street that was so bad that we bathed it in vinegar and soda before we showed it to them. I think this beef also was shipped to New York for freezing.

I certainly do not know what they are going to do with this beef. *I certainly do not think beef in the condition they are buying ought to be exported or offered to our armies.* [Italics by Commission.]

Yours, truly,

T. G. LEE.

TGL–MGC

WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE.

In the President's letter of February 7, 1917, we were asked to state as a result of our investigations:

"*What measures are necessary to effect fundamental improvements?*"

What the remedy is will appear from a brief analysis of the situation. The rapid rise of the packers to power and immense wealth and their present strangle hold on food supplies were not based necessarily on their ownership of packing houses, but upon their control of the channels of distribution, particularly the stockyards, private car lines, cold-storage plants, and branch houses. Similarly the great profits which they have secured and are now securing are not primarily due to exceptional efficiency in operating packing houses and manufacturing plants, but are secured through their monopolistic control of the distributive machinery. This applies not only to the meat industry, but to the other branches of the food industry which they control, as is evidenced by the fact that particularly in recent years they have made far greater efforts to secure control of the distribution of the product than to secure manufacturing plants in the case of such products as cheese and canned goods. Several letters in our possession might be cited in support of this statement.

As long as the packers control these distributive utilities, producers will be at the mercy of the big packers, competition will be restrained and consumers generally will continue to pay the price of monopoly. Control and manipulation of the live-stock markets have been the great factors in the discouragement of live-stock production. Control of the transportation and marketing facilities have been the instruments by which competitors have been crushed.

We see no possibility of effecting the "fundamental improvements" which the President's letter sought, short of the acquisition by the Federal Government of the distributive utilities now controlled by the Big Five, and the establishment by the Federal Government upon equal terms for all the additional storage and distributive facilities necessary to open the channels of commerce in foods and related products and insure their free and unrestricted flow from the producer to the consumer.

We recommend, therefore:

1. That the Government acquire, through the Railroad Administration, all rolling stock used for the transportation of meat animals and that such ownership be declared a Government monopoly.

2. That the Government acquire, through the Railroad Administration, the principal and necessary stockyards of the country, to be treated as freight depots and to be operated under such conditions as will insure open, competitive markets, with uniform scale of charges for all services performed, and the acquisition or establishment of such additional yards from time to time as the future development of live-stock production in the United States may require. This to include customary adjuncts of stockyards.

3. That the Government acquire, through the Railroad Administration, all privately owned refrigerator cars and all necessary equipment for their proper operation, and that such ownership be declared a Government monopoly.

4. That the Federal Government acquire such of the branch houses, cold-storage plants, and warehouses as are necessary to provide facilities for the competitive marketing and storage of food products in the principal centers of distribution and consumption. The same to be operated by the Government as public markets and storage places under such conditions as will afford an outlet for all manufacturers and handlers of food products on equal terms. Supplementing the marketing and storage facilities thus acquired, the Federal Government establish, through the Railroad Administration, at the terminals of all principal points of distribution and consumption, central wholesale markets and storage plants, with facilities open to all upon payment of just and fair charges.

The stockyards and their essential adjuncts, such as exchange buildings and terminal railroads, must be acquired and operated by the Government under such conditions that the producer will be assured of a fair market, reasonable charges, open bidding, full and helpful market information, the limitation of violent fluctuations in price, and the elimination of unnatural market influences. Moreover, the measure authorizing the acquisition of the stockyards should provide for the acquirement by right of eminent domain of such sites adjacent to the yards as may be necessary for their proper expansion and for the location of such independent, municipal, or cooperative abattoirs or packing houses as may be established. This will open the way for the independent packers and butchers, big and little, to establish their plants and secure their live stock under such conditions as will enable them to compete actively with the big packers. Furthermore, we believe that the establishment of such open, competitive markets will be followed by a large increase in live-stock production.

The necessity for acquisition by the Government of refrigerator and other private car lines and icing stations is so obvious, particularly since the railroads have been brought under Federal operation, that argument seems unnecessary.

Acquisition of the stockyards and car lines alone will not secure the fundamental improvements which we are seeking. Figuratively speaking, we will have opened only two of the doors by which the big packers have obstructed the channels of food commerce, while the third remains closed. An independent packer may with Government-owned yards and cars find it possible to secure and ship his products upon terms of equality with the big packers, but unless he has an opportunity to dispose of them under fair conditions his competition will not be effective and the consumer will not be benefited.

It is for this reason that we consider the provision of proper marketing and storage facilities by the Federal Government through branch houses and establishment of central wholesale markets and storage places to be an essential feature of a system which will provide for the American people adequate supplies of food at reasonable prices during both war and peace.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, February 7, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: An adequate supply of food products is a matter of concern to the Nation at all times. It is of peculiar importance at present. Our domestic food supply is normally very large and has become increasingly varied. In some respects it has steadily expanded and has kept pace with the increasing population. Unfortunately, this is not true, however, of a number of important staple products, including certain cereals and particularly meats. While the population of the Nation has increased 26,000,000 since 1900, the production of the two leading cereals, corn and wheat, while tending to increase, has shown only a slight advance; and that of the meat products in the same period has shown an increase of only 3,500,000,000 pounds—a decrease of 29 pounds per capita.

Much can be done, and is being done, to change this situation through improved methods of production and through the control or eradication of plant and animal diseases. But there are problems also of distribution; and, in some respects, the problems presented in this field are the more difficult. Only recently have official agencies been created to deal systematically with this side of the difficulty. Much work has been done, and, considering the limited nature of the powers under which it has been conducted, no little headway has been made, particularly in obtaining and diffusing useful information. Nevertheless, it is not yet clear in many directions just what the nature of the difficulty is or what measures should be adopted to effect fundamental improvements. Many necessary facts are not available, and it is questionable whether any single agency of the Government at present possesses the requisite power and equipment to secure the information needed to enable both public and private instrumentalities to render their fullest service to the people. It is obvious that there will be no sufficient incentive to enlarge production if there does not exist an unobstructed and economical system of distribution. Unjustifiable fluctuations in prices are not merely demoralizing; they inevitably deter adequate production.

It has been alleged before committees of the Congress, and elsewhere, that the course of trade in important food products is not free, but is restricted and controlled by artificial and illegal means. It is of the highest public concern to ascertain the truth or falsity of these allegations. No business can be transacted effectively in an atmosphere of suspicion. If the allegations are well grounded, it is necessary that the nature and extent of the evils and abuses be accurately determined, so that proper remedies, legislative or administrative, may be applied. If they are not true, it is equally essential that the public be informed, so that unrest and dissatisfaction may be allayed. In any event, because of the grave public interests which the food supply affects, the efficient performance of the duties imposed upon agencies of the Government requires that all the pertinent facts be ascertained. To this end, the powers of such agencies should be made adequate, if in any respect they are now deficient.

Pursuant to the authority conferred upon me by the act creating the Federal Trade Commission, therefore, I direct the commission, within the scope of its powers, to investigate and report the facts relating to the production, ownership, manufacture, storage, and distribution of foodstuffs and the products or by-products arising from or in connection with their preparation and manufacture; to ascertain the facts bearing on alleged violations of the antitrust acts, and particularly upon the question whether there are manipulations, controls, trusts, combinations, conspiracies, or restraints of trade out of harmony with the law or the public interest.

I am aware that the commisison has additional authority in this field, through the power conferred upon it to prevent certain persons, partnerships, or corporations from using unfair methods of competition in commerce. I presume that you may see fit to exercise that authority, upon your own initiative, without direction from me.

The Department of Agriculture has been engaged for several years in studying problems of distribution. I have noted that it has been proposed in the Congress to add to the funds of the department and give it larger powers to conduct its investigations. As its activities will touch phases of the problem I am calling to your attention which may not be covered by your inquiry, and may furnish information of great importance for the purposes contemplated, I shall direct that department to cooperate with you in this enterprise.

For the adequate prosecution of the inquiry by both your commission and the Department of Agriculture, it is essential that sufficient funds be available. I accordingly request that you furnish me at the earliest possible moment an estimate for an appropriation, if one is needed, to supplement existing appropriations, to enable you successfully to carry out the investigation.

A copy of this letter is being sent to the Secretary of Agriculture, with the direction that his department cooperate with you and with the request that he furnish an estimate for the funds needed by his department.

Sincerely, yours,

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

Hon. WILLIAM J. HARRIS,
Chairman Federal Trade Commission,
Washington, D. C.

STIMULATION OF AGRICULTURE—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. GORE. I renew my request, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the conference report on the bill named by him.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing vote of the two Houses on the bill (H. R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products, and for other purposes."

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I should like to say that after several sessions the conference committee of the two Houses

reached a partial agreement. They adjusted the differences on all the amendments except the amendment commonly known as the rent amendment. Upon that amendment we were unable to reach an agreement. We therefore report a disagreement to the two Houses.

In a moment I shall move to agree to the report and that the Senate further insist on the so-called rent amendment. Before making that motion, however, I wish to say with respect to amendment numbered 30, which is the amendment intended to prohibit the interstate shipment of adulterated feed stuffs, that the committee was not able to reach an agreement upon that amendment. There was, however, an appreciation of the importance of the subject; and I am perhaps at liberty to say that an agreement was reached between the chairmen of the two Agricultural committees that a subcommittee from each of the two Houses would be appointed, whose duty it would be to consider the adulteration of feeds and fertilizers and to prepare and report to the two Houses a comprehensive measure intended to prohibit fraudulent practices with respect to feeds and fertilizers, so far as Congress has the power to accomplish that end.

I move that the Senate agree to the conference report and further insist upon the so-called rent amendment.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President, I desire to inquire of the chairman of the Agricultural Committee about the amendment concerning which no agreement has been reached. Is that the so-called Pomerene rent amendment?

Mr. GORE. Yes, sir; it is the Pomerene rent amendment.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President, I think it is well that the Senate should appreciate just what this condition is, so that the conferees may understand that the Senate will insist upon this amendment being possibly considered by the conferees, with a view to reaching some conclusion.

The Senate has already acted very conclusively with regard to this measure by approving the action of its conferees on the Pomerene bill, as it came from the Committee on the District of Columbia, in refusing to confer with the conferees of the House under the circumstances which are disclosed in the RECORD. I want to say, so far as the District Committee of this body is concerned, that the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE], who is the author of the bill and has spent a great deal of time on it and has very ably drawn the bill to correct the housing conditions in Washington, so far as possible, desired to withdraw from that conference committee because of occurrences in another body, which are disclosed in the RECORD; but the District Committee, I think unanimously, declined to allow him to withdraw from that conference committee, and each and every member of the District Committee stated that he would not under the circumstances accept an appointment as a conferee to represent the Senate.

Now, it is very important, I think, that this bill should be agreed upon. There are very many circumstances arising regarding rents in this city in a multitude of cases that I think the Pomerene bill would reach which need to be reached at this particular time. It is a very important measure, and unfortunately it is the only way in which this legislation can be obtained. If the House declines to consider it through a conference committee, as they have done, I simply hope that on the House will be placed the responsibility of the failure to bring about conditions in this District regarding housing which so much need attention.

I only wanted to impress on the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, the head of the conferees, that it was very necessary, in my judgment, to get the House conferees to consider this matter, which, I understand, they have absolutely refused to do. Otherwise certainly it would be improper in the minds of a great many Senators for the Senate ever to agree to a conference report where this amendment is wholly disregarded.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I served as one of the conferees on this bill, I am sorry to say. I think the Senate ought to know what the conferees have done.

I will say that I do not concur in this conference report and have not signed it. The Senate attempted to practice economy in some of these appropriations. It struck out all of subdivision 3 on motion of the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING]. I am sorry he is not present. That has all gone back in the bill. The first provision, where the item of $105,000 for production of beef cattle was stricken out, has come back in the bill, and where these few economies crept in in the Senate and some of us had hoped that we might hold them in conference, practically all are eliminated, and the appropriations come back, cottage cheese and all, which item was restored after many tears shed by the conferees over the cottage-cheese situation. It simply illustrates that it is impossible to cut down appropriations. When you get into conference, it seems to be the duty of the conferees from their standpoint to take back to their respective bodies a report showing that what they have done in those respective bodies the conferees have won by a tremendous victory. They bring back the flag of victory. I had always supposed that legislation should be arrived at from the standpoint of what was the best interest of the public, and not as to the matter of offending the dignity of either the Senate or the House.

Now, on the rent profiteering, I trust the Senate will insist on that amendment. We have no pride of opinion about the Pomerene amendment. We simply insisted on the fundamental proposition that something should be done here in the District of Columbia as to these rent profiteers. The House conferees took the position—I do not know that I violate any confidence—that this amendment did not belong on this bill; that the District of Columbia committees should consider these matters. That is true, but we face a fundamental condition that unless something is done on this bill for the people of the District of Columbia, who are being so systematically and thoroughly robbed, nothing will be done at this session of Congress, and we have no right to shirk or evade that responsibility even if there be certain Members of Congress who are exceedingly anxious to get home.

But a situation has grown up—and we might as well be frank about it; it is no secret—between the conferees of the Senate and the conferees of the House, as to the District of Columbia bill.

Unfortunately remarks made by Members of the House offended the Senate conferees, probably rightfully so, and the House conferees on this present bill now feel that to take any action on this matter is a slap in the face of the chairman of the District of Columbia Committee in the House. There we stand in this boyish, silly attitude; because somebody is going to be offended either in the Senate or the House the people of the District must submit to these injustices. It is not right or fair or decent.

I do not mean to indulge in criticism of the conferees at all. They are all high-minded men and desirous of doing what is right, but they are placed in a difficult position by the unfortunate situation which we have gotten into over this bill as relates to the District of Columbia Committee. I believe if it is sent back to conference, and if the Senate conferees are willing to stand firmly by the proposition of doing something on the rent provision, we can get something accomplished, and that we ought to do. We will be recreant to our duty if we neglect this opportunity to relieve the people of this District.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, when the conference report on this bill was submitted by the chairman last Tuesday I entered an objection to its immediate consideration. I wished to ascertain why the amendment No. 29 had been omitted by the conferees, because it will be remembered that amendment No. 29 was the bill which provided that the Secretary of the Interior may, under rules and regulations prescribed by him, lease for not more than 30 years certain tracts of Indian reservations for metalliferous mining. The Senate became convinced more than three months ago that it was an unwise policy to send to Ceylon and to Brazil and other points across the sea to obtain minerals necessary for the conduct of the war in making munitions, and so forth, when we have those same metals right at home; and the Senate wisely, in my judgment, adopted that amendment providing for leasing tracts in Indian reservations, so that manganese, and rare metals especially, might be obtained.

I am very sorry that amendment No. 29, which is the metalliferous mining proposition, has been omitted by the conference; but I have talked with our Senate conferees, and I am convinced that they have done every reasonable thing and have summoned every reasonable argument that ought to be made to induce the House conferees to keep amendment No. 29 in the report. I am persuaded that our conferees abandoned the amendment simply, solely, and only because it was the only thing that they could do. In other words, I am convinced that the House conferees will not now under any circumstances agree to amendment No. 29, and I have no disposition, therefore, to delay the adoption of the conference report. Of course if I thought for a moment that a further delay of the report would bring about any agreement to amendment No. 29 I should continue my opposition.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, I have nothing to say further than to give my colleagues in the Senate, who are intensely interested in the measure, the assurance that I have received from the House that the measure has been put upon the calendar—I believe, what they call the unanimous-consent calendar—to be called up on motion, and that there is every prospect that we may finally get it enacted as an independent law, which is the better way to enact such legislation if it is possible to do it. If I did not see some hope of getting a bill of this importance through at this session I should make every

effort that I could possibly command to see if we could not further insist on the amendment, and convince the House conferees that they should yield.

But, feeling that the conferees, as my colleague has said, have done all that they could, we must take our chances on action in the House hereafter.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I want to indorse what the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] said in reference to the amendment known as the rent amendment and also to indorse the suggestion of the Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY] that our conferees ought to insist upon some action being taken upon that amendment. The people of this District, especially the Government employees, are being harassed and threatened and intimidated and robbed systematically, and Congress ought to take some steps to correct it.

We have passed what is known as the Saulsbury resolution. That prohibits the raising of rent or the eviction of tenants during the war. Personally, I am satisfied that that resolution will be sustained by the courts if it ever comes before them, but it is being contended by the landlords that it will not stand the test of the courts. Tenants are being told that, and they are being threatened with suits, they are being ordered to get out of premises, and told that if they do not do it they are going to be sued. Many of them could not stand the expense of a suit. Very naturally, they are not only very much perturbed in mind, but they feel as though they have either to get out or else comply with the demands of the landlords with reference to increased rent.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Gladly.

Mr. SHEPPARD. A lady from Texas, working in one of the departments, came to me a few moments ago and stated that she is paying $45 a month for one room, and that the landlord has threatened to raise her rent to $60 per month.

Mr. JONES of Washington. That instance can be multiplied over and over again. It is quite a modest demand that that landlord has made compared with the demands made by others.

Mr. President, as the Senator from Iowa has said, this is no time for anybody to stand upon dignity or anything of that sort. The interests of the people of this District are to be considered in connection with this legislation. It is legislation largely for the benefit and for the protection of people who have been brought into this District to do the work of the Government that is necessary to be done in the conduct of the war, and it is nothing short of an outrage that we will permit those people to be systematically mulcted by those who happen to own the property and the rooms which they must necessarily occupy if they would stay here at all.

The Senate, recognizing the situation that exists between the two bodies as far as the Committees on the District of Columbia are concerned, were perfectly willing to place this proposition in the hands of conferees from another committee. They were willing to do that in the hope of getting the legislation that we ought to have, and it does seem to me that another body, which we properly can not name, ought to be perfectly willing to allow our contention with reference to this matter to be considered by a committee that all must recognize would be entirely impartial. It does seem to me that the House conferees ought to be willing to consider this proposition.

Mr. President, we have not done in this case anything different from what we have done time and time again. There is hardly an appropriation bill of any character that comes over here which does not have amendments put on it that would properly go to some other committee. Yet they are put on in the hope and belief of getting legislation. No question is ever raised about reflecting upon anybody or slapping anybody in the face or outraging anybody's dignity or anything of that sort, but the conferees take up the propositions and consider them and try to reach a conclusion with reference to them.

I hope, Mr. President, that the Senate conferees will insist upon something being done in this matter, and I trust that the other body will recognize the importance, not to us, not to Members of the House, but the importance of this proposition to people who, as I said, have been brought into this District to do the work of the Government, that they may be protected in their rights and in the discharge of the duties they have come here to perform.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I infer from the remarks of the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] that perhaps he does not understand the parliamentary situation as I do. The conferees of the two Houses reached an impasse with reference to this particular amendment—the rent amendment. The House conferees were not willing to recede from their disagreement to the amendment. The Senate conferees were not willing to recede from their insistence upon the amendment. Of course, the Senate conferees were powerless to prevail upon the House conferees to change their position upon the subject. We held several sessions. The Senate conferees, appreciating the fact that the Senate was thoroughly committed to the amendment, that it had been attached to the bill by an overwhelming majority, that it was the legislative sense of the Senate, were not willing to take the responsibility of a recession. We therefore refused to ask to recede. The conferees of the two Houses reached a disagreement, and we now come to the Senate asking that the agreement, with respect to other amendments, be accepted and that the Senate further insist upon amendment No. 28—the rent amendment.

Of course, under parliamentary procedure it will then go to the House and the House itself will then have an opportunity to act directly upon the merits of the amendment. It is my hope that some one in the House will move to concur in the amendment in order that the issues may be squarely raised in that body. If, however, they disagree, of course there are only two courses which the Senate can pursue. One is to recede and the other is to ask for a further conference. Of course I shall abide the pleasure of the Senate when that conjuncture arises, but I should like to say further that there were certain reasons why the Senate conferees were not willing to let this particular bill ride at anchor indefinitely in Congress. I think that statement is sufficient and Senators will appreciate what I mean.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I think the Senator must have misunderstood me. I think I understand the situation. I do not want our conferees to keep the bill in conference indefinitely. I simply want them to insist when they go into conference that something shall be done on this proposition, and if the House conferees absolutely refuse then I want them to bring back a report of a disagreement.

Mr. GORE. That is what has been done, I will say to the Senator.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I know the Senator has now done that, but I am referring to future conferences. I was referring to conferences in the future. I know what has been done and I am glad our conferees have done it; I am approving their action in the matter, but I want to let them know, as far as I can, that the Senate is behind them in insisting upon the bill going to conference again, and that some action must be taken on this amendment or the conferees will have to report a disagreement to the Senate.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I fully indorse what has been said by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] and the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] with regard to the importance of the so-called rent amendment to this bill, and I am very sorry that any question of a personal character should interpose itself so completely between the members of the conference committee of the two Houses as not only to suspend but to imperil the enactment of a very desirable and most important amendment.

I want to say, Mr. President, in this connection, that my experience, which has been considerable, regarding the rent situation in the District convinced me that a very large proportion of the extortionate instances occurred between lessees and their sublessees. There are occasions where landlords owning property have been extorting, but the large bulk of them are composed of men and women who have leased apartments or rooms or houses and who have then sought to take advantage and are taking advantage of the enormous pressure in the District for shelter to demand and receive prices that are out of all proportion to what they should be, and in many respects far beyond the ability of their victims to respond. Of course, it is that class of people, the small sublessees, which need the protection of this body more earnestly and more summarily than any other.

There is a species of profiteering which is carried on by the owners of large and palatial residences who are demanding and receiving from people who are here on Government business and who are very wealthy practically the value of their property in the enormous amounts of rent which they ask and which they receive. That class of people, however, can get along. It is the others whose condition is so pitiful that it ought to appeal to the sense of justice of the members of the conference committee and enable them, if they are not satisfied with this measure, to amend it in some such way as to enable us to enact it into law.

Mr. President, there is an amendment to this measure which has passed the conference and which in its consequences upon the revenues of the country is very formidable. I refer to what is called the "bone-dry" amendment, the effect of which is to prevent the sale and the carrying on of transactions regarding

distilled liquors, and which when it shall go into effect by that very act prohibits the further sale of intoxicants.

I am not going to touch upon the question of prohibition any more than may be necessary for my purpose, because I am well aware of the fact that the prohibition sentiment in the country is overwhelming and that nothing I can say will in any wise prevent the early establishment of this principle in the approval of the bill which is the subject of the conference. But, Mr. President, when you consider that, speaking roughly, 50 per cent of the revenues of the General Government have for many years prior to the war been derived from specific taxes upon distilled, brewed, and fermented liquors and tobacco, and that ever since the Civil War these articles and the business have been a prolific source of revenue, as was said by some one a revenue which is the only one known that is voluntarily paid, as no man needs to smoke or drink unless he chooses, and that up to this time a very considerable portion of our war revenues have been derived from the same source, the effect upon the revenues for 1919, because of this amendment, becomes a subject of first importance and one which has necessarily presented itself to the consideration of the Senate Committee on Finance now in charge of the revenue bill.

The best information which we have convinces us that as a result of this "bone-dry" amendment the revenues of the country will in all probability be depleted in 1919 in the sum of $750,000,000 to $800,000,000, and we must either acknowledge the fact and legislate accordingly or seek other sources of revenue to make up the certain deficit between the amount thus lost and the $8,000,000,000 which we are trying to secure.

There are in bond in round numbers 138,000,000 gallons of distilled liquors, and out of bond, consisting of what is called floor stuff, about 40,000,000 gallons. The bill now in committee proposes a tax of $8 per gallon upon all of this merchandise, being $4.08 in excess of the prevailing rate, which is or was when it was imposed considered excessive. The liquor which is not in bond has paid the tax of $3.80 per gallon and will be liable, so much of it as may remain in existence when the bill goes into effect, to the additional sum of $4.20. The owners of the liquor are of course bonded to the Government for whatever tax has been or may be imposed upon it after the time it is withdrawn from bond.

I know nothing, Mr. President, or at least not enough to hazard any statement, of the monthly or yearly consumption of distilled liquors in the United States, but I think it is safe to say that when the 1st of July, 1919, arrives the great bulk of the liquors now in bond will still be in bond, and inasmuch as it is unlawful, or will be unlawful at that time, to make any further sale of liquor the loss to the owners will be complete. Perhaps it may not be the subject of any very strong protest, although I do not believe it right, but the source of revenue will be gone and gone forever.

Now, apart from the evident injustice of legitimatizing and encouraging the manufacture of an article and its use as an article of merchandise and trade and the subsequent practical confiscation of property by law, is added to the problem of revenue in a great crisis like this. Our information is, Mr. President, that fully 50 per cent of this enormous stock of liquors has not yet reached an age which justifies its sale as a beverage unless it be disposed of to manufacturers of rectified whisky, which is an artificial product, largely speaking, and made possible by the use of flavors, sugar, and so forth.

Now, I wish those who are responsible for this legislation would give the members of the Finance Committee the benefit of their better judgment as to whether, purely from the standpoint of revenue, under all the circumstances, it is wise at this time to insist upon this arbitrary limitation and end by this legislation the 1st of July next any further disposition of this large stock of liquors; and if the law is to be insisted upon, then to indicate to the committee in what manner the deficiency can be provided against by the imposition of taxes upon other forms of taxable wealth.

Eight billions of dollars, Mr. President, is nearly twice the amount of all of the money in the United States of all characters and descriptions; it represents a sum which the mind of man can not grasp; and in order to realize it, it is necessary to tax to the last degree all pursuits and all property in the United States which, under the limitations of the national taxing power, can be made to yield their proportion of this desired sum.

The whole eight thousand million dollars is a small proportion of the annual expenditures of the Government during this war. Indeed, it was announced but a few moments ago that the military bill now under consideration in the House of Representatives makes an appropriation of from seven to nine billions of dollars for military purposes, in addition to the appropriations hitherto made by this Congress. A great liberty war loan compaign is now in progress, to which the people are responding with an enthusiasm and an alacrity that is highly gratifying; but the fact remains that the certain depletion of our estimates by 10 per cent either requires us to reduce those estimates, which the Treasury says would be extremely unwise and injurious, or to go on piling up our percentages of taxation upon other forms of property and other business.

This seems to me, Mr. President, to be a most critical situation, one in which sentiment should play no part whatever, one in which the needs of the Government—and they are paramount at this time—for money should be the prevailing and the only consideration.

I am constrained to call the attention of the Senate at this time to this subject, because, speaking for myself alone and without any desire or intention of representing any of my colleagues or associates upon the Finance Committee, I believe that we must reconsider this legislation in the revenue bill in some such way as will enable us to realize a revenue from this commodity until it shall have disappeared, until it has been exhausted and consumed, and until it shall no longer figure as a business or as an element of our taxable wealth. It is a serious problem and an insistent one, one which the Finance Committee can not, if it would, avoid, and which it would not, if it could, disregard.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I merely want to say a word and to have a letter printed in the RECORD relating in a certain way to the amendment to which the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] has referred. I am not going to discuss the phase of the matter which he has discussed, though I recognize the very great importance of it. Some of us, however, who have pressed legislation along the lines of that amendment have been charged from time to time with lugging into legislation matters not connected with the war; that we have had no regard to the war situation in pressing this legislation, and our protestations seem to have no effect. I am glad, Mr. President, to have a vindication from official sources connected with the administration, fully justifying our activities in behalf of this legislation as war legislation and which would fully justify even further action than Congress has taken.

A short time ago I received a telegram from several of the business men of Yakima, Wash., calling attention to the financial disaster that would come to the hop industry and those who had become financially interested in it by reason of the closing of the breweries. I referred that telegram to the Fuel Administrator, and I simply desire to read his letter. Under date of September 25 he writes me as follows:

> MY DEAR SENATOR: I have your letter of September 21, inclosing copy of telegram sent you by business men and hop growers of Yakima, Wash., with reference to the closing of breweries.
>
> I am sure that no one regrets more than I the financial loss restrictions of this kind entail, but I can assure you that this restriction was not imposed until after the matter had received the most careful attention.

Now, I desire to call the Senate's attention especially to this paragraph:

> The entire matter has been under consideration at Washington for many months, and it was considered of such importance that practically all of the various governmental departments were consulted.

Not alone, Mr. President, the Fuel Administration, but practically all of the governmental departments were consulted with reference to this matter.

> After studying the matter most carefully from all its angles, it was decided that brewing ran counter to the war needs in so many important directions that the best interests of the war called for the action taken.
>
> Very truly, yours, H. A. GARFIELD,
> *United States Fuel Administrator.*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

Mr. FLETCHER. I am not going to detain the Senate. I have no doubt the motion of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] will be agreed to, and that the pending matter will take the course indicated by him. However, as amendment numbered 28, the amendment with reference to the rent situation, will be left open, I desire to call attention to some provisions in it, which really I think the conferees ought to change. They can agree to the amendment with an amendment. It is immaterial to me, anyway, but instances have been brought to my attention which warrant me in mentioning the matter, so that the conferees may consider it. For instance, on page 18 of the bill accompanying the report, in the lines from 7 to 10, in reference to a landlord getting possession of his premises, the condition is—

> That the premises are reasonably required by a landlord for the occupation either by himself or his wife, children, or dependents while in the employ of or officially connected with any branch of the Government.

There are cases where the title to the home, to the property, which has always been occupied and used as a home, is in the wife. Some such cases have been brought to my attention. I

know particularly—and this illustrates the situation—where an elderly gentleman and his wife have lived here in Washington for some years. The husband is employed by the Government. About a year ago they rented their home. Now they want to occupy that home. The lease has expired; the husband is actually in the employment of the Government; but the title to the property is in his wife's name. Therefore, this provision will not give the wife the relief which Congress intended that the owner of the property should have, as I take it, because this remedy is confined to the property being that of the landlord, and where he and his wife and his children wish to occupy it.

I am a firm believer in the woman having equal, if not superior, rights to her husband, and especially when it comes to their home; but here is a provision which would enable the husband, if he owned the title to the property, to recover possession of it when the lease has expired, but it does not give the wife the same right in this instance. I have no doubt there are numerous other cases in the city, and it seems to me they ought to be regarded when it comes to a consideration of this amendment. Although the husband is actually employed by the Government, and the wife and he desire to occupy their home, he can not get possession of it under the provisions of this bill; neither can his wife do so. I think the amendment ought to be so modified as to cover cases like that. Where the title is held by the wife, the right to recover possession of the property ought to be vested in her.

I merely call the attention of the committee to that phase of the matter. A very slight amendment would correct it. Now, resumption of possession of the property is limited to the right of the husband, and if he does not own the title to the property he is not the landlord, and therefore can not recover. Where the wife owns the title she ought to be permitted to recover in instances of that sort. I merely mention the matter in order that the conference committee may consider it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

Mr. KENYON. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. President. Agreement to the report sends the amendment with reference to the rent question back to the conferees, as I understand?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair inquires whether or not this is a complete report?

Mr. GORE. No.

Mr. KENYON. It is not.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Then the amendment upon which there is no agreement will, of course, remain in conference.

Mr. GORE. No, Mr. President, I do not think that is the course it will take. My motion is to further insist upon the amendment. That amendment will then go to the House, as I understand, and the House will vote upon it separately.

Mr. KENYON. Yes; but in the manner in which the Chair put the motion, would that accomplish what the chairman of the committee desires?

Mr. FLETCHER. I should think the question would first come, Mr. President, if I may suggest, on the adoption of the report of the committee of conference. The report is that all of the items in the bill, except No. 28, have been accepted and agreed on by the conferees, and that there is a disagreement as to amendment numbered 28. We recognize that, and then that would be followed by the further motion, I take it, that the Senator from Oklahoma means to make, to insist upon that amendment.

Mr. THOMAS. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado will state it.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it not a rule of parliamentary law in the Senate that a conference report must either be adopted or rejected as an entirety?

Mr. GORE. Yes, sir; that is true, but there is no conflict between that rule and the present status. It is more correct to follow the procedure indicated by the Senator from Florida. I united the two motions to agree to the report and to further insist upon amendment numbered 28. Perhaps it is better first to move to agree to the report. I shall then follow that by a motion further to insist upon amendment numbered 28.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point raised by the Senator from Colorado is correct, but it does not apply to this case.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, here is a report, which is a disagreement, except as to one item, and there is a disagreement as to that. Now, in order to sustain the committee, must we not disagree to the entire report?

Mr. GORE. No. The two Houses will agree to this report in so far as we have reached an agreement. That eliminates all those items from any future conference, whatever else may happen. When I move to insist upon this particular amendment, if that motion is agreed to, then that amendment will be messaged to the House, and the House will take independent and separate action upon that particular amendment. Of course, if they concur in the amendment, that ends it; but if they disagree, it will come back to the Senate for further action, when the Senate may either recede or ask for another conference. That is the procedure which was followed, I will say to the Senator, in connection with the regular Agricultural appropriation bill. The same situation exactly arose, and this procedure was followed at that time with respect to the so-called wheat amendment. The report was accepted, and an agreement was reached on everything but that particular amendment; the report was agreed to by the Senate, and the Senate further insisted upon that amendment. Then it went over to the House and was agreed to by the House with an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

Mr. GORE. I move that the Senate further insist upon amendment numbered 28.

The motion was agreed to.

STATISTICS OF COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I desire to ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of a very brief bill, which I am sure will not be objected to by anyone. It is calendar No. 527, being the bill (S. 4924) to amend section 336 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the annual report on the statistics of commerce and navigation of the United States with foreign countries. It relates simply to the printing of this volume which I hold in my hand. Under the law it has to be printed at the end of the fiscal year. The Department of Commerce, the Shipping Board, the War Industries Board, and other departments all very much desire that the statistics shall be brought down to the close of the calendar year and that this document shall be printed, instead of as now required by law on June 30 of each year, at the end of the calendar year. This bill merely changes the date for the printing of these statistics, which are regarded as very valuable and very important, and they will be very much more useful if they are brought down to the end of the calendar year. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which was read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 336 of the Revised Statutes of the United States be, and the same is hereby, amended by striking out the word "fiscal" immediately preceding the word "year" at the end of the first sentence of said section and by inserting in lieu thereof the word "calendar."

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

STREET CAR SERVICE IN CITY OF WASHINGTON.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I am going to take this opportunity to say a few words in reference to the street car situation in Washington, and I have delayed my remarks until along toward the last, so that Senators who may not desire to remain in the Chamber need not do so.

Mr. THOMAS. I hope that the Senator will bear in mind that we ought to have a brief executive session.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I will get through in time for that.

Mr. THOMAS. So that the Senator does not run over 6 o'clock I will not object.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I will not run that long.

Mr. THOMAS. Very well.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, street car traffic in the District of Columbia became much congested last fall and winter. On February 11, 1918, the Senate passed a resolution asking the Public Utilities Commission for information as to what steps the street railway companies were taking to meet the situation. On March 9 the commission reported, showing that an expert had been employed to study conditions and try to devise ways of operating the cars that would better meet the congestion. This has resulted in the establishment of the skip-stop system, platform loading, rerouting of cars, and rearrangement of the hours when Government and private employees go to work. These things have been of great benefit, but have not kept pace with the influx of population, and actual conditions have been getting worse.

On September 9 the Senate passed another resolution calling on the Public Utilities Commission for certain information. The commission was requested to advise the Senate what orders

it has issued requiring the street car companies to procure more cars for operation on existing lines in the District; and, if no such orders had been issued, to inform the Senate why it had not done so. The reply of the commission shows that it has issued no such orders. No reason is given why it has not done so, except as we may infer that it did not deem it necessary to do it because the Capital Traction Co. has ordered 20 new cars and the Washington Railway & Electric Co. 50 new cars since the passage of the former resolution by the Senate. So I take it that the other resolution was not without value, at any rate.

The commission calls attention to the letters which it received from the companies and which were transmitted to the Senate stating their intention to purchase additional street cars. It also points out that plans and specifications for the proposed new cars were submitted to the commission and examined by its experts and that the type of car with equipmnet was approved for the one company April 10 and for the other company April 18; and that, through the efforts of the commission, similar types of cars are to be secured by both companies so constructed as to be operated singly or in two-car trains.

The commission was also asked whether it had made any investigation to determine how many cars could be used advantageously on existing tracks, and if such investigation had not been made, why it had not been done. In its answer it simply points out that the investigations referred to in its former report have been continued up to date and refers to the improvement secured through the skip-stop principle and the rerouting of cars, and so forth. We are left to infer that no investigation has been made to determine how many cars could be used advantageously on existing tracks and no reason is given for not making such investigation.

The commission was asked why more cars have not been secured by the companies. It gives us no information in that regard and we must infer that the companies did not secure any more cars simply because they did not want to do it, and that the commission did not interest itself in the matter at all.

The commission was also asked to advise us when additional new cars are likely to be placed in service. In its answer, which purports to cover both of these requests, it simply states that the commission is informed that their orders for the purchase of new cars were given in March and April, 1918, and that, through the assistance of the Bureau of Industrial Housing, certain priority orders have been issued and that deliveries are promised so that the completed cars can be assembled and ready for service beginning in December, 1918.

The commission was asked to state what efforts it had made to assist the companies in securing additional cars. It states that, upon receipt of specifications for the new cars, several conferences were held, finally resulting in both companies purchasing the same type of car, interchangeable at the lines of the two companies; and that prompt action was taken on the application of the Washington Railway & Electric Co. to issue $572,000 of bonds to pay for the cars ordered by them. Apparently the commission took no steps whatever in the first instance to require the companies to get new cars, and it has taken no steps to assist the company in getting priorities or early delivery of the new cars ordered.

The commission was asked to state why it has not required more frequent service by the companies. It does not show any special effort by the commission to secure more frequent service except the inauguration of the skip-stop system and compliance with certain standards adopted by the commission. It states that the companies have been unable to operate their cars in accordance with these schedules, very likely for the lack of trainmen, but it does not show that it has required of the companies any special effort to get additional trainmen. It does express the belief that the companies are making reasonable efforts to meet the unprecedented situation, but that they are greatly handicapped by the lack of men to operate their cars, although special wage increases have been made in the past year. They state that announcements have been made in the last few days of very large increases in wages, which the company proposes to put into effect immediately, and that with such inducements it seems reasonable to expect an increase in the number of trainmen sufficient to operate all the scheduled cars. It gives no reason why the companies have not long before this made substantial increases, nor does it give any excuse for their not making special efforts to get trainmen or secure women for the operation of these cars, as has been done in a great many other places.

It is plain to me that the street car companies of the District of Columbia have made no special efforts to meet the congested situation here. They have not increased wages as they ought to have been increased. They did not attempt to secure additional cars until the spring of this present year. The companies seem to operate upon the theory of getting everything they possibly can out of the public and rendering just about as little service as possible. As the congestion increased and the war activities became greater, they should have taken immediate steps to increase the number of cars for use upon existing lines. They never have had enough cars to meet the situation as it ought to be met, and it is certainly plain to anyone that many more cars could be used advantageously upon existing lines during rush hours to meet the congestion that must continue and become worse unless something of this kind is done.

In this connection I simply wish to call attention to two or three conditions as to the existence of which, I think, everybody will bear me out. I have occasion to come down Fourteenth Street every morning about 8 o'clock. I find that it is impossible to get a car on Fourteenth Street before getting down to Fourteenth and H; so I walk that distance every morning in order to get a car. I find that cars generally running along Fourteenth Street are from two to four blocks apart. It seems to me that in the rush hours that should not be the case. That is not the way cars run in other cities when there is a great rush. I remember a short time ago I happened to be in South Bethlehem, Pa., along about the time when the employees leave their work, and I found along the car line car after car just a few feet apart going down to meet the employees to take them home. Nothing of that sort is found here.

Then you find, Mr. President, that just as soon as the rush hour begins to get over the cars are taken off, so that, as it is now, it is practically a rush hour all through the day so far as the people are concerned who have to use the street cars. You can hardly get on a street car that has come any distance at any time of the day and be able to get a seat. It seems to me that that ought not to be. At night, about the time the theaters are letting out, the companies provide quite an additional supply of cars; but that lasts only for a little while, and if you happen to want a car a little bit later than that or a little bit earlier than that you are unable to get a seat in a car if a car has been coming any considerable distance.

On Pennsylvania Avenue the other morning about half past 8 or 9 o'clock, when one would expect a large number of cars, I was standing, as I recall, at Ninth Street, and looking back on Pennsylvania Avenue there was just one car coming down Pennsylvania Avenue from the turn at the Treasury. That was not the car that I wanted. After it passed, looking down the Avenue I saw that there was one more car in that distance. Mr. President, there is something wrong when you have a condition of things like that on the street car lines of this city, especially during the rush hours of the morning or the rush hours of the evening. In any other city of any considerable size the street car line would have been crowded with cars, moving along as fast as they could to take care of the crowds and get to the end of the line. You never see anything of that kind here in Washington City, unless there is a breakdown or an interruption of the traffic in some way.

The law requires—

That every public utility doing business within the District of Columbia is required to furnish service and facilities reasonably safe and adequate and in all respects just and reasonable.

It also provides—

That the commission shall have power, after hearing and notice upon order in writing, to require and compel every public utility to comply with the provisions of this section and with all other laws of the United States applicable and any municipal ordinance and regulation relating to said public utility and to conform to the duties upon it thereby imposed or by the provisions of its own charter, if any charter has or shall be granted.

The commission has not used this power, and has made no special effort to do so. That is true, at least, as far as any showing has been made. It has not attempted to ascertain how many cars could be used advantageously upon existing lines. It seems to me that one of the very first things that should be ascertained is whether or not the existing car lines could be put to greater use than they are now; that is to say, how many more cars could be advantageously used upon those lines. There has been some talk of need of new lines. It seems to me that we are not making full use of the lines we have. I judge that that is the case simply because the companies have not gotten the necessary cars to run on the existing lines, and the commission has not used its power to insist upon the companies getting the cars that they could use advantageously upon these lines.

The commission has issued no order requiring the companies to operate more cars. It has made no special effort to compel the companies to furnish adequate service and facilities to meet the increasing congestion in the District. The commission may not be justly subject to criticism in this respect. The members

of it are the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. Their time probably is taken up fully with the business of the District, and they may be unable to give proper attention to the duties placed upon them as a public utility commission. The fact of the matter is, we ought to have a separate commission, with nothing else to do but look after the public utilities of the District. That was the conclusion that was arrived at by a special committee that was appointed some months ago to investigate the conditions affecting the street car lines in this city. That committee recommended the creation of a special body as a public utilities commission in the District of Columbia and that is what we ought to have.

As I say here, the District commissioners are busy with the business of the District generally. All of their time, probably, is taken up, and they have not been able to give to this matter the attention it ought to have, and deserves; and yet I do think they might better have neglected some of the general business of the District than to have allowed matters to go on as they have gone on in connection with these street car companies.

The street car companies are now seeking an increase in rates, and I understand that some war board has approved such an application.

I saw some reference to that in the papers the other day. I do not remember the name of the board. My recollection is that it was a board composed of people quite prominent in the country. What investigation they have made I do not know, but what justification there is for such approval I am at a loss to undertsand. The companies have not incurred any very great additional expense. They have gotten no new material. They have laid no new track. Until very recently, at any rate, the increase in wages to employees has not been very large; and, judging from the way their cars are crowded, their income has certainly been far greater than ever before.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that with the conditions existing, and with the passengers that are taxing the very capacity of these cars from early morning until late at night, there is no justification in asking for an increase in rates, and I think this is borne out by an investigation of the receipts and expenditures of these companies. An inspection of their revenues and expenditures will also show that their profits have been well maintained; and unless we want to go on the theory that they should not bear any of the burdens of the war, we will not allow them to increase their charges upon the public in order that their profits may be maintained to the prewar period.

The total operating revenues of the Capital Traction Co. for 1915 were $2,206,493.59; for 1916, $2,289,250.84; for 1917, $2,783,538.01; and for the first eight months of 1918, $2,277,194.82. Its total operating expenses, including taxes, for 1915 were $1,288,083.95; for 1916, $1,380,223.06; for 1917, $1,719,611.56; and for the first eight months of 1918, $1,403,285.27. The latter sum likely includes the amount to be paid for the 20 new cars, which the commission says this company can pay for without issuing bonds. Its total operating income, after deducting taxes, and so forth, for the year 1915 was $918,409.64; for 1916, $909,027.78; for 1917, $1,063,926.45; while for the first eight months of 1918 it was $873,909.55, or $1,310,864.32 for the year, assuming a proportionate amount for the rest of the year, or a net gain of nearly $300,000 over the last year.

The total operating revenue of the Washington Railway & Electric Co. on all its lines for 1915 amounted to $3,015,058.43; for 1916, $3,118,928.39; for 1917, $2,879,388.32. The falling off of its revenues for 1917 is very easily understood when it is remembered that this line provoked a strike which not only greatly decreased its revenues but which involved it in a very large increase in expenditures. For the first eight months of 1918 its revenues were $2,563,880.06. Its total operating expenses and taxes for 1915 were $1,977,959.53; for 1916, $2,115,016.45; and 1917, $2,311,675.34; and for the first eight months of 1918, $1,899,937.96, in which is very likely included the $572,000 bond issue for new cars. Its total operating income for 1915 was $1,037,098.90; for 1916, $1,003,911.94; for 1917, $567,712.98—this decrease was largely due to the strike—for the first eight months of 1918, $663,942.10, or $995,913.15 for the year, assuming a proportionate increase for the remaining four months, or only $42,000 less than its highest year.

The Potomac Electric Power Co., which is practically a part of and owned by the Washington Railway & Electric Co., had a net operating income in 1915 of $1,134,581.88; for 1916, $1,242,964.30; for 1917, $1,120,421.09; and for the first eight months of 1918, $725,618.73, on which basis the income for 12 months would be $1,088,428.09.

The public is called upon to inconvenience itself to better the service. Those who have not far to go should walk, especially during the morning and evening rush. They should be considerate in getting on and off cars. They should and they can aid greatly by moving from the rear to the front of the cars when the car is not full.

I received a letter a few days ago suggesting that the residents of the District, or the Public Utilities Commission, or somebody, ought to arrange with some authority to see to it that passengers move up from the rear of the cars to the front, and that in this way the accommodations on the cars would be very greatly increased. I have noticed the apparent disposition of the public to pay very little attention to requests of conductors to move forward, and I myself have felt simply like stumbling over somebody who persists in standing in the middle of the aisle and in the middle of the car when there is plenty of room at the front; and I have not hesitated to step on men's toes in order to get by, so as to get up to the front, and give the people who board the car an opportunity to get forward and to take the room that is unoccupied.

There are some things that the public can do in these matters as well as the other interests concerned, but, after all, the street car companies should have been compelled to furnish more adequate facilities before the war congestion came, and they should lend every effort and the commission should compel them to use every effort and make every expenditure necessary to furnish adequate service now.

Mr. President, I have here the reports of the Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia, which I think are on the table. I see no need of having them printed. I have stated the substance of the reports in my remarks, and I simply suggest that they be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia without being printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MYERS in the chair). Is there objection to the request? There being none, it is so ordered.

THE MORALE OF AMERICA IN THE WAR.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I have here, and desire to have inserted as a part of my remarks—although it is not pertinent to the subject I have been discussing—an address delivered by Dr. M. A. Matthews, of Seattle, Wash., former moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, entitled "The Morale of America in the War." It is a very splendid address. It is short and will not take very much space in the RECORD, and I ask that it may be printed as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There being no objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

THE MORALE OF AMERICA IN THE WAR.

[Delivered by Rev. M. A. Matthews, D. D., L.L. D., before the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World in convention in San Francisco, Cal., July 10, 1918.]

"ENTRANCE.

"Mr. President, fellow citizens, we have entered into the world's greatest struggle. Our position must be judged solely by the standards of absolute righteousness. Therefore, we invite the world to focus the light of investigation, history, and Christianity upon our motives and our conduct.

"Unashamed and unafraid, we have no apologies to offer to ourselves, to our enemies, or to the world for our participation in this gigantic struggle for universal freedom. We entered the contest at the right time—at the psychological moment. We should not have entered sooner, nor should we have delayed our entrance a single day; therefore the morale of our people is of the highest type.

"MORALE.

"Our courage, spirit, character—morale—depends entirely upon the motive controlling America's decision to enter the war. Motive—intent—fixes the degree of crime or glorifies the principles controlling one in any action. Our intent—our motive—will stand the most careful investigation. There is not a single degree of selfishness, revenge, or reward to be found in the motive controlling our actions. We are absolutely free from any selfish considerations.

"UNSELFISH.

"America has always acted from the unselfish viewpoint. History proves that her contest in 1776 was to establish the principle of self-government, independence, and the right of representation equal to taxation. Her contest in 1861 was to preserve the Union and give to the world a nation willing to sacrifice individual opinion for the preservation of indissoluble union. Her contest in 1898 was to lift the heel of oppression

from a downtrodden people. She has ever been willing to sacrifice for the good of others.

"America had every reason to enter this contest to avenge the wrongs she had suffered; but she waived those reasons, and awaited the moment when the world could truthfully say she entered solely for the purpose of making her contribution to the worlds' salvation, regardless of what it might cost.

"CAUSE.

"Her citizens had been murdered, her property had been destroyed, her treaties had been broken, and her hospitality had been desecrated; every right near and dear to her own welfare had been infringed, but America waited. Conspiracy after conspiracy against her people, their happiness and welfare had been formed. Germany had entered the domain of her sister nations and had tried to incite them to make war upon America, but she waited. Her own sacred domains of diplomacy, honor, and secrecy had been invaded by infamous spies and traitors and her confidence had been insulted, but she waited.

"At last, when Germany described a zone into which she forbade American ships to sail and notified the world she would practice ruthless submarine warfare upon neutrals and belligerents alike, America said the world's liberties were then in the balance, and she would enter the contest for the protection of the liberties of the world and the freedom of the seas. If Germany had the right to describe a 3-mile zone, of course she had the right to describe a 3,000-mile zone; but America said no Government in the world had the right to monopolize the high seas, wage ruthless warfare, and murder women and children in the pursuit of their routine avocations; therefore, for the freedom of the seas, the defense of the weak, and the vindication of right, America entered this awful contest. She will stay in it until the seas are freed, the world is emancipated, and Prussianism eternally crushed.

"MOTIVE.

"We entered this awful hell to rescue the perishing, defend the weak, and help our allies establish liberty, law, democracy, and righteousness. We entered solely for the purpose of vindicating and guaranteeing to the world the principles of humanity, justice, equality, and democracy. Therefore, you see self-preservation was not the principle governing us.

"Our hands and hearts are clean, and we ask no reward for the sacrifices we are making and will have to make. We only ask the privilege of making these sacrifices for the emancipation of the world. With such a motive the morale of this country is absolutely perfect, the courage of the people consequently indomitable. When the motive is pure and the program divine, the spirit of the people is free. There is no fear in righteousness nor cowardice in virtue. The determination of the American people is unlimited.

"We have entered this contest to defend the rights of the weak and guarantee freedom to all. We will not be deterred by obstacles, discouraged by difficulties, or stopped by foes. Our universal command is, 'Forward, march, march on—Washington to Berlin!' We do not want peace. We are going to have victory, righteousness, then peace.

"THE TWO FORCES.

"It might be well for us to ask, What is this unparalleled contest into which we have plunged with such determination? It will help us very much to understand what the contending forces are, what the two motives are, and the ultimate object of each set of forces. When you comprehend these facts, then you can understand why the morale, the courage, the unselfish spirit of America and her allies is so high, and why the satanic spirit controls the central powers in their method of warfare. It is a death struggle between force and faith; between militarism and democracy; between brutality and humanity; between rationalism and Christianity.

"On the one side Germany and her allies are controlled by rationalism, force, militarism, and brutality. On the other side America and her allies are controlled solely by the principles of democracy, humanity, faith, and spirituality. Germany is controlled by the materialistic spirit; America and her allies are dominated by the spiritual forces of democracy, equality, equity, and righteoueness.

"GERMANY THE CAUSE.

"Germany started this war to glorify herself and magnify and deify might. She says might is right; we say right alone is might.

"Frederick the Great, the archprophet of Prussianism, speaking in 1740, said: 'The question of right is an affair of ministers. It is time to consider it in secret, for the orders to my troops have been given.' And again he said: 'Take what you can; you are never wrong unless you are obliged to give back.' Take the words of Bethmann-Hollweg, addressing the Reichstag on August 4, 1914, when he said: 'We are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law. He who is menaced as we are and is fighting for the highest possession can only consider how he is to hack his way through.' In other words, from Frederick the Great to the present moment Germany has known but one rule, namely, the rule of might. She says the ends justify the means and that there is no law when her greed, desire, and tyrannical spirit are to be satisfied. Germany started this war for the purpose of making the world recognize Germany as supreme. For the last hundred years Germany has instilled into her people the idea that Germany should be over all. The toast at every banquet was closed with the sentence, 'Germany over all.' That was the motive, the purpose, and the program of the German people, the German Government, and the German war lords.

"She held that her people should not only be the conquerors but the rulers of the world. Every preparation possible was made to accomplish that purpose. Her people are just as much involved in the scheme as are her war lords. That damnable fiend, the Kaiser, is no more to blame than the German people, for they believe and have taught that Germany should be, by her might, the conqueror of the world and the ruler of all peoples.

"Since 1870, the close of the Franco-Prussian war, Germany has made incessant preparations for this world conflict. She entered into conspiracies with her financiers, military leaders, social factors, teachers, and preachers to bring about this awful hell, in order that she might emerge a victorious world dictator. She offered her financiers vast wealth, her political leaders power, and all her people unlimited territory. There has not been a baby born in Germany for the past hundred years who has not drawn his sustenance from the breast of military ambition, desire, and determination.

"GERMAN TEACHINGS.

"Germany's rationalism was the controlling philosophical power beneath all the purposes and programs of her people. Out of Germany's rationalism came her damnable rationalistic theology, which deified might, force, and militarism, and crucified everything spiritual, righteous, and divine in her people.

"She teaches that might is right and the sword is the only arbiter between nations and peoples. She wants territory, commercial supremacy, political power, and military domination. The Kaiser and his war lords have committed the unpardonable sin. Germany has lost her soul, crucified every principle of humanity, and has blasphemed God Almighty.

"Germany is not entitled to self-government. She is incapable of self-government, because self-government means government of the people by the principle of consent. Germany says government shall be by force regardless of consent. Her people are slaves, servants to military orders and Prussian power. They have no rights except those granted by the Emperor. The autocratic spirit of the German Emperor is clearly revealed in his own utterances, in which he says: 'The Imperial Government is in form a government by the Emperor and the Imperial Diet. The dominating factor in the latter is the federal council appointed by the kings and princes.' As King of Prussia, William the Second can make or break any policy.

"Prussia is the controlling factor—political, economic, and military—in modern Germany. In other words, the supreme controlling power in Germany, from the Emperor throughout the Government, is force, which means, when the occasion requires, the use of absolute brutality, and that brutality comes from her rationalistic philosophy and theology. There is no other way by which the world can account for the extreme brutality of Germany.

"GERMAN CRIMES.

"Behold helpless Belgium, wrecked Serbia, ruined Roumania, and a whole world on fire, while the fiendish Kaiser rejoices in his victories and blasphemes God by claiming Divine assistance. There is no other way to account for the sinking of ships, the murder of women and children, the brutal sacrifice of doctors, nurses, and dying patients, the breach of every promise, the violation of every treaty, and the inauguration of a system of conspiracies unparalleled in the history of the world.

"There is no other way to explain why the Kaiser and his people have committed such crimes. There are no atrocities known to Satan they have not committed. They have lighted the torch of the incendiary; they have devised the weapons of the midnight assassin; they have corrupted manhood, debased womanhood, ravished childhood, damned motherhood, and exhibited the nature of the beast. They have laughed as the blood of women and children flowed at their feet. They have mocked when women cried, and have derided when children pleaded for bread. They have terrorized the weak and have brutally

trampled beneath their feet the helpless and the dying. They have violated every rule of decency and have set at naught the solemnity of every promise and the sacredness of every vow. They have plunged the world into blood and murder. They have stripped the thin gauze of decency from the body of civilization and left the nude form exposed to the world's ridicule. They have desecrated homes, polluted the marriage vows, defiled the altars of the church, destroyed civilization, and blasphemed God.

"They have done all these things as the logical result of their damnable rationalistic philosophy and theology. They have done all they have done with premeditation and malice aforethought. Everything they have done has been the logical result of 100 years of preparation, teaching, and planning.

"AMERICA'S PROGRAM.

"Therefore, patience ceased to be a virtue, and we entered the contest on the side of virtue, on the side of humanity, on the side of faith, on the side of democracy, on the side of right, and, by the powers of eternal right, we will stay in the contest until Prussianism is crushed, Germany humiliated, and over her is placed a protectorate to be created by America and her righteous allies.

"We are not in this contest to destroy the Kaiser and his war lords only; we are in it to defeat the German people, reorganize the German Government, liberate the world from Prussianism, and drive forever from the face of the earth a materialistic, damnable, rationalistic philosophy and theology which has plunged the world into this vortex of blood.

"America has a program, but there is not a single vestige of selfishness in it. Her spirit is free, her courage is unparalleled, and her determination grows stronger with the passing days.

"America does not want reward and will not ask for indemnity—would not take it were it offered to her. She is not seeking revenge for herself, but is seeking to vindicate right and, for the world's sake, the establishment of universal representative democracy. She is willing to pay the price at home and abroad. With the assistance of her allies, she is going to win and carry the Stars and Stripes through the streets of Berlin.

"America does not want a negotiated peace—will not have a negotiated peace.

"America will never consent to the Kaiser and his associates having a seat at the peace table. They have no right to participate in peace negotiations. They have forfeited their right to sit at the table with men who respect their word, who hold sacred personal honor and national integrity. Every proposal of peace heretofore made has been a German-made proposal. America has spurned and will continue to spurn such infamous proposals of peace.

"There can be no peace until Prussianism is crushed, representative democracy established, and universal right implanted in the hearts of the Governments of the world.

"America is prepared to defeat the enemy at home, whether that enemy be a spy, a pro-German fiend, or an American traitor. The man who is profiteering or who is in any way, shape, form, or manner giving aid or comfort to the enemy by interfering with the program of this Government is a traitor to every American principle and is an infamous assassin driving his knife into the back of America and her worthy allies. The enemy at home, whether he be in the United States Senate or in the lumber camps of the West, deserves but one treatment—eternal imprisonment or ignominious death. There may be pharisaical hypocrites, infamous pacifists, and pro-German cowards in the pulpits and in the seats of learning who object to strong language, but there is but one place for such damnable, pharisaical, pro-German enemies, namely, the grave of eternal, social, political, and moral oblivion.

"We are in this war to win, and there shall not stand in the way of the American spirit and courage a single foe at home or abroad. He who is right, whose conscience is clear, whose hands are clean, and whose motive is pure recognizes no opposition and stops for no foe.

"He who will not give his entire support to the President of the United States, the members of his Cabinet, the Army, and the Navy is not entitled to American liberty.

"There are no political, partisan principles or parties governing us at the present time. There is but one President, one party, one spirit, and one baptism—the President of the whole United States, unadulterated American loyalty, the spirit of unselfishness, and the baptism of blood. In the spirit of absolute loyalty and unselfishness we will sacrifice all for the establishment of righteousness and the freedom of the world.

"When that has been accomplished, we shall come home and continue to make our contribution to the rebuilding of the world and the perfecting of our own Nation. We shall continue to give the world unselfish service, unstinted contributions, and unlimited love, sympathy, and assistance. We shall come home to build America on a foundation of absolute equity, democracy, and righteousness. There shall never be recognized in this country class or caste. The distinctions that have controlled in the past shall give way to the principles of representative righteous democracy.

"The political parasite and the partisan assassin shall be unknown factors in the future government of America.

"The soldiers who come home will take their place in the seats of power as well as in the ranks of service. Business will be protected, but never dominate government; labor will be protected, but never control government. Government will be of all, for all, and over all, without favors for any, with persecution for none, and with equality and justice for all.

"M. A. MATTHEWS."

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. THOMAS. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 10 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 3 o'clock and 22 minutes p. m.) the Senate, under the order previously made, adjourned until Monday, October 7, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 3, 1918.

SURVEYOR GENERAL OF NEVADA.

John B. O'Sullivan, of Nevada, to be surveyor general of Nevada, his term of office having expired. (Reappointment.)

COAST GUARD.

Ellsworth P. Bertholf, captain commandant of the Coast Guard, to have the rank of commodore in the Navy and brigadier general in the Army, for temporary service from the 1st day of July, 1918.

Charles A. McAllister, engineer in chief of the Coast Guard, to have the rank of captain in the Navy and colonel in the Army, for temporary service from the 1st day of July, 1918.

The following-named constructors with the rank of first lieutenant to be constructors with the rank of captain in the Coast Guard, for temporary service from the 1st day of July, 1918:

John Q. Walton and
Frederick A. Hunnewell.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

To be brigadier general, Regular Army, with rank from October 1, 1918.

Brig. Gen. William S. Scott, United States Army.

Brig. Gen. Peter C. Harris, to be The Adjutant General of the Army with the rank of major general, for a period of four years beginning September 1, 1918.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Maj. Gen. Merritte W. Ireland, Medical Corps, to be Surgeon General, with the rank of major general, for the period of four years beginning October 4, 1918, vice Maj. Gen. William C. Gorgas, to be retired on October 3, 1918.

APPOINTMENT IN THE ARMY FOR THE PERIOD OF THE EMERGENCY.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Brig. Gen. Robert E. Noble, Medical Corps, to be major general in the Army for the period of the emergency for service abroad, vice Maj. Gen. Merritte W. Ireland nominated as Surgeon General.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY DURING THE EXISTENCE OF THE PRESENT EMERGENCY.

To be major generals with rank from October 1, 1918.

Brig. Gen. Guy Carleton.
Brig. Gen. De Rosey C. Cabell.
Brig. Gen. William H. Hay.
Brig. Gen. Frank L. Winn.
Brig. Gen. Edmund Wittenmyer.
Brig. Gen. Mark L. Hersey.
Brig. Gen. Henry Jervey.
Brig. Gen. Clement A. F. Flagler.
Brig. Gen. Charles D. Rhodes.
Brig. Gen. Joseph D. Leitch.
Brig. Gen. Hanson E. Ely.

To be brigadier generals with rank from October 1, 1918.

Col. Tyree R. Rivers.
Col. John W. Heard.
Col. Farrand Sayre.

Col. George O. Cress.
Col. William C. Rivers.
Col. Francis J. Koester.
Col. John D. L. Hartman.
Col. Edward Anderson.
Col. William T. Littebrant.
Col. William O. Johnson.
Col. James R. Lindsay.
Col. Daniel W. Ketcham.
Col. Vernon A. Caldwell.
Col. George D. Moore.
Col. Harold P. Howard.
Col. John B. Bennet.
Col. Melville S. Jarvis.
Col. Herbert O. Williams.
Col. Albert C. Dalton.
Col. Edward Sigerfoos.
Col. Harrison J. Price.
Col. Walter C. Short.
Col. George C. Barnhardt.
Col. Robert W. Mearns.
Col. Edward L. Munson.
Col. George H. McManus.
Col. William R. Smedberg, jr.
Col. Mathew C. Smith.
Col. Paul B. Malone.
Col. Frank S. Cocheu.
Col. William E. Welsh.
Col. John W. Barker.
Col. Louis M. Nuttman.
Col. Benjamin T. Simmons.
Col. Frederick B. Shaw.
Col. William B. Cochran.
Col. Clarence H. McNeil.
Col. Charles B. Drake.
Col. Reynolds J. Burt.
Col. Rufus E. Longan.
Col. William M. Fassett.
Col. Henry W. Butner.
Col. Marcellus G. Spinks.
Col. William K. Naylor.
Col. Charles E. Kilbourne
Col. Campbell King.
Col. Percy P. Bishop.
Col. John W. Kilbreth, jr.
Col. Hugh A. Drum.
Col. Daniel F. Craig.
Col. George S. Simonds.
Col. Stuart Heintzelman.
Col. Orval P. Townshend.
Col. Daniel W. Hand.
Col. Robert I. Recs.
Col. Brice P. Disque.
Col. Archibald H. Sunderland.
Col. Laurin L. Lawson.
Col. Dennis H. Currie.
Col. James H. Bryson.
Col. Lesley J. McNair.
Col. George R. Allin.
Col. Pelham D. Glassford.
Col. William Bryden.
Col. Charles S. Blakely.
Col. Sanford B. Stanberry.
Col. Charles I. De Bevoise.
Col. William H. Rose.

To be Brigadier Generals with rank from October 1, 1918.

QUARTERMASTER CORPS.

Col. John M. Carson.
Col. Harry E. Wilkins.
Col. Albert D. Kniskern.
Col. Charles R. Krauthoff.
Col. John F. Madden.

MEDICAL CORPS.

Col. James D. Glennan.
Col. John M. T. Finney.
Col. William S. Thayer.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

Col. Herbert Deakyne.
Col. James F. McIndoe.
Col. Sherwood A. Cheney.
Col. Avery D. Andrews.
Col. Charles G. Dawes.

SIGNAL CORPS.

Col. George S. Gibbs.

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

Col. Charles C. Jamieson.

AIR SERVICE.

Col. William Mitchell.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

The following-named captains to be rear admirals in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 21st day of September, 1918:

Newton A. McCully,
Henry F. Bryan,
Andrew T. Long,
Thomas Washington,
Guy Hamilton Burrage,
Ashley H. Robertson,
Carlo B. Brittain, and
Samuel S. Robison.

The following-named commanders to be captains in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 21st day of September, 1918:

Julius F. Hellweg,
Sinclair Gannon,
Robert Morris,
John D. Wainwright,
George W. Steel, jr.,
Stafford H. R. Doyle,
William N. Jeffers,
John W. Timmons,
Charles S. Freeman,
Henry C. Mustin,
William P. Cronan,
William B. Wells,
Paul B. Dungan,
Hilary H. Royall,
William R. Sayles, jr.,
Kenneth G. Castleman,
Franck T. Evans,
Wilbert Smith,
Harry K. Cage,
Ward K. Wortman,
Hayne Ellis,
Frank D. Berrien,
Paul Foley,
Edwin H. Dodd,
Charles R. Train,
Hugo W. Osterhaus,
Charles P. Huff,
Louis J. Connelly,
Ernest J. King,
Byron A. Long,
Alfred G. Howe,
William R. White,
William K. Riddle,
John G. Church,
James H. Comfort,
George B. Landenberger,
William Norris,
Adolphus Andrews,
Frederick L. Oliver, and
Thomas R. Kurtz.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 21st day of September, 1918:

Frank N. Eklund,
David A. Scott,
Willis W. Bradley, jr.,
Miles A. Libbey,
Raymond A. Spruance,
Earle F. Johnson,
Henry K. Hewitt,
Felix X. Gygax,
Guy E. Davis,
Weyman P. Beehler,
Lemuel M. Stevens,
Joseph S. Evans,
John W. W. Cummings,
Roy LeC. Stover,
Chester H. J. Keppler,
Charles A. Dunn,
John W. Lewis,
James J. Manning,
Charles G. Davy,
Horace T. Dyer,
Charles C. Gill,

Rufus W. Mathewson,
Augustin T. Beauregard,
Damon E. Cummings,
Russell S. Crenshaw,
Warren G. Child,
William H. Lee,
Randall Jacobs,
Vaughn V. Woodward,
Richard S. Edwards,
Robert T. S. Lowell,
Clyde R. Robinson,
Richard T. Keiran,
Ralph C. Needham,
Charles C. Slayton,
Irving H. Mayfield,
John H. Hoover,
Louis H. Maxfield,
Philip H. Hammond,
Claud A. Jones,
Harry Campbell,
George W. Kenyon,
Allan S. Farquhar,
Lucian F. Kimball,
Harvey W. McCormack,
Ernest D. McWhorter,
John M. Schelling,
Bert B. Taylor,
William O. Wallace,
Frank R. King,
Bruce R. Ware, jr.,
Carl T. Osburn,
William S. Farber,
Albert M. Cohen,
George M. Ravenscroft,
Arie A. Corwin,
Harry J. Abbett,
George McC. Courts,
Charles W. Crosse,
Frank D. Pryor,
Claudius R. Hyatt,
Roy P. Emrich,
Jacob H. Klein, jr.,
John S. Barleon,
William T. Smith,
Jacob L. Hydrick,
Stephen B. McKinney,
Louis F. Thibault,
George C. Logan,
Clarence McC. McGill,
George H. Laird,
John B. Earle,
Harold V. McKittrick,
Henry G. Shonerd,
Charles T. Blackburn,
George T. Swasey, jr.,
Ellis Lando,
Thomas A. Symington,
Harlow T. Kays,
Robert C. Giffen,
Richard E. Cassidy,
Richard S. Galloway,
Clarence N. Hinkamp,
Riley F. McConnell,
Ralph R. Stewart,
Leslie E. Bratton,
Ezra G. Allen,
Henry C. Gearing, jr.,
Elmer W. Tod,
Thaddeus A. Thomson, jr.,
William F. Amsden,
George W. Simpson,
Homer H. Norton, and
Charles S. Keller.

Pay Director Charles S. Williams to be a pay director in the Navy with rank of rear admiral, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918.

The following-named pay inspectors to be pay directors in the Navy with the rank of captain, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

John H. Merriam,
George Brown, jr.,
David Potter,
Charles Conard, and
George C. Schafer.

The following-named paymasters to be pay inspectors in the Navy with the rank of commander, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Cecil S. Baker,
Donald W. Nesbit,
John S. Higgins,
Ignatius T. Hagner,
George P. Auld,
James S. Beecher,
Henry De F. Mel,
Emmett C. Gudger,
Stewart E. Barber,
Howard D. Lamar,
William C. Fite,
David C. Crowell,
Chester G. Mayo, and
John R. Hornberger.

Medical Director Albert M. D. McCormick to be a medical director in the Navy with the rank of rear admiral, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918.

Medical Director Robert M. Kennedy to be a medical director in the Navy with the rank of rear admiral, for temporary service, from the 15th day of August, 1918.

The following-named medical inspectors to be medical directors in the Navy with the rank of captain, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Washington B. Grove,
Raymond Spear,
John B. Dennis,
Eugene J. Grow,
Frank E. McCullough,
Granville L. Angeny,
William H. Bell,
Holton C. Curl, and
Edward G. Parker,

The following-named medical inspectors to be medical directors in the Navy with the rank of captain, for temporary service, from the 15th day of August, 1918:

Henry E. Odell,
James S. Taylor,
Joseph A. Murphy,
Charles N. Fiske, and
George F. Freeman.

Medical Inspector Charles St. J. Butler to be a medical director in the Navy with the rank of captain, for temporary service, from the 13th day of September, 1918.

The following-named surgeons to be medical inspectors in the Navy with the rank of commander, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Winfield S. Pugh, jr.,
James E. Gill,
Isaac S. K. Reeves,
Robert E. Stoops,
William J. Zalesky,
Henry A. May,
William A. Angwin,
Frederick E. Porter,
Paul T. Dessez,
Norman T. McLean,
Wray G. Farwell,
David C. Cather,
Harold W. Smith,
Addison B. Clifford,
Richard A. Warner,
Paul R. Stalnaker,
Curtis B. Munger,
John B. Mears,
George S. Hathaway,
Frank E. Sellers,
Edward H. H. Old,
Edward C. White,
Thurlow W. Reed, and
Edward U. Reed.

Surgeon Edgar L. Woods to be a medical inspector in the Navy, with the rank of commander, for temporary service, from the 8th day of July, 1918.

The following-named surgeons to be medical inspectors in the Navy, with the rank of commander, for temporary service, from the 15th day of August, 1918:

Robert C. Ransdell,
Edwin L. Jones,
Condie K. Winn,
John B. Kaufman,
James P. Haynes,

Thomas W. Raison,
James M. Minter,
Renier J. Straeten,
Reynolds Hayden,
Edward V. Valz,
Montgomery A. Stuart,
Frank X. Koltes,
Herbert L. Kelley, and
Julian T. Miller.

Surg. George B. Trible to be a medical inspector in the Navy, with the rank of commander, for temporary service, from the 13th day of September, 1918.

Civil Engineer Homer R. Stanford to be a civil engineer in the Navy, with the rank of captain, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918.

The following-named civil engineers to be civil engineers in the Navy, with the rank of commander, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Walter H. Allen,
Frederick H. Cooke,
Clinton D. Thurber, and
Norman M. Smith.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) John E. Meredith (retired) to be a lieutenant on the retired list from the 21st day of September, 1918.

The following-named lieutenants on the retired list to be lieutenant commanders on the retired list of the Navy, for temporary srvice, from the 21st day of September, 1918:

Homer B. Gilbert,
Thomas M. Dick,
Frank O. Branch,
Earle W. Jukes,
Omenzo C. F. Dodge,
John P. Hart,
Renwick J. Hartung,
Robert W. Spofford,
Charles A. Harris,
Horace C. Laird,
Richard E. Byrd, jr.,
Philip F. Hambsch,
Charles McK. Lynch,
Herbert J. French,
Stanley P. Tracht, and
John H. Conditt.

The following-named chief boatswains on the retired list to be lieutenants in the Navy on the retired list, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

August Ohmsen,
George B. Hendry,
Percy Herbert, and
Patrick J. Kenney.

Chief Gunner Cornelius Dugan on the retired list to be lieutenant in the Navy on the retired list, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918.

Chief Sailmaker Garrett van Mater on the retired list to be lieutenant in the Navy on the retired list, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918.

Machinist William J. Powell on the retired list to be lieutenant in the Navy on the retired list, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918.

Lieut. Commander Alfred H. Miles to be a commander in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 27th day of September, 1918.

POSTMASTERS.

ALABAMA.

William H. Welch, to be postmaster at Wadley, Ala. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Sam T. Moss, to be postmaster at Warrior, Ala., in place of Edgar Collins, resigned.

Hubert H. Hughston, to be postmaster at Tuscumbia, Ala., in place of John E. Delony, resigned.

Clement T. Fitzpatrick, to be postmaster at Montgomery, Ala., in place of C. T. Fitzpatrick. Incumbent's commission expired June 22, 1918.

ARKANSAS.

William E. Floyd, to be postmaster at Little Rock, Ark., in place of W. E. Floyd. Incumbent's commission expired October 2, 1917.

John A. Bridgford, to be postmaster at Eureka Springs, Ark., in place of John A. Bridgford. Incumbent's commission expired June 13, 1918.

ARIZONA.

Bertha Koepke to be postmaster at Humboldt, Ariz., in place of Webster H. Knight, resigned.

CALIFORNIA.

John L. Steward to be postmaster at Monterey, Cal., in place of Charles E. Noggle, removed.

Charles Brainerd to be postmaster at Loomis, Cal., in place of C. H. Francis, resigned.

Henry R. Gewe to be postmaster at Los Alamos, Cal. Office became presidential January 1, 1918.

Charles W. Collins to be postmaster at El Centro, Cal., in place of C. W. Collins. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

Anne M. Bearhope to be postmaster at Oceanside, Cal., in place of J. M. Jolley, resigned.

COLORADO.

Clifford I. Parsons to be postmaster at Central City, Colo., in place of C. I. Parsons. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1918.

CONNECTICUT.

Clarence H. Crandall to be postmaster at Sound Beach, Conn., in place of John T. Downey. Incumbent's commission expired February 20, 1918.

Weeden F. Sheldon to be postmaster at Moosup, Conn., in place of Daniel A. Smith, removed.

Evelyn R. Hawes to be postmaster at Noroton Heights, Conn., in place of W. I. Austin, resigned.

FLORIDA.

Nelson A. Stumpe to be postmaster at Palatka, Fla., in place of Harry Gray, deceased.

Edwin D. Lambright to be postmaster at Tampa, Fla., in place of James McKay, resigned.

James R. Pomeroy to be postmaster at Stuart, Fla., in place of Ernest J. Ricou, resigned.

Ulysses D. Kirk to be postmaster at Sebring, Fla., in place of E. O. Douglas, resigned.

GEORGIA.

Robert E. Barfield to be postmaster at Hahira, Ga., in place of W. W. Webb, resigned.

Pleasant N. Little to be postmaster at Madison, Ga., in place of J. F. Stovall, resigned.

Clarence C. Jarrard to be postmaster at Maysville, Ga., in place of John C. Thomas, resigned.

Oscar O. Owens to be postmaster at Moultrie, Ga., in place of Charles Beaty, deceased.

Robert H. Wheless to be postmaster at Nashville, Ga., in place of Albert C. Sweat, removed.

John L. McMurray to be postmaster at Comer, Ga., in place of John S. McKenzie, resigned.

ILLINOIS.

Joseph R. Hudelson to be postmaster at Royalton, Ill. Office became presidential January 1, 1918.

INDIANA.

Mangus P. Halgren to be postmaster at Oxford, Ind., in place of R. W. McConnell, resigned.

Carl D. McCarthy to be postmaster at Kempton, Ind. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

William B. Latshaw to be postmaster at Oaktown, Ind., in place of W. B. Latshaw. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

David B. Purinton to be postmaster at Whiting, Ind., in place of G. W. Jones. Incumbent's commission expired July 11, 1917.

Emma A. Scott to be postmaster at Boswell, Ind., in place of Emmett Scanlon, resigned.

Reuben Hess to be postmaster at Kentland, Ind., in place of Hume L. Sammons. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

IOWA.

Joshua F. Elder to be postmaster at Keokuk, Iowa, in place of E. P. McManus, deceased.

Carl Wulkau to be postmaster at Williams, Iowa, in place of Carl Wulkan, to correct name of appointee.

Frederick E. Biermann to be postmaster at Decorah, Iowa, in place of Fred Biermann. Incumbent's commission expired June 2, 1917.

Anna M. Beck, to be postmaster at Solon, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Joseph S. Guynn to be postmaster at Traer, Iowa, in place of J. S. Guynn. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1917.

Dick Voogd to be postmaster at Aplington, Iowa, in place of Dick Voogd. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Harry R. Sokol to be postmaster at Collins, Iowa, in place of Harvey E. Southern, resigned.

Rose E. Bagley to be postmaster at Dike, Iowa, in place of Robert N. Bagley, jr., deceased.

Jay L. Lee to be postmaster at Dows, Iowa, in place of Thomas P. Watson, resigned.

Tressa M. States to be postmaster at Lovilia, Iowa, in place of Oscar O. Conwell, resigned.

Arthur E. Granger to be postmaster at Marion, Iowa, in place of T. T. Williams, deceased.

Oscar W. Larson to be postmaster at Odebolt, Iowa, in place of John R. Mattes, removed.

Clifton P. Sickles to be postmaster at Sioux Rapids, Iowa, in place of Henning L. Holmquist, deceased.

John S. Moon to be postmaster at Kellerton, Iowa, in place of John S. Moon. Incumbent's commission expired July 13, 1917.

KANSAS.

Radia S. Brumfield to be postmaster at Belpre, Kans., in place of L. A. Hamner. Incumbent's commission expired May 26, 1918.

Joseph W. Stivers to be postmaster at Stafford, Kans., in place of N. E. Reece, resigned.

Alonzo Glass to be postmaster at Waverly, Kans., in place of Alonzo Glass. Incumbent's commission expired May 14, 1918.

Mary R. Hale to be postmaster at Dexter, Kans., in place of James R. Day, resigned.

KENTUCKY.

John R. Paxton to be postmaster at Lawrenceburg, Ky., in place of Jordan Walker Crossfield, resigned.

Stephen A. D. Thompson to be postmaster at Owingsville, Ky., in place of S. D. Thompson. Incumbent's commission expired January 30, 1918.

Goalder Johnson to be postmaster at Hickman, Ky., in place of G. Johnson. Incumbent's commission expired May 6, 1918.

John J. Hagan to be postmaster at Corbin, Ky., in place of J. J. Hagan. Incumbent's commission expired June 6, 1917.

LOUISIANA.

Hugh J. Knight to be postmaster at Vidalia, La., in place of M. D. Boatner. Incumbent's commission expired May 1, 1917.

Laurence E. Wilson to be postmaster at Oil City, La., in place of W. J. M. Tilley, resigned.

MAINE.

Fred E. Grant to be postmaster at Cherryfield, Me., in place of A. W. Willey, resigned.

David N. Cheney to be postmaster at South Berwick, Me., in place of Edward Lynch, deceased.

Alphonso F. Russell, jr., to be postmaster at Canton, Me., in place of Milford A. Waite, resigned.

MARYLAND.

Thomas J. Coonan to be postmaster at Westminster, Md., in place of T. J. Coonan. Incumbent's commission expired April 28, 1918.

MASSACHUSETTS.

John F. O'Connor to be postmaster at Winchester, Mass., in place of James H. Roach, deceased.

Charles J. Dacey to be postmaster at Conway, Mass., in place of Austin R. Stearns, resigned.

Owen A. O'Neil to be postmaster at Chatham, Mass., in place of N. A. Eldridge, resigned.

MICHIGAN.

Dorr A. Rosencrans to be postmaster at Reed City, Mich., in place of Don A. Rosencrans, to correct name of appointee.

Noah C. Sutherland to be postmaster at Romeo, Mich., in place of N. C. Sutherland. Incumbent's commission expired March 17, 1918.

George H. Mitchell to be postmaster at Birmingham, Mich., in place of G. H. Mitchell. Incumbent's commission expired July 25, 1917.

Freeman Ware to be postmaster at White Pigeon, Mich., in place of Freeman Ware. Incumbent's commission expired February 2, 1918.

George H. Anklam to be postmaster at Pigeon, Mich., in place of G. H. Anklam. Incumbent's commission expired January 31, 1918.

Charles C. Jackson to be postmaster at Algonac, Mich., in place of C. C. Jackson. Incumbent's commission expired October 7, 1917.

Earl W. Eckfeld to be postmaster at Unionville, Mich., in place of H. G. Spring, resigned.

MINNESOTA.

George I. Williams to be postmaster at Virginia, Minn., in place of James H. Fleming. Incumbent's commission expired November 10, 1917.

Lee C. Peterson to be postmaster at Pillager, Minn. Office became presidential January 1, 1918.

Wilbur M. Ohles to be postmaster at Nashwauk, Minn., in place of Oscar Johnston. Incumbent's commission expired August 13, 1917.

Alice M. Anderson to be postmaster at Butterfield, Minn., in place of J. P. Anderson, deceased.

MISSISSIPPI.

Essie F. McCormick to be postmaster at Yazoo City, Miss., in place of E. F. McCormick. Incumbent's commission expired January 30, 1918.

John J. Stokes to be postmaster at Osyka, Miss., in place of Arthur E. Bergold, resigned.

William W. Cain to be postmaster at West, Miss., in place of W. W. Cain. Incumbent's commission expired May 29, 1917.

Harrison L. Robins to be postmaster at Rienzi, Miss. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

Robert M. Izard to be postmaster at Newhebron, Miss. Office became presidential April 1, 1918.

Charner W. Triplett, jr., to be postmaster at Carthage, Miss. Office became presidential April 1, 1918.

John R. Meunier to be postmaster at Biloxi, Miss., in place of J. R. Meunier. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1917.

Josie P. Bullock to be postmaster at Drew, Miss., in place of Frances M. Hogin, resigned.

Lawson A. Hill to be postmaster at Cleveland, Miss., in place of Solomon Seelbinder. Incumbent's commission expired September 18, 1917.

MISSOURI.

Obadiah C. Mitchell to be postmaster at Springfield, Mo., in place of O. C. Mitchell. Incumbent's commission expired March 19, 1918.

William A. Kirkpatrick to be postmaster at Joplin, Mo., in place of W. A. Kirkpatrick. Incumbent's commission expired March 12, 1918.

Francis L. Stufflebam to be postmaster at Bolivar, Mo., in place of F. L. Stufflebam. Incumbent's commission expired May 18, 1918.

Isaac J. F. Sitzes to be postmaster at Lutesville, Mo. Office became presidential July 1, 1917.

MONTANA.

Wilfred J. Hazelton to be postmaster at Townsend, Mont., in place of P. J. Meloy, resigned.

NEBRASKA.

George W. Finley to be postmaster at Spalding, Nebr., in place of William P Dunning, resigned.

Glenn C. Chadderdon to be postmaster at Cambridge, Nebr., in place of James H. Carroll, resigned.

Frank R. Galbraith to be postmaster at Ainsworth, Nebr., in place of Charles H. Short, resigned.

George W. Howe to be postmaster at Wisner, Nebr., in place of V. W. Clayton. Incumbent's commission expired June 21, 1917.

Edgar T. Lay to be postmaster at Seneca, Nebr., in place of George McCawley, resigned.

NEVADA.

Florence S. Doherty to be postmaster at Goodsprings, Nev., in place of Norman B. Price, resigned.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Adelbert O. Jones to be postmaster at Dixville Notch, N. H., in place of H. W. K. Hale, resigned.

NEW JERSEY.

Sadie M. Wood to be postmaster at Linden, N. J., in place of A. R. Corbet, resigned.

Robert Bright to be postmaster at Anglesea, N. J., in place of L. B. Shivers, resigned.

NEW MEXICO.

Harvey Springer to be postmaster at Dawson, N. Mex., in place of John M. Clark, resigned.

James E. Pardue to be postmaster at Fort Sumner, N. Mex., in place of J. L. Lovelace, resigned.

NEW YORK.

Edward S. Moore to be postmaster at Norwich, N. Y., in place of Edward S. Moore. Incumbent's commission expired August 27, 1917.

Jacob L. Hicks to be postmaster at Highland Falls, N. Y., in place of Jacob L. Hicks. Incumbent's commission expired June 26, 1917.

Francis D. Lynch to be postmaster at Stony Point, N. Y. Office became presidential January 1, 1918.

Albert M. Thayer to be postmaster at Livonia, N. Y., in place of T. H. Kavanagh, deceased.

Edith L. Kent to be postmaster at Tuxedo Park, N. Y., in place of H. J. Neumann, removed.

John R. Davis to be postmaster at Oakfield, N. Y., in place of A. F. G. Zurhorst, resigned.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Sarah A. Lunceford to be postmaster at Smithfield, N. C., in place of A. M. Sanders, resigned.

Robert N. Cook to be postmaster at Graham, N. C., in place of J. M. McCracken, deceased.

Samuel A. Branch to be postmaster at Apex, N. C., in place of A. C. Hughes, resigned.

Benjamin B. Arrington to be postmaster at Beaufort, N. C., in place of C. W. Whitehurst, resigned.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Anna Carmody to be postmaster at Hillsboro, N. Dak., in place of Anna Carmody. Incumbent's commission expired January 27, 1918.

Reuben H. Leavitt to be postmaster at Carson, N. Dak. Office became presidential April 1, 1918.

John P. Hardy to be postmaster at Fargo, N. Dak., in place of G. W. Wilkinson, removed.

Mary A. Leavy to be postmaster at Granville, N. Dak., in place of John Mullen, resigned.

OHIO.

Della Boone to be postmaster at Spencer, Ohio, in place of J. O. Carpenter, resigned.

OKLAHOMA.

Daniel R. Wright to be postmaster at Taloga, Okla., in place of D. R. Wright. Incumbent's commission expired June 16, 1918.

George H. Blackwood to be postmaster at Hominy, Okla., in place of S. B. Elrod, resigned.

Oscar D. McCoy to be postmaster at Picher, Okla. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Jesse H. Edwards to be postmaster at Eldorado, Okla., in place of L. T. Tucker, removed.

Bronte LaV. Dean to be postmaster at Binger, Okla., in place of O. C. Hawn, resigned.

OREGON.

Henry D. Reed to be postmaster at Gold Hill, Oreg., in place of Henry D. Reed. Incumbent's commission expired April 27, 1918.

Mamie E. Gould to be postmaster at Burns, Oreg., in place of Mamie Winters; name changed by marriage.

Charles W. Holloman to be postmaster at Haines, Oreg., in place of C. W. Holloman. Incumbent's commission expired March 10, 1918.

PENNSYLVANIA.

J. Boyd D. Stewart to be postmaster at Wilson, Pa. Office became presidential January 1, 1918.

George S. Dickson to be postmaster at Valencia, Pa. Office became presidential April 1, 1918.

John A. Waltman to be postmaster at Mayport, Pa. Office became presidential January 1, 1918.

Edward W. Workley to be postmaster at Smethport, Pa., in place of F. W. Brownell, resigned.

Frederick P. D. Hazell to be postmaster at Norwood Station, Pa., in place of S. G. Shannon, deceased.

Blair Rorabaugh to be postmaster at Clymer, Pa., in place of J. H. Fagan, resigned.

Joseph A. Hanley to be postmaster at Erie, Pa., in place of J. T. Brew, resigned.

John H. Rifeuberick to be postmaster at Spartansburg, Pa., in place of J. A. Platt, resigned.

Percy W. Shepard to be postmaster at New Albany, Pa., in place of W. F. Packard, resigned.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Virginia Gantt to be postmaster at Wagener, S. C., in place of E. L. Richardson, resigned.

Thomas M. Douglas to be postmaster at Chester, S. C., in place of J. W. Dunovant. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1916.

Jacob M. Bedenbaugh to be postmaster at Prosperity, S. C., in place of L. S. Bowers, resigned.

Theron L. Gregory to be postmaster at Kershaw, S. C., in place of W. L. Blackmon, resigned.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Israel R. Krause to be postmaster at Java, S. Dak. Office became presidential April 1, 1918.

Claud I. Force to be postmaster at Clear Lake, S. Dak., in place of John Knuckey, resigned.

Perry H. Clute to be postmaster at Bigstone City, S. Dak., in place of K. A. Schnacke, deceased.

TENNESSEE.

Lewis N. Lumpkins to be postmaster at Lawrenceburg, Tenn., in place of J. C. Springer, resigned.

Samuel D. Simpson to be postmaster at Loudon, Tenn., in place of J. F. Jones, resigned.

Alson C. Patton to be postmaster at Bells, Tenn., in place of G. W. Bell, resigned.

Jessie R. Alexander to be postmaster at Mountpleasant, Tenn., in place of L. H. Hammond, resigned.

Robert G. Loyd to be postmaster at Lewisburg, Tenn., in place of R. G. Loyd. Incumbent's commission expired January 24, 1918.

Valerious E. Williams to be postmaster at Millington, Tenn. Office became presidential April 1, 1918.

TEXAS.

Edward H. Daniels to be postmaster at Port Neches, Tex., in place of E. H. Daniels. Office became presidential January 1, 1918.

Joe F. Coffey to be postmaster at Eddy, Tex., in place of J. F. Coffey. Incumbent's commission expired March 18, 1918.

William T. McDonald, jr., to be postmaster at Wylie, Tex., in place of J. S. Billingsley, resigned.

William A. Garner to be postmaster at Runge, Tex., in place of S. J. Holchak, jr., resigned.

William B. Smith to be postmaster at Shamrock, Tex., in place of W. B. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

Herman P. Talley to be postmaster at Rockdale, Tex., in place of J. A. Shapard, deceased.

Grace R. Rubert to be postmaster at Port Lavaca, Tex., in place of Bessie Peterson. Incumbent's commission expired May 20, 1917.

Walter L. Francis to be postmaster at Kosse, Tex., in place of M. P. Gillis, removed.

William G. Hardin to be postmaster at Brownfield, Tex., in place of J. R. May, resigned.

John M. Rieger to be postmaster at Comanche, Tex., in place of F. J. Reese, removed.

Walter L. Crofford to be postmaster at Quitman, Tex., in place of S. A. Kendrick, deceased.

Marie A. Graham to be postmaster at Fort Stockton, Tex., in place of Elias Barry, resigned.

UTAH.

Stephen W. Stoker to be postmaster at Milford, Utah, in place of W. J. Munford, resigned.

VIRGINIA.

George N. Reed to be postmaster at Reedville, Va., in place of G. N. Reed. Incumbent's commission expired March 9, 1918.

Walter F. Horne to be postmaster at Coeburn, Va., in place of Samuel J. Horne, resigned.

WASHINGTON.

Jessie Knight to be postmaster at Shelton, Wash., in place of F. C. Willey, resigned.

Arthur Bailey to be postmaster at Monroe, Wash., in place of May Fleming resigned.

Albert Meade to be postmaster at Pe Ell, Wash., in place of W. J. Meade, resigned.

Mary A. Illy to be postmaster at Uniontown, Wash., in place of Michael Reisenaur, resigned.

Alberta Gilson to be postmaster at Valley, Wash. Office became presidential January 1, 1918.

WEST VIRGINIA.

John K. Kerwood to be postmaster at Ripley, W. Va., in place of J. K. Kerwood. Incumbent's commission expired March 19, 1918.

WISCONSIN.

Paul C. Dierschke to be postmaster at North Freedom, Wis., in place of John O'Neil. Incumbent's commission expired November 29, 1917.

Edward A. Severson to be postmaster at Neenah, Wis., in place of J. P. Keating. Incumbent's commission expired October 4, 1917.

Louie B. Halsey to be postmaster at Brandon, Wis., in place of G. E. Forward, resigned.

Carroll R. Eaton to be postmaster at Adams, Wis., in place of V. E. Layer, resigned.

Kathryn Meisner to be postmaster at Wittenberg, Wis., in place of Herman Meisner, deceased.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 3, 1918.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

Victor Murdock, of Kansas, to be a member of the Federal Trade Commission.

UNITED STATES COURT FOR CHINA.

Nelson E. Lurton, of Missouri, to be marshal of the United States Court for China.

POSTMASTERS.

KENTUCKY.

John G. Roberts, Bardwell.
Edith Porter, Beaver Dam.
Barbra A. Rasnick, Benham.
Ben J. Purdy, Bloomfield.
William C. Morris, Bowling Green.
Frank C. Sloan, Burnside.
James M. Turner, Cadiz.
Harry H. Grobmyer, Carrollton.
Robert A. Field, Catlettsburg.
James T. Stiman, Clay.
William G. Dorman, Corinth.
W. Logan Wood, Danville.
Gilbert Adams, Flemingsburg.
J. Ray Graham, Fulton.
John O'Reilly, Hardinsburg.
Spalding Trafton, Henderson.
Albert Doom, Kuttawa.
Garnet S. Morris, La Grange.
Eugene W. Hackney, London.
Harry K. Anderson, Madisonville.
Mark F. Kehoe, Maysville.
Alvares T. Dockery, Morgantown.
Squire Turner, Mount Sterling.
Edgar C. K. Robertson, Murray.
Floyd J. Laswell, Owensboro.
John J. Berry, Paducah.
Frank K. Wylie, Princeton.
Robert L. Brown, Somerset.
James T. Wilhoit, Versailles.
George W. Snyder, Warsaw.
John A. Hines, Wickliffe.

NEBRASKA.

Lucien E. Hart, Bartley.
Warren B. Beach, Bigspring.
Thomas T. Osterman, Blair.
George W. Gilliland, Bradshaw.
Flora Moulds, Brady.
Lyman H. Eastman, Campbell.
William C. Tredway, Cedar Rapids.
Gustav A. Koza, Clarkson.
Gilbert R. Eno, Collegeview.
Patrick H. Green, Creighton.
Harrison D. West, Crofton.
Samuel S. Farrens, Decatur.
Mary E. Rushart, Fort Crook.
Catherine M. Coleman, Greenwood.
Stephen C. Lynde, Hartington.
Hiram V. Cameron, Herman.
Sadie E. Flaherty, Hyannis.
Lester J. Zook, Johnson.
John Cain, Kenesaw.
Edward W. Roche, Kimball.
Claude J. Brown, Lynch.
Charles J. Hultberg, Lyons.
Frederick H. Davis, Madison.
William McMichael, Maywood.
William N. Corder, Morrill.
Thomas A. Davis, Neligh.
Iram A. Manchester, North Loup.
Robert Dunlay, Orleans.
Christine V. Kildare, Paxton.
James B. McDonald, Pierce.
Fred Nelson, Potter.
Thomas A. Kelly, Republican City.
John C. Dullaghan, Rushville.
Arthur G. Schoeneck, Scribner.
Henry C. Burritt, Shelby.
William D. Bradstreet, Spencer.
Carl H. Olderog, Springfield.
Roscoe Buck, Springview.
Thomas A. Sharp, Stanton.
Benoni S. Keck, Stromsburg.
Edgar D. Wright, Tecumseh.
John Canfield, Tekamah.
Clyde L. McCord, Tilden.
Byron Busby, Wakefield.
Andrew J. Caldwell, Walthill.
Joseph I. Corley, Weeping Water.
Morton T. Kilmer, Western.
Clinton Fry, Winside.
Mary M. Fitzgerald, Winnebago.

WITHDRAWALS.

Executive nominations withdrawn from the Senate October 3, 1918.

CHIEF OF ORDNANCE.

Maj. Gen. William Crozier, Chief of Ordnance, for reappointment for a period of four years from November 22, 1917.

POSTMASTERS.

NEBRASKA.

Orla W. Rich to be postmaster at Wisner, Nebr.

NORTH CAROLINA.

John A. Hornaday, jr., to be postmaster at Beaufort, N. C.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *October 3, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Infinite Spirit, Father of all souls, through whose eternal energy, wise and beneficent purposes, our Republic lives, with its sacred institutions, high ideals, and consummate genius, we thank Thee for its glorious past, its hopes for the future. Unite us in the bonds of fraternity and Christian patriotism. Put forth Thy healing hand and restore our people to health, our Army, Navy, marines, and aviators, that the glorious work in which we are engaged, at home and abroad, may not be stayed; that order may be established and a permanent peace be secured in all the world for Thy sake, for humanity's sake, for Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. GILLETT rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Massachusetts rise?

Mr. GILLETT. I want to ask unanimous consent to address the House for one minute.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent to address the House for one minute. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I want to appeal to the leader on the other side of the House to know if he will not inform the House as to what the program is for the next few days. There is great restlessness on both sides, I suspect, and I do not believe there is a quorum in the city. Personally, I do not blame the Members who are away, because this liberty-bond campaign made great pressure on them, and I have told men on this side for the past week that as soon as the power bill was over there apparently would be nothing important to be done until the appropriation bill would be ready, about 10 days from now, and that men might go, and I know that a great many on this side, and no doubt on that side, have gone with that understanding. Therefore it seems to me we should come to some agreement, if possible, and I would be glad if the gentleman leading would tell us what the program is.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I quite agree with the gentleman.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to proceed for two minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I agree with the gentleman from Massachusetts. I do not think we ought to arrest absentees. Following this bill the Committee on Rules, as I understand, expects to bring in a rule preparatory to taking up the bill establishing a sanitarium in Kentucky. After that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] has the public-health bill. It ought not to take long for either of those measures, and after that the Committee on Military Affairs has several little

bills which the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT] assures me can be disposed of in one day.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Yes.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I have a little bill on the calendar which the Treasury Department is very anxious to have passed. It is an important bill, but carries no appropriation. It means much to the coinage of the country, and until it is passed the coinage will be greatly hindered. I have been trying for several days to get that bill up, and I would like very much to have it passed within a few days.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Yes.

Mr. GILLETT. The bill the gentleman refers to is on the Unanimous Consent Calendar?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Yes.

Mr. GILLETT. It would be wise to fix a day when we could take up the whole Unanimous Consent Calendar. It does not need a quorum, because with one objection it goes over, and it does not make any difference whether a quorum is present or not; and as to that bill and the bills from the Committee on Military Affairs, it ought to be understood that they are really to be considered by unanimous consent. Otherwise we have got to bring a quorum back here.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman permit me?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Yes.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I would like to say to the gentleman that there is a bill here, reported by the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, at the instance of the Treasury Department and the Public Health Service, calling for authorizations to construct hospitals and sanitariums in different parts of the country to take care of the sick and disabled soldiers and sailors.

It is a very important measure, it seems to me, and it ought to be considered at as early a day as possible. Then there is another bill reported by our committee which gives to the President the power to declare certain rental areas where governmental work is in progress, and where rents are too high, and where profiteering is going on in that line, the power to declare rental areas and fix the rent, which is also, as I consider it, a very important measure and ought to be considered by Congress—those two.

Mr. GILLETT. Could not those bills wait for 10 days until a quorum would be back here to pass the appropriation bill and then they would take very little time, and could we not now have an agreement to go away Saturday night, at least a quorum could be called in, perhaps in 10 days? I do not think it will hasten matters to take them up now. They have got to go through the Senate.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Yes; but the gentleman knows that it takes some time to get to other places. If the gentleman will permit me, I wanted to say this further, of course, it is utterly immaterial: If we could have some definite understanding, 10 days would not make much difference, if we have some definite agreement that at that time they could be taken up and disposed of. They are very important, because as I understand 14,000 discharged soldiers and sailors are coming back now who need sanitarium treatment, and there is absolutely no place for them.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Yes.

Mr. KEATING. I wanted to ask the gentleman what had become of the millions of dollars appropriated for the construction of hospitals in the Army appropriation bill?

Mr. DOWELL rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Iowa rise?

Mr. DOWELL. I desire to make inquiry of the leader on the other side with reference to when this appropriation bill will be reported to the House?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] advises me that his committee is working day and night and can not have it ready before a week from next Monday.

Mr. DOWELL. Is it possible, instead of having a recess now, after a number of Members have had to cancel engagements, to pass this legislation and take a recess for a certain time after the passage of the appropriation bill?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. That may be possible.

Mr. DOWELL. Those who live within the radius of a few hundred miles from Washington can go home and come back in 4 or 5 days, but there are those who can not go home at all if we have a recess for 8 or 10 days and then have to reassemble again. Is it not possible to pass this legislation now, and then take a definite recess after the passage of the appropriation bill?

Mr. SIMS. Until after the election.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I think we can dispose of all the bills that have been mentioned by Monday night and then probably recess for the rest of the week.

Mr. DOWELL. May I inquire of the chairman of the Appropriations Committee as to when this deficiency bill can be reported and passed?

Mr. SHERLEY. I am very glad to make a statement to the House. There are pending before the Committee on Appropriations estimates that total considerably over $7,000,000,000. In order to examine those estimates with any degree of care it is necessary to review in large measure the matters that were considered by the Committee on Military Affairs and the Committee on Appropriations in connection with the regular appropriation bills for the support of the Army, and to some extent of the Navy, because manifestly you can not consider intelligently the need for a deficiency appropriation without making an inquiry into the moneys that were appropriated previously for such purpose and the total expenditure that is necessary for the fiscal year for which provision is being made.

The Committee on Appropriations have been working every day, starting at 10 o'clock in the morning and sitting most nights as late as 11 o'clock and sometimes as late as 12 o'clock. I believe the investigation that is being conducted there will result in the committee being able to report a bill with a reduction of considerably over $1,000,000,000, and perhaps over $2,000,000,000, from the estimates that have been submitted. Personally, as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, I am not willing to report to this House that bill or any part of that bill without such consideration as the committee are able to give it, whether it happens to take a week or two weeks or a month. My primary responsibility is in the consideration of these huge sums. The committee owes that to the House and it owes it to the country. Speaking for myself, and as far as I am able to control the action of the committee, I propose to continue the hearings day and night in order to get through that bill and to report to the House a measure that will at least reflect the careful judgment of the committee. I trust that by this continuation of work, if I am able to stand the strain of day and night hearings, we may be able to report the bill about a week from Monday. The House itself can judge as to what time will probably be necessary for the consideration of the bill after it comes on the floor.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I understood from conversation with the gentleman that he deemed it absolutely necessary that certain items of this bill be reported and passed as soon as possible?

Mr. SHERLEY. I think that is unquestionably true.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Let me ask the gentleman if it will not be practicable to bring in a bill containing those absolutely necessary items and pass that bill at once, and then postpone the other items which are not so immediately necessary and which require very careful investigation, reporting a bill containing those items at a later date?

Mr. SHERLEY. There are, of course, a number of items coming from the civil departments of the Government that the committee can easily determine on their face need not to be considered at once, but they are minor both in number and in amount. In order to determine what is necessary to be voted for the Army and the Navy it is necessary to consider all the Army and Navy items, and in order intelligently to bring in the things that are necessary we must consider the whole bill.

There is another consideration that I am sure the House will appreciate. The short session of this Congress begins the first week in December and ends on the 4th of March. In that time the Congress will be required to report all the bills for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920. It is going to be a herculean task for the committees dealing with appropriation bills to prepare and report those bills within the life of the short session. Therefore it is highly desirable that there should not now be thrown over onto the short session any work which can be considered and disposed of during the present session. The House is aware of the very large military program that the country has undertaken. Particularly in connection with artillery is it necessary to make provision many months in advance in order to get production. It is also true of a great many other items, and I repeat that the Committee on Appropriations would be derelict in its duty if it permitted any considerations personal to its membership or to the membership of the House to delay for a single day the consideration and reporting of this bill.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, it is very evident that it will be difficult at any time from now on until election day to get a quorum of the House. Even when the appropriation bills are brought in it will be difficult to secure a quorum. Members from the far distant parts of the country have generally remained here in the hope that the business of the House would be disposed of in time to give them a few days home in the campaign before election. It is hardly fair to those Members to have recesses in the immediate future and then insist on taking up business that will demand a quorum at a later period. It seems to me. Mr. Speaker, that in view of the situation it is the duty of all Members on both sides to assist in disposing of the bills that are essential and necessary without raising any question that will call for a quorum if that can be avoided. I think it is the duty of gentlemen on both sides to compose their differences, to each yield a little, in order that there shall be no question raised that will require a quorum. Under these circumstances we can not afford to quibble over minor matters. When there is not some question of principle or some very important question of policy involved it seems to me we ought to agree with regard to those matters and pass these bills whether we entirely approve all of their provisions or not. We can consider them within the next few days by continuous work until we have cleaned up the calendar so far as the legislation that is of immediate and pressing importance is concerned—the bills from the Military Committee and the other bills that have been referred to. We should also take up the Unanimous Consent Calendar, and if possible the Private Calendar, under a unanimous-consent agreement. I hope that gentlemen on this side and gentlemen on the other side as well will be willing to have this legislation considered and that of pressing importance passed, though there may be some details of it that they do not approve of. There is no great principle involved in these bills. They are largely of detail and administration, and they ought to be disposed of. Clearly they can not be disposed of if Members are going to insist on raising the point of no quorum—insist on having a quorum here.

Mr. DOWELL. Will the gentleman allow another question?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Yes.

Mr. DOWELL. Is it the intention of the gentleman to ask for a recess after the passage of the appropriation bill?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. After the passage of the $7,000,000,000 appropriation bill it is the intention to ask for a recess until after election. I think that will probably be two weeks before election.

Mr. DOWELL. I take it that the appropriation bill will be called up immediately after it is reported, and then upon its passage the majority will ask for a recess?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Upon its passage the majority will ask for a recess until after election.

Mr. McARTHUR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Yes.

Mr. McARTHUR. On what date does the gentleman intend to call Members back; on what date will the House reassemble?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. A sufficient length of time after election to enable everybody to remain at home and vote. I would suggest to the gentleman from Massachusetts that we run along until to-morrow night and dispose of as many of the propositions that are pressing as possible. It may be possible to arrange for three-days recesses over the most of next week, if not over the entire week.

Mr. MONDELL. If that is done the Unanimous Consent Calendar, which is very important, can be disposed of.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Yes; I think we ought to have a day on that.

Mr. GILLETT. I will cooperate with the gentleman, and I think we ought to dispose of these bills which have been suggested, and also the Unanimous Consent Calendar, and I think we ought to have a day for the Private Calendar and clear up everything so there will be nothing left but the appropriation bill.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. It looks as if we might commence to recess Monday night.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Yes.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I would like to suggest to the gentleman from Illinois that he now ask that to-morrow or next day be set aside for bills on the Unanimous Consent Calendar.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I do not want to ask that until we get through with these pressing war propositions.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I want to say that some of the measures on the Unanimous Consent Calendar are war propositions.

Mr. DENT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Yes.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, day before yesterday I asked unanimous consent that the Military Committee be given the right of way to call up and consider until disposed of bills on both calendars reported by the Military Committee. There are 10 of these bills, and the most of them are simple bills which have been recommended by the War Department since the passage of the appropriation bill on July 9, when the conferees tacked onto that bill substantially all of the war legislation that had been recommended up to that date. These are such bills as I think can be disposed of in one day if the House will give it one day's consideration. They are such bills as the pay of nurses in captivity; the correction of a mistake in the pay of the chief Army nurse made in the appropriation bill; authority to take over the soldiers' home at Hampton, Va., for hospital purposes during the war, to be returned back at the close of the war; amending the fiftieth article of war, which gives the commanding general in the field the authority to remit a sentence without waiting for an order to come from the President across the seas.

All these are matters of which I imagine there can be no controversy at all. I think we can pass them all in one day.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield in that particular?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Why not have them placed on the Unanimous Consent Calendar, and if unobjectionable they will be passed without controversy in the same order with other bills.

Mr. DENT. The gentleman knows that the Unanimous Consent Calendar sometimes gets into a tangle and the bills might never be reached.

Mr. STAFFORD. Why not agree that the entire calendar shall be called through, beginning on a certain date, and that calendar alone considered, and there will be no disposition not to give consideration to these bills.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Let me call the gentleman's attention to the fact that it might not be possible to call the Unanimous Consent Calendar through.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, it is evident that we can not do anything on this proposition.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks that Members might arrive at a conclusion quicker to go on with the business and let each gentleman think out his own scheme and suggest it to his neighbor and bring it up again.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for one minute.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent for one minute. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I think the way to dispose of this question of recess is to dispose of the business that we have pending, and then you will have no question about a recess. If there is any business pending that ought to be enacted, let us enact it. A great many who have been here all the time and never have been away are just as anxious as those who have been away most of the time.

Mr. WHEELER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. No; I can not yield.

Mr. WHEELER. I was just going to suggest night sessions.

Mr. MADDEN. A great many of us can not register unless we are present in person to register. Our registration will be about the time when this appropriation bill comes up. I think we are entitled to as much consideration as those who are anxious to get away. We are willing to go and come back, but in the meantime we are not willing there should be a recess for three days at a time, or any other time, while there is a great appropriation bill for $7,000,000,000 pending to be considered. That is the way I feel about it, and I shall not consent to any such recess.

DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEES LIABLE TO MILITARY SERVICE.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the Assistant Secretary of War, which was read and ordered to be printed in the RECORD and, under a previous order, to lie temporarily on the Speaker's table:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, September 27, 1918.

Hon. CHAMP CLARK,
Speaker House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER: With reference to House resolution No. 390, Sixty-fifth Congress, second session, requesting the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to report to the House of Representatives the number of men (with the name and home address of each) who on June 5, 1917, were between the ages of 21 and 31 years and who since that date have been commissioned or enlisted, either in the active or in any of the reserve forces of the Military or Naval Establishments, and assigned to clerical work in their respective departments, or in

offices elsewhere, where such service is not directly rendered to and as a part of units of the Army and Navy employed in active or field operations, and who have received deferred classification by reason of being already in the military or naval service of the United States, I beg leave to submit to you the accompanying lists, setting forth the information desired with respect to the Military Establishment.

In submitting this report I desire to call attention to the fact that the statements from the respective bureaus furnishing the information contained herein were received on various dates between June 14 and September 26, 1918, and that while the figures given are correct for the dates on which the statements were made, they can be regarded as only approximate for this date, due to subsequent changes.

Very respectfully,

BENEDICT CROWELL,
Acting Secretary of War.

A LIST OF NAMES OF PERSONS IN THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT COMING WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF HOUSE RESOLUTION NO. 390, SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION.

OFFICE OF CHIEF OF ENGINEERS.

[Name, rank, and home address.]

Theodore R. Eichholz, first lieutenant, 3446 Brighton Road, Pittsburgh, Pa.
John Graham, jr., first lieutenant, 32 Summit Street, Chestnut Hill, Pa.
Jason S. Day, first lieutenant, 1723 G Street NW., Apartment 4, Washington, D. C.
Donald K. Shepard, second lieutenant, 647 Elizabeth Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Walter F. Flynn, second lieutenant, 29 West Fifty-second Street, New York City.
Harry S. Davidge, captain, 2318 Eighteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Phillip W. Kniskern, captain, 4558 Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Samuel L. Avis, first lieutenant, Jamestown, N. Dak.
Ira F. Bennett, first lieutenant, 5807 Blackstone Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Winthrop F. Howe, first lieutenant, 46 Municipal Building, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Charles R. Johnson, first lieutenant, 29 Johnston Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.
Edwin Randall, first lieutenant, 53 Bluff Avenue, La Grange, Ill.
James R. Rubey, first lieutenant, 401 Wolvin Building, Duluth, Minn.
Peter L. Sala, first lieutenant, 204 East Cleveland Street, Stockton, Cal.
Carl C. Ade, second lieutenant, 344 East Avenue, Rochester, N. Y.
William E. Ralls, second lieutenant, Alamogordo, N. Mex.
Ralph C. Robinson, second lieutenant, Richmond Highland, King Co., Washington, D. C.
William E. Shivers, second lieutenant, P. O. Box 716, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Joseph B. Montgomery, captain, 603 Wilkins Building, Washington, D. C.
Robert E. Crawford, captain, Witaker-Glessner Co., Wheeling, W. Va.
Ervin H. Clausen, captain, 236 Chattanooga Street, San Francisco, Cal.
Benjamin H. Namm, major, 452 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Audley C. Bennett, first lieutenant, 908 Wood Street, Wilkinsburg, Pa.
Adelbert C. Eastburn, first lieutenant, Ashburton Avenue, Yonkers, N. Y.
Llewellyn C. Hardesty, first lieutenant, 349 Summit Avenue, Schnectady, N. Y.
Owen W. Kennedy, first lieutenant, Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Donald B. Wood, first lieutenant, 2650 Wisconsin Avenue, Washington, D. C.
George E. May, first lieutenant, 562 Third Avenue, Troy, N. Y.
Samuel G. Hibben, first lieutenant, 5599 Baum Boulevard, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Frederick W. Kuehle, first lieutenant, 2834 North Calvert Street, Baltimore, Md.
Harry P. Williams, first lieutenant, Patterson, La.
Myron W. Jones, second lieutenant, 259 Garland Avenue, Youngstown, Ohio.
Waldo M. Slaton, second lieutenant, 1016 Eula Street, Birmingham, Ala.
Ralph F. Brown, second lieutenant, 1000 Columbus Savings & Trust Building, Columbus, Ohio.
Sidney L. Carter, first lieutenant, Juneau, Alaska.
Frank W. Hoover, captain, 4409 Iowa Avenue, Washington, D. C.
Thomas C. Wurts, first lieutenant, 1164 Shady Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Raymond E. Hoyt, second lieutenant, 7919 Franklin Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Albin Pearson, second lieutenant, 10719 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Enlisted men.

Stanley M. Adamski, private, 2306 South Whipple Street, Chicago, Ill.
Earl Barham, private, 2004 Broad Street, Nashville, Tenn.
Clayton W. Beebe, private, 152 Park Place, East Aurora, N. Y.
Abraham S. Beidemann, sergeant, first class, 440 Swede Street, Norristown, Pa.
Lyle C. Borland, sergeant, first class, 418 Coffeen Street, Watertown, N. Y.
Henry J. Brockhagen, sergeant, 4850 North Spalding Street, Chicago, Ill.
Britain R. Chew, sergeant, Cornell Road, Chestnut Ridge, Glassboro, N. J.
Jesse L. Cohen, private, Mora, Minn.
James G. Cole, private, 382a Sixth Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Robert G. Cole, private, 923 Nineteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Alfred F. Conway, master engineer (senior grade), 55 Speedwell Avenue, Morristown, N. J.
Walter B. Davis, private, 633 Ninth Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Edgar H. Gibbons, sergeant, 616 Monroe Street, Denver, Colo.
William E. Graves, private, 5327 Larchwood Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
Frank V. Harney, sergeant, first class, 333 East Thirty-seventh Street, New York, N. Y.
Arthur M. Hess, master engineer (junior grade), 1207 Logan Avenue, Altoona, Pa.
Park S. Hite, master engineer (senior grade), The Alabama, Washington, D. C.
Ferdinand Holschuh, wagoner, 4034 North Fifth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Everett C. Howard, sergeant, 1444 Market Street, Harrisburg, Pa.
Thurston B. Johnston, master engineer (junior grade), 502 Eleventh Street NE., Washington, D. C.
William P. Johnson, sergeant, first class, 4231 Westminster Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
William J. Kerchner, sergeant, 340 South Fifth Street, Reading, Pa.
William B. Kerr, private, 1224 Hamilton Terrace, Roanoke, Va.
Anton F. Landgraf, jr., private, 514 West Poepping Street, St. Louis, Mo.
Herbert W. Luton, sergeant, route 2, East Nashville, Tenn.
William F. MacDermott, master engineer (senior grade), 483 Halsey Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Herbert P. Miller, wagoner, 310 Ideal Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
Paul E. Miller, corporal, 310 Ideal Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
Leo J. Molloy, sergeant, Ten Hill, station D, Baltimore, Md.
William E. Moser, private, 4268 Arsenal Street, St. Louis, Mo.
William C. Noland, sergeant, 84 Adams Street, Wilmington, Del.
James M. Reese, sergeant, first class, 1314 West Fifth Street, Wilmington, Del.
William W. Sall, sergeant, 2468 Ontario Road, Washington, D. C.
Alfred A. Siege, private, 2330 North Avers Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Fred C. Stade, private, first class, 2329 North Kimball Street, Chicago, Ill.
Vaughn L. Steventon, corporal, 1729 Guilford Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
William J. Sullivan, sergeant, 251 Baldwin Avenue, Jersey City, N. J.
Roy A. Sweet, wagoner, Queen Anne Road, Teaneck, N. J.
James Tracey, corporal, Marysville, Kans.
Winfield S. Trone, wagoner, Water Street, Spring Road, Pa.
Edward A. Vickery, private, 907 Clerk Street, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Harry S. Weiserth, private, Wenonah, N. J.
Leader E. Wetterau, master engineer (junior grade), 1816 Park Avenue, Richmond, Va.
Leighton C. Whittaker, private, 5809 Cedarhurst Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Ubert H. Swett, sergeant, Queen Anne Road, Teaneck, N. J.
Frank W. Whitmore, corporal, 528 Harrison Avenue, Greensburg, Pa.
Reed M. Wilson, private, 5519 Dorchester Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Michael J. Woulfe, jr., master engineer (junior grade), 1529 Rhode Island Avenue, Washington, D. C.

Total, 48.

The Four hundred and thirty-seventh Engineers (depot) has been a part of the operating force of the general Engineer depot in the city of Washington. Two hundred and thirty-six enlisted men, members of the Four hundred and thirty-seventh Engineers, were engaged on clerical work in the conduct of the depot's business. This office construes the services of men in the general Engineer depot, which is supplying war material exclusively, in the subdepots at the ports of embarkation and at cantonments and those assigned to departmental headquarters as being rendered directly "to and as a part of the units of the Army and Navy employed in active or field operations."

SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT.

Enlisted men attached to Eight hundred and seventeenth Depot Aero Squadron.

[Name and address.]

Earl E. Abbey, 903 East Seventh Street, Lansing, Mich.
George E. Anderson, 1202 East Oak Street, Brainerd, Minn.
Oscar B. Archer, Holland, Tex.
George Auld, 526 West One hundred and thirty-ninth Street, New York City, N. Y.
Robert R. Baker, 1541 Champa Street, Denver, Colo.
William Francis Baker, 134 Burkley Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
James Barton, 1106 Pike Street, Seattle, Wash.
Ernest Bauer, New York City, N. Y.
Joe B. Beck, Winifred, S. Dak.
Barnard E. Bee, 515 Paschcall Street, San Antonio, Tex.
Gilmore G. Bice, 6108 Christian Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Bennett G. Blair, Logan, Utah.
Alfred H. Bleck, 613 East Ninth Avenue, Spokane, Wash.
Lloyd F. Bowell, Plymouth, Ind.
Carey E. Bowles, 166 West Prairie Street, Benton, Tex.
Wayne F. Bowman, Leano, Tex.
Wayne R. Brittain, Esbon, Kans.
Murray B. Brooks, 514 East Park Avenue, San Antonio, Tex.
Wynfham E. Brown, Arlington, Tex.
Hubert J. Buckley, Booneville, N. Y.
Jesse Burkhart, New Palestine, Ind.
Willard G. Carter, 110 West Eleventh Street, Muncie, Ind.
David L. Cook, 101 Murray Avenue, Jamestown, N. Y.
Homer W. Courtney, Konowha, Okla.
Kyran J. Daughrety, Waggoner Hotel, Lewiston, Ill.
Walter H. Daw, 587 North Fifth Street, West Provo, Utah.
James W. Day, 2509 Thomas Avenue, Dallas, Tex.
William J. De Montigny, 15 Elm Street, Milford, N. H.
Homer C. Detrick, Box 587, Okmulgee, Okla.
William T. Ditto, Hardensburg, Ky.
Hardy A. Dodd, Marshall, Tex.
Dale M. Dunbar, Okmulgee, Okla.
Thomas Ewart, Cream Ridge, N. J.
Joseph A. Faddell, Huntsville, Tex.
Homer J. Ferguson, McPherson, Kans.
Assad George Ferris, 300 East Eighth Street, Austin, Tex.
Michael T. Flynn, 910 South Salina Street, Syracuse, N. Y.
Cyril DeW. Foehlinger, 320 North First Street, Oskaloosa, Iowa.
Henry E. Ford, Portland, Oreg.
Ira E. Forsyth, Walton, N. Y.
Phillip F. Fossa, 98 Bridge Street, West Springfield, Mass.
George G. Fox, 1015 North Stanton Street, El Paso, Tex.
Joseph Fusco, 87 Whalley Avenue, New Haven, Conn.
Robert W. Gibson, Gaffney, S. C.
Elga M. Glendy, 717 Columbia Street, Waterloo, Iowa.
Fred S. Hage, 2570 Third Street, San Diego, Cal.
Edward J. Haley, 7614 Susquehanna Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Leroy W. Hall, Rural Route No. 8, Oklahoma City, Okla.
George Hamilton (no address).
Walter Hannefield, 1422 Indiana Avenue, Kansas City, Mo.
Harry A. Hanlen, Yester Hotel, Seattle, Wash.
Hans M. Hansen, Tyler, Minn.
Allan H. Hardy, Sixth Avenue, Clinton, Iowa.

Karl V. Harris, 902 South Lindsay Street, Gainesville, Tex.
Arthur K. Haynes, 802 Crosby Street, San Antonio, Tex.
Victor B. Hermans, 186 Hawthorne Avenue, Yonkers, N. Y.
Fred H. Herweg, 219 Second Avenue, Peoria, Ill.
Alimon H. Hickman, Lumberton, N. C.
George H. Hodge, 305 Orchard Street, New Haven, Conn.
Thomas G. Hoover, Pittsfield, Ill.
Roy C. Hughes, 1432 West Washington Street, Petersburg, Va.
Einer P. Juul, Forty-seventh Street and Caswell Avenue, Austin, Tex.
Leslie L. Keil, 1346 Pine Street, San Francisco, Cal.
Henry H. Keith, 1214 Broadway, Beaumont, Tex.
Louie V. Kelly, Verbena, Ala.
Walter A. Kibbey, 35 Langdon Street, Cambridge, Mass.
James A. Kommer, 1319 Western Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Albert E. Lee, 1319 West Fourth Street, Los Angeles, Cal.
Walter F. Light, Woodland, Cal.
Daryl J. Linebarger, Clarion, Iowa.
Olney A. Long, Georgetown, La.
Patrick D. Love, Ocean Side, Cal.
George McCollister, Iowa City, Iowa.
Eugene E. McGoldrick, 199 Washington Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Edward J. McManes, 1009 Avenue "I," West Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
John E. McNamara, 27 Truxton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Dwight H. Mahan, 31 Tenth Street, Ivywilde, Colorado Springs, Colo.
Thomas O. Marjason, 1923 Lane Avenue, Elkhart, Ind.
Francis W. Mankowski, Old Bridge, N. J.
Oren Metzger, R. F. D. No. 1, Rossville, Ind.
Ollie F. Miles, 809 West Perry Street, Frankfort, Ind.
John R. Miller, 2520 Chester Avenue, Bakersfield, Cal.
Joseph Mochnaly, 439 Seventh Avenue, New York City, N. Y.
Oscar D. Montgomery, Hico, Tex
James M. Morrow, 9 Lancaster Avenue, Monroe, N. C.
William L. Mulligan, 58 Fourteenth Street, Troy, N. Y.
Arthur Murray, Graham, Va.
Maurice D. Neidig, Kansas City, Mo.
Alexander H. Neil, 70 Worth Street, Bridgeport, Conn.
Olin C. Nicholas, 1323 Summitt Avenue, Springfield, Mo.
Robert G. Nicholas, Peace Street, Canton, Miss.
Robert E. Norfleet, 1312 Denver Street, Kansas City, Mo.
Bige L. O'Neill, Eustace, Tex.
Granville P. Patterson, 128 West Pike Street, Canonsburg, Pa.
Iredell D. Polk, 1315 Calder Avenue, Beaumont, Tex.
Harry W. Porter, 926 Washington Avenue, Waco, Tex.
Henry G. Prather, 1593 Calder Avenue, Beaumont, Tex.
Cline K. Raiford, Lifton, Ga.
Paul Ravesies, jr., 985 Peabody Avenue, Memphis, Tenn.
Jesse H. Reed, 1156 Park Street, Beaumont, Tex.
John Rocco, Sonora, Cal.
Clair P. Rockwell, 241 West Eleventh Street, New York, N. Y.
John M. Roney, Watson, N. C.
William P. Ropert, 187 Lock Street, Lockport, N. Y.
William Ross, 502 West One hundred and forty-first Street, New York, N. Y.
Roscoe Runge, Mason, Tex.
Edward K. Sawyer, Walla Walla, Wash.
Fred W. Schmidt, jr., 1021 Baxter Avenue, Louisville, Ky.
Herbert H. Schoepp, Alma, Wis.
Hervin M. Schultz, 3522 Wendelkin Street, Dallas, Tex.
Van C. Smathers, Canton, N. C.
George R. Smith, El Campo, Tex.
Leo H. Smith, Dayton, Ohio.
Charles R. Stone, 921 Main Street, San Antonio, Tex.
Lorraine C. Strubinger, Barry, Ill.
Otto, Stvan, 3447 West Boulevard Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Grayson F. Thompson, Pennington Gap, Va.
Marcus A. Tyler, 429 North Street, San Antonio, Tex.
Jacob Van Dyke, 1432 Washington Avenue, Grand Haven, Mich.
Reuben C. Waltz, 81 Judson Street, Pontiac, Mich.
Herbert R. Ward, 1023 South Alamo Street, San Antonio, Tex.
Francis F. Wetzel, 929 Princeton Avenue, Salt Lake City, Utah.
James Wiley, 8002 Frankford Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
Fred S. Williams, Lees Summit, Mo.
Robert F. Williams, 1141 Walnut Street, Gadsden, Ala.
Alvin A. Wolff, Cotton Exchange Building, Dallas, Tex.
Roscoe M. Wolf, 335 Allegheny Street, Jersey Shore, Pa.
Jesse M. Wolfson, 415 Avenue C, San Antonio, Tex.
Lawrence N. Zant, Ballston Lake, N. Y.

SOUTHEASTERN DEPARTMENT.

Enlisted men attached to Depot Squadron No. 815.

[Name, rank, and home address.]

Thomas T. Adams, sergeant, first class, Rocky Mount, Va. (Franklin County).
Floyd K. Harper, sergeant, first class, 15 Minden Avenue, Bingham, N. Y.
John A. Olson, sergeant, Hampton, Va.
Harold B. Hawes, corporal, 2137 N Avenue, Bridgeport, Conn.
Paul A. Agard, private, 92 Laurel Street, South Manchester, Conn.
Herman J. Bardltsky, private, 236 Harved Street, Memphis, Tenn.
Clyde D. Bechdolt, private, 124 West Second Street, Portland, Ind.
Edw. A. Brahm, private, 4918 Baum Boulevard, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Frank P. Byrne, private, Longyear Street, Bessemer, Mich.
Stanley P. Davis, private, 228 South Garland Street, Youngstown, Ohio.
Joseph F. Dodson, private, 4704 Simpson Avenue, Madisonville, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Eugene A. Goldbeck, private, 204 Villita Street, San Antonio, Tex.
Henry G. King, private, Call Junction, Tex.
Samuel N. Loughner, private, 708 Johnson Street, Wilkinsburg, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Eugene R. McCarty, private, Slocomb, Ala.
Herbert P. Mason, private, Plattsburg, N. Y.
Harry F. Miller, private, 2231 Arlington Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Charles J. Molloy, private, 1111 Valley Street, Baltimore, Md.
Paul H. Parle, private, 684 Oakland Avenue, Pontiac, Mich.
William S. Rather, private, 299 Linnes Avenue, San Antonio, Tex.
George L. Richardson, private, 13 North Center Street, Merchantville, N. J.
William J. Nolan, private, 1343 Scott Street, Covington, Ky.
Harry W. Rosso, private, 30 Leicester Court, Detroit, Mich.
Daniel H. Siegel, private, Lincoln and Frankstown Avenues, Pittsburgh, Pa.

DIRECTOR OF MILITARY AERONAUTICS.

Air Service, Eastern Department.

William Walzer, master signal electrician, 881 Lafayette Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
George W. Bicknell, master signal electrician, 23 James Street, Springfield, Mass.
Joseph N. Bailey, sergeant, first class, 190 Owl Street, Meriden, Conn.
Henry P. Beck, sergeant, first class, 1367 Clay Avenue, New York City.
Harold Bottomly, sergeant, first class, 261 Union Station Building, Washington, D. C.
Lawrence Dieringer, sergeant, first class, 816 Fulton Avenue, New York City.
John L. Du Fief, sergeant, first class, 1424 Thirty-fifth Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Eugene W. Evans, sergeant, first class, 336 Center Street, Findlay, Ohio.
Henry L. Freese, sergeant, first class, 192 East Thirty-fifth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Elmer E. Higgins, sergeant, first class, 149 Bryant Street, Rahway, N. J.
James J. Hill, sergeant, first class, 15 Wyoming Street, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Emil R. Johnson, sergeant, first class, 28 Union Street, Uniontown, Pa.
Newell F. Johnstone, sergeant, first class, 251 Adams Street, Bay City, Mich.
Walter A. Keefer, sergeant, first class, 2028 First Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Emmitt F. Lanier, sergeant, first class, Millen, Ga.
William L. Louis, sergeant, first class, 676 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York City.
John J. Machacek, sergeant, first class, Islip, Long Island, N. Y.
Richard H. McDonald, sergeant, first class, 343 East Eighty-first Street, New York City.
George M. Meyer, sergeant, first class, 1118 Fifth Street, Warsau, Wis.
David Miller, sergeant, first class, 344 Frederick Street, Detroit, Mich.
George T. Swain, sergeant, first class, California Hall, Berkeley, Cal.
Edward C. Bartlett, sergeant, 2071 East Eighty-second Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
John D. Clarke, sergeant, 75 Brookside Avenue, New Rochelle, N. Y.
John J. Conners, sergeant, White Plains Road, Tuckahoe, N. Y.
Arthur G. Davis, sergeant, South Ostelic, N. Y.
Wilbur J. Driver, sergeant, 381 Convent Avenue, New York City.
John H. Hughes, sergeant, 510 New Street, Macon, Ga.
William D. Kizziah, sergeant, Spencer, N. C.
Arthur Klein, sergeant, 809 Pittston Avenue, Scranton, Pa.
Arthur A. Plotke, sergeant, 819 Leland Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Harry M. Vivian, sergeant, 128 Park Street, Nanticoke, Pa.
Maurice Braverman, corporal, 468 Monroe Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Arthur E. Brennan, corporal, 1302 Girard Street, Washington, D. C.
William H. Davis, corporal, 320 State Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Walter C. Griffith, corporal, 135 Hawkins Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
John A. Johnson, corporal, 18 Gautier Avenue, Jersey City, N. J.
Arthur C. Klages, corporal, 25 Ely Avenue, Long Island City, N. Y.
Edwin S. Ladley, corporal, West Chester, Pa.
Louis L. Libuwitz, corporal, 5 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.
John H. Moran, corporal, Berwyn, Pa.
Clarence P. Paynter, corporal, Winchester, Ky.
Daniel E. Pennick, corporal, Apartment 410, Wardman Courts, Washington, D. C.
Benjamin A. Smith, corporal, 1453 Elmwood Avenue, Lakewood, Ohio.
Raymond A. Smith, corporal, 171 Pacific Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Ralph C. Trovillion, corporal, Galconda, Ill.
Robert A. Trovillion, corporal, Galconda, Ill.
Harry Venig, corporal, 1648 Calweil Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Edward M. Wales, corporal, 102 First Street, Troy, N. Y.
Tom M. Walworth, corporal, 41 Broad Street, Hillsdale, Mich.
Harold S. Argue, private, 103 Walnut Street, Jenkintown, Pa.
Earl G. Coleman, private, 6827 Ridgedale Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
William P. Hayworth, private, 322 West Gaston Street, Greensboro, N. C.
John C. Kenlly, private, 189 Clairmont Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Emil Luthaus, sergeant, first class, 312 Doty Street, Madison, Wis.
Graydon C. Oliver, private, 1301 O Street, Sacramento, Cal.
Thomas X. O'Brein, private, 34 High Street, Amesburg, Mass.
Joseph E. Adams, private, 1436 Euclid Avenue, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Arthur M. Apmann, private, 68 Wayne Street, Jersey City, N. J.
Wallace C. Atkinson, private, R. F. D. No. 1, Meridan, Idaho.
Albert A. Ayre, private, 1709 Lamont Street NW., Washington, D. C.
John W. Barbuti, private, 453 West One hundred and twenty-fourth Street, New York City.
Henry C. Barnes, private, Allegan, Mich.
John W. Bates, private, 125 Fourth Avenue, Scottdale, Ohio.
Alfred J. Beckert, private, 504 Mount Troy Road, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Efford A. Beverly, private, Breckenridge, Mich.
Francis W. Billings, private, Greenwich, Mass.
Elias H. Blackburne, private, Mill Hall, Pa.
Frank J. Borichia, private, 120 Weyl Street, Rochester, N. Y.
Phil E. Bornstein, private, 534 North Meridan Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind.
Neil E. Bowman, private, 302 Clairmount Avenue, Ashland, Ohio.
Thomas E. Bradley, private, 100 East Cawfield Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Isaac Brumbaugh, private, 2601 Charles Street, Baltimore, Md.
Max Burmeister, private, Route No. 9, Danville, Ill.
Chas. H. Cahill, private, 41 Summer Street, Cambridge, Mass.
Clarke M. Caldwell, private, 848 South Cecil Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Henry L. Callahan, private, 41 Sterling Street, Bridgeport, Conn.
Frank H. Carter, private, 307 East Twenty-second Street, Baltimore, Md.
Robert M. P. Carter, private, Dundas, Ill.
Robert W. Carrier, private, 306 North Rowe Street, Ludington, Mich.
Arthur M. Carrow, private, 3 Walnut Street, Agawam, Mass.
Earl H. Chase, private, 29 Summer Street, Newport, N. H.
Joseph Chestler, private, 82 Crystal Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Jonathan S. Christie, private, 1712 Westmoreland Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
William M. Clearwater, private, Victor Place, New York, N. Y.
Daniel Campiam, private, 180 Hodge Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
Ben Cohen, private, 1709 Illinois Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind.

Philip Cohen, private, 807 Second Street, Elizabeth, N. J.
Albert H. Clogston, private, 55 Hanson Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Joseph J. Connery, private, 737 Moosic Street, Scranton, Pa.
Ralph C. Cook, private, Franklin, Pa.
Fidel Corero, private, 48 York Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
Edward C. Cressel, private, 403 Winslow Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
John G. Cummings, private, 925 Ashboro Avenue, Greensboro, N. C.
William M. Davies, private, 521 West Baca Street, Trinidad, Colo.
James B. Dempsey, private, 820 Linderwood Street, Topeka, Kans.
George S. Denzler, private, Valhalla, N. Y.
Arthur A. Diamond, private, 1165 Longfellow Avenue, New York City.
Joseph C. Doyle, private, 10 Summer Street, Peabody, Mass.
George P. Dutton, private, 912 Kennedy Street, Washington, D. C.
Edward F. Esser, private, 1803 Maple Street, Houston, Tex.
Harold V. Feinkark, private, 188 Wolcott Street, New Haven, Conn.
Stephen H. Fellows, private, 5 Idlewild Street, Allston, Mass.
David E. Finley, jr., private, 629 Montgomery Avenue, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Augustus S. Flack, private, 199 West Twenty-second Street, Los Angeles, Cal.
Howard W. Foster, private, 224 Lillian Avenue, Syracuse, N. Y.
William J. Forrest, private, 145 Brown Street, Pittsfield, Mass.
Lester R. Ford, private, 46 Irving Street, Cambridge, Mass.
Valentine Franz, private, 2601 Philips Street, New Orleans, La.
Benny A. Friedman, private, San Antonio, Tex.
Walter B. Fulton, private, 614 Wieses Street, Reading, Pa.
Joseph Hooker, private, 70 Farmington Avenue, Hartford, Conn.
John W. Hopps, private, 281 Eldert Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. (H. J. Heinz Co.).
Ralph R. Howell, private, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Llewelyn Jones, private, Devils Lake, N. Dak.
Fred Katzner, private, 2000 Brookfield Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Newton E. Keen, private, 1728 Lipscomb Avenue, Fort Worth, Tex.
Harvey J. Keenan, private, 195 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Walter F. Kelly, private, 31 Parker Street, Central Falls, R. I.
Fred R. Koch, private, 3900 Spokane Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Samuel G. Koelkebeck, private, 6537 South May Street, Chicago, Ill.
Charles M. Koontz, private, 1147 Wrightman Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
David B. Kopp, private, 873 East Two hundred and twenty-eighth Street, New York, N. Y.
Harry J. Kranz, private, 510 Spring Street, Hot Springs, Ark.
William W. Krais, private, 146 Vista Place, Mount Vernon, N. Y.
John J. Kralik, private, 2511 Steinway Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Enoch Lahty, private, 582 Pleasant Street, Belmont, Mass.
Ralph M. Lane, private, St. Louis Trust Co., St. Louis, Mo.
William M. Lapidus, private, 1613 Locust Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Claude J. Lapp, private, Richmond, Mich.
William H. Leonard, private, 913 North Third Street, Pottsville, Pa.
John E. Lynch, private, 12 Third Street SE., Washington, D. C.
Attilio Lipari, private, 2071 Fifth Street, New York, N. Y.
John D. Long, private, Williamsport, Md.
Ernest R. Lovett, private, 117½ Commercial Avenue, Elkhart, Ind.
William G. Luckel, private, 117 North Street, Newark, N. J.
Austin E. Lutz, private, Fritztown, Pa.
James R. McNutt, private, 962 Congress Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Walter M. McCarter, private, 1771 Frankford Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
Elmer P. McIntosh, private, R. F. D. No. 1, East Falls Church, Va.
William G. McMorran, private, Bakerstown, Pa.
Joseph J. McSweeney, private, 1101 Saratoga Street, East Boston, Mass.
Arthur S. MacGregor, private, 703 Y. M. C. A., Detroit, Mich.
Henry G. Marks, private, 103 Waverly Place, New York, N. Y.
Wells Martin, private, 6700 South Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.
Aaron J. Mathers, private, 66 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Arthur V. May, private, 257 South Fifty-second Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Glen E. Miller, private, 715 East One hundred and nineteenth Street, Portland, Oreg.
Frederick S. Minassian, private, 1814 Sixteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Walter A. Miner, private, 513 East One hundred and seventy-sixth Street, New York, N. Y.
Claude E. Moore, private, 150 North Pearl Street, Albany, N. Y.
Alfred A. Morris, private, 237 Eighth Avenue, Homestead, Pa.
Edmund R. Morton, private, 73 West Lacross Avenue, Lansdowne, Pa.
Robert L. Mullen, private, 3915 Grenet Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
William F. Murray, private, 928 North Main Street, Delphos, Ohio.
Henry A. Nelson, private, 904 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.
Floyd B. Newell, private, 936 Stewart Avenue, Ithaca, N. Y.
Calvin A. Newton, private, Belmont, N. Y.
Eugene J. Nolan, private, 21 Leslie Street, Newark, N. J.
Frank J. Novotny, private, 1361 Avenue A, New York City, N. Y.
Homer Peele, private, Wright's Hotel, 42 Brinkmeyer Avenue, Raleigh, N. C.
Albert H. Peterson, private, South Ozone, Long Island, N. Y.
Nathan B. Pont, private, Stanton, Nebr.
Charles J. Poumairat, private, 715 Hope Street, Los Angeles, Cal.
Thomas J. Purcell, private, 2334 California Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Hugh N. Quigg, private, Livermore, Ky.
Leo J. Quinlan, private, 163 First Street, Pittsfield, Mass.
Fred W. Rade, private, 35 East Twenty-eighth Street, Bayonne, N. J.
Levin Rank, private, 3536 North Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Charles H. Rawlins, private, Newark, Del.
Walter H. Redman, private, 16 William Street, East Orange, N. J.
Soloman J. Rehmar, private, 1714 East Seventy-ninth Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Frederick A. Repard, private, 216 West Seventieth Street, New York, N. Y.
William L. Rifenberick, private, Compton, Cal.
John C. Ritzi, private, Brookville, Ind.
Sydney J. Rogers, private, 73 Frost Street, Cambridge, Mass.
Clyde O. Rowley, private, 739 South Platt Avenue, Toledo, Ohio.
Ralph A. Sawyer, private, Atkinson, N. H.
John M. Safer, private, 1726 B Street NW, Washington, D. C.
Samuel Shulman, private, 1400 Girard Street, Washington, D. C.
Adison F. Smith, private, Wewoka, Okla.
James B. Smith, private, Fredericksto, Ohio.
William W. Smith, private, 101 North Second Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
George H. Spaeth, private, 1563 Ashland Avenue, St. Paul, Minn.
Wesley Spaeth, private, 1563 Ashland Avenue, St. Paul, Minn.
William T. Speer, private, 215 East Waterman Street, Wichita, Kans.
Samuel T. Squire, private, Box 12, Deans, N. J.
Lawrence Stage, private, 33 Oakland Avenue, Warwick, N. Y.
Harry R. Stevens, private, 101 East Monmouth Street, Baltimore, Md.
Louis J. Stern, private, 567 East One hundred and thirteenth Street, New York, N. Y.
John M. Stetson, private, 2102 Adelbert Road, Cleveland, Ohio.
William M. Sullivan, private, 224 East Ida Street, Boise, Idaho.
William D. Terry, private, 6 Richfield Street, Mohawk, N. Y.
Malcolm Thomson, private, 22 Monument Avenue, Swampscott, Mass.
George C. Turner, private, 395 East Center Street, Bridgeport Turnpike, Logan, Utah.
Edward A. Tibbals, private, Milford, Conn.
William J. Tighe, private, 438 Sixty-first Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
George R. Van Ness, private, 1164 Forrest Avenue, New York, N. Y.
John M. Vandergrift, private, 315 Central Park W., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Francis Vanderwerker, private, 308 East Capitol Street, Washington, D. C.
Leroy G. Walton, private, 24 Fairfield Street, Haverhill, Mass.
Arthur B. Weaver, private, Lawrence, Kans.
Volney H. Wells, private, 342 Craig Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
James E. Wills, private, 941 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.
Loren H. Wittner, private, Rockport, Ill.
Elmer Woolston, private, 1522 North Twenty-eighth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Chester H. Yeaton, private, 909 Colfax Street, Evanston, Ill.
Harry B. Zimmerman, private, 321 Coltart Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
George F. Zuckweiler, private, 910 South Fifth Street, Pekin, Ill.
Arthur C. Russell, sergeant, first class, 226 Thirty-fifth Street, Newport News, Va.
Roy G. Duer, sergeant, first class, Fletcher, Ohio.
John E. Pierson, corporal, 949 Nebraska Avenue, Richmond Hill, N. Y.
Clyde Sharlach, corporal, 118 Fifth Street, Garden City, N. Y.
Ralph Hunter, corporal, Hodson, Mont.
Henry A. Olsen, private, first class, 211 Tomkins Street, Olean, N. Y.
Arthur E. Brown, private, first class, 211 Tomkins Street, Olean, N. Y.
Dexter C. Hayden, private, 146 West Eightieth Street, New York City.
Albert J. Kroger, private, 118 Seventh Street, Garden City, N. Y.
Richard F. Decker, private.
William Gehron, private, 230 E Street NE., Washington, D. C.
Eugene W. Goodwin, private, 471 Sea View Avenue, Bridgeport, Conn.
John W. Gower, private, Springfield, Ohio.
Clifton Gray, private, 2316 East Baltimore Street, Baltimore, Md.
Wolf H. Grossheim, private, 227 Waller Street, San Francisco, Cal.
William Hanson, private, 219 Weifield Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
George H. Hargitt, private, 1228 Goodfellow Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
John W. Harper, private, 3030 O Street NW., Washington, D. C.
James B. Harper, private, 122 South Brooklyn Street, Wellsville, N. Y.
Louis W. Hodous, private, 3304 East Fifty-fifth Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Robert E. Hollahan, private, 7033 Parnell Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Carroll Reber, jr., private, second class, 23 West Eighty-sixth Street, New York City.

CENTRAL DEPARTMENT.

(Eight hundred and sixteenth Depot Aero Squadron, Chicago, Ill.)

(List of men who on June 5, 1917, were between ages of 21 and 31 years.)

Assigned to squadron.

[Name, rank, and home address.]

Joseph K. Fair, sergeant, first class, Brownstown, Ill.
Edward A. Kludt, sergeant, first class, 864 Helan Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Thomas P. Coan, sergeant, 4112 Crystal Street, Chicago, Ill.
Roy L. Gardner, sergeant, Paris, Tenn.
William Handley, sergeant, Joplin, Mo.
William M. Konen, sergeant, 2538 West Sixty-fourth Street, Chicago, Ill.
Thomas S. O'Brien, sergeant, 5406 Calumet Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Raymond G. Reinhard, sergeant, 6611 North Seventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Edward T. Ryan, sergeant, Alexandria Hotel, Chicago, Ill.
Hubert S. Well, sergeant, 4946 Washington Park Court, Chicago, Ill.
Kinner Wireman, sergeant, East Point, Ky.
Conrad H. Kimmel, chauffeur, first class, 202 McDougal Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Neil C. Montis, chauffeur, Attica, Ind.
Webb E. Reggs, chauffeur, 318 South Fifth Street, Terre Haute, Ind.
Louis Bro, corporal, 5540 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Norbert J. Cavanagh, corporal, 6248 Lakewood Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Richard J. Danaher, corporal, 6827 Harper Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
William E. De Veney, corporal, 2146 West Garfield Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Enoch J. Egginton, corporal, New York, N. Y.
Frank Henry, corporal, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Clarence E. Hughes, corporal, Mount Nebo, W. Va.
Ira T. Hughes, corporal, 60 South Kensington Avenue, La Grange, Ill.
Iorwerth Jones, corporal, 338 North Austin Avenue, Oak Park, Ill.
Arthur C. Krampff, corporal, 213 North Pearl Street, Havana, Ill.
Charles F. McLane, corporal, 52 Celander Avenue, La Grange, Ill.
Edward H. Quinn, corporal, 719 Independent Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Budd L. Sholts, corporal, 428 Belden Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Raymon M. Smith, corporal, 502 North Eighth Street, Terre Haute, Ind.
Myron F. Sutherland, corporal, 216 South Cuyler Avenue, Oak Park, Ill.
William Deane, private, first class, 60 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Karl A. Fries, private, first class, Punta Gorda, Fla. (On duty at S. M. A., Urbana, Ill. Required information has been requested. Data will be forwarded as soon as received.)
Robert McNerny, private, first class, 6148 Rhodes Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Robert S. Carvey, private, 6 Keystone Apartments, Richmond, Ind.
Ordello L. Doty, private, 15103 Lake Avenue, Lakewood, Ohio.
Nathan H. Livesay, private, 291 Delman Avenue, Evansville, Ind. (On duty at S. M. A., Urbana, Ill. Required information has been requested. Data will be forwarded as soon as received.)
Platt McCartney, private, 1930 Colorado Boulevard, Denver, Colo. (On duty at S. M. A., Urbana, Ill. Required information has been requested. Data will be forwarded as soon as received.)

John B. Morrison, private, 389 Taylor Avenue, Detroit, Mich. (On duty at S. M. A., Urbana, Ill. Required information has been requested. Data will be forwarded as soon as received.)
William C. Duffus, jr., private, 700 North Washington Street, Lansing, Mich.
Blaine B. Gernon, private, 2104 South St. Louis Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Robert C. Hammill, private, 88 North Franklin Street, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Mads C. Larsen, private, R. F. D. Route B, Fresno, Cal.
Leroy O'Keefe, private, 6230 Langley Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Joseph L. Scala, private, 148 Eugenie Street, Chicago, Ill.
James L. Summit, private, Pesotum, Ill.
George K. York, private, 5007 Vincennes Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Attached to squadron—Unassigned.

Charles L. Aidt, sergeant, first class, 628 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Harry E. Aidt, sergeant, first class, 628 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Charles L. Anderson, sergeant, first class, 223 Keap Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Harry R. Austin, sergeant, first class, 108 Walnut Street, Binghamton, N. Y.
Eugene P. Greenwood, sergeant, first class, 112 Fairy Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
Louis Schapiro, sergeant, first class, 500 Hopkins Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
James G. Smith, sergeant, first class, 101 West Ninetieth Street, New York, N. Y.
Shirley W. Bale, sergeant, 968 John River Street, Detroit, Mich.
Russell F. Cate, sergeant, 620 Keefer Place, Washington, D. C.
Gordon H. Colborne, sergeant, 686 Seyburn Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
William H. Currie, sergeant, 1561 Beaubien Street, Detroit, Mich.
Edward C. Du Bois, sergeant, 1350 Jerome Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Morris Glick, sergeant, 1431 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Henry Greenberger, sergeant, 320 Market Street, Steubenville, Ohio.
Wallace N. Guthrie, sergeant, 83 Kimberly Avenue, New Haven, Conn.
William J. Kennedy, sergeant, 330 Taylor Avenue, Scranton, Pa.
Michael Kronman, sergeant, 753 Jennings Street, New York, N. Y.
Raymond A. Lemmon, sergeant, 1613 Library Street, McKeesport, Pa.
Ralph Levinson, sergeant, 511 North Seventh Street, Steubenville, Ohio.
Elmer E. Little, sergeant, 1 North Melther Street, Johnstown, N. Y.
Carl E. Miller, sergeant, 465 South Broadway, Dayton, Ohio.
Frank R. Millerschin, sergeant, 1465 Carmen Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
John F. Moakler, sergeant, Cooperstown, N. Y.
Walter L. Moran, sergeant, 449 Forty-seventh Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ralph P. Ripley, sergeant, 74 Liberty Street, Jamestown, N. Y.
Louis Rosenberg, sergeant, 623 Galena Street, Milwaukee, Wis.
Lewis B. Sandner, sergeant, 88 West Street, Gloversville, N. Y.
Wilbur C. Snyder, sergeant, 210 East Fulton Street, Gloversville, N. Y.
James H. Young, jr., sergeant, 114 Oakview Avenue, Edge Place, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Robert S. Walling, sergeant, McMinnville, Tenn.
Grover C. Andrews, corporal, 59 East Palmer Street, Detroit, Mich.
Dwight W. Coburn, corporal, Ogdensburg, N. Y.
Edmund F. Drews, corporal, 919 Seventeenth Street, Detroit, Mich.
John C. Johnson, corporal, 102 Sixth Street, Detroit, Mich.
Bernard A. Kearns, corporal, 406 Silvester Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Roy J. Lamore, corporal, 1274 Brush Street, Detroit, Mich.
Urban F. Schwartz, corporal, 917 Chestnut Street, Adrian, Mich.
John E. Sullivan, corporal, 901 Sixteenth Street, Detroit, Mich.
Russell R. Williams, corporal, 139 Pasadena Avenue, Highland Park, Mich.
Edward H. Frederick, private, first class, 2415 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Arthur W. Green, private, first class, on furlough; no service record received.
Manley A. Spears, private, first class, Clio, Mich.
Lloyd D. Holton, private, first class, 3 Gurnsey Street, Roslindale, Mass.
George H. Wesemann, private, first class, 5557 De Giversville Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
Ernest F. Shelton, private, first class, Fulton, Ky.
Nels J. Ahlberg, private, 5066 Second Street West, Murray, Utah.
Frank P. Albus, private, 715 Seneca Street, Detroit, Mich.
John L. Anderson, private, 111 South Franklin Street, Muncie, Ind.
Ernest P. Ansterburg, private, Concord, Mich.
Allan G. Armstrong, private, 1601 De Bree Avenue, Norfolk, Va.
Harold G. Armstrong, private, 170 Hague Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Clyde C. Ashcom, private, 173 D Street, Johnstown, Pa.
Frank H. Bacon, private, 315 South Fifth Avenue, Grand Forks, N. Dak.
Rueben W. Baeseman, private, 810 Grand Avenue, Wausau, Wis.
Guy H. Baldwin, private, 604 East Fifth Avenue, Flint, Mich.
Leland F. Ball, private, 1133 Euclid Street, Washington, D. C.
Arthur E. Bartz, private, 537 Bellevue Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Arthur P. Batchelder, private, 38 Clement Avenue, Peabody, Mass.
Frederick W. Bauer, private, 36 Webb Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Vernon C. Baughn, private, 144 West Pleasant Street, Springfield, Ohio.
Wallace L. Bean, private, 609 North Main Street, Princeton, Ind.
Warren J. Beauchamp, private, 608 North Davis Street, Helena, Mont.
Abraham S. Bender, private, 6160 Washington Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo.
Hugh D. Bender, private, 124 Tenth Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.
Frederick W. Berndt, private, 118 Davison Avenue, Highland Park, Mich.
Emmett Berry, private, 22 Storm Street, Tarrytown, N. Y.
Charles A. Berterman, private, 51 Wellington Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Richard F. Bloedel, private, 1600 Emerson Street, Denver, Colo.
Lawrence J. Bondy, private, 445 Parker Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
James B. Book, jr., private, 1815 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
John E. Borah, private, Grinnell, Kans.
Gustave A. Bostrom, private, 150 Stoughton Street, Quincy, Mass.
Robert E. Boyd, private, 685 Twenty-fifth Street, Ogden, Utah.
Joseph Boyer, jr., private, 165 Parker Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Joseph W. Bradley, private, 1606 Eighth Avenue, Altoona, Pa.
E. John Brandeis, private, care of Brandeis Stores, Omaha, Nebr.
Albert C. Bremer, private, 55 Treacy Avenue, Newark, N. J.
Marshall H. Brigham, private, 211 Waugh Street, Columbia, Mo.
Carlton L. Brown, private, 1640 Indianola Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.
Thomas B. Brownlee, private, 1217 Fourth Avenue, New Brighton, Pa.
Burton H. Brydges, private, Lake Island, N. Y.
Benjamin H. Bugbee, private, 229 Jackson Street, Trenton, N. J.
Edward C. Burgess, private, 152 West Grand Avenue, Highland Park, Mich.
Lawrence Burnett, private, 139 West One hundred and twelfth Street, New York, N. Y.
Albert C. Byron, private, 241 Bay Street, Saginaw, Mich.
Donald Cameron, private, 1675 Riverdale Street, West, Springfield, Mass.
William E. Cameron, private, Cornwall, Ontario, Canada.
William F. Campbell, private, 546 East Buchtel Avenue, Akron, Ohio.
Percy R. Carr, private, 172 Green Street, Pontiac, Mich.
Clifford R. Carter, private, 40 Bridge Street, Newton, Mass.
Frank B. Cassidy, private, 49 Watson Street, Detroit, Mich.
Ernest J. Catudal, private, 113 Hornton Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Walter R. Caveney, private, 514 Ivy Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Delbert W. Chambers, private, 224 West Fifth Avenue, Flint, Mich.
George E. Chandler, private, R. F. D. No. 1, Lawsonham, Pa.
John W. Clement, private, 119 Montgomery Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Leo F. Corcoran, private, 184 Magazine Street, Cambridge, Mass.
Edward L. Cudahy, private, 111 Beidler Street, Muskegon, Mich.
Henry W. Cutchin, private, Rocky Mount, N. C.
Louis J. Dame, private, 335 Twenty-second Street, Detroit, Mich.
William C. Dandeno, private, 23 Waterman Street, Providence, R. I.
Edmond C. Datson, private, 635 Oak Hill Avenue, Youngstown, Ohio.
Leonard S. Davey, private, 1600 Emerson Street, Denver, Colo.
Clem H. Deck, private, 1414 North Park Place, St. Louis, Mo.
Frank M. Denman, private, Pittsford, Mich.
Herbert J. Dietrich, private, 515 Clearview Avenue, Crafton, Pa.
Daniel S. Dolan, private, 1127 North Avenue, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
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Mylo B. Downs, private, 1615 Herbert Street, Lansing, Mich.
George E. Duffy, private, 23 Buena Vista Avenue, West, Detroit, Mich.
Carl F. Duhme, private, 2441 Highland Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Alexander Dziewit, private, Cambridge Springs, Pa.
George W. Eckelberry, private, 303 West Eighth Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.
Harry H. Eckert, private, 939 Fulton Road Northwest, Canton, Ohio.
Robert B. Edison, private, 904 Oakwood Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.
Joseph G. Eichenbaum, private, 854 Fox Street, New York, N. Y.
Raymond Ellis, private, R. F. D. No. 2, Morristown, Pa.
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Richard F. Ennis, private, 6625 Landsdowne Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Gunnar Ericson, private, 114 Banner Street, Hartford, Conn.
Donald G. Evans, private, 37 West Hills Street, Champaign, Ill.
George M. Fagan, private, 1930 Seventeenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Floyd H. Flatt, private, 1353 Trumbull Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Charles C. Foight, private, 600 East Pittsburgh Street, Greensburg, Pa.
Edwin M. Foley, private, 160 West Walnut Street, Stockton, Cal.
R. W. Foley, private, 416 Dove Street, Dunkirk, N. Y.
Robert V. Fonger, private, 3866 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
William M. Frankenbery, private, 17 Race Street, Uniontown, Pa.
Austin P. Freeley, private, 916 Albany Street, Boston, Mass.
Franz C. Friederich, private, 201 Josephine Street, Detroit, Mich.
Aubrey R. Furnas, private, 25 Seventeenth Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.
Wilbur P. Gallatin, private, 835 McKenzie Street, York, Pa.
Lloyd W. Ganschow, private, 42 Thirteenth Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.
John H. Garlinger, private, 413 Pennsylvania Avenue, Elmira, N. Y.
Harry J. Garnett, private, 306 Lansing Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Edward Gedemer, private, 1935 Asylum Avenue, Racine, Wis.
George J. Geiser, private, 1000 Huber Street, Johnstown, Pa.
Clinton P. Gleadell, private, 386 Fourth Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
John J. Goode, private, 815 West Fifty-fifth Street, Chicago, Ill.
John J. Gormley, private, 2348 Wallace Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Harold Graves, private, 32 Marshall Avenue, Akron, Ohio.
Charley A. Gray, private, Kenwood, La.
Walter J. Griggs, private, 995 South Broad Street, Trenton, N. J.
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Robert N. Griswold, private, Lodi, Cal.
Daniel Grossman, private, 951 Washington Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Walter Guibord, private, 917 Harrison Street, Flint, Mich.
Andrew W. Hagemann, private, 421 Clark Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Herbert Hagen, private, Mary Street, Bessemer, Mich.
Glenn M. Haldeman, private, 1006 West California Street, Urbana, Ill.
Robert G. Hamilton, private, 457 Thirty-eighth Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.
Othel C. Hamp, private, 1086 Mount Clair Heights, Detroit, Mich.
Richard B. Hart, private, 45 Granger Place, Buffalo, N. Y.
John P. Hauch, private, 2129 North Uber Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Oliver H. Hause, private, 254 South Lowry Avenue, Springfield, Ohio.
Curtis Hawes, private, 424 East One hundred and forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.
Walter D. Heaphy, private, 91 Goddard Street, Providence, R. I.
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Aloysius J. Hesse, private, Mankato, Minn.
Wilfrid A. Heyl, private, 535 Gross Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
William P. Hickey, private, 440 Saratoga Street, East Boston, Mass.
Charles J. Hillsman, private, 507 South Grant Street, Springfield, Mo.
Mitchell B. Hissong, private, 409 South Pine Street, Lima, Ohio.
Morris J. Hoenig, private, 50 Sixteenth Avenue, Newark, N. J.
Benjamin G. Hoffman, private, 90 Avolan Avenue, Highland Park, Mich.
Otis E. Hoffman, private, 124 North Carter Street, Madison, Wis.
Thomas G. Haffman, private, 171 South Oxford Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ralph W. Hook, private, 120 West Fayette Street, Uniontown, Pa.
Eugene C. Hopkins, private, 1017 West Illinois Street, Urbana, Ill.
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John A. Hunter, jr., private, 413 West Main Street, Gastonia, N. C.
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Louis Jarmuluski, private, 122 South Twelfth Street, Maywood, Ill.

Alexander A. Jenkins, private, 168 Kenilworth Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Edward Jenkins, private, 2 Arden Street, New York, N. Y.
Lewis G. Jenks, private, 123 East Atlantic Avenue, Hadden Heights, N. J.
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Merril W. Kane, private, 747 McFarlan Street, Flint, Mich.
Joseph M. Kavanaugh, private, 4025 Northminster Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Alfred E. Kefgen, private, Smithcreek, Mich.
Harry J. Kelley, private, 117 Trowbridge Street, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Lawrence J. Kelly, private, 2937 Merwyn Avenue, Sheraden, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Earl A. Kenney private, 75 Calvert Street, Detroit, Mich.
Leo J. Kiernan, private, 1520 Poplar Street, Port Huron, Mich.
Ashley H. Kilburn, private, 4 Brooks Apartments, Flint, Mich.
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Chiles C. King, private, 248 Medbury Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
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Harris S. Knight, private, 5 Shore Avenue, Salem, Mass.
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Arthur F. La Budde, private, Elkhart Lake, Wis.
Herbert M. Laib, private, Y. M. C. A., Port Huron, Mich.
Albert Lambert, private, 11017 Liberty Avenue, Richmond Hill, N. Y.
Walter J. Langdon, private, 123 West Sixth Street, Flint, Mich.
Chandler H. Lapsley, private, 707 Church Street, Selma, Ala.
Francis M. Lechlider, private, 1521 South Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal.
Everett S. Lee, private, 810 West Nevada Street, Urbana, Ill.
Walter E. Lee, private, 36 Mary Street, Waycross, Ga.
Maurice H. Leeb, private, 6908 Carnegie Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Earl M. Leety, private, 7129 Hermitage Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Lloyd L. Lesher, private, Iowa Falls, Iowa.
Benjamin W. Lewis, private, 404 Belmont Avenue, Youngstown, Ohio.
George Long, private, 552 Emerson Street, Detroit, Mich.
Judson W. Lord, private, 3966½ Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Amos D. Lutes, private, 234 West Bethunel Street, Detroit, Mich.
Henry A. Lynch, private, 39 Harrison Avenue, Beachbluff, Mass.
George D. Lynn, private, 27 Calvert Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Robert F. McClure, private, 5448 Black Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Ernest W. McCraw, private, 59 Tremont Street, Lawrence, Mass.
Harrison M. MacDonald, private, 87 Bay State Avenue, West Somerville, Mass.
Alva E. McGeath, private, 920 Liberty Street, Flint, Mich.
George E. McGill, private, 317 East First Street, Monroe, Mich.
William T. McGregor, private, 810 Freeman Street, New York, N. Y.
Thomas W. McKay, private, Alhambra Court, Columbus, Ohio.
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Kyle McMullen, private, Harris, Ill.
James M. Mactaggart, private, 1020 Long Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Anthony C. Maitre, private, 610 Campbell Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Robert H. Mangan, private, Graystone, R. I.
Broas Mann, private, 324 State Street, Belding, Mich.
Philip Martsolf, private, 1441 Fourth Avenue, New Brighton, Pa.
George H. Mason, private, State Street, Clyde, Ohio.
John C. Matson, private, Berkey, Ohio.
John R. Maust, private, 61 South Gallatin Avenue, Uniontown, Pa.
Gustavius H. May, private, Saylersville, Ky.
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Samuel F. Mays, private, 107 South Main Street, Miamisburg, Ohio.
Clarence M. Melanson, private, 1 Myrtle Square, Gloucester, Mass.
Ralph T. Menke, private, 177 John River, Detroit, Mich.
Lee P. Miller, private, 3027 West Broadway, Louisville, Ky.
Marion D. Mills, private, 103 Norwood Avenue, Hillsdale, Mich.
Albert H. Mitchell, private, 724 Fourth Street, Marietta, Ohio.
Herbert C. Moore, private, 105 South Richardson Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.
Timothy F. Moynihan, private, 3818 Parker Avenue, Norfolk, Va.
Arthur B. Mulso, private, 1359 Van Dyke Street, Detroit, Mich.
Roy J. Murbach, private, Berkey, Ohio.
William R. Murphy, private, 231 Spruce Street, North Abington, Mass.
Archie R. Neely, private, Y. M. C. A., Franklin, Pa.
Charles K. Neill, private, 814 Bryson Street, Youngstown, Ohio.
David A. W. Nelson, private, 21 Rowena Street, Detroit, Mich.
Arthur T. E. Newkirk, private, 271 Clifton Avenue, Newark, N. J.
Andrew J. Noe, private, 5603 Hughes Street, Kansas City, Mo.
Cecil S. Ober, private, 2043 Bellefontaine Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Stanley Olewinski, private, 1130 Joseph Campam Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Harold L. Osgood, private, 22 Mays Street, Portland, Me.
Herbert H. Pallat, private, 23 South Jefferson Street, Chicago, Ill.
Leroy E. Parcells, private, 135 Clinton Avenue, New Haven, Conn.
Harry F. Pardick, private, 349 McDougall Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Paul W. Parker, private, 499 Center Avenue, Atlanta, Ga.
Donald F. Patterson, private, 311 East Aurora Street, Ironwood, Mich.
Wilfrid E. Pearson, private, 44 Forest Place, Pittsfield, Mass.
Allen C. Peas, private, 42 Watson Street, Detroit, Mich.
Ernest Petersen, private, 910 Wolfram Street, Chicago, Ill.
Bertill Peterson, private, 621 Lyman Avenue, Kenosha, Wis.
John Pingree, jr., private, 712 Twenty-fifth Street, Ogden, Utah.
Fred W. Plant, private, 25 Williams Street, Pontiac, Mich.
William Priebe, private, 29 Van Court Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Bruno R. Prietz, private, 713 St. Clair Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Herbert E. Quattlander, private, 2848 Decatur Avenue, Bronx, New York, N. Y.
Maurice E. Reagan, private, 806 South Third Street, Champaign, Ill.
Charles Reinhardt, private, 442 Forty-fourth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Richard A. Rice, private, 416 Asher Street, Lafayette, Ind.
Edward M. Riley, private, 324 Pennsylvania Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
Otto F. Rochelle, private, 228 Madison Avenue, Clifton, N. J.
Walter T. Rock, private, 44 Plum Street, Detroit, Mich.
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Emil J. Samel, private, 7 Dalzelle Street, Detroit, Mich.
Emerson L. Saxe, private, Chazy, N. Y.
William E. Scheibler, private, 5426 Walnut Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Martin H. Schmalz, private, 1022 Trumbull Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
George R. Schmidt, private, 1253 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York, N. Y.
August Scholtus, private, 211 Waverley Avenue, Highland Park, Mich.
Ernest Schonhut, private, 129 Jefferson Street, Youngstown, Ohio.
William H. Schumacher, private, 407 East Kersley Street, Flint, Mich.
Charles Schwab, private, 3438 Fleming Avenue, N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sol M. Schwarzchild, private, Gresham Court Apartments, Richmond, Va.
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Armory D Seaver, private, Orleans, Vt.
Benjamin Segal, private, 1516 Baymiller Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
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James Sherry, private, 70 Wall Street, New York, N. Y.
Albert E. Sidnell, private, 347 North Third Street, Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio.
Stirling S. Silliphant, private, 342 Euclid Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Brooker M. Silver, private, 184 Bagg Street, Detroit, Mich.
Roy L. Simmons, private, 882 Vermont Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Howard H. Smart, private, 501 East Green Street, Champaign, Ill.
Daniel W. Smith, private, 968 Bridge Street, Grand Rapids, Mich.
John E. Smith, private, 62 Rimmon Street, Manchester, N. H.
Louis M. Smith, private, 315 North Chestnut Street, Derry, Pa.
Philip H. Smith, private, 832 Buckingham Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Walter K. Smith, private, 282 West Haines Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Frank T. Stack, private, 84 Marston Court, Detroit, Mich.
Clifton C. Stafford, private, 6 Oread Street, Worcester, Mass.
Wilbert E. Stanger, private, 309 Central Way, Wilmerding, Pa.
Sumner A. Steele, private, 76 Beresford Street, Highland Park, Mich.
John T. Stewart, private, 24 North Tenth Street, Hamilton, Ohio.
Joseph E. Stewart, private, 72 Elmhurst Avenue, Highland Park, Mich.
Charles Stoiber, private, 701 Twenty-fifth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.
Henry S. Stout, private, 59 Central Avenue, Dayton, Ohio.
Reginald B. Stull, private, 725 East Second Street, Bloomington, Ind.
James F. Stutz, private, 15 West Harris Street, Atlanta, Ga.
Guy W. Sullivan, private, 620 South Charlotte Street, Escanaba, Mich.
Timothy J. Sullivan, private, 13 Cowpersthwaite Street, Cambridge, Mass.
Earl X. Taylor, private, 291 South Eighteenth Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Frank I. Taylor, private, Tarrytown, N. Y.
Harry S. Thompson, private, R. F. D. No. 2, Box 92, Allen, Mich.
Albert D. Tingley, private, 76 Park Place, Pawtucket, R. I.
Benjamin J. Tobin, private, 250 Calvert Street, Detroit, Mich.
Fred Tourin, private, 2076 Daley Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Francis L. Treasure, private, 801 Grandview Avenue, McKeesport, Pa.
Harold C. Utley, private, Kapac, Mich.
Peter A. Van Der Male, private, 108 Purifiers Avenue, Jackson, Mich.
Sydney A. Vaughn, private, 38 Pearl Street, Everett, Mass.
Nathaniel S. Vial, private, 412 East Green Street, Champaign, Ill.
Augustine J. Walsh, private, 82 Hendrix Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Joseph P. Walsh, private, 562 West One hundred and ninetieth Street, New York, N. Y.
Bernard J. Walter, private, Mount Carmel, Ill.
Joseph Walter, private, 29 Henry Street, Detroit, Mich.
Charlie B. Ward, private, Nashville, N. C.
George D Warden, private, 641 Fairview Avenue, Warden, Ky.
James J. Watson, private, 1424 Sheffield Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Rolla D. Watson, private, 2455 Summit Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Henry H. Weil, private, 2627 Locust Street, St. Louis, Mo.
Carl J. Weis, private, Duaine Street, Clyde, Ohio.
Alfred G. Wellons, private, Grand Junction, Hardeman, Tenn.
Leon S. Wescoat, private, 2843 North Twenty-eighth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Harry H. Wheeler, private, Homestead Boulevard, Long Meadow, Mass.
Horace E. Wheeler, private, Sandy, Utah.
Ralph R. Whiting, private, 621 Sheridan Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Warren J. Williams, private, 168 Beresford Avenue, Highland Park, Mich.
Charles W. Wittman, jr., private, 2836 East Baltimore Street, Baltimore, Md.
Edward T. Wohlbold, private, 1005 South Floyd Street, Louisville, Ky.
Ray J. Wolfslayer, private, 1261 East Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Mich.
Gordon C. Young, private, 61 Clark Street, Paterson, N. J.
Irvin L. Young, private, 807 Beach Street, Flint, Mich.
Mayo N. Zeigler, private, 303 West Van Buren Street, Battle Creek, Mich.

One hundred and thirtieth Aero Squadron.

John L. Boyer, private, 729 East Ellwood Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Wayne P. Joy, private, 1153 Sherman Avenue, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Harold V. McCormick, private, first class, 3110 Woodburn Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Thomas J. Mulligan, private, 745 North Bancroft Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind.

Six hundred and seventy-seventh Aero Squadron.

Frederick W. Bringman, private, 1620 West Fifth Street, Pine Bluff, Ark.

Eight hundred and seventy-first Aero Squadron.

Glen D. Carver, private, 1320 East Third Street, Dayton, Ohio.

Twelfth Company, Third Motor Mechanics.

Charles L. Roush, sergeant, 403 Broadway, Shelbyville, Ind.

Signal Enlisted Reserve Corps.

George W. Blackwell, private, first class, 172 West North Avenue, Atlanta, Ga.

EASTERN DEPARTMENT.

(Headquarters, 104 Broad Street, New York City. 814th Depot Aero Squadron.)

[Following are the names and addresses of all men assigned and attached to depot squadron between the ages of 21 and 31 years on June 5, 1917, not including the enlisted men on duty at Washington, D. C.]

Office of the Aeronautical Officer, 104 Broad Street, New York City.

Hamilton B. Cantey, Jamaica, Long Island, N. Y.
David E. Dobson, Old Bridge, N. J.
John J. Fitzpatrick, Bridgeport, Conn.
Frank B. Horne, Methnen, Mass.
Theobald S. Kessler, Liberty, N. Y.
Ralph B. Miller, Kansas City, Kans.
Thomas R. Renn, Greensboro, N. C.
Leo G. Theiner, Brooklyn, N. Y.

D. M. I., Buffalo, N. Y.

Joseph H. Baker, 537 William Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
Reid Coleman, 9400 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
James V. Davison, Winthrop Street, Toledo, Ohio.
Charles Hafner, 335 Point Street, Camden, N. J.
Alvin S. Hatch, 2336 Grandview Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Paul M. Ludt, 1527 Florencedale, Youngstown, Ohio.
Dewitt B. Macomber, Rochester, N. Y.
Robert M. Meehan, 85 North Kendall Street, Battle Creek, Mich.
Clyde L. Moore, Lowellville, Ohio.
Norman H. Richards, 114 Newton Street, South Hadley Falls, Mass.
Robert O. Wheeler, 621 Breckenridge Street, Buffalo, N. Y.

Aero Engineering Corporation, Long Island City, N. Y.

Edmond A. Chaix, 127 Third Street, New Dorp, Staten Island, N. Y.
Edward J. Cole, 430 Wales Avenue, New York City, N. Y.
Bernard Coleman, 846 Kelly Street, New York City, N. Y.
Jay W. Donley, 619 Climax Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Charles Gendron, 5053 Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.
Albert E. Hendershot, 573 Bennett Street, Luzerne, Pa.
Joseph W. McIntosh, 1215 North Twenty-fourth Street, Birmingham, Ala.
Oscar R. Somesson, 1017 Queen Street, Erie, Pa.
John J. Teschke, 483 Evergreen Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
John A. Vance, 401 Madison Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Stanley Waring, 322 Hazelwood Terrace, Rochester, N. Y.

West Virginia Pulp & Paper Co., Tyrone, Pa.

J. Cyril McGarrigle, 3748 Manayunk Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

West Virginia Pulp & Paper Co., Mechanicsville, N. Y.

Lee Cadien, Alexander Street, Rochester, N. Y.

Willys-Morrow Co., Elmira, N. Y.

Harry W. Paton, 208 Elm Street, Elmira, N. Y.

J. G. White Engineering Corporation, 43 Exchange Place, New York City.

Henry Stoll, 510 West One hundred and eighty-fourth Street, New York City.
Alexander Vessie, 34 Jerome Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

United States Industrial Chemical Co., Baltimore, Md.

John R. Hutson, 1904 Oak Hill Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Van D. Lott, Young Men's Christian Association, Columbia, S. C.
Jose Vargos, 240 West One hundred and twelfth Street, New York City.

Taylor Instrument Co., Rochester, N. Y.

Carl R. Bausch, 15 East Avenue, Rochester, N. Y.

D. M. E., Pittsburgh, Pa. (S. C. Gen. Lab.).

Harry H. Mensching, 707 Oakdale Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Ray M. Barksdale, 4314 St. Louis Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
Howard A. Brown, Apartment 3, 5433 Elmer Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Arthur C. Flentge, 22 Greenfield Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
Andrew J. Goodhart, 1246 Mulberry Street, Reading, Pa.
Samuel H. Gray, 3519 Porter Street NW., Washington, D. C.
James M. Radtke, 503 State Street, Massillon, Ohio.
Fred Salathe, jr., 2400 State Street, Santa Barbara, Cal.
Vernon M. Wade, 811 Hawley Avenue, Alton, Ill.

Belmont Park, Long Island, N. Y.

Israel Bellis, 411 East Sixth Street, New York City.
Donat Bourgeois, 318 Mount Pleasant Street, New Bedford, Mass.
Ray F. Heck, 360 Third Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Albert W. Pfaff, Wenatchee, Wash.
Raymond R. Toole, Bloomfield, Mo.
James C. Edmonds, 3226 Western Avenue, Mattoon, Ill.

Union Switch & Signal Co., Swissvale, Pa.

LeRoy C. Berkey, 203 Chandler Avenue, Johnstown, Pa.
William R. Blank, 244 East Otterman Street, Greensburg, Pa.
Oscar B. Conklin, R. F. D. No. 1, Wyoming, Pa.
James R. Cray, 727 California Avenue, Avalon, Pa.
Thompson Cummings, Cornell Avenue, West View, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Lewis L. Davis, 2 Maplewood Avenue, Crafton, Pa.
Thomas William Davies, 532 Woodbourne Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Charles W. Elicker, 3134 Landis Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
James D. Grant, New Brighton Road, New Avon Heights, Pa.
Oran W. Panner, 482 East Washington St., Rochester, Pa.
Frederick C. Rebstock, 27 Thirteenth Avenue, Newark, N. J.
Fred M. Richey, 329 Lehigh Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
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William Freese, 192 East One hundred and thirty-fifth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Otto Gaul, 3428A Hartford Street, East St. Louis, Ill.
Herbert N. Glaser, 159 Seneca Parkway, Rochester, N. Y.
George W. Goddard, Holland Hotel, Chicago, Ill.
Ross Gordon, 3216 Colfax Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn.
Ralph E. Gray, 38 South Third Street East, Apartment 2, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Harry A. Grear, 20 Spring Street, Sharon Hill, Pa.
Harry Grogin, 460 Grand Street, New York City.
Hazen H. Haggarty, 28 West Franklin Street, Elkhart, Ind.
Eric S. Haquinius, 345 North Fifty-sixth Street, New York City.
Harry Harsfield, 20 Nazing Street, Roxbury, Mass.
Joseph Hart, 430 Fifteenth Street, Modesto, Cal.
Bernis W. Hatch, Atlanta, N. Y.
Loren B. Heath, 1023 North C, Muskogee, Okla.
Oscar S. Heide, 416 Baird Street, Kane, Pa.
Rex E. Hieronymus, 610 Pennsylvania Avenue, Urbana, Ill.
Elmer G. Higgins, 2441 Beverly Avenue, Santa Maria, Cal.
James M. Hill, 332 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D. C.
Harry T. Holgerson, 645 North Laramie Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Harry R. Holloway, R. F. D. No. 3, Cicero, Ind.
Samuel M. Janney, 102 West Ninety-third Street, New York City.
Reno W. Jester, 582 East One hundred and fortieth Street, New York City.
Henry L. Jones, 1035 Illinois Street, Huron, S. Dak.
Eugene G. Johnson, 1236 Revel Avenue, Rockford, Ill.
Clifford L. Johnson, 1146 St. Paul Street, Rochester, N. Y.
John H. Kammerdiener, Mosgrove, Pa.
William S. Kast, 3137 Bergman Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
George J. Kohl, 277 Fox Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
Ned G. Krimmel, Pinegrove, Pa.
Frank O. Kronauer, 616 East Twenty-ninth Street, Paterson, N. J.
Arthur D. Land, 645 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
John L. Larson, 5001 North Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Clyde Lawson, Cornishville, Ky.
Harland L. Leighton, 138 Hartley Street, Portland, Me.
Frank M. Ludwick, Butler, Mo.
Cecil C. Mahoney, Lemars, Iowa.
George Marsden, 627 Lumber Exchange Building, Seattle, Wash.
Richard F. Martin, 429 West Orange Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Scott P. Matthews, 1219 West North Street, Kalamazoo, Mich.
George A. Meredith 4257 Labodie Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
Reginald G. Merrill, 236 South D Street, Hamilton, Ohio.
Frank O. Miller, 347 Hill Street, Athens, Ga.
James F. Miller, 475 Hudson Avenue, Albany, N. Y.
Leroy A. Miller, R. F. D. No. 2, Auburn, Ind.
Henry F. Millon, 9 Rue Antoine Villon, Paris, France.
Harry W. Molye, 69 Avis Street, Rochester, N. Y.
Herbert G. Moon, 138 East Ohio Street, Chicago, Ill.
Isadore Morton, 5333 Calumet Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Andrew A. Muro, 300 East One hundred and fifty-sixth Street, New York City.
Edward D. McDonald, 41 Washington Avenue, Warren, Ohio.
Elmer J. McIntosh, 718 Queen Street, Alexandria, Va.
Harold McMurdy, Delhi, N. Y.
Lester H. McRorie, 1230 Dudley Avenue, Utica, N. Y.
Ralph J. Neidlinger, 72 Vine Street, Dayton, Ohio.
Bernard A. Olding, 1896 Montrose Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Rea P. Outman, Westfield, Pa.
Paul A. Pappenheimer, 725 Betula Avenue, Avondale, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Francis R. Pavert, 454 Wesley Avenue, Oakland, Cal.
Harry T. Phelps, 1276 Stever Avenue, Flint, Mich.
Sherman W. Plaskett, General Delivery, Los Angeles, Cal.
John C. Pontefract, 225 Wendover Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Clun M. Price, 401 East First Street, Maryville, Mo.
Edwin M. Read, 187 Main Street, Brockport, N. Y.
Harry E. Reinhardt, 1714 St. Paul Street, Rochester, N. Y.
Donald B. Ryder, 121 Schuyler Street, Booneville, N. Y.
Dudley K. Sadler, College Hill, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Gordon A. Sarstedt, 1940 East Ninetieth Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Herbert H. Schroth, 2966 Henshaw Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Harold F. Schumacher, 844 South Fourteenth Street, Newark, N. J.
Arthur F. Schureman, 42 East Main Street, Nanticoke, Pa.
Roy L. Shawcross, 2325 East Tenth Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Thone C. Simpson, 312 Platt Street, Toledo, Ohio.
Cecil C. Smith, 231 East Fourth Street, Michigan City, Ind.
Harold A. Smith, 142 St. Park Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Herbert W. Smith, 130 Main Street, Palmyra, N. Y.
Francis S. Smith, 1523 Easton Parkway, Schenectady, N. Y.
Alfred J. Snell, St. Johnsville, N. Y.
Edgar L. Storer, 2719 Norwood Avenue, Norwood, Ohio.
Harvey E. Stork, Huntingburg, Ind.
Howard B. Stough, Chadron, Nebr.
Clarence E. Stoughton, 1 Blakney Place, Rochester, N. Y.
Leo P. Strathman, Carlisle, Ill.
Albert B. Street, 329 Main Street, East Haven, Conn.
Charles A. Thompson, Greenwich, N. Y.
Ralph S. Tilden, 1626 Market Avenue, North Canton, Ohio.
Mitchel A. Trahan, 81 Morningside Avenue, Yonkers, N. Y.
Samuel A. Tucker, 848 West Williams Street, Dekatur, Ill.
Marlborough Walker, 193 Fountain Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Howard L. Walker, Highland Avenue, Ithaca, N. Y.
Wilfred C. Wann, Hays, Kans.
Leslie J. Watson, Sunnyvale, Cal.
James J. Wardrop, 74 Broadway, New York City, N. Y.
Howard Weiler, 345 Wyoming Street, Dayton, Ohio.
Lyman Williams, 104 Daboll Street, Providence, R. I.
Philip Williams, 104 Deboll Street, Providence, R. I.
Edwin M. Wright, 14 West Montgomery Street, Johnstown, N. Y.
Adolph J. Yanka, 95 Dartmouth Street, Rochester, N. Y.
Paul B. Yewell, Stanford University, Cal.

Raymond C. Adams, Cedar Avenue, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Charles S. Anderson, 122 Broad Street, Harrisburg, Pa.
Elmer N. Hurd, 31 South Street, Glens Falls, N. Y.
Edwin J. Stein, 279 Delaware Avenue, Albany, N. Y.

United States Army School of Military Aeronautics at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

Joseph F. Andrews, 42 West North Avenue, Atlanta, Ga.
R. I. Blackman, 1266 Findlay Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Harry B. Bourdette, Wolsey Avenue, Huntington, Long Island, N. Y.
Orley G. Bowen, 320 Wait Avenue, Ithaca, N. Y.
Chester A. Cole, 505 South Sixth Street, Grand Forks, N. Dak.
Adam C. Davis, jr., 411 North Cayuga Street, Ithaca, N. Y.
John O. Dissinger, Elizabethtown, Pa.
Herbert Dittler, Hotel Emperial, Atlanta, Ga.
James A. Dobbins, 63 Macamley Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
Leslie T. Hand, 232 Seventeenth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
John J. Hart, Washburn, Me.
Burton H. Hayes, 407 Randolph Street, Knoxville, Tenn.
Edwin A. Hedstrom, Route No. 4, Rice Lake, Wis.
Chester C. Hough, Cascadilla Hall, Ithaca, N. Y.
Charles M. Hunt, 133 Blair Street, Ithaca, N. Y.
Edward C. Leib, 1921 Morris Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Arthur F. Lewis, 204 Buckingham Avenue, Syracuse, N. Y.
Tudor S. Long, 3 Central Avenue, Ithaca, N. Y.
Lloyd McBride, Kernville, Cal.
Arthur McKay, 2540 East Seventy-third Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Francis F. Merriam, East Lake, Ga.
Earl S. Medley, Cairo, Mo.
Charles E. O'Rourke, 450 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Donald B. Osborne, 104 West Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.
James C. Othus, 288 East Second Street, North Portland, Oreg.
Ashton A. Padgett, Route A, box 53, Atlanta, Ga.
Cyril H. Perkins, 1121 Pierce Street, Sioux City, Iowa.
Philip H. Quinlan, Post Avenue, Westbury, Long Island, N. Y.
Ellwood W. Reining, 333 Main Street, Rendham, Pa.
Walter G. Seely, Sharon Springs, N. Y.
Arthur W. Shrope, 35 Southard Street, Trenton, N. J.
William P. Steil, 200 Eleventh Street, Hoboken, N. J.
Malcolm H. Tallman, 231 Grant Avenue, Astoria, N. Y.
Oliver L. Tetreau, Oakland, Cal.
Riley D. Williams, 308 Second Street, South Brownsville, Pa.
Carl D. Zimmerman, 131 Norwood Avenue, Buffalo, N. Y.

Signal Corps Barracks, 220 Pavonia Avenue, Jersey City, N. J.

Richard L. Alldrin, Malta, Mont.
Chirley R. Anderson, Pollok, Tex.
Stephen Angell, 398 Hamburg Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Jesse C. Ankeny, R. F. D. No. 2, Indiana, Pa.
Ezra T. Barlow, 708 Twelfth Street, Ogden, Utah.
Lee Barry, R. F. D. No. 5, Hollis, Okla.
Abraham Beatus, 522 East One hundred and forty-second Street, New York City, N. Y.
William M. Bell, 168 North Franklin Street, Delaware, Ohio.
Ralph W. Bernard, 74 Cottage Street, Natick, Mass.
William Berndt, 36 North Fourth Street, Paterson, N. J.
Samuel Blumberg, 2326 Brown Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Kenneth W. Boynton, 270 Sigourney Street, Hartford, Conn.
Norman T. Cable, 939 H Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Edgar C. Callahan, 435 Rosedale Terrace, Baltimore, Md.
Clarence L. Carlin, Englevale, Kans.
Osborne Cissel, 729 North Capitol Street, Washington, D. C.
Frank J. Connelly, 1941 Fifty-second Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Harry M. Dawson, Y. M. C. A., Richmond, Va.
George H. Demarest, 391 Macon Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Thomas H. Dewhurst, 146 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.
Russell Dill, Lindenwold, N. J.
Joseph G. Dombroff, 171 Van Buren Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Thomas N. Donaldson, 37 Watson Boulevard, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Walter E. Donn, 829 Eleventh Street NE., Washington, D. C.
Forest A. Dunn, 146 South Ninth Street, Salina, Kans.
James G. Embler, Temple, Tex.
Lester L. Eyrich, Nichols, Pa.
Joseph Ford, 24 Henry Street, New York, N. Y.
John M. Forster, Strathmore, Cal.
Carlos E. Franklin, Hillsville, Va.
Herman P. Garner, Brownsburg, Ind.
Walter L. Goffe, 721 Main Street, Long Beach, Cal.
Burt C. Gorges, 211 Logan Street, Belleville, Ill.
Aubrey B. Gray, Lyndonville, Vt.
Cowan A. Gray, Bemidji, Minn.
Frank L. Haas, 186 Howard Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Alfred Haase, 1831 Larrabee Street, Chicago, Ill.
Thomas P. Hanlon, 206 Robinson Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Gerald Harbison, 223 Main Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Clarence E. Harper, Unionville, Ohio.
Frank A. Hayes, Chandler Street, Duxbury, Mass.
William Henderson, Shelby, Mont.
Wallace W. Holt, 6 Ouray Place, Salt Lake City, Utah.
George E. Hopkins, 203 West State Street, Alliance, Ohio.
Raymond G. Howarth, 86 Lindsey Street, Fall River, Mass.
Edgard L. Irwin, 2546 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Brooks F. James, 1604 Washington Street, Charleston, W. Va.
Herbert M. Johnson, 164 Dill Avenue, Atlanta, Ga.
Fredrick N, Leckenby, 2526 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
William G. Leckenby, 2526 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Bernard L. Lennon, 82 Harrison Place, Fond du Lac, Wis.
Lloyd R. Lowry, Santa Barbara, Cal.
Charles E. Lutgan, Aberdeen, S. Dak.
Grover E. McBride, Amsterdam, Mo.
Joseph F. McConnell, 1713 Glenwood Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
Michael E. McGillicuddy, 43 Warren Street, Glens Falls, N. Y.
John McGregor, 19 Chapel Street, Newburyport, Mass.
F. Emmett McNamara, 207 McConaugley Street, Johnstown, Pa.
James J. McNicholas, 2816 Forbes Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Peter F. E. Marchwick, Culbertson, Mont.
John C. Matz, 210 South Boston Street, Clyde, Ohio.
William L. Meikle, 132 Girard Avenue, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Charles A. Moakle, R. F. D. No. 1, Wilkinsburg, Pa.
Norman P. Morris, Salisbury, Md.
Fleming A. Moss, R. R. 8, Box 32, Athens, Tenn.
Robert T. Murphy, 273 Parkside Avenue, Buffalo, N. Y.
Edgar M. Nelson, 1355 Orange Street, Los Angeles, Cal.
Leander Nordstrum, Fourth Avenue, South, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Arthur D. Norton, Line Springs, Iowa.
Samuel Pachman, Rahway, N. J.
George R. Phillips, 715 West Sixth Street, Marion, Ind.
Rudolph J. Ralston, 353 North Pittsburgh Street, Connellsville, Pa.
Louis L. Ratte, 15 Beech Street, Brattleboro, Vt.
Ben G. Reams, Alexander City, Ala.
Warner A. Robertson, 857 North Parkside Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Louis B. Scharnberg, 933 Victoria Avenue, Taylor, Tex.
Paul B. Shrenk, 1800 Green Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Jack Silva, Vallejo, Cal.
John O. Simmons, 14 Stebbins Street, Springfield, Mass.
William Sorkin, 279 Lorimer Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ray W. Stephenson, Fairfield, Nebr.
Richard C. Stockwell, 20 Burgoyne Avenue, Hudson Falls, N. Y.
George E. Struck, Hood River, Oreg.
Earl L. Suckling, 529 Gross Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
John M. Toothman, 601 Mount Vernon Avenue, Fairmont, W. Va.
Harry W. Trabbold, 2103 South Sixty-seventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Otto Warnick, 84 Park Avenue, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Ralph S. Washington, Monticello, N. Y.
Millard L. Wilder, 218 East Tenth Street, Erie, Pa.
Wendall H. Wilson, R. F. D. No. 6, Alexander City, Ala.
Wilbur W. Wilson, Savoy Hotel, Lexington, Ky.
John Hinkel, box 26, Cecil, Wis.

Camp Hill, Newport News, Va.

Ross A. Abbert, Chetopa, Kans.
Emmet H. Albright, Plainview, Ark.
Walter M. Abrams, Aliceville, Ala.
Elbert A. Ammons, Marshall, N. C.
Harold C. Battin, New York Avenue and Manhattan Building, Toledo, Ohio.
Harry F. Bitterlich, 5440 Cedar Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
Thomas V. Burns, 534 Hamilton Street, Albany, N. Y.
Arthur W. Cox, Oraville, Ill.
Floyd T. Deary, care of J. B. Durden, London Bridge, Va.
Clair E. Eckenrode, Cresson, Pa.
John S. Fleming, Route No. 5, Greenville, N. C.
Monford M. Forbes, Shawborro, N. C.
Fred A. Greene, Marion, N. C.
Thomas J. Greenlee, Route No. 1, Old Fort, N. C.
Julius R. Grier, Matthew, N. C.
Ray Heckman, 2527 Third Avenue, Great Falls, Mont.
Harry Helmar, 34 Bohem Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Vaughn Herrick, Delta, Ohio.
Arthur R. Hill, 1125 Minnesota Avenue, Portland, Oreg.
Weston Kelly, 835 North Second Street, Reading, Pa.
London L. Kemper, Weston, W. Va.
Joseph C. Landis, Dysartville, N. C.
Abraham Landaw, 250 Harrison Street, Paterson, N. J.
George N. Le Doux, 758 Moody Street, Lowell, Mass.
William E. Long, jr., 20 South Arlington Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Joyce B. McCracken, 722 South West Street, Shelbyville, Ind.
Leo H. Metzger, 1842 Wayne Street, Toledo, Ohio.
Boyd H. Moody, Waynesville, N. C.
Walter B. Parks, Hunterville, N. C.
Alfred K. Queen, Route No. 2, Candler, N. C.
John D. Roake, 295 Quincy Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Harold Sawhill, Midway, Pa.
Myles Q. Scott, Route No. 4, Anderson, Ind.
Harold S. Shaeffer, Dayton, Ohio.
Harry H. Shook, general delivery, Caral, Mich.
William A. Simons, 1017 Spring Street, Bethlehem, Pa.
Albert M. Stierer, 334 Pine Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
Paul W. Sutcliffe, 1234 Pacific Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Frank W. Thompson, Douglasville, Tex.
Horace D. Ward, Laurel, Ind.

Signal Corps Aviation School, Chandler Field, Essington, Pa.

David A. Strouse, 3705 Woodland Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
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Alden G. Barnard, 14 Sherwood Road, Ridgewood, N. J.
George W. Moseman, 1370 Bushwick Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Thomas A. Green, 11 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York City.
Costante Fornari, R. F. D., Rimersburg, Pa.
Albert E. Fisher, 421 Boas Street, Harrisburg, Pa.
Arthur L. Davison, 310 Chester Avenue, Norwood, Pa.

NORTHEASTERN DEPARTMENT.

[Name, rank, and home address.]

Arthur J. Dempster, master signal electrician, Fifty-eighth and Ellis Streets, Chicago, Ill.
Rutledge S. Goldthwaite, sergeant, first class, 236 Central Avenue, Pawtucket, R. I.
Evans G. Valens, sergeant, first class, 2 West Eighty-third Street, New York City.
Charles C. Culp, sergeant, first class, 141 York Street, Gettysburg, Pa.
George W. Green, sergeant, first class, Crescent and Walnut Streets, Long Beach, Cal.
Nicholas V. Cummings, sergeant, first class, Turtle Creek, Pa.
Lewis M. Stewart, sergeant, 335 Ridgewood Avenue, Glenridge, N. J.
William D. Cody, sergeant, 325 Commercial Street, Whitman, Mass.
Louis Silverman, sergeant, 21 Lyon Street, New Haven, Conn.
Oliver G. Gagne, sergeant, 77 Seymore Street, Roslindale, Mass.
Israel Trieger, sergeant, 12 Normandy Street, Roslindale, Mass.
Lee Robinson, sergeant, High Knob, Ky.
William F. Damesyn, sergeant, 315 St. Ann Street, Baltimore, Md.
Charles S. Zimmerman, sergeant, Beaver Street, Glenfield, Pa.
Charles H. Smith, corporal, 35 Washington Street, Middletown, N. Y.
Howard A. Smith, corporal, 89 Oakes Street, Binghamton, N. Y.
John F. Traylor, corporal, 715 East Eighth Street, Trenton, Mo.
Fred W. Strobel, corporal, 1037 Dorchester Avenue, Dorchester, Mass.
James A. Hopkins, corporal, 85 Excelsior Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Jesse C. Stewart, corporal, New Cumberland, W. Va.
George H. Williams, corporal, 773 Somerset Street, Johnstown, Pa.
Joseph A. Leva, corporal, 282 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.
Milton Freedman, corporal, 906 Dickswell Avenue, Hamden, Conn.
Bryden Pease, private, first class, 312 Purchase Street, New Bedford, Mass.
Beverley Tobin, private, first class, 280 Giffords Lane, Staten Island, N. Y.

Jesse W. W. Spann, private, first class, 1814 Woodlawn Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind.
William R. Fluty, private, first class, 24 Pitcher Street, Detroit, Mich.
John Young, private, first class, 142 Fifth Street, McDonald, Pa.
Paul C. Leonard, private, first class, 1067 Beacon Street, Brookline, Mass.
Samuel P. Mills, private, first class, 10 Prospect Street, Newport, Vt.
Louis J. Potash, private, 196 Medford Street, Somerville, Mass.
Albert F. Murray, private, 21 Norway Street, Boston, Mass.
Raymond D. Fales, private, 111 Jersey Street, Boston, Mass.
Harold G. Britton, private, R. F. D. No. 3, Lewis, Kans.
David M. Hawkins, private, 198 Park Avenue, Nutley, N. J.
Richard A. MacGlashan, private, 1 Myrtle Street, Boston Mass.
Percival F. Orelupp private, 36 Spring Street, Bridgeport, Conn.
Arthur T. Messom, private, 50 Canal Street, South Hadley Falls, Mass.
John T. McManus, private, 71 North Main Street, Webster, Mass.
Nicanor L. Diaz, private, 840A Monroe Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
John I. Cox, private, Sheridan, Ind.
John F. Cleary, private, 1506 North Alden Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Martin A. Campbell, private, 261 Granite Street, Rockport, Mass.
Francis M. Beaudry, private, 191 South Fifty-second Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Charles E. Anderson, private, R. F. D. 107, Barrington, R. I.
Patrick G. Whalen, private, Main Street, Boylston, Mass.
Lloyd M. Crowther, private, 19 Rutland Street, Brockton, Mass.
Norman F. Silsby, private, 180 Saven Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Mass.
Frank W. Morrill, private, 41 Norfolk Avenue, Swampscot, Mass.
Edward A. Murphy, private, 172 Concord Street, Lowell, Mass.
John R. Cody, private, 1198 Ocean Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Jerome C. Kitterley, private, 171 McClure Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

1. In accordance with the resolution of June 10, 1918, in the House of Representatives of the United States concerning the enlisted men within the draft age engaged upon clerical work (file reference L. C. 324.72/8), the returns for the Ordnance Department are listed below:

A. Enlisted detachment, Washington, D. C.

[Name and home address.]

Sergt. Lewis T. Balcke, 342 Buena Vista Avenue, Pekin, Ill.
Sergt. Bradford M. Ballard, Maple Street, Darien, Conn.
Pvt. Dana L. Blackmarr, 107 Clay Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
Pvt. M. L. Boat, Pella, Iowa.
Sergt. Stanley R. Brenner, Witmer, Lancaster County, Pa.
Ord. Sergt. Edw. M. Bullard, 3 Duncan Place, Jacksonville, Ill.
Ord. Sergt. W. C. Ehlers, 2801 Victor Street, St. Louis, Mo.
Pvt. Percy R. Clark, 602 North Twelfth Street, Salina, Kans.
Pvt. Charles Danish, 815 Hawthorn Avenue, Portland Oreg.
Corpl. Albert S. Evans, 312 South Main Street, Scranton, Pa.
Ord. Sergt. Claiborne W. Gooch, 1020 Federal Street, Lynchburg, Va.
Ord. Sergt. Edw. Gutel, General Delivery, Odell, Ill.
Corpl. George D. Hall, 146 South Fourth Street, Columbia, Pa.
Pvt. S. H. Hall, Leesburg, Va.
Sergt. Russell A. Hey, 120 East Fischers Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
Sergt. Lawrence P. Jackson, 417 South Liberty Street, Jackson, Tenn.
Pvt. Richard W. Jarvis, 35 West Thirty-seventh Street, Bayonne, N. J.
Pvt. Arthur S. Jenkins, Leesburg, Va.
Corpl. Charles P. Jenson, 1727 F Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Pvt. Malcolm P. Junkin, 1513 Webster Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Sergt. Hyman Kaplan, 64 East One hundred and fifteenth Street, New York, N. Y.
Pvt. Frank J. Kavaney, 66 Carew Street, Springfield, Mass.
Pvt. William A. Keltz, 1515 Gratz Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Corpl. George R. Koeln, 3540 Magnolia Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
Ord. Sergt. Orlando C. Maiden, 4808 Morris Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Sergt. First Class, John J. Mangan, 156 Hill Street, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Pvt. F. E. Martin, 136 Sargent Street, Holyoke, Mass.
Pvt. Rufus E. Morrell, 715 Old Colony Building, Chicago, Ill.
Corpl. Glendille J. Murphy, South Farms, Middletown, Conn.
Sergt. Joseph H. Neumeir, 6513 Fort Hamilton Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Pvt. Donat J. Paradis, 23 Walnut Street, Lewiston, Me.
Pvt. William B. W. Paul, 3 Dunreath Street, Roxbury, Mass.
Corpl. Arnold Peterson, 746 East Fifteenth Street, Portland, Oreg.
Pvt. H. A. Poindexter, 4614 Florida Avenue, St. Elmo, Pa.
Sergt., First Class, Hoffman Potter, 411 Cherry Street, Elizabeth, N. J.
Pvt. Paul Sachs, 2115 Pennsylvania Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Pvt. Perry E. Schantz, Zionsville, Pa.
Ord. Sergt. Archibald L. Smith, 84 West Second Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.
Pvt. Oram P. Smith, 3037 O Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Ord. Sergt. Russell E. Snyder, 700 Twentieth Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Ord. Sergt. Norman E. Stoodt, 8112 Hough Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Corpl. Walter Strong, 1013 Tenth Street, Washington, D. C.
Sergt., First Class, Clifton Sutherland, Sutherland, Va.
Pvt. Gerald Swinnerton, 1196 West Lafayette Street, Detroit, Mich.
Pvt. Anthony Samporo, 1170 Castleton Street, Staten Island, N. Y.
Corpl. Edward E. Thompson, 3141 Mount Pleasant Street, Washington, D. C.
Pvt. Ambler J. Towson, 244 Warburton Avenue, Yonkers, N. Y.
Corpl. Harold D. Walsh, 602 South Broadway, Yonkers, N. Y.
Pvt. Albert E. Warren, Leesburg, Va.
Pvt. William Wenz, 116 Fourteenth Street, Hoboken, N. J.
Pvt. Clarence O. Williams, Buffalo, Ohio.
First Class Pvt. Elmer E. Wright, 1224 Sixth Street SW., Washington, D. C.
Pvt. Harold A. Young, 836 Barnwell Street, Columbia, S. C.
Pvt. Edwin H. Frank, 151 West Eighty-sixth Street, New York, N. Y.
Pvt. Ralph A. Broadwater, 512 Main Street, Sisterville, W. Va.
Pvt. Harry M. Cochran, 1336 Meridian Place, Washington, D. C.
Sergt. Howard Drews, 1846 North Marvin Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Pvt. Charles F. Pease, 93 Alexander Street, Rochester, N. Y.
Total, 58.

B. District offices, Boston.

Pvt. Carl Bauer, 63 Mozart Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Corpl. Alfred D. Boote, 33 North Munn Avenue, East Orange, N. J.
Corpl. Mitchell Bernson, 21 Nevada Street, Winthrop, Mass.
Pvt. William J. Burke, 4402 West Forty-ninth Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Pvt. Francis B. Cloonen, 25 Common Street, Waltham, Mass.
Ord. Sergt. William Crilley, Danbury, Iowa.
Pvt. John H. Connolly, 11 Bickford Street, Beverly, Mass.
Pvt. Peter Doherty, 249 Putnam Street, New Haven, Conn.
Pvt. Carl F. Erickson, 63 South Whipple Street, Lowell, Mass.
First Class Sergt. Martin L. Gallagher, Hotel Sterling, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
First Class Sergt. Niles W. Goward, North Easton, Mass.
Pvt. Russell G. Harper, Belleclaire Hotel, New York City.
Sergt. Justin G. Holt, 56 Binal Avenue, Somerville, Mass.
First Class Sergt. John F. Mann, 79 Gainsboro Street, Boston, Mass.
Pvt. James A. Howe, 536 Pleasant Street, Belmont, Mass.
Corpl. Clair W. Dudlow, 647 Pickford Place NE., Washington, D. C.
Sergt. Walter T. Johnson, R. F. D. No. 1, Little River, Kans.
Ord. Sergt. Vinton L. Knight, 85 East Main Street, Plainville, Conn.
Pvt. Edward A. Leslie, 22 Arcola Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Pvt. Benjamin D. Littlefield, 4 Main Street, Framingham, Mass.
Pvt. Ephraim R. Litman, 1900 Druid Hill Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Pvt. Harry Lustig, 227 West One hundred and forty-first Street, New York City.
Pvt. Clifford W. Maker, Central Square, Framingham, Mass.
Pvt. Chauncey G. Nichols, 218 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York City.
Pvt. Howard R. Snedeker, 444 Seventh Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ord. Sergt. Robert P. Stewart, 629 Stockton Street, Flint, Mich.
Pvt. Frank O. Stubbs, 42 Cedar Street, Haverhill, Mass.
Total, 27.

Chicago.

Pvt. William V. Baldwin, North Wilbraham, Mass.
Sergt. Frank S. Bott, 120 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D. C.
Pvt. Alvin V. Butts, Sedgwick Co., Cheney, Kans.
Pvt. H. L. Cagney, 6325 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.
Sergt. Ray J. Eckenrode, 612 North Lincoln Avenue, Scranton, Pa.
Pvt. William Frisch, 103 Ninth Street, Hoboken, N. J.
Pvt. William Goldbloom, Buell, Mo.
Pvt. Carl Kurrle, Dallas City, Ill.
Pvt. William C. Lawhead, Clearfield, Pa.
Pvt. Harry Lehrhaupt, 25 West One hundred and eleventh Street, New York City.
Sergt. M. S. Levin, 911 South Sixth Street, Terre Haute, Ind.
Sergt. Edward S. McKee, 316 Twenty-second Avenue North, Nashville, Tenn.
Pvt. William D. Nannery, 6241 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Pvt. James J. Redding, 110 East Center Street, Danville, Pa.
Pvt. Justin M. Selig, 2041 Troga Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Pvt. Louis Weinstein, 1205 Tinton Avenue, New York City.
Sergt. H. J. C. Oltmans, 2337 Andrews Avenue, New York City.
Total, 17.

Bridgeport.

Sergt. John H. Blest, 127 South Sixth Avenue, Coatesville, Pa.
Pvt. Paul T. Bullock, Grand Junction, Colo.
Pvt. Stephen J. Clark, North Colony Street, Meriden, Conn.
Pvt. Samuel H. Cocks, 51A Winfield Avenue, Jersey City, N. J.
Pvt. Ben A. Kinon, 493 Park Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Pvt. Thomas B. Monohan, 74 Orchard Street, Carbondale, Pa.
Pvt. Hiram B. Seward, 115 South Hawthorne Lane, Indianapolis, Ind.
Pvt. Roy E. Simpson, 716 Slater Street, Santa Rosa, Cal.
Total, 8.

Cincinnati.

Pvt. James T. Barrett, Brookline, Mass.
Pvt. Harry Blatt, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Pvt. Chester A. Craig, Silver Lake, Ind.
Sergt. of Ordnance Robert H. Claflin, 276 South Hague Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.
Sergt. of Ordnance Earl F. Coffin, 1120 West Street, Wilmington, Del.
Pvt. William H. Crone, 427 East Thirteenth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Pvt. Robert A. Davies, Rockville, Conn.
Pvt. Cornelius E. Eash, Topeka, Ind.
Ord. Sergt. Donald A. Eddy, Hillsdale, Mich.
Ord. Sergt. Frederick V. Geier, 2301 Grand View Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Pvt. Arthur R. Goslyn, 124 East Robbins Street, Covington, Ky.
Pvt. David S. Horwich, 1236 South Sawyer Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Sergt. of Ordnance Edmund B. Jermyn, 621 Jefferson Avenue, Scranton, Pa.
Corpl. Edward B. La Mar, Aurora, Ind.
Pvt. Henry G. Lumbard, 724 Fifteenth Avenue, Seattle, Wash.
Pvt. John C. Mounts, Kansas City, Mo.
Pvt. Howard A. McClay, Wyoming Avenue and B Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Ord. Sergt. George Meyerratken, Twelfth and Lee Streets, Covington, Ky.
Sergt. of Ordnance (first class) Clarence W. Salisbury, Seventh and East Reserve Streets, Vancouver, Wash.
Total, 19.

Cleveland.

Corpl. Vincent P. Boudren, 17 Seventh Street, Washington, D. C.
Pvt. (first class) Bernard O. Boudren, 17 Seventh Street, Washington, D. C.
Corpl. Claude C. Ferris, 316 Lawrence Street, Marietta, Ga.
Pvt. Edward C. Hughes, 551 Keifer Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.
Pvt. Herbert Kropp, 1007 South High Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Corpl. Thomas P. O'Connor, Tiffin, Ohio.
Pvt. William H. Power, 152 East Eighteenth Street, Erie, Pa.
Pvt. Edward Prior, 38 Mithoff Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Pvt. Oscar D. Rickley, Bluffton, Ohio.
Pvt. Clark H Robinson, 51 North Harris Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.
Pvt. Walter M. Zuber, 148 Thurman Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.
Total, 11.

Detroit.

Sergt. John F. Broerman, 1462 West Seventy-fourth Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Pvt. Carl E. Blair, 2124 East One hundred and seventh Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Pvt. Wm. L. Carroll, 749 North Hewitt Avenue, Hastings, Nebr.
Ord. Sergt. George W. Contante, 1641 Hobart Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Pvt. Edmund E. Clapsadel, Snover, Mich.
Pvt. Arthur G. Hyland, Radford Street, Dover, Del.
Pvt. Martin Klingemann, San Marcos, Tex.
Pvt. Maurice W. Lamson, 2400 South Washington Street, Saginaw Mich.
Pvt. George L. Mitchell, 1559 East Eighty-sixth Street, Cleveland Ohio.

Pvt. John L. Onslow, 21 North Washington Square, New York City.
Pvt. Charles J. O'Brien, 23 Clay Street, Cors, N. Y.
Pvt. Harold A. Pickerill, Shellsburg, Iowa.
Pvt. Wilfrid N. Waitz, 15 West First Street, Oil City, Pa.
Pvt. William J. Whalen, 265 Jefferson Avenue, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Total, 14.

New York.

Pvt. Rudolph H. Balzer, 131 Mountain Way, Rutherford, N. J.
Pvt. David S. Barr, 64 West One hundred and eighteenth Street, New York City.
Pvt. Emanuel M. Biron, 45 North Windsor Avenue, Atlantic City, N. J.
Pvt. Victor Bowman, 3647 Broadway, New York City.
Pvt. Thomas K. Carpenter, 505 North Rodney Street, Wilmington, Del.
Pvt., First Class, Edgar Cartwright, Cedar Street, New Rochelle, N. Y
Pvt. Carl S. Christoph, 841 Willow Avenue, Hoboken, N. J.
Pvt. Joseph A. De Boves, 391 Fourth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Pvt. Charles P Errington, 80 West One hundred and sixty-ninth Street, New York City.
Corpl. Robert H. Foresman, 96 Lockwood Street, New Rochelle, N. Y.
Corpl. Charles Frost, 364 Hewes Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Sergt. Hugh Green, 16 Buchanan Street, Astoria, L. I.
Pvt. Frank E. Fox, 814 Park Avenue, Hoboken, N. J.
Pvt. Irving Grossman, 1854 Seventh Avenue, New York City.
Pvt., First Class, Joseph G. Haft, 175 Hewes Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Pvt. Lou Harris, 137 Division Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Pvt. Walter Henn, 247 Lefferts Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Pvt. William J. Hinson, 1808 Kalorama Road, Washington, D. C.
Corpl. Jonathan R. Hodgson, Townsend, Del.
Pvt. Lewis E. Hollander, 161 West Eighty-sixth Street, New York City.
Pvt., First Class, Oscar M. Johnson, 158 Hemlock Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Abraham D. Kaplan, 1842 Seventh Avenue, New York City.
Pvt. Russell W. King, 25 Fairview Avenue, Dover, N. J.
Corpl. Frank Kodet, 318 East Seventy-first Street, New York City.
Pvt. George Kuhnel, 625 Massachusetts Avenue NE., Washington, D. C.
Sergt. Frank W. Lahey, 1514 East Fourteenth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Pvt. Richard B. Lawson, Upperville, Va.
Pvt. Hugh T. McGill, 42 Dutch Kill Street, Long Island City, N. Y.
Pvt. (First Class) Harry J. Muller, 78 Harmon Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Corpl. Harry V. O'Neill, 596 West One hundred and seventy-eighth Street, New York City.
Sergt. Lawrence F. Patterson, Hotel Cumberland, New York City.
Pvt. John A. Peterson, 179 Hickory Street, Norwich, Conn.
Pvt. Nelson Quinter, jr., 2 Eathan Avenue, Westfield, Mass.
Pvt. Charles William Ramsey, jr., 214 West Eighty-fifth Street, New York City.
Pvt. Frederick Schott, 430 East One hundred and forty-fourth Street, New York City.
Sergt. George C. Stebbins, 14 Albemarle Avenue, Springfield, Mass.
Pvt. John L. Stoneman, 75 Post Avenue, New York City.
Corpl. Elmer J. Stutesman, 2123 Caton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Pvt. Justus Von Lengerke, jr., 211 Highland Avenue, Orange, N. J.
Pvt. Gerhard N. Weertz, 147 Cooper Street, Peoria, Ill.
Pvt. Jack N. Weil, 198 Avenue B, New York City.
Pvt. (First Class) Louis E. White, 1080 East Twenty-fourth Street, Paterson, N. J
Pvt. Richard T. Williams, 36 Gaylord Avenue, Plymouth, Pa.
Pvt. Wallace J. Young, 1431 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Total, 44.

Philadelphia.

Pvt. (First Class) Howard C. Burrows, Oreland, Pa.
Pvt. Arthur I. Bellen, 608 Fiot Street, Bethlehem, Pa.
Pvt. Oliver P. Bennett, Mapleton, Monona County, Iowa.
Pvt. James M. Boland, jr., 238 East Northampton Street, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Pvt. Edwin J. Burke, 623 Carmen Street, Camden, N. J.
Sergt. Robert F. Cunningham, Middletown, N. Y.
Corpl. Julius Carmosin, 1654 Marshall Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Pvt. Earl B. Palmer, 4235 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Pvt. George J. Cotton, 528 Parker Avenue, Collingdale, Pa.
Pvt. Elbert L. Davies, 30 Maple Street, Montrose, Pa.
Pvt. Samuel R. Dorfman, 53 Bridge Street, Paterson, N. J.
Pvt. Rudolph S. Dornberger, 207 North Craig Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Pvt. Alfred C. Egan, 300 Dickinson Street, Springfield, Mass.
Pvt. John F. Ewert, 722 North Fifteenth Street, Camden, N. J.
Pvt. Edmund Fixmon, 230 West Ninety-seventh Street, New York City.
Pvt. Thomas P. Galvin, 2410 South Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Pvt. Eugene E. Geary, 314 Franklin Avenue, Wilkensburg, Pa.
Pvt. Bernard Gilbert, 611 South Third Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Pvt. Henry J. Gulitz, 174 Clinton Street, New York City.
Pvt. Frederick W. Harvey, 4241 Osage Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
Pvt. (First Class) Raymond J. Hardman, 4525 North Twentieth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Pvt. Joseph F. Haggeman, West Port, Conn.
Ord. Sergt. Arthur Jones, 239 Ashley Street, Plymouth, Pa.
Ord. Sergt. Arthur Kirk, 1160 Thirty-first Street, Des Moines, Iowa.
Corpl. August L. Kirchner, 200 Best Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
Pvt. Alvan R. Kirschner, 190 North Laurel Street, Hazelton, Pa.
Pvt. John S. Kolstad, jr., 1312 Blair Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Sergt. Benjamin Laskin, 414 South Sixtieth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Sergt. Walter L. Lewis, 1007 Thirteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Pvt. Henry S. Moulthrop, 221 West Long Avenue, Du Bois, Pa.
Pvt. (First Class) Saul N. Necton, 26 Way Wave Avenue, Winthrop, Mass.
Ord. Sergt. Lloyd Patterson, 310 Aycrigg Avenue, Passaic, N. J.
Pvt. Randall R. Sayre, 14 North Oakland Avenue, Sharon, Pa.
Pvt. Christopher F. Seyfarth, 1318 Eighth Street, Washington, D. C.
Pvt. Herman L. Silvers, 715 Mifflin Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Pvt. Paul F. Stopenhagen, 450 Clinton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Sergt. Henry N. Tifft, 309 West Seventy-sixth Street, New York City.
Sergt. George I. Tofias, 98 Devon Street, Roxbury, Mass.
Ord. Sgt. Harrison F. Wilmot, 261 Hawthorne Street, Malden, Mass.
Pvt. (First Class) Edw. C. Willover, 549 Buttonwood Street, Norristown, Pa.
Pvt. Charles Weber, 1235 Taney Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Total, 41.

Pittsburgh.

Pvt. Charles R. Anthony, Climax, Pa.
Pvt. Albert N. Becker, 1139 Woods Run Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sergt. James E. Cole, 5625 Blackstone Avenue, Chicago.
Corp. John P. Dromey, 1911 East Seventy-fourth Street, Chicago.
Pvt. Delbert D. Graham, 117 V Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Pvt. Allen H. Lemmon, 1016 Stricker Street, North, Baltimore, Md.
Pvt. Charles H. Lickle, Y. M. C. A., Wilmington, Del.
Pvt. John B. Lodge, 5244 Webster Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Ord. Sergt. Lawrence L. Neumann, 517 Second Street North, New Ulm, Minn.
Pvt. Paul W. Reed, 423 First Avenue, Altoona, Pa.
Pvt. Alfred H. Beyam, 2008 Van Buren Street, Wilmington, Del.
Sergt. Loddie C. Vaigle, 8107 Lucia Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Ord. Sergt. Herbert J. Williams, 2419 Silver Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Pvt. John A. Wilson, 19 Emily Street, Crafton, Pa.
Corp. Morris Kohner, 3225 Thirteenth Street, Washington, D. C.
Total, 15.

Rochester.

Pvt. Charles W. Cameron, Rochester, N. Y.
Sergt. Lisle L. Dorr, Watertown, N. Y.
Corp. Abraham Drucker, New York, N. Y.
Sergt. John F. Fassett, Lakewood, Ohio.
Pvt. Ralph F. Horton, Ilion, N. Y.
Pvt. Alfred C. Nichols, Syracuse, N. Y.
Sergt. Joseph M. Patterson, Watertown, N. Y.
Pvt. Donald M. Smith, Elizabeth, N. J.
Pvt. John P. Straub, Marietta, Pa.
Pvt. Paul Voelker, Newark, N. J.
Total, 10.

Ottawa.

Pvt. Thomas A. Avera, 421 South Church Street, Rocky Mount, N. C.
Pvt. Leslie B. Aycock, 321 Nash Street, Rocky Mount, N. C.
Sergt. James R. Barr, 704 M Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Pvt. Louis J. Berall, 207 West One hundred and eighteenth Street, New York City.
Pvt. Ray C. Blackstone, 56 Stevens Street, Newark, Ohio.
Ord. Sergt. Lyle G. Hall, 330 Main Street, Ridgway, Pa
Pvt. Edwin C. Reamer, Middleburg, Loudoun County, Va.
Pvt. (First Class) George J. Rooney, 1247 Turner Avenue NW., Grand Rapids, Mich.
Ord. Sergt. Reginald D. Smith, 42 West Seventy-fourth Street, New York City.
Sergt. Blodgett Sage, 331 Quincey Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Corp. Sidney Smith, 114 South Archibald Street, Fort William, Ontario, Canada.
Pvt. James T. Tyree, Howell Street, Rocky Mount, N. C.
Total, 12.
Grand total, as detailed in (A) and (B), 276.

R. B. LOCKE.
First Lieutenant, Ordnance Reserve Corps.

OFFICE DIRECTOR OF MILITARY AERONAUTICS.

[Name, rank, and home address.]

Roger Amery, captain, National Shawmut Bank, Boston, Mass.
Carl M. Tichenor, lieutenant colonel, 1123 St. Clair Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
John C. P. Bartholf, captain (born New York City).
Griffith C. Evans, captain, Rice Institute, Houston, Tex.
John F. Gallagher, captain (born at Lockhart, Tex.).
William Houghteling, captain, 1403 Twenty-first Street, Washington, D. C.
Louis Carl Kinney, captain, 1504 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C.
Henry T. Lewis, captain (born at Jeddo, Pa.).
Thomas H. McConnell, captain, Washington, D. C.
John A. McCullough, captain, 2408 Maplewood Avenue, Toledo, Ohio.
Charles C. Merz, captain, 2525 Talbott Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind.
Veon Irwin Moncrieff, captain, Kutztown, Pa.
Frederick Eugene Pernot, captain, 2809 Stuart Street, Berkeley, Cal.
Carl Henry Amon, first lieutenant, 221 Sherman Avenue, New York City.
Maurice J. Carey, first lieutenant, 3607 North Percy Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Andrew T. Cassell, first lieutenant, 2515 Gough Street, San Francisco, Cal.
Jay Howard Cather, first lieutenant, 258 Union Station, Washington, D. C.
Christopher A. Cheney, first lieutenant, 2089 Marshall Avenue, St. Paul, Minn.
Frederick F. Christine, first lieutenant, 2043 North Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Lee A. Christy, first lieutenant, 1221 Thirteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Stephen M. Clement, first lieutenant, 776 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.
Alexander L. Dade, jr., first lieutenant, Rockwell Field, San Diego, Cal.
Charles M. Dickson, first lieutenant, Hicks Building, San Antonio, Tex.
Lionel Edward Drew, first lieutenant, 230 E Street, Savannah, Ga.
Clayton Du Boisque, first lieutenant, 110 West Thirty-fourth Street, New York City.
Quilla C. Duke, first lieutenant, Lakeview, Tex.
William H. Fitzpatrick, jr., first lieutenant, 2037 Seneca Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
Tod Ford, first lieutenant, 257 South Grand Avenue, Pasadena, Cal.
John Oscar Fuchs, first lieutenant, 257 Union Station, Washington, D. C.
Howell Gilbert, first lieutenant, 541 Paris Avenue SE., Grand Rapids, Mich.
Arthur Gwynne, first lieutenant, 69 Woodland Avenue, Summit, N. J.
Daniel F. B. Hickey, first lieutenant, 41 Hawthorn Avenue, Stamford, Conn.
Harold Devilic Hynds, first lieutenant, 115 Fenimore Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Paul Peter Immel, first lieutenant, 2717 Richmond Street, Chicago, Ill.
George Walter Janda, jr., first lieutenant, Mandan, N. Dak.
Arnold Joerns, first lieutenant, 14 East Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Carl Duncan Kelly, first lieutenant, New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.
William L. Kenly, first lieutenant, the Woodward, Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C.

William R. Kiefer, first lieutenant, 221 West Columbia Street, Springfield, Ohio.
Lea Richmond Lesher, first lieutenant, Huntingdon, Pa.
Clay Littleton, first lieutenant, 930 Longmeadow Street, Springfield, Mass.
Stanley Dinsmore Livingston, first lieutenant, 1710 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.
Charles S. MacDonald, first lieutenant, 4714 Dover Street, Chicago, Ill.
Russell MacDonald, first lieutenant, 307 West Baltimore Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
John Francis McGough, first lieutenant, 344 Sayborn Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Lanier P. McLachlen, first lieutenant, Tenth and G Streets, Washington, D. C.
Rupert Leroy Maloney, first lieutenant (Antwerp, N. Y., birthplace).
Neal D. Mathews, first lieutenant (Harmonsburg, Pa., birthplace).
Richard Stanley Merrill, first lieutenant, 1794 Lanier Place, Washington, D. C.
Carl A. Miller, first lieutenant, 195 Broadway, New York City.
Boleslaus F. Mostowski, first lieutenant, 869 Lothrop Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Joseph M. Mulford, first lieutenant, 16 East Del. Street, Chicago, Ill.
William Nisley Neidig, first lieutenant, Mechanicsburg, Pa.
Cheever Herbert Newhall, first lieutenant, 262 Beacon Street, Chestnut Hill, Boston, Mass.
Davis Munson Osborne, first lieutenant, 28 State Street, Boston, Mass.
J. Brooks R. Parker, first lieutenant, Stafford, Pa.
William M. Penick, first lieutenant, 5440 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Rudolph S. Rauch, first lieutenant, care of J. H. French, Haverford, Pa.
Jacob Schapiro, first lieutenant, 41 Park Row, New York City.
John B. Shober, first lieutenant, 1028 Sixteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Eugene Sibley, first lieutenant (born, Portland, Oreg.).
Jacob S. Sides, first lieutenant, 617 Forrest Street, Harrisburg, Pa.
Robert R. Sizer, first lieutenant, 53 East Seventy-third Street, New York City.
John Eyre Sloane, first lieutenant, 965 Madison Avenue, Plainfield, N. J.
Granville Smith, jr., first lieutenant, Commonwealth National Bank, Kansas City, Mo.
Harold Reed Smoot, first lieutenant, 26 Wolcott Avenue, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Albert W. Stevens, first lieutenant, Hotel Stevens, Seattle, Wash.
Joseph C. J. Strahan, first lieutenant (born, Brooklyn, N. Y.).
George Marquis Sunday, first lieutenant, 142 Metropolitan Tower, New York City.
Sidney Taylor Thomas, first lieutenant, McLean, Va.
George J. Waters, first lieutenant, 120 Broadway, Room 1661, New York City.
Paul Thorne Weeks, first lieutenant, 3112 Eighteenth Street, Washington, D. C.
Walter Cromwell Wood, first lieutenant, 484 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.
Harry C. Sigourney, first lieutenant, 809 C Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Edwin F. Atkins, second lieutenant, 10 Broad Street, Boston, Mass.
Frederick B. Andrews, second lieutenant, 539–540 Monadnock Block, Chicago, Ill.
Roger Wilson Andrews, second lieutenant, 1741 S Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Leonard Bacon, second lieutenant, Solway, N. Y.
Herbert Hewitt Balkam, second lieutenant, 2523 Fourteenth Street, Washington, D. C.
James I. Barry, second lieutenant, 280 Fish Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Isaac W. Baugh, second lieutenant, 3613 North Eighteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
John J. Bennet, second lieutenant, 242 Seventieth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Benjamin Betts, second lieutenant (born, Tonawanda, N. Y.).
Wells Blanchard, second lieutenant, 1541 Seventeenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Charles Sanders Bouchard, second lieutenant, 10 Parkvale Avenue, Allston, Mass.
Walter M. Boyden, second lieutenant, 1710 Rhode Island Avenue, Washington, D. C.
Frederick Lyons Brown, second lieutenant, United States Weather Bureau, Washington, D. C.
Homer Darling Burch, second lieutenant, 1604 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C.
Thomas J. Cannon, second lieutenant (born, Brooklyn, N. Y.).
Alexander G. Churchward, second lieutenant, 1625 Green Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Glenn Scott Cobb, second lieutenant, 8 Central Place, Toledo, Ohio.
Wayne Meisner Cory, second lieutenant, Kingman, Ind.
Vernon Edward Daniels, second lieutenant, 1710 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.
Davis Reese Danner, second lieutenant, 2205 Ruskin Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
William Henry Davis, second lieutenant, 800 L Street, Washington, D. C.
Magruder Dent, second lieutenant, 907 East Main Street, Richmond, Va.
Robert Lee Dillenbeck, second lieutenant, Room 715, Harrington Hotel, Washington, D. C.
Frank Bernard Donovan, second lieutenant, 100 Cathedral Parkway, New York City.
Robert Henry Doutt, second lieutenant, 2108 Eighteenth Street, Washington, D. C.
Philip Drinker, second lieutenant, 119 D Street, Washington, D. C.
Marion O. Dunning, second lieutenant, Ridgeland, S. C.
Edwin Reinhert Eek, second lieutenant, 1347 Springfield Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Clifford Hinds Erb, second lieutenant, 1138 North Main Street, Rockford, Ill.
Oscar Ross Ewing, second lieutenant, Miller Road, Morristown, N. J.
William E. Fitzpatrick, second lieutenant, Langley Field, Hampton, Va.
Henry M. Ford, second lieutenant, 1837 Main Street, Bridgeport, Conn.
Frank C. Franzen, second lieutenant, 62 Bagg Street, Detroit, Mich.
Horace Weir Frost, second lieutenant, 53 State Street, Boston, Mass.
Wallace J. Frost, second lieutenant, 356 Union Station, Washington, D. C.
George A. Garrett, second lieutenant (born, La Crosse, Wis.).
Bernard R. Granville, second lieutenant, New York Friars' Club, New York City.
Washington M. Gray, second lieutenant, 24 Polhemus Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Warren Kemball Green, second lieutenant, United States Weather Bureau, Washington, D. C.
Hayes Hall, second lieutenant, 119 D Street NE., Washington, D. C.
James Ellinwood Halsted, second lieutenant, 261 Union Station, Washington, D. C.
Harold W. Harrison, second lieutenant, 2964 Coleridge Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.
Henry Fuller Hauserman, second lieutenant, 7020 Burham Court, Cleveland, Ohio.
Harris Masden Hayden, second lieutenant, 209 Maple Avenue, Greensburg, Pa.
Albert J. Hoffman, second lieutenant (born, Evanston, Ill.).
Wayne Moore Holmes, second lieutenant, 47 East Woodruff Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.
Albert Lynn Hopkins, second lieutenant, 1297 John R. Street, Detroit, Mich.
Francis Kitchell Howell, second lieutenant, 123 Broad Street, Newark N. J.
Elisha H. Howes, jr., second lieutenant, 6327 Sherman Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Earl Evert Ives, second lieutenant, General Delivery, Stillwater, Okla.
Albert Ridgely Johnson, second lieutenant, Pueblo, Colo.
Ivan Roberts King, second lieutenant (Galesburg, Ill., birthplace).
Lewis Peniston Kinsey, second lieutenant, 1845 Collinwood Avenue, Toledo, Ohio.
Thomas Knap, second lieutenant (born, Ogdensburg, N. Y.).
James Elisha Knox, second lieutenant, 601 South William Street, Johnstown, N. Y.
Frank F. Kolbe, second lieutenant, 55 Wall Street, New York City.
Claude Archer Labelle, second lieutenant, 48 Kent Street, Brookline, Mass.
Charles Howard La France, second lieutenant, 240 Exchange Street, Geneva, N. Y.
William F. Lake, second lieutenant, Chickamauga Park, Ga.
Royal Levy, second lieutenant, Company M, Three hundred and fifth Infantry, Camp Upton, Yaphank, N. Y.
Dean A. Lewis, second lieutenant, 30 William Street, Northampton, Mass.
James Clifford Lewis, second lieutenant, Apartment 5, The Norwood, 1343 East Capitol Street, Washington, D. C.
Richard H. McDonald, second lieutenant, 595 St. Marks Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Edw. C. McKinney, second lieutenant, 3356 Baltimore Avenue, Kansas City, Mo.
Albert Joseph McLaughlin, second lieutenant, 523 Twelfth Street, Washington, D. C.
Sherman E. McNamara, second lieutenant, 9 Hughes Avenue, Buffalo, N. Y.
Walter P. McQuade, second lieutenant, 501 Eighth Street, Washington, D. C.
Daniel Males, second lieutenant, 1743 F Street, Washington, D. C.
Edw. Joseph Malone, jr., second lieutenant, 35 Lombardy Street, Newark, N. J.
George Earl Marshall, second lieutenant, Miami Hotel, Dayton, Ohio.
Raynor Mead, second lieutenant, 3090 Heath Avenue, New York City.
Frank R. Meyers, second lieutenant, 79 Arch Street, Akron, Ohio.
James Moore, 2d, second lieutenant, Palisade Avenue, Englewood, N. J.
Russell D. Morrill, second lieutenant (born, Stuart, Va.).
Frank John Murphy, second lieutenant, 119 D Street NE., Washington, D. C.
Walton H. Mason, second lieutenant, 8 Wendell Street, Cambridge, Mass.
Carleton Allen Parker, second lieutenant, ———.
George H. Pfau, second lieutenant, Arlington Hotel, Washington, D. C.
John W. Rogers, second lieutenant, 144 South College Street, Washington, Pa.
Ferdinand W. Scharen, second lieutenant, 57 Ashford Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Edward Schoeppe, second lieutenant, 1036 North Third Street, Philadelphia.
Arthur A. Schupp, second lieutenant, 606 South Jefferson Avenue, Saginaw, Mich.
Hally Mering Scott, second lieutenant (born Shandon, Ohio).
Carl Louis Stucklen, second lieutenant, 26 Esmond Street, Boston, Mass.
William Smith, second lieutenant, 1423 T Street, Washington, D. C.
Edward Stevens, second lieutenant, 103 East Eighty-sixth Street, New York City.
Francis Flemins Taggart, second lieutenant, 6 Alden Place, Boston, Mass.
Willard E. Talbot, second lieutenant, no address; transferred, second lieutenant, Ordnance, December 20, 1917.
John William Thomas, second lieutenant, 2118 O Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Avery Tompkins, second lieutenant, 1820 I Street, Washington, D. C.
William Belcher Tyler, second lieutenant, 49 Florence Street, San Francisco, Cal.
Walter F. Vich, second lieutenant, 3710 Wyoming Street, St. Louis, Mo.
Charles Ray Vincent, second lieutenant, 1615 A Street Cano Apartments, Washington, D. C.
Wilbert H. Vitoske, second lieutenant, 4902 Georgia Avenue, Washington, D. C.
Howard R Watt, second lieutenant, 919 Main Street, Norristown, Pa.
Edgar Raymond Whitledge, second lieutenant, 2183 East Eightieth Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Claude Ernest Wickizer, second lieutenant, Three hundred and ninth Trench Mortar Battery (born Argus, Ind.).
Wayland Wells Williams, second lieutenant, 1748 Q Street, Washington, D. C.
Ernest H. Wilson, second lieutenant, 2042 West Grace Street, Richmond, Va.
Total, 173.

WESTERN DEPARTMENT.

Enlisted men attached to Eight hundred and eighteenth Depot Aero Squadron.

Edmondo Agostini, 207 East Twenty-sixth Street, Norfolk, Va.
Peter A. Anderson, 6046 Lawton Avenue, Oakland, Cal.
Lyman C. Armstrong, Fellows, Cal.
John B. F. Bacon, Martinsburg, W. Va.
John L. Baldwin, 119 Washington Street, Boonton, N. J.
Karl A. Boonton, Wayne, W. Va.
John S. Boyce, 114 Sansome Street, San Francisco, Cal.
Robert W. Boyd, 1137 Fourth Street, Chico, Cal.
Archibald J. Bush, 523 Seventh Street, Huntington, W. Va.
Robert C. Carr, 1306 Main Street, Houston, Tex.
Douglas S. Cohen.
Darrell V. Cole, Hawthorne, Cal.
Clinton A. Colver, R. F. D. 4, Allentown, Pa.
Meredith C. Conley, 521 East Clinton Street, Frankfort, Ind.
Russell H. Conn, Van Wert, Ohio.
William L. Cotten, Donaldsonville, Ga.
Gaston L. Damare, 1917 Keleric Street, New Orleans, La.
Toney Dankness, 1212 Summer Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
John W. Ellis, 1014 Myrtle Street, Oakland, Cal.
Claude H. Fageol, 5512 Manila Avenue, Oakland, Cal.
Herbert I. Falk, Sacramento, Cal.
Harry E. Fletcher, 10 North Owens Lane, Mobile, Ala.
Harry A. Fore, 3010 Colby Street, Berkeley, Cal.
Frank L. Fox, Route No. 12, Lancaster, Ohio.
Delmar J. Frazier, Berkeley, Cal.
Taylor E. Graves, 267 West Seventy-second Street, New York City.
Elmodus Gregory, Cash, Ark.
Lawrence E. Handley, 2424 Pearson Avenue, Birmingham, Ala.
James H Hannigan, 513 Silver Lake Street, Athol, Mass.
George J. Hoffman, 341 Alpha Street, San Francisco, Cal.
John A. Kennedy, jr., Menlo, Ga.
Floyd W. Knecht, 21 Chestnut Avenue, Nazareth, Pa.
Percy C. Lange, 3317 Holmead Place, Washington, D. C.
Leo J. Leary, 31 Court Street, Medford, Mass.
Robert E. Lee, Clio, Ala.
Charles D. Levandowski, 2550 O'Farrell Street, San Francisco, Cal.
Theodore D Lindbald, Turlock, Cal.
Joseph T. McCann, 837 Fallowfield Avenue, Charleroi, Pa.
Gurnie E. Mahan, 129 Porter Street, San Antonio, Tex.
Albert J. Mass, 1022 Poplar Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Rae, Maxwell, Glendive, Mont.
Fred Mittenberg, United States Army.
William H. Nelson, Delavan, Wis.
John H. Paise, Newark, Cal.
Peter T. Pakenas, 65½ Lawton Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Thomas R. Parker, Maysville, Ky.
Erwin F. Perkins, 2617 Durant Avenue, Berkeley, Cal.
Lewis J. Phillips, 1009 Twenty-third Street, Camden, N. J.
Oscar W. Phillips, 1643 Euclid Avenue, Berkeley, Cal.
Casimer Piotrowske, 1329 Pinewood Avenue, Toledo, Ohio.
Arthur Plank, 3242 East Fifty-seventh Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
John C. Plohr, 15712 Finch Avenue, Harvey, Ill.
Richard W. Powell, 24 Morgan Street, Montgomery, Ala.
William S. Powers, 564 East Main Street, South Norristown, Pa.
Frederick B. Pierson, 19 Hamilton Road, Glen Ridge, N. J.
James N. Stafford, 248 South Olive Street, Los Angeles, Cal.
Philip G. Tankersley, Attalla, Ala.
William Unkle, North State Road, Westerville, Ohio.
Leonard M. White, 1726 Euclid Avenue, Berkeley, Cal.
Benson M. Wood, Effingham, Ill.
Ennis Woodruff, care of Midland Co., Public Service Corporation, San Luis Obispo, Cal.
Edward C. Warth, Harbeeville, S. C.

Office Chief Signal Officer.

[Name, rank, and home address.]

John M. McGregor, first lieutenant, 196 Monroe Avenue, Memphis, Tenn.
Madison E. Brainerd, second lieutenant, 314 Western Avenue, Albany, N. Y.
Robert E. Keggin, sergeant, first class, 1014 Twenty-second Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Harry J Graham, sergeant, first class, 501 Forrest Avenue, Mislawaka, Ind.
William A. Nednien, sergeant, 47 Eagle Street, Salamanca, N. Y.
William C. Becker, sergeant, 1909 Pulaski Street, Baltimore, Md.
Frank E. Buckley, sergeant, Essex, Mass.
Lewis E. Dillman, sergeant, 815 Sixty-sixth Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
Roy D. Shill, sergeant, 330 North Second Street, West Salt Lake City, Utah.
Oscar G. Lemcke, sergeant, 3610 North Fifth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Leslie E. Meade, sergeant, Bartland, Mich.
Maurice Simons, sergeant, 1422 N Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Philip Stein, sergeant, 5301 Ellsworth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
John S. Poole, corporal, Franklinton, La.
Edw. B. Nerney, corporal, 4928 Washington Court, Chicago, Ill.
Malcolm B. Wiseheart, private, first class, Shawneetown, Ill.
Raymond B. Alexander, private, first class, 1210 Washington Street, Waco, Tex.
John O. Dorsch, private, first class, 841 North Howard Street, Baltimore, Md.
William G. Halsey, private, first class, 216 Tuam Avenue, Houston, Tex.
George F. Turner, private, first class, 89 Hague Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
John W. Trenkenschuh, private, 613 Fourth Street NE., Washington, D. C.
John H. Mathews, private, Yates City, Ill.
Kenneth C. Browne, private, 1511 Twenty-second Street NW., Washington, D. C
Gomer B. Davies, private, 470 East One hundred and sixty-first Street, New York City.
Walter G. Ford, private, 2919 Twelfth Street NE., Brookland, D. C.
Raymond Gilleaudeau, private, 336 East Boston Post Road, Marmaroneck, N. Y.
Frank D. Milne, private, 155 Hilton Street, Elizabeth, N. J.
James St. L. O'Toole, private, 1321 Calvert Street, Baltimore, Md.

DIVISION OF PURCHASE, STORAGE, AND TRAFFIC.

[Name, rank, and home address.]

Henry Cape, jr., first lieutenant, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City.
Hugh A. Carithers, first lieutenant, Winder, Ga.
J. E. Craig, captain, 11 Broadway, New York City.
Robert S. Davis, jr., second lieutenant, 3519 Locust Street, Kansas City, Mo.
Warren Gilbert Davis, second lieutenant, 11 Catherine Street, Worcester, Mass.
James B. Dickey, first lieutenant, 401 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
Leslie Clarence Dodge, private, 1339 Vermont Avenue, Washington, D. C.
F. E. Du Bois, captain, 467 Spring Street, Atlanta, Ga.
Stephen Gardner Duncan, captain, 6386 Church Street, Overbrook, Pa.
Raymond Flynn, second lieutenant, 30 Newberry Street, Boston, Mass.
Antonio Garcia, second lieutenant, Fort Wadsworth, Staten Island, N. Y.
H. M. Gay, second lieutenant, 5127 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.
Seabry S. Gould, jr., first lieutenant, Seneca Falls, N. Y.
James Maurice Grier, first lieutenant, 77 Kendell Avenue, Bellevue, Pittsburgh.
H. A. Houston, first lieutenant, 1303 Fairmont Street, Washington, D. C.
John H. Johnson, first lieutenant, 39 Claremont Avenue, New York City.
Thomas R. Jones, captain, 226 South Carolina Street, Arkansas City, Kans.
Ben Lazard, second lieutenant, 1727 Peters Avenue, New Orleans, La.
Antonio Lazo, captain, 108 East Eighty-second Street, New York City.
Richard R. Lee, second lieutenant, 1756 North Normandee Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal.
Alvin M. Lightburne, first lieutenant, 2608 East Sixth Street, Kansas City, Mo.
John Norman McMath, second lieutenant, 373 Oxford Street, Rochester, N. Y.
Robert C. Martin, first lieutenant, 2205 East Eighty-sixth Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Walter Sandes Marvin, first lieutenant, 155 Henry Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
H. H. Morse, first lieutenant, Excelsior Springs, Mo.
William L. Nicoll, first lieutenant, Newburgh, N. Y.
J. Brooks B. Parker, first lieutenant, Strafford, Pa.
W. M. Penick, first lieutenant, 3624 Sixteenth Street, Washington, D. C.
Miles Ross, second lieutenant, 305 West Eighty-ninth Street, New York City.
Leonard F. Ruoff, second lieutenant, 3146 Nineteenth Street, Washington, D. C.
Charles B. Shaeffer, second lieutenant, 2905 Troost Street, Kansas City, Mo.
P. J. Shaw, captain, 2001 Sixteenth Street, Washington, D. C.
H. R. Smoot, first lieutenant, 26 North Walcott Avenue, Salt Lake City.
Chauncey Seymour Shaw, captain, 3924 Fourteenth Street, Washington, D. C.
William R. Stanert, second lieutenant, Audubon, Camden County, N. J.
William S. Witham, jr., second lieutenant, 672 Peachtree Street, Atlanta, Ga.

Office of the Provost Marshal General.

[Name, rank, and home address.]

H. E. Stephenson, captain, 732 Collings Avenue, Collingswood, N. J.
Claude A. Hope, captain, New York City, N. Y.
R. H. Hill, captain, New Castle, Ky.
Dorrance D. Snapp, captain, 705 Western Avenue, Joliet, Ill.
Breckenridge Jones, captain, Huntington, W. Va.
J. J. Mackay, jr., first lieutenant, Raleigh, N. C.
Jesse I. Miller, first lieutenant, Lexington, Ky.
James H. Hughes, jr., first lieutenant, Wilmington, Del.
James B. King, first lieutenant, Muskogee, Okla.
Roy L. Deal, first lieutenant, R. F. D. No. 4, Alexandria, Va.
David A. Pine, first lieutenant, 2109 Eighteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Stanley H. Udy, first lieutenant, 605 Young Men's Christian Association, Chicago, Ill.
Webster W. Holloway, first lieutenant, Kansas City, Kans.
William K. Gilmore, first lieutenant, Philadelphia, Pa.
Carew F. Martindale, first lieutenant, Lansing, Mich.
M. H. Lauchheimer, second lieutenant, 1746 Lanier Place NW., Washington, D. C.
Buz M. Walker, jr., second lieutenant, Storkville, Miss.
Total, 17.

Office of director of Tank Corps.

E. D. Gunning, captain, Jackson, Miss.
William R. M. Very, first lieutenant, 135 West Sixteenth Street, New York City.
Frank G. Barrie, sergeant, 347 Central Avenue, Far Rockaway, N. Y.
John C. Lowe, sergeant, 518 Shaw Avenue, McKeesport, Pa.
J. J. Nicolaides Phidias, sergeant, 814 Thirteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Robert West, sergeant, 618 E Street NE., Washington, D. C.
Roger M. Rittase, sergeant, 473 West King Street, York, Pa.
Vernon J. Wilson, sergeant, 100 Watkins Avenue, Bellevue, Pa.
Total, 8.

Committee on classification of personnel.

C. Sidney Garrison, first lieutenant, Lincolnton, N. C.

QUARTERMASTER CORPS.

[Name, rank, and home address.]

George H. Adams, first lieutenant, no record.
Austin C. Alden, second lieutenant, 35 Schuyler Street, Boston, Mass.
Gardner Alden, captain, 4026 Illinois Avenue, Washington, D. C.
Ernest G. Allen, second lieutenant, R. F. D. No. 3, Jonesboro, Ga.
Frank T. Allen, second lieutenant, Lisbon, N. Dak.
Fred W. Allen, second lieutenant, no record.

Ivan A. Allen, second lieutenant, no record.
Carl W. Allison, second lieutenant, no record.
Reuben L. Anderson, second lieutenant, 5616 Glenwood, Chicago, Ill.
George G. Andrews, captain, Cornell Club, New York City.
Buron N. Armstrong, second lieutenant, 1508 South Adams, Fort Worth, Tex.
Gordon S. Bader, second lieutenant, Wahpeton, N. Dak.
Charles W. Bailey, first lieutenant, no record.
William L. Bainton, first lieutenant, 369 West One hundred and sixteenth Street, New York City.
Raymond C. Baker, second lieutenant, Jermyn, Pa.
William A. Baker, first lieutenant, 218 East Jefferson Street, Springfield, Ill.
Howard Baldensperger, captain, 1927 G Street, Washington, D. C.
Howard M. Baldwin, second lieutenant, R. F. D. No. B, Gilroy, Cal.
John K. Bangs, jr., second lieutenant, 12 East Thirty-first Street, New York City.
James K. Bannerman, first lieutenant, Harlin Court, St. Louis, Mo.
Frank Fergus Banting, second lieutenant, 2017 H Street NW., Washington, D. C.
William F. Barnaby, first lieutenant, 91 East Eighteenth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
George T. Barnes, first lieutenant, Petersburg, Va.
Carl J. Barnet, first lieutenant, 1693 Beacon Street, Brookline, Mass.
Eugene M. Barnhart, first lieutenant, 1011 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Ill.
John McF. Barr, captain, Cherokee Drive, Louisville, Ky.
William Evans Barrett, second lieutenant, 3200 Porter Street, Richmond, Va.
Le Roy Barton, captain, 2006 Benson Avenue, New York City.
Herbert T. Bassett, second lieutenant, Swarthmore, Pa.
Arthur E. Bateman, first lieutenant, 121 Raymond Street, Cambridge, Mass.
Karl E. Battey, first lieutenant, 50 Inwood Place, Buffalo, N. Y.
Harry C. Baujan, first lieutenant, 202 East Second Street, Beardstown, Ill.
George B. Baxter, second lieutenant, 2115 North Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio.
Donald W. Bay, first lieutenant, 2540 Broadway, Toledo, Ohio.
Edwin A. Bayer, first lieutenant, 785 Lake Shore Road, Grossepoint, Mich.
Edward Seaton Beatty, second lieutenant, no record.
Arthur A. Beaudry, first lieutenant, 57½ Saratoga Avenue, Cohoes, N. Y.
Alfred C. Bedford, captain, 500 Washington Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Emil G. Beer, second lieutenant, 38 Nineteenth Street, Elmhurst, Long Island, N. Y.
Ernest M. Belanger, second lieutenant, 39 Spring Street, Wincoski, Vt.
William C. Belknap, first lieutenant, 82 North Pine Avenue, Albany, N. Y.
William H. Benduhn, first lieutenant, 4949 North Troy Street, Chicago, Ill.
Roy E. Berridge, second lieutenant, 28 Nathan Street, Ashtabula, Ohio.
Hubert W. Beyette, second lieutenant, San Angelo, Tex.
John O. Birmingham, second lieutenant, no record.
Palmer Blackburn, second lieutenant, 15 Wesley Apartment, Atlanta, Ga.
Clarence J. Blake, second lieutenant, 1206 Oliver Avenue, North Minneapolis, Minn.
Arthur B. Blanchard, first lieutenant, 8 Irvington Street, Boston, Mass.
Charles H. Blewett, second lieutenant, 1428 Beach Street, Biloxi, Miss.
Leonard A. Bonner, first lieutenant, 1901 Wyoming Avenue, Washington, D. C.
Herb V. Book, second lieutenant, 385 Burns Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Edgar M. Bosley, first lieutenant, 89 East Warren Street, Detroit, Mich.
Lawrence R. Boutchard, first lieutenant, 1132 Second Street, Newport News, Va.
Carl H. Bowen, captain, 290 Depew Avenue, Buffalo, N. Y.
John W. Boyd, first lieutenant, 45 Wesley Avenue, Boston, Mass.
John T. Boyle, second lieutenant, 201 North Jennings Street, Anthony, Kans.
Lyman E. Brackett, first lieutenant, 327 Jefferson Street, Rochester, Ind.
John E. Bradstreet, first lieutenant, 335 Ridge Avenue, Winnetka, Ill.
Hallick M. Brady, second lieutenant, 3628 Jackson Street, Omaha, Nebr.
Harry N. Brandenburg, second lieutenant, no record.
Herman L. Brandt, second lieutenant, no record.
Anthony P. Braun, second lieutenant, 18 Dakota Avenue, Wahpeton, N. Dak.
William J. Briscoe, captain, 4148 Eighth Street, Washington, D. C.
Roland H. Brock, second lieutenant, 566 South Street, Athol, Mass.
Charles F. Brown, second lieutenant, 4251 Wentworth Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
William C. Brown, jr., first lieutenant, 248 Broadway, Norwich, Conn.
Wylie S. Brown, second lieutenant, 618 North Weaver Street, Gainsville, Tex.
Ridgely D. Bryan, first lieutenant, 205 Hammond Court, Washington, D. C.
Willis R. Bryant, first lieutenant, 408 Queen Ann Avenue, Seattle, Wash.
Dean W. Buchan, second lieutenant, 257 Byron Street, Palo Alto, Cal.
Edwin Budd, second lieutenant, R. F. D. No. 1, Elizabeth, N. J.
William L. Bull, first lieutenant, no record.
Paul W. Burbank, second lieutenant, no record.
Sam H. Burchard, first lieutenant, Gonzales, Tex.
B. Bernei Burgunder, first lieutenant, no record.
John J. Burke, second lieutenant, 10623 Columbia Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
M. Purlier Burkholder, first lieutenant, 89 East Seventeenth Street, Chicago Heights, Ill.
Edw. L. Burmeister, first lieutenant, 1724 Center Street, Ashland, Pa.
Ralph H. Burnett, second lieutenant, no record.
Edw. B. Busby, first lieutenant, 5839 Calumet Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Charles W. Butler, first lieutenant, 152 Horton Street, Detroit, Mich.
Laurence Butler, captain, Jenkintown, Pa.
Lester B. Butterworth, second lieutenant, no record.
Walter S. Byrne, second lieutenant, 521 Third Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Charles M. Cabaniss, first lieutenant, 1103 South Fifty-second Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Robert R. Cahn, first lieutenant, 816 Racine Street, Milwaukee, Wis.
James H. Cain, second lieutenant, Auburn, Ga.
Albert A. Campbell, second lieutenant, 92 Madison Avenue, Memphis, Tenn.
Hugh Campbell, first lieutenant, Paris, Ky.
Leonard B. Campbell, second lieutenant, 82 Chapin Street, Providence, R. I.
George P. Capen, second lieutenant, 479 Sherman Street, Canton, Mass.
H. A. Carithers, jr., first lieutenant, Winder, Ga.
Charles C. Carter, second lieutenant, 2060 Sixteenth Avenue, Rock Island, Ill.
William F. Casey, first lieutenant, 69 Charlton Street, New York City.
Robert H. Chamlee, first lieutenant, 617 First Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.
Raymond W. Charlton, captain, 1628 Columbia Road NW., Washington, D. C.
Henry W. Chase, second lieutenant, 319 Fifteenth Avenue SE., Minneapolis, Minn.
Chester H. Childs, second lieutenant, 215 Windson Road, Waban, Mass.
Auguste Chouteau, second lieutenant, No record.
Alfred P. Christenson, second lieutenant, 421 Church Street, Salinas, Cal.
Wilmer H. Christian, second lieutenant, 807 East Main Street, New Albany, Ind.
Dwight N. Clark, first lieutenant, Norfolk, Conn.
Fred Geo. Clark, captain, 1087 West Eleventh Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Mills G. Clark, first lieutenant, 230 V Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Lyle C. Clarke, second lieutenant, 420 Fourth Street, Baraboo, Wis.
Joseph M. Clavin, second lieutenant, No record.
Edward M. Cohen, first lieutenant, 451 College Street, Athens, Ga.
James Maurice Collins, second lieutenant. No record.
R. P. Compton, second lieutenant, 315 West Pleasant Street, Springfield, Ill.
Bernard L. Connell, first lieutenant, 1105 Vine Street, Scranton, Pa.
Lewis H. Connor, second lieutenant. No record.
Charles W. Conway, second lieutenant, 640 North Avenue, Westfield, N. J.
Andrew R. Cooper, first lieutenant, 59 West Tenth Street, New York City.
Gilbert R. Cordin, first lieutenant, 16 Harvard Avenue, Providence, R. I.
Herman R. Cornell, first lieutenant, Shawano, Wis.
Claude H. Cragoe, first lieutenant, Oakfield, Wis.
D. J. Crawford, second lieutenant. No record.
Donald D. Crawford, first lieutenant, 1728 North Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
James R. Crawford, second lieutenant, 909 Belmont Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
J. C. Crittenden, second lieutenant, Shellman, Ga.
Ralph Upton Cross, second lieutenant. No record.
Herbert W. Crowhurst, second lieutenant, Hotel Walton, Philadelphia, Pa.
Alex. H. Cummings, second lieutenant, 858 Eighteenth Street, Oakland, Cal.
Jordan, Cummer, second lieutenant, 25 Davenport Street, Detroit, Mich.
Glen M. Curlee, second lieutenant, 815 West Taylor Street, Kokomo, Ind.
Geo. H. Dalzell, second lieutenant. No record.
Wm. J. Davidson, first lieutenant, 1421 Eye Street, Washington, D. C.
Daniel M. Davis, captain, 556 East Spring, Columbus, Ohio.
Dudley H. Davis, first lieutenant, 1002 Sixteenth Street, Lynchburg, Va.
Barton R. Dawes, second lieutenant. No record.
Jack J. Dean, second lieutenant, Palestine, Tex.
Alvin W. Defiel, second lieutenant, Margaret Street, St. Paul, Minn.
Frank I. DeHaven, first lieutenant. No record.
Samuel S. DeHoff, second lieutenant, 178 Harney Street, Omaha, Nebr.
Bruce J. Dellett, second lieutenant, 151 Oak Street, Birmingham, N. Y.
James Demarest, first lieutenant. No record.
Wm. M. Denny, second lieutenant, 1204 Crockett Street, Sherman, Tex.
Eugene S. DesPortes, second lieutenant. No record.
Frank A. De Vertes, captain. No record.
Adrian G. Devine, first lieutenant, 19 Portsmouth Street, Rochester, N. Y.
Donald S. Davor, captain, 126 North Main Street, Chambersburg, Pa.
Howard F. Diehl, first lieutenant, 28 North Whittenburgh Avenue, Springfield, Ohio.
Charles W. Dietz, captain, 46 Bryant Street NW., Washington, D. C.
James I. Dodds, first lieutenant, North Hero, Vt.
Jos. A. Donington, second lieutenant, 217 Chestnut Street, Rosalo Park, N. J.
Arthur T. Donnelly, second lieutenant, 7 Baldwin Street, Newark, N. J.
Frank H. Donovan, first lieutenant, 101 North Common Street, Lynn, Mass.
J. Fred Dorn, second lieutenant. No record.
Arthrur K. Dowd, first lieutenant, 38 Fulton Street, Weehawken, N. J.
William H. Drale, first lieutenant, 4157 Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Carlyle B. Drummond, first lieutenant, Hamilton Apartments, Omaha, Nebr.
Philip S. Duff, second lieutenant, 1104 Third Avenue, Nebraska City, Nebr.
George B. Drummond, second lieutenant, Oakwood Place, Eau Claire, Wis.
Francis E. Duffy, first lieutenant. No record.
Fred Edlwood Du Bois, captain. No record.
Francis M. Duquet, second lieutenant, 593 Riverside Drive, New York City.
Crawford M. Earle, jr., second lieutenant, 327 South Church Street, Spartanburg, S. C.

Willard H. Eckman, first lieutenant, Gordon Heights, Wilmington, Del.
Eugene T. Edwards, second lieutenant. No record.
Lemuel E. Edwards, second lieutenant. No record.
Fred H. Eicher, second lieutenant, 816 Dueber Avenue SW., Canton, Ohio.
H. E. Edwards, captain, 138 Belleview Avenue, Melrose, Mass.
J. Lester Eisner, captain, 247 Broad Street, Redbank, N. J.
H. A. Eldredge, captain, 240 High Street, Newburyport, Mass.
Thomas J. Eline, first lieutenant, 1133 East One hundred and forty-fifth Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
John C. Elliot, second lieutenant, United States Army.
Walker T. Elliot, second lieutenant, 1434 Robinwood Street, Lakewood, Ohio.
Paul R. Ellis, second lieutenant, Uvalde, Tex.
Donald P. Ellyson, first lieutenant, 814 Park Avenue, Richmond, Va.
John G. Endicott, second lieutenant, Carmi, Ill.
Washington A. Endicott, first lieutenant, 1513 D Avenue, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Jeffery H. Englehart, second lieutenant, 1239 Madison Avenue, New York City.
Robert G. Ernst, second lieutenant, 1201 Bloomfield Street, Hoboken, N. J.
James H. Erwin, first lieutenant, 521 Seventh Street, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Walter J. Etu, second lieutenant, 1347 Depot Street, Calumet, Mich.
Sheldon R. Evans, captain, 1 Yeager Avenue, Kingston, Pa.
De Witt Everest, first lieutenant, 200 Second Avenue, Johnstown, N. Y.
Johnson K. Fahy, second lieutenant. No record.
Thomas S. A. Fairbairn, second lieutenant, 539 Ashland Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
John J. Farrell, captain, 313 Garfield Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Theodore C. Fedders, second lieutenant, 50 Otis Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
James W. Feeney, first lieutenant, 5 Holt Road, Andover, Mass.
Max Fichtenbaum, first lieutenant, 608 Blanco Street, Waco, Tex.
E. R. Finkenstaedt, captain, 901 Fifth Street, Bay City, Mich.
John W. Finkenstaedt, captain, 901 Fifth Street, Bay City, Mich.
John A. Finnicum, first lieutenant, 116 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D. C.
George J. B. Fisher, first lieutenant, 820 Federal Street, Camden, N. J.
Sidney L. Fisher, second lieutenant, 9811 North Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio.
Harry Ed Flaherty, second lieutenant. No record.
Lamar L. Flaven, second lieutenant, 1560 Downing Street, Denver, Colo.
Franklin T. Fletcher, first lieutenant, 1408 State Street, Eau Claire, Wis.
Walter F. Fling, first lieutenant, 135 Hawthorn Street, Toledo, Ohio.
Raymond Flynn, second lieutenant, 151 Blotchley Avenue, New Haven, Conn.
William J. Foster, captain, Reserve Corps, no record.
Chester R. Fouts, second lieutenant, 618 First Avenue North, Fargo, N. Dak.
Harry L. Fraser, second lieutenant, El Paso, Tex.
Myer Drost Freelander, second lieutenant, no record.
Fred W. Fritts, first lieutenant, 109 Vine Street, Chattanooga, Tenn.
W. F. Fryburg, second lieutenant, Great Falls, Mont.
George G. Fuller, first lieutenant, 253 Alexander Street, Rochester, N. Y.
George V. Fuller, second lieutenant, no record.
William J. Gainey, second lieutenant, 86½ Fulton Street, Auburn, N. Y.
Ben Gallagher, first lieutenant, Omaha, Nebr.
Antonio F. Garcia, second lieutenant, no record.
Claude R. Garmany, second lieutenant, 16 Mitchell Avenue, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Thomas J. Garner, first lieutenant, Woodward, Ala.
Howard M. Gay, second lieutenant, 4310 North Meridian, Indianapolis, Ind.
Huntington Gilchrist, second lieutenant, no record.
Thomas K. Givens, first lieutenant, 614 Frederica Street, Owensboro, Ky.
Silas N. Glisson, second lieutenant, Girard, Ga.
John S. Gordon, second lieutenant, 2065 Oakland Avenue, Piedmont, Cal.
Joseph C. Gorey, second lieutenant, 354 West Fiftieth Street, New York City.
Frank E. Grace, second lieutenant, no record.
Arthur J. Graf, first lieutenant, Amboy, Ind.
Paul C. Graney, first lieutenant, 30 Seymour Street, Auburn, N. Y.
Harold R. Grant, second lieutenant, 2309 Washington Circle, Washington, D. C.
Frank H. N. Grant, second lieutenant, 1712 North Olive Street, San Antonio, Tex.
Samuel Grass, first lieutenant, 145 Auburn Avenue, New York.
Frank P. Gravelle, first lieutenant, Ardmore, Pa.
William Sproull Graves, second lieutenant, 204 East Fourth Street, Rome, Ga.
John B. Greata, second lieutenant, 1316 Terry Avenue, Seattle, Wash.
Frank J. Green, first lieutenant, 23 Harvard Street, Charlestown, Mass.
William B. Greenlaw, first lieutenant, 1064 Cherokee Road, Louisville, Ky.
John E. Greenough, second lieutenant, no record.
Arthur S. Greenwood, first lieutenant, Lake Mills, Wis.
Richmond G. Gresham, first lieutenant, Gresham Hotel, Spartanburg, S. C.
James S. Griffin, second lieutenant, 2825 West Thirty-seventh Street, Denver, Colo.
William E. Griffin, captain, no record.
H. Philip Grossman, second lieutenant, 1340 South Albany Street, Chicago, Ill.
Ernest A. Guilemet, first lieutenant, 712 South Akard Street, Dallas, Tex.
Abraham G. Guinn, second lieutenant, Benton, Tenn.
Albert P. Gumaer, captain, 1612 Fourteenth Street, Washington, D. C.
Ford L. Gunn, first lieutenant, 119 Tenawee Street, Lansing, Mich.
William H. Hagan, first lieutenant, 206 Church Street, Mobile, Ala.
Sherman P. Haight, captain, Reserve Corps, 61 Worth Street, New York City.
William Haight, second lieutenant, no record.
Charles E. Hall, first lieutenant, 521 Arnet Street, Rochester, N. Y.
Richard H. Hall, jr., first lieutenant, 3745 McKinley Street, Washington, D. C.
Cornelius H. Halsted, first lieutenant, Morris Avenue, Morristown, N. J.
Age H. Hansen, first lieutenant, 119 E Street NW., Washington, D. C.
James M. Hansen, second lieutenant, 372 Seyvurn Street, Detroit, Mich.
James E. Hardwick, first lieutenant, 1615 South Tenth Avenue, Birmingham, Ala.
Denis Harrigan, second lieutenant, no record.
Addison L. Harvey, second lieutenant, Logan, Iowa.
George L. Harvey, first lieutenant, 536 Clifton Avenue, Newark, N. J.
William Sherman Hatch, captain, 820 Hamilton Street, St. Louis, Mo.
John Y. Hay, first lieutenant, no record.
Ralph S. Hayes, first lieutenant, 223 Goodman Street, Rochester, N. Y.
Curt E. Heckel, second lieutenant, 1565 Genesee Avenue, Buffalo, N. Y.
Ralph J. Hefferman, second lieutenant, 706 East Grove Street, Bloomington, Ill.
Charles P. Heffley, first lieutenant, 2231 Broadway, Logansport, Ind.
Lawrence J. Heller, second lieutenant, no record.
Wilbur J. Helmer, first lieutenant, 2970 Edge Hill Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.
Ober S. Herr, second lieutenant, 56 West Main Street, Westminster, Md.
Fred Herrigel, jr., first lieutenant, 866 Bergen Street, Newark, N. J.
Jasper T. Heirs, first lieutenant, Trumbo Street, Charleston, S. C.
Albert E. Higgins, second lieutenant, 40 Mesmer Avenue, Buffalo, N. Y.
Chester D. Hilton, second lieutenant, 41 Palmer Avenue, East Delaware, Mich.
William W. Hobligzell, jr., first lieutenant, 1900 Maryland Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
William H. Hoch, first lieutenant, Main Street, Whitensville, Mass.
Arthur Hohlt, first lieutenant, 1702 Key Street, Brenham, Tex.
Reuben A. Holden, jr., first lieutenant, 2020 Vernon Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Andrew E. Holmes, second lieutenant, no record.
William S. Holmes, second lieutenant, 602 South Fourth Street, Grand Forks, N. Dak.
Thomas B. Hopkins, first lieutenant, R. F. D. No. 6, Cleburne, Tex.
Walter S. Howard, captain, 1333 East Main Street, Muncie, Ind.
Harry R. Howe, first lieutenant, 105 Palfrey Street, Watertown, Mass.
Lloyd A. Howell, second lieutenant, no record.
James A. Howland, first lieutenant, 937 East Fourteenth Street, Chester, Pa.
Philip E. Hubbard, second lieutenant, 97 South Main Street, Middletown, Conn.
William D. Hudson, second lieutenant, Sparta, Tenn.
Arthur W. Hughes, first lieutenant, 27 Federal Street, Brunswick, Me.
Robert B. Hughes, first lieutenant, 1550 North Sixty-first Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Robert E. Hull, second lieutenant, no record.
Daniel R. Hurley, first lieutenant, 1214 Lexington Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
T. J. Israel, second lieutenant, no record.
Walter C. Jacobs, second lieutenant, no record.
William Norman Jeavons, first lieutenant, Arlington Road, Shaker Heights, Cleveland, Ohio.
William R. Jobes, second lieutenant, 3236 Pasco Street, Kansas City, Mo.
Colin H. John, first lieutenant, 1054 East Cantrell Street, Decatur, Ill.
Alfred H. Johnson, second lieutenant, 5128 East Thirty-fourth Street, Chicago, Ill.
Elias A. Johnson, first lieutenant, 2351 North Sacramento Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Robert P. Johnson, second lieutenant, no record.
Seale B. Johnson, second lieutenant, 174 Hurt Street, Jackson, Tenn.
Stoddard F. Johnson, second lieutenant, no record.
George E. Johnson, second lieutenant, 1740 K Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Bernard T. Jones, first lieutenant, 107 Rochester Street, Polton, N. J.
Edward L. Jones, captain, 45 West Fifty-fifth Street, New York City.
Thomas H. Joyce, second lieutenant, no record.
Louis P. Kalb, major, 1422 Buchanan Street, Washington, D. C.
Varney Kaminsky, second lieutenant, 400 East Gaston Street, Savannah, Ga.
Alfred G. Kay, second lieutenant, no record.
Cletus Keating, captain, 425 West End Avenue, New York City.
Fred W. Keller, first lieutenant, Mallon, Wis.
Walter J. Kemp, first lieutenant, 121 North Main Street, Tipton, Ind.
Martin H. Kennelly, second lieutenant, no record.
Arthur W. Kidd, second lieutenant, 2535 Cleveland Avenue, New Orleans, La.
Fred W. Kenny, captain, no record.
John R. Kilpatrick, major, 1245 University Avenue, New York City.
Arthur C. King, captain, 709 St. Paul Street, Baltimore, Md.
Roswell P. Kinney, second lieutenant, 576 Lenox Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Maurice H. Kirby, first lieutenant, 7707 Jones Road, Cleveland, Ohio.
Frank R. Kissling, second lieutenant, 189 St. James Place, Buffalo, N. Y.
Anch Kline, first lieutenant, 357 Buckhill Street, Easton, Pa.
Lewis A. Kniffen, first lieutenant, no record.
Eric L. Kohler, first lieutenant, no record.
Daniel E. Koshland, second lieutenant, 3800 Washington Street, San Francisco, Cal.
George F. Kryda, first lieutenant, 3649 West Twenty-second Street, Chicago, Ill.
George H. Kunz, second lieutenant, no record.
Robert E. Kusterer, second lieutenant, 523 Fountain Street, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Richard K. Lackey, second lieutenant, 107 North Twelfth Street, Richmond, Ind.
Karl B. Lamb, captain, 360 West Twenty-second Street, New York City.
Waldo Lampe, second lieutenant, 420 Benteau Street, Detroit, Mich.
Frank W. Landenberger, first lieutenant, 711 Wildwood Avenue, Fort Wayne, Ind.
Darrell T. Lane, second lieutenant, Senaca, Nebr.

Charles O. Lanphier, first lieutenant, 1120 South Seventh Street, Springfield, Ill.
William E. La Roe, second lieutenant, 1007 Van Trump Court, Kansas City, Mo.
Gustav F. Lawrence, second lieutenant, Fargo, N. Dak.
Rheul W. Leary, second lieutenant, no record.
Milton M. Lefkovits, first lieutenant, 2320 Cleveland Avenue, Canton, Ohio.
Arthur Milton Lehr, first lieutenant, Carver Hotel, Sharon, Pa.
Arthur M. Levy, second lieutenant, 558 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Howard L. Lewis, second lieutenant, no record.
A. M. Lightburne, first lieutenant, 2608 East Sixth Street, Kansas City, Mo.
Milton C. Lightner, first lieutenant, 105 East Fifteenth Street, New York City.
A. L. Lincoln, jr., captain, 61 Walnut Street, Brookline, Mass.
Edw. J. Lindsay, second lieutenant, 212 Washington Avenue, Iowa Falls, Iowa.
Clarence Lineberger, first lieutenant, Gastonia, N. C.
Leroy B. Lindsey, second lieutenant, 924 Mallet Street, West Toledo, Ohio.
William C. Linthieum, first lieutenant, 2926 St. Paul Street, Baltimore, Md.
H. A. Lipinsky, second lieutenant, 315 South Jefferson Street, Huntington, Ind.
D. R Livengood, first lieutenant, 608 Cottage Grove Avenue, South Bend, Ind.
Robert L. Lehse, second lieutenant, no record.
Wallace W. Longfellow, first lieutenant, 1462 Hopkins Street, Lakewood, Ohio.
Jutten A. Longmoore, second lieutenant, 15 Charles Street, Johnsburg, Vt.
Thompson Lothrop, first lieutenant, 81 Breckenridge Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
Charles W. Lotte, captain, 581 Broadway, Patterson, N. Y.
Stuart F. Louchheim, captain, 1809 Spring Garden Street, Redbank, N. J.
William C. Lowdon, second lieutenant, 2308 Lipscomb Street, Fort Worth, Tex.
Glen E. Luke, second lieutenant, 866 Second Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Karl M. Lyons, first lieutenant, 417 Poplar Street, Warren, Pa.
Herbert Geo. McNermy, second lieutenant, 740 Riverside Drive, New York City.
William G. McCarthy, first lieutenant, Cambridge, Mass.
John M. McIntosh, second lieutenant, 7341 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
James M. McKay, second lieutenant, Army.
Harold D. McKinnon, second lieutenant, Madison, S. Dak.
J. B. McLaughlin, jr., second lieutenant, 616 West One hundred and thirteenth Street, New York, N. Y.
Bernard McMahan, second lieutenant, 2131 Derby Street, Berkeley, Cal.
Patrick McMullan, second lieutenant, 2708 Seneca Street, St. Joseph, Mo.
James B. McPherson, first lieutenant, 415 West One hundred and eighteenth Street, New York City.
Thomas F. Maher, second lieutenant, 43 Carolina Avenue, Yonkers, N. J.
Lawrence S. Man, first lieutenant, 203 Twelfth Street, Canton, Ohio.
Henry M. Marke, jr., first lieutenant, 128 West Hattie Street, Forth Worth, Tex.
Verne Marshall, second lieutenant, no record.
Herman J. Martin, first lieutenant, 955 Cherry Street, Huntington, Ind.
Robert C. Martin, first lieutenant, 688 East One hundred and fifteenth Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
William W. Matthews, second lieutenant, 205 Church Street, Vidalia, Ga.
Henry May, jr, first lieutenant, 311 Depew Avenue, Buffalo, N. Y.
Edward L. Mayer, first lieutenant, 1321 North Meridian Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Don M. Meadors, second lieutenant, 215 West Jackson Street, Chicago, Ill.
Clarence C. Meleney, first lieutenant, 509 East Sixteenth Street, Brooklyn. N. Y.
Ward Melville, first lieutenant, 6 Montague Terrace, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Victor H. Mertz, second lieutenant, San Benito, Tex.
Erwin A. Meyers, captain, 1818 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
Charles O. Miller, first lieutenant, 1117 Eighth Street NW., Washington, D. C.
William S. S. Milius, first lieutenant, no record.
Floyd R. Miller, second lieutenant, 12 Clinton Avenue, Ossoning, N. Y.
Frank J. Miller, first lieutenant, 2301 Druid Hill Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Raynor M. Miller, second lieutenant, 327 North Main Street, Kenton, Ohio.
Steven H. Miller, second lieutenant, 605 South Twenty-fourth Street, Council Bluffs, Iowa.
J. Willis Misamore, first lieutenant, Angola, Ind.
Lee G. Moffett, first lieutenant, 412 East First Avenue, Monmouth, Ill.
Aaron C. Moore, second lieutenant, 3 Division Street, Oil City, Pa.
Harold C. Moore, second lieutenant, 1717 Twenty-first Street, Des Moines, Iowa.
James G. Moore, first lieutenant, 532 Fifth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
William E. Moore, first lieutenant, Cowan, Ind.
Thomas H. Morrell, first lieutenant, 162 North Twenty-ninth Street, West Logan, Utah.
Sampson R. Morrow, second lieutenant, Adairville, Ky.
Howard H. Morse, first lieutenant, 1830 Kenyon Street NW., Washington, D. C.
George F. Moulton, second lieutenant, 1801 Fremont Street, Minneapolis, Minn.
Harry C. Murphy, first lieutenant, 107 Bull Street, Charleston, S. C.
Harry G. Murphy, second lieutenant, 469 East One hundred and thirty-seventh Street, New York City.
S. Fulton Murphy, second lieutenant, 1001 Restriction Street, Plainview, Tex.
Joseph Murray, second lieutenant, no record.
Edw. S. Neilsn, captain, 104 Tenby Road, Llanerch, Pa.
James H. Newton, first lieutenant, Halycon Dale, Ga.
Benjamin H. Nicholson, first lieutenant, 328 Whitney Street, Jackson, Mich.
Thomas A. Nicolet, first lieutenant, 129 Thompson Street, Springfield, Mass.
William L. Nicoll, first lieutenant, R. F. D. No. 3, Newburgh, N. Y.
George F. Niebling, first lieutenant, Delaware Street, Woodbury, N. J.
John K. Nightingale, jr., first lieutenant, Warwick Neck, R. I.
Carl Nilson, second lieutenant, 222 F St. Joe, Lansing, Mich.
Richard C. Noel, second lieutenant, no record.
Guy H. Northcutt, first lieutenant, Marietta, Ga.
Harry H. Nugent, second lieutenant, 5847 Maple Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
Philip J. O'Brien, second lieutenant, 242 West Fifty-sixth Street, New York City.
William N. O'Brien, first lieutenant, 673 Summer Avenue, Newark, N. J.
Louis J. O'Connell, first lieutenant, 1316 Spear Street, Logansport, Ind.
David P. Ogren, first lieutenant, 115 Barrows Street, Jamestown, N. Y.
John A. Oliver, second lieutenant, Fairmont Park College, Council Bluffs, Iowa.
John C. Orcutt, captain, Chester, Vt.
J. Robert Orton, captain, Forrest and Alaska Avenues, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Orville R. Osmun, second lieutenant, Gobleville, Mich.
Benjamin E. Ostrom, second lieutenant, 402 Hall Street, East Savannah, Ga.
James B. O'Toole, first lieutenant, no record.
Donald K. Packard, second lieutenant, no record.
Mitchell Park, second lieutenant, Big Springs, Tex.
Henry R. Parker, second lieutenant, R. F. D. No. 1, Letchatall, Ala.
Stanley Partridge, captain, 1010 Mount Curve Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn.
Edw. S. Patterson, second lieutenant, no record.
James H. Patterson, second lieutenant, 1518 R Street, Washington, D. C.
Anthony F., Patton, second lieutenant, 359 Hart Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
F. L. Pearce, first lieutenant, 215 Spruce Avenue, Takoma Park, Washington, D. C.
Francis A. Perry, second lieutenant, 312 Central Avenue, Needham Heights, Mass.
J. B. Peterson, second lieutenant, 3848 Pillsbury Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn.
John Picarelli, second lieutenant, no record.
Harris P. Pierson, second lieutenant, 1725 Barrone Street, New Orleans, La.
Harry E. Pine, jr., first lieutenant, 4720 Dorchester Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
W. D. Platner, second lieutenant, 110 Glenn Avenue, Council Bluffs, Iowa.
Paul W. Platter, first lieutenant, 4830 Ross Avenue, Dallas, Tex.
Leo A., Pollock, second lieutenant, 528 West One hundred and eleventh Street, New York City.
Russell S. Racy, second lieutenant, no record.
I. Charles Racoosin, first lieutenant, 389 Clay Street, Detroit, Mich.
G. F. Rankin, second lieutenant, Glouton, Ala.
George A. Rasche, second lieutenant, Reagan, N. Dak.
J. S. Raymond, second lieutenant, no record.
Harold C. Rees, first lieutenant, 10 Parker Avenue, Meridan, Ky.
Malcolm C. Rees, second lieutenant, 51 Orchard Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Leland S. Reeves, second lieutenant, 2809 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, Cal.
William F. Rennie, second lieutenant, 1033 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.
John Q. Richardson, first lieutenant, 1019 North Chicago Street, Pontiac, Ill.
A. P. Riggs, second lieutenant, The Walsingham, Indianapolis, Ind.
Thomas C. Roberts, second lieutenant, no record.
George G. Robertson, first lieutenant, 470 Andover Street, Lowell, Mass.
H. Stuart Robertson, second lieutenant, 250 Eleventh Avenue, New York City.
Oliver S. Robinson, second lieutenant, no record.
Ralph D. Robinson, second lieutenant, 227 Meggs Avenue, Jeffersonville, Ind.
Glenn W. Rogers, second lieutenant, no record.
Keeneth D. Ross, second lieutenant, 615 West First Street, Grand Island, Nebr.
Miles Ross, jr., second lieutenant, 100 Livingston Avenue, New Brunswick, N. J.
Hampton Rowland, second lieutenant, Beechaven Street, Athens, Ga.
W. G. Norman Rukert, captain, no record.
Henry B. Sanford, second lieutenant, 408 Park Avenue, West Mansfield, Ohio.
Frank J. Santry, first lieutenant, 2113 East Seventy-ninth Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Leo A. Santry, second lieutenant, 2113 East Seventy-ninth Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Paul Sawrie, second lieutenant, 572 Poplar Street, Memphis, Tenn.
Robert P. Schenck, captain, 54 Glenwood Avenue, Jersey City, N. J.
V. Earl Shirey, captain, Berryville, Va.
V. Earl Shirey, second lieutenant, West Market Street, Clearfield, Pa.
Theodore Schumann, captain, New York Athletic Club, N. Y.
Hugh W. Searles, first lieutenant, Grottoes, Va.
Charles A. Semler, first lieutenant, Cambridge City, Ind.
Lyne T. Shackelford, first lieutenant, 351 St. Mark's Place, Staten Island, N. Y.
Fred D. Shandorf, second lieutenant, Browns Valley, Minn.
Ralph B. Sharbrough, second lieutenant, Fort Gibson, Miss.
Cornell D. Shea, first lieutenant, 934 Third Street, Louisville, Ky.
William H. Sheldon, second lieutenant, 324 Art Street, Fremont, Ohio.
Charles R. Sherman, first lieutenant, 214 East St. Joe Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Max Silverman, second lieutenant, 1825 Natrona Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Arthur J. Simon, second lieutenant, no record.
French C. Simpson, first lieutenant, Alexandria, Va.
John W. Slacks, second lieutenant, Sax City, Iowa.
Charles Slavens, second lieutenant, 800 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y.
Donald C. Small, first lieutenant, 2430 North Tenth Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

Charles L. Slocum, first lieutenant, 502 Central Avenue, Plainfield, N. J.
Dwight Smith, second lieutenant, Chicago Hotel, Chicago, Ill.
Gerald P. Smith, second lieutenant, 720 Pontiac Street, Rochester, Ind.
David P. Smelzer, captain, 1736 G Street NW., Washington, D. C.
H. M. Smith, second lieutenant, 253 Hubbard Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
James L. Smith, first lieutenant, Mentone, Ind.
Lawrence A. Smith, second lieutenant, no record.
Lee W. Smith, second lieutenant, no record.
Myron A. Smith, second lieutenant, 1417 Harrington Street, Fort Worth, Tex.
William Chester Smith, second lieutenant, 724 Marine Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
Howard J. Snell, first lieutenant, 334 Lycaste Street, Detroit, Mich.
George J. Spettel, first lieutenant, no record.
John F. Stacy, second lieutenant, 951 Garland Street, Detroit, Mich.
Herbert J. Stafford, second lieutenant, 1017 Avenue B, Bluemont, Tex.
Stewell C. Stebbins, captain, 115 North Warren Street, Lansing, Mich.
Warren C. Steele, first lieutenant, 5132 Hazel Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
L. M. Steinheimer, second lieutenant, 452 Washington Street, Atlanta, Ga.
Abbot Stevens, captain, 623 Osgood Street, North Andover, Mass.
Arthur G. Stevens, captain, 1552 Knox Street, Cincinnati Ohio.
Frank M. Stewart, first lieutenant, 506 Crockett Street, Austin, Tex.
Harry W. Stifft, second lieutenant, 1302 Scott Street, Little Rock, Ark.
Walter F. Stiles, jr., first lieutenant, 22 Prospect Street, ———.
Jack W. Stellenwerck, first lieutenant, 520 Bell Building, Montgomery, Ala.
Joseph E. Stone, second lieutenant, 1943 East Eighty-second Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Ernest P. Stonebraker, second lieutenant, Belmont, Ohio.
Hugh G. Strauss, first lieutenant, no record.
Spencer A. Studwell, second lieutenant, no record.
Dan M. Stump, first lieutenant, 4041 Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Ray Surplus, captain, 3514 Tularosa Street, El Paso, Tex.
Harold G. Sweet, first lieutenant, Royal Center, Ind.
John C. Talbot, first lieutenant, no record.
Alvin G. Tanner, first lieutenant, 31 Copley Terrace, Pittsfield, Mass.
Verne A. Taylor, second lieutenant, 1448 McLemore, Memphis, Tenn.
Herbert E. Telling, second lieutenant, 648 East One hundred and eighth Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Harold D. Tennant, first lieutenant, 242 West Seventy-third Street, New York, N. Y.
Rockwell C. Tenney, second lieutenant, 674 Long Meadow, Springfield, Mass.
James R. Terry, second lieutenant, Van Wert, Ohio.
Arthur W. Thomas, second lieutenant, 761 West Thirty-sixth Street, New York City.
George P. Thomas, first lieutenant, 22 East Baltimore Street, Baltimore, Md.
James R. Thomas, second lieutenant, Royal Center, Ind.
Jesse H. Thomas, jr., first lieutenant, 1517 Broadway, Nashville, Tenn.
Osmon A. Tilton, second lieutenant, 151 Wendel Avenue, Pittsfield, Mass.
Paul H. Tobin, second lieutenant, 3028 Hennepin Street, Minneapolis, Minn.
David B. Todd, jr., second lieutenant, 248 Ninth Street NE., Washington, D. C.
Leonard Todd, second lieutenant, Weston Avenue, Essex, Mass.
J. Stevens Tolman, second lieutenant, 5750 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Albert L. Towle, second lieutenant, 225 North Twenty-third Street, New York City.
Frank A. Trilling, second lieutenant, 416 Layco Street, Menashan, Wis.
Philip W. Tucker, second lieutenant, no record.
William R. Turner, captain, 100 South Broad Street, Norwich, N. Y.
Charles I. Tuttle, second lieutenant, 1225 West Fifth Street, South Salt Lake City, Utah.
Rob. J. Twyford, second lieutenant, no record.
Malcolm R. Upton, first lieutenant, 317 North Conduit Street, Lafayette, La.
Elmer S. Van Schoten, first lieutenant, no record.
Jacob J. Vandergrift, second lieutenant, Gulf Road, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Ernest H. Van Fessan, second lieutenant, R. F. D. 5, Lisbon, Ohio.
Frank M. Van Horne, first lieutenant, 102 East Sixteenth Street, New York City.
Frank D. Van Sicklen, first lieutenant, 40 Spear Street, San Francisco, Cal.
Noble E. Vincent, second lieutenant, 657 Clinton Street, Portsmouth, Conn.
Archibald F. Wagner, first lieutenant, 1712 South Dupont Street, Minneapolis, Minn.
John B. Wall, second lieutenant, 936 Newkirk Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Robert S. Wallace, captain, 100 Prospect Street, Pittsburg, Mass.
Frank L. Walton, captain, Tupelo, Miss.
Stanley H. Wardwell, second lieutenant, 2616 East Overland Street, Euclid Heights, Cleveland, Ohio.
Hempstead Washburne, jr., first lieutenant, 1448 Astor Street, Chicago, Ill.
Walter K. Watts, second lieutenant, 18 South Hamline Street, Chicago, Ill.
George M. Webber, second lieutenant, no record.
Paul D. Webster, second lieutenant, 1026 Lumber Exc., Minneapolis Minn.
Frank H. Weller, first lieutenant, Stratford, Conn.
Edw. C. Welsh, first lieutenant, 510 Jefferson Street, Detroit, Mich.
Fred W. Westhoff, second lieutenant, no record.
Jacob P. Wettleson, second lieutenant, Alexandria, Minn.
Frank Whaley, second lieutenant, Troy, Ala.
Emory A. Wheeler, first lieutenant, 209 South Street, Boston, Mass.
Harlan M. Whisman, second lieutenant, 703 Wisconsin Street, Huron, S. Dak.
Charles M. Whitsitt, second lieutenant, 1410 M Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Paul C. Wienges, second lieutenant, no record.
Arthur M. Wilmot, first lieutenant, Middleport, N. Y.
John M. Wilson, second lieutenant, 44 Montrose Avenue, Buffalo, N. Y.
William S. Witham, jr., second lieutenant, 672 Peachtree Street, Atlanta, Ga.
Clarence G. Wood, first lieutenant, 813 West Maine Street, Muncie, Ind.
Robert E. Wooden, second lieutenant, 219 East Washington, Centerville, Iowa.
Donald S. Wright, first lieutenant, 619 Park Avenue, Berlin, Wis.
Paul B. Wright, first lieutenant, 151 King Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Carl G. Yearling, second lieutenant, 1215 South Washington Street, Kokomo, Ind.
George W. Younger, second lieutenant, 756 Morrison, Appleton, Wis.
Charles S. Zoone, first lieutenant, Andrews Hotel, Minneapolis, Minn.

Enlisted men at depot quartermaster stations.

Fred E. Ansley, private, 1141 Twelfth Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Wilbur J. Altfilisch, sergeant, 1226 Irving Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Frederick J. Barth, corporal, 37 Columet Street, Rochester, N. Y.
Clyde J. Blanchard, private, 345 Mast Road, Manchester, N. H.
Frederick M. Bissinger, private, 2129 Jackson Street, San Francisco, Cal.
John H. Brown, private, 839 Third Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Gabe Bruner, private, Welch, W. Va.
Ned E. Cahen, private, 222 East Seventy-second Street, New York City.
Ernest R. Caverly, sergeant, 43 Tonawanda Street, South Boston, Mass.
Alva A. Clark, private, Denver, Colo.
George W. Cole, private, first class, 643 North State Street, Jackson, Miss.
Samuel Coleman, private, 3831 Cambridge Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Wyant W. Connell, private, Baltimore, Ohio.
Louis E. Cottle, private, first class, East Lansing, Mich.
Edwin P. Cramer, private, 1017 Sixteenth Street, Washington, D. C.
Russell E. Crawford, sergeant, Youngstown, N. Y.
Morris Creditor, sergeant, 695 Linwood Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Walter H. Currier, private, 44 Cherry Street, Danville, Pa.
Frank W. Davis, private, first class, Omaha, Ill.
Edgar A. De Cell, private, Raymond, Miss.
James L. De Nault, private, Jamestown, N. Dak.
Donald J. Donovan, private, 66 Harood Street, Lynn, Mass.
Walter P. Eisemann, private, 3359 Eighteenth Street, Washington, D. C.
Charles W. Evans, private, first class, 1302 North Twenty-sixth Street, St. Joseph, Mo.
Arthur J. Fecteau, private, Spencer, Mass.
Elwood C. Fisher, sergeant, 1316 De Kalb Street, Norristown, Pa.
Antonio F. Garcia, corporal, 292 Fingerboard Road, Fort Wadsworth, N. Y.
Rudolph H. Gansepohl, private, Richmond, Ind.
Hunnington Gilchrist, private, 14 Seminary Street, Auburn, N. Y.
Lloyd G. Haag, private, 530 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C.
Harry Hahn, private, 2719 North Twenty-fifth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Dorcee L. Hevener, private, 5 West Franklin Street, Baltimore, Md.
Laurence Hopkins, private, 802 West Bath Avenue, Ashland, Ky.
Churchill P. Jolliffe, private, 2629 Hampton Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Eugene Kahn, private, 4 East Thirtieth Street, New York City.
Martin H. Kennelly, private, 6126 Langley Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Reno H. Kurth, private, 718 First Street, Wausau, Wis
Ratliff H. Lane, private, Main Street, Owingsville, Ky.
Frank E. MacDonald, private, 224 Cooper Street, Camden, N. J.
Melvin S. Mann, sergeant, 2222 Callow Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Henry J. May, private, General Delivery, Gould City, Mich.
Joseph M. McCarthy, sergeant, 1527 Webster Street, San Francisco, Cal.
John J. McCoy, sergeant, 2015 Carlisle Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Herbert R. McNally, private, 938 Fifty-third Street, Oakland, Cal.
James T. McGinnis, private, 2526 South Hucks Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Frank E. McGowan, private, 907 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.
Herbert G. McNerny, private, 704 Riverside Drive, New York City.
Irving S. Meinrath, private, 1849 Kalaroma Road, Washington, D. C.
Charles A. Meyer, private, R. F. D. No. 2, Nazareth, Pa.
William S. Milius, private, 5143 Westminster Place, St. Louis, Mo.
John Mooney, private, 240 Downey Street, San Francisco, Cal.
Herbert F. Murphy, private, Carlinville, Ill.
James R. Neal, private, Portland Apartment, Washington, D. C.
Marmion S. Oldacre, corporal, Route No. 1, Pentwater, Mich.
Albert Parker, private, 5454 Pine Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Thomas W. Marshall, private, North Ogden, Utah.
George E. Norris, private, 2717 Parkwood Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Roger F. O'Leary, corporal, 104 St. Marks Place, New Brighton, N. Y.
Francis J. Presley, private, Wallace, Idaho.
Edward J. Quinn, private, 3122 Burt Street, Omaha, Nebr.
William J. Reilly, jr., private, 860 Pearce Street, Memphis, Tenn.
Thorwaldsen A. Rau, sergeant, 141 West One hundred and thirtieth Street, New York City.
Howard G. Rice, private, first class, Boone, Iowa.
Ernest D. Riley, private, first class, Grand Pass, Mo.
Keeneth D. Ross, sergeant, 651 West First Street, Grand Island, Nebr.
Irving R. Safran, private, 43 West One hundred and forty-seventh Street, New York City.
Philip T. Salisbury, private, Randolph, Vt.
Garee M. Sanborn, private, 2756 Riggs Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Howard P. Schuemarker, private, 53 Pond Street, Natick, Mass.
Rochie Shields, private, Cromwell, Ky.
Roy M. Simner, private, 1312 Monroe Street, St. Louis, Mo.
Clayton G. Snodgrass, private, 613 Sixth Street, Ames, Iowa.
Levert A. Snovell, private, 2124 Pennsylvania Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Frank C. Spaethe, private, first class, Columbus Junction, Iowa.
George A. Stephens, private, 201 Lafayette Street, Newark, N. J.
Bernard M. Steers, private, 1522 Broadway, Quincy, Ill.
Frank J. Stehlick, private, 399 Sherman Street, Akron, Ohio.
Ralph E. Stockham, private, 1729 Third Avenue, Huntington, W. Va.
Laurence A. Streedain, private, 683 East Fourth Street, Galesburg, Ill.
Harold S. Stuart, private, 8 Dracut Street, Lawrence, Mass.

Harold S. Swanson, private, 820 Washington Street, Dunkirk, N. Y.
Roy J. Taylor, private, 2608 Guilford Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Robert G. Thomas, private, St. Louis, Mo.
Carl Hans Tiedemann, private, United Bank & Savings Co., Cleveland, Ohio.
Paul M. Trembley, private, Main Street, Espey, Pa.
Philip W. Tucker, private, 2129 Maryland Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Wayne S. Underwood, private, 2843 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Jacob Jay Vandergrift, private, Gulf Road, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Frank P. Vogt, private, Kilbourn, Wis.
Louis Vogt, private, 911 Avenue A, Council Bluffs, Ga.
George H. Wall, private, 84 Columbia Avenue, Jersey City, N. J.
Donald D. Warner, private, 3848 Byron Street, Chicago, Ill.
George E. Watts, private, first class, 256 Oak Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Lawrence P. Weinseberger, private, 1801 Jenny Lind Street, McKeesport, Pa.
Elmer O. Whalberg, private, 411 Sherburne Avenue, St. Paul, Minn.
Thomas A. Whalen, private, 40 Gooding Street, Pawtucket, R. I.
Frank A. Wiley, private, Union, W. Va.
John E. Witherspoon, private, Carter, Okla.
Bane S. Witten, private, Bluefield, W. Va.
William M. Wood, private, Millville, Ky
Paul B. Ziegler, private, 420 Green Street, Baltimore, Md.
Frank G. Zimmerman, private, 1802 Ashland Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Total, 752.

Chemical Service Section at American University.

[Name, rank, and home address.]

Jackson D. Comstock, sergeant, first class, 614 West Market, Akron, Ohio.
Oliver L. De Mola, sergeant, first class, 237 Franklin Place, Flushing, N. Y.
Merle L. Dundon, sergeant, first class, New Milford, Ohio.
Charles Jeppson, sergeant, first class, 24 Sixth Street, Ridgefield Park, N. J.
Ernest L. Rowland, sergeant, first class, 1081 South Rosalind, Boston, Mass.
Edward L. Quattlander, sergeant, 1 Agate Court, Brooklyn, N. Y.
John C. Roth, jr., sergeant, 3194 Perry Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Charles R. Stark, sergeant, 9804 Sixty-second Avenue, South Seattle, Wash.
William J. Wilchins, sergeant, 56 Bowers Street, Jersey City, N. J.
Leon C. Benedict, private, New Paltz, N. Y.
Philip Berman, private, 110 Bank Street, New London, Conn.
Benjamin C. Blatt, private, 29 New Lots Road, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Bryan B. Brown, private, Wailsburg, Wash.
Walter W. Cavanaugh, private, 518 River Street, Scranton, Pa.
William C. Clever, private, 208 South Potomac, Waynesboro, Pa.
Joseph V. Cuff, private, 86 Franklin Street, South Braintree, Mass.
George M. Deming, private, 3903 Grant Road, Washington, D. C.
Irving A. Denison, private, 711 Sixth Street SE., Washington, D. C.
J. Howard Dice, private, 492 Wisson Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.
Louis J. Flora, private, 3902 College, Kansas City, Mo.
Arthur A. Gates, private, 1207 Park Avenue, Utica, N. Y.
Alvin J. Godwin, private, 1710 M Street, Washington, D. C.
Ralph E. Koerber, private, 2831 Sixth Avenue, Rock Island, Ill.
Earl E. Hartman, private, 1039 Mulberry Street, Reading, Pa.
Arthur M. Hart, private, 37 Salina, Baldwinsville, N. Y.
Edward D. Hughes, private, 89 Hancock Street, South Braintree, Mass.
George G. Ivie, private, Leachville, N. C.
Gordon M. Marks, private, Carlisle, Pa.
Arthur F. Luce, private, 23 Newton Street, Brockton, Mass.
Jacob I. Simon, private, 2005 Forbes Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Earl P. Trobert, private, 515 Frisco Building, Joplin, Mo.
Owen Voigt, private, 1 Liberty Street, New York, N. Y.
William Wolfson, private, 1420 N Street NW., Washington, D. C.
Total, 33.

Grand total in various bureaus and departments.

Officers	998
Enlisted men	2,184
Total	3,182

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. LUNN, for three days, on account of important business;

To Mr. ROSE, for three days, on account of the death of a relative;

To Mr. BLAND of Indiana, for 10 days, to enable him to assist in the liberty-loan campaign in Indiana; and

To Mr. LEHLBACH (at the request of Mr. PARKER of New Jersey), indefinitely, on account of illness.

BUILDING FOR PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE, CITY OF WASHINGTON.

The SPEAKER. The unfinished business is the bill H. R. 12404, of which the Clerk will report the title.

The Clerk reported the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. The question was pending upon the committee amendment. The question is on the committee amendment.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. GOOD) there were—ayes 63, noes 44.

So the committee amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following motion to recommit, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. GOOD. I am not.

The SPEAKER. Is any gentleman in the House opposed to the bill who desires to make a motion to recommit? If not, the Chair will recognize the gentleman from Iowa. The Clerk will report the motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

I move to recommit H. R. 12404 to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds with instructions to that committee to forthwith report the same back with the following amendment:

"Strike out lines 10 and 11, page 1, and lines 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, on page 2, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That no contract shall be let by the Secretary of the Treasury for the purchase of any material therefor, or for the employment of labor to construct said building on the cost-plus basis."

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that that proposition has just been passed upon by the House by the adoption of the committee amendment, and that it is not now in order to vote again upon the same proposition. In other words, the effect of the adoption of this motion to recommit is precisely the same as it would have been if the amendment of the committee had been rejected, and I think the gentleman from Iowa will agree to that.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Tennessee possibly was not present when the argument was made yesterday upon the merits of the amendment to strike out.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The gentleman was present.

Mr. GOOD. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BURNETT] claimed and the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CLARK] claimed that this amendment did not give the Secretary of the Treasury power to enter into a contract on the cost-plus basis, and if you struck it out it did give the Secretary the right to enter into contracts upon that basis. My amendment does strike that out, and it also then provides that the Secretary of the Treasury can not do what was claimed on the other side he would have a right to do in the absence of that provision.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I was present during the argument upon the merits and heard the statements. I have also read the language of the bill. The arguments that may have been made upon the floor do not control the construction of the language itself. If I construe the language aright, the motion to recommit, if adopted, will have precisely the effect and no more effect than would have resulted from the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Does the gentleman from Tennessee claim that under this amendment they could not enter into a contract upon the cost-plus plan?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Under the motion to recommit?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; under the bill as it stands now.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. No; I do not contend so.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. It authorizes him to enter into this cost-plus contract, and it is the object of the gentleman from Iowa to prevent that.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Tennessee yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I want to state to the gentleman that under the bill as it stands the Secretary of the Treasury is simply permitted to do this work by contract or he can go into the market and purchase materials and hire labor and do it himself.

Now, if he lets it by contract, he must let it under the existing law, which provides that he must advertise for bids and let it to the lowest and best bidder. There is not any question about it. Now, I want to say to the gentleman further if the gentleman from Iowa, instead of undertaking to strike out the language which permits the Secretary to be free from any possible collusion among contractors and go into the open market and buy materials and hire labor, if he sees fit and if it is necessary to prevent the Government from being mulcted, if he would leave that in and simply add his proviso that there shall be no cost-plus percentage or cost-plus contract, if he desires to do that the gentleman from Alabama and the committee will gladly accept it and let it go into the law, because we have gone upon record here against the cost-plus contract and there is no effort on our part to revive it. But the gentleman undertakes to strike out by this motion to recommit the very language that protects the Government and allows the Secretary, in case there should be any collusion between contractors, to go into the open market and buy materials and build it himself.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Speaker, it is always a good thing to get down to fundamentals when we have a proposition of this kind. The motion to recommit is in the nature of an amend-

ment, as the Speaker well knows. If there had been an amendment offered to strike out and that had been determined, another motion to strike out would not have been entertained by the Chair; but the motion to strike out, coupled with the motion to insert in place of it, would have been within the jurisdiction of the Chair. While it is true that a motion to recommit, merely asking to strike out, would be equivalent to a motion to strike out, and therefore not in order, yet now we have a different proposition, that is, a motion to recommit, striking out the amendment, together with a substitute which is offered. That raises a different question, and can be considered. I think it is well settled that in order to be subject to an objection the motion to recommit must be identical with the proposition previously passed upon by the House. For that reason the objection is not well taken and the motion of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD] is in order.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. BURNETT. To ask unanimous consent to proceed for one minute.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman does not have that if he is going to talk about the point of order.

Mr. BURNETT. I was going to suggest if the gentleman will so modify his amendment with the striking out of the cost-plus percentage proposition there will be no objection whatever, because there is no one more opposed to it than I am or the committee which reported this bill.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman from Iowa giving heed to the gentleman from Alabama, who is making a peace proposition? The gentleman from Alabama will please repeat his proposition.

Mr. BURNETT. The proposition is this: We are not willing that the hands of the Secretary may be so tied that he will be compelled under this contract to do the very thing that the gentleman is trying to obviate, and if the gentleman will frame his amendment so that it will preclude any cost-plus percentage proposition in this bill—I have conferred with several members of the committee, both on this side and on that—there will be no objection to it. If the gentleman wants to take the responsibility of undertaking to tie the hands of the Secretary so there may be a cost-plus proposition and that he can not go out into the market and buy materials and build it himself, then the gentleman will have to take that responsibility. We are willing, after conference with members of the committee, to accept it if he will ask unanimous consent to modify his amendment in that respect.

Mr. HARDY. That is all that anybody apparently wants.

Mr. BURNETT. That is what they say.

The SPEAKER. What does the gentleman from Iowa say?

Mr. GOOD. I prefer to have the Speaker rule on the point of order.

The SPEAKER. The question has arisen several times and Mr. Speaker Blaine rendered an opinion on the subject which goes the whole way. Objection was made practically on the same ground of a point of order, and Mr. Speaker Blaine said:

> The Chair overrules the point of order. The gentleman might not be able to offer the resolution in precisely the same words, but this is a different resolution, differently worded, and it is a question of privilege, and is in order at any time. The difference of a single word would bring it within the rule of the House.

The point of order is overruled, and the question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken, and the motion was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken, and the bill was passed.

On motion of Mr. BURNETT, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

SANATORIUM FOR DISCHARGED SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

Mr. CANTRILL. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Kentucky rise?

Mr. CANTRILL. I wish to present a privileged report from the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. Send it up.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield for one moment? I wish to say to the gentleman from Kentucky that there are several Members on this side who are very strongly opposed to the bill that is about to be presented for consideration under a rule, and several Members feel they will be compelled, if it is brought up for consideration, to have a quorum here. I merely mention that to the gentleman in view of the legislative situation.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield to me? I trust the gentleman from Kentucky will withhold the demand for the immediate consideration of this measure until we can dispose of some other matters. It is a measure in regard to which there will be some difference of opinion, not as to the importance of providing for tubercular discharged sailors, but as to the propriety of the construction of this particular sanatorium. I have no objection personally, but there are gentlemen who have objections to the details of this bill. There is important legislation that can be passed and disposed of without objection, and I am sure the House will be willing a little later to take up the matter the gentleman is so much interested in, and with his persuasive eloquence I trust he can prove to the House that what he desires should be done, but there are so many other matters that can be passed practically by unanimous consent that I plead with the gentleman that he let these other measures come up and be disposed of before he presents his measure.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from North Carolina rise?

Mr. POU. I wish to ask the gentleman to yield just a minute.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. POU. He says he does. I think if the gentlemen who at the moment feel constrained to oppose this measure will take the trouble to investigate the hearings and make some investigation of the measure itself, they will find that there is no measure pending before this House that is more important.

Mr. MONDELL. Why not give the opportunity for them to do so?

Mr. CANTRILL. Mr. Speaker, before answering definitely the question propounded by the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] I would like to make this statement to the House, which will be a very brief one. The facts are that there are now 14,000 discharged soldiers and sailors from the Army and Navy who are suffering from tuberculosis. There is absolutely no hospital in the United States in which these men can be placed for treatment. The statement is also made that within the next 12 months there will be an additional 24,000 discharged soldiers and sailors, making a total of 38,000 men suffering from tuberculosis. It is the duty of this Government to take care of them. Under the war-risk insurance act we are sacredly obligated to do so. At the present time there is absolutely no place in which to put them. I realize that probably there is not a quorum in town, and I realize fully that it is useless to undertake to go ahead with this bill if some one intends to raise the point of no quorum.

Now, in the face of the statement which I have made, saying to the House that there is a unanimous report from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds and a unanimous report from the Committee on Rules, this rule should now be considered and this legislation passed. And I want to say to the House that if some gentleman will simply get up and say that it is his intention to raise the point of no quorum here, of course there will be nothing to do but submit.

Mr. GOOD and Mr. BANKHEAD rose.

The SPEAKER. To whom does the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANTRILL. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD].

Mr. BANKHEAD. I will ask the gentleman whether the Committee on Rules, in determining the power by which these bills should be brought in by the committee, did not determine the very nature of the proposition here and conclude that this bill should be given precedence?

Mr. CANTRILL. That is true.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANTRILL. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. This measure that was reported out under the rule is to take care of 500 of these 18,000 soldiers?

Mr. CANTRILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MONDELL. And can not do it immediately.

Mr. WALSH. As soon as the hospital is completed.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, a single question. I would like to ask the gentleman whether or not it was ascertained that this particular hospital is in a nation-wide scheme or whether or not it is an isolated proposition?

Mr. CANTRILL. The report of the committee, if the House will permit it to be presented, shows that it is but the beginning of a great many hospitals that will have to be erected in practically every State in the Union. This is to be erected because of the fact that patriotic citizens have agreed to donate 10,000 acres of land at a place that the Bureau of Health says is one of the best places in the United States, and where there will be no trouble in the condemnation of the land. They are ready to deed it when this bill is passed. On these 10,000 acres of land are magnificent springs of water, especially fitted for the treatment of diseases of these men, and the Bureau of

Health says it is the best place in the United States to make a start, and they have chosen this place because these people are ready to deed to the Government, free of cost, 10,000 acres of valuable land with which to start it.

Mr. LANGLEY. Will the gentleman yield for a suggestion?

Mr. CANTRILL. Yes; I will yield to the gentleman, a member of the committee.

Mr. LANGLEY. I desire to call attention to the fact that it was stated by the representatives of the Health Department that there is no other water that possesses the peculiar curative properties that this water does.

Mr. WALSH. What has that to do with tuberculosis?

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANTRILL. I yield.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman understands I have no objection to this bill. I doubt if there is a gentleman present who cares to say now that he will insist on the point of no quorum. That will depend on the examination of the bill and its details. That is hardly a fair proposition. The whole House is in harmony with the purpose of this legislation. There can be no question about that, but there is some question as to whether or no it would be better to delay consideration of this bill, for a day perhaps, until the Members can acquaint themselves with the report and inform themselves in regard to it, and in the meantime go on with questions concerning which there is no controversy.

Mr. CANTRILL. In answer to that, I do not think there could possibly be any controversy on this bill when it is the duty of this Government to care for these men. There are now 14,000 of them that have tuberculosis. And if any gentleman in the House says that he will raise the point of no quorum, I will have to submit, of course. And, in answer to the gentleman from Wyoming, I do not think that my request is out of the way at all. If there is nobody that wants to raise an objection, let us go ahead and consider the bill, but if some Member has determined to raise the point of no quorum, then let him raise it now and save the time of the House.

Mr. GOOD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANTRILL. I will.

Mr. GOOD. The gentleman, I think, will agree to this fact, that if we have already hospitals of that kind, Government institutions, where there are ample facilities for treating these men, we ought to fill those up and make them available for that purpose.

Mr. CANTRILL. I will say to the gentleman that that condition does not exist.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. It does. The gentleman is mistaken.

Mr. CANTRILL. The men who are in the Health Bureau of the country say it does not.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The Surgeon General's office says it does.

Mr. CANTRILL. These are discharged sailors and soldiers. They are civilians. But the Government, under the war-risk insurance act, has given those men assurance that they will be cared for. Their health is broken down, and they have tuberculosis, and it is the duty of the Government to treat them.

Mr. GOOD. What I wanted to say to the gentleman was this: We have eight or nine national soldiers' homes, and, according to the testimony had before the Committee on Appropriations as long as three years ago, those homes were only occupied to about one-third of their capacity, and concerning the Milwaukee home there was a request that we cease appropriations for that home.

Mr. CANTRILL. Is it your purpose to put 14,000 tubercular patients into the hospitals now occupied by old soldiers of this country?

Mr. GOOD. Is it your purpose to put 14,000 tubercular patients in with 14,000 other disabled soldiers who are not tubercular?

Mr. CANTRILL. No.

Mr. GOOD. That is the authority granted by your bill.

Mr. CANTRILL. The intention of this bill—and it will be so carried out under the Bureau of Public Health—is to take these men and segregate them in this hospital, designed for the special treatment of tuberculosis. This hospital will be just the beginning. The House understands thoroughly that these hospitals can not all be built at once, and they can not be built until the locations are found. This is an entirely new proposition. Nobody expected that 38,000 men in the cantonments of this country within 17 months would be suffering from tuberculosis, but those are the facts, and we have got to meet the fact.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Kentucky will permit me, I want to read just a line from Dr. Banks's testimony before our committee. He is the chief medical officer of the War-Risk Insurance Bureau. He states this:

> There are only two classes of hospitals to which we can send these discharged soldiers and sailors now—the hospitals of the United States Public Health Service and the hospitals of the Indian Medical Service—because the Army and Navy hospitals are not open for the treatment of civilians. They are naturally occupied in the treatment of men connected with the active service in the war.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. CANTRILL. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Did the committee consider the fact that they could buy almost for a song a large hotel at Las Vegas, N. Mex., which is adapted to the treatment of tuberculosis, instead of building this sanitarium in a climate that is not adapted for it?

Mr. CANTRILL. Let me answer that question directly. I will say to the gentleman from Iowa that the Public Health Service has had dozens and dozens of hotels all over the country offered to it, which the owners have tried to unload on this service for hospitals. The gentleman knows that in the modern treatment of tuberculosis there has been great progress in the treatment of the disease, and there is not a hotel now standing in the United States which is adapted to the treatment.

Mr. FOSTER. There is urgent need that this treatment be given these men at once.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Those hotels can be taken at one-fifth of the cost that you propose in that bill.

Mr. CANTRILL. They would have to be remodeled. It would cost more money to remodel them than this would involve.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Does the gentleman understand that these patients could be put in tents in southern California and Arizona with scarcely any expense?

Mr. CANTRILL. I will say to the gentleman that before this war is over there is no telling how many more thousands will have this trouble. These hospitals will have to be put in every State in the Union. But the gentleman must understand that you can not send a soldier from Maine to California. You might just as well bury him. They must be placed near their respective homes, where a man can go home in the first stages of the disease and spend some time with his people, and where they can come to see him; and it will be necessary to have a hospital in Maine and elsewhere in New England, in Massachusetts, and in Kentucky and in Indiana and in New Mexico and in California for each particular section. The gentleman understands that. The gentleman does not mean to say to me, seriously, that he would take a soldier from Maine, suffering from tuberculosis, and send him to California as he suggests. You might as well bury him at once.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. You might just as well send him to southern California as to Kentucky. The journey would not be appreciably harder on him. We are sending them from the East to California now to be treated for tuberculosis.

Mr. CANTRILL. The gentleman from Iowa is setting his personal opinion against the opinion of experts.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Does the gentleman desire them to be built in California?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I do not desire them to be built in Kentucky.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CANTRILL] does not desire to withdraw this matter, I will make the point of no quorum. I asked him to yield, and if his reply had been what I thought it would be I would not have raised the point of no quorum.

The SPEAKER. All this conversation is out of order, and has been from the beginning.

Mr. CANTRILL. If the gentleman wants to assume the responsibility, he can take it on himself.

Mr. McKEOWN and Mr. ANDERSON demanded the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] raises the point of no quorum.

Mr. CANTRILL. If the gentleman from Massachusetts desires to raise the point of no quorum, so that a start can not be made for the treatment of these men suffering from tuberculosis, I will withdraw the resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky withdraws his committee resolution.

Mr. SIMS rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Tennessee rise?

Mr. SIMS. I wish to submit a unanimous-consent request. I wish to read the request.

The SPEAKER. How long will it take to read the request?

Mr. SIMS. Only a few minutes. I can ask the Clerk to read it, or I can read it myself right here.

The SPEAKER. What is that the gentleman asks?

Mr. SIMS. I want to make the request right now, but what I want to ask for is already written out. I wanted to put it correctly.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will read it.

Mr. SIMS. I ask now that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of Senate joint resolution 63, entitled "Joint resolution to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service"; that there shall be not to exceed one hour of general debate. At the conclusion of such general debate the resolution shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. After the resolution shall have been perfected in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union the same shall be reported to the House with such recommendation as the committee may make, whereupon the previous question shall be considered as ordered upon the resolution and all amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I think the matter ought to go through the regular channels.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin objects.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT CALENDAR.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I have been trying to get in touch with the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT], but he has left the Hall of the House temporarily. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the House proceed to the consideration of bills on the Unanimous Consent Calendar.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that the House at this time proceed to consider the Unanimous Consent Calendar. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

WRECKING VESSELS.

The first business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 11408) to amend section 4516 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended by sections 1 and 2 of an act entitled "An act to promote the welfare of American seamen in the merchant marine of the United States; to abolish arrest and imprisonment as a penalty for desertion, and to secure the abrogation of treaty provisions in relation thereto; and to promote safety at sea," approved March 4, 1915.

The Clerk read the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, as I recall this bill it merely changes the existing law so as to permit vessels of a certain character to be exempted from the effect of the seamen's law.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Wrecking vessels.

Mr. STAFFORD. And that is the only change in the law?

Mr. ALEXANDER. We have already passed a bill exempting them from the provisions of the officering act. This bill is to exempt them from the provisions of the seamen's act. The bill is reported out of the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries unanimously, and there can be no objection to it, because these vessels used for wrecking purposes are not in any regular trade, and there is no reason why they should be manned as merchant vessels are. This bill was introduced by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY], and we think it should become a law.

Mr. STAFFORD. What provisions of the seamen's act would they be exempted from if this bill should be passed?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Under the provisions of the seamen's act every vessel must on departing from a port have a certain complement of seamen, and is not permitted to leave the port unless it has. Then when in port under section 2 of the seamen's act there are certain regulations from which it is intended to relieve these wrecking vessels.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. WALSH. I have been unable to get a copy of the bill as yet. Is there a well-recognized——

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, I shall have to object to the consideration of this bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Colorado objects. The bill will be stricken from the calendar.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I ask unanimous consent that the bill go to the foot of the calendar. I think if the gentleman from Colorado will investigate, he will find that there is no objection from the men whom he seeks to serve.

The SPEAKER. What is the request of the gentleman?

Mr. ALEXANDER. That the bill go to the foot of the calendar.

Mr. KEATING. I will not object to that.

The SPEAKER. Without objection the bill will go to the foot of the calendar, and the Clerk will report the next bill.

ISOLATED TRACTS OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN IN MINNESOTA.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 79) for the sale of isolated tracts of the public domain in Minnesota.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, I should like to hear the bill read.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the provisions of section 2455 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended by the act of March 28, 1912 (37 Stat. L., p. 77), relating to the sale of isolated tracts of the public domain, be, and the same are hereby, extended and made applicable to ceded Chippewa Indian lands in the State of Minnesota: *Provided*, That the provisions of this act shall not apply to lands which are not subject to homestead entry: *Provided further*, That purchasers of land under this act must pay for the lands not less than the price fixed in the law opening the lands to homestead entry.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, until we can have an explanation from some member of the Committee on the Public Lands—I have not my copy of the report here before me—but as I recall this is a companion bill to one that was passed before we took our recess. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. STEENERSON] was recognized by the Speaker to move to suspend the rules to pass H. R. 78. It was passed virtually under unanimous consent. I do not recall now exactly what changes will be made by this bill in the existing law, because I have not the report before me, which I read some months ago. If any Member can give me that information I hope it will be furnished.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I am not entirely familiar with these lands, but the bill itself in what it proposes is very simple. Here are certain lands that were opened up to homestead entry and settlement. Homesteads have been taken; but as is always the case in the entry of lands under the homestead laws there are small tracts, areas of 40 or 80 acres, that are of so little value that the homesteader has declined to include them within his homestead application. The law provides that where such lands have been entirely surrounded and isolated for a certain period of time, neglected by the homesteader as being of little value, they can be offered for sale under the isolated-tract law, if the Secretary of the Interior thinks it wise to do so. It is entirely within his discretion. Under the isolated-tract law the land must bring at least a certain minimum price. It is a law of general application to all of the public lands, but it requires specific application to Indian lands, where the funds derived from them go to the Indians. It is a class of legislation absolutely essential everywhere on the public domain to pass title to small, isolated, surrounded tracts of comparatively little value. If the tracts were of any considerable value they would have been included in homestead settlements. Such a tract must always be less in area than 160 acres. It must have been isolated and surrounded by lands the title to which has passed from the Government. Then the Secretary has the discretion to offer them for sale if he sees fit to do so. It is a procedure necessary to the final cleaning up of odds and ends of lands in any region under settlement.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALEXANDER). Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Further reserving the right to object, will the gentleman inform the House what will be the method of disposing of these lands in case the law is changed as provided in this bill?

Mr. MONDELL. As I tried to explain, all this bill does is to apply the well-established law, now applicable to all public lands, to these particular lands, small tracts, most frequently of 40 acres, that the homestead settler has declined to include in his homestead entry because he considered them of little value.

The homestead settler goes in and takes up the greater portion of the land, but leaves various small tracts, from 40 to 120 acres, that no homesteader wants, because of little value. After that land has for a period of two years or more remained undisposed of after the surrounding lands have been entered, the Secretary may, in his discretion, if he believes it in the public interest, offer those lands for sale, and they must be disposed of at not less than a certain minimum price.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I understand the bill, the Secretary of the Interior determines that these parcels of land shall be disposed of at a price fixed originally for the sale of the land.

Mr. MONDELL. At not less than that, and as much more as they will bring.

Mr. STAFFORD. They will not be sold for $1.25 an acre under the homestead law.

Mr. NORTON. On many of these lands the minimum price is $4. If this was public domain instead of Chippewa land it could be sold under section 2455.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the reservation of the point of order, and I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALEXANDER). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the provisions of section 2455 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended by the act of March 28, 1912 (37 Stat. L., 77), relating to the sale of isolated tracts of the public domain, be, and the same are hereby, extended and made applicable to ceded Chippewa Indian lands in the State of Minnesota: *Provided*, That the provisions of this act shall not apply to lands which are not subject to homestead entry: *Provided further*, That purchasers of land under this act must pay for the lands not less than the price fixed in the law opening the lands to homestead entry.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. ANDERSON, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

BRIDGE RED RIVER OF THE NORTH.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 11709) granting the consent of Congress to the village and township of Halstad, Norman County, Minn., and the township of Herberg, Traill County, N. Dak., to construct a bridge across the Red River of the North on the boundary line between said States.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object——

Mr. ESCH. If the gentleman will yield, I think the gentleman from Minnesota is familiar with the facts in this case.

Mr. STAFFORD. I wish to inquire the need of qualifying the point at which this bridge is to be located "at a point suitable to the interests of navigation." I understand this bill is for building a bridge across the Red River of the North. I have been across that river in different seasons, and I have never discovered one bit of water.

Mr. NORTON. I wonder if the gentleman had been drinking before he crossed.

Mr. STAFFORD. No; I was in dry territory going west and coming east. I could not discover any water in the Red River of the North. This bill proposes to establish a bridge across a so-called navigable stream, and I realize that this is the customary phraseology.

Mr. KNUTSON. The gentleman would not imply that there is no navigation at that particular point, would he?

Mr. STAFFORD. I crossed at Breckenridge, and there was no navigation there; it was shoal for a canoe.

Mr. KNUTSON. There is navigation there at Breckinridge.

Mr. STAFFORD. I suppose the purpose of the bill is to put a bridge there because it is the dividing line between the two States, and even if it is a dry stream—and things are dry up there in Minnesota, and also in Dakota, which has been dry for a number of years—there would have to be some bill like this passed, and I withdraw the reservation of the objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the village and township of Halstad, Norman County, Minn., and the township of Herberg, Traill County, N. Dak., and their successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Red River of the North at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near the section line between sections 24 and 25, township 145 N., range 49 W., fifth parallel meridian, on the boundary line between Minnesota and North Dakota, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

Sec. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The following committee amendments were read:

Page 1, lines 3 and 4, strike out the words "the village and township of Halstad,"

Page 1, lines 4 and 5, strike out the words "and the township of Herberg."

Amend the title so as to read: "Granting the consent of Congress to Norman County, Minn., and Traill County, N. Dak., to construct a bridge across the Red River of the North on the boundary line between said States."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In section 2, line 10, the word "expressly" is misspelled. Without objection it will be corrected.

There was no objection.

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. SIMS, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

ABSENCE BY HOMESTEAD SETTLERS AND ENTRYMEN.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the House joint resolution 290, extending the provisions of the act of Congress approved December 20, 1917, entitled "An act to authorize absence by homestead settlers and entrymen, and for other purposes."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, I would like to hear the bill read.

The Clerk read the joint resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the provisions, limitations, and conditions of the act of Congress aproved December 20, 1917, entitled "An act to authorize absence by homestead settlers and entrymen, and for other purposes," are hereby extended and made applicable to homestead settlers and entrymen who have filed their applications prior to May 1, 1918.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. May I ask the gentleman if this is not broadening to a considerable extent, taking off restrictions that were contained in the act approved in December, 1917?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. The act approved December 20, 1917, provided that during the pendency of the existing war any homestead settler or entryman shall be entitled to a leave of absence from his land for the purpose of performing farm labor, and such absence, while actually engaged in farm labor, shall, upon compliance of the terms of that act, be counted as constructive residence, provided that the settler should not be excused from making the required improvements and cultivation, and also provided that the act only applied to settlers who had filed their application prior to the passage of the act. The act has no application and affords no relief to any settler who has filed since December 20, 1917, and the object of my bill is simply and only to extend that beneficial provision to the settlers filing subsequent to that time. I introduced this bill, H. J. Res. 290, last May and limited its application to filings made prior to May 1 this year. But if the committee will consider the bill at this time I desire to ask unanimous consent to amend the bill from May 1 to October 1. My report on this bill is in part as follows:

The object of the original act, as well as this proposed amendment, is plain and needs no explanation to anyone who understands conditions in the public-land States. Everyone familiar with the situation in the West knows that the public lands remaining open to settlement under the homestead laws are not only barren and usually broken and very rough and arid, but are also mostly covered with rock or brush to such an extent that it requires several years of the hardest kind of work to bring the lands into a state of clearing and improvement and cultivation sufficient to produce crops or afford the settler enough produce upon which to make a living. In other words, it usually requires practically three years in order to obtain a paying crop, and during that time the settler is compelled to find employment at some other place in order to acquire the necessary means upon which to live and with which to improve his homestead, and unless his homestead rights can be protected during his necessary absence from his claim, he is liable to lose his home. Moreover, at the present time the West has been so completely drained of men having gone into the Army or Navy, or gone East in remunerative employment, that the farmers are being compelled to reduce their cultivation, owing to the impossibility of obtaining farm help. The object of the original law was to allow the new homestead settlers to safely go off and secure employment on farms and by making the necessary showing of their active work in the production of food during their absence, to be credited with that time upon their homestead entry. If the law was just and necessary for the production of food, as it was, and also necessary to the homestead settlers, who made settlement prior to December 20, 1917, it is equally just and much more necessary now for the new settlers, who have settled upon poorer lands since December 20, 1917, and when the urgency for farm labor is becoming more intense all the time.

Therefore your committee is of the opinion that the provisions of the act should be extended up to the present time so as to give the thousands of settlers who have entered land during the past six months the benefit of the provisions of that act, in order that they may during this present agricultural season be allowed to safely absent themselves from their claims and find work on farms throughout the West, and the committee feels that the bill ought to be promptly passed so that those settlers may take advantage of its provisions during this farming season.

The Interior Department and the Land Office officials, and people generally throughout the West, have said that owing to the drainage of men going to the war and to the munition plants and other works, practically all farm labor was gone, and if they could get some of the new settlers to come on to the adjoining ranches they could get some work in that way, and it would be a very great benefit to both the settlers and farmers. The Interior Department recommends the bill and the people of the West generally recommend it. It does not grant any additional or new rights. We are having a very hard and slow time in the West to settle up that country and get people to homestead. The remaining public homstead land left in the West is principally dry and barren, often rocky and broken and cut up with gulches and arroyas, often covered with oak brush, and it is the hardest kind of work on earth to improve and make a living

and a home on land of that kind. It is, of course, a fine thing for Secretary Lane to talk about furnishing homes for the hundreds of thousands of returning soldiers, but unless the Government spends from $2,000 to $4,000 on each homestead mighty few soldiers will ever put in the rest of their lives trying to make a home on these lands, especially if they have to submit to all the delays, red tape, and inspections and handicaps of the present homestead settlers. Now when we get a man out on one of these homesteads, for the first three years he can not grow any sufficient crop to support himself and family on, and he is compelled to go away and get work to live on. All of these amendments and little bills that we western Members have merely tend to liberalize the conditions under which these men are trying to live and support their families and to comply with the law, and this is only one of many of them. There are a great many reasons why this bill should pass. It is only common-sense fairness to the settlers and for the general welfare of the country, and the rights of the Government are in no way jeopardized.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Well, I have the floor, but I will be glad to yield to the gentleman in a minute. I want to ask the gentleman if this is not the measure which I and some other gentlemen opposed and upon which we had a vote when it was passed before.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I do not think so, though I am not sure.

Mr. WALSH. It was one of these homestead-extension acts.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I was not the author of that original law which I am now trying to amend by this bill of mine, House joint resolution 290.

Mr. MONDELL. May I say to the gentleman that this law has been of great value to the West. Those Mountain States have been denuded of their farm labor and of their men by the very large quotas furnished to the Army, and in many places a homesteader can raise very little on his own farm.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. For the first three years he can not.

Mr. MONDELL. On the other hand, some men can go to an adjoining farm—he must keep up the cultivation of this land, of course—and there he can render very valuable service in the production of those things that are needful for the maintenance of our armies. The law has worked well and the only change is to bring it more nearly up to date.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I will say to the gentleman that with the permission of the House I want to amend the bill to bring down the date to the 1st day of October. I expect to ask to do that. If the House will not agree to that, of course we will have to take the best we can get.

Mr. WALSH. I should have no objection to moving the date, but I recall the statement the gentleman made when this measure was up originally in 1917 and I am glad to have the gentleman's prediction at that time now verified by the statement of the gentleman from Wyoming that the original law has worked very well.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. It has.

Mr. WALSH. There was great apprehension about this policy.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. There has been no complaint made anywhere about that law.

Mr. WALSH. As I understand it, if this date is moved down to the 1st of October—the act only runs during the period of the war——

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. That is my understanding.

Mr. WALSH. If we move the date down to the 1st of October it is in a sense an immaterial change?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I think so; but it will afford relief to many more men and do that much more good.

Mr. WALSH. It will relieve the men who have filed since the 1st of May?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. I have no objection.

Mr. MONDELL. Not only is this legislation needed, but it is becoming more and more apparent that further legislation than this is necessary along these lines.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, there is a provision in this proposed law providing that absence from the land upon the part of the entryman while engaged in farm labor will count as constructive residence upon the homestead entry.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes; if he shows that he is working on some adjoining farm.

Mr. NORTON. I construe that to mean that such absence will count as part of the time which he is required under existing law to reside upon the land in order to make homestead proof thereon.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes. It does not interfere with the requirement of cultivation.

Mr. NORTON. The working out of such a law would result in many cases like this: A young woman who might have friends interested in acquiring some of the Government land would be encouraged to make entry and settlement upon a tract of land, which she would immediately desert, as far as residence would be concerned, and would proceed to her home in an Eastern State and there engage in some occupation that she could claim was necessary agricultural work. It would likewise result in the same condition regarding similar entries and settlements by men. I want to say to the House that living, as I do, in one of the western public-land States, I am of opinion that legislation of this character, while most pleasing, while most delightful to those desiring to secure Government lands by a very easy method, does not result in making many new homes in the West.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NORTON. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman has used—unfairly, I think he will himself admit, on reflection, because he is familiar with the situation—a possibly very extreme case.

Mr. NORTON. The gentleman from North Dakota has done nothing of the kind. He has stated the character of cases that are occurring every day, and will continue to occur under legislation such as this. He has stated that in face of the fact that he knows that would be very pleasing legislation to a great many people in his own section of the country, who are ready to accept the easiest possible way of acquiring title to more of the Government domain.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman knows, further, that there can be no abandonment, because cultivation of the land is provided by law, and fencing and everything else is still required.

All this act does is to give the settler an opportunity to go somewhere else in the community and engage in some useful labor for a few months while he is complying with the provisions of the law on his own place as to improvement, and I want to say to the gentleman I have never been for legislation that did not bring permanent settlement; no western man can be for legislation that does not bring permanent settlement. This legislation is absolutely essential in those mountain and coast States if they are to furnish their quota of men for the Army and keep up the production of wheat, mutton, beef, and wool.

Mr. NORTON. Let me say to the distinguished gentleman from Wyoming I do not at all agree with him that it is absolutely or even quite necessary for the greater production of beef or mutton or horse meat or rye or wheat or for the maximum production of any other food product in the West. It does, however, evidently seem to be necessary, by some Members of Congress and by some men who are not Members of Congress, as an easy means of getting the public domain away from the Government and into private ownership.

Mr. RAKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NORTON. No, not just now; I will in a moment. I contend that if any legislation like this is to be passed it should provide that the absence from the land on the part of the entryman during the war while engaged in agricultural labor should not be such as to allow a contest to be entered against his land; that if he desired to engage in agricultural labor away from his land, desired to be absent from his land, he should be allowed to be so absent, but at the termination of the war he should be required to reside the full time now required by law upon his land. That kind of legislation, I suggest, will settle up and make many new and desirable farm homes in the West. This kind of legislation will take the public domain away from the Government and give it into the hands of those who will dispose of it to the first buyer that can be found. The kind of legislation proposed by this measure will not tend to make permanent farm-home owners of those who acquired title to Government land under its provisions. I believe every man who is familiar with the conditions in the West knows such to be the real facts.

Mr. RAKER. Will the gentleman now yield?

Mr. NORTON. I will be pleased to do so.

Mr. RAKER. As I understand the provisions of this bill it simply is to carry out what has been the policy of the General Land Office for the last 30 years.

Mr. NORTON. No; the gentleman does not understand correctly.

Mr. RAKER. Yes, I do. Heretofore the homesteader could always leave his homestead when it was necessary to work out for the purpose of obtaining money to improve it. Now this bill just goes one step further. He has to improve his place,

to fence it, to build his home there, cultivate it, but if his neighbor needs help and this man can leave his own home for the purpose of helping him for a month or a month and a half in the dire need of help, such as is now in the Western States, as I know from personal knowledge, and he is actually engaged in farm labor, it allows his absence to act as constructive residence so there will be no contest; that when the summer and fall work is over he may return home and go on at his place, to try to benefit and improve his place. I want to say to the gentleman and the House that this permit of absence is working well. It has not had the effect in my State that the gentleman claims it may have in his, and I trust the House will permit this legislation to go through with this amendment which brings it down to date. There is no question about it, because I received, I suppose, 50 letters of men who have wanted to go away and help their friends, the farmers adjoining them, to go 5, 10, or more miles so they may help put in a crop, help harvest it, and they are needed now and they ought not to be under a penalty of contest because they are helping to produce the necessary products that are so much needed. I trust the gentleman will not object.

Mr. NORTON. Is the gentleman as much interested in farmers' homes being established in the public-land States as he is in giving the public domain to anyone who may be willing to take it?

Mr. RAKER. The men who file on these lands are the very ones who build up the country, who make permanent homes and go there and stay, to live there, and they build up the country.

I have observed for the last 40 years myself. They made that country. We do not want it so that some fellow who puts his feet on the stove during the winter can go and contest when they have worked there honestly and faithfully.

Mr. NORTON. Will the gentleman [Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado] in charge of the bill agree to an amendment providing that absence from the land shall not be counted as residence required under existing law to complete proof on the entry?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I could not agree to that; it will kill the bill.

Mr. NORTON. The bill should be so amended.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. There is no use, then, in passing the bill.

Mr. NORTON. Gentlemen in favor of legislation of this kind simply want to open the gates and not require any residence at all.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. My dear sir——

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. There are no gates to be opened.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Objection is heard.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object——

Mr. NORTON. I will reserve the right to object so that the gentleman may be heard.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time has long since expired.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask that this bill retain its place on the calendar.

Mr. STAFFORD. I object to that.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado asks unanimous consent that this bill may go to the foot of the calendar.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin objects.

BILL FROM THE COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, may I be permitted to make a unanimous-consent request at this time?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will recognize the gentleman to submit the request.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that immediately after the reading and approval of the Journal to-morrow that it be in order for the Committee on Military Affairs to call up bills on the Calendar of the House or the Union Calendar that have been favorably reported to the House and that are unobjected to.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Let the Chair submit the question to the House. Is there objection to the request submitted by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT]?

Mr. RAKER. Reserving it in order to make a statement, I will ask if the gentleman would not further make the request so that if we do not get through with the Unanimous Consent Calendar it may continue to-morrow until completed, and that at the conclusion of the Unanimous Consent Calendar he be given this right? It is somewhat understood that this entire calendar be gone through with.

Mr. MONDELL. I trust that the modification may be had, and that immediately after the consideration of the Unanimous Consent Calendar these bills be taken up.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman [Mr. DENT] consent to that?

Mr. DENT. I consent to that.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT] asks unanimous consent that the bills to which he has referred, reported from the Committee on Military Affairs, may be in order following the disposition of the Unanimous Consent Calendar. Is there objection?

Mr. KINCHELOE. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Kentucky is recognized.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I want to state that the bill that was objected to and on which the point of no quorum was raised this morning is just as important a bill as there is on this calendar.

The Bureau of Public Health and the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, because I happened to have introduced the bill and because it happens to relate to my district, have called me up every day on the proposition that 14,000 tubercular soldiers and sailors have been discharged and they have no place in which to put them. The Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds had a hearing and unanimously reported this bill. Then the Committee on Rules gave us a hearing. And then they wanted to hear the officials of the War-Risk Insurance Bureau and the Public Health Bureau, and they heard them; and after that it was a unanimous report from the Committee on Rules. One is just as important as the other. If it was important to have the point of no quorum raised on that bill this morning, it is just as important to have it on the rest of them. So far as I am concerned, I am going to object.

Mr. RAKER. Will the gentleman withhold his objection for a moment?

Mr. KINCHELOE. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Would not the gentleman listen to this: That anyone can object to any one of these bills on this Unanimous Consent Calendar. There are bills on here that the House may consider and there may not be any votes against them, but nevertheless we have to submit to the fact that anyone can take them off the calendar. If we all took the same attitude that the gentleman from Kentucky takes, there would not be any legislation here unless there was a quorum present. And all ought to be treated alike.

Mr. MONDELL. I assume the gentleman from Kentucky wants to pass his bill and not simply make trouble by "throwing a monkey wrench into the machinery"?

Mr. KINCHELOE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MONDELL. It is the easiest thing in the world to stop all proceedings here until we can get a quorum. I hope the gentleman's bill will be considered in due course by the House. But if the House wants to take up other matters that are not objected to first, that is not sufficient excuse for the gentleman to insist that nothing be done unless his particular matter be taken up. The consideration of his measure would come much more quickly, in my opinion, if he allows the business to go in an orderly way. These bills have been reported for several months and have not been disposed of; they are also important.

Mr. KINCHELOE. I do not want to be obstructive, and it is not in a spirit of resentment that I rise. This is a bill here that has the unanimous report of two committees, and it is unanimously asked for here. It is absolutely important, as gentlemen will see from the hearings, that this bill pass now in order that they may get the foundation in for this hospital before bad weather, so that they can provide some place for these sick soldiers as early as possible.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman can create a situation under which these important bills that have been reported for months can not pass, or his bill either; he can create a situation under which nothing can be done. He can easily do that, but I assume he does not desire to do so.

Mr. KINCHELOE. I understand. But the point I make is——

Mr. MONDELL. But the gentleman would not get any further along with his legislation by objecting to the consideration of other legislation.

Mr. KINCHELOE. The "gentleman from Kentucky" does not want to obstruct any meritorious war legislation, but will insist upon his rights in the matter. I realize my responsibility as a Member of this House, and I am going to assume it. But the point I make is that when this bill came up this morning there was a threat of no quorum. Now, if it is important to consider my bill only when there is a quorum present, it is just as important to consider the rest of them with a quorum.

Mr. GOOD. Regular order, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. KINCHELOE. I shall object unless there is some assurance that this bill will be considered.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I hope the gentleman will not do that.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. We will not give any assurance of that.

Mr. KINCHELOE. The only assurance I want——

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. KINCHELOE. I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair hears no objection.

Mr. KINCHELOE. I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next bill.

STOCK-RAISING HOMESTEADS.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (S. 2493) to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes," approved December, 29, 1916.

The title of the bill was read.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Mr. Speaker, I objected to that other request.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair asked if there was objection, and gentlemen were conferring with the gentleman from Kentucky, and——

Mr. KINCHELOE. I objected.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Kentucky objected to the request of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT]. The Clerk has read the title of the next bill. Is there objection to its present consideration?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I think the bill should be reported before objection is made.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 3 of the act entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes," approved December 29, 1916, be amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. That any qualified homestead entryman may make entry under the homestead laws of lands so designated by the Secretary of the Interior, according to legal subdivisions, in areas not exceeding 640 acres, and in compact form so far as may be subject to the provisions of this act, and secure title thereto by compliance with the terms of the homestead laws: *Provided*, That a former homestead entry of land of the character described in section 2 hereof shall not be a bar to the entry of a tract within a radius of 20 miles from such former entry under the provisions of this act, which, together with the former entry, shall not exceed 640 acres, subject to the requirements of law as to residence and improvements, except that no residence shall be required on such additional entry if the entryman owns and is residing on his former entry: *Provided further*, That the entryman shall be required to enter all contiguous areas of the character herein described open to entry prior to the entry of any noncontiguous land: *And provided further*, That instead of cultivation as required by the homestead laws the entryman shall be required to make permanent improvements upon the land entered before final proof is submitted tending to increase the value of the same for stock-raising purposes of the value of not less than $1.25 per acre, and at least one-half of such improvements shall be placed upon the land within three years after the date of entry thereof."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I think this important measure should receive some explanation before the objection stage is passed.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I will endeavor to explain the bill. Under the enlarged—320 acre—homestead law, of which my friend from Wyoming, Mr. MONDELL, was the original author, a homestead entryman is entitled to take an additional tract of land—160 acres—besides the 160 he already has, for the purpose of getting 320 acres of dry land, and he is not required to make two residences. If he perfects his three-years' residence on his original entry that is sufficient for the additional tract. When we passed the 640-acre stockraising homestead law we attempted but failed to do the same thing. For instance, if a man now has 320 acres of dry land and can not make a living on it, and there is some more dry land in that vicinity——

Mr. MONDELL. Within 20 miles of it——

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes; within 20 miles of it, he can take 320 acres more to make up a 640-acre homestead. If he can get that additional tract adjoining his original entry he does not have to live on it at all. But inadvertently we provided in that law that if he is compelled to take a piece of land that is not contiguous—not adjoining his original entry—he is compelled to make a double residence. That is he has got to move off of his original entry and go onto the new tract, notwithstanding, under this law he has already resided on his original tract and cultivated it for the full three years. He can not live on both at once. The present provision is entirely unjust, impractical, and wrong, and was never intended to operate or be construed the way it is.

Mr. STAFFORD. I recall, when the enlarged-homestead act was under consideration that a discussion arose on the floor as to the limit of distance where a homesteader would be privileged to take the additional land.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. I believe the House provided 10 miles.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Yes; I believe it was 10 miles at that time.

Mr. STAFFORD. I believe it was subsequently changed to 20.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. The reason of that change was because the homestead settlers could not get any land within 10 miles.

Mr. STAFFORD. The purpose of this bill is not to increase the privileges of that law, so far as additional land is concerned. It is merely, in case the tracts are not contiguous, to grant the right to locate upon them but not to require residence.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. That is correct. This bill will relieve the entrymen from being required to leave their original homestead entry where they must be living at the time and move onto the new additional tract, which has no improvement on it. Of course that would be a wholly useless and foolish thing to do.

Mr. MONDELL. I call the attention of the gentleman from Wisconsin to the fact that the only change in the present law is in the words on lines 10, 11, and 12, as follows:

Except that no residence shall be required on such additional entry if the entryman owns and is residing on his former entry.

Mr. STAFFORD. Of course, if the land were contiguous, it would be construed that he was residing on the new additional land by reason of its being contiguous. But where it is not contiguous there is that construction that requires additional residence whereby he would have to give up his former residence.

Mr. MONDELL. My opinion is that the House would never have passed the law with this addition in it except for the fact that when the law was originally introduced there was no limit of distance to the original entry, and it was the opinion, and properly, that if a man could take an addition in another State he ought to live on it. But when the addition was made of 20 miles the logical thing to do was to make it the same as was done in the case of the 320-acre law. That is what is now proposed. It will relieve a lot of folks who, if this is not passed, will have to remove to a distance of from 2 to 10 miles.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. And they will have to leave their present land and homes to go on the new piece of unimproved ground.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the reservation of the right to object.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, this proposed amendment gives the right to a homestead entryman residing in any section of the country where the land is classified as "grazing land" to acquire an amount of the public domain which, added to the amount of land included in his original entry, will not exceed 640 acres, if that land is within 20 miles of his original entry.

Mr. MONDELL. And is of the character of land coming under the law——

Mr. NORTON. Yes; and is of the character of the land contemplated by the law. That is land of a character more suitable for grazing than for agricultural purposes.

Mr. MONDELL. And if his original homestead is of the same character.

Mr. NORTON. If an entryman has taken up a homestead in one of the public-land States and cultivated it and made proof on it and there is not any unappropriated Government land within 20 miles of his original entry of this character, he is deprived of the privilege to be given by this bill.

I want to say to the committee that my experience has been that this legislation, permitting homestead entrymen to take land noncontiguous to their original entries, has been one of the finest pieces of legislation passed by any Congress in many years privileging men in the West to grab up the public domain by an easy method.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman understands that this bill gives no such authority, and does not change the law with respect to making entries.

Mr. NORTON. This bill enlarges an existing unwise privilege. It is aimed by a great many of those outside of Congress who favor this amendment to give to men who now have land in the public-land States of the West, particularly in the semiarid regions, from 160 to 480 acres of additional land for practically the mere expense of putting a fence around the land. It provides to give this land to land speculators and to men who have been living out in the vicinity of this unappropriated Gov-

ernment land and who have for years been making a good living on their original homesteads. This is what similar legislation has done in many instances in my own State and in my particular congressional district. This is what similar legislation has caused to take place in Montana. This is what this amendment will do and encourage as long as the unappropriated public domain lasts in the semiarid sections of the country.

I wish to merely state these facts, so that the House with notice and knowledge may take such action as to it may seem proper.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NORTON. I shall be pleased to yield to the genial gentleman from Wyoming.

Mr. MONDELL. Without going into the question of the propriety of these noncontiguous entries—and I can not agree with my friend in his view with regard to them—this bill does not enlarge that privilege. Now, certainly the gentleman does not want to put himself in the position of denying to the men who have taken those noncontiguous entries the right to remain on their original entries. He does not want to compel them to move from their present homes onto the new land, generally of very little value, which they have taken up. All that this amendment does is to give them the same right that the settlers in his State have had under the 320-acre homestead law, to have their residence on their original entry counted as residence on the additional land. They must improve the additional land.

Mr. NORTON. It gives one the right now who has taken 480 acres of grazing land and is residing upon that tract to take 160 acres additional 20 miles away from his original entry and acquire title to it without any residence on it.

Mr. MONDELL. Within 20 miles.

Mr. NORTON. Does the gentleman think that is anything more or less than merely giving one the privilege of grabbing 160 acres more of the public lands without doing anything except putting a fence around it?

Mr. MONDELL. In thousands of cases that has been the salvation of men who had to have a little pasture land and who could go into the hill country some distance away from their homesteads and get a small amount of pasture land. That has been the way the law has worked, and it has been of great value.

Mr. NORTON. I agree that if in this present stage of the Nation's population and development a man can get 160 acres of good grazing land for $1.25 an acre, or for putting a fence around it, it is a mighty good thing for him.

Mr. MONDELL. It is a good thing for the country.

Mr. GANDY. Will my friend yield a moment?

Mr. NORTON. Certainly.

Mr. GANDY. The theory of the 640-acre act is that a man needs 640 acres of that kind of land—that he is entitled to 640 acres.

Mr. NORTON. To make a living upon. The theory is all right. But the theory is widely departed from in giving one the privilege of taking up 640 acres of noncontiguous land within a radius of 20 miles from the original entry.

Mr. GANDY. And the same thing was true of the half-section act. It is on the assumption that a man needs 320 acres of that kind of land. Now, if a man has a quarter or half section, or in the case which the gentleman mentions, 480 acres of land of the kind and character contemplated by the section act, he is entitled to fill up the amount of 640 acres, equal in area to a section, either contiguous or somewhere else.

Mr. NORTON. Does the gentleman seriously contend that anywhere in the West, if a man can not make a living on a 480-acre tract, it is necessary in order that he be able to make a living on his original homestead entry that he have the right to take up another 160 acres anywhere within 20 miles of his original entry?

Mr. GANDY. Will my friend yield for a moment?

Mr. NORTON. Certainly.

Mr. GANDY. The theory of the 640-acre act is that a man needs 640 acres of that kind of land—that he is entitled to 640 acres.

Mr. NORTON. To make a living upon. The theory is all right. But the theory is widely departed from in giving one the privilege of taking up 640 acres of noncontiguous land within a radius of 20 miles from the original entry.

Mr. GANDY. And the same thing was true of the half-section act. It is on the assumption that a man needs 320 acres of that kind of land. Now, if a man has a quarter or half section, or in the case which the gentleman mentions, 480 acres of land of the kind and character contemplated by the section act, he is entitled to the difference between that amount and 640 acres, either contiguous or somewhere else.

Mr. NORTON. Does the gentleman seriously contend that anywhere in the West, if a man can not make a living on a 480-acre tract, it is necessary in order that he be able to make a living on his original homestead entry that he have the right to take up another 160 acres anywhere within 20 miles of his original entry?

Mr. GANDY. I have for years been a believer in and ardent advocate of such a liberalization of the homestead laws and regulations as will recognize existing conditions in the public-land States of the West. The objection of the gentleman from North Dakota seems to be directed not to the residence feature, which is all there is at stake in this amendment, but to the advisability of permitting a noncontiguous additional homestead. This subject is not a new one for me, for in the Sixty-fourth Congress the section homestead bill came from the Public Lands Committee without any provision for a noncontiguous additional homestead, and on the floor of this House I secured an amendment permitting such an entry. It was my belief then, Mr. Speaker, and it is my belief now, that persons who have made homestead entries for land of the kind proposed to be disposed of under the section act are entitled to such an amount of similar land as, when added to the land embraced in their former entries, will not exceed 640 acres whether the additional adjoins the original or not. We need not enter into the discussion of that proposition to-day for the law already provides for noncontiguous additional entries under the half-section act and under the section act. The only change that is sought by this bill is to make the residence provisions the same in the section act that they are in the half-section act, for under the half-section act where the noncontiguous additional is not to exceed 20 miles from the original and the claimant continues to reside upon the land embraced in his original entry residence is not required on the additional. If this bill is passed—and I hope, Mr. Speaker, it will be passed—several hundred homesteaders in the district which I have the honor to represent in this House, and I feel certain that many thousand in the public-land States of the West will not be required to move from the homes they have established on their original homesteads in order to comply with the provisions of the homestead law with relation to their noncontiguous additional entries.

I regret, Mr. Speaker, that there is now a necessity for the passage of any such legislation of this kind, and I take occasion to say again, as I have heretofore said in this House, that if years ago a far-sighted policy of section homesteads had been inaugurated the high prairies of the West would to-day be dotted with prosperous homes where in many cases deserted homestead shacks tell the story of the inability of homesteaders to make good on quarter-section or half-section entries. We have legislated piecemeal and must go on that way. Undoubtedly there are other amendments to the section bill that it will be necessary to pass, for I recall now that there is no provision of law whereby one who has a noncontiguous additional entry under the half-section act can fill his section adjoining it. I have introduced a bill to remedy that feature and later on I hope to be able to secure consideration for it. I want to renew my statement, Mr. Speaker, that there is nothing more in this bill than the equalization of the residence provisions of the half-section law and the section law.

Mr. NORTON. The one thing more than any other which would at this time impel me not to object to the consideration of this bill is the earnestness and affability of my friend from South Dakota [Mr. GANDY] whom I know is greatly interested in this proposed legislation. He has been such an untiring worker during the time he has been in Congress for those things which he believes his constituents should have that on his account I do not feel justified in making objection to the consideration of the bill.

I have called attention to what the bill if enacted into law will effect. It is for a majority of those present to determine whether it should have the approval of the House.

Mr. SISSON. Will the gentleman from North Dakota yield?

Mr. NORTON. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. SISSON. If a man can not make a living on 480 acres of land, my friend certainly would not prevent him from taking 160 acres more of that land off the hands of the Federal Government. It reminds me of the man who had two eighths of land, and he wanted to get rid of both of them. Finally he got a customer for one of the eighths, and he went over to the courthouse to have the deed recorded, and when he left the courthouse he said with great glee, "That scoundrel couldn't read or write, and I shoved the other eighth off on him. I got rid of both the eighths at the same time." [Laughter.]

Mr. NORTON. My very good friend from Mississippi will find that in the public land States in the West there are plenty of people who are most willing to take all the public land suitable for grazing that Congress will permit them to get hold of by easy methods and with small expense.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the consideration of this bill?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This bill is on the Union Calendar.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to a third reading, and was accordingly read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

"THE OLD CUSTOMHOUSE" AT KENNEBUNKPORT, ME.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 4283) authorizing the donation of the land and building at Kennebunkport, Me., known as "The old customhouse," to the town of Kennebunkport, Me.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. I object.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I ask that the bill be passed informally.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida that the bill be passed informally?

Mr. STAFFORD. I do not know what the gentleman means by that request.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I want the bill to be passed over, that is all.

Mr. FOSTER. To go to the foot of the calendar?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. To go to the foot of the calendar. The gentleman from Maine [Mr. GOODALL] who is the author of this bill is not here.

Mr. STAFFORD. I certainly would not take advantage of the author of the bill. I have no objection to the bill being passed over, to take its place at the foot of the calendar.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the bill being passed over to take its place at the foot of the calendar?

There was no objection.

ADDITIONAL JUDGE FOR MONTANA.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill S. 70, an act providing for an additional judge for the district of Montana.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH and Mr. MOORES of Indiana objected.

EXTENDING TIME FOR APPLICATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 8763) to amend the act entitled "An act to extend temporarily the time for filing applications and fees and taking action in the United States Patent Office in favor of nations granting reciprocal rights to United States citizens," approved August 17, 1916.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin objects, and the bill will be stricken from the calendar.

PAYMENT OF INDIAN RESERVATION LAND, MONTANA.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (S. 935) for the relief of settlers on certain railroad lands in Montana.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. I object. At the request of the gentleman from Montana [Mr. EVANS] I will reserve the objection.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, this bill appeals to me as a meritorious one and worthy of consideration by the House. The situation is this: The Northern Pacific Railroad many years ago was granted land by the Government, and a part of these lands was within the Indian reservation.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman will permit, I ask unanimous consent that the reservation may be pending and that the bill may be read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the adjustment of the grants to the Northern Pacific Railroad Co., if any of the lands within the indemnity limits of said grants through that portion of the former reservation for the Gros Ventre, Piegan, Blood, Blackfoot, and River Crow Indians lying south of the Missouri River in the State of Montana be found in possession of an actual bona fide qualified settler under the homestead laws of the United States who has made substantial improvements thereon and such land has been adjudged by the Secretary of the Interior to inure to the Northern Pacific Railway Co. under the grants made to its predecessor in interest, the Northern Pacific Railroad Co., the Northern Pacific Railway Co. upon request of the Secretary of the Interior may file a relinquishment of said lands in favor of the settler and shall then be entitled to select an equal quantity of other lands in lieu thereof from any of the surveyed public lands within the State of Montana, not mineral and not otherwise appropriated at the date of selection, to which it shall receive title the same as though originally granted: *Provided, however*, That lands withdrawn or classified as coal lands may be selected by said company, and as to such lands it shall receive a restricted patent as provided by the act of June 22, 1910.

Mr. EVANS. As I was suggesting, these lands fell within the grant to the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. They were at that time in Indian reservations. It was not known that they were within the grant of land to the company, and individual settlers to the number of 30 or 40 went on the lands and made improvements. Subsequently, the department determined that these lands were within the grant and that the company was entitled to them. The railroad company has agreed to give up the lands to the settlers, provided the Government will allow them an equal amount of land somewhere else.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman permit?

Mr. EVANS. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. I would direct the gentleman's attention to the estimate placed upon it by the Secretary of the Interior in his letter directed to Senator MEYER, December 15, 1917, in which he says:

I am still of the opinion, as expressed in my report of February 21, 1917, that the settlers proposed to be benefited by this bill do not have such claims as would warrant my recommendation of the approval thereof.

Mr. EVANS. Yes, he says that; but he says something further.

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes; I will read further, because I wish the committee to have all the information:

In view of the fact, however, that the investigations made by the railway company show that they have placed valuable improvements on the land, that they would suffer considerable loss if they were now required to remove therefrom, and that the company is willing to relinquish for their benefit, I do not desire any further to oppose the passage of the proposed legislation. The selections made by the company in lieu of the lands relinquished should be restricted to surveyed lands, and the bill should therefore be amended by adding the word "surveyed" on line 4, page 2, before the words "public lands," so that it would read, "any of the surveyed public lands within the State of Montana, not mineral," etc.

In the first place, the settlers have no claim; they are squatters on railroad land. Now, the railroad for some reason or other would like to have an exchange of land, not of substantially equal value—there is no such limitation as is usually carried in bills of this kind, but that they may have any available land in exchange without any limitation whatever.

There have been too many abuses arising out of the exchange of land by railroads for other public lands to allow such a bill as this to go through under unanimous consent without giving an opportunity for careful consideration.

Mr. EVANS. I beg to say to the gentleman that it is not the railroad company that is asking for this bill, but 30 or 40 settlers, who have cabins, fences, and their families upon this land, who have made the improvements. The Department of the Interior has determined that the lands are within the grant to the railroad company, and the railroad company says that we will get out of the way if you will give us an equal amount of land.

Mr. STAFFORD. An equal amount of land without regard to the value of it.

Mr. FOSTER. Would the gentleman object to putting in an amendment saying that it should be land of equal value or like value?

Mr. EVANS. No; I would not object to that.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, it is too important a bill to be considered by unanimous consent.

WATER SUPPLY, OLATHE, COLO.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, on page 36 of this calendar, at the foot of the page, is a bill put on the Private Calendar. It is a bill to grant certain public lands to the town of Olathe, Colo., for the protection of its water supply. It is H. R. 5989, and is 147 on the Private Calendar, and I ask unanimous consent that it be transferred to the Union Calendar.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado asks unanimous consent that the bill H. R. 5989, on the Private Calendar, be transferred to the Union Calendar.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman's only desire is to have it transferred to the Union Calendar?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. That is all.

Mr. WALSH. And not put on the Unanimous Consent Calendar?

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. No. I will do that some other time.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

STUART, LEWIS, GORDON & RUTHERFORD.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 906) making an appropriation to Stuart, Lewis, Gordon & Rutherford in payment of legal services rendered by them to the Creek Nation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman reserve his objection for a moment?

Mr. WALSH. Certainly; I reserve my objection to permit the gentleman to make a statement.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, this bill authorizes the payment to Stuart, Lewis, Gordon & Rutherford of the sum of $7,000 out of the Creek tribal funds in settlement of a claim for legal services rendered by this firm on account of a contract entered into by the Creek Nation on January 7, 1898. At that time the Creek Nation was one of the Five Civilized Tribes and prior to that time no contract that either of the Five Civilized Tribes ever made for legal services was ever approved by the Secretary of the Interior or by the President. They not only paid out thousands, but hundreds of thousands—yes, they paid out millions of dollars, and there never was an appropriation, so far as I know, for the Cherokee Nation, of which I am a member, which prior to that time was ever approved. Thousands and thousands of dollars were paid out on appropriations made by the Cherokee tribal authorities, just like they would be if made by the Massachusetts Legislature, or the Legislature of Minnesota or California. This firm was contracted with under a legal contract, and it was just at the time when the affairs of the tribe were being wound up. This firm of attorneys, one of the most eminent in Oklahoma, necessarily had to resist and fight the Interior Department in their construction of the laws which were enacted by Congress and test the constitutionality of many of them in the courts.

The Creek tribal legislature met and passed this appropriation to pay this claim. The principal chief signed it. It was transmitted by the chief inspector and it was recommended by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. It got to the desk of the Secretary of the Interior on the very last day, and, without any consideration on his part, he recommended its disapproval. I know that this is a meritorious claim; I know it ought to be paid; I know that these services were rendered. This has been brought up in the House two or three times. The House passed it two years ago along about the last of the session. It went over to the Senate, and there was not time for its consideration there; but here was a firm of attorneys that was as good as any in the United States, and the contract was entered into with them under an act of the Creek Tribal Council, and they had a legal right to enter into that contract, and they were legally employed. They did perform the services. While the services were being performed, namely, between January 7, 1898, and a later date, when the Creek Council passed a law authorizing the employment, Congress on June 28, 1898, passed the Curtis bill, which contains a provision that as to subsequent appropriations they must be approved by the President. They entered into the contract, and they performed the services under an act passed by the Creek Tribal Council, passed before June 28, 1898. The Creek council later on made an appropriation to carry out its contract to pay for the services rendered, but it was after June 28, 1898; and I submit, Mr. Speaker, that this is a claim which has dragged along here for a number of years, but it is a meritorious one. Nobody doubts that the services were rendered, and that they ought to be paid for.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HASTINGS. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I agree with the gentleman entirely. I think the bill ought to be paid. But I think the bill ought to be on the Private Calendar and taken up and disposed of with Private Calendar bills. It does not belong on the calendar on which it has been placed. But it is evident that it will be objected to now, and I suggest to my good friend that he has made an able defense of his measure and that we ought to go on with the other bills.

Mr. HASTINGS. I want to say to the gentleman that we ought to go on with the bills of the gentleman from Oklahoma just as well as we ought to go on with the bills of the gentleman from Wyoming. We have taken up a good deal of time so far with bills from the Western States.

Mr. MONDELL. I hope the gentleman will yield right there. The gentleman from Wyoming has not any bill on this calendar and there is no bill in which the gentleman is especially and particularly interested. I am interested in every bill on the calendar, the bill of the gentleman from Oklahoma, as well as the bill of everyone else, but it is very evident that——

Mr. HASTINGS. I do not know that it is so evident. I am in hopes that I can get the gentleman to withdraw his objection, now that I have made the explanation. This is a meritorious bill, and I want to say one thing further, that the Creek tribal affairs are about to be wound up. They have been in the course of being wound up for the last 15 or 20 years, and it is, therefore, important that if we are ever going to pay these claims they ought to be paid now. That is one reason for the urgency of the consideration of the bill at the present time.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, still further reserving the right to object, I am sure that if it were not for other reasons upon which I base my opposition to the bill the very clear and able statement of the gentleman from Oklahoma would lead me to withdraw the objections along the lines he has so clearly set forth, but I notice that this measure has been pending for some years here, and that a considerable lapse of time intervened between the date of the rendition of the services and the attempt to procure compensation by this method, and that the Secretary of the Interior seems to be of the opinion that the claim is without merit.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. HASTINGS. We were political orphans in the Indian Territory for a number of years, and we did not get Statehood until 1907.

Mr. WALSH. I will state that they are not political orphans there to-day.

Mr. HASTINGS. I was answering the query of the gentleman as to why this matter had not been pressed. Since I have been in Congress I introduced a bill, and it was referred to the committee, and it was favorably reported, and we passed it here two years ago.

Mr. WALSH. I think I recall it. If I am not mistaken, at that time it was on the Private Calendar.

Mr. HASTINGS. No; on the Unanimous Consent Calendar, because Mr. MANN, the minority leader, and I had a considerable discussion and he yielded, and it was finally passed on the Unanimous Consent Calendar in the last four or five days of the session.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman may be correct. I was under the impression it was on the private calendar, and passed on one of the days when we took up the private calendar after considerable discussion between the gentleman and the minority leader, but I am not inclined to withdraw my objections to the measure and I will say to the gentleman from Oklahoma I think, as I said before, he has led me to some doubt——

Mr. HASTINGS. Let me make one further observation. I stated a while ago the Secretary of the Interior stated this came to his desk the very last day. If you will look on page 6 of the report you will find in the report the Secretary of the Interior said:

> This act has only come to my office to-day.

It had to be reported to the President that day. Then look at the top of page 6 in the report of the Commissioner of Indians Affairs, who then gave consideration of this matter, and he says:

> It may be proper, however, to add that the said beneficiaries have rendered services to the Creek Nation, and the Creek people appear to be anxious to pay for such services and that, therefore, the act should, if no objection thereto appears, receive the approval of the President.

That is the letter of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs transmitting the act of the Creek Tribal Council in making this appropriation. Now the Commissioner of Indian Affairs gave careful consideration, but the Secretary of the Interior, because he was antagonized by these attorneys, because it was their duty to represent the Creek Tribe, it was their duty to test the constitutionality of the various acts of Congress passed at that time—because of that fact, I say the Secretary of the Interior, without any consideration when it reached his office

the last day, without giving any reason at all, recommended that it be disapproved. I submit this has been here for 10 or 15 years. These attorneys have been without their money. It does not carry interest. It simply pays the amount which was due them 10 or 15 years ago.

Mr. WALSH. Well, in view of the attitude of Secretary Lane, I think I shall object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects and the bill is stricken from the calendar.

Mr. GANDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks on the homestead bill passed today and other subjects in connection with my service in Congress.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 9, SANDERS COUNTY, MONT.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (S. 933) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents for certain lands to school district No. 9, of Sanders County, Mont.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I should like to ask the gentleman from Montana if he is familiar with the facts in this case other than those set forth in the report?

Mr. EVANS. Yes, to a degree. I think I can explain it to the gentleman.

Mr. WALSH. This is intended to issue patent to some land in lieu of land set apart under the statutes for educational purposes. Is that the purpose?

Mr. EVANS. No; if the gentleman will permit. This land was originally in an Indian reservation and acts opening the Indian reservation provided that certain town sites, 40 acres, should be set apart, and that in each of those town sites to be reserved should be set apart——

Mr. WALSH. I recall; I had confused it with another bill. I have no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized and directed, upon proper application, to issue patent to school district No. 9, of Sanders County, Mont., for block 8, designated as "Public reserve," upon the approved plat of the town site of Dixon, Mont.: *Provided*, That title to the land so granted shall revert to the United States if the said school district attempts to alienate or use the land for other than school purposes.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be considered as in the House as in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The bill was ordered to be read the third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. RAKER, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT ATTORNEY, DISTRICT OF RHODE ISLAND.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 3563) to increase the salary of the United States district attorney for the district of Rhode Island.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, this is a conflict between the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Justice. Some time since the Speaker ruled, as I understood, that these bills belong to the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Justice under the rules of the House. There was a bill up here a couple of weeks ago from the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Justice. I think some member of the Committee on the Judiciary made the suggestion, and for that reason it went off, and I believe, under the circumstances, that this legislation belongs to the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Justice clearly and specifically under the rule, and ought to go to that committee and come from that committee.

Mr. FOSTER. This has already come from one committee. What would the gentleman do about it?

Mr. RAKER. It should come from the committee to which it belongs.

Mr. FOSTER. But this has been done, and it appears here before the House.

Mr. RAKER. That does not make any difference.

Mr. FOSTER. What is the difference?

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAKER. I yield for a question.

Mr. WALSH. I do not speak representing the Committee on the Judiciary, but I want to ask the gentleman if he is prompted in his objection by the desire to be consistent, inasmuch as the Committee on the Judiciary reported out the woman-suffrage resolution, but, notwithstanding that, the gentleman insisted that that resolution should come from his committee.

Mr. FOSTER. What is the difference?

Mr. RAKER. It has no relation——

Mr. WALSH. Except perhaps the gentleman would like to be consistent.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, why not consider the measure upon its merits?

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California reserves the right to object.

Mr. MONDELL. The House is not particularly interested in the controversy between these two committees. The question, it seems to me, is should the bill pass—is it sound legislation?

Mr. RAKER. I did not quite get the gentleman's question.

Mr. MONDELL. I suggested that the House was not especially interested in the controversy between the two committees. The important question is whether or no the legislation is proper, wise, equitable, just, and reasonable.

Mr. RAKER. Well, with the same propriety you might say that all of this legislation might go to one committee—to the Committee on Appropriations, or it might go to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAKER. For a question.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I direct the attention of the gentleman to the fact that this bill was reported on June 6. It has been upon the calendar during all that time, and the Committee on Expenditures has not raised the question of jurisdiction. Does the gentleman desire to take the responsibility of raising the question of jurisdiction now?

Mr. RAKER. Of course, as to the responsibility of objection, I do not assume any responsibility.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. It is within the right of the gentleman to object, but does the gentleman mean to object on the question of jurisdiction when neither committee has raised that question?

Mr. RAKER. What I mean by that is this: I have heard that word used this morning quite loosely, and it may be a good thing for me to refer to it at this time under this objection.

Mr. MONDELL. Regular order, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The regular order is called for. Is there objection?

Mr. RAKER. Reserving the right to object——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. RAKER. I hope——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wyoming has called for the regular order.

Mr. RAKER. If there is any objection it is that the gentleman was in his seat, and he has no right to recognition until he rises and respectfully addresses the Chair. My only purpose is to obtain a proper understanding as to the course these bills should take.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. I object.

Mr. FOSTER. Would not the gentleman leave this here until the gentleman——

Mr. STAFFORD. I have no objection to the bill going over and taking its place at the foot of the calendar.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the bill going over and taking its place at the foot of the calendar? (After a pause.) The Chair hears none.

PROOF OF DEATH OF SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (S. 3475) to prescribe to the requisite form of proof of death under policies or contracts of insurance covering the lives of persons in or serving with or attached to the military forces of the United States, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. I think this is too important a bill to be considered on the Unanimous Consent Calendar.

Mr. IGOE. I hope the gentleman will not object to it. The bill is important, and it is a measure that ought to be passed

in order to be of service. I think the sooner it is passed the better.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman will agree that it establishes a most important question of policy for the Government to virtually guarantee the payment of premiums of insurance companies in cases of loss?

Mr. IGOE. It does not guarantee the premiums, but simply——

Mr. STAFFORD. The effect will be to guarantee the payment in case the records are at fault. I think it is too important to be on the Unanimous Consent Calendar, and therefore I object.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman withhold it?

Mr. STAFFORD. I will withhold it.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, the situation is this: Hundreds of thousands of young men in the Army of the United States, serving abroad, have insurance in insurance societies or belong to fraternal societies which provide insurance as a feature of their organization. The names of these young men are being reported daily in the casualty lists. The officials of these societies desire to pay to the beneficiaries the money provided in the policies at the earliest possible moment, but under the laws of the several States in which they operate and under their own laws physical proof of death is required; certain affidavits are required; certain persons are required to see the body of the deceased and to be satisfied of their own personal knowledge of the identity of deceased. However, I think under the present emergency the State officials will be tolerant, and the officials of the societies will undertake payment if the Government of the United States is authorized to furnish to them a certificate in which statement is provided by the only possible witnesses of the fact of death that these men died on the battle fields of Europe; that they know the men are dead to the best of their knowledge and belief after careful inquiry. The officials who pay these claims are responsible under their bonds, which are heavy, for the faithful performance of their duties, including the nonpayment of moneys, unless proof of death is properly presented to them. They can not make these payments legally otherwise. They are subject to prosecution and to action by their own societies unless they do have some substantive statement of the fact of death. This bill provides that the proper officers of the War Department may furnish to these societies, paying out these hundreds of thousands of dollars on tens of thousands of claims, a statement of the facts as they know them. Upon this statement of facts in this great emergency, where men on the battle fields of Europe are being blown to atoms or buried in trenches, and where the fact of their death in a great number of cases can never be physically established, they are willing to undertake the payments in order to relieve women and children from the suffering that will necessarily come to them by the death of their father, husband, or son. I hope the gentleman, in view of the emergency of the measure and of the fact that thousands have been killed and thousands more will be, will withdraw his objection and let the bill come up for consideration and such amendment as in his judgment it may be proper to make that immediate and necessary relief may be afforded.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman's own statement shows the importance of the measure.

Mr. HAWLEY. It is an important measure. It is an urgent measure.

Mr. STAFFORD. And it should not be considered on the Unanimous Consent Calendar. The gentleman has not in any wise brought forth the position of the National Government, where they will be called upon to pay back in case there has been an erroneous presentation of the proof. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that the bill is entirely too important to be considered by unanimous consent, and therefore I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin objects, and the bill is stricken from the calendar. The Clerk will report the next one.

JAIL AT GUTHRIE, OKLA.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 12438) authorizing the conveyance of the United States jail and land on which the same is located at Guthrie, Okla., to Logan County, Okla.

The title of the bill was read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Attorney General of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to convey, by proper quit-claim deed, to the county of Logan, in the State of Oklahoma, the United States jail at Guthrie, Okla., and all the lands set apart therewith.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. HASTINGS, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next one.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS AT WAUSAU, WIS.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 10432) to abolish the office of receiver of public moneys at Wausau, Wis., and for other purposes.

The title of the bill was read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and I do not intend to object—I would like to inquire of some member of the Committee on the Public Lands why the office of register of public lands at Wausau, Wis., should not be abolished as well?

Here we are merely abolishing the office of receiver. It is an unusual occurrence in the history of legislation in the House to pass any act abolishing an office after it is once established. From the reading of the report I am led to believe that the office should be abolished entirely. I read from the report:

From the above it will be seen that under any circumstances the office should be closed within the next two or three years, and if the offices of register and receiver are not consolidated so as to make a living salary for one officer in charge the office had best be closed at once and its remaining business transferred to the General Land Office by operation of existing law.

Now, I am in sympathy with the recommendation of the Assistant Secretary of the Interior. There is very little public land in the State of Wisconsin. There is very little work for this receiver. It is purposed to abolish the office of receiver and to continue the office of register. Why not abolish the office entirely? In Wisconsin we are in favor of reform. The State of Wisconsin is known for the abolishment of useless offices.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. You do not want to throw the records out in the street.

Mr. STAFFORD. It could easily be transferred to the General Land Office here. I believe there is no use in the continuance of that office at Wausau.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. My understanding is that Mr. LENROOT and the gentlemen who represented this matter felt that it would be time enough to abolish the register a year or so from now. He could do all the work, and we could take two bites at this cherry.

Mr. STAFFORD. I withdraw my reservation of the right to object.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, the maintenance of the office with one official costs only $500 a year, unless the fees of the office make the emoluments larger.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman can ascertain, if he examines the report, that this official receives more than $1,000. According to the report, during the nine months ended March 31, 1918, the receipts were $1,657.60.

Mr. MONDELL. That was because there was business which brought in those receipts. But the maintenance of the office costs only $500 a year, that is, only $500 as a guaranty, and you can not abolish this office without legislation transferring the jurisdiction. This is the last land office remaining in Wisconsin, is it not?

Mr. STAFFORD. It is the only office.

Mr. MONDELL. And the ordinary procedure is to transfer the jurisdiction from that last official to the Surveyor General, and then, when the office is abolished, to transfer the whole thing to the department. But that requires additional legislation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the office of receiver of public moneys at Wausau, Wis., shall 10 days from and after the passage and approval of this act, be abolished and cease to exist; and that all the powers, duties, obligations, and penalties at that time lawfully imposed upon such receiver and upon the register of the land office at Wausau, Wis., shall, from and after that date, be exercised by and imposed upon such register; and such register shall, in addition to the duties thus imposed, have charge of and attend to the sale of public lands within the State of Wisconsin, as provided by law and official regulation, and shall be accountable under his official bond for the proceeds of such sales and for all fees, commissions, and other moneys received by him under any provision of law or official regulation: *Provided*, That all the fees and commissions now allowed by law to both such register and such receiver shall, 10 days after the passage and approval of this act, be paid to and accounted for by such register in the same manner and in like amounts in which they are now required to be paid to and accounted for by such receiver, but the salary, fees, and commissions of such register shall not exceed $3,000 per annum.

SEC. 2. That all official and public books, papers, plats, records, and property of every description found and remaining in the said land office 10 days from and after the approval of this act shall be delivered to the register of the said office, who shall become the custodian of the same, under the direction of the Commissioner of the General Land Office.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next bill.

COOS BAY WAGON-ROAD GRANT.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 8625) to accept from the Southern Oregon Co., a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Oregon, a reconveyance of the lands granted to the State of Oregon by the act approved March 3, 1869, entitled "An act granting lands to the State of Oregon to aid in the construction of a military wagon road from the navigable waters of Coos Bay to Roseburg, in said State," commonly known as the Coos Bay Wagon-Road grant, to provide for the disposition of said lands, and for other purposes.

The title of the bill was read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. I object, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin objects.

Mr. SINNOTT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman withhold his objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. I will withhold it.

Mr. SINNOTT. Mr. Speaker, I hope the gentleman from Wisconsin will not object to this measure. This measure promises the end of long litigation between the Government and this wagon-road company. It has been litigated for a number of years, and the Government and the wagon-road company have at last come to an agreement of settlement, which is incorporated into this law.

The Attorney General's office is very anxious to have this litigation out of the way. I have had several visits from representatives of the Attorney General's office urging that this matter be disposed of, and I have also been called up over the telephone a number of times. It is not only desirable from the standpoint of the Government, but it is desirable also from the standpoint of the State that this matter be disposed of.

Taxes have not been collected on this land for eight or nine years. The State should not be denied its taxes any longer. This settlement offers something like $1,500,000 or $2,500,000 of absolute "velvet" to the Government. The Government at one time absolutely disposed of this land, parted with its title to it. By virtue of this act this land, which is worth all the way from $2,000,000 to $4,000,000, will be returned. The lowest estimate of the value of the land was $2,000,000, and the highest estimate, a very conservative one, put upon the land by the county judge in one of the counties, placed the value at $4,000,000. The Government will have to advance only some $600,000 to secure the absolute title to this land. In addition to that, whatever payment the Government advances will be reimbursed out of the proceeds of the sale of the land. It will net the Government from $1,500,000 to $2,500,000. If this matter is allowed to run for another six months or a year many thousand dollars' worth of taxes will accrue that will have to be paid sooner or later.

Mr. MONDELL. I think the gentleman's very clear statement of the provisions of the bill makes it very evident that it is not the sort of legislation that can properly be considered by unanimous consent. I think the gentleman will agree with me on that in view of our usual practice. This bill is sufficiently important to justify the Committee on Rules bringing in a rule for its consideration.

Mr. SINNOTT. It is important legislation; but inasmuch as, in 1916, we thrashed out a similar proposition, it seems to me that the House might well take it up at this time. I believe most of the Members are very familiar with the subject matter of this legislation. It is very similar to the disposition of the Oregon & California Railroad grant which we had up in 1916.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, this is entirely too important a measure to be considered this afternoon, if we are to consider the rest of the calendar, and I therefore object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin objects. The bill will be stricken from the calendar, and the Clerk will report the next bill.

CERTAIN CLAIMS OF THE CHEROKEE NATION.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 357) conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, consider, and determine certain claims of the Cherokee Nation against the United States.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin objects.

Mr. HASTINGS. Will the gentleman withhold his objection for a moment?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. HASTINGS. I have discussed this bill with the gentleman from Wisconsin a number of times. It only seeks to refer to the Court of Claims certain claims of the Cherokee Tribe of Indians. The affairs of this tribe have been completely wound up. The rolls have been made, the lands have all been allotted, every foot of them. All of their moneys have been paid out per capita, and provision has been made for the disposition of whatever little fragments of money they may yet have.

The Cherokees had a claim against the Government. After about 75 years it was referred to a court. Judgment was rendered by the Court of Claims. The case went to the Supreme Court and that judgment was there affirmed. The representatives of the Cherokee Tribe claimed that the interest was not paid in accordance with that judgment as to four items. All they ask now is to go into your own court to determine whether or not that is true. With reference to the two proposed amendments let me say that I am perfectly willing to accept the last amendment, providing that such fees shall be paid to the attorneys as the court shall allow.

As to the first amendment, services have been performed in this case for 25 or 30 years. The chief of the Cherokee Tribe is now dead. A contract was made before his death to prosecute this claim. No other contracts can be made, because there are no officers of the Cherokee Tribe now remaining. What difference does it make to the gentleman from Wisconsin who prosecutes the claim, provided the question as to the fee is fixed by the court?

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman permit?

Mr. HASTINGS. With pleasure.

Mr. STAFFORD. It has been some months since I have examined this bill and the report. There was a companion bill seeking some legislation as to some other items that had previously been adjudicated by the Court of Claims. At that time the matter was fresh in my mind. I remember that the bill as reported from the committee did not meet with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. For that reason I objected, thinking that these amendments recommended by the Secretary of the Interior would be adopted. I do not recall whether this is the bill that refers again to the Court of Claims the adjudication of the interest charged on the big amount of item 2.

Mr. HASTINGS. It refers them all to the court, but it does not make any direct appropriation. It refers to your own court the question whether or not the interest was properly calculated by your own officers.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I recall it, there was one of these bills to which no objection could be made, because the Secretary of the Interior admitted personally that an erroneous computation had been made, but he did object to having the attorney paid as provided in the bill.

Mr. HASTINGS. This is not that bill. That bill went off the calendar.

Mr. STAFFORD. This is the bill which involves the readjudication of the question of interest on that large sum in item 2?

Mr. HASTINGS. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. When I read the bill and report a month or two ago I had strong opposition to it.

Mr. HASTINGS. It only refers the matter to the Court of Claims.

Mr. STAFFORD. You had an examination once and the Court of Claims adjudicated it, and the Department of the Interior does not make any strong recommendation now.

Mr. HASTINGS. It recommends this bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. In a minor way.

Mr. HASTINGS. With the two amendments, one is to employ the attorney under contract approved by the Secretary of the Interior, and the other is for the court to fix the fee. We are willing to accept the amendment as to the fixing of the fee.

Mr. STAFFORD. From reading the report I recall that this bill has been rereferred to the Court of Claims. I think the gentleman had better ask that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

Mr. HASTINGS. We have had it up a number of times, and I brought it to the attention of the gentleman from Wisconsin a number of times.

Mr. STAFFORD. Not this bill.

Mr. HASTINGS. Yes; this bill, and it only refers the claim to the Court of Claims. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Oklahoma asks that the bill be passed over without prejudice. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

RECONVEYANCE OF LANDS FROM SOUTHERN OREGON CO.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, before the next bill is called I want to ask unanimous consent that the bill H. R. 8625, and No. 176 on the House Calendar, be transferred to the Union Calendar, where it belongs, so that it will be on the proper calendar next time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California asks unanimous consent that the bill H. R. 8625 be transferred to the Union Calendar. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. RAKER. Now, Mr. Speaker, I ask that this bill go to the foot of the calendar.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

REGULATING THE PERSONNEL OF THE COAST GUARD.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill H. R. 6979, a bill to regulate the personnel of the Coast Guard.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, I understood this bill was virtually covered in the naval appropriation act of this year.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I will say that some very material matter in this bill is covered by the legislation referred to by the gentleman. It is for that reason, desiring to make a further examination of it, that I ask that it be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

BRIDGE ACROSS PEARL RIVER, MISS.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 11948) granting the consent of Congress to the Great Southern Lumber Co., a corporation of the State of Pennsylvania, doing business in the State of Mississippi, to construct a bridge across Pearl River, at or near the north line of section 22, township 8 north, range 21 west, west of the basis meridian, in the land district east of Pearl River, in the State of Mississippi.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the Great Southern Lumber Co., a corporation of the State of Pennsylvania, doing business in the State of Mississippi, its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Pearl River at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near the north line of section 22, in township 8 north, range 21 west, of the basis meridian, in the land district east of Pearl River, in the State of Mississippi, and in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the construction of such bridge shall be commenced within three years from the date of the passage of this act, and shall be completed within five years from the passage of this act.

SEC. 3. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The following committee amendments were read:

Strike out all of section 2.

Renumber section 3 to be section 2.

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. SIMS, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

BRIDGE ACROSS PEARL RIVER, MISS.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 11949) granting the consent of Congress to the county of Pearl River, Miss., and the fourth ward of the parish of Washington, La., to construct a bridge across Pearl River, between Pearl River County, Miss., and Washington Parish, La.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the county of Pearl River, Miss., and the fourth ward of the parish of Washington, La., and their successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Pearl River, at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near the fourth ward of the parish of Washington, State of Louisiana, and in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 22, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the construction of such bridge shall be commenced within two years from the date of the passage of this act, and shall be completed within four years from the passage of this act.

SEC. 3. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The following committee amendments were read:

Strike out sections 1 and 2, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "That the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge, authorized by act of Congress approved February 27, 1917, to be built across the Pearl River, at or near the fourth ward of the parish of Washington, State of Louisiana, are hereby extended one and three years, respectively, from date of approval hereof."

Renumber section 3 to be section 2.

Amend the title so as to read: "To extend the time for the construction of a bridge across Pearl River, between Pearl River County, Miss., and Washington Parish, La."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. SIMS, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

COMPENSATION FOR EMPLOYEES INJURED IN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 11999) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties, and for other purposes," approved September 7, 1916.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. MONDELL. Reserving the right to object, this legislation is exceedingly important. In the main I think it is entirely sound and proper, but it is manifestly too important, it involves too many controverted questions, to be properly considered under unanimous consent.

Mr. STEELE. Will the gentleman withhold his objection?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes; I have no objection to the bill, but there are a number of questions involved in which there are a good many interested.

Mr. STEELE. It is an extremely important bill, intended to modify the employees' compensation act. It came before the Judiciary Committee and had the unanimous indorsement of that committee. It was carefully considered, and came to the House with the unanimous report of the committee.

Mr. MONDELL. I think the bill is sufficiently important to justify a rule for its consideration before we adjourn.

Mr. FIELDS. I would like to have it considered as early as possible because of its importance to the many employees of the Government.

Mr. MONDELL. I am not objecting on account of any personal opposition to the measure, because I feel it is too important a matter to discuss in the brief time we have under unanimous consent. I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wyoming objects, and the bill goes off the calendar.

METALLIFEROUS MINING ON INDIAN RESERVATIONS.

The next business in order on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (S. 385) to authorize mining for metalliferous minerals on Indian reservations.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman withhold his objection for a moment?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. HAYDEN. I want to remind the gentleman from Wisconsin that the House in the last Congress passed this bill by unanimous consent, that it was very thoroughly discussed and somewhat amended in accordance with his suggestions. The bill went to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs and was favorably reported to the Senate by that committee with an amendment or two suggested by friends of the Indians, notably the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Indian Rights Association, and the Board of Indian Commissioners. It has been thoroughly discussed. The bill was made up from applicable sections of the water-power bill and the coal and oil leasing bill, bills that have passed this House three different times. Every principle has been passed upon most carefully. This legislation is of great importance not only to my State but to all of the West.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. This is the identical measure that was placed upon the emergency Agricultural appropriation bill?

Mr. HAYDEN. It is.

Mr. MONDELL. And will go from that bill, I assume, with other legislation in conference.

Mr. HAYDEN. The House conferees think that this legislation does not properly belong upon that bill.

Mr. MONDELL. But the House has carefully considered this legislation in its present form?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes; except some minor amendments made in the Senate at the suggestion of the friends of the Indians.

Mr. MONDELL. Therefore I trust the gentleman from Wisconsin will not object.

Mr. STAFFORD. I was under the impression that the bill that passed the House originally merely applied to the Indian lands in the State of Arizona.

Mr. HAYDEN. As I originally introduced the bill it applied to Indian lands in the State of Arizona. At the suggestion of the Department of the Interior and of numerous Members of the House who were interested the bill was amended in the House to make it cover all of the United States. In the Senate the Senators from Utah and Colorado said they did not care to have their States included, so there was arranged this enumeration of States. When the bill reached the House, at the suggestion of the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. FRENCH] and at the suggestion of the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. SINNOTT] their two States were included.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. I should like to ask the gentleman if the mining and mineral bill which we have passed here as a war measure would not permit of this territory being worked?

Mr. HAYDEN. No; there is absolutely no law of any kind whereby a pick may be stuck in the ground or any development done on any Indian reservation in the West. These metals are all locked up unless this legislation is passed.

Mr. WALSH. Does the gentleman mean to say that under the mining and mineral bill which we passed if we needed platinum or some other mineral for the effective prosecution of this war and there happened to be a deposit of it upon the Indian lands we could not go in and take it?

Mr. HAYDEN. You could not.

Mr. WALSH. Why not?

Mr. HAYDEN. Because there is no authority to do so.

Mr. WALSH. Then why did we pass that bill?

Mr. HAYDEN. For the development of rare and unusual minerals on the public domain.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. These are Indian lands.

Mr. HAYDEN. Reserved for their exclusive use and benefit, and it is proposed in this bill that the Secretary of the Interior, having jurisdiction over Indian lands, shall make leases satisfactory to him and the Indians, the proceeds of the leases and the royalties to go into the Treasury to the credit of the Indians.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield further, for I see the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER] has risen. Could the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER] state why Indian lands were not included in the general scheme of things?

Mr. FOSTER. Every foot of land in the United States is included. There is not any doubt about that.

Mr. WALSH. Then the gentleman disagrees with the gentleman from Arizona?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes. I think the gentleman from Arizona is mistaken about that. If it is necessary to prosecute the war, the Government could go onto any land in the United States and get those minerals. I think the other bill has nothing to do with this bill. The war-minerals bill would only apply where there are some necessary minerals on the lands that the Government absolutely needs.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Which could not be developed until the mineral itself was developed.

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, sure.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. This provides development that the other bill does not.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think this has anything to do with that at all.

Mr. WALSH. You would not contend that we ought to let private individuals come in here and develop this property for mineral and then turn around and sell it to the Government?

Mr. FOSTER. If they got the mineral, I would not care whether they sold it to the Government or not, for if the Government needs it, it ought to have it.

Mr. WALSH. If the Government needs it, it ought to get it itself.

Mr. MADDEN. We gave $50,000,000 to the Government with which to do it.

Mr. WALSH. Could the gentleman state whether this measure would in any way hinder the operation of the other?

Mr. FOSTER. Not a bit.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is admitted this is a very important bill and it is not safeguarded in the way the last bills that we passed through the House are safeguarded.

Mr. HAYDEN. I beg the gentleman's pardon; this bill has every safeguard contained in any of the leasing bills; its language was taken word for word from them.

Mr. STAFFORD. I may be in error, but when I read this bill I was under the impression it did not safeguard sufficiently the interests of the Indians.

Mr. HAYDEN. The gentleman is mistaken. This bill has the approval of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of the Interior, and the legal advisory board in the department which helped to draft the other leasing bills. They all assisted in the production of this bill, and every safeguard is thrown around the interests of the Indians. It is a carefully considered piece of legislation, every principle of which has been passed upon by this House four times.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. The department is clearly satisfied that ample protection is given to all the rights of the Indians under this bill, and the situation is somewhat as stated by the gentleman from Arizona. While under the bill I understand it would be possible for the Government to go and commandeer any minerals discovered and developed, but minerals will not be developed by the Government. This will permit the development on Indian reservations, just as is now done on public lands of the United States.

Mr. STAFFORD. In these times, when nearly everybody has withdrawn from the prospecting field and only a few would profit at the expense of those who are in the service, perhaps——

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. As the gentleman well knows, there can not be any mineral development anyway without some one profits unless the Government itself takes over all the mineral business of the country, which I doubt the advisability of its doing.

Mr. HAYDEN. The difference between the plan proposed in this bill and the ordinary development of mineral on public lands is that in the event of a mineral discovery off a reservation the prospector locates it and takes title, whereas in order to have development on a reservation he must first get a permit from the Secretary of the Interior to go upon the reservation, then apply for a lease after discovery, and by that lease agree to pay rentals and royalties to the Indians.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman will agree there are only a few persons at this time who will be able to take advantage of the opportunities of opening up these Indian reservations and prospecting for minerals?

Mr. HAYDEN. The things that are greatly needed to carry on this war are minerals, such as copper and other metals.

Mr. STAFFORD. That is all covered by the other bill in case the Government needs them. I ask to have the bill go over for future consideration.

Mr. HAYDEN. I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed without prejudice.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I suggest this is on the House Calendar, and under the provision it belongs on the Union Calendar because it handles the money and becomes——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona that the bill be passed without prejudice? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. RAKER. In order to give the bill its proper status, I ask that it be transferred from the House Calendar to the Union Calendar.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request?

Mr. HAYDEN. Let it retain its place on the calendar.

Mr. FOSTER. This does not make a charge on the Treasury.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; it provides for making a charge on the Treasury, here in section 10 and section 11.

Mr. WALSH. Not section 10.

Mr. STAFFORD. There is a question whether it is a Union Calendar bill, and I think it ought to remain as it is until further consideration is given to it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman withdraw his request?

Mr. RAKER. All right.

ADDITIONAL JUDGE, DISTRICT OF ARIZONA.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (S. 714) providing for an additional judge for the district of Arizona.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin objects.

PROHIBITION OF USE OF PEYOTE.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 2614) to amend sections 2139 and 2140 of the Revised Statutes and the acts amendatory thereof, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will some gentleman of the Committee on Public Lands explain the necessity of this bill? Let the bill be again reported under the reservation of the right to object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the bill will be read.

The Clerk began the reading of the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the request, in order that some gentleman may give an explanation of the bill. I thought the bill was a short one, and I do not wish to impose upon the House. I did not happen to have the bill before me.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, this bill was prepared by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and is a general revision of the laws relating to the sale of liquors to Indians. It tightens up the various existing acts in places where they have been found difficult of enforcement. Among the other things, the bill includes within its provisions an inhibition against the sale to Indians of peyote, and this measure is therefore known as the "peyote bill." Peyote is being increasingly used by Indians in certain sections of the country. It is a habit-forming drug and is very deleterious and injurious to their health. The bill, as I said, is a general revision of the laws relating to the sale of liquors to Indians, including peyote and other drugs in the list of prohibited articles.

Mr. STAFFORD. This bill, I understand, is solely for the further protecting and safeguarding the health of the Indians——

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. From liquor and the use of habit-forming drugs. I have no objection to it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That sections 2139 and 2140 of the Revised Statutes and the acts amendatory thereof be amended to read as follows:

"SECTION 1. That any person who shall sell, give away, dispose of, exchange, barter, or otherwise furnish any malt, fermented, spirituous, or vinous liquor, including beer, ale, and wine, tulapai or tiswin, or any ardent or other intoxicating liquor of any kind whatsoever, or any essence, extract, bitters, preparation, compound, composition, or any article whatsoever, under any name, label, or brand, which produces intoxication, or cannabis indica or Indian hemp, or anhalonium, or peyote, to any Indian to whom allotment of land has been made while title to same shall be held in trust by the Government, to any Indian a ward of the Government under the charge of any Indian superintendent or agent, or to any Indian, including Pueblos and mixed bloods, over whom or over whose property the Government, through its departments, exercises guardianship or supervision, whether a citizen or not, and any person who shall introduce or attempt to introduce into or convey or transport through the Indian country, which term shall include all the lands embraced in what was formerly the Indian Territory and now a part of the State of Oklahoma, all of Osage County, in said State of Oklahoma, any Indian allotment while the title to same shall be held in trust by the Government, or while the same shall remain inalienable by the allottee with the consent of the United States, any Indian reservation, or any town site or tract of land, including any railroad right of way or part thereof, located wholly within the exterior limits of any Indian reservation or pueblo land grant, or any lands owned by Indians individually or as communities, whether allotted or not, Indian settlements, Indian school lands, and Indians pueblos, and any land to which by treaty or otherwise the Indian intercourse laws or other laws prohibiting the liquor traffic therein have been made applicable, and any other lands not herein described, which may be Indian country on or prior to the date of the passage of this act, or who shall have in possession, sell, give away, dispose of, exchange, barter, or manufacture any malt, fermented, spirituous, or vinous liquor, including beer, ale, and wine, tulapai or tiswin, or any ardent or intoxicating liquor of any kind whatsoever, or any essence, extract, bitters, preparation, compound, composition, or any article whatsoever, under any name, label, or brand which produces intoxication, or cannabis indica or Indian hemp, or anhalonium, or peyote, which the Indian country as hereinbefore described, shall be punished by imprisonment for more than 60 days, but less than one year, and by a fine of not less than $100 or more than $500 for the first offense: *Provided, however*, That the person convicted shall be committed until the fine and costs are paid. But it shall be a sufficient defense to any charge of introducing or attempting to introduce or having in possession any of the articles herein named that the acts charged were done by order of or under authority in writing from the Secretary of the Interior or the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, under such regulations as may be prescribed. Prosecutions under this section may be by information. Hereafter it shall not be unlawful to introduce and use wines solely for sacramental purposes under church authority at any place within the Indian country as hereinbefore described.

"SEC. 2. Any person having been convicted of a second or subsequent offense under section 1 of this act shall be punished by a fine of not less than $200 or more than $2,000 and by imprisonment for not less than six months or more than three years.

"SEC. 3. That if the chief special officer or any of his duly authorized deputies whose appointments have been affirmed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or any Indian superintendent or other person in the service of the United States whose appointment is made by the Secretary of the Interior or the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, or any United States marshal or his deputy, has reason to suspect or is informed that any of the intoxicants, drugs, or preparations enumerated in or coming within the purview of this act have been or are about to be introduced into or conveyed across any of the places mentioned herein in violation of law or that any such intoxicants, drugs, preparations, or articles are within any of such places in violation of law, it shall be the duty of such person to search the premises, conveyances, or places of deposit, and to take and destroy any of the aforesaid intoxicants, drugs, preparations, or articles found in any such place or places, except such as may be introduced therein by or under authority in writing of the Secretary of the Interior or the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and to seize the places of deposit and all articles and goods found therewith or therein, the teams, wagons, sleds, boats, automobiles, or any other vehicles or conveyances used in the transportation of such intoxicants, drugs, or preparations, whether used by the owner thereof or other persons, and deliver them to the proper officer, and same shall be proceeded against by libel in the proper court, and if such person be a trader his license shall be revoked and his bond put in suit. In all cases arising under this or any other law Indians shall be competent witnesses.

"SEC. 4. That hereafter when any reservation or portion thereof is thrown open for settlement the lands allotted, those retained or reserved, and the surplus lands sold or otherwise disposed of shall be subject to all the laws of the United States relative to the introduction, possession, sale, or other disposal and seizure of intoxicants, drugs, and preparations until Congress shall otherwise provide.

"SEC. 5. The records of any common carrier, telegraph, or telephone company or wholesale or retail dealer in liquors or of any other individual, firm, or corporation shall be competent evidence in any case arising under this act. If any officer, agent, employee, or representative of any common carrier, corporation, or company, or any other person having knowledge of any violation of any of the provisions of this act shall withhold or conceal such information, books, or records, or who does not, as soon as may be, disclose or make known the same to one of the officers named in section 3 of this act, such person shall be fined not less than $100 nor more than $1,000 or imprisoned not less than 30 days nor more than 1 year, or both.

"SEC. 6. That any person hereafter committing against the person of the chief special officer for the suppression of the liquor traffic among Indians and duly authorized officers working under his supervision or other employees whose appointments are made or affirmed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or the Secretary of the Interior, against any United States marshal, deputy United States marshal, posse, posse comitatus, or guard, while lawfully engaged in the execution of any United States process or lawfully engaged in any other duty imposed upon such special officer or his duly authorized agent or other employee appointed as aforesaid, or marshal, deputy marshal, posse, posse comitatus, or guard, by the laws of the United States, any of the following crimes, namely: Murder, manslaughter, assault with intent to murder, assault, or assault and battery, or who shall in any manner obstruct by threats or violence any person who is engaged in the service of the United States in the discharge of any of his duties as such chief special officer or his duly authorized agent, or other officer aforesaid, or who shall hereafter commit any of the crimes aforesaid against any person who at the time of the commission of said crime, or at any time within three years previous thereto, belonged to any of the classes of officers hereinbefore named, shall be subject to the laws of the United States relating to such crimes and shall be tried by the district court of the United States exercising criminal jurisdiction where such offense was committed and shall be subject to the same penalties as are all other persons charged with the commission of said crimes, respectively, and such courts are hereby given jurisdiction of all such cases.

"SEC. 7. Whoever shall resist, oppose, prevent, impede, or interfere with any officer employed to suppress the traffic in intoxicants among the Indians, or his deputy, or any person assisting him in the execution of his duties, or any person authorized to make searches and seizures, in the execution of his duty, or shall rescue, attempt to rescue, or cause to be rescued, any prisoner or any property which has been seized by any person so authorized; or whoever before, at, or after such arrest or seizure, in order to prevent the arrest and confinement of such prisoner, or the seizure or securing of any liquor, drugs, or preparations, wagons, sleds, boats, automobiles, or other articles used in transporting, or places used in storing or keeping such liquors, drugs, or preparations, by any person so authorized, shall destroy or remove the same, or shall release, or attempt to secure the release, or prevent the confinement of

any prisoner, shall be fined not more than $2,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both; and whoever shall use any deadly or dangerous weapon in resisting any person authorized to make searches or seizures, in the execution of his duty, with intent to commit a bodily injury upon him or to deter or prevent him from discharging his duty, shall be imprisoned not more than 10 years.

"SEC. 8. In the defense of suits, either civil or criminal, other than by the United States, against those employed to enforce the provisions of this act arising out of their official acts, the United States attorney shall appear on behalf of such employee and the expense in connection with such suits shall be paid from the same appropriation from which the employee is paid.

"SEC. 9. Indian superintendents and officers designated by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to enforce the provisions of this act are hereby authorized to administer oaths and take acknowledgments for general purposes.

"SEC. 10. That all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed."

The committee amendments were severally read and severally agreed to, as follows:

Page 2, line 22, after the word "railroad," insert the words "or other."

Page 3, line 24, after the word "Interior," strike out the words "or the Commissioner of Indian Affairs."

Page 3, line 25, after the word "as," insert the word "he."

Page 3, line 25, after the word "may," strike out the words "be prescribed" and insert the word "prescribed."

Page 4, line 22, strike out the word "intoxacants" and insert the word "intoxicants."

Page 5, line 4, after the word "Interior," strike out the words "or the Commissioner of Indian Affairs."

Page 5, line 8, after the word "the," insert the following: "introduction, attempted introduction, or."

In line 9, page 5, after the word "transportation," insert the following: "within or across any of the places mentioned herein."

Page 7, line 4, after the word "aforesaid," strike out the following: "or who shall hereafter commit any of the crimes aforesaid against any person who at the time of the commission of said crime, or at any time within three years previous thereto."

Page 8, line 1, after the word "other," strike out the word "articles" and insert in lieu thereof the word "vehicles."

Page 8, line 21, strike out the words "Commissioner of Indian Affairs" and insert in lieu thereof the words "Secretary of the Interior."

Page 8, line 23, after the word "oaths," strike out the following: "and take acknowledgments for general purposes."

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WALSH: Page 3, line 16, after the word "days," strike out the words "but less than one year and" and insert "or"; and, in line 17, strike out "less than $100 or."

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I will say to the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] that we seldom enact legislation now providing for both a minimum and maximum penalty. We usually provide the maximum. This would read that they shall be punished by imprisonment of not more than 60 days or by a fine of not more than $500.

Mr. HAYDEN. I wanted to make it perfectly clear that the first offense shall be a misdemeanor, punishable by imprisonment for less than a year. The second offense becomes a felony, because the term of imprisonment may be for a year or more, and on the second offense to make it a heavier penalty.

Mr. WALSH. This would not make it any heavier penalty. You say here "by imprisonment for more than 60 days, but less than one year."

Mr. HAYDEN. "For more than 60 days or less than one year." The judge must sentence him for at least 60 days, but not more than a year. The minimum penalty is 60 days in jail and the maximum is one year.

Mr. WALSH. I see. I will withdraw the amendment in that case. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment on page 6.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report:

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WALSH: Page 6, line 9, after the word "not," strike out "less than $100 nor," and in same line strike out, at the end of the line, "less than 30 days nor."

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I think in this case the penalties are not for the first offense.

Mr. HAYDEN. I think it might just as well be left to the discretion of the court. I accept the amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH].

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I just wanted to ask the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] one question.

On page 5, line 15, it says:

In all cases arising under this or any other law Indians shall be competent witnesses.

Mr. HAYDEN. This is a mere reenactment of the statute. This amounts to a revision of the law. It is in the present law.

Mr. WALSH. I want to ask if, prior to the enactment of the statute containing that language, were not Indians competent witnesses?

Mr. HAYDEN. The question was raised by some of the courts, and some of the courts held they were and some that they were not. That was a necessity for the passage of that law.

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. McKEOWN] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. McKEOWN: Page 2, line 5, strike out the words "anhalonium or peyote," and the same on page 3, line 14.

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, this question raises quite a controversy in dealing with the Indians. A great many of these Indian tribes use this peyote in religious ceremonies. It is a very acute question with the full-blood Indians in the Southwest. A great many of them use it in their church ceremonies, and upon that ground I am offering this amendment to strike these words out of this bill. As a matter of fact, I think this peyote is put in this bill with the liquor question in order to put the peyote proposition through. And if you examine the hearings you will find that a number of Indians use peyote in their religious ceremonies, as I have stated. If it is true they use it in that manner, I do not think it ought to be prohibited.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McKEOWN. I will.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. In that case, then, why could not the gentleman revise his amendment so as not to affect the sale of it when used for religious purposes?

Mr. McKEOWN. I am willing to accept that amendment.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Will the gentleman tell us what that is?

Mr. McKEOWN. Peyote?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Yes.

Mr. McKEOWN. It is a little button or a little root that grows in the far Southwest. It has a very exhilarating effect, so the testimony before the committee shows, and I invite the gentleman's attention to that testimony, where he can find interesting information on that question.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, some six or eight years ago the matter of the use of peyote among Indians in my district belonging to the Winnebago Tribe was brought to my attention. I made an investigation at that time, confined not merely to the Winnebagos in my immediate section but to the members of the tribe scattered through Nebraska and elsewhere. I gathered a large amount of testimony in regard to its use. It is true, as the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. McKEOWN] has stated, that they are using it in connection with their religious worship. But some of my investigation showed that that is largely a pretext to justify the use of it. The effects of it are at first exhilarating, and then there follows a period of profound depression and there are cases where it has resulted in crime. The evidence that I gathered came from missionaries who had labored among the Indians for years, and came also from intelligent members of the tribe. They were all of one accord in claiming that the use of the drug was deleterious, and that its spread was exceedingly rapid, and that some legislation ought to be enacted to entirely prohibit it. I believe that we should retain it in the bill.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. ESCH. Yes.

Mr. SLOAN. I notice the gentleman's description of the effect, that it is about the same as that of the Kentucky article. Is it not?

Mr. ESCH. I am not familiar with the Kentucky product.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, I dislike very much to be compelled to oppose the amendment offered by my colleague [Mr. McKEOWN] to strike out peyote. I am a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs which investigated this subject. I am also a member of the subcommittee that investigated it. A great many of the Indians from these western tribes came before the subcommittee and protested against the inclusion of peyote in this bill. That is true. But the Indian Office is very insistent upon this legislation, and we had Dr. Wiley before us, and we had a good many other people before us, telling us of the very bad effects of the use of this drug. I think the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH] was right when he said that they used the religious ceremonies as an excuse for the use of this drug.

Now, it is a little button that grows on the top of the cactus plant down around the Mexican border, and it is gathered there and sent to the less civilized Indians, and they use it. The testimony before the committee is to the effect that it has

a worse effect upon them than the use of whisky. I do not think there is a particle of doubt about it, and intelligent, highly intelligent, and the more civilized Indians who came before our committee were very insistent that the use of peyote ought to be suppressed, inasmuch as it was not for the best interests of the Indians that they should be permitted to use it.

None of the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes use the peyote. It is only the less civilized Indians that use it. We very carefully considered the matter. We took testimony day after day before a subcommittee, and the full committee considered it; and I think, as a member of that committee, that peyote ought to be suppressed, and that this amendment striking it out ought not to be agreed to.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HASTINGS. I will.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. I want to ask my colleague on the committee from Oklahoma if he could tell the House some of the effects that this drug has upon the Indians?

Mr. HASTINGS. Oh, well, it is pretty difficult to explain. It is true that they call meetings and have gatherings in the evening lasting throughout the entire night, and they have these little buttons and distribute them around among the members present and they eat them. Its effect, I will say, is not exactly like that of opium, but somewhat similar. It is pretty difficult to describe. It makes the Indians see visions and dream dreams. It has a very bad effect upon the Indians, according to the testimony of those in the very best position to know. As I say, there is a class of Indians that want to continue the use of it, and a good many Indians came before us and protested against this legislation.

Mr. McKEOWN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HASTINGS. Yes.

Mr. McKEOWN. I will ask the gentleman if there was not quite a bit of testimony taken before your committee to the effect that it was used in their religious ceremonies, and that Mr. SNYDER, one of the members of the committee, did not oppose it on the ground that it was used in connection with a religious ceremony?

Mr. HASTINGS. My colleague states correctly that there were statements of that kind made by certain Indians who appeared before the committee. But all the missionaries among the Indians, without any exception, and among all tribes of Indians are opposed to the use of peyote, without any exception whatever. Only those Indians who do not belong to the Protestant churches favor the use of peyote. All others are opposed to the use of peyote.

As I said a moment ago, the officials of the Indian Office have made a special study of this question, and the Indian agents throughout all these Indian tribes who have made reports on it have reported against the use of it and in favor of the enactment of this legislation. I am sorry that I can not agree with my colleague from Oklahoma.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HASTINGS. I will be glad to.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. Do I understand the gentleman to say that after full investigation of this subject and of the use of this drug, the use that the Indians make of it in their religious ceremonies is merely a pretended use and a subterfuge, and therefore it should not be exempted even for that purpose?

Mr. HASTINGS. That is the conclusion the committee came to, after full investigation and after hearings for a number of days.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. McKEOWN].

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. HAYDEN, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next bill.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that after the disposition of the Unanimous Consent Calendar it shall be in order for the Committee on Military Affairs to call up bills that are favorably reported from that committee and are now on the Calendar and that are not objected to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that after the completion of the call of the Unanimous Consent Calendar the Committee on Military Affairs be permitted to call up bills reported from that committee which are now on the Calendar, to which no objection is made. Is there objection to the gentleman's request?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will that be to-day or to-morrow?

Mr. DENT. I presume that will be to-morrow. I understand it will not be called until to-morrow.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Would the Unanimous Consent Calendar be called to-morrow under our agreement?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair did not include to-morrow.

Mr. LONGWORTH. My question is that under our agreement to take up the Unanimous Consent Calendar, would that be the unfinished business to-morrow after the reading of the Journal?

Mr. DENT. That was the understanding that I had. I ask unanimous consent that if the Unanimous Consent Calendar is not finished to-day, it be in order to-morrow, and that then this bill be the special order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair understands the request of the gentleman from Alabama to be that the Unanimous Consent Calendar shall be in order to-morrow——

Mr. DENT. If not finished to-day.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. If not finished to-day, and that after the completion of the Calendar for Unanimous Consent the bill to which he refers may be in order.

Mr. STAFFORD. I assume that the gentleman's request is that his bill shall follow the Unanimous Consent Calendar as it existed to-day, not the bills that have been considered to-day and passed over without prejudice.

Mr. DENT. Oh, of course.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I understand the gentleman's request to be simply that the bill shall be in order, but not to exclude conference reports or reports from the Committee on Rules, and so on.

Mr. DENT. Yes; that was the understanding.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request as modified, not to exclude conference reports or reports from the Committee on Rules?

There was no objection.

ROADS, TRAILS, AND BRIDGES WITHIN INDIAN RESERVATIONS.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 269) to authorize the advancement of funds to survey, construct, and maintain roads, trails, and bridges within Indian reservations.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin objects. The bill will be stricken from the calendar.

USE OF SEIZED OPIUM, ETC.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 9830) providing for the disposition of opium, its salts and derivatives, coca leaves, their salts and derivatives, and any other drugs seized by the United States Government in the enforcement of the provisions of the act of October 1, 1890, as amended by the acts of March 3, 1897, February 9, 1909, and January 17, 1914, or the act of December 17, 1914.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, that bill is contained in the revenue bill which is now pending in the Senate. I do not know what will be its fate there. I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed without prejudice.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT NOGALES, ARIZ.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 282) amending the public-buildings act approved March 4, 1913, providing for the purchase of a site for a public building at Nogales, Ariz.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, I should like to ask a question about this proposed legislation. It seems that the authorization is raised from $10,000 to $120,000.

Mr. HAYDEN. Oh, no. The public-buildings act passed in 1913 authorized the purchase of a site for the post office in Nogales at $10,000.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I object. This is not a war measure.

Mr. HAYDEN. If the gentleman will allow me to explain——

Mr. WALSH. I will be very glad if the gentleman will answer my question.

Mr. MADDEN. I have objected, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois objects.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Will the gentleman from Illinois allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I want to say to the gentleman that there are on this calendar three bills that have been reported from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, which bills were considered extremely urgent. This bill has passed the House heretofore. It straightens out a very tangled situation at Nogales, and I hope the gentleman will withdraw his objection.

Mr. MADDEN. Let it come up in the regular way.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Will the gentleman object to the others as well?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes; I will.

Subsequently,

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, I understand that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] is willing to withdraw his objection to the Nogales bill (H. R. 282).

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman ask unanimous consent to return to that bill?

Mr. HAYDEN. I ask unanimous consent to return to it.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Reserving the right to object, I should like to ask the chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds if the committee has not reported out two other bills similar in effect, for which the Treasury Department is asking, to correct certain situations?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Yes; that is true.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Then why would it not save time to have these three bills reported from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds considered together?

Mr. WALSH. Oh, no; not three bills at one time.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. We will not get through with the calendar, and they are all similar——

Mr. STAFFORD. The understanding is that we will finish the Unanimous Consent Calendar either to-night or to-morrow.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. The agreement made at the request of the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs would bar out my bill to-morrow, because it is not on the calendar to-day, although it will be to-morrow.

Mr. WALSH. If it is not on the calendar, it ought not to be considered.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. It will be on the calendar to-morrow.

Mr. STAFFORD. If it is on the calendar to-morrow, it can be called.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request made by the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] to return to this bill?

There was no objection.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That so much of section 4 of the public-buildings act approved March 4, 1913 (37 Stat., 873), as authorizes the acquisition of a site and the erection of a suitable building thereon for the United States customhouse at Nogales, Ariz., at a cost not exceeding $110,000, and so much of section 5 of said act (37 Stat., 877) as authorizes the acquisition of a site for the United States post office and other Government offices at Nogales, Ariz., at a cost not exceeding $10,000, be, and the same are hereby, amended so as to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, one site and to erect thereon one building for the accommodation of the United States post office, customhouse, and other Government offices in Nogales, Ariz., at a cost not exceeding $120,000, of which limit of cost not exceeding $15,000 shall be expended for such site; and that the appropriation of $16,000 made by the act of Congress approved July 29, 1914 (38 Stat., 563), in pursuance of said authorization of March 4, 1913, for a site and building for said customhouse, be, and the same is hereby, made available for the acquisition of the site and the commencement of the erection of the building hereinbefore authorized for said post office and customhouse.

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair asked if there was objection, and there was no objection.

Mr. WALSH. The Chair only asked if there was objection to returning.

Mr. HAYDEN. The gentleman from Massachusetts is correct. I only asked to recur. The gentleman still has the right to make his inquiry.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman was about to make a statement about the authorization. I wish he would complete that.

Mr. HAYDEN. I want to say to the gentleman that in the public-building act of 1913 there was, first, an authorization for the purchase of a site for a post office at $10,000, and then, in another part of the bill, there was an authorization for the construction of a customhouse and purchase of a site at $110,000 for that building.

The Treasury Department was desirous of erecting a combined building on one site, but the legal advisers of the Secretary decided that he could not purchase with these two funds one site; that is, they could not consolidate the appropriation for the post office and the appropriation for the customhouse. The whole purpose of this bill is not to increase the appropriation but to authorize the purchase of one site for all purposes at a maximum cost of $15,000. As a matter of fact, under the original act $10,000 could be used for one site and $10,000 for the other. This is to consolidate them at a maximum of $15,000.

Mr. WALSH. From whom is the letter contained in the report on the bill?

Mr. HASTINGS. It has no signature, but it comes from the Secretary of the Treasury. I presume the clerk sent a carbon copy to the committee instead of the original.

Mr. WALSH. This does not make any increase in the original provision?

Mr. HASTINGS. No; and it does not intend that the building shall be constructed during the war. This is to straighten out the tangle and have the site ready when they do get ready to build.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill may be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That so much of section 4 of the public buildings act approved March 4, 1913 (37 Stats., p. 873), as authorizes the acquisition of a site and the erection of a suitable building thereon for the United States customhouse at Nogales, Ariz., at a cost not exceeding $110,000, and so much of section 5 of said act (37 Stats., p. 877) as authorizes the acquisition of a site for the United States post office and other Government offices at Nogales, Ariz., at a cost not exceeding $10,000, be, and the same are hereby, amended so as to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, one site and to erect thereon one building for the accommodation of the United States post office, customhouse, and other Government offices in Nogales, Ariz., at a cost not exceeding $120,000, of which limit of cost not exceeding $15,000 shall be expended for such site; and that the appropriation of $16,000 made by the act of Congress approved July 29, 1914 (38 Stats., p. 563), in pursuance of said authorization of March 4, 1913, for a site and building for said customhouse, be, and the same is hereby, made available for the acquisition of the site and the commencement of the erection of the building hereinbefore authorized for said post office and customhouse.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. HAYDEN, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

ADDITIONAL JUDGE FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF MISSOURI.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 294) to provide for the appointment of an additional judge in the district court of the United States for the eastern district of Missouri.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. I object.

RESTORATION OF BIRD RESERVATION IN CALIFORNIA AND OREGON.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 10612) to restore to the public domain certain lands heretofore reserved for a bird reservation in Siskiyou and Modoc Counties, Cal., and Klamath County, Oreg., and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. I object.

Mr. RAKER. Will the gentleman withhold his objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. I will, to accommodate the gentleman.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, this bill has been reported favorably by the Department of the Interior, the General Land Office, and the Department of Agriculture, and all the departments having charge of the matters involved, including the Biological Survey, the officer having charge of the reservation. Numerous conferences were held and they all believe that it was for the interest of the reservations, protection of them, and in addition to that it opens up in the neighborhood of 23,000 acres of land that is now swamp, puts it under cultivation for agricultural purposes, returns to the Government $180,000 that is now lost without this legislation.

If this legislation is enacted it will permit land to be completely drained, homesteaded, farmers to go in and utilize it, and commence to cut the hay that is there after the water is drained off, and it will become very beneficial at this time. I trust the gentleman from Wisconsin will see his way clear to let the House consider the bill at this time and let it go to the Senate.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, this bill has received more than the ordinary attention on my part, particularly through the courtesy of the gentleman from California [Mr. RAKER]. He favored me by having the gentleman who is directly interested in this matter as the representative of the Siskiyou Homesteaders' Association call upon me and explain the purposes of the bill. It gives a special preferential right of entry on these abandoned lands to members of the Siskiyou Homesteaders' Association, depriving the public generally of the right to homestead, and limiting it to members of this association, whose qualifications are the payment of a membership fee of a certain amount so as to qualify them to take up land on this abandoned, overflowed land. Mr. Speaker, when the full facts are disclosed about this bill I think the House will certainly vote the bill down, and I do not wish at this late hour to take up the time of the House in discussing the matter further.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman would not make any statement, I am sure, which the facts did not bear out, and the gentleman does not know all the facts in regard to it. It is in my district, a part of it in the county adjoining my home county, and I have been familiar with it for many years and been around it when I was a younger man. I want to call the committee's attention to the fact that the land on the Oregon side whereby a contract has been entered into by the swamp-land claimants was entered into solely by virtue of the preparation of this legislation. They are getting the benefit of the legislation before it is enacted, whereby they are to be permitted to drain their land. When the railroad came in, the Reclamation Service gave it permission to cross this land. They required the railroad to build an embankment so that they could shut the water from going into this particular tract of land. When this matter started six years ago the Government could not lower that water one inch under their contract with the Van Bremner people. These people went to work and the Van Bremner people waived their riparian rights so this land could be opened up for use.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAKER. Let me finish this statement. It is very important that this land be utilized for homestead purposes. These people secured the Van Bremner people and themselves to waive their riparian rights whereby they were to get the water to irrigate in the neighborhood of 5,000 acres of land. The Government entered into that contract when they first went into the project. The Van Bremner people waived their rights——

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, without intending any discourtesy at all to the gentleman from California, I object.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill remain upon the calendar and go to the foot thereof.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California asks unanimous consent that the bill remain on the calendar. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I object.

WATER SUPPLY OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 12549) authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to appoint a commission to investigate and report upon the available sources of water supply for the District of Columbia.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, this is a short bill. Let it be reported first.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to appoint a commission of five members, three of whom shall be selected from the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army and one from the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission and one from the engineering department of the District of Columbia, whose duty it shall be, under the direction of the Secretary of War, to make full investigation of the sources of water supply from rivers and streams in the proximity of the city of Washington, with the view to increasing the water supply of the District of Columbia, and to report their findings and recommendations to the Secretary of War at the earliest practicable time, said report to be accompanied by data and other information as to such sources of supply, together with estimates of the probable cost of a project or projects for the transmission of water sufficient to augment the present water supply of the District of Columbia commensurate with present and future needs, including the territory embraced within the jurisdiction of the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission, and Federal military reservations contiguous to the District of Columbia. Such report shall be submitted to Congress by the Secretary of War with his recommendation. And for the purposes herein authorized there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $15,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be expended by and under the direction of said commission upon vouchers to be approved by the Secretary of War, and a detailed statement thereof shall accompany the commission's report.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman who reported the bill does not seem to be present. I am in sympathy with the purposes of the bill, but I am wondering about the language touching the appropriation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This bill is on the Union Calendar.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill for amendment.

The Clerk read the bill for amendment.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word. I should be very glad if some one from the committee or some one who is familiar with the bill could give us some information as to the appropriation that is contained it in—what is the purpose of it and what is it going to be used for in the investigation?

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, I am not on the committee, but I am aware of the almost desperate conditions here with respect to the water supply.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I am also, and I am in entire sympathy with the bill. It is the best way I know to get at it, but I am not sure that that is the usual language carried in appropriations for commissions. I shall withdraw the pro forma amendment.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. If I can give the gentleman any information, I shall.

Mr. SLOAN. I notice that the terms "District of Columbia" and "city of Washington" are used apparently interchangeably. Which is the correct legal term, and is there at this time a legal body or corporation known as the city of Washington?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I have heard the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON], the chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, state that there is no such legal entity as the city of Washington, but in the various laws that are passed the expressions "District of Columbia" and "city of Washington" are used interchangeably, as I understand it from the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa rose.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Does the gentleman from Iowa desire me to yield the floor or does he desire to ask me a question?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. If the gentleman can answer me what I desire to ask, I shall be very glad to propound him a question, and that is with reference to the expenditure. Does the gentleman know why we should make that $15,000? Would not $5,000 do just as well?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. This provides $15,000 or so much thereof as may be necessary.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Yes; but my friend would not accept any less to be spent.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I rose to make the inquiry about that very matter myself, in respect to this appropriation, and as to whether it was in the usual language, whether the language that is used here has been construed when commissions have been appointed outside of Congress to be paid as the provision is here. I do not know about it.

Mr. SIMS. I will state that the Committee on the District of Columbia is very cautious.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I know that that is true, and the purposes of it are very worthy, and the necessity is so great that certainly there ought not to be any objection, and I shall make none.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I do not want to prevent the bill going through.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I desire information on that point that the gentleman is asking me about. I do not know.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I wonder if unanimous consent could not be obtained to let the bill go over until to-morrow?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Unanimous consent has already been granted for its passage to-day.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I know it is going to be considered.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I think it would better be passed.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The gentlemen around me seem to be satisfied with the matter.

Mr. IGOE. It seems to be an advantage to have a bill come here that no one knows anything about.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. That seems to be so.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read the third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. SIMS, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

DIKE AT DEPOT SLOUGH, OREG.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 7637) to authorize the construction and maintenance of a dike on Depot Slough, Lincoln County, Oreg.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Depot Slough Diking Association be, and hereby is, authorized to construct and maintain a dike across Depot Slough, in Lincoln County, Oreg., with a gate therein so constructed and maintained as to be readily opened and operated to permit the passage of logs, but arranged to automatically close for such times as may be necessary to prevent the overflowing by the tides of the lands above the said dike, all under such regulations as may be prescribed from time to time by the Secretary of War: *Provided, however*, That the work shall not be commenced until the plans therefor have been filed with and approved by the Secretary of War and Chief of Engineers United States Army.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 2, line 3, after the word "Army," insert a colon and the following: "*Provided further*, That no dam nor dike constructed under the consent hereby granted shall be used to develop water power nor to generate electricity.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the amendment. Is the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. HAWLEY] quite certain that the passage of this bill will not place any responsibility upon the Federal Government for the overflow of the lands that may be overflowed by reason of the building of the dike?

Mr. HAWLEY. There is no such possibility. The lands are all owned privately. It is a narrow thread of water several miles from the sea, a branch of the Yaquina River, and the water rises about 4 feet at the highest tide. It spreads out level below the lands owned by private owners. They wish to put the dike across it to keep out the flood waters.

Mr. MONDELL. Those who are given authority to construct the dikes, are those owners of the land that will be flooded?

Mr. HAWLEY. They are the men who have formed this dike association whose lands will be flooded. There is no objection to it on the part of the locality at all.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read the third time, was read the third time, and passed.

DISTRICT JUDGE, MIDDLE JUDICIAL DISTRICT, TENNESSEE.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill S. 1836, an act to provide for the appointment of a district judge in the middle judicial district of the State of Tennessee, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. HOUSTON. I hope the gentleman will withhold his objection.

Mr. WALSH. Yes, I will withhold if the gentleman desires to make a statement.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, the need for this additional judge in Tennessee is a very crying one to the interest of the people of the middle section of the State. The work in that district is behind from one to two years. Motions are pending now that have been argued before the court 12 to 18 months ago and have not been passed upon. This bill has passed the Senate at two different sessions. There is no expense attached to the creation of this judgeship whatever except the salary. We have got the judicial district already, we have got the court room and all the paraphernalia, we have the marshals, the clerks, and everything, and there is nothing involved in the way of public expenditure except the salary of the judge. The present judge is unable to do the work, and the judge for this new district, if he is appointed, will have more work to do by far than the average Federal district judge of the United States will have. I hope gentlemen will withdraw their objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects, and the bill is stricken from the calendar.

AMENDMENT TO SECTION 35 OF THE CRIMINAL CODE.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill S. 3470, a bill to amend section 35 of the Criminal Code of the United States.

The title of the bill was read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, it is not a long bill, and I ask that it be read before the objection stage is passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 35 of the Criminal Code of the United States be, and the same hereby is, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 35. And whoever shall purchase, or receive in pledge, from any person any arms, equipment, ammunition, clothing, military stores, or other property furnished by the United States, under a clothing allowance or otherwise, to any soldier, sailor, officer, cadet, or midshipman in the military or naval service of the United States or of the National Guard or Naval Militia, or to any person accompanying, serving, or retained with the land or naval forces and subject to military or naval law, shall be fined not more than $500 and imprisoned not more than two years."

The committe amendment was read, as follows:

On page 1, line 6, after section 35, insert:

"SEC. 35. Whoever shall make or cause to be made or present or cause to be presented, for payment or approval, to or by any person or officer in the civil, military, or naval service of the United States, or any department thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, any claim upon or against the Government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, knowing such claim to be false, fictitious, or fraudulent; or whoever, for the purpose of obtaining or aiding to obtain the payment or approval of such claim, or for the purpose and with the intent of cheating and swindling or defrauding the Government of the United States, or any department thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, shall knowingly and willfully falsify or conceal or cover up by any trick, scheme, or device a material fact, or make or cause to be made any false or fraudulent statements or representations, or make or use or cause to be made or used any false bill, receipt, voucher, roll, account, claim, certificate, affidavit, or deposition, knowing the same to contain any fraudulent or fictitious statement or entry; or whoever shall take and carry away or take for his own use, or for the use of another, with intent to steal or purloin, any personal property of the United States, or any branch or department thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder; or whoever shall enter into any agreement, combination, or conspiracy to defraud the Government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, by obtaining or aiding to obtain the payment or allowance of any false or fraudulent claim; and whoever, having charge, possession, custody, or control of any money or other public property used or to be used in the military or naval service, with intent to defraud the United States, or any department thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, or willfully to conceal such money or other property, shall deliver or cause to be delivered to any person having authority to receive the same any amount of such money or other property less than that for which he received a certificate or took a receipt; or whoever, being authorized to make or deliver any certificate, voucher, receipt, or other paper certifying the receipt of arms, ammunition, provisions, clothing, or other property so used or to be used, shall make or deliver the same to any other person without a full knowledge of the truth of the facts stated therein and with intent to defraud the United States, or any deparment thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both."

Page 4, line 5, after the word "law" insert the words "having knowledge or reason to believe that the property has been taken from the possession of the United States or furnished by the United States under such allowance."

Page 4, line 8, after the figures "$500" strike out the word "and" and insert in lieu thereof the word "or."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, unless there is some one who can give some explanation of this bill, I shall object to it, because it seems to me to be very awkwardly worded.

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Speaker, the chairman of the committee is not present, but the only amendments to the existing law are the extension of the penalty of this act to false and fraudulent claims that are presented against corporations in which the United States is a stockholder, and also the punishment of the disposal of the property belonging to the Army or Navy and pledging it or selling it or disposing of it wrongfully.

Mr. MONDELL. Does the gentleman say there was no change of the present law relative to the receiving or purchasing or pledging stores that had been received?

Mr. IGOE. I say that there is a provision, and the gentleman will find it in the printed bill on page 3, line 22:

And whoever shall purchase, or receive in pledge, from any person any arms, equipment, ammunition, clothing, military stores, or other property furnished by the United States, etc.

That, as I recall it, was all there was to this bill as it came from the Senate, and to it was subsequently attached the rest of section 35 as amended to extend the law to false and fraudulent claims made against a corporation in which the United States is a stockholder.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Do I understand from what the gentleman has said that we had no such cases before?

Mr. IGOE. Of corporations in which the United States was a stockholder?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Not so much that as the other additional matter.

Mr. IGOE. I do not believe the sale or pledge of such property was fully covered. This property is held under an allowance, and I do not believe it was fully covered by the present law.

Mr. MONDELL. In all these years have we had no legislation making it a felony to receive uniforms, arms, accouterments, or military material?

Mr. IGOE. The law as found in the present section 35 does not fully cover the situation. It does not include cadets and midshipmen. This amendment includes them and also the National Guard, Naval Militia, and persons accompanying, serving, or retained with the land or naval forces and subject to military or naval law.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I would say to the gentleman that I had supposed it was covered by existing law. But this, having been passed by the Senate, I suppose some one must have looked into that matter very carefully.

Mr. IGOE. That was my understanding.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Now, was this amendment that is on the last page put in by the Military Committee of the House or the Military Committee of the Senate?

Mr. IGOE. That was put on by the Judiciary Committee, so that to be punishable the purchaser must have knowledge or reason to believe that the property had been taken from the possession of the United States. In some cases it might reasonably be supposed that the property had rightfully come into the possession of the seller.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Well, Mr. Speaker, while the matter is not quite as clear as I would wish, I believe I shall not object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendments. Is a separate vote demanded on any one amendment? If not, the vote will be taken en gross.

The question was taken, and the committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. IGOE, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the vote by which the House passed the bill H. R. 7637 be reconsidered and the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

UNLAWFUL ASSOCIATION.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill S. 4471, an act to declare unlawful associations purposing by physical force, violence, or injury to bring about any governmental, social, industrial, or economic change in the United States, and prescribing punishment for persons engaged in the activities of such associations, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Speaker, I object.

BRIDGE ACROSS ROCK RIVER, ILL.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 12631) granting the consent of Congress to the county of Winnebago, in the State of Illinois, and the town of Rockford, in said county and State, to construct a bridge across Rock River at or near Camp Grant.

The title of the bill was read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the county of Winnebago, in the State of Illinois, and the town of Rockford, in said county and State, and their successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Rock River at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near Camp Grant, in the county of Winnebago, in the State of Illinois, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, a correction will be made in the spelling of the word "approved" on page 2, line 2.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. SIMS, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next one.

SALE OF PUBLIC LANDS AT YELLOWSTONE, MONT.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (S. 41) to authorize the sale of certain lands at or near Yellowstone, Mont., for hotel and other purposes.

The title of the bill was read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects. The Clerk will report the next one.

DISTRICT ATTORNEY FOR THE DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 4246) to increase the salary of the United States district attorney for the district of Connecticut.

The title of the bill was read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I wish to inquire of the gentleman who introduced this bill—and I believe he is a member of the committee that reported it—whether the committee has given any consideration to a general increase in the salaries of the district attorneys throughout the country?

Mr. LONERGAN. I will say to the gentleman from Wisconsin that that is a matter, of course, that should be answered by some member of the committee which considered this bill. The gentleman from California [Mr. RAKER] is present, and probably he can answer that question.

Mr. RAKER. There is a bill pending before this committee covering the matter suggested, but it has not yet been acted upon. That is my recollection. This is for the salary of marshals?

Mr. LONERGAN. No; the salaries of United States district attorneys.

Mr. RAKER. That is correct. A bill on that subject is pending before our committee, but it has not yet been acted upon.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, if my memory serves me aright, the Attorney General has been asking to have some general legislation enacted whereby he would be granted authority to increase the salaries of the district attorneys throughout the country. I believe he has even asked the Committee on Appropriations to make some authorization whereby their salaries could be increased.

I dislike very much to oppose measures of this kind, but here we are singling out one for consideration—some one district attorney—where there may be many others who are equally entitled to consideration. Earlier in the day I objected to a bill, which was meritorious, providing for the increase of the salary of the district attorney in the district of Rhode Island, where the work is as large as that of the district attorney of Connecticut. That bill was reported from the Committee on the Judiciary. In that case $5,000 was asked for, and the committee recommended only $3,500. In the case of this bill the amount carried as introduced is $5,000, but the committee reported in favor of $4,500. There is an obvious conflict. There is no question but that the work of the district attorneys has increased decidedly, and their salaries have not been increased for years. It is not fair to have this or that district attorney singled out for an increase. Only recently

my attention has been called to the need of increasing the salary of the district attorney for the eastern district of Wisconsin. I am not acquainted with the salary that should be paid to that district attorney, and I do not feel that I should be called upon to introduce a special bill when the conditions are general throughout the country, requiring increases for all. I do not like this character of legislation. That is the reason I objected a moment ago to the bill providing for an increase in the salary of the district attorney of Rhode Island. Why not have general legislation? Why single out just certain district attorneys for preferment?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. I object, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. LONERGAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman withhold his objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. I will withhold it.

Mr. LONERGAN. Mr. Speaker, this case is almost in a class by itself. In the Sixty-third Congress a Senate bill was passed providing for compensation at the rate of $4,000 per year for the United States attorney for the district of Connecticut, and the reason why that bill did not pass the House in the Sixty-third Congress was that it was after the outbreak of the European war when the Judiciary Committee favored it, and legislation of that character was not then considered in the House.

A favorable report was made by the subcommittee that had the bill under consideration. The Attorney General of the United States wrote me a letter under date of March 16 last, approving an increase of salary for the district attorney for the State of Connecticut. Judge Thomas, of the district court for the district of Connecticut, wrote me a letter under date of March 21, 1918, calling to my attention the work which is being done by the United States district attorney for Connecticut. This letter is as follows:

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT,
DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT, CHAMBERS OF THE JUDGE,
New Haven, Conn., March 21, 1918.

Hon. AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I note in the press that the committee having under consideration the matter of increasing the salary of the United States district attorney for the district of Connecticut has reported favorably the bill providing for this increase.

I intended to write you some time ago, but the stress of business in this district has prevented me from giving this important matter earlier attention, but I write now to advise you that I am in hearty accord with the increase as provided for in the bill. I think the Congress ought to be informed by the court that the business of this district is of such volume as to require the constant attendance of the district attorney to the affairs of the Government. This fact has been true practically ever since Mr. Spellacy became the incumbent, and from present indications it will continue to increase, so that the normal run of business in this district is alone sufficient to justify the increase, and much more so is this true during these strenuous days.

From the above statement you will see that the district attorney in Connecticut has absolutely no chance to attend to any private practice, and to limit the amount of salary for this office to $2,500 is simply ridiculous. I can not escape the conclusion that every Member of the Congress would agree with me if they understood the volume of business which the district attorney transacts. As above indicated, the increase has my hearty approval.

With kind personal regards, I am,
Sincerely, yours,
EDWIN S. THOMAS,
United States District Judge.

In the State of Connecticut we have a foreign population of approximately 37 per cent. Many questions have arisen involving alien citizenship. It takes all the time of the United States district attorney to attend to the business of the office. He informs me that he has been obliged to give up his private practice; and to say that a man should devote his time day in and day out, night after night, and Sunday, on many occasions, as he states, to the work of this office for the sum of $2,500 is decidedly unreasonable. I would like to quote from a statement made by the United States district attorney for Connecticut in a recent address in the city of New Haven, referring to the work of his office. This I have taken from one of the newspapers in the State of Connecticut. He stated that—

since January 1, as an instance of the work of his office, 5,500 recorded investigations had been made, and in addition more than 6,000 complaints had been investigated that were not of sufficient importance to reach the recording stage. Those figures do not include draft investigations of which there have been more than 20,000.

I doubt very seriously if there is another case parallel to this in all the States of the Union.

The population of the different other New England States and the salaries paid the United States attorneys therein follow:

Maine, 742,371; salary $3,000.
New Hampshire, 430,572; salary, $2,000.
Vermont, 355,956; salary, $3,000.
Massachusetts, 3,366,416; salary $5,000.
Rhode Island, 542,610; salary, $2,500.

Mr. STEVENSON. Do I understand that the district attorney for the whole district of Connecticut gets only $2,500 a year?

Mr. LONERGAN. That is all; and, as the report shows, this salary was fixed many, many years ago, when the duties of the office did not interfere with the private practice of the district attorney, and when the population of the State was 600,000 less than it is to-day. In war time, with the extraordinary demands on the office of the district attorney and the increased cost of living, it is obvious that the bill should receive prompt and favorable consideration. I hope the gentleman from Wisconsin will withdraw his objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I can not see why we should single out this district attorney, when there are so many others similarly situated, whose salaries have not been increased, even though the gentleman makes a very good case for his district attorney. The way to bring this about is, as recommended by the Department of Justice, to allow the Department of Justice to fix the salaries.

Mr. BURNETT. Is it not true that the district attorneys usually get $4,500, and that this salary is extraordinarily low?

Mr. STAFFORD. No; the district attorney for Maine gets only $3,000; for Rhode Island, $2,500; for New Hampshire, $2,000. There ought to be a general revision of these salaries.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. LONERGAN. I will.

Mr. MONDELL. I am in sympathy with the gentleman's proposition, but evidently there is going to be objection made. The gentleman from Connecticut has made a very fine statement of his case. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] is going to insist on his objection in spite of the persuasive eloquence of my friend. May we not go on?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. I object.

LEAVE TO EXTEND REMARKS.

By unanimous consent, Mr. EVANS was given leave to extend his remarks in the RECORD on war and politics.

POST OFFICE AT SACRAMENTO, CAL.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 204) to provide for the fitting up of quarters in the post-office building at the city of Sacramento, Cal., for the accommodation of the district court of the northern district of California and its officers, and making an appropriation therefor.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, I notice there is no report here from the Secretary of the Treasury or the Attorney General as to the need for this bill.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, I hope the gentleman will not object. The gentleman from California [Mr. CURRY], as Members know, has been ill for quite a while. He could not give the bill personal attention. I reported the bill from the Public Buildings Committee, and after the statement of the gentleman himself in the following letter the committee felt that the case was so meritorious that it was useless to undertake to secure a report from the Treasury Department. Let me read an extract from the letter of the gentleman from California [Mr. CURRY]:

There are two terms of the court held at Sacramento and about 25 per cent of the court business of the Northern Judicial District of California originates in Sacramento and in territory contiguous thereto. There is no place for the court to meet in the Federal building in Sacramento. It sometimes meets in one of the superior court rooms, sometimes in the State appellate court room, and it has met in a parlor of the hotel at which the judge stops. My bill provides for an addition to the Federal building, usually known as the post-office building, in Sacramento, to provide a court room and accommodations for the court officers and the jury.

You will remember that an attempt was made to blow up the governor's mansion in Sacramento some time ago, followed by an epidemic of I. W. W. crime in the Sacramento Valley. A great many I. W. W.'s were arrested and confined in the Sacramento County jail. A special session of the United States grand jury was called and 30 or 40 of these people were indicted.

There is absolutely no place for the United States grand jury or district court to meet in Sacramento, except through the courtesy of the county or State, and it seems to me that my bill should be made a matter of urgency and passed at this session. Certainly the United States courts should have a place in which to try offenders against the Government, and if punishment is meted out to malefactors expeditiously it may deter the I. W. W. and other organizations doing the work of Germany in the United States from continuing their career of crime.

Every one of us knows the high character of the gentleman from California, his reputation for truthfulness, and the committee felt when that letter had been received from this sick man, unable to attend the sittings of the committee, that the statement carried with it such conviction as made it unnecessary for anything further.

Mr. STAFFORD. Why was not the bill referred to the Treasury Department for an estimate as to the amount that would be needed to provide adequate quarters for the district judge?

Mr. BURNETT. The bill which the gentleman from California introduced at a previous session of Congress carried an authorization of $50,000; that is my recollection, although I am not positive, and I am sure it was referred to the Treasury Department. I am not sure whether this one was or not. Mr. CURRY states in his letter that this bill is for a little more than the other on account of the increased price of labor and material. Surely $60,000 is a very moderate amount, it seems to me, for the addition to a building that will contain adequate accommodations for a Federal court, a grand jury, and a petit jury.

Mr. FOSTER. Is this one of the buildings that, when the act was passed, they agreed to furnish the building?

Mr. BURNETT. No; I have heard nothing of the kind with relation to this.

Mr. FOSTER. They do usually agree to that provision.

Mr. RAKER. This district has been in with the San Francisco for many years.

Mr. FOSTER. It is a branch court?

Mr. RAKER. No.

Mr. FOSTER. There is no separate district.

Mr. BURNETT. It is a district within itself.

Mr. FOSTER. If it establishes a branch court, they usually make provision that the people shall furnish the quarters.

Mr. RAKER. They have a Federal building there, and the only question is as to remodeling the upper story. The statement by the gentleman from California [Mr. CURRY] covers the whole matter. I have been in the court room, and I am acquainted with the manner of doing business.

Mr. FOSTER. I am not objecting to the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. Can the gentleman give assurance that the only purpose of this appropriation is to make alterations in the existing building—rearranging the upper floor? It is unusual to consider a bill of this character without it first having been submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. RAKER. I have consulted the judges who hold the court, and they assure me that all they desire there is these repairs.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I would like to say that I am satisfied that the bill was referred to the Secretary of the Treasury, because I know that it is the policy of the committee not to report any bill until a report has been received upon it from the Secretary of the Treasury. Why it does not appear here I can not say.

Mr. STAFFORD. Upon the assurance of the gentleman that the only purpose of the appropriation is to make alterations in the upper part of the building, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized, empowered, and directed to cause to be provided and constructed in the post-office building in the city of Sacramento, Cal., quarters such as he may deem necessary and proper for the district court of the northern district of California, and its officers, at a cost not to exceed the sum of $60,000, which sum is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be used by the Secretary of the Treasury in carrying out the provisions of the act.

The following committee amendments were read:

Page 1, line 9, after the figures "$60,000," strike out the balance of the paragraph.

Amend the title so as to read: "A bill to provide for the fitting up of quarters in the post-office building at the city of Sacramento, Cal., for the accommodation of the district court of the northern district of California and its officers."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended.

On motion of Mr. RAKER, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks on the bill S. 3470, amending the Criminal Code.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri.

There was no objection.

SALE OF LAND ON SHORES OF NAVIGABLE WATERS, ALASKA.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 12210) to amend the act of May 14, 1898, as amended by the act of March 3, 1903, entitled "An act to extend the homestead laws and to regulate the sale and entry of public lands along the shore of navigable waters in Alaska."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, this is a rather important bill, and I ask unanimous consent that it be passed over without prejudice, to go to the foot of the calendar.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

MUNICIPAL WATER SUPPLY FOR SAN DIEGO, CAL.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 10587) granting to the city of San Diego certain lands in the Cleveland National Forest and the Capitan Grande Indian Reservation for dam and reservoir purposes for the conservation of water, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. I object; but I have no objection to having it passed over without prejudice.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice, to go to the foot of the calendar.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

BRIDGE ACROSS SUSQUEHANNA RIVER, NEAR HARRISBURG, PA.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 12786) to authorize the Philadelphia, Harrisburg & Pittsburgh Railroad Co., its lessees, successors, and assigns to construct a bridge across the Susquehanna River, from the city of Harrisburg, Dauphin County, Pa., to the borough of Lemoyne, Cumberland County, Pa.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

Mr. DEWALT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to substitute at this time for this bill the bill S. 4871, of similar title, and identical in terms with the House bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent that Senate bill 4871 be considered in lieu of House bill 12786. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the Senate bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Philadelphia, Harrisburg & Pittsburgh Railroad Co., its lessees, successors, and assigns, be, and they are hereby, authorized to reconstruct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the Susquehanna River at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or about 4,250 feet west of Philadelphia, Harrisburg & Pittsburgh Junction, city of Harrisburg, county of Dauphin, State of Pennsylvania, to a point in the borough of Lemoyne, county of Cumberland, State of Pennsylvania, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. DEWALT, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

The bill H. R. 12786 was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, will the remainder of this calendar be the unfinished business to-morrow?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. It will.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products, and further insists upon its amendment numbered 28, still in disagreement.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the bill (H. R. 12402) to exclude and expel from the United States aliens who are members of the anarchistic and similar classes.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, October 4, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. WEBB: A bill (H. R. 13041) fixing a limitation of time for bringing suits against the United States in certain cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SINNOTT: A bill (H. R. 13042) providing for the extension of time for the reclamation of certain lands in the State of Oregon under the Carey Act; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. GRIFFIN: A bill (H. R. 13043) providing for the erection and completion of a public building in the Borough of the Bronx, New York City, in the State of New York; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DARROW: A bill (H. R. 13044) granting a pension to John C. Eckert; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FIELDS: A bill (H. R. 13045) granting an increase of pension to Ransom Forrest; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WEAVER: A bill (H. R. 13046) granting an increase of pension to Levi Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER (by request): Petition from Lewis Benecke, commander Pinhart Post, No. 268, Department of Missouri, Grand Army of the Republic, favoring the passage of Senate bill 130, providing for the granting of ex-officers of the Army and Navy, serving during the Civil War, pay as retired officers of the Army and Navy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also (by request), petition from Henry L. West, executive secretary of the National Security League of New York, favoring the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States embodied in the joint resolution that no person shall be qualified as an elector in any State who shall not be a citizen of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also (by request), petition of Miss Alva A. Busse, secretary of the Women's Committee of the Independence League of New York, N. Y., urging Congress to enact eight-hour laws for all industries and industrials in the United States; to the Committee on Labor.

Also (by request), petition of T. H. Farris, favoring the practice of osteopathy in the Medical Department of the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also (by request), petition from Montaville Flowers, president of the International Lyceum and Chautauqua, favoring absolute prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also (by request), petition from Ernest Bohn, secretary of the Manhattan Branch of the American Alliance for Democracy, denouncing the strike of the machinists at Bridgeport, Conn., and indorsing W. H. Johnson in ordering the men back to work and the pronunciamento of President Woodrow Wilson to them; to the Committee on Labor.

Also (by request), petition from John Fotzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, of Chicago, Ill., and C. E. Maxwell, president of the Federal Employees Union of Kansas City, Mo., urging the passage of the Nolan minimum wage bill; to the Committee on Labor.

Also (by request), petition from Luther C. Steward, president National Federation of Federal Employees; Agnes Nestor, chairman National Legislative Committee of the National Trade Union League of America; Thomas F. Flaherty, secretary and treasurer of the National Federation of Postal Employees; and Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, all of Washington, D. C., urging the passage of the Nolan bill (H. R. 152); to the Committee on Labor.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, *October 4, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Draw near to us, O God, our heavenly Father, in the beauty of holiness, as we draw near to Thee for light to guide, strength to uphold and sustain us in this vale of tears through which we are passing.

> The air is full of farewells to the dying,
> And mourning for the dead;
> The heart of Rachel, for her children crying,
> Will not be comforted.

Strengthen our faith, make strong our hearts, that we may pursue the right as it is given us to see the right, until the star of hope shall illumine the world; love destroy hate and the ruling passion of every heart be peace; to the glory and honor of Thy holy name, in the spirit of Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read.

The SPEAKER. The name of "Ross" that appears in the Journal ought to be changed to "Rose," and, without objection, that change will be made.

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. HERSEY. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Maine rise?

Mr. HERSEY. To ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to extend my remarks in the RECORD on war profits.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maine asks unanimous consent that he may be permitted to extend his remarks on the subject of war profits. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following telegram:

SALISBURY, MD., *October 3, 1918.*

Hon. CHAMP CLARK,
Speaker House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:
Please have me excused for 10 days, account illness in family.
JESSE D. PRICE.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

By unanimous consent, Mr. SCHALL was granted indefinite leave of absence, on account of liberty-loan speeches.

Mr. HUDDLESTON was granted leave of absence indefinitely, on account of sickness in the family.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for five minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, it is very evident that while there is a respectable attendance of the House in town there is no quorum here, and it also appears to me that the usual stringent methods to get a quorum ought not to be resorted to at the present time. Members who are absent, it is to be assumed, are not absent for political reasons; politics has been adjourned until the liberty-loan drive is over. Most of them and perhaps all of them are engaged in the liberty-loan drive. They ought not to be arrested and brought back here, and it is not necessary to do it. The unfinished business this morning is the Unanimous Consent Calendar, and we ought to get through with that by 3 o'clock this afternoon. After that time the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT] has the permission of the House to take up 8 or 10 bills which have received a favorable report from the Committee on Military Affairs, subject to objection that may be made. After that time the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CANTRILL], from the Committee on Rules, will ask recognition for the purpose of presenting a rule to consider at this time the matter of the Dawson Springs Sanitarium in Kentucky. After that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] exepcts to attempt to bring up his public-health bill. It is apparent from statements made on the floor yesterday that it will be impossible to obtain unanimous consent for three-day recesses over next week, and we are proceeding here now with these war measures subject to the will of any Member of this House. But if as these matters proceed any Member of this House raises the point of no quorum I shall move to adjourn, and I shall move to adjourn

after that every day after the reading of the Journal, until Monday, October 14—a week from next Monday—at which time it is expected the $8,000,000,000 appropriation bill will be ready for consideration by the House and, of course, it is necessary to have a quorum here then, and all Members will be notified to be here at that time, and if there is not a quorum here then, and the point is made, it will be necessary to bring them here. If that bill is not ready by the 14th of October, and if by the interposition of the point of no quorum the consideration of these war measures has been postponed, these war measures will be taken up then with a quorum. After the passage of the appropriation bill several days will elapse before the bill gets back from the Senate, and during that period of time we will endeavor to maintain a quorum here for the consideration of these war measures if they have not been completed before then and the point of no quorum forces me to move an adjournment. And in this program I ask the cooperation of the minority leader.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman did not mention among the bills which were to be considered a bill which was brought up on the Unanimous Consent Calendar yesterday which relates to proof of deaths in the service of men who are holding insurance. I had understood that request would be made for the consideration of that bill and I understand it is quite important in view of the situation.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I am not advised as to that bill, but I will say whoever is interested can ask unanimous consent to consider it after we have considered these other measures.

Mr. ROGERS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I will.

Mr. ROGERS. There are many pages of bills on the Private Calendar. I wondered if the acting majority leader could indicate to the House what the program is with respect to all those bills?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Well, there is no present program with respect to bills on the Private Calendar.

Mr. ROGERS. The gentleman has no intention of setting apart a day at the present time for their consideration?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Not at the present time, unless there be some great demand for it, but a day may be set aside when we get a quorum here after the 14th of October.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I will.

Mr. DENISON. Will my colleague state, if he can, what is the intention of the majority after we shall have passed the appropriation bill with reference to taking recesses until after the election and about how long would such recesses be for?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I will state to my colleague from Illinois that we ought to pass the appropriation bill by the 21st or 22d of October in all probability; of course, this is only guesswork. I have just read in the paper this morning the statement as to the letter written by Secretary McAdoo to the chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, and that makes it impossible for me at this time to make any suggestions with reference to recesses after we pass the appropriation bill. I will state to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DENISON] that I know something about the revenue bill. My committee worked on that bill every day from the 5th day of June until we passed it a few days ago, and I think there is no member of the Ways and Means Committee, and all of them know the tremendous labor involved in the consideration of that bill, who will expect it to be passed by the Senate before the election. But I see they are speeding up over there, and therefore it is impossible for me to make any suggestion as to what is going to happen after the appropriation bill is passed. It may be possible to make some statement when the Members come back here on Monday, the 14th.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I ask for five minutes more.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, five minutes more will be granted.

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I take it from what the gentleman has said that all Members are expected to be in their seats a week from next Monday?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. So that if a person should go home now, it would be expected he would be back in his seat by a week from next Monday?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Yes, sir. That is the largest appropriation bill in the history of nations, and we ought to have a quorum here when it comes up.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I think the purpose is a very worthy one.

Mr. BARNHART. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARNHART. For several Congresses there has been pending a bill from the Committee on Printing seeking to change the method of document distribution whereby there might be great saving in the expense of congressional printing and franking and saving in the use of paper, and yet enable the Members of Congress to have the documents they want and need for their districts. The bill as first drawn also carried the matter of salaries in the Government Printing Office and the general reorganization of that office, and it was passed by the House twice and by the Senate once, but never twice in the same session. The bill has been changed, as it is introduced now, to cover only the matter of the distribution of documents and economies in the use of paper. It would probably take half a day to pass the bill, and I know that every Member of Congress is interested in the conservation of paper at a time when it is so greatly needed; and if during this time we might have one day set apart for the consideration of this bill, while it is not a war measure, I believe it would be one of the most efficient steps that the Congress could take in the matter of creating a saving for the Government and also in contributing to the convenience and helpfulness of the Members in the distribution of public documents, and I am wondering if we might have time in the period mentioned to take the bill up. It is a privileged bill and could be called up at any time. It needs no rule.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I will say to the gentleman that I am afraid not. It is not a war measure, and we are anxious to dispose first of these war measures, although I realize the importance of the bill and the gentleman has clearly stated its object. I hope it will be possible to bring it up, but I am afraid it will not be possible.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Yes.

Mr. RAGSDALE. There is another bill, now before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, that I should like very much to have considered if it is possible to have it done. The various railroads of the country were given a kind of exemption under the power that has been granted to the Director General of Railroads, and the Atlantic Coast Line Co. and other railroads in my part of the country are taking advantage of it in a most outrageous way. The gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. STEVENSON] has introduced a bill for the purpose of relieving that situation. The amendments which he proposes were included in the original bill, but were stricken out in the Senate.

Now, I would call attention to two cases as an evidence of what they are doing down there. Recently the Supreme Court of the United States dismissed a writ of certiorari in one of these cases in which final judgment had been rendered. The tax agent of the Atlantic Coast Line, Mr. Joseph, in a sworn statement filed in the auditor's office of Florence County, S. C., on February 22, 1918——

Mr. GILLETT. Has the bill been reported yet?

Mr. RAGSDALE. No.

Mr. GILLETT. Then what is the use of considering it now?

Mr. RAGSDALE. I simply wanted to learn if I can get this incorporated in this program.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I will say to the gentleman that I am afraid not. If the gentleman gets it reported out by the committee——

Mr. RAGSDALE. At least I would like to ask the gentleman this question: The report of the tax agent of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, filed in the Florence County auditor's office, shows that this property, under the sworn statement of the tax agent, is not necessary for the daily running of the railroad. At the same time it is shown affirmatively here in letters to me that a large part of this property is utilized as farm land out there, planted in corn, and leased out by the Atlantic Coast Line Co. And yet Mr. Payne, counselor to the Director General of Railroads, has taken the position to-day that judgment should not be collected from this company; that this property is exempt from taxation on the ground it is necessary to run the railroads, although it is now and has been continuously planted in corn for years, fields of land that are lying inside and outside of the corporate limits of the town.

Mr. STEVENSON. The gentleman means that it is exempt from levy.

Mr. RAGSDALE. I mean levy. I thank the gentleman. And it seems to me that before we take a recess of any kind, and before we are willing to agree to a recess of any kind, this ought to be corrected.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. I think the gentleman ought to have a report from his committee before he makes a threat like that to the House.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Representative STEVENSON has been in person to the chairman of this committee, and I have been in person to the chairman of this committee. We have been unable to get a report on this bill up to this time. The bill sleeps in the committee, where it has been sleeping peacefully since it was introduced.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. The gentleman can not get the House to consider it until the committee has first reported on it.

Mr. RAGSDALE. I know; but I would like to get the House to know of some of these things, and how things are being handled where we have delegated powers to the railroads.

Mr. SIMS. I will say to the gentleman from South Carolina that I am not opposed to the consideration of the bill he refers to.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Now, I decline to yield further. I will state to the gentleman from South Carolina that he has made a very excellent case for his bill, and I hope he will present it to the committee and get it done.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to have one minute.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection

There was no objection.

Mr. GILLETT. As the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY] referred to me, I wish to say, although I have not consulted with Members on this side, that personally I entirely concur with the wisdom of the suggestion which the gentleman from Illinois has made, and personally I assure him that I shall cooperate with him. I think his program is wise, and I approve and will support his motions to adjourn when he makes them. [Applause.]

UNANIMOUS CONSENT CALENDAR.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the first bill in order on the Unanimous Consent Calendar.

ASSESSMENT WORK ON MINING CLAIMS.

The first business in order on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 156) to suspend the requirements of annual assessment work on mining claims during the continuation of the war in which the United States is now engaged, and until midnight of December 31 of the year following that in which such war is concluded.

The title of the joint resolution was read.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects.

Mr. FOSTER. Will the gentleman from Massachusetts withhold his objection a moment until I can make a statement?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; I will withhold it.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, in the last Congress a bill was passed exempting owners of mining claims from doing $100 worth of assessment work during the years 1917 and 1918. This law will expire of itself on the 31st day of December this year.

Now, it has been thought by the Mining Committee, considering the Senate resolution, that this law ought to be continued throughout the duration of the war, and on account of the scarcity of labor. It has been asked by the mining men of the West. There is not a single, solitary man in the district I have the honor to represent who is interested in the least degree, so far as I know, in this resolution. I have tried to get this resolution up, because I believed it was to the interest of those who live in the West, and I have been importuned from time to time by those interested and asked that this resolution be passed.

Now, I think under those circumstances this law ought to be renewed until the close of the war. There is an amendment placed on the resolution to the effect that no mining claim located after the 1st day of January, 1919, shall have the benefits of this law, so as to exclude those who might go out and locate a large number of these claims.

I think this resolution ought to be passed at this time. The next session may be a very congested session, and as we all know, the closing session of a Congress usually is congested, and the coming one is likely to be particularly engaged with war measures. I do not know whether we can get consideration of the resolution at the next session. If the mining men of the West do not want it, then I have no desire on earth to press it for consideration. I want to accommodate those in the West where they believe, on account of the scarcity of labor, that they can not get men to do this work, which in many cases would be work thrown away, although the miner all the time goes forward in the hope that he may strike something, and he wants to hold his claim. As I said, I have no personal interest in it at all, but I want to accommodate that class of men throughout the West who go out with a little grubstake and work in order to find some metal of advantage to themselves and to the people of the country. That is the reason why I insist that this resolution be put through at this session now, so as to take care of that situation.

I realize that this would not have effect for some time to come, but here is the opportunity to do it. Now is the time that it ought to be done, when we have time to look after these things, and not wait until another session comes around, when we may not be able to take up this resolution and consider it.

Of course, if the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] has a serious objection to this resolution I will not press it further and will let it go. I do not know whether it will be possible to call it up or not. I want to help these people, these miners, who go out with a little grubstake, as I said, and dig in the hills in the hope of finding something, and at this time, when labor is so scarce, we should not require these men to perform the $100 worth of work.

Mr. MONDELL rose.

Mr. WALSH. I will withhold my objection so that the gentleman from Wyoming may proceed.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, as it is very evident that objection will be made to the consideration of the resolution, I do not care to take the time of the House further than to say that if the war continues it will be important and essential to extend the present law to cover at least the next fiscal year; that is, the year 1919. The claims are fully protected for this calendar year, but if the war continues it will be equally important, and even more important, as we send large numbers of men into the field, to have this exemption made during the year 1919.

As the resolution will not be considered, however, for some little time, I want to make this suggestion to the Members with regard to the resolution in order that they may have it in mind: The resolution provides that this exemption from the requirement of assessment work shall continue for one year succeeding the year in which the war terminates.

Mr. FOSTER. December 31 of the year in which the war terminates.

Mr. MONDELL. Oh, no.

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, yes.

Mr. MONDELL. Until December 31 of the year following that in which the war terminates.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. December 31 of the year following that in which the war terminates. In other words, if the war were to terminate on the 1st day of January, or the 2d, or at any time thereafter, this relief from the necessity of doing assessment work would extend during that entire year and during the entire year following.

Mr. FOSTER. If that is all the objection that is made, we will strike it out.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] has given notice that he will object to present consideration; I am simply suggesting a matter for consideration when the bill may be taken up later.

Mr. FOSTER. If the gentleman from Wyoming, who comes from the West, where mining is a matter of great interest, wants to object to the bill, I have not the slightest objection to his doing so.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman from Illinois knows perfectly well my attitude in the matter. The bill can not be considered now on account of the opposition of the gentleman from Massachusetts, and I think when we take it up later we should consider the feature I have referred to.

Mr. FOSTER. Why, certainly it can be considered.

Mr. MONDELL. And I will say to the gentleman that I have very grave doubts whether people from the West want exemption from the performance of assessment work for practically two years after the close of the war.

Mr. FOSTER. We will be glad to accept an amendment if the gentleman wants to offer it; and if the gentleman does not want the bill to be considered now, I have no objection.

Mr. MONDELL. I have no objection to the consideration of the bill. The objection is made by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH].

Mr. FOSTER. I know; but the gentleman is not advocating the bill now.

Mr. MONDELL. As a matter of fact, I have very grave doubts as to the propriety of passing the bill in its present form.

Mr. FOSTER. Then let us amend it.

Mr. MONDELL. A great many people in the West are tremendously interested in oil placer claims. There is no relief as to those claims in this bill, but I make no quarrel with it.

Mr. FOSTER. The gentleman can offer an amendment to that part of the bill.

Mr. MONDELL. I do not quarrel with that provision of the bill, but I think there is a good deal of doubt as to whether it is wise to extend this relief for two years after the close of the war. When the war closes we are going to have a great many men coming back here who will be desirous of developing mineral claims, and we do not want thousands and tens of thousands of acres in the West tied up for two years after these boys come back.

Mr. FOSTER. Let me suggest to the gentleman that that can be very easily remedied in this bill now.

Mr. MONDELL. The objection is not mine at all.

Mr. FOSTER. I realize that.

Mr. MONDELL. I call the gentleman's attention to that feature of the bill.

Mr. FOSTER. I am trying to enlist the gentleman's help, for I know he is an able assistant in this matter.

Mr. MONDELL. My suggestion is that it would be very well indeed for the gentlemen from the West to consider that feature of the legislation carefully and have it in mind when it is brought up.

Mr. LOBECK. Why can not that be done to-day?

Mr. MONDELL. The objection is made by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH].

Mr. FOSTER. It is very easy to put that in and pass the bill.

Mr. LOBECK. The gentleman from Wyoming is so familiar with matters pertaining to mining and to the West that it would be very easy for him to offer an amendment covering that.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. RUCKER). Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. I objected when the original resolution came up, and this resolution only accords with the predictions I made at that time, and therefore I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects. The bill will be stricken from the calendar. The Clerk will report the next bill.

BRIDGE ACROSS LITTLE CALUMET RIVER, COOK COUNTY, ILL.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 12773) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Little Calumet River, in Cook County, State of Illinois, at or near the village of Riverdale, in said county.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, I notice in the report that there is more than the customary report from the Secretary of War on this bill. The Acting Secretary directs attention to the fact that the Little Calumet River is not a stream used for commercial navigation, but merely for pleasure craft. I should like to inquire of some member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce as to the reason why they reported this bill, when the stream is only used by pleasure craft.

Mr. SIMS. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HAMILTON] reported this bill. He was here a few moments ago. I do not recall any of the facts connected with it, offhand.

Mr. STAFFORD. I ask unanimous consent that the bill may be passed over until the gentleman from Michigan returns.

Mr. ESCH. I can state the facts about it.

Mr. STAFFORD. I withdraw my request.

Mr. ESCH. We have already passed bills for the construction of bridges across the Calumet River. Evidently it is considered by the War Department as navigable. This provides for the crossing of the Calumet River by the Illinois Central Railroad Co. with an eight-track bridge, and evidently it is considered very necessary to be constructed at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. MONDELL. The Little Calumet River is not only navigable, but it is navigated for a considerable distance—a hundred miles.

Mr. ESCH. So that the whole stream is considered navigable, and they have come to Congress heretofore to get permission to build bridges over it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I will not interpose any objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Illinois Central Railroad Co., a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Illinois, its successors and assigns, be, and they are hereby, authorized to construct and maintain a bridge across the Little Calumet River at or near the village of Riverdale, in Cook County, Ill., at a point where its right of way intersects said river, in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable streams," approved March 23, 1906, which said bridge shall be of sufficient width for the construction of eight tracks thereon, with the necessary clearance between said tracks over and across said river, upon plans and specifications to be approved by the Secretary of War.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 6, after the word "construct," insert a comma and strike out the word "and."

Page 1, line 6, after the word "maintain," insert the words "and operate."

Page 1, line 6, after the word "bridge," insert the words "and approaches thereto."

Page 1, line 7, after the word "River," insert the words "at a point suitable to the interests of navigation."

Page 1, line 9, strike out the words "at a point where its right of way intersects said river."

Page 2, line 1, strike out the word "an," where it first occurs in the line, and insert in lieu thereof the word "the."

Page 2, line 2, strike out the word "streams," and insert in lieu thereof the word "waters."

Page 2, lines 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, strike out the words "which said bridge shall be of sufficient width for the construction of eight tracks thereon, with the necessary clearance between said tracks over and across said river, upon plans and specifications to be approved by the Secretary of War."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is a separate vote demanded on any of these amendments? If not, they will be put in gross.

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was accordingly read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. SIMS, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

RESERVATION OF LAND AS PART OF OREGON NATIONAL FOREST.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (S. 3225) to reserve as a part of the Oregon National Forest certain lands that were revested in the United States pursuant to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the Oregon & California Railroad Co. against the United States.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MCARTHUR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That all of the land contained within the grant by the United States to the Oregon & California Railroad Co. that was revested in the United States pursuant to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Oregon & California Railroad Co. against United States (238 U. S., p. 393), and an act of Congress approved June 9, 1916, that lies within that part of the Oregon National Forest that is described in the proclamation of the President under date of June 17, 1892, and designated as Bull Run National Forest, be, and the same hereby is, reserved and set aside as a part of the Oregon National Forest.

The bill was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. MCARTHUR, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN THE NAVY.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill H. R. 10747, a bill for the better administration of justice in the Navy.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, there are a number of bills on the calendar which the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PADGETT], chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, desires to ask for the passage of to-day, but he is confined to his home by sickness. The bills were considered in committee during my absence on official business, and I will ask that the bills be passed over without prejudice until some time later in the day, in order that I may familiarize myself with the hearings before the committee. I make that request as to all bills relating to the Navy, namely, Calendar Nos. 188 to 194, inclusive, and also 199.

Mr. STAFFORD. I suggest that the gentleman's bills be considered after the bills that are called up by the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I think I can be ready in a short time.

Mr. STAFFORD. But that would give a regular order to them.

Mr. WALSH. Why not consider them now?

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman has said that he wishes to familiarize himself with the facts in relation to the bills; that the chairman of the Naval Committee is ill, and he wants a little time to look over the facts in relation to them.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I have just been informed of the chairman's illness.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman can do that by the time we have finished the calendar?

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Would it not be better for the gentleman to state the hour, so that we can know when the bills are to be taken up?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Very well; I will say at half past 2 o'clock.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I suggest that instead of going to the foot of the calendar the bills referred to by the gentleman from Alabama be given priority at half past 2 o'clock.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, one of these bills I am interested in, and I would like to have some time stated when the bills come up. I do not object to any definite time.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I will ask, then, Mr. Speaker, that the bills be passed over until half past 2 o'clock.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that Calendar Nos. 188 to 194, inclusive, and also Calendar No. 199, be passed over without prejudice until half past 2 o'clock to-day. Is there objection?

Mr. GILLETT. But we may be through with the calendar at that time.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I will amend my request—until half past 2 or until the completion of the call of the calendar.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT ELDORADO, KANS.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 12881) to increase the cost of the public building at Eldorado, Kans.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, will the gentleman from Florida make a statement as to the urgency of this legislation?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I will state that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. AYRES], who has this bill in charge, is detained at the department on very important business and could not be here at this moment. He expected to be here. The report of the committee fully explains the situation. The public-building act of March 4, 1913, authorized the purchase of a site and the erection of a building at Eldorado, Kans., the limit of cost being $60,000. The Treasury Department, in pursuance of that authorization, advertised for bids three separate and distinct times. Each time the bids were higher than the authorization, and it was utterly impossible for them to enter into a contract. The Treasury Department stated, after purchasing a site and making reservation for lock boxes, equipment, and so forth, the balance available for the construction of the building was approximately $47,000. They state that the work had been advertised at three different times, and the last proposal received was in excess of the balance available. The last time it was advertised, the proposal received was in excess of the balance available by approximately $15,500. They say that there is no assurance that they can place the contract, and, of course, with the great increase in cost of labor and materials, it is very much more unlikely now than when the bids were advertised for.

I want to state that I am informed, and the committee was informed, that this town of Eldorado increased from a population of 3,500 in two years to 18,000 people. They discovered oil there, and there was a great influx of population, and it has grown enormously. Public business, as you might say, is hardly being conducted at all.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, the facts are that Eldorado is in the center of one of the largest oil fields that have been discovered lately in the mid-continent field. The increased population has been out of all proportion to the capacity of the postal department to attend to the business.

Mr. HELVERING. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Yes.

Mr. HELVERING. And this is not a flush-flow oil field; it is a general oil field.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Yes; it is an oil field which is very substantial. The large oil folks have run permanent pipe lines in there, and it is as near a permanent oil field as you will find anywhere in the whole country. I know nothing whatever about the details with respect to this office. I do know that there have been unusual demands for increase in postal facilities there.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Yes.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I happen to have in my district a town of about 40,000 which is in exactly the same condition about post-office facilities. That is the town of East Orange. I did not understand, and I want to know, whether it is the policy of the Committee on Public Buildings in each case, where they have made an appropriation for a post office and it can not be built on account of the rise in materials, to grant relief of this sort? I had not understood it before.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I will state to the gentleman that the committee has not adopted any general policy in that regard, but I think that where an authorization has been made heretofore and it is utterly impossible to get a building that will be within the limits of cost as authorized, where the department says it is urgently necessary that something be done, as, for instance, in a case like this, where, instead of having a population of 3,500 people, there are 18,000 people——

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. In my case there are 40,000 people who have to be served.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I do not think the committee would hesitate to recommend a bill.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I had understood that during the war nothing of that sort was to be done.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. It is a sort of war measure.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I know that in my city the post-office facilities are frightfully overcrowded. That city has increased a great many more thousands of people than this, though, of course, not relatively so. The Secretary of the Treasury has sent to Congress, and it is before the gentleman's committee, a recommendation that the post-office facilities there be immediately increased.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Yes.

Mr. GILLETT. I have no doubt that there are a great many such cases. This case may be very much more imperative than any of the others, but I supposed they were not going to take up any of them.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. No; I want to state to the gentleman that in the case of his city it is the purpose of the committee to report those bills, but here are the facts: The Secretary of the Treasury sent a letter to the Speaker in which he called attention to the conditions existing, I think, in about 45 cities throughout the country, and in which he and the Postmaster General urged that legislation be enacted which would relieve that congestion. They said it was urgently necessary in these particular cases. When the matter came before the committee to be considered it was suggested that these Cabinet officers had not stated that these were the only ones in that situation. In other words, they based it on the proposition that there ought to be at least 60 square feet of floor space to each employee working in the office.

Mr. GILLETT. There is nothing like that in my city.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I understand that is true, and the committee decided that we ought not to "make flesh of one and fowl of another," and that we would call upon the Post Office Department to furnish us with the information as to whether or not these were all that were in that condition, because we did not want to report 45 to the House and have gentlemen get up on the floor and state that they had cities in their districts that were in as bad or worse condition. We have called on him for that information. He has not yet furnished it. I had a letter a day or two ago from him. He has called on the postmasters all over the country for detailed information, and he is collating that now. We will get that within a few days, and then I may say that it is the purpose of the committee to report a bill carrying all cities where there is less than 60 square feet of floor space to each employee.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Ought not this to wait until then?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. They have not any at all there; and it is utterly impossible to rent any in this town.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to be a dog in the manger, and it may be that this is a much more pressing case than in my own city. Therefore I shall not object.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. The committee is unanimously of the opinion that this is a case that is extremely pressing.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I wish to inquire whether the committee made any inquiry as to the change in the drawings and specifications whereby the building could be erected for $80,000, rather than $95,000, as the limit of expense?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. The gentleman will notice that they state that in order to construct a building in accordance with the original drawings, it will be necessary to increase the limit of cost in this project to $95,000, and to carry out the work in accordance with the revised drawings will require the limit of cost to be increased to $80,000. They revised the drawings, cutting down the space considerably in order to see if they could not get within the amount authorized.

Mr. STAFFORD. Was it a reduction of space or a reduction of material and ornamentation?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I think it reduced the space.

Mr. STAFFORD. I had a similar case some years ago where the appropriation was not adequate to meet the original specifications, and upon a change of specifications, substituting brick for stone, we were able to have the building. This is a considerable increase. The department says the building can be erected according to the modified drawings for $85,000.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. An addition of $35,000, but the gentleman will understand that when this authorization was made of $60,000, it was in contemplation of a small city of 3,500 population, and the committee thought $35,000 increase was little enough, as they had a population of 18,000.

Mr. STAFFORD. But the Secretary of the Treasury particularly recommends, if the committee wishes to follow the modified drawings, $80,000.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. The Secretary does not recommend that this plan be adopted. He states it can be built according to the revised plan for $80,000, and the committee thought while we were at it we should authorize them to build somewhat commensurate with the needs of the city.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. If the gentleman will allow me, I had understood, and wish to know whether I was wrong in that understanding, that it was the policy of the Government, when so much absolutely necessary war work was needed and when not only money but masons, builders, and artisans were in such demand, that it was their policy not to do any building of this sort but to insist that we should get along with what we had.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. No; I do not think it goes that far, and it seems to me absolutely necessary that the mails of this country should be maintained in some sort of fashion.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I am talking of the use of masons and builders and the people who are so much needed in absolutely war work.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Well, they desire it, and I suppose they know where to get people to build it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. With the permission of the gentleman from Massachusetts, who has the floor.

Mr. MADDEN. The National Council of Defense and the War Industries Board have substantially directed that no public improvements of any kind shall be permitted in States or municipalities or counties throughout the States, not even public-school buildings, fire-department houses, street pavements, or sidewalks. They say that the public schools, if needed, shall consist of movable wooden buildings; and in the face of the recommendation of this Council of National Defense and the War Industries Board, how can the Congress of the United States justify itself in ordering the construction of a post-office building?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. MADDEN. I will.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I have even heard—I do not know of my own knowledge—that this War Industries Board stopped the building of certain churches.

Mr. MADDEN. Stopped everything everywhere. I would like to know how we can justify an appropriation for the construction of a building or addition to a building already constructed in the face of the dictum on the part of the Government authorities that under no circumstances will material be allowed to be transported for any improvements undertaken by a State, not even for the education of the children of the State. And even while this order is in existence we are building an addition to the Geodetic Survey over here; that is, we are seeming to put up an addition to it. I notice that they have been at work on the ground under the sidewalk, below the sidewalk, a long time, making very little, if any, progress, but spending the public money just the same for the purpose of doing work for the civil branches of the Government that have nothing to do with the war; and while we are doing this by the Government of the United States the Government itself is saying that the people all over the Nation within the States shall have no right to do the same thing. Now, I do not see how we can justify what the gentleman from Florida is advocating.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, certainly the gentleman does not think all the functions of the Government ought to cease because we are in a war. I do not believe we ought to be extravagant, but here is a place where 18,000 American people are located and where they have practically no mail facilities and can not rent a foot of space for love or money, and it does seem to me it is a case——

Mr. MADDEN. And I come from a city with a population of 2,500,000 where the order of the Government of the United States has been literally obeyed not to construct any building of a public character or private character unless it has to do with war work. The construction of schools is stopped, the building of sidewalks is stopped, the paving of streets is stopped, everything has been stopped, and as a result of all that we have had over 50,000 idle builders, men engaged in the building trades, walking the streets of that city looking for employment and can not find it. The war activities have taken men away from that city and imported them into congested districts where war munitions are being made, and that has resulted in emptying over 11,000 houses in one congressional district that I happen to know about; 11,000 houses. Of course, I do not know how many more houses have been emptied throughout the city, whereas if the war activities had been carried on in the city where these men are and where the housing facilities are adequate we would not have had the emptying of houses, we would not have had the idle men, we would not have had the congested districts of other places, and we would not have been compelled to build houses somewhere else at fabulous expense to the Treasury of the United States. I believe that if the policy adopted by the Government on account of the war is to be carried to its logical conclusion that there is no justification whatever for the enactment of the law pending before the House at this time and recommended by the committee of which the distinguished gentleman from Florida is the chairman. I do not want to object, and I thought that perhaps if I would state the facts that existed throughout the country that the gentleman himself will see the propriety of withdrawing the recommendation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. HARDY. Will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. WALSH. I will yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. HARDY. It seems to me we are just having a little experience meeting here, that the facts the gentleman from Illinois states are good reasons for permitting some improvements to be made. The fact is if we cut down all improvements we are going to have idle men in many places in spite of all that can be done and men who can not be transported to the centers of activities and who ought not to be so transported and who would but add to the confusion if they could get there.

The difficulty is to continue the legitimate construction of Government buildings and carrying on governmental activities without one project interfering unwarrantably with the other. Certainly unnecessary work ought to be stopped. I have many times within the last few months wondered what was the necessity for the improvement that is going on right across the street from the apartments I occupy on Sixteenth Street, where they are digging down the Meridian Hill. They have a number of laborers, and the work which is cutting down the side of that hill is preparatory, I suppose, to the erection of some monument. But how much labor has been utilized there that has been strongly needed elsewhere I do not know. But it seems to me that badly needed public buildings for State or city ought to be allowed, and the very facts the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] gives, the vacant houses and idle men in his own city, because there is no work for the workmen there, shows there must and ought to be some qualification to the order or orders forbidding the erection of various structures. I think all over this country now we have laboring men who could be utilized in local enterprises and on local structures, and that it will be absolutely necessary to modify orders forbidding the erection of private or public buildings when absolutely needed.

I think, while we are on that subject, we ought to have it understood that war work must go on; but that does not mean that all other work must stop.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. I have no doubt that the gentleman has received, as I have, appeals from men who are out of work, and can not get work, because they can not be transferred to other localities.

Mr. HARDY. I have not had such appeals, but there are communities from which they come because local work is forbidden, and I think that is what ought to be considered.

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, I want to make a short statement. At Eldorado, Kans., as Mr. CAMPBELL was saying, we have a building that was rented when this city was a town of less than 3,000 people. The facilities were wholly inadequate for carrying on the mail service even before this big boom came several years ago. I have been in Eldorado, and I know it is an actual fact that every available foot of space is taken up. We are trying to get a building there in which to handle the mail, because 15,000 people have come in there since this original building was rented. And I want to make this statement not because this is in my district but because I know the conditions there: That this is a progressive growth of a city that will continue and will need these facilities.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. HELVERING. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Is Eldorado still increasing in population?

Mr. HELVERING. Why, yes.

Mr. WALSH. And from all indications probably will continue to do so after the war?

Mr. HELVERING. Undoubtedly. The oil field there is considered one of the greatest oil fields in this country.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. If the gentleman will permit a moment, I will state to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] that that was one of the reasons the committee had in mind when they undertook to authorize the $95,000 instead of the $80,000, in order that they might build for the future in order to take care of the population at least for some years.

Mr. WALSH. I assume that all post-office buildings are built for the future.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Yes.

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, I sincerely hope this item may go through, because I personally know of the absolute need for that facility there, and also know of the condition that prevents even the Post Office Department, no matter how industrious they may be from securing proper facilities, and makes them unable to do so under the present conditions.

Mr. WALSH. What is the character of the building that is now occupied?

Mr. HELVERING. The building that they now occupy is a building which was considered of sufficient capacity for the purpose of the post office when there were less than 3,000 people.

Mr. WALSH. Of course, if this building was authorized, it would not go up over night?

Mr. HELVERING. Oh, no.

Mr. WALSH. And it will be several months before any relief would not go up overnight?

Mr. HELVERING. Yes. There is no doubt about that.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Well, Mr. Speaker, I have listened very carefully to the statements that have been made here. Congress is not responsible for the suspension of work. Fortunately, we have authorized other parties and branches of the Government to suspend this work. And I do not think, in view of having granted that authorization, we ought to listen to other departments of the Government who come in here and ask for particular exceptions to be made.

Now, this town is growing, and it may be that when the war is over they will need a building which will cost $125,000 or $150,000. I think inasmuch as they have put up with this inconvenience so long, that a few months longer, or possibly a year or so longer, will not interfere with the growth of the place. And therefore I object.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill may go to the foot of the Unanimous Consent Calendar.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Kansas asks unanimous consent that the bill may be passed to the foot of the calendar. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL CREDIT TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE MINT.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 12998) to amend section 3528 of the Revised Statutes.

The title of the bill was read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. RUCKER). Is there objection to the consideration of this bill?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report it.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent that this bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 3528 of the Revised Statutes be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 3528. For the purchase of metal for the minor coinage, authorized by this act, a sum not exceeding $400,000 in lawful money of the United States shall, upon the recommendation of the Director of the Mint and in such sums as he may designate, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, be transferred to the credit of the superintendents of the mints at Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Denver, at which establishments, until otherwise provided by law, such coinage shall be carried on. The superintendents, with the approval of the Director of the Mint as to price, terms, and quantity shall purchase the metal required for such coinage by public advertisement, and the lowest and best bid shall be accepted, the fineness of the metals to be determined on the mint assay. The gain arising from the coinage of such metals into coin of a nominal value, exceeding the cost thereof, shall be credited to the special fund denominated the minor coinage profit fund; and this fund shall be charged with the wastage incurred in such coinage, and with the cost of distributing said coins, as hereinafter provided. The balance remaining to the credit of this fund, and any balance of the profits accrued from minor coinage under former acts, shall be, from time to time, and at least twice a year, covered into the Treasury of the United States."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. STAFFORD. I do so for the purpose of securing some information about this bill. I have read the report. Will the gentleman from Ohio kindly explain the purpose of the bill? I yield the floor to the gentleman for that purpose.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill is to amend section 3528 of the Revised Statutes by increasing the amount of the minor coinage mint fund from $200,000 to $400,000. This fund was $50,000 until 1906, when it was increased to $200,000. Since then it has been continued at that same amount, $200,000.

As the Members well know, the demand for minor coinage has been greatly increased recently. Previous to 1906 the minor coinage was not in excess of 90,000 pieces per annum. During the past year there has been more minor coinage in one month than there was in any year previous to 1906. In addition to that, the cost of these metals has greatly increased.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, will my colleague yield?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Yes; I will be very glad to yield.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The necessity for the increase in the minor coinage has resulted largely, has it not, from the imposition of revenue taxes, where small change must be given?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Yes. There is no doubt but that that is the cause of the great demand to increase the coinage of pennies and nickels.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I may call the gentleman's attention to the fact that there is no such thing now, ordinarily, as a 5-cent cigar on the market.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Yes. It is now 6 or 7 cents, and admissions to the theaters require the extra payment of a few pennies, and 5-cent and 10-cent articles have increased 1 or 2 cents each, brought about by the provisions of the last revenue act.

This is not an appropriation. It is simply a credit fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury for the Director of the Mint for the purchase of the metals used in minor coinage.

Now, if any other gentleman wishes to ask me a question about the bill, I will be glad to answer if I can.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASHBROOK. With pleasure.

Mr. WALSH. The report says that the Director of the Mint is embarrassed by lack of funds to pay for a sufficient amount of metal, and has been for more than a year.

Mr. ASHBROOK. That is true.

Mr. WALSH. Then they do pay out this money. It is an appropriation of money.

Mr. ASHBROOK. The gentleman will understand that it provides only for a book credit to be placed to the credit of the Director of the Mint by the Secretary of the Treasury for the purpose of buying the metals from which these minor coins are made, but does not appropriate money. The increase has been great, and, of course, as the demand has increased, the Director of the Mint is compelled to buy the metals in larger quantities. The metals are all bought in carload lots. This

$200,000 is apportioned to the three mints; $100,000 to the mint in Philadelphia, $50,000 to the mint at Denver, and $50,000 to the mint at San Francisco.

The Director of the Mint appeared before the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures and stated to the committee that he had been greatly handicapped by reason of the fact that this sum was not sufficient for him to buy the metals in as large quantities as are now needed. He is compelled to buy them in advance now in order to insure their shipment and receipt in time to meet the demands.

Mr. WALSH. But as soon as he has bought them and they are coined and turned over to the Treasury, his credit goes back again?

Mr. ASHBROOK. That is true. It is a revolving fund. As soon as the metal is purchased and minted and turned into the Treasury he gets the credit for the metal and his fund is restored. But with the great increase——

Mr. WALSH. You do not think $200,000 is a large enough fund to work on?

Mr. ASHBROOK. That is what the Director of the Mint informed the committee. I would like to have a letter read here from the Secretary of the Treasury. I will ask the Clerk to read the letter.

The Clerk read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, September 25, 1918.

Hon. WILLIAM A. ASHBROOK,
Chairman of Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ASHBROOK: I beg to refer to the proposed amendment of section 3528, Revised Statutes, embodied in H. R. 12998, referred to your committee on September 24.

The minor coinage metal fund is not, as you are aware, an appropriation of a sum of money which is disposed of, but a revolving fund, which is restored as coinage is completed. The fund is the capital with which we keep the three coinage mints supplied with minor coinage metal.

The proposed amendment, if enacted into law, would have the effect of increasing the metal fund from $200,000 to $400,000. The amount was fixed at $200,000 when the yearly coinage was approximately 141,000,000 pieces of minor coin; the coinage for the last fiscal year amounted to 528,000,000 pieces, and the cost of copper has nearly doubled.

The amount expended for metal the year following the fixing of the fund at $200,000 was $369,844.06; the amount expended during the fiscal year 1918 was $1,031,262.75.

It is obvious that we are seriously handicapped by want of adequate funds for the purchase of metal required to meet the tremendous demand for minor coins, and I can not urge too strongly the necessity for early action upon the measure now before your committee for the relief of the mint establishments in the matter of procuring the required amount of copper, tin, and zinc for the manufacture of minor coins to meet the demands of the public.

Respectfully,
W. G. MCADOO,
Secretary.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, will my colleague yield?

Mr. ASHBROOK. With pleasure.

Mr. LONGWORTH. With the gentleman's permission, I may say that at the time of the preparation of the revenue bill I had several conversations with Treasury officials and since then with the Director of the Mint, and I am convinced that the gentleman is absolutely right in urging that this bill be passed at once.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The pro forma amendment is withdrawn. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. ASHBROOK, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next one.

PROHIBITION OF EXPORTS TO THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 12801) to amend section 1 of Title VII of the act entitled "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 15, 1917.

The title of the bill was read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I wish to inquire of some member of the committee why they did not follow out the suggestion of the counsel of the War Trade Board and also control imports from the Philippines?

Mr. WALSH. If the gentleman will permit, this measure is in the charge of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. STEELE]. I was present at the hearing, and I am informed by a gentleman named Kelliher that they are able to control the imports from the Philippine Islands, but they need authority to control the exports. I am sure after that explanation, little of which the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] has heard, I fear, he will have no objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. Still reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I have no objection whatsoever to the bill in its present form, because I can see the urgency of some such measure to control the shipping situation between this country and the Philippines. I directed an inquiry to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], but he stated that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. STEELE], who is temporarily out of the Chamber, was in charge of the bill and would explain it more in detail.

Mr. WALSH. No; I did not state that. I did not say anything about that. The gentleman is mistaken. I appreciate the fact that the gentleman was in consultation with the gentleman from Oklahoma, and had I noticed that sooner I would have deferred until he had concluded.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALSH. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. STAFFORD. I will be very glad to yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I first made the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts, and he kindly consented to enlighten me upon a question regarding the punishment of espionage. Soon after the breaking out of the war we passed an espionage act providing a very heavy penalty.

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I should like to inquire what improvement this bill will be over the one we have already passed, inflicting a penalty of $10,000 and 20 years' imprisonment?

Mr. WALSH. I will state to the gentleman that the so-called espionage act was a measure made up, I think, of 12 different titles. The first title related solely to espionage. The other titles related to shipping, exports, to the use of the mails, the issuance of search warrants, and various other subjects. This measure is to amend one of the titles of the espionage act.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. It is not a new bill, then?

Mr. WALSH. It is not a new bill. It is to amend existing law. In drafting Title VII we did not make any provision for controlling exports to the Philippine Islands. This measure is for the purpose of providing authority to do that.

Now, to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] I will say that the representatives of the War Trade Board stated that they were able to control the imports from the Philippine Islands under existing law, but that they were not able to control the exports to the Philippine Islands, because the greater portion of the exportation was done from the Pacific coast and upon foreign vessels, and that while they might be able to refuse clearance to those vessels, they felt that the law which was passed in June, 1917, ought to be amended and made to include the Philippines specifically within its provision.

Mr. STAFFORD. I withdraw the reservation of objection, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 1 of Title VII of the act entitled "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 15, 1917, be amended by adding at the end of said section 1 the following:

"SECTION 1a. Whenever during the present war the President shall find that the public safety so requires and shall make proclamation thereof, it shall be unlawful to export from or ship from or take out of the United States or possessions lying within the American Continent, to the Philippine Islands, any article or articles mentioned in such proclamation, except at such time or times and under such regulations and orders and subject to such limitations and exceptions as the President shall prescribe, until otherwise ordered by the President or by Congress: *Provided, however*, That no preference shall be given to the ports of one State over those of another."

With the following committee amendment:

Page 2, lines 12, 13, and 14, after the word "Congress," strike out the words "*Provided, however*, That no preference shall be given to the ports of one State over those of another."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was accordingly read the third time and passed.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. STEELE], who has charge of this bill, is detained temporarily, so I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed, and move to lay that motion on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the latter motion will be agreed to.

There was no objection.

PURCHASE OF DRY DOCK FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next bill.

The Clerk read the title of the bill (H. R. 12982) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a large dry dock and appurtenant lands.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill take the same order as that previously made concerning bills reported from the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. WALSH. That was included in the order.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then I withdraw the request.

CORRUPT PRACTICES.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (S. 3438) to prevent corrupt practices in the election of Senators, Representatives, or Delegates in Congress.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object——

Mr. STAFFORD. This is a short bill. Let it be read, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read the bill.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That whoever shall promise, offer, or give, or cause to be promised, offered, or given, any money or other things of value, or shall make or tender any contract, undertaking, obligation, gratuity, or security for the payment of money or for the delivery or conveyance of anything of value to any person or persons, either to vote or withhold their vote or to vote for or against any candidate, or whoever solicits, accepts, or receives any money or other thing of value in consideration of his vote for or against any candidate for Senator or Representative or Delegate in Congress at any primary or general or special election, shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 4, strike out the word "things" and insert in lieu thereof the word "thing."

Page 1, line 8, after the word "person," strike out the words "or persons."

Page 1, line 8, after the word "withhold," strike out the word "their" and insert the word "his."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, I should like to ask the gentleman from Delaware, who has this matter in charge, if we have gone along all these years without any law punishing the offense attempted to be described in this act?

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, for the information of the gentleman from Massachusetts, I understand that until 1896 there was a Federal statute covering this matter. This bill has been reported unanimously by the committee, after having passed the Senate unanimously. It merely confers upon the Federal courts jurisdiction in cases of bribery at elections for the election of Senators and Representatives in Congress.

Mr. WALSH. I am asking the gentleman if there has been heretofore no Federal statute punishing the offenses here set forth?

Mr. POLK. I understand there was up until 1896.

Mr. WALSH. And then it was repealed?

Mr. POLK. That is my understanding.

Mr. WALSH. And what is the emergency, or what have been the instances of the commission of these offenses, prompting the passage of this bill at this time?

Mr. POLK. I understand there have been some prosecutions in the Middle West, where they have had to use the subterfuge of a prosecution for conspiracy. Instead of having a Federal statute covering this matter, they made prosecutions under the law against conspiracy. That is my understanding from Senator GERRY, who introduced the bill in the Senate.

Mr. WALSH. Is the gentleman convinced that for this most serious offense—attempting by the payment of money to influence the vote of a person for or against a candidate—a fine of not more than $1,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year is sufficient?

Mr. POLK. Personally I would make the penalty greater, but that was the feeling of the committee and of the Senate, and we did not change that amount in the committee.

Mr. RUCKER. These are maximum penalties, not minimum?

Mr. WALSH. The penalty ought to be a fine of $10,000.

Mr. RUCKER. The gentleman can offer an amendment.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I am not sure that I understand the exact change made by this bill.

Mr. POLK. It only confers upon the Federal court jurisdiction in bribery cases where they do not have jurisdiction at this time.

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. DENISON. Is there any Federal law which makes it unlawful to do these various things specified in this bill for the election of President and Vice President or presidential electors?

Mr. POLK. There is not, as I understand it.

Mr. DENISON. Did the committee consider the question of including in this bill bribery in the case of the election of President, Vice President, and presidential electors?

Mr. RUCKER. If the gentleman from Delaware will permit, I will be glad to answer. I say frankly to the gentleman that this is a Senate act and came to the House not long ago. On account of the condition of the calendar in the Senate, the friends of this measure thought it would be ill-advised to amend it in any important particular and send it back to be concurred in. For that reason it was not amended, except in minor particulars.

Mr. DENISON. Does not the gentleman think it is important to prevent bribery in the case of the election of President, Vice President, and presidential electors?

Mr. RUCKER. Absolutely.

Mr. DENISON. Does not the gentleman think that there ought to be an amendment to the bill to that effect?

Mr. RUCKER. I will say to the gentleman, speaking for myself, yes; but, believing that it is essential that this legislation shall pass, I would not take the responsibility at this time of suggesting that amendment, because I think any amendment of magnitude would mean the defeat of the bill.

Mr. DENISON. If I should offer an amendment it might relieve the gentleman.

Mr. RUCKER. I hope the gentleman will not offer an amendment of that kind. Speaking individually, I am fully in accord with the views the gentleman has expressed.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, still further reserving an objection, I think the distinguished gentleman from Missouri, who has come to be an expert on legislation of this character by reason of his service on that committee, might give us some reason why this measure is now urged and why it does not include the officers referred to by the gentleman from Illinois. If he does not, why we may not pass a comprehensive statute on the subject.

Mr. RUCKER. I have answered the gentleman from Illinois, and that ought to answer the gentleman from Massachusetts. This is a Senate bill, and the provisions mentioned by the gentleman were not in it. The House committee thought that it would be ill-advised to amend the bill in important matters, so we hesitated to make anything but purely verbal amendments.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman does not think that another body within walking distance from here is in favor of corruption and bribery in the election of these other officers?

Mr. RUCKER. No; I would say that they are not.

Mr. WALSH. Why does the gentleman fear that that sort of an amendment would defeat the passage of the measure?

Mr. RUCKER. I do not think the principle would be contended against in the other body, but it would be for want of consideration.

Mr. WALSH. They would have an opportunity to consider it if it went back amended.

Mr. RUCKER. These amendments that have been suggested are purely verbal; they neither add to nor take from the bill as it passed the Senate.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I want to call the attention of the gentleman from Missouri to this fact.

Mr. RUCKER. If the gentleman will pardon me, in further answer to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DENISON], let me say if the bill is considered, of course it is subject to amendment, and gentlemen can offer any amendments they choose.

Mr. WALSH. In view of the gentleman's attitude, I am afraid an amendment would not have much chance.

Mr. RUCKER. And in view of the surroundings, I am afraid my suggestions will not have much binding force on the committee.

Mr. GOOD. There is need in another direction of an amendment to the corrupt-practices act. I put in a letter the other day, showing that the Iowa Democratic Club was levying an assessment against the postmasters in violation of the criminal code, and they say they are turning it over to the National Democratic Committee. Now, the gentleman can see that by the organization of the State clubs that are not interested in the election of Members of Congress in any more than one State, they do not come within the purview of the act at all, but you use it as a cat's paw to reach out and gather in your tainted money; there is no report on it to any place, and then you bring this sort of a camouflage.

Mr. RUCKER. Oh, the gentleman, Mr. Speaker, ought to be a little careful in his remarks; he is violating the rules of the House—I suppose, jocularly—in referring to me——

Mr. GOOD. I did not mean the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. RUCKER. The gentleman can not suggest anything that will tend to purify elections that I will not subscribe to. I do think that some gentlemen talk in a careless way for the entertainment of the people at home and say things that ought not to be said on this floor.

Mr. GOOD. I do not know who is responsible for the resolution——

Mr. RUCKER. The gentleman said, and I assume it is true, if the correspondence he read the other day is genuine, that offenses have been committed which the Department of Justice, it seems to me, ought to take cognizance of and bring these parties to the bar of justice.

Mr. GOOD. While amending the law, does not the gentleman from Missouri think that we should also consider the persons who contribute to these local State organizations and they to the National organization, and that these State organizations should make known all the contributors to their fund?

Mr. RUCKER. If the gentleman, a wise and good legislator, would think carefully upon the principles and the issues involved in such legislation he would find some difficulties in his way. I want to say to the gentleman that I have labored pretty hard to present to this House and the Congress a corrupt-practices act which would be effective, and, as it is sometimes said, "have teeth in it." I realize the imperfections in existing law quite as well as does the gentleman, but I have had serious difficulty in securing cooperation and I am making no criticisms against anyone on either side of the House. However, gentlemen have their views, just as the gentleman from Iowa has his and I have mine, and we can not harmonize at all times and on all matters.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I would say to the gentleman that no one has worked harder than has the gentleman from Missouri for this statute and the amendments to it.

Mr. RUCKER. Permit me to finish. At the very last meeting of the committee over which I have the honor to preside we had an agreement in a tentative form which will go quite as far as the gentleman would want us to go, and if we can agree on phraseology will enable us to present to Congress a bill drastic enough for anyone.

It is in contemplation to report a bill which will absolutely prohibit the use of money in connection with any election at which Senators and Representatives are elected, except for specified purposes which could not by any possibility result in degrading or debauching any man. That is a long step, I admit, and I suggest to the gentleman that our pathway has been strewn with many difficulties, possibly some of them constitutional. I am sure a good many provisions would be objected to, or at least might be objected to, on the ground of the administration of such a law. Difficulties surround us at every step, almost, in this legislation. I want to say to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD] and to other gentlemen who have engaged in this debate, I believe the pending bill ought to pass—not that it is sufficient or that it covers all of the ground that it ought to cover; I quite agree that it does not; but if gentlemen will let us go this far and pave the way for another step, I think before the Sixty-fifth Congress shall have ended its duties our committee will present legislation along the lines which the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DENISON], and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD] will all agree to unless they become alarmed at it. I do not mean to question the integrity of any gentleman.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I have followed the gentleman from Missouri, I think, in all of this corrupt-practices legislation. No one has done more than he; but I want to state to him that if he thinks it would be unconstitutional to require the local organizations in the various States, who are collecting money and turning it over to national committees, to make reports, I doubt then——

Mr. RUCKER. I have not said that.

Mr. GOOD. I thought the gentleman suggested that a minute ago.

Mr. RUCKER. I said there might be, going to the length we hope to go, some constitutional troubles, not in that respect; but I will say to the gentleman that there are some questions of administration that are serious, too.

Mr. GOOD. I understand that; and there are some questions of administration that are serious here.

Mr. RUCKER. If the Federal law would take cognizance of the activities of such committees as the gentleman has suggested and of other committees which the genius of man might organize, and we were to require them to report, we would have such a volume of reports that we would have no place to put them and nobody with time enough to read them. There is such a thing as overdoing the matter of reporting campaign expenses, I will say to the gentleman, and when you consider it and think about the various localities all over the United States that would have to report under such a provision as has been suggested, the gentleman would find such a multiplicity of reports that the very presence of them would make them wholly unimportant and of no material value to anyone.

Mr. GOOD. I suppose there are localities in the United States where votes are being purchased outright by candidates or parties, but I will say to the gentleman that in my State I never heard of a single case, never saw it stated in the newspapers, and never heard of a man there selling his vote.

Mr. RUCKER. I congratulate the gentleman, and the people of Iowa, and I want to say, to be entirely frank, that some of the men who have disappeared from the State of Missouri evidently did not go to Iowa, because I have heard of such things—not common by any means, but there are cases in which such things have occurred. I disclaim personal knowledge of the fact that any man has received money for his vote.

Mr. GOOD. And I have heard of and know of organizations, and I put the letter in the RECORD the other day to show how the Democratic committee of my State——

Mr. RUCKER. Oh, I heard the gentleman read the letter into the RECORD and heard his comments upon it, and I unhesitatingly concur in his denunciation of that practice. If what the gentleman stated is true in fact—and I put my reply in this form because the gentleman simply has information that it is true and does not personally know of it—if it is true, then those people are violating the law, and the postmasters who gave the contributions are violating existing law; and that leads me to think that possibly some of those fourth-class postmasters have not been changed, because I heard a long time ago, when nearly every fourth-class postmaster in the United States voted the Republican ticket, that there was a custom——

Mr. GOOD. There was a good deal to commend their actions in that regard.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Does the gentleman think it is any less reprehensible for a Republican to violate the law than for a Democrat?

Mr. GOOD. Not at all. If there is a Republican organization in any State in this Union that is doing what this Democratic club is doing—and I put in the RECORD the original letter, stating what it was doing, and I have it in my possession and will turn it over to the United States District Attorney to prosecute, and have said so, but they have never called upon me for that letter and never will——

Mr. RUCKER. Did the gentleman call upon the Department of Justice and impart the information he had?

Mr. GOOD. No.

Mr. RUCKER. The Department of Justice can not take cognizance of everything that transpires here or in Iowa.

Mr. GOOD. But I put into the RECORD at the same time the report of the Civil Service Commission to show that the Department of Justice was not prosecuting violations of the law in this respect.

Mr. RUCKER. The gentleman has put so much in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD upon hearsay that I dare say the Department of Justice has not had a chance to read it.

Mr. GOOD. I quoted from the Civil Service Commission's published report. Why, the Civil Service Commission goes so far as to say there are heads of departments here in Washington to-day who are collecting money from persons under them, and they are threatened that if those persons do not respond they will discharge them from the service, and when the department's attention is called to it they not only refuse to prosecute but they refuse to remove that kind of person from the service.

Mr. RUCKER. I do not know about the truth or falsity of that statement, and I say candidly I doubt the correctness of it.

Mr. GOOD. It is——

Mr. RUCKER. I do not care where it is, I can not believe that is true.

Mr. GOOD. All I know, that is what the Civil Service Commission reports, and two members are Democrats and one a Republican, and they make their report unqualifiedly and unanimously. That is all.

Mr. RUCKER. On rumor.

Mr. GOOD. If we are not going to enforce the laws we have on the statute books to keep the election pure, what is the use of putting this kind of camouflage on the statute when we need other laws that are more important?

Mr. FOSTER. If the gentleman is opposed to passing a law to stop buying votes, I will let him object and I demand the regular order.

Mr. GOOD. I am opposed to camouflage——

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

Mr. FOSTER. Then let us pass this bill.

Mr. GOOD. I am opposed to camouflage——

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

Mr. FOSTER. The gentleman will have to be opposed to himself if that is the case.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma demands the regular order, and the regular order is, Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the committee amendments.

The committee amendments were read, as follows:

Page 1, line 4, after the word "other," strike out the word "things" and insert in lieu thereof the word "thing."

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Page 1, line 8, after the word "person," strike out the words "or persons."

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Page 1, line 8, after the word "withhold," strike out the word "their" and insert in lieu thereof the word "his."

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. WALSH. To offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER. Send it up.

Mr. WALSH. I move, in line 3, page 2, to strike out "1,000" and insert "5,000," and to strike out "one year" and insert "five years."

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 2, line 3, strike out "1,000" and insert in lieu thereof "5,000," and after the word "than" strike out the words "one year" and insert in lieu thereof "five years."

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, this amendment proposes simply to increase the penalty in order that it may fit the crime. Now, if we are going to pass legislation to punish this very serious offense, for which there is no provision of law or has been no provision of law since 1896, it seems to me that we ought to start out with a statute that will look as though it meant to punish persons who have been convicted of doing what this prohibits. Now, it has been stated that this does not contain the offices of President and Vice President for the reason that it might endanger its passage in another body some 700 or more feet away from here. I do not think, as I recall the statement of the gentleman from Missouri, the gentleman did not make that statement because he felt that the other body was not interested in the election of the President and Vice President, but that if we attempted to amend this in any material way it might interfere with its consideration there. I submit to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri that this amendment would not fall within the class which he objected to considering when the question was asked him heretofore with reference to including the offices of President and Vice President, and if a person in certain sections of the country, a judicial officer, who might be more or less interested in politics or be beholden to one or more political leaders or perhaps may have before his elevation to the bench been actively engaged in politics, could, under the provisions of the law as it is now written, impose a fine of $1,000 for the infraction of this law, it seems to me we ought not to limit him to that imposition of pecuniary punishment. I contend if we write this law so that the only punishment that could be inflicted was a fine of $5,000 or imprisonment for five years, without leaving any discretion in the hands of the judge, that it would not be making the law any too stringent.

I trust that the amendment will be agreed to. I still contend that it is a little singular this measure should have passed the Senate upon the calendar day of July 6 and should have come over to the House and rested here until the 20th of September when practically all primary elections for the coming fall elections have been held and when the contest for nomination for these important offices are in many States at an end, because there are sections of the country where the only contest and the only opportunity to infringe this law will be at the primary election and after the primaries are over there will be no opportunities to violate the provisions of this act because after the nominations are made there are no further contests. As the chairman of the committee has stated that this seeks to punish acts for which there is no punishment now and seeks to insist that that is a sufficient reason for the passage of the law, still I believe we could find a great many things that are being done for which there is no punishment and for which no laws are proposed to provide punishment. There must be some other reason for this particular legislation which the other body that initiated it has not transferred to the distinguished committee that has this measure in charge. I have listened attentively to the remarks of the gentleman from Missouri and I regret that the measure which he intends to bring out to cover not only cases of this sort but all other cases is to be deferred until some time in the future. I should have wished that the gentleman had taken the opportunity to amend this measure so as to include in it the bill or the act which contains all sorts of punishment for all sorts of offenses and put on the general corrupt-practice act as an amendment. If it had been offered as an amendment to this bill, I question very seriously whether there would have been any disposition not to consider it. We ought to pass that kind of an act and I am sure when it is reported from the committee of the gentleman it will be in such shape as to appeal to a large number of the Members on both sides of the House.

But I do still insist that this measure, now that we have it up here, ought to provide for a serious punishment for very serious offenses.

Mr. SLOAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALSH. I yield.

Mr. SLOAN. I just have had this bill before me a moment. Does it provide for any punishment for the interference with voters anywhere in casting their vote or does it confine itself only to inducement for casting votes, corruption, and bribery? In other words, is there anything in the bill which would really reach perhaps the most important election consideration in this country, which is the improper prevention of men casting freely their votes, instead of granting inducements for improper casting their votes?

Mr. WALSH. I am sure I do not know what the gentleman has in mind, and I have not heard of any such cases as the gentleman states. But if there be, probably they ought to be punished. I suppose that the proper way would be, perhaps, not only to punish the person who uses improper inducement, or unduly interferes, but also punish the voter who would permit such to occur.

Mr. SLOAN. For instance, in the old Commonwealth of Massachusetts we find a vote for every four or five persons. In other States than the old Commonwealth we find only a vote for 1 out of 25 or 50, which, of course, is an extraordinary situation and can only be predicated on the assumption that somebody is preventing votes from being cast. Now, does this bill provide for or look toward remedying that situation or condition?

Mr. WALSH. I do not think this measure will act as a remedy for that situation, nor do I think any of its terms will "penetrate," to use the language of the advertisement of a famous liniment, into conditions which make possible what the gentleman has described.

I trust the amendment will be agreed to. I think the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RUCKER] has no serious objection to it.

Mr. GILLETT. Everybody here—at least, most everybody—is against the purchasing of votes. We would all of us vote for a bill which we really thought would prevent bribery at the polls. Perhaps this is as good a way to reach it as any other, but we all know that one of the most difficult things to prevent is the purchase of votes, and I have my doubts as to whether this will accomplish anything. At the same time, of course, nobody will vote against it. But it does seem to me extraordinary that a committee presided over by the very intelligent gentleman from Missouri, in really trying to reach a remedy for a vicious practice, has not brought in a more far-reaching bill than this.

Some of the States have found by experience that the only way to stop it is by a general corrupt-practices bill. And I am very sorry that this committee, instead of telling us, as the gentleman does, that they hope in the near future to bring in some bill which will reach it, and a bill which, of course, he knows will not be acted on by this Congress, because Congress will be so busy after this session it will not be possible to act on it—I think it is very much to be regretted that when this subject came before them and they seriously considered it, they just brought forth this miserable little bill which is only placing a penalty on the purchase of votes and not aiming to stop general political corruption. I think such a bill is very much needed.

The gentleman from Iowa has introduced one illustration, where an election bill with teeth in it is required. Some of the States have them, and I know in some of the States it has very much purified elections. I regret very much that the gentleman from Missouri has deferred it. I was going to say that I hope they will bring it in, but there is no use of indulging that hope, because we all know that any bill he brings in in the future will not have any chance of consideration. While, of

course, we will vote for this I shall vote for it without feeling that it accomplishes much and with much regret that we do not really have a bill that will accomplish what is needed.

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman answered his own criticisms and strictures upon the Committee on the Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress before he took his seat. After indulging in remarks more or less caustic and severe, he said he was satisfied that the committee could not bring in a bill now, at least, could not secure action on it at this session of Congress, because of existing conditions. Let me ask the gentleman how long those conditions have prevailed? What time has this Congress had since its first——

Mr. GILLETT. We had about a month from July 19 to August 19.

Mr. RUCKER. We had about a month, and the gentleman knows that on either side of this Hall there were not men enough to make a quorum.

Mr. GILLETT. You could have had it. There was not anything from the gentleman's committee for the House to look at.

Mr. RUCKER. I think the gentleman wants to be fair, and he knows that every effort that I might have put forth would have been beaten down by the cry that we have gotten along so well up to date, that we have been here so long engaged in war legislation we ought to have the privilege of retiring to our homes for a few days during the midsummer, and that such appeal would have prevented consideration of a bill of that importance, which had no relation to the winning of the war.

Let me say seriously I do not care whether the gentleman would have done so or not. I think I am forecasting what his duty would have been. Let me say to the gentleman frankly the committee in charge of this legislation has been inactive during this session for the reason that we knew in the condition of the public mind, in view of the sentiment which permeates the heart and mind of every Member of this House, we could not pass legislation which required deliberation and thought, probably several days of consideration and thought, while these great war measures were pending. For that reason, and that reason only, the committee has not come to the House with a bill.

Let me say to the gentleman that, just before this war Congress convened, your committee, in response to its duty to the membership of this House and the country, did bring in a bill very much improving the existing law, very much better legislation than is now provided. I want to say to the credit of this House, that bill was passed by the House after being patched up somewhat, but not seriously damaged; it ran the gantlet of the House in fairly good shape. But it met a horrible death at the other end of the Capitol. I am not making any political criticism or critizing any political party, because I really believe that if I could use the term "assassin" in connection with the slaughter of that bill in the other body I would have to prefer charges against some distinguished Democrats as well as, perhaps, some distinguished Republicans. But we passed a bill through the House which was vastly better than the existing law. Let me ask the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT], does he mean to condemn the committee for not presenting a bill here since the war Congress convened, since we have been compelled to enter this vortex of war, when the entire thought of the country is on war legislation? When could we have considered it?

Mr. GILLETT. I will be frank with the gentleman, and I will admit that the gentleman's argument has a good deal of sense and justice in it.

Mr. RUCKER. I am glad the gentleman admits the wisdom of my suggestion, although he did that with hesitation.

Mr. GILLETT. I think they might have reported a bill and have given us something to do, even if the House could not take it up.

Mr. RUCKER. Let me say to the gentleman in response to that suggestion—and I speak seriously, believing that the membership of the House wants wise and effective legislation—within the last few months deliberations over those great questions have proven of value to some gentlemen.

To-day gentlemen charged with responsibility can offer suggestions which the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] and others will accept, which six months ago or three months ago would not have been offered and would not have been agreed to if offered. Much of the wisdom of legislation is derived or springs from a conscious knowledge or observation of those things which call legislation into action; and by reason of occurrences, or what are alleged to have been occurrences, in the country, I think that those charged with responsibility are now in better shape to legislate than they would have been some time back.

I hope in due course to be able to satisfy the gentleman and all gentlemen at least of one proposition, and that is that the Committee on the Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress is seriously anxious and desirous of enacting law which will accomplish the great purpose which it is hoped to accomplish in the purification of elections.

Now, the other gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], who sometimes assumes the rôle of critic, also ventured the suggestion here a while ago that it was significant that the House committee which reported this bill did not see fit to do it until after the primaries had been held. I quote only the substance of the gentleman's statement. There is an implication in the gentleman's statement that ought not to pass unchallenged. Let me say to the gentleman, notwithstanding the fact that the RECORD shows this bill was referred to the House committee, I believe, on July 8, as a matter of fact the bill was not transmitted to the committee until long after that date, and, as a matter of fact, I did not know of its existence at that time. The gentleman may say I do not read the RECORD closely. That is true. I did not see it. I did not know that this bill had passed the Senate. I never knew of its passage in the Senate until a Senator came to my office and called my attention to it.

Now, if my position is open to criticism, criticism can be made; but let me say, in further response to the gentleman, I had no purpose in withholding it. I would have been glad to have given it passage through this House at the earliest possible hour, as I am anxious to have it passed to-day. There has been no delay or reluctance, so far as the House committee is concerned, in reporting a complete corrupt-practices bill from any mercenary or personal or improper reason or cause.

Let me say again, in response to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT], who addressed the committee last, that even when this bill was considered and after a report had been made I announced to my friend and colleague, the ranking member of that committee, Mr. MAPES, of Michigan, that I believed I would appeal to the gentleman who was directed to report the bill not to report it until we could bring in an amendment to it which would have been much more far-reaching than the terms of this bill. I would have pursued that course if it had not been for the insistence of gentlemen who were interested and desired this legislation passed at this session of this Congress.

Now, with reference to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], it is well known by gentlemen who have had experience in connection with the enforcement of criminal laws that about the most unwise thing that can be done, the thing that sacrifices public interest more than anything else in connection with the enactment or enforcement of a criminal law, is the severity of the penalties imposed. A penalty which impresses the minds of jurors and courts as being unreasonable or unconscionable has the effect of chloroforming to death otherwise good legislation. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], in support of his motion to amend, somewhat criticizes the thought that a thousand dollars or one year's imprisonment is considered adequate punishment for the crime of bribery. I do not quite agree with him.

It is certainly not excessive. But let me remind the gentleman that there are more convictions where the juries have wide margins to impose penalties than there are in cases where juries are required to impose penalties which are excessive in the judgment of the jury, or a part of the jury. I think the most disastrous thing, so far as society is concerned, that can be done by a legislative body is the enactment of too severe penalties for a breach of the law.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RUCKER. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman speaks of juries imposing penalties. In some jurisdictions the juries have nothing to do with the imposition of penalties and do not even know what the penalties may be.

Mr. RUCKER. I realize that; but in some jurisdictions they do have to do with it.

Mr. WALSH. I was not aware that in the Federal courts they had.

Mr. RUCKER. I think in the Federal courts probably the jury does not. I think it simply finds the defendant guilty or not guilty, and the court fixes the punishment. I am not sure that is true, but I think so. In some State jurisdictions the jury does fix the penalty.

Mr. DENISON. I was going to ask the gentleman from Missouri a question that was asked a while ago of the gentleman from Delaware [Mr. POLK] as to whether or not there is any Federal law upon this subject at this time, and if so, what it is?

Mr. RUCKER. I do not want to commit myself, because my answer must be founded more upon information than knowledge; but in my judgment there is none.

Mr. DENISON. It was stated a while ago by the gentleman from Delaware [Mr. POLK] that there was formerly a law upon

this subject which was repealed in 1896. Does the gentleman from Missouri happen to know anything about that?

Mr. RUCKER. I do not know anything about its repeal, or any reason assigned for its repeal; but just speaking offhand, my opinion is that it was a part and parcel of a general scheme of legislation with reference to elections that was repealed, and this criminal provision, of course, went with the balance of it. I do not care to say that which might provoke gentlemen to discuss matters that pertain to locality, but there was once a bill which, whether rightfully or wrongfully, was called the Force bill, and when that law was repealed the statute against bribery was also repealed, as I think.

Now, with reference to this pending amendment I will say I shall vote against it; not because I think $1,000 or one year's imprisonment adequate punishment for the man who deliberately goes out and debauches his neighbor, but because another legislative body has placed this limitation in the bill, and I know that so far as the integrity and honor of the people and the purity of elections are concerned, a law providing a penalty of $1,000 fine, with one year in jail, one or both, is better than no law. Therefore I hope the bill will not be amended, but that it will be enacted as it passed the Senate in order that we may have this legislation at this session.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the election of President, Vice President, Senators, and Representatives in Congress is a very important function which devolves upon the American people and one in which every citizen of the United States, if he is otherwise qualified, should have the unrestricted right to participate. It is frequently said, and I think the record would prove the statement to be true, that many of the citizens of the United States who are otherwise called upon to bear the obligations of citizenship are not permitted to exercise the franchise. To-day we are engaged in a great war, in which there seems to be no distinction as to those upon whom the responsibility of engaging in the conflict shall fall. We have not discriminated in any way against any citizen of America in calling upon men who are to fight the battles of the Nation. We have called upon all freely. We have insisted that each man having the rights of citizenship shall assume the responsible burden of citizenship by shouldering a rifle and going to the front or doing such other war duty as may be imposed upon him by the law. It may seem important to report and enact a law imposing a fine of $1,000 and imprisonment for a year on anyone who may accept or pay a bribe to induce a vote in favor of or against some candidate for office; but it seems to me it is still more important that the committee having jurisdiction of bills of this sort should also report some bill which would give to the citizens of the United States who are fighting its battles the right to vote. [Applause.] How many hundreds of thousands of those men there are who are denied the right to vote in America I am unable to say, but there are hundreds of thousands of them, and in certain States of the Union if a man happens perchance to have a black skin he is restricted in his right to exercise his privileges as a citizen when it comes to election day, but when it comes to fighting the battles of the Nation and spilling his blood upon the fields of France, or elsewhere, there is no restriction. These men are loyal citizens of America——

Mr. RUCKER. Is it not true that in many jurisdictions there is also a property qualification?

Mr. MADDEN. There ought not to be any qualification that will prevent a citizen of the United States, a man entitled to citizenship, exercising his right to vote. We have 350,000 black soldiers in the Army to-day, 10 per cent of all the men in the Army, yet I undertake to say, without fear of successful contradiction, that not 35,000 of those 350,000 are permitted to vote either for President or for Members of the Senate or House in certain States of the Union.

Mr. BLACK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. BLACK. I just want to say, speaking for the State of Texas, that there is absolutely no discrimination at all there. They are all on an equality in my State.

Mr. MADDEN. I undertake to say that if they were all on an equality in all States, and all permitted to exercise the same rights of citizenship that all other citizens, of any other color or birth, are permitted to exercise, there would be a good many Republicans in this House where there are to-day Democrats.

Mr. RUCKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. I yield.

Mr. RUCKER. I want to say to the gentleman that in the State of Missouri, from which I come, there is no limitation whatever on the right to vote. Every black man votes if he wants to.

Mr. MADDEN. I am not making any complaint about Missouri. I say that these men who are to-day fighting for the freedom of America, for the honor of its flag, for the preservation of its institutions, ought to have the same privilege to exercise their political rights that every other man has. I say that, and to the extent of my ability I shall insist that in the future they shall have it; and if this Committee on the Election of President and Vice President and Senators and Representatives in Congress would devote itself to the preparation and presentation of a law that would place the citizenship of America, with respect to the exercise of their political rights, on the basis of equality, they would be doing a much greater work than by the presentation of a bill that imposes a fine of a thousand dollars or imprisonment of a year on those who bribe a voter or who accept a bribe, though I am heartily in favor of the pending bill. To-day it takes 50,000 men to elect the average Member of Congress from a northern State, and the average number of votes cast in the Southern States for Members of Congress is 2,500.

Mr. RAYBURN. Oh, no.

Mr. MADDEN. You may have more votes at the primary, but you do not have them at the election. The primary there is the election. I say that the primary in the South ought not to be any different from the primary in the North. The oligarchy ought not to continue to control America when it prevents the exercise of the franchise by the men who are willing to give their blood for the preservation of the Nation.

Mr. RAYBURN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. RAYBURN. Take a district like the one I represent, and there is no one in it that belongs to the gentleman's party.

Mr. MADDEN. They would if all the citizens were allowed to vote.

Mr. RAYBURN. They are allowed to vote the same as white people.

Mr. MADDEN. But they are not counted. Of course, everybody votes the Democratic ticket because they know that there is no chance to get the ballots counted if they vote for anybody else.

Mr. RAYBURN. Oh, that is entirely untrue.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Do I understand that the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois are to be construed as an indication that if his party succeeds in getting control of Congress we may expect a force bill?

Mr. MADDEN. In response to the inquiry of the gentleman from Louisiana, the representation in Congress should be based upon the citizenship of the various States who are permitted to vote and not upon the population without respect as to whether they are allowed to vote or not. That is the position I take, and that is the legitimate position to take.

Before the Civil War, of course, they counted the negroes in the representation without any right to vote. Now they count them in the representation and do not give them the right to vote, notwithstanding the laws of the land require them to accept every responsibility that every other citizen in the United States must assume. I hope the gentleman from Missouri, the chairman of this great Committee on the Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, will use the great genius he possesses and formulate a bill which will give every man in the Union, without regard to color, his full rights. I can assure him it would be promptly enacted into law if the Democrats would but cooperate with the Republicans in the Congress.

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that my name has been called frequently and that the longer this is debated the more harmony and felicity we have, I think we had better take up something else, and I move the previous question.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Will the gentleman withhold that? I want to speak for five minutes.

Mr. RUCKER. No; I think we had better take up something else.

Mr. GOOD. Will the gentleman withhold that? I desire to offer an amendment to perfect the bill. I will say to the gentleman that if he is going to try and crowd this bill through without giving a chance to perfect it and make a real publicity bill of it, he will have to have a quorum.

Mr. RUCKER. Let me say to the gentleman there are no terrors in that for me; if the gentleman wants to do it, do it. I do not propose to be bluffed by the gentleman from Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the bill and amendments to final passage.

Mr. GOOD. I make the point of order that no quorum is present. If the gentleman is afraid of a little publicity bill——

Mr. RUCKER. Oh, the gentleman is camouflaging.

The SPEAKER. All this talk is out of order. The gentleman from Iowa makes the point that no quorum is present, and the Chair will count.

Mr. GILLETT. I hope the gentleman will not insist on his point of order.

Mr. GOOD. I will withdraw it if the gentleman from Missouri will withdraw his motion for the previous question. I have an amendment with real merit in it.

Mr. RUCKER. The gentleman can offer his amendment, and I will consider it.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Missouri withdraw his motion for the previous question?

Mr. RUCKER. I do not.

Mr. GOOD. I am willing to withdraw the point of no quorum if the gentleman will withdraw his motion and allow me to offer the amendment.

Mr. RUCKER. How long a time does the gentleman want?

Mr. GOOD. I want only five minutes.

Mr. RUCKER. Well, Mr. Speaker, with the understanding that I will be recognized at the end of five minutes, I will withdraw the motion of the previous question.

Mr. GOOD. I will withdraw the point of no quorum.

Mr. MAPES. Why does not the gentleman from Missouri ask unanimous consent to limit debate?

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I will do that. I ask unanimous consent to limit debate on this bill to 17 minutes—5 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD], 5 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER], 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois, and 5 minutes to myself—and at the end of that time the previous question shall be considered as ordered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent that debate on this bill and all amendments thereto close in 17 minutes, at the end of which time the previous question shall be ordered on the bill and amendments. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, there is an amendment already pending and has to be disposed of first.

The SPEAKER. We will have to dispose of the Walsh amendment first, but the gentleman can send his amendment up for information.

Mr. FOSTER. Why not vote on the other amendment first?

The SPEAKER. We will vote on it first. The Clerk will report the Good amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Insert as a new section the following:

"That any local or State committee, club, or organization that collects funds for political purposes and which contributes any part of its funds for the election of any Member of Congress, or to any political club, committee, or organization which shall influence the result, or attempt to influence the result, of an election of Representative in Congress shall be included within the term 'political committee' as defined in the act of June 25, 1910, and acts amendatory thereof, and any such local or State committee, club, or organization shall hereafter be required to make and file statements as required of other political committees as provided by the act of June 25, 1910, and acts amendatory thereof."

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am going to say a few words simply on the bill itself. It is stated here that this bill gives jurisdiction to the United States courts over the conduct of elections with reference to bribery by any person, and bribery is the one essential question as to the conduct of elections. It is a question whether the amount being paid a man as a watcher is a bribe or not, and whether the men who carry messages and the wagon used to transport people to the polls are sometimes hidden forms of bribery. This bill gives jurisdiction to the United States courts to have indictments found as to the conduct of elections wherever any practice of bribery may be averred. Some years ago we had what is called the force bill, and it has been referred to to-day. That bill, besides giving jurisdiction to the United States courts over United States congressional elections, authorized a lot of inspectors. This bill does not authorize inspectors, but it may be pointed out to the House that we have now what we had not then—a most tremendous Department of Justice, with an intelligence department annexed, so that any administration—and I am talking of a hundred years hence—that chooses to use that vast machinery to find out whether anything has been or is being done against United States statutes by their opponents can exert the same power over and influence upon State elections which was so strongly objected to at the time of the so-called force bill. The number of people employed as Government agents is far greater than anything thought of then.

Section 4 of Article I of the Constitution provides:

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulation, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is the first, and a very long step, toward the United States making regulations as provided in this section as to the manner of electing Representatives and Senators heretofore controlled by the States. If the United States takes jurisdiction of all, or concurrent jurisdiction over the conduct of elections, then with the powers in the hands of the United States Department of Justice it may be possible in some cases in the future that the administration may persecute men who are running at the polls by attacking their methods and friends, as has often been done in autocratic governments. I do not fear this now. We have honest Presidents and a republican form of government. But centralizing of power and of jurisdiction are only too common tendencies. As a Republican I have for years been pointing out to what an extent they are going on in this country, and I stand where I have stood always, wherever it was proper, for local self-government and for State rights and State control of local matters under the general Constitution and Union of the United States of America. [Applause.]

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago in a speech in this Chamber I read from an original letter written by the Secretary of the Iowa Democratic Club to a postmistress in my district. The letter was delivered to her in the post office, so I am informed. The letter said in so many words, "You owe us $33, and you must pay." That was in violation of the criminal code, which imposes a fine of $5,000 and imprisonment or a term of one or two years, or both, for such an offense. That letter is in my possession. It is open to the Department of Justice to bring criminal proceedings against the bunch of fellows in my State who are going up and down the State collecting a 5 per cent assessment against postmasters and other public officials, in violation of law, for the Democratic committee. That letter states that that committee is turning over to the Democratic national committee $13,000 a year, and no report is made anywhere by the Iowa Democratic Club. No one can know where it gets its money. There have been no prosecutions of the wholesale violation of the criminal code by this administration. The Civil Service Commission, a nonpartisan commission, makes an indictment against the present administration that smells to high heaven, so far as the violation of election laws are concerned, and you not only fail to indict your officials but you encourage them to go to the Government employees under them and collect political assessments from them, and if those people fail to pay them your officials and your administration fail to remove that kind of an official from office. That is the indictment, and it stands in black and white on page 15 of the Civil Service Commission's last report. I think we are laboring to-day all in vain when we attempt to place on the statute books a law which is meant to be enforced against Republicans, but is to be winked at when it is violated by Democrats.

The amendment that I have offered will put a stop to this violation of the spirit of the law if the law is to be enforced. This wholesale violation of the spirit of the law by the great Democratic Party, in organizing State clubs in order to get around and under the provisions of the corrupt-practices law, is most contemptible.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOOD. And you bring in here now a little bill that is designed to prohibit the purchase of votes. Of course, the purchase of votes ought to be prohibited; it ought to be prohibited by the local authorities. It is prohibited by local authorities in all well-regulated communities. I said a few moments ago—and I repeat it now—I have had some experience with elections for the last 25 years in my State. During all of that time I have never heard of a single man in my State purchasing a single vote, and I have never heard of a man there selling a vote in my State. I have heard, however, and I have furnished positive proof of how you are violating the corrupt-practices law, and it seems to me that until you show some disposition, and the party in power shows some disposition to enforce the laws we now have, it is vain and idle for us to talk about putting on the statute books additional legislation along this line, but if we are to amend this law, let us amend the law so it will have some teeth in it.

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOOD. I wanted first to yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. HASTINGS. I do not care to ask the gentleman any question now.

Mr. GOOD. I yield.

Mr. CALDWELL. I wanted to know if the gentleman had heard of the wholesale Republican purchase of votes in Ohio here a little while ago?

Mr. GOOD. I saw something in the newspapers about violations in Adams County by both parties, but I know nothing about it personally, and I read in the newspapers that in In-

diana they have a whole lot of Democratic politicians in the State prison for that offense.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Is not that about all that the Department of Justice knows about the charges of the gentleman?

Mr. GOOD. I do not believe it is. As I have said before, the local authorities ought to put every man in jail who will even offer to sell a vote and ought to put every man in jail who goes around during election and attempts to buy votes.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, I want to offer an amendment. On page 2, after the word "Congress," in line 1, insert "or any candidate for elector for President or Vice President."

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 2, line 1, after the word "Congress" insert the words "or any candidate for elector for President or Vice President.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Chairman, the effect of the amendment simply is to enlarge the scope of the law so as to make it unlawful to buy votes for President or Vice President, or for their electors. Now, I think, while we are enacting this legislation we might as well make it a little more comprehensive. Of course, this law will not be enacted in time to do any good or reach anyone violating any of its provisions at this election, but it will perhaps be of value at the election two years from now; and while we are making it applicable to elections of Senators and Representatives, why not make it applicable to President and Vice President? I am sure that all Members of the House are in favor of the provisions of this bill as it is now framed, and I am sure that all of us do not want bribery in the election of President and Vice President; then why not let this bill be comprehensive enough to do that when we can do it in a simple provision by these half a dozen words in the bill. I hope this amendment will carry. I am sure the Senate will accept it and it will become part of the law.

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I repeat, I hope all of these amendments will be voted down. I do not believe the gentleman from Iowa would want his amendment adopted if he thought it could be adopted. It looks to me that on certain occasions the gentleman throws himself into fits and deals largely in invective for political purposes. I think his conduct suggests that somebody is trespassing upon his ancient rights.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Why not call his bluff?

Mr. RUCKER. Way back years and years ago there was a national scandal in this country about certain officeholders, all of whom were Republicans, levying tribute upon civil-service or the departmental clerks, all of whom were Republicans, until the country finally arose in its righteousness and forced the adoption of the civil-service law and in effect said, "You should not do this any more." Now, I rather think it is possible that somewhere Democrats who have been afflicted with Republican association have occasionally followed the Republican ancient practice of levying tribute on those people, but if they have done so at times I am sure it is "a custom more honored in the breach than in the observance." Very few Democrats ever did a thing like that. But let me suggest that the gentleman's amendment if adopted would require to be sent to the National Capital after every election, every two years, somewhere from 10,000 to 50,000 reports. Did you know it? We would have piled up here somewhere in some basement room, some disused and abandoned space, some space only fit for mice and owls to infest—we would have here somewhere from 25,000 to 75,000 reports. In fact, there is absolutely no limit to the number, but it is safe to say that we would necessarily have 25,000, and might have any number of thousands. Now, who would read them, let me ask? What does it concern the good people of the old pine State of Maine that some irregularity in an election has occurred maybe in the gentleman's district in Iowa? What does it concern the people in the grand old Commonwealth of Texas if something goes wrong in the old Commonwealth of Massachusetts? What does it signify to the general public if something is wrong in some one community? Who would ever hear of it unless we could send the gentleman from Iowa to pry into it and come back here and make a political speech on it? I say that with all respect to the gentleman, I have traveled the path suggested by him but I quit it because it proved to be such an absurd proposition.

Mr. GOOD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RUCKER. Certainly.

Mr. GOOD. How are you going to touch these committees, such as I have described?

Mr. RUCKER. I suggested awhile ago if you are in as good faith as I am, help me pass this law. I am willing to go on record in an attempt to stop the expenditure of a single dollar except for purposes specified in the law, each and every one of which is lawful, and——

Mr. GOOD. Amend that so it will do that.

Mr. RUCKER. Give me a chance. The gentleman's amendment would defeat this law.

Mr. GOOD. Let us do it before election, not after.

Mr. RUCKER. Would the gentleman favor turning the bribe giver loose to despoil and demoralize the citizens of his State and every other State in the Union?

Mr. HASTINGS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RUCKER. I will.

Mr. HASTINGS. This bill the gentleman has in mind would prevent the expenditure of $176,000 to secure a nomination for United States Senator in any State in the Union?

Mr. RUCKER. I will say to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. HASTINGS] I may not be able to write a bill that will prevent such expenditure, but I can write one that will send the scoundrels to the penitentiary if the law is enforced.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FOSTER). The time of the gentleman has expired; all time has expired. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH].

The question was taken, and the Chair announced the noes seemed to have it.

On a division (demanded by Mr. WALSH) there were—ayes 30, noes 31.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I ask for tellers—I withdraw the demand.

So the amendment was rejected.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The next amendment is the one offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD].

The question was taken, and the Speaker pro tempore announced the noes seemed to have it.

On a division (demanded by Mr. GOOD) there were—ayes 19, noes 36.

So the amendment was rejected.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question now is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DENISON].

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for one minute. I am going to withdraw the amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, it has been called to my attention that presidential electors are not officers or agents in any sense of the Federal Government. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] mentioned the matter to me first, and afterwards a decision of the Supreme Court was presented to me by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MOORES], which seems to hold that presidential electors are not officers of the United States but are strictly State officers, although they are provided for in the Constitution. And therefore, if that decision states the law, it would seem not to be proper to pass a law providing for a penalty of this kind for bribery in connection with the election of electors.

Mr. RUCKER. Notwithstanding that position, which is wholly true, still I think Congress has a perfect right to legislate with reference to everything that pertains to a presidential election, for the reason that electors are elected at an election at which Members of Congress and Senators are elected.

Mr. DENISON. Now, I will ask the gentleman this question: Do you think, then, a State would have that right?

Mr. RUCKER. Unquestionably.

Mr. DENISON. If the gentleman is of that opinion, I will not withdraw the amendment. I have great respect for the opinion of the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. RUCKER. I understood the gentleman to withdraw it. It is immaterial to me, however.

Mr. DENISON. I will not withdraw it, then, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DENISON].

The question was taken, and the Chair announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 30, noes 36.

So the amendment was rejected.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill as amended.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. RUCKER, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

BETTER ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN NAVY.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will call the first bill on the calendar relating to the Naval Affairs Committee.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 10747) providing for the better administration of justice in the Navy.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to have some statement as to the reason why the Navy Department seeks jurisdiction to punish a former seaman or officer beyond the term of his original enlistment for a crime committed while serving a sentence of imprisonment?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Perhaps the Navy Department now has that authority. Some doubt, however, has been expressed, and it was thought well by this bill to clear up all doubt. This condition might occur: That a month before the expiration of one's term of enlistment and while serving a prison sentence, the prisoner may commit a very grave offense or he might commit such offense the next day after his term of enlistment had terminated, serving a prison sentence. There certainly should be no question as to the right of the Navy to punish for such an offense. And this bill simply removes all question of doubt on that subject. In reference to officers who are serving a prison sentence, it is the practice of the Navy to always dismiss them from the service as soon as the sentence has been imposed. And if after their dismissal they commit while in prison another offense, this bill makes certain the naval authority to punish for such offense. That is the whole purpose of the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. Under the authority of this bill the officials of the Navy Department would be permitted to punish an enlisted man even if the offense committed was not really committed against the discipline or good order or rules of the Navy Department.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. While he is serving a prison sentence.

Mr. STAFFORD. They can keep on punishing him and punishing him, ad infinitum.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Of course, that is predicated on the assumption that he is duly convicted for some offense charged while serving a prison sentence.

Mr. STAFFORD. Originally duly convicted, he commits a minor offense which is not regarded favorably by some naval official and he is punished again, and maybe for some minor prison offense.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. To maintain discipline I think the gentleman will readily recognize that the Navy should unquestionably be given authority to punish for an offense committed by one serving a prison sentence. I think the authority already exists, but it was thought well to clear up any possible doubt by passing this bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. Of course, I can see where this might be abused. I can see also where there is need of vesting authority in the naval officers to punish an enlisted man who has been sentenced, when he is guilty of a further infraction of the rules or infraction of discipline.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Of course, there is opportunity for any authority to be abused. I do not think it would be in instances of this kind, however.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That all persons serving in confinement pursuant to a duly approved sentence of a naval court-martial shall, until discharged from confinement, remain subject in all respects to the articles for the government of the Navy and all other laws for the administration of justice in the Navy, and shall be liable to trial by courts-martial under said articles and laws for offenses committed while under any sentence imposed pursuant to the first or any subsequent trial by court-martial.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. OLIVER of Alabama, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next one.

EXTENSION OF WAR-RISK INSURANCE ACT.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 12934) to extend certain provisions of the war-risk insurance act of September 2, 1914, as amended to cadets at the United States Military Academy and midshipmen at the United States Naval Academy.

The title of the bill was read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I ask that this bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. RAYBURN rose.

Mr. WALSH. I object to the consideration of the bill, but I will withhold the right to object for a moment.

Mr. RAYBURN. Does the gentleman object?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Objection is heard.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

Mr. STAFFORD. This bill may be placed on the calendar at a subsequent time. It would be better to have it stricken off now. I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Objection is made, and the bill goes off the calendar. The Clerk will report the next one.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. LANGLEY. I have had placed on the calendar two bills, one known as the maimed soldiers' bill and the other known as the Army nurse bill. I want to inquire of the Chair why it is that they can not be taken up?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the rule for unanimous consent these bills must have been placed on the calendar three days in advance.

Mr. LANGLEY. I thought the rule required that they must be on the other calendar for three days.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. No. They must have been on the Unanimous Consent Calendar for three days.

Mr. LANGLEY. They must be on that calendar three days before they can be considered?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Yes.

PURCHASE OF UNIFORMS BY NAVAL OFFICERS.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 12945) providing for the purchase of uniforms, accouterments, and equipment by officers of the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, and midshipmen at the Naval Academy from the Government at cost.

The title was read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman from Alabama if the omission of the Coast Guard Cadets from this legislation was inadvertent or intentional? The Coast Guard, as the gentleman knows, maintains an academy at New London, Conn., where they give a course of instruction to young men who desire to become officers in that branch of the service, and those men have to procure uniforms, and so forth. They are not covered by the provisions of this measure.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. They were not included in the original bill when it was before the committee, and the question of extending this right was not considered.

Mr. WALSH. Would the gentleman see any serious objection to incorporating an amendment for midshipmen at the Naval Academy and cadets at the Coast Guard Academy?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I would not like to assent to that offhand, because we have had no hearings on the subject. Personally I have no objection to it.

Mr. WALSH. In the absence of definite information, I do not think we should pass this legislation, and I will therefore object.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will permit, I think that the reason is perhaps because the Coast Guard is under the Treasury Department. But it has been temporarily placed under the Navy Department during the period of the war.

Mr. WALSH. You take care of the officers of the Coast Guard, and you take care of the midshipmen at the Naval Academy.

Mr. ESCH. It obtains only while they are operating with the Navy.

Mr. WALSH. The Coast Guard Academy is under the jurisdiction of the Navy Department.

Mr. ESCH. Only during the war emergency, since the Coast Guard was taken over by the Navy.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman does not get my point. We are going to provide that the officers of the Coast Guard, while they are operating with the Navy——

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I will interpose no objection if the gentleman will offer an amendment to that effect.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This is a Union Calendar bill. Does the gentleman from Alabama desire to ask that it be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Yes; Mr. Speaker, I ask that this bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the gentleman's request?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That hereafter uniforms, accouterments, and equipment shall, upon the request of any officer of the Navy or any officer of the Marine Corps or any officer of the Coast Guard while operating with the Navy or any midshipman at the Naval Academy, be furnished by the Government at cost, subject to such restrictions and regulations as the Secretary of the Navy may prescribe.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WALSH: Page 1, line 7, after the word "Academy," insert the words "or cadets at the Coast Guard Academy."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill as amended.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. OLIVER of Alabama, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next bill.

PROMOTION OF MARINE OFFICERS SERVING WITH THE ARMY.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 12916) to provide for the temporary promotion of commissioned officers of the Marine Corps serving with the Army.

The title of the bill was read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. I reserve the right to object, and before objection is waived I would like to have the gentleman from Alabama explain what positions are open to the commissioned officers of the Marine Corps to which they are not privileged at present under existing law?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Under the existing law the Marine officers now serving under Gen. Pershing can not be promoted as the Army officers are, and this bill simply serves to remove that restriction, and provides that while they are serving with the Army they can be promoted as Army officers are. The promotions are only temporary and to continue during their service with the Army.

Mr. STAFFORD. I understand that the officers of the Marine Corps serving with the Army may be promoted to additional rank in the Marine Corps.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. They can not be promoted while serving with the Army. It seems to have been an inadvertent omission. This bill simply gives them the same opportunity that Regular Army officers have while they are serving with the Army. It is a temporary promotion.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FOSTER). Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I ask unanimous consent that this bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That commissioned officers of the Marine Corps, detached for duty with the Army under the provisions of section 1621, Revised Statutes, shall be eligible, in the same manner as officers of the Regular Army, for temporary promotion to higher grades in any of the forces provided by the act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917: *Provided*, That officers of the Marine Corps temporarily promoted to higher grades in any of the forces of the Army under the provisions of this act shall not thereby vacate their permanent appointments or commissions, or be prejudiced in their relative lineal standing in the Marine Corps: *Provided further*, That temporary vacancies in the Marine Corps caused by the appointment of officers to higher grades in the Army shall be temporarily filled in the same manner as is now prescribed by law: *And provided further*, That the temporary promotions herein authorized shall continue only while such officers are detached for duty with the Army.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was accordingly read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. OLIVER of Alabama, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

ADDITIONAL PAY FOR WARRANT OFFICERS.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 12915) to provide additional pay for warrant officers on shore duty beyond the continental limits of the United States.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I should like to inquire of the gentleman having charge of this bill why warrant officers of the Navy on shore duty—for instance, on the Isthmus of Panama—should receive higher pay than warrant officers on shore duty in continental United States of America?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. The Chief of the Bureau of Navigation reported that the expenses of those on shore duty abroad are now very heavy, and, since the chief warrant officers and the commissioned officers of the Navy are entitled to this increase, it was thought but just that warrant officers should be entitled to the increase while performing foreign-shore service. The department has recommended that the same increase be extended to the warrant officers now enjoyed by the chief warrant officers and the commissioned officers.

Mr. STAFFORD. Are not the expenses of these warrant officers on shore duty in the United States just as heavy as the expenses of these warrant officers performing duty down in the Virgin Islands or in Porto Rico or the Philippines or on the Isthmus of Panama?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. As the gentleman knows, a great many of these warrant officers are in France, in Ireland, in England, and some in Italy.

Mr. STAFFORD. And a great many down in Porto Rico and Santo Domingo and on the Isthmus of Panama.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Some of them.

Mr. STAFFORD. And yet the cost of living down there is less than in the United States.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. It includes those.

Mr. STAFFORD. Surely.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. The chief of the bureau stated that, in view of the heavy expense now incident to foreign service, he felt the same increase enjoyed by the chief warrant officers for foreign service should be given to warrant officers. The gentleman will understand that the pay of warrant officers as compared with that of the chief warrant officers and that of commissioned officers is small.

Mr. STAFFORD. I understand we have increased their pay within the past few years to meet the increased cost of living. For the time being, Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Will the gentleman consent that this be passed without prejudice?

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman will have an opportunity of putting it on the calendar again.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin objects. The Clerk will report the next bill.

MEDALS OF HONOR.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 12194) to provide for the award of medals of honor, distinguished-service medals, and Navy crosses, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, this is rather an important bill and a lengthy bill. We passed in the Army appropriation act of this year a bill very extensive in its scope, granting to the War Department the privilege of awarding medals of honor similar to what is intended by this bill for the naval service. I wish to inquire of the gentleman having the bill in charge whether this is identical in its phraseology with that bill?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Absolutely, except so as to make it conform to the Navy.

Mr. STAFFORD. In all particulars?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. In all particulars, I think.

Mr. DENT. As I recollect, we had the Navy included in the medal-of-honor bill, but the Secretary of the Navy objected to its going in there, and so we struck the Navy out. Has he changed his mind on that subject?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I think the Secretary of the Navy in a letter to the committee recommended that this bill pass.

Mr. DENT. There is one other point in there that has been called to my attention.

Mr. STAFFORD. One moment. There is nothing in the report to show that the Secretary of the Navy has changed his

mind. There is nothing in the report to show any letter from the Secretary of the Navy, as is customary on bills affecting the naval service. The Secretary of the Navy is not inclined to change his mind on these matters overnight.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I was in error in stating that the Secretary had written a letter; but Admiral Palmer, the head of the Bureau of Navigation, appeared before the committee and strongly urged the passage of this bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. I think we ought to hear from the Secretary of the Navy, in view of the statement made by the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs that he opposed the awarding of these medals of honor to members of the Navy. I ask that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I am not sure that the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT] is correct in his recollection. I have no recollection myself of the Secretary having written a letter in opposition to it.

Mr. DENT. I am going to make a statement which, I think, will clear up this matter. All I can say is that when the medal bill, which was one reported by the Military Affairs Committee of the House, was called up on the Unanimous Consent Calendar, I do not remember whether by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SHALLENBERGER] or the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ANTHONY], the chairman of the Naval Committee [Mr. PADGETT] objected and made the statement that the Secretary of the Navy did not want the Navy included in the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. I wish to confirm the statement made by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT], that when the bill was presented the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PADGETT] stated that the Secretary of the Navy was opposed to bills of that character. I thought perhaps he had changed his mind, but now I find there is no evidence of his having changed his mind.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. There may have been at that time reasons for the Secretary making such request, but I hope the gentleman will not interpose an objection simply because it is reported that some time in the past the Secretary of the Navy may have said that he was not insisting that the Army bill include the Navy.

I feel sure there is no objection by the Navy Department to this legislation and certainly no one can now suggest any reason why young men serving in the Navy should not be accorded the same rights as those in the Army, whether the Secretary ever objected to it or not. I hope the gentleman from Wisconsin will not interpose an objection.

Mr. DENT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Yes.

Mr. DENT. I did not intend to raise any objection; I was simply recalling what I thought had occurred on a previous occasion. The main purpose that I had in interrupting the gentleman was to make this suggestion: In the medal-of-honor bill which was incorporated in the act of July 19, 1918, we provided for some sort of legislation for those who served in the Spanish-American War and those who had served on the Mexican border. The Adjutant General's office has ruled that both must be tacked together under the language in the bill. That was not intended. It was intended to separate the two and give the veterans of the Spanish-American War some recognition, and also those who served on the Mexican border a separate recognition. A measure before the Military Committee will undertake to correct by amendment that bill. If the Naval Committee has followed the language of that bill, they may find themselves in the same situation.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Is there any objection on the part of the gentleman from Alabama to the passage of this bill?

Mr. DENT. Oh, no; I have no objection to it.

Mr. McARTHUR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Yes.

Mr. McARTHUR. Is it not true that we can give medals of honor to the soldiers in the Army, but not to the marines who fight by the side of them?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Yes.

Mr. SLOAN. I trust, Mr. Speaker, that the gentleman from Wisconsin will not interpose the objection, especially on the ground of demanding proof of the change of mind of the department. A good deal of time has elapsed and may we not indulge in the presumption that he has already changed his mind?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I want to say in justice to the Secretary of the Navy that the only objection I recall ever offered of this kind related to medals offered or given by foreign governments. I do not recall, and I find no member of the committee present who recalls, that the Secretary ever made an objection to a bill of this kind. The confusion may have arisen altogether from the fact that it was said at one time that he objected to foreign governments conferring medals on officers and men of the Navy.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to present, in the name of Congress, a medal of honor to any person who, while in the naval service of the United States, shall, in action involving actual conflict with the enemy, distinguish himself conspicuously by gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty and without detriment to the mission of his command or the command to which attached.

SEC. 2. That the President be, and he hereby is, further authorized to present, but not in the name of Congress, a distinguished-service medal of appropriate design and a ribbon, together with a rosette or other device to be worn in lieu thereof, to any person who, while in the naval service of the United States, since the 6th day of April, 1917, has distinguished, or who hereafter shall distinguish, himself by exceptionally meritorious service to the Government in a duty of great responsibility.

SEC. 3. That the President be, and he hereby is, further authorized to present, but not in the name of Congress, a Navy cross of appropriate design and a ribbon, together with a rosette or other device to be worn in lieu thereof, to any person who, while in the naval service of the United States, since the 6th day of April, 1917, has distinguished, or who shall hereafter distinguish, himself by extraordinary heroism or distinguished service in the line of his profession, such heroism or service not being sufficient to justify the award of a medal of honor or a distinguished-service medal.

SEC. 4. That each enlisted or enrolled person of the naval service to whom is awarded a medal of honor, distinguished-service medal, or a Navy cross shall, for each such award, be entitled to additional pay at the rate of $2 per month from the date of the distinguished act or service on which the award is based, and each bar, or other suitable emblem or insignia, in lieu of a medal of honor, distinguished-service medal, or Navy cross, as hereinafter provided for, shall entitle him to further additional pay at the rate of $2 per month from the date of the distinguished act or service for which the bar is awarded, and such additional pay shall continue throughout his active service, whether such service shall or shall not be continuous.

SEC. 5. That no more than one medal of honor or one distinguished-service medal or one Navy cross shall be issued to any one person; but for each succeeding deed or service sufficient to justify the award of a medal of honor or a distinguished-service medal or Navy cross, respectively, the President may award a suitable bar, or other suitable emblem or insignia, to be worn with the decoration and the corresponding rosette or other device.

SEC. 6. That the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to expend from the appropriation "Pay of the Navy," of the Navy Department, so much as may be necessary to defray the cost of the medals of honor, distinguished-service medals, and Navy crosses, and bars, emblems, or insignia herein provided for, and so much as may be necessary to replace any medals, crosses, bars, emblems, or insignia as are herein or may heretofore have been provided for: *Provided*, That such replacement shall be made only in those cases where the medal of honor, distinguished-service medal, or Navy cross, or bar, emblem, or insignia presented under the provisions of this or any other act shall have been lost, destroyed, or rendered unfit for use without fault or neglect on the part of the person to whom it was awarded, and shall be made without charge therefor.

SEC. 7. That, except as otherwise prescribed herein, no medal of honor, distinguished-service medal, Navy cross, or bar or other suitable emblem or insignia in lieu of either of said medals or of said cross, shall be issued to any person after more than five years from the date of the act or service justifying the award thereof, nor unless a specific statement or report distinctly setting forth the act or distinguished service and suggesting or recommending official recognition thereof shall have been made by his naval superior through official channels at the time of the act or service or within three years thereafter.

SEC. 8. That in case an individual who shall distinguish himself dies before the making of the award to which he may be entitled the award may nevertheless be made and the medal or cross or the bar or other emblem or insignia presented within five years from the date of the act or service justifying the award thereof to such representative of the deceased as the President may designate: *Provided*, That no medal or cross or no bar or other emblem or insignia shall be awarded or presented to any individual or to the representative of any individual whose entire service subsequent to the time he distinguished himself shall not have been honorable: *Provided further*, That in cases of persons now in the naval service for whom the award of the medal of honor has been recommended in full compliance with then existing regulations, but on account of services which, though insufficient fully to justify the award of the medal of honor, appears to have been such as to justify the award of the distinguished-service medal or Navy cross hereinbefore provided for, such cases may be considered and acted upon under the provisions of this act authorizing the award of the distinguished-service medal and Navy cross notwithstanding that said services may have been rendered more than five years before said cases shall have been considered as authorized by this proviso, but all consideration or any action upon any of said cases shall be based exclusively upon official records now on file in the Navy Department.

SEC. 9. That the President be, and he hereby is, authorized to delegate, under such conditions, regulations, and limitations as he shall prescribe, to flag officers who are commanders in chief or commanding on important independent duty the power conferred upon him by this act to award the Navy cross; and he is further authorized to make from time to time any and all rules, regulations, and orders which he shall deem necessary to carry into effect the provisions of this act and to execute the full purpose and intention thereof.

SEC. 10. That all acts or parts of acts relating to the award of medals of honor, as such, in so far as rights thereunder have not already accrued, are hereby repealed.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask the gentleman who has charge of this measure if section 10 is not rather a dangerous section to include in this act. It provides that all awards relating to medals of honor, in so far as rights thereunder have

not accrued, are hereby repealed. There is an act relating to the award of medals of honor to members in the military service. The rights thereunder have not accrued and may accrue in the future, if this section is left in this bill, conferring the right to award these medals is to be repealed.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I assume that that matter was looked into by the committee, and it was thought that by the repeal of other laws relating to the Navy we would be doing no injustice to anyone in the naval service.

Mr. WALSH. But this is not confined to the naval service.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. The bill relates only to those in the naval service. If the gentleman thinks that this would interfere in the slightest with the bill in relation to the Army—I do not think it does—he can offer an amendment. It certainly is not intended to repeal any act relating to the Army.

Mr. WALSH. But it says "that all acts or parts of acts relating to the award of medals of honor, as such, in so far as rights thereunder have not already accrued, are hereby repealed." It does not say to members of the naval service.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. If the gentleman will offer an amendment——

Mr. WALSH. I do not care to offer an amendment until I learn why it is necessary to have it in there. I understood by the colloquy that took place before consent was given to take the bill up, that an intimation was made that at present the Congress had provided that medals of honor might be awarded to soldiers and marines, and that there was no provision for medals of honor for members in the naval service. If that be so, section 10 would not apply to any law relating to the Navy, because there is no law providing for medals of honor for the Navy.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. The gentleman understands that this bill was heard by the committee when I was away, and I am not as familiar with the hearings as I would otherwise be. I will offer an amendment to limit it absolutely to the Navy since the question has been raised.

Mr. WALSH. I think the gentleman would agree that the validity or purpose of the act would not be seriously affected if section 10 were eliminated in toto.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. So far as my information goes I do not think it would be, but I would prefer that it remain in and go to conference.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman is aware that the whole purpose of the bill is framed with the idea that this shall take the place of any other award of medals of honor, and I think there is no need whatever of section 10, because by the very phraseology it supersedes the existing law.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out section 10.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 6, strike out section 10.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. OLIVER of Alabama, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

CERTAIN NEW RATINGS IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

The next business on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 10849) to establish certain new ratings in the United States Navy.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object on any of these that are new.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. All of the ratings provided for in this bill are new ratings. The bill provides new ratings for gunners' mates, quartermasters, and electricians who have been performing these duties. In view of the large increase in Navy personnel, the Bureau of Navigation recommends that these new ratings be given. They think it will tend to greater efficiency. The gentleman will understand how important the torpedo work now is, and this bill will give ratings to those doing such work, thus permitting them to specialize in such work.

Mr. WALSH. I appreciate the importance of the work, of course, and I assume that the work is being performed and that activities are being carried on in the absence of this legislation, and that this is only to give effect to a plan that has been inaugurated.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Yes; they are now being carried on by those with ratings as gunners' mates, electricians, and quartermasters, and it was thought they should be given special ratings. It will not add new men nor increase the pay.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I direct the gentleman's attention to the phraseology in section 2:

That the aforesaid rates of pay shall be subject to such increases of pay and allowances as are or may hereafter be authorized by law for enlisted men of the Navy.

Of course, that intends that they shall be the recipients of additional pay in the future. What is the necessity for these new classifications? Frequently we have had bills brought in here from the Committee on Naval Affairs providing for new classifications, with higher pay, with the statement that it does not lay any additional burden on the Treasury; but there must be some purpose in providing these ratings. These men are not receiving these salaries as prescribed in this bill to-day.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. They are if they are rated as chief gunners or electricians. The statement is made by Admiral Palmer, or by some one from the department, in the hearings, that there will be no increase in pay or numbers, and that the bill simply gives ratings to chief gunners, electricians, or quartermasters now performing these special duties.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. This bill is on the Union Calendar.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the following new ratings, with the specified rates of base pay per month, be, and they are hereby, established in the United States Navy:

Seaman branch: Chief torpedoman, $50 acting appointment, and $70 permanent appointment; torpedoman, first class, $40; torpedoman, second class, $35; torpedoman, third class, $30; chief signalman, $50 acting appointment, and $70 permanent appointment; signalman, first class, $40; signalman, second class, $35; signalman, third class, $30.

Artificer branch: Chief radioman, $60 acting appointment, and $70 permanent appointment; radioman, first class, $50; radioman, second class, $40; radioman, third class, $30.

SEC. 2. That the aforesaid rates of pay shall be subject to such increases of pay and allowances as are, or may hereafter be, authorized by law for enlisted men of the Navy: *Provided*, That appointments or enlistments in the said ratings may be made from enlisted men in the Navy or from civil life, respectively, and the qualifications of the candidates for any of said ratings shall be determined in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary of the Navy may prescribe.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 2, line 1, insert: "signal apprentice, first class, $27; signal apprentice, second class, $26; signal apprentice, third class, $25."

Page 2, line 14, after the word "prescribe," strike out the rest of the paragraph.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendments.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question now is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. OLIVER of Alabama, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

PURCHASE OF DRY DOCK FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

The next business in order on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent was the bill (H. R. 12982) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a large dry dock and appurtenant lands.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will the gentleman having the bill in charge acquaint the House with the arrangement that was made some years ago in the naval appropriation bill whereby the Government was to be privileged to use under certain terms this dry dock, and what is the exigency that requires the expenditure of four and a half million dollars at the present time for the purchase by the Government?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. This dry dock was under construction by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and an agreement entered into under authority of Congress for the Navy to lease the dock for six years after its final completion for $50,000 a year. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts undertook the construction of the dry dock with this understanding. The Legislature of Massachusetts seems to have limited the amount that the commission on waterways and public lands could expend in the completion of it. Contracts have been made covering a large part of the work, but the commission has no funds with

which to expedite the work, and the act of the Legislature of Massachusetts only authorizes the construction within a specified sum and forbids expressly the expenditure of any additional sum. The Navy now finds it is in great need of this dock, and by expending something like $350,000 its completion can be hastened by probably seven or eight months, and the Secretary of the Navy has advised the purchase of the dock not only because it will expedite its completion but because the Navy needs a large dock of this type north of Philadelphia. The purchase price is considered by the Secretary to be fair and reasonable. The Commission on Waterways and Public Lands of Massachusetts made the contract for the construction of the dock sometime before we entered the war and at prices considerably less than the prices would be now. The purchase gives the Government the benefit of these prewar contracts. We have no dry dock north of Philadelphia large enough to accommodate some of the ships we now have, and the passage of this bill is of urgent importance, so the Navy Department advises.

Mr. ROGERS. Is it not also true that time is of the essence in this matter, because the Navy Department is anxious to expedite the completion of the dock so that it may be put into use by the new year?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Absolutely.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Certainly.

Mr. MADDEN. Is not this a proposition that the State of Massachusetts suggested it would carry to completion on condition that the Government of the United States would pay $50,000 a year as rental for the dock, the condition being we would be permitted to have first right to the use of the dock for our battleships, and did not the State of Massachusetts guarantee that the Government of the United States would not be called upon to pay any part of the cost of the construction of the dock?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. The gentleman probably was absent when I gave information in reference to the former lease——

Mr. MADDEN. I was here when this was authorized, so I know what the facts are.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. The lease for six years at $50,000 per annum is correct. The dock, of course, is not now complete and will not be until the fall of next year unless its construction is hastened, as proposed by this bill.

Mr. MADDEN. Is not the State obliged to construct the dock under the original agreement?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. The amount appropriated by the Legislature of Massachusetts may be sufficient to complete it by next fall, but no funds are available to expedite the work.

Mr. MADDEN. Who is going to own the dock when they get through?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. The Government will own the dock.

Mr. MADDEN. There will not be any rights left in the State of Massachusetts?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. No. The State of Massachusetts will complete this dock and turn it over to the Navy Department free of all incumbrances.

Mr. MADDEN. Will complete it?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. The Commission of Waterways and Public Lands of Massachusetts will continue the work. The $350,000 which this bill authorizes the Secretary of the Navy to expend will expedite the work and will be expended by the Secretary of the Navy for that purpose only. The reason for that is this: The Commission on Waterways and Public Lands of Massachusetts, if this fund was turned over to them, would have to pay it into the treasury of Massachusetts and could not use it to expedite the work. With this fund it is estimated that the Secretary of the Navy can secure the completion of the dock early in 1919.

Mr. MADDEN. Now, what has become of the $50,000-a-year leasing proposition we had with the State of Massachusetts?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. That will be annulled.

Mr. MADDEN. Do we get credit for the amount already paid?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. We have paid nothing. We were simply to have the right to lease for six years at a yearly rental of $50,000 when the dock was completed.

Mr. MADDEN. When was the lease to begin?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Upon completion.

Mr. MADDEN. Now, how much money has been expended on it by the State of Massachusetts up to now?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I will have to refer to the hearings.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. MADDEN. I think it is sufficiently important that this House should take the time to elicit this information, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. One million one hundred and forty-four thousand eight hundred and eighty-three dollars is approximately the amount.

Mr. MADDEN. And how much is proposed to be expended to complete it?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. It is estimated it will take about $3,107,000 plus the $350,000 for expediting the work.

Mr. MADDEN. That makes about $4,000,000.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. About $4,550,000, including the price of the land.

Mr. MADDEN. What does the price of the land amount to?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. They are selling 49 acres of the high land, which they have improved, at exactly the price they paid for it 70 years ago, plus the improvements placed on it within the last 12 years.

Mr. MADDEN. Of what do the improvements consist?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. The improvements consist in some filling and permanent improvements placed on the filled portion.

Mr. MADDEN. As a matter of fact, they are not selling the land at the price they paid for it, but they are selling the land at the price they paid for it and then they are charging for the material that has been hauled in since.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. How much would it amount to?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. All improvements have been placed on there within the last 12 years.

Mr ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I am not prepared to state exactly what the amount is that has been expended for the improvements, but it is set out in the hearings.

Mr. MADDEN. We ought not to consider the bill until we have all the facts before us.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman object?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, if I can not have opportunity to ascertain certain facts I will be constrained to object. It is a very important bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin objects.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I ask the gentleman to withhold his objection for a moment.

Mr. STAFFORD. The regular order has been demanded; it is not my doing.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I will ask the gentleman to withhold his objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. It was the gentleman from Minnesota who demanded the regular order. I will be very glad to withhold the objection.

Mr. MADDEN. I would like to pursue my inquiry if there is no objection to it, because I think it is very important for us to secure this information.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Minnesota insist on his demand for the regular order?

Mr. ANDERSON. I do not insist upon it if gentlemen want to debate this proposition all afternoon and then have somebody object.

Mr. MADDEN. Of course, I am not taking up the time of the House merely for the purpose of wasting time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Minnesota withdraw his demand for the regular order?

Mr. ANDERSON. I do.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I wish to apologize to the House for not having all of these facts at my fingers' ends, but I was not present when it was being considered by the committee, and was not aware that the chairman of the committee was sick until a few minutes ago, and that I would have charge of the bill on its passage.

Mr. MADDEN. Why not postpone the further consideration until to-morrow, so that we may be able to get the information? This is too important a bill involving the finances of the Government——

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I would be glad to pass it over until to-morrow.

Mr. STAFFORD. I object to that. There is not going to be any meeting to-morrow, or not any meeting at which any of these unanimous-consent matters will be considered.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Is there any very great need for such docking facilities as these?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I want to make this statement to the House. The Navy Department says there is urgent need for the passage of this bill. We have one ship performing very

important service for the Army at this time that can not be docked at any dock now on the Atlantic.

Mr. MADDEN. Can you dock it here?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. We can dock it at Boston when this dock is completed.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Leaving out the question of the exact sum, which the gentleman has not at his fingers' ends, is it or is it not a fact that the Government can acquire this dock much more speedily and at a much cheaper price than they could build a new dock?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. The testimony before the committee shows a considerably cheaper price.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Then I do not think we ought to haggle.

Mr. STAFFORD. The question is not whether the State of Massachusetts is willing to do this for us, but whether we should spend four millions and a half dollars ourselves. We are pressed for money. We ought to have full information about this matter.

Mr. MADDEN. There is no objection to the passage of the bill at all. On the contrary, I think everything we can do should be done; but I think we ought to do it after we have information that will lead us to intelligent action. And I was anxious to find out——

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I will state this to the gentleman, that the average price of the improved land, the lands that have been improved in the last 12 years, is about 49 cents per square foot.

Mr. MADDEN. A square foot?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Yes; 49 cents per square foot, as compared with 70 cents paid by the Army for similar land in that neighborhood recently. And the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is donating free of charge about 52 acres of land, now under water, which will be of great service to the Navy.

Mr. MADDEN. How much water is there on the land?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. From 5 to 8 feet.

Mr. MADDEN. What is proposed to be done with that?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. They will build piers there.

Mr. MADDEN. It seems to me the State of Massachusetts ought to sell us this land without having the cost of the filling which we will be called upon to make.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I will state to the gentleman that this land was purchased by the State of Massachusetts 70 years ago, and at that time they paid 25 cents per square foot for it, and they are now asking that same price for it, with no interest on purchase price whatever, plus the cost of the improvements placed on the land within the last 12 years. The Navy Department feels that the offer is extremely fair and liberal and that a large saving to the Government will accrue from the purchase at price offered. The Secretary of the Navy appeared before the committee and strongly urged that the bill be passed, and pointed out the urgent needs by the Navy for this dock.

Mr. McARTHUR. Is it not true that time is the essence of this whole thing? With seven months' delay already, if this bill goes through, the Government can go ahead and complete this work in the immediate future.

Mr. STAFFORD. You can not libel the State of Massachusetts as not being patriotic in not completing this dock.

Mr. McARTHUR. I am not doing that at all.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. I will say to the gentleman from Wisconsin that if he will read the hearings he will find that the State of Massachusetts has made a most liberal offer to the Government, and no criticism can be directed at the State of Massachusetts relative to this matter.

Mr. STAFFORD. I assume they will do all in their power and right up to the limit in getting this dock ready for use by the Government, if it is necessary in the carrying out of the war program; but four and a half million dollars is some sum of money for the Government to spend at this time, especially when we have already got the use of the dock when the State of Massachusetts completes it.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Allow me just there to say that it is pointed out in the hearings how under the authority given by the Legislature of Massachusetts the commission that has this construction work in charge is not authorized to speed up the work by expending money for that purpose.

The Navy Department feels that the Government should own this dock, and the reasons are well stated in the hearings by the Secretary of the Navy. He feels that the Government is getting it at a low price, and for much less than they would have to expend for one if the Government started now to build one. In the next place, the Navy will probably have this dock by January 1 if permitted to complete it in the manner provided by the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. Under the contract of purchase that has been entered into between the Navy Department and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, is there any reservation on the part of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for shipping interests to use the dock?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. None whatever.

Mr. STAFFORD. It means the complete taking over and control?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Yes; when completed.

Mr. STAFFORD. What dry-dock facilities have they now at the Charlestown Navy Yard?

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. We have no dry-dock on the Atlantic coast now complete or that will be completed at any time in the very near future large enough to accommodate some of our larger ships, and it is thought there may soon be very urgent need of this particular dry dock. That is why the Navy Department is so insistent that they be permitted to hurry up the work and take it over.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, although it involves a large burden on the National Treasury, nevertheless I do not think I will take the responsibility of objecting to the measure.

Mr. OLIVER of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I ask that this bill be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent to consider this bill in the House as in the Committee of the Whole. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to contract with the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for the purchase of the dry dock, with its equipment, now under construction at Boston by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, together with the land adjacent thereto necessary for the proper utilization of said dock, and there is hereby appropriated for said purpose the sum of $4,550,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Navy, in his discretion, in order to expedite the completion of the construction of said dry dock, may expend out of the sum above appropriated an amount not exceeding $350,000.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. OLIVER of Alabama, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

LEGISLATION RELATING TO THE ARMY.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous arrangement of the House, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT] is recognized to call up bills from the Committee on Military Affairs that are unobjected to.

APPOINTMENTS IN STAFF CORPS AND DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I call up the bill (H. R. 12872) making certain officers of the Army eligible for appointment as chief of staff corps and departments.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 12872) making certain officers of the Army eligible for appointment as chief of staff corps and departments.

Be it enacted, etc., That hereafter, during the present emergency, whenever a vacancy shall occur in the office of the chief of any staff corps or department subject to the detail system provided by section 26 of the act approved February 2, 1901 (31 Stats., p. 755), any officer of the Army who shall be serving or shall have served creditably in said corps or department under detail thereto by authority of said section 26 of the act aforesaid, shall, in addition to officers otherwise eligible, be eligible to appointment to fill said vacancy.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker—and I do not intend to object—I merely wish to inquire why the committee in the amendment used the phraseology "during the present emergency" instead of "during the existence of the present war."

Mr. DENT. I would state to the gentleman from Wisconsin that that is the language that the Committee on Military Affairs has been using all along in legislation of this kind, because the present emergency may last beyond the conclusion of the treaty of peace.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 1, line 3, after the word "hereafter," insert "during the present emergency."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill as amended.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. DENT, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next bill.

PAY AND ALLOWANCE OF CERTAIN ARMY OFFICERS.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I call up the bill H. R. 12936.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

A bill (H. R. 12936) to prescribe the pay and allowance of any officer of the Army while holding a brevet grade.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill?

There was no objection.

Mr. DENT. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That hereafter any officer of the Army holding a brevet grade shall be entitled to the pay and allowance of such grade while on duty thereunder by order of the President, and any officer who has been so serving during the present war shall be entitled to the pay and allowance of his brevet grade for such service already rendered.

With a committee amendment, as follows:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following: "That during the existing emergency any officer of the Army holding a brevet grade while serving as a member of the Supreme War Council, under order of the President, shall be entitled to the pay and allowance of such grade."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill as amended.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the title will be amended in accordance with the text.

There was no objection.

On motion of Mr. DENT, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next one.

PAY FOR ARMY AND NAVY NURSE CORPS DURING INVOLUNTARY CAPTIVITY.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I call up the bill H. R. 12860.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

A bill (H. R. 12860) granting to members of the Army Nurse Corps (female) and Navy Nurse Corps (female) pay and allowances during any period of involuntary captivity by the enemy of the United States.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman from Alabama if this includes now, in the language of the bill as amended by the committee amendment, all other employees or noncommissioned officers of the Army that may be captured by the enemy?

Mr. DENT. It includes clerks in the Quartermaster Corps and civilian employees, upon the recommendation of the War Department.

Mr. WALSH. I know the War Department has recommended it, but does it include them all? Is there any class of Army attachés—if that is the correct word—that is not included?

Mr. DENT. I will state to the gentleman that it includes them all, so far as we are advised. We put in everybody. It includes Army field clerks, field clerks of the Quartermaster Corps, and civilian employees of the Army. I can not imagine that the language could be more comprehensive.

Mr. BLACK. Does it include enlisted men?

Mr. DENT. Enlisted men are taken care of already.

Mr. BLACK. Under existing law?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Does it include the Nurse Corps and ambulance drivers?

Mr. DENT. I think so. They are civil employees.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I notice it is limited to females as nurses, although the Secretary of War says that any member of the Army Nurse Corps should have this pay. I do not know whether it includes civilian employees. In line 8 the bill says, "her right to such full pay and allowances." I thought you might want to strike out the word "female."

Mr. DENT. I think the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SHALLENBERGER] can answer that question.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. All the male nurses in the Army are enlisted men, so that they are taken care of under the law as it now is.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. How about the Army field nurses?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. They are all taken care of under this bill.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I know; but you say the Army field nurse shall be allowed the full pay and allowances during captivity by the enemy, and you refer to "her right."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill?

There was no objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. This bill is on the Union Calendar.

Mr. DENT. I ask unanimous consent that this bill be considered in the House as in Commitee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that this bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That a member of the Army Nurse Corps (female) or of the Navy Nurse Corps (female) shall be entitled to full pay and allowances during any period of involuntary captivity by the enemy of the United States; and her right to such full pay and allowances shall not be abridged or lost by reason of absence from duty when that absence is caused by involuntary captivity by the enemy of the United States. Any captivity by the enemy shall be construed to be involuntary until the contrary shall be affirmatively established.

All rights and privileges hereunder shall be in force from April 6, 1917, to the end of the existing war.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 1, line 4, after the word "female," insert the following: "Army field clerks, field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, and civil employees of the Army."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. As the committee amendment is in the plural, would it not be better to harmonize the reference to the Army Nurse Corps, and also make that plural, to provide that members of the Army Nurse Corps, and so forth?

Mr. DENT. I have no objection to that.

Mr. STAFFORD. And then, following the suggestion of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PARKER], strike out the word "her" and substitute "their."

Mr. DENT. I have no objection to those two amendments.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the committee amendment will first be agreed to.

There was no objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. STAFFORD: Page 1, line 3, strike out the article "a," and strike out the word "number" and insert in lieu the word "numbers." Page 1, line 8, after the word "and," strike out the word "her" and insert in lieu thereof the word "their."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was accordingly read the third time and passed.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. The title ought to be amended.

Mr. DENT. I ask unanimous consent that the title be amended in accordance with the text.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the title will be amended in accordance with the text.

On motion of Mr. DENT, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

CHIEF NURSES.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I call up the bill (H. R. 13035) to amend section 4 of Chapter V of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year

ending June 30, 1919," approved July 9, 1918, and to make said amendment retroactive.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I had some difficulty in understanding the report as to how the chief nurses had their salaries reduced, or did not receive the benefit of the increase that was heretofore voted to nurses in general. Will the chairman of the committee explain why it is necessary to change the increase of salary so as to make it $360 instead of $120 for chief nurses?

Mr. DENT. I will state to the gentleman from Wisconsin that this bill was really worked out in conference on the Army appropriation bill, and the conferees intended to give an increase to each one of the classes of nurses, and we thought we were giving an increase to the chief nurses; but the claim is made that instead of giving an increase to the chief nurses we really reduced their pay $10 a month.

Mr. STAFFORD. And the purpose of this bill is to conform to the intention of the conferees?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. This bill is on the Union Calendar.

Mr. DENT. I ask unanimous consent that this bill may be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that this bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 4 of chapter 5 of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919," approved July 9, 1918, be, and the same hereby is, amended, to be effective as of and from July 9, 1918, by changing the clause "chief nurses, $120, in addition to the pay of a nurse," to "chief nurses, $360, in addition to the pay of a nurse."

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was accordingly read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. DENT, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

THE FIFTIETH ARTICLE OF WAR.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I call up the bill H. R. 13037, to amend the fiftieth article of war.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, I ask that the bill be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That article 50 of section 1342 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended by the Act entitled "An Act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," approved August 29, 1916, be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"ART. 50. MITIGATION OR REMISSION OF SENTENCE.—The power to order the execution of the sentence adjudged by a court-martial shall be held to include, inter alia, the power to mitigate or remit the whole or any part of the sentence.

"Any unexecuted portion of a sentence adjudged by a court-martial may be mitigated or remitted by the military authority competent to appoint, for the command, exclusive of penitentiaries and the United States Disciplinary Barracks, in which the person under sentence is held, a court of the kind that imposed the sentence, and the same power may be exercised by superior military authority; but no sentence approved or confirmed by the President shall be remitted or mitigated by any other authority, and no approved sentence of loss of files by an officer shall be remitted or mitigated by any authority inferior to the President, except as provided in the fifty-second article.

"When empowered by the President so to do, the commanding general of the Army in the field or the commanding general of the territorial department or division may mitigate or remit, and order executed as mitigated or remitted, any sentence which under these articles requires the confirmation of the President before the same may be executed.

"The power of remission and mitigation shall extend to all uncollected forfeitures adjudged by sentence of a court-martial."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the reservation of objection.

Mr. WALSH. I renew it for the purpose of asking the gentleman a question. Would the effect of this be to prevent an appeal on the part of the soldier, or somebody interested in him, to the President for the mitigation of sentence after the commanding general had refused to mitigate it?

Mr. DENT. Not at all. I certainly would not favor it if I thought it did.

Mr. WALSH. I withdraw the reservation of objection.

Mr. BOOHER. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. I would like to ask the chairman of the committee if this bill deprives the President of the right to mitigate or change any punishment inflicted by the court-martial?

Mr. DENT. Not at all; it gives the commanding officer the right to remit the sentence and, pending that, an appeal to the President. In other words, it gives the man two chances.

Mr. BOOHER. That is what I want to know, whether or not the President is deprived of any right to mitigate the punishment.

Mr. DENT. Not at all.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. DENT, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

SOUTHERN BRANCH, NATIONAL SOLDIERS' HOME.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I call up the bill (H. R. 13036) transferring jurisdiction and control for the period of the war over the Southern Branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers from the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers to the Secretary of War for use for Army hospital purposes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That jurisdiction and control over the Southern Branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, located at Hampton Roads, Va., be, and the same hereby is, transferred for the period of the war from the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers to the Secretary of War for use by the Medical Department of the Army for hospital purposes.

SEC. 2. That upon the close of the war or as soon thereafter as may be practicable, the Secretary of War shall cause said home to be vacated by the Medical Department of the Army, and thereupon jurisdiction and control over said home shall revert to said Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers.

SEC. 3. That the various items of appropriations heretofore or hereafter made for the support, maintenance, and other necessary expenses of said Southern Branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, be, and they hereby are, made available for payment of the cost of the transfer of the members of said home to other branches of the national home, and for the transfer of any property found to be necessary to transfer therefrom to other branches of the national home and for the support of the branches to which said members are transferred to the extent of the allotments thereof made by the said board of managers in consideration of and in the amount of and extra expense incurred by reason of said transfers and for the retransfer from said branches to said southern branch of the persons and property transferred as aforesaid at such time as jurisdiction and control over said southern branch shall be reinvested in said board of managers in accordance with the provisions of section 2 of this act.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word. I certainly approve of the bill under consideration allowing one of the many branches of the homes for Volunteer soldiers to be utilized for hospital services under the jurisdiction of the War Department. I wish it included more of such branch homes.

Yesterday there was about to be presented for the consideration of the House a bill to provide for the expenditure of nearly $2,000,000 for the erection of a hospital at Dawson Springs, Ky. It was claimed that there were no facilities in the country where discharged soldiers who return to a civilian capacity could be placed. And yet the hearings before the Appropriation Committee show that in one of these branch homes, in the neighborhood of Dawson City, in Johnson City, Tenn., there have been for years three barracks that had never been occupied by any soldiers whatever. That home at Johnson City, Tenn., could well be utilized for the benefit of persons who have tubercular trouble, who have been discharged from the Army, and not go to the extravagant expenditure of millions of dollars in building a sanatorium that will not be available for months and months. There is an instance where there are accommodations at Johnson City, Tenn., especially intended and adapted for tubercular patients.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Why does the gentleman say that the home in Johnson City is specially intended for tubercular patients?

Mr. STAFFORD. Because I have been so informed that those who have been troubled with tubercular afflictions have been sent to this home in Tennessee. I remember some years ago that that question came up in legislative work, and that was my information.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. From what source did the gentleman obtain the information?

Mr. STAFFORD. I can not recall, but I know positively from the testimony disclosed by the hearings last year before the Committee on Appropriations that there were three barracks at this home that have never been used at all.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Hospital barracks?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Has the gentleman ever been at this home at Johnson City?

Mr. STAFFORD. I have not.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I undertake to say to the gentleman that the Johnson City soldiers' home could not be

prepared as a place for the treatment of tubercular patients at a cost less than that which is provided in this Dawson Springs bill. I am not an expert.

Mr. STAFFORD. No one except the present occupant of the chair [Mr. FOSTER] pretends to be an expert on tubercular trouble, but I have made some little observation of tubercular hospitals. We have one maintained at the expense of Milwaukee County in the suburbs of Milwaukee. We have another one maintained at the expense of the State at Wales, Wis., and from the character of buildings there it does not require any great change to utilize the barracks and buildings of present branch homes to fit them for those afflicted with tubercular trouble.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. KINCHELOE. The distinction between this bill and the bill seeking to establish a sanatorium at Dawson Springs is that this seeks to make room for tubercular patients who have not been discharged from the military service. The one at Dawson Springs is for those already discharged, not any longer under the jurisdiction of the Army or Navy, but under the jurisdiction and liability of the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance.

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, yes, Mr. Speaker, and our State recognizes the obligations it owes to its own citizens who have tubercular trouble by providing separate institutions for their care and treatment. Our own county of Milwaukee recognizes its obligations to such civilians by establishing an institution which is carried on at its own expense, and when the war is over we will have all of these cantonments, which could be readily utilized, where we have expended millions of dollars, where they could be transformed very easily for tubercular units rather than going down to Dawson Springs in the wilderness and spending very nearly $2,000,000.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. DENT, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed, was laid on the table.

FEES FOR CLAIM AGENTS.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I call up the bill H. R. 12769, relative to fees for claim agents.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama calls up the bill H. R. 12769. Is there objection to its present consideration?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent, without the objection being waived, to have the bill read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That no claim agent or attorney shall be recognized in the presentation or adjudication of claims for the collection of any pay or allowance due on account of services rendered by persons in the service of the Army or Navy of the United States.

SEC. 2. That any person who shall directly or indirectly solicit, contract for, charge, or receive, or who shall attempt to solicit, contract for, charge, or receive, any fee or compensation from any relative or next of kin, or the estate of any person in the service of the Army or Navy of the United States, for the alleged purpose of securing or of aiding in securing from the United States Government any pay or allowance due such person for any purpose whatever shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and for each and every offense shall be punishable by a fine of not more than $500 or by imprisonment at hard labor for not more than two years, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 2, add at the end of the bill the following proviso:

"*Provided*, That if after the expiration of one year the Government of the United States has failed to act upon such claim, or if within such period the Government of the United States has rejected any such claim, then the provisions of the act shall not apply."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I wish to direct especial attention to the language of the first section, and inquire whether it is the intention of the committee to forbid any attorney from presenting any claim whatsoever to the attention of the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance for the collection of any allotments that may be due, as, for example, a divorced wife by reason of marriage to an enlisted soldier. In the past two weeks an attorney has written me in behalf of a matter where he had presented the claim of a wife who was engaged in divorce proceedings against her husband, who wished to receive the necessary allotment that was accorded her. I take it, under this phraseology, that the wife would be without the relief of counsel to obtain her rights from the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance. I have no objection to the second section, which forbids solicitation of these services, but I question seriously whether an attorney should be deprived of the right of presenting a legitimate claim to the attention of bureaus here.

Mr. DENT. That would be true unless it came within the proviso which we have added on in the nature of a committee amendment:

Provided, That if after the expiration of one year the Government of the United States has failed to act upon such claim, or if within such period the Government of the United States has rejected any such claim, then the provisions of this act shall not apply.

Mr. STAFFORD. I question whether the rights of citizens of the United States will not be impaired by the passage of the first section of this bill. Here is a wife who has had trouble with her husband. He enters the service in order to avoid legal proceedings, perhaps. That wife will not be able to employ counsel, under the language of the first section of this bill, to get her allotment that is owing to her. The second section forbids the solicitation on the part of an attorney, and I have no objection to that.

Mr. BLACK. And it also forbids even a contract, though he might not solicit at all.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Speaker, I do not think this bill applies to matters pertaining to war-risk insurance at all. The particular case brought to the attention of the committee was by Mr. TREADWAY, of Massachusetts, where a soldier had lost his life and some claim agent had made application to his next of kin for an order to collect that money due him from the Government.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman permit right there?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman will stop and read the first section he will see that it is so broad it does apply directly to the collection of allowances under the war-risk insurance. The allotment is the result of services rendered by the soldier in the service of the United States Army. Let us read it.

Mr. DENT. Let me ask the gentleman a question. Is the gentleman's point this, that if we strike out the first section he has no objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman from Texas reminds me that even the second section would forbid entering into a contract.

Mr. BLACK. Oh, yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. I think this bill ought to go over for future consideration, because none of us wish to forbid——

Mr. DENT. That is the clear object of the bill. Let me call attention to a letter of the Secretary of War on the subject.

My attention has been called to some very serious abuses which are growing up in the country, illustrated by a letter which I inclose from a Washington solicitor or lawyer which, if you use, I will be glad to have you suppress the name of the person to whom it was sent. It seems to me a very unfortunate thing to have the people of the country plagued and set upon by solicitation of this kind in the hours of their fresh distress, and as the casualty lists are daily coming in, I am anxious to procure immediate protection for the relatives of deceased soldiers. A bill introduced by Representative TREADWAY, entitled "A bill relative to fees for claim agents," is aimed at the breaking up of this evil, and I am writing this letter to urge that Mr. TREADWAY'S bill be given as early consideration as is consistent with the convenience of the committee.

Cordially, yours, ——— ———.

Now, the letter that he inclosed without divulging the name of the attorney is a letter to the father of the soldier in North Carolina.

The soldier or sailor having died during his Army or naval service, there was probably due him from the United States Government at the time of his death some arrears of pay or allowances, and to obtain the same a proper application must be filed by the legal heirs.

I am therefore taking the liberty of sending herewith a suitable application, and if the person entitled to the money wishes me to assist her or him in the matter, and upon the terms mentioned in the application, all that she, or he, need now do is to have the application filled, then sign it in the presence of two persons, and swear to it, and return it to me for filing.

Upon the return of the application I will promptly assist in obtaining and filing the necessary proofs in support of the case.

If anything is found due the check therefor will be sent to the claimant direct from the Treasury Department, and upon its receipt by the claimant, she, or he, should then promptly send me the amount of my fee, as specified in the application.

I specialize in this class of claims, and as to my standing and responsibility I can refer you to any bank or financial institution here.

Hoping that you may give the matter prompt attention, I am——

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman will permit I can answer the gentleman further. After reviewing again section 2 I find that will amply cover the instance of the case cited by the gentleman and that if you will eliminate section 1 you will obviate the difficulty which I a moment ago presented.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, still further reserving the right to object, I am thoroughly in sympathy with the idea of prohibiting the soliciting of any claims of this kind, but as I understand section 2 it would be broad enough absolutely to forbid any lawyer from receiving any compensation of any kind for services of this kind.

Mr. DENT. That is what it is intended to do.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I will.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. The law already passed by this House takes care of the matter of war-risk insurance. That is absolutely covered by another act. This act applies only to the money due a man for his service as sailor or soldier and automatically that money comes to him without any action whatever by any one and the object of this bill was to prevent a claim agent from securing pay for something for which he rendered no service, and the idea of allowing a year to expire was to cover maybe a possible case whereby some sort of a complication which we might not foresee there should be a valid claim existing against the Government, and the man would be entitled then to secure an attorney. We might have put it six months, or whatever time, but this is established at one year's time.

Mr. ROGERS. Of course the gentleman understands that as the war-risk insurance law is now being administered a part of the enlisted man's pay may go to his family via the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance and a part via the finance division of the Quartermaster General's Office?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROGERS. If I understand this bill correctly, it would apply only to the second method of payment, would it not?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. It would apply only to that portion of the man's pay that was due him at the time of his being separated from the service of the United States on the rolls of the United States Army and the United States Navy.

Mr. ROGERS. Would not that apply to any payments made while he was in the service, provided those payments were made through the Quartermaster General's Office of the War Department?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. They would be payments due, not payments made him.

Mr. ROGERS. Let me ask how the gentleman deduces that from the language of the bill?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Because that is the language of the bill.

Mr. ROGERS. It says:

That no claim agent or attorney shall be recognized in the presentation or adjudication of claims for the collection of any pay or allowance due on account of services rendered.

Now, is not the payment made through the Quartermaster General on behalf of a soldier who makes an allotment to his family at home in the nature of pay or of an allowance, so as to come within that language?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Well, that may be true. The law as to the War-Risk Insurance Bureau and the administration of that law I have not before me, but the language of this act was drafted by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY], and his idea is to reach this other class of cases.

Mr. ROGERS. I am in entire sympathy with the purposes of this bill. But the gentleman will remember that in the war-risk law as amended there is allowed an attorney a maximum of $3 for the presentation of a case handled by the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, whereas if it happens that the same case is handled through the Quartermaster General's Department under this bill he would not be allowed one cent for the presentation of the case.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. If the money comes from the Quartermaster General's Department, as we were informed, it comes to the soldier automatically, and does not require in any sense the attention of an attorney. Therefore the committee was of the opinion that an attorney should not be allowed any fee.

Mr. BLACK. Will the gentleman yield for one question?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Yes.

Mr. BLACK. In the last few days I have received a letter from a constituent of mine who is the grandfather of a sailor that was on the collier *Cyclops*, that was lost and never heard from. Now, that young man had some pay due at the time of his death.

The grandfather wants to know whether or not he can collect it. I took the matter up with the Auditor of the Navy Department, and he says that an administrator will have to be appointed before that money can be collected. Would not the language you have in this bill be broad enough to absolutely forbid any money out of the pay that is coming to that soldier to be used as a fee to the lawyer for securing the administration papers?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I think it would.

Mr. BLACK. I think the thing you want to strike at and prevent is the direct or indirect solicitation of contracts. And permit me to suggest the following language that would accomplish that purpose:

That any person who shall directly or indirectly solicit a contract—

Put the word "a" between "solicit" and "contract"—

for—

And strike out "charge or receive"—

or who shall attempt to solicit and contract for—

And strike out "charge or receive," so that it would read—

That any person who shall directly or indirectly solicit and contract for or who shall attempt to solicit and contract for any fee or compensation—

And so on.

Mr. DENT. I think the gentleman's amendment is a good one.

Mr. STAFFORD. And strike out section 1.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to strike out section 1, and I accept the amendment of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLACK].

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. ROGERS. Permit me a further question. Will the gentleman turn to the first part of the proviso, on page 2:

Provided, That if after the expiration of one year the Government of the United States has failed to act upon such claim—

And so forth.

I think that might be construed to accomplish the meaning sought by the committee, but I suggest that the insertion of the words "after presentation," after the words "one year," would be much clearer and much better adapted to accomplishing the purpose sought.

The proviso then would read:

Provided, That if after the expiration of one year after presentation the Government of the United States has failed to act upon such claim.

As the language now stands the bill might be construed to be entirely void one year after the date of its enactment, which, of course, is not what the committee has in mind. The committee evidently has in mind the idea that if the payment is not made within one year after the claim accrues, at whatever date this may be, an attorney may then be employed.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. That is, if the settlement of the claim shall not have been made by the Government within one year?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes. Not, as the bill now reads, within one year of the date of the law but within one year after the presentation of the claim.

Mr. DENT. I do not know whether I can agree with that or not. The object of the committee was to give one year from the time the claim matured, whether it was presented or not. The gentleman's amendment, I think, would make it more rigid than the committee intended.

Mr. ROGERS. The gentleman gets my point, does he not, that as the law now stands it amounts to nothing after one year from the time of its enactment?

Mr. DENT. I think that is all right. If the Government does not pay it within one year, I think he ought to have a lawyer.

Mr. ROGERS. But the claim may not be presented within a year after enactment of this law. The claim may not even come into being until after the expiration of the year mentioned in this proviso.

Mr. DENT. I do not follow the gentleman's reasoning.

Mr. BLACK. I suggest that at the expiration of one year from the time of the accrual of the claim. That would perhaps accomplish the purpose intended.

Mr. ROGERS. That is precisely the equivalent of what I had in mind.

Mr. BLACK. I suggest that the gentleman offer that amendment.

Mr. ROGERS. I will offer that, but I do not wish to offer an amendment unless the committee thinks it is necessary. But it strikes me that that change would be necessary and desirable.

Mr. DENT. I rather think that the gentleman's amendment would make it a little more rigid than the committee intended. I think the present language covers the idea now.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a suggestion?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. HARDY. It seems to me that any person who had a claim, or thought he had a claim under the law for compensation, should have a lawyer. But the solicitation of these attorneys for fees when they are not necessary ought not to be allowed. But it seems to me that many cases might arise in the experience of uneducated claimants who are entitled to something and who would not know how to proceed. I think they ought to be allowed to go to a lawyer in whom they have confidence, and it seems to me if we were to leave the amount of the fee open, to be determined by the department that pays the claim, after examining into the services rendered, that ought to be the standard on which these claims ought to be paid. In other words,

every claim for compensation ought to be submitted to the department that makes the payment when the amount is adjusted and fixed, so that the lawyer should not be made to feel that he comes within the clutches of the law if he gives advice to a client. I have done enough work as a Congressman to entitle me to a fee if I had been a private individual, but——

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. What has a Congressman to do except to make inquiries?

Mr. HARDY. I can not say in detail all he has to do. When you destroy the right of a private individual to employ the counsel of a lawyer, you are going to put a lot of labor on Members of Congress. When the department is allowed to say how much the payment is to be, it seems that would secure justice. I think every fee ought to be regulated by the department of the Government that pays the claim.

Mr. DENT. The entire object of this bill was to prevent the solicitation by the Washington attorneys of people who really were going to get their money without the payment of a fee. I know the gentleman has sympathy with that. I believe that by adopting the amendment of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLACK], by striking out section 1, that would accomplish what is desired.

Mr. BOOHER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. BOOHER. What is the object of striking out section 1? Why should it be stricken out? It means that the department shall not recognize any claim agent or attorney.

Mr. DENT. The object in striking that out is not absolutely to prohibit the department from recognizing an attorney who makes a valid legal contract.

Mr. BOOHER. If you leave that in, then where is the opportunity for preventing claim agents from getting in?

Mr. DENT. The second section will take care of that.

Mr. BOOHER. I do not think the second section will take care of it at all. The department can not recognize a claim coming from a claim agent or attorney under the first section. Let us see. It provides—

That no claim agent or attorney shall be recognized in the presentation or adjudication of claims for the collection of any pay or allowance due on account of services rendered by persons in the service of the Army or Navy of the United States.

The department can not recognize a claim that comes from a claim agent or attorney if that is left in. It has no authority.

Mr. BLACK. It was recommended that that be stricken out.

Mr. BOOHER. Why do you want to strike that out?

Mr. BLACK. For the reason that the gentleman has just stated, that it might become very necessary for a claimant to be represented by an attorney, as in the case I cited, where an administrator has to be appointed, and where not a nickel can be collected without administration.

Mr. BOOHER. That does not require the services of an attorney.

Mr. BLACK. I should like to know how you can get an administrator appointed without the services of an attorney.

Mr. BOOHER. Anybody can go into the probate court and have an administrator appointed, and if the probate judge knows his business an attorney is not needed. One-half the estates that go through probate do not have any lawyer connected with them in my State.

Mr. BLACK. The gentleman's State must be an exception, because in most cases they are represented by attorneys.

Mr. BOOHER. We elect probate judges who know their business. I think on reflection the gentleman will see that it is not best to strike out section 1.

Mr. DENT. I really do not care one way or the other about section 1, except that it does look to me after a rereading of it that it is rather stringent. But in view of the proviso that has been put in there I think it makes very little difference whether it is stricken out or left in.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. If the chairman please, I wish he would speak loud enough to be heard on this side of the House.

Mr. DENT. I thought I was speaking loud enough to be heard. I said that in view of the proviso put in by the committee I did not think it made very much difference whether we left in section 1 or struck it out.

Mr. ROGERS. I submit to the chairman of the committee that the teeth are entirely removed from this bill if the House accepts the second part of the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Texas. If that amendment were adopted there would be nothing left of the bill, unless you could prove a solicitation. And, after all, with the cunning of professional claim attorneys it might be pretty hard to prove a solicitation. It strikes me that if we are going to have this legislation at all we ought to have legislation that will absolutely grasp these fellows and make sure that they can not have their own way.

Mr. NORTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from North Dakota.

Mr. NORTON. I am very much interested in this legislation, and I quite agree with the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ROGERS] that the legislation should be prohibitive of the receiving of any fee within the year, and not merely prohibitive of soliciting or attempting to solicit a contract. There are in Washington and in some of the other large cities of the country claim agents who are as ravenous wolves in soliciting contracts and in concocting schemes to obtain easy fees from people who are unacquainted with the workings of the departments of the Government. These fees they secure through misrepresentations and without rendering any real service other than the service of soliciting these fees and devising schemes for separating honest and credulous people from their money. I do not believe that the prohibition in the law can be too strict as to this class of claims. It seems to me that the legislation proposed is very good as it stands in the bill.

Mr. BLACK. Does the gentleman want to deny to a litigant or claimant the services of a lawyer in a legitimate case; for instance, in a case where an administrator is absolutely necessary? Does the gentleman want to pass an act saying that he can not employ an attorney in a legitimate way?

Mr. NORTON. No; I do not; and I do not think the legislation would prevent that. If the estate was administered a mere letter to the United States Government or to the Navy Department or to the War Department would bring to the administrator the amount of the claim.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I believe that we ought to have some legislation of this character, and I think if we leave the bill just as it is, strike out in the proviso "one year" and insert "six months," that it will meet every objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman permit?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman will recognize that, as far as presenting claims before the War-Risk Bureau is concerned, we recognize the right of an attorney to present a claim. Now you are going to deny the right so as to prevent a claim before the Quartermaster Corps, and there is no consistency in that.

Mr. DENT. The Government will pay the claim without an attorney, and there is no reason why people should pay attorneys when the Government will pay without them.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have in mind an instance where a reputable attorney representing the wife of a husband who enlisted so as to evade the service in a divorce suit. He is trying to bluff the payment of an allowance to her, and yet you are going to prevent any representation by an attorney to reach cases of that kind.

Mr. ROGERS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. ROGERS. The objection which I voiced a moment ago to the suggestion of the gentleman from Texas related only to his suggested amendment to section 2. I think his point as to section 1 is entirely sound. Let me instance this case: The Red Cross throughout the country has very elaborate machinery for providing bureaus of attorneys who shall render services free of charge to the relatives of soldiers who may be in need of legal assistance in presenting their claims or getting information, or whatever it may be, here in Washington. The Red Cross, through these attorneys, acts entirely without compensation. It is purely a gratuitous service, a part of the generous and beneficent functions of the Red Cross. And yet, if I read section 1 correctly, these Red Cross lawyers would be absolutely precluded by this language from even having correspondence with any branch of the United States Government, in spite of the fact that they were not receiving one cent of compensation, directly or indirectly, for that service.

Mr. DENT. I do not agree with the gentleman about that. I think if a man volunteers his services he does not come within the definition of a claim agent.

Mr. ROGERS. The section says that "no claim agent or attorney shall be recognized," and so forth.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, has consent been given for the consideration of the bill?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. It has.

Mr. BLACK. I want to propose an amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the committee amendment. Does the gentleman from Alabama want to offer an amendment to the committee amendment?

Mr. DENT. Yes. I offer an amendment to line 8, changing it from one year to six months.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. DENT: Page 2, line 8, strike out the words "one year" and insert in lieu thereof "six months."

Mr. ROGERS. I move to amend the amendment by adding to the amendment the words "after its accrual."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. That amendment is not now in order. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alabama.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. STAFFORD) there were—ayes 26, noes 4.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ROGERS. Now, Mr. Speaker, I offer the amendment to insert the words "after its accrual."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 2, line 8, after the word "months," insert the words "after its accrual."

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I do not yet get the idea of my colleague in using the word "accrual." Does he not think that it is better to use the words "after its presentation to the Government"? The claim might accrue on enlistment.

Mr. ROGERS. They may never present it. The question, as the gentleman from Texas made clear, devolves upon when it actually comes into being and not when it comes to the knowledge of the Government.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Suppose it does not come to the knowledge of the man himself?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. BLACK: Page 1, line 9, after the word "solicit," insert "a," and after the word "for" strike out the words "charge or receive," and, in line 10, after the word "solicit," insert "a," and after the word "for" strike out the words "charge, or receive."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, was any action taken upon the adoption of the committee amendment as amended?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Not so far. The question is on the committee amendment as amended.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out lines 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 of section 1 of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. STAFFORD: Strike out lines 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 on page 1.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I move to amend, in line 3, page 1, by inserting, after the word "no," the word "paid."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 1, line 3, after the word "no," insert the word "paid."

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I have no objection to that.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. DENT, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

ENLISTMENTS IN NATIONAL GUARD, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I call up the bill (S. 3735) to provide for enlistments in the National Guard of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, this seems to be rather an important measure and I do not think we ought to take it up at this hour of the night. I object for the present.

PAY OF CADETS, MILITARY ACADEMY.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I call up the bill (H. R. 12834) providing increase in pay for cadets of the Military Academy.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I think this bill can likewise go over to some subsequent date. I object.

LONGEVITY PAY OF CERTAIN OFFICERS.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I have one other bill and I am through, and that is the bill H. R. 13016, which has not been reported from the Military Committee, and I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Military Committee from further consideration of that bill and that it be put upon its passage. This bill proposes to correct the ruling of the comptroller as to the longevity pay of officers who have served in the National Guard and Organized Militia.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent to discharge the Military Committee from further consideration of the bill H. R. 13016 and that the same be considered at this time. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I object.

FEDERAL AID TO STATE HOMES FOR SOLDIERS.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I understand that the gentleman from California [Mr. CURRY] has a bill reported from the Committee on Military Affairs that he desires to call up.

Mr. CURRY of California. Mr. Speaker, I call up the bill H. R. 5167.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the title of the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 5167) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide aid to State or Territorial homes for the support of disabled soldiers and sailors of the United States," approved August 27, 1888, as amended March 2, 1889.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to have some explanation as to wherein this bill changes existing law.

Mr. CURRY of California. It changes existing law by increasing the Federal contribution for the maintenance of these homes from $100 to $120 a year. That is the only place the change is made. The bill has been referred to the department and has been reported upon favorably.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, has the gentleman figured out what the cost of this change will be?

Mr. CURRY of California. We have one home in California where the increased cost will be between $15,000 and $16,000 a year. I believe there are 10 or 12 homes in the United States where the State pays half and the Federal Government pays half.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Let me answer the gentleman. In New Jersey we have a home at Kearny that has 500 patients, as a rule, or had; it is a little less now. The 500 patients used to cost $50,000 to the United States, at $100 apiece, and $60,000 to the State—a little more than that, $120 a year to the State. The State paid the most of the cost of that. About two-thirds went for mere subsistence, food, and the rest for salaries and expenses, coal, light, and so forth. Now, since the great increase in the cost of living, the cost of the food has gone to double, and instead of costing the State $60,000 it costs them over $100,000 a year—$120,000 a year—it has gone up so. Although they have reduced the salaries the food cost is something almost prohibitive. It was understood when the United States appropriated $100 a year that it expected to pay just the bare cost of food for the people who were there living and the other expenses were for the State and——

Mr. CURRY of California. And the medicines have doubled, too.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Yes.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Speaker, we had a very exhaustive hearing on this bill by the superintendent of the California home, who brought the complete figures there. The policy of the Government has been for the National Government to pay one-half of the cost of those men in the different soldiers' homes, $100 a year being the fixed price, but owing to the increased cost, as the gentleman from New Jersey has explained, the Government does not anywhere near now pay one-half, and the modest increase of $20 a month, in the opinion of the committee, does not cover the increased cost to the State or the Government in the maintenance of the soldier, and this $20 a month is only a partial payment to the State of the extra expense.

Mr. CURRY of California. It costs our State $175 for each one now in addition to what they get from the Government.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. This is a Union Calendar bill.

Mr. CURRY of California. I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That all States or Territories which have established, or which shall hereafter establish, State homes for disabled soldiers and sailors of the United States who served in the War of the Rebellion or in any previous or subsequent war, who are disabled by age, disease, or otherwise, and by reason of such disability are incapable of earning a living, provided such disability was not incurred in service against the United States, shall be paid for every such disabled soldier or sailor who may be admitted and cared for in such home at the rate of $120 per annum.

The number of such persons for whose care any State or Territory shall receive the said payment under this act shall be ascertained by the board of managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers under such regulations as it may prescribe, but the said State or Territorial homes shall be exclusively under the control of the respective State or Territorial authorities, and the board of managers shall not have nor assume any management or control of said State or Territorial homes.

The board of managers of the National home shall, however, have power to have the said State or Territorial homes inspected at such times as it may consider necessary, and shall report the result of such inspections to Congress in its annual report: *Provided*, That no State shall be paid a sum exceeding one-half the cost of maintenance of each soldier or sailor by such State: *Provided further*, That one-half of any sum or sums retained by State homes on account of pensions received from inmates shall be deducted from the aid herein provided for.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read the third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. CURRY of California, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

PUBLIC BUILDING, EL DORADO, KANS.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to call up the bill H. R. 12881. I was not present this morning when it was called up, as I was unavoidably detained, and I would like the present consideration of the same.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. AYRES] asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill H. R. 12881, which was objected to this morning.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 12881) to increase the cost of the public building at Eldorado, Kans.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I know the gentleman is very anxious to have this measure considered. He has spoken to me about it. I objected when it came up earlier in the day, and stated the reasons therefor, and I still think we ought not to pick out particular localities and permit an increased cost of buildings to be made, and I am inclined to further object to its consideration.

Mr. AYRES. My understanding is that you have no objection to its remaining on the calendar?

Mr. WALSH. No; I have not.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman objects to the present consideration.

Mr. WALSH. I did not intend by my objection to send it off the calendar, but I objected just to returning and taking it up.

SANATORIUM AT DAWSON SPRINGS, KY.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules I present a privileged report.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee presents a privileged report from the Committee on Rules, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 437.

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of H. R. 12917, entitled "A bill to provide for the establishment of a sanatorium for the treatment of persons discharged from the military and naval forces of the United States, and for other purposes"; that there shall be not to exceed one hour of general debate. At the conclusion of such general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. After the bill shall have been perfected in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union the same shall be reported to the House with such recommendation as the committee may make, whereupon the previous question shall be considered as ordered upon the bill and all amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment to the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee: After the word "resolution" strike out "the House shall resolve itself," and insert in lieu thereof the following: "It shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself."

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Will the gentleman withhold that question until I ask unanimous consent on a bill that is on the Unanimous Consent Calendar?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I should prefer to dispose of this matter now, if I can. Is it on the Unanimous Consent Calendar?

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Yes; on the Unanimous Consent Calendar.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Then I withhold my request.

PUBLIC-BUILDING SITE, YONKERS, N. Y.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to call up the bill that relates to the correction of a site at Yonkers, N. Y.—House bill 8828.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill H. R. 8828, which the Clerk will report by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 8828) authorizing the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Yonkers, N. Y.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. I will say that this is not any increase of appropriation for the public building. It is really to correct a situation regarding the site, and it is a bill that was drafted by the Treasury Department. An appropriation of $250,000 was made for the acquisition of a site in Yonkers.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object. I think the bill ought to be reported before the objection is waived.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 8828) authorizing the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Yonkers, N. Y.

Be it enacted, etc., That the existing legislation authorizing the acquisition of a public-building site at Yonkers, N. Y., at a limit of cost of $250,000, and for the erection thereon of a public building at a limit of cost of $250,000, be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to fix a joint limit of cost of $662,500 for said site and building, and the appropriations heretofore made under said separate limits of cost are hereby made available for the acquisition of said site and the erection of said building within the joint limit of cost hereby prescribed.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized, in his discretion, when said site shall have been acquired, to sell to the city of Yonkers, N. Y., for such price, at such time, and upon such terms as he may deem for the best interests of the United States, such portions of said site fronting on Buena Vista Avenue and Market Place as he may deem it advisable to spare for the purpose of widening the abutting streets, to convey said land to the city by the usual quitclaim deed, and to deposit the proceeds of said sale in the Treasury of the United States as a miscellaneous receipt.

Also the following committee amendment was read:

Strike out section 1 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That the existing legislation authorizing the acquisition of a public building site at Yonkers, N. Y., at a limit of cost of $250,000, be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to fix a limit of cost of $338,500 for the said site, and the appropriations heretofore made under separate limits of cost are hereby made available for the acquisition of said site within the limit of cost hereby prescribed."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, may I inquire if it is the purpose to object to the consideration of the rule that has just been presented?

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Answering for myself—and I can only answer for myself—I do not.

Mr. GILLETT. Did I understand you to ask if anybody was going to object?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes.

Mr. GILLETT. I think it would save time if the gentleman would allow me to state why I shall object. I do not think I have any sectional or any personal feeling on the subject; but I feel that if the Government is going to start in to build sanatoriums for tuberculosis, as the gentleman suggested this morning there would have to be one in every State. I think there ought to be before the House one general program by the health authorities before we commence. I have always supposed that Arizona and Colorado, and perhaps high places like the Adirondacks, were peculiarly sanitary in the treatment of tuberculosis. I may be wrong about that. I do not think this House ought to pick out one place now for one particular sanatorium, but I think the health authorities ought to come before us with a full and complete scheme, covering the whole country and the whole subject. Therefore I shall feel constrained to make the point of no quorum if this rule is insisted on.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The gentleman is not willing that it may be made the unfinished business?

Mr. GILLETT. No. I should be willing——

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. And would make the point of no quorum to-morrow?

Mr. GILLETT. I should make it again to-morrow. I do not want to be unfair about it.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I understand. The gentleman from Massachusetts is never unfair.

Mr. GILLETT. Thank you. But it seems to me that my suggestion ought to impress itself upon all Members of the House, and therefore I shall feel——

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. It does not impress itself upon me. However, I shall make no objection.

Mr. BLACK. I reserve the right to object.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I shall at the proper time insist upon this motion and let the gentleman from Massachusetts take the responsibility——

Mr. GILLETT. Yes——

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Which he is always willing to take.

Mr. GILLETT. Yes.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, I want to make an inquiry about the bill that the gentleman from New York has asked consideration for. As I understand it, the present law authorizes the appropriation of $250,000 for the site?

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. BLACK. And the bill as amended would raise the limit of cost for the site to $338,500?

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Yes. If the gentleman will permit, the $250,000 has been expended, with the exception of $28,500. The Government, in order to acquire the land, was obliged to institute condemnation proceedings. There were five parcels. The total cost was $117,000, in accordance with the awards which have already been made, in excess of the money which they have already expended. They have acquired three parcels. They have the title to those three parcels. The two remaining parcels require $117,000.

Mr. BLACK. Have awards already been made?

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Yes; awards have already been made. Awards have been made for all the parcels. In that situation the present administration of the city of Yonkers has said to the Government that the moment it acquires title to the two remaining parcels the city will contribute something near $60,000 of the amount required in purchase from the Government of two 20-foot strips on each of two ends of the block, where there are now narrow streets; so that they will be better adapted for post-office purposes if this bill goes through. Now, while the present administration of the city is bound by the offer they have made, the Government will get advantage of nearly $60,000 and also the advantage of two widened streets at the two ends of the block for post-office purposes.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Yes.

Mr. SEARS. Condemnation proceedings have been brought?

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Yes; and the awards have been made.

Mr. SEARS. I have several cities in my district that are entitled to buildings, but I have not pressed the claims on account of the agreement we entered into not to pass these bills during the war. But in that case, as I understand it, the bill was passed some years ago, and the Government has condemned the property and can take it over at any time. The parties that own the property therefore are in the position where they can not collect from the Government because there was not enough appropriated in the first bill. For at least more than one year they have had this property on their hands. They can not fix it up and lease it, and they can not make a time lease, but are forced to rent same from day to day or from month to month. In justice to the owners of the land the Government in this case, having gone through condemnation proceedings, should, it seems to me, make an appropriation sufficient to meet the findings of the court, so that the owners of the land can get their money. I hope the gentleman from Texas will not object in view of those facts.

Mr. BLACK. What kind of an assurance does the gentleman from New York have that the city of Yonkers will make this contribution?

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. I have an assurance that comes from the authorities of a city of a hundred thousand people.

Mr. BLACK. Has the gentleman any evidence of that promise or assurance?

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. I have here a formal letter from the mayor of the city of Yonkers. One reason why I am anxious to have this bill passed now is because administrations come and go; they change. There are always objections from taxpayers to the expenditure of public money, and the situation therefore that may exist to-day to the advantage of the Federal Government may not exist some time in the future. But the present situation, I can assure the gentleman from Texas, is that the moment this bill becomes a law, and the Government acquires the title to the two remaining parcels, the city will contribute the amount for those two 20-foot strips and will improve the street, and the widened streets will be of benefit for post-office purposes.

Mr. BLACK. Do I understand that the Secretary of the Treasury has recommended this increase?

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. The Secretary of the Treasury has recommended it. The original bill was drafted in the Treasury Department.

Mr. BLACK. And the acceptance of the site from the city of Yonkers?

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Yes.

Mr. RAGSDALE. I presume it is the Secretary of the Treasury and not the Director of Railroads who is doing that. The Director General of Railroads is not so liberal in recommending the payment of sums of money due.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. I was referring to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. WALSH. Does this in any way increase the cost of the building?

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. No; it does not. The bill as originally drafted by the Secretary of the Treasury provided for an increase in the cost of the building in accordance with the plans, but in that respect the committee amended the bill so as to eliminate the increased cost of the building and limited the bill only to the correction of the site situation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. This bill is on the Union Calendar.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was accordingly read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

CERTAIN CLAIMS OF THE CHEROKEE NATION.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the first bill on the Calendar for Unanimous Consent (H. R. 357), conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, consider, and determine certain claims of the Cherokee Nation against the United States.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of a bill which the Clerk will report by title.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. I object, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. HASTINGS. Will the gentleman withhold that for a moment?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes; I withhold it. As I stated yesterday, I went over these two bills several months ago. One of them I was very strongly opposed to and the other one I was not. I have not had time to go over the bill since. I wish to do full justice to the gentleman's bill.

Mr. HASTINGS. The Chair understands that this does not take this bill off the calendar?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair understands that it does not take the bill off the calendar.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may be allowed to address the House to-morrow for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tmpore. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent that he may be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes to-morrow. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Reserving the right to object, I understand that if a point of no quorum is made we will recess until a week from Monday?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. That is the understanding.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. GILLETT. I object. I understand there will not be any session to-morrow.

SANATORIUM AT DAWSON SPRINGS, KY.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the rule.

Mr. GILLETT. And I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, in view of the statement I made at the opening of the session to-day, I desire now to say that no further business will be transacted until one week from Monday and that that will exclude even requests for unanimous consent to extend remarks in the RECORD. There will be no business transacted. Will the gentleman from Massachusetts withhold his point for a moment?

Mr. GILLETT. Yes.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I now ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Tuesday next.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Tuesday next. Is there objection?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Reserving the right to object, in case there is no quorum, whether or not a quorum will be demanded.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. There will be no attempt to get a quorum until Monday, the 14th.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. At that time there will be an order asked to bring Members in.

Mr. MONDELL. Does the gentleman mean that a quorum will be demanded on Monday, the 14th?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. If a point of no quorum is made and no quorum is here, the House will order a quorum.

Mr. MONDELL. But in the absence of any demand for a quorum there will be no call?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Certainly not.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The real object of a quorum, as I understand, is the urgent deficiency bill.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. The urgent deficiency bill, the consideration of war measures, and the rule the gentleman from Tennessee presented awhile ago.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I will.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. There will be some Members here. There will be some legislation that can be passed without objection, I think. For instance, here is a bill of very great importance pending touching the matter of the insurance of the old-line companies and in fraternal orders on the lives of soldiers. I do not know about the details of the bill, but I do not think there will be any objection to the passage of that bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. But there was objection yesterday to the consideration of it.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I want to submit to the gentleman from Illinois whether or not he would insist upon making a motion to adjourn immediately after reading the Journal.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. That is my intention.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. If objection is made to the consideration of the bill, or if a point of no quorum is made upon bringing in a rule for the consideration of the rule, then, of course, we would adjourn, but it seems to me there is some legislation unobjected to which could be passed by those who remain here. I do not wish to embarrass the gentleman from Illinois, and the gentleman from Illinois knows it.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. The gentleman from Tennessee was not present at the opening of the House.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I was and heard the gentleman's statement.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. In view of the understanding at the beginning of the session I shall have to object to all business and move to adjourn each day when the reading of the Journal is concluded.

Mr. GILLETT. It seems to me that that is the only practicable course, because otherwise that would keep Members here, and the intention is that everybody shall be treated alike and need not stay here. It might happen that those who are in favor of the bill would be here while those not in favor of it would be away. I think the gentleman from Illinois is quite right in his program.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I am not complaining at all; I just thought that there were some things that even a small number could do to which there would be no objection.

Mr. GILLETT. I think they had better wait a week.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. WOODS of Iowa. I object.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Then, Mr. Speaker, I announce that each day I will make a request for three days' recess, and if we can not get it by unanimous consent I shall move to adjourn each day after the reading of the Journal. I expect to move to adjourn to-morrow immediately after the reading of the Journal.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the work of this Congress.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from North Dakota asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the work of this Congress. Is there objection?

Mr. RAGSDALE. I object.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 46 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, October 5, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Secretary of the Interior submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for necessary increases in salaries in the mechanical and laboring forces of the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1316); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of communication from the Commissioners of the District of Columbia submitting supplemental estimate of appropriation required by the District of Columbia for disposal of city refuse fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1317); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Attorney General submitting a deficiency estimate of appropriation required by the Department of Justice for the fiscal year 1918 (H. Doc. No. 1318); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. FULLER of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 13047) relative to the pay of regimental sergeant majors, battalion sergeant majors, and first sergeants, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BRUMBAUGH: A bill (H. R. 13048) providing for the waiving of civil-service requirements in the case of certain honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, or marines; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 13049) providing for the extension of time for the reclamation of certain lands in the State of Oregon under the Carey Act; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. DENTON: A bill (H. R. 13053) to incorporate the War Mothers of America; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. JAMES: Resolution (H. Res. 441) providing for the appointment of a committee to investigate conditions at the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home, Washington, District of Columbia; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. LONDON: Concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 54) creating a committee to be known as the Joint Congressional Committee on Reconstruction; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GRIFFIN: A bill (H. R. 13050) granting an increase of pension to Annie A. Cousins; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HAUGEN: A bill (H. R. 13051) granting a pension to Mary Redfield; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KEY of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 13052) granting a pension to William H. Dean; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. DALE of New York: Petition from 46 citizens and relatives of the men in the military service of the Nation, urging the passage of the Edmonds bill (H. R. 5531) "to increase the efficiency of the Medical Department of the United

States Army, to provide a pharmaceutical corps in that department, and to improve the status and efficiency of the pharmacist in the Army"; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RAKER: Petition from the Southern Pacific Mills Association, of San Francisco, indorsing the suggestion of the Food Administration that the mixed-flour law be suspended for the period of the war; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, protest of the National Model League, against prohibition; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, *October 5, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

We bless Thee, our Father in heaven, for the disclosures Thou hast made of Thyself in the works of Thy hands; the history of men and of nations; the still, small voice; the life, character, and teachings of Thy Son, whom we recognize as the paragon of perfection, the acme of perfected manhood. May we emulate His character in the common daily duties of life, that we may walk in the light, enter the straight gate, and tread the narrow way which leads to life eternal; and Thine be the praise forever. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY and Mr. RANDALL rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from California rise?

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, but I understand that some sort of an arrangement has been made——

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I shall have to object. I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Wednesday next.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Wednesday next. Is there objection?

Mr. WOODS of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I object.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 4957. An act to establish the Lafayette National Park in the State of Maine; and

S. 4924. An act to amend section 336 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the annual report on the statistics of commerce and navigation of the United States with foreign countries.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, Senate bills of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and referred to their appropriate committees, as indicated below:

S. 4924. An act to amend section 336 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to the annual report on the statistics of commerce and navigation of the United States with foreign countries; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

S. 4957. An act to establish the Lafayette National Park, in the State of Maine; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 12 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until Monday, October 7, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of War, submitting a tentative draft of a proposed bill authorizing the appointment of additional field clerks for the Quartermaster Corps (H. Doc. No. 1319); to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a tentative draft of a proposed bill, providing for the construction of new and additional vaults in the Treasury Building (H. Doc. No. 1320); to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds and ordered to be printed.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII,

Mr. WARD introduced a bill (H. R. 13054) granting a pension to Edward Kneibe, which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII,

Mr. LINTHICUM laid on the Clerk's desk a petition from Dr. R. R. Kemingham, favoring House bill 5407, allowing osteopath doctors to take the same examination set for the other systems of healing and if they pass be admitted to the Army on the same basis, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *October 7, 1918.*

Rev. J. L. Kibler, of the city of Washington, offered the following prayer:

O God, our Heavenly Father, amid the strife and confusion of the world at war, in the midst of scenes of sickness and death at home and on the battle fields of Europe, we turn in our distress to Thee for succor, for Thou art our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. May Thy kind providence therefore overshadow us and deliver us, and may we never lose sight of Thy grace and Thy power. As we go forth to battle for the right give wisdom to our leaders in all the delicate and difficult questions they have to consider. May Thy will be sought and may Thy plans be unfolded in all they do. May we be ready to lay upon the altar of our country all the sacrifices that are needful, and may our brave soldiers be fully supplied until these calamities are overpassed and a triumphant victory is achieved. We ask it for Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last was read and approved.

CORRECTION OF RECORD—THE MEAT-PACKING INDUSTRY.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, on October 3, the day we held the last session of the Senate, the question of printing a memorial of the chamber of commerce came up, and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. KENDRICK] called attention to the fact that I had asked that the memorial be printed in the RECORD. At that time I had in mind the document the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN] had asked to be printed in the RECORD, giving the names of the directors of the chamber of commerce and other information, and it entirely escaped my mind that when the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] offered an amendment to the then pending bill, based upon the report of the Federal Trade Commission, I did ask that the report of the subcommittee of the chamber of commerce be printed in the RECORD in connection with the statement I made at that time. That occurs in the RECORD of September 5, 1918.

I wish to make this statement so that the RECORD will show the facts.

THE REVENUE.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, I understand that it is the wish of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] to move an adjournment until Thursday. I desire, therefore, to give notice that on Thursday, October 10, after the close of the routine morning business, I shall discuss the constitutional power of the Federal Government to levy taxes upon the instrumentalities of the States, a subject which was discussed the other day by the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX].

THE BUILDING SITUATION.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a communication from the chairman of the War Industries Board supplemental to a communication of September 19, in response to a resolution of the Senate of September 13, 1918, which will be printed in the RECORD and lie on the table.

The communication is as follows:

WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD,
Washington, October 4, 1918.

To the honorable the PRESIDENT AND
SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: Referring to the answer, under date of September 19, 1918, by the War Industries Board to Senate resolution 304, passed September 13, 1918, asking for all orders promulgated by this board

relative to the construction and alteration of public or private buildings, I beg to advise that since our answer was delivered Circular No. 21 (attached to the answer) has been amended by adding to subdivision (2) the following: "and new construction for farm purposes only, involving in the aggregate a cost not exceeding $1,000," so that this subdivision as thus amended now reads as follows:

"(2) Repairs of or extensions to existing buildings involving in the aggregate a cost not exceeding $2,500, and new construction for farm purposes only, involving in the aggregate a cost not exceeding $1,000."

I further beg to advise you that subdivision (4) of said Circular No. 21 has also been amended by adding thereto the following: "and production (but not refining) of mineral oil and natural gas," so that this subdivision as thus amended now reads as follows:

"(4) Those directly connected with mines producing coal, metals, and ferroalloy minerals, and production (but not refining) of mineral oil and natural gas."

I am bringing these matters to your attention because Circular No. 21 as originally promulgated, and as supplemented on September 10, 1918, has been printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 21, 1918 (vol. 56, 220, p. 11448), and I assume that you will desire the above amendments to be printed also, so that when the subject comes up for discussion your honorable body may have before it Circular No. 21 as amended to date.

I have the honor to remain,
Respectfully, yours,

BERNARD M. BARUCH,
Chairman War Industries Board.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills:

S. 933. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent for certain land to school district No. 9, of Sanders County, Mont.;

S. 2493. An act to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes," approved December 29, 1916;

S. 3225. An act to reserve as a part of the Oregon National Forest certain lands that were revested in the United States pursuant to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the Oregon & California Railroad Co. *v.* The United States; and

S. 4871. An act to authorize the Philadelphia, Harrisburg & Pittsburgh Railroad Co., its lessees, successors, and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Susquehanna River from the city of Harrisburg, Dauphin County, Pa., to the borough of Lemoyne, Cumberland County, Pa.

The message also announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 3438) to prevent corrupt practices in the election of Senators, Representatives, or Delegates in Congress, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 3470) to amend section 35 of the Criminal Code of the United States, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 79. An act for the sale of isolated tracts of the public domain in Minnesota;

H. R. 204. An act to provide for the fitting up of quarters in the post-office building at the city of Sacramento, Cal., for the accommodation of the district court of the northern district of California and its officers and making an appropriation therefor;

H. R. 282. An act amending the public-buildings act approved March 4, 1913, providing for the purchase of a site for a public building at Nogales, Ariz.;

H. R. 2614. An act to amend sections 2139 and 2140 of the Revised Statutes and the acts amendatory thereof, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5167. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to provide aid to State or Territorial homes for the support of disabled soldiers and sailors of the United States," approved August 27, 1888, as amended March 2, 1889;

H. R. 7637. An act to authorize the construction and maintenance of a dike on Depot Slough, Lincoln County, Oreg.;

H. R. 8828. An act authorizing the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Yonkers, N. Y.;

H. R. 10432. An act to abolish the office of receiver of public moneys at Wausau, Wis., and for other purposes;

H. R. 10747. An act providing for the better administration of justice in the Navy;

H. R. 10849. An act to establish certain new ratings in the United States Navy;

H. R. 11709. An act granting the consent of Congress to Norman County, Minn., and Traill County, N. Dak., to construct a bridge across the Red River of the North on the boundary line between said States;

H. R. 11948. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Great Southern Lumber Co., a corporation of the State of Pennsylvania, doing business in the State of Mississippi, to construct a bridge across Pearl River, at or near the north line of section 22, township 8 north, range 21 west, west of the basis meridian, in the land district east of Pearl River, in the State of Mississippi;

H. R. 11949. An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Pearl River, Miss., and the fourth ward of the parish of Washington, La., to construct a bridge across Pearl River, between Pearl River County, Miss., and Washington Parish, La.;

H. R. 12194. An act to provide for the award of medals of honor, distinguished-service medals, and Navy crosses, and for other purposes;

H. R. 12404. An act authorizing the construction of a building for the Public Health Service in the city of Washington, D. C.;

H. R. 12438. An act authorizing the conveyance of the United States jail and land on which the same is located at Guthrie, Okla., to Logan county, Okla.;

H. R. 12549. An act authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to appoint a commission to investigate and report upon the available sources of water supply for the District of Columbia;

H. R. 12631. An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Winnebago, in the State of Illinois, and the town of Rockford, in said county and State, to construct a bridge across Rock River, at or near Camp Grant;

H. R. 12769. An act relative to fees for claim agents;

H. R. 12773. An act to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Little Calumet River, in Cook County, State of Illinois, at or near the village of Riverdale, in said county;

H. R. 12801. An act to amend section 1 of Title VII of the act entitled "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 15, 1917;

H. R. 12860. An act granting to members of the Army Nurse Corps (female) and Navy Nurse Corps (female), Army field clerks, field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, and civil employees of the Army pay and allowances during any period of involuntary captivity by the enemy of the United States;

H. R. 12872. An act making certain officers of the Army eligible for appointment as chief of staff corps and departments;

H. R. 12916. An act to provide for the temporary promotion of commissioned officers of the Marine Corps serving with the Army;

H. R. 12936. An act to prescribe the pay and allowance of certain officers of the Army while holding a brevet grade;

H. R. 12945. An act providing for the purchase of uniforms, accouterments, and equipment by officers of the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, and midshipmen at the Naval Academy from the Government at cost;

H. R. 12998. An act to amend section 3528 of the Revised Statutes;

H. R. 12982. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a large dry dock and appurtenant lands;

H. R. 13035. An act to amend section 4 of Chapter V of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919," approved July 9, 1918, and to make said amendment retroactive;

H. R. 13036. An act transferring jurisdiction and control for the period of the war over the Southern Branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers from the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers to the Secretary of War for use for Army hospital purposes; and

H. R. 13037. An act to amend the fiftieth article of war.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (H. R. 12429) to authorize the health officer of the District of Columbia to permit the disinterment of the bodies of Eliza Hill Bowles, Bernice Worthen Bowles, and Bessie Vivian Bowles, and it was thereupon signed by the Vice President.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. CALDER. I present a petition of members of the South Third Street Methodist Episcopal Church, of Brooklyn, N. Y., praying for the enactment of legislation to grant railroad rates of 1 cent a mile to soldiers and sailors, which I ask may be noted in the RECORD and appropriately referred.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The petition will be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I present a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Spokane, Wash., urging that in the taking of the census of 1920 the civil service be applied in the selection with respect to the officials and employees in the Census Bureau.

I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on the Census.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. NELSON presented the memorial of Alfred J. Krank, of St. Paul, Minn., and a memorial of the Hegener Barbers' Supply Co., of Minneapolis, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed tax on nonbeverage alcohol, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a memorial of the Board of Education of Minneapolis, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed taxation of municipal bonds, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the petition of Thomas C. Jones, of Russell, Minn., praying for the exemption of the Cooperative Elevator Co. from the proposed increased taxation, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. NEW, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 4564) for the relief of Chauncey Boyce, reported adversely thereon and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

Mr. LODGE, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 4974) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a large dry dock and appurtenant lands, reported it without amendment.

Mr. SHAFROTH, from the Committee on Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (S. 4472) providing for the sale of public lands for the purpose of using the proceeds arising therefrom in the construction of roads and other permanent improvements in national parks, reported it with amendments, and submitted a report (No. 579) thereon.

Mr. MYERS, from the Committee on Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (S. 4178) providing additional time for the payment of purchase money under homestead entries of lands within the former Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Mont., reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 578) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 4947) to provide for a survey and classification by the Secretary of the Interior of all unentered public lands of the United States and all unused, cut-over, logged, and swamp lands, and other unused lands of the United States, with a view to disposing thereof to honorably discharged soldiers and sailors and others, and for other purposes, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 580) thereon.

Mr. GORE, from the Committee on Immigration, to which was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 331) authorizing the readmission to the United States of certain aliens who have been conscripted or have volunteered for service with the military forces of the United States or cobelligerent forces, reported it without amendment (S. Rept. 583).

CLAIMS FOR LOSS OF PRIVATE PROPERTY.

Mr. ROBINSON. From the Committee on Claims, I report back favorably, without amendment, the bill (S. 4964) for the payment of claims for loss of private property on account of the loss of firearms and ammunition taken by the United States troops during the labor strikes in the State of Colorado in 1914, and I submit a report (No. 581) thereon. I ask for the present consideration of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I should like to have it read again by title.

The bill was again read by title.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I have no objection to its consideration.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole and it was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the sum of of $7,800, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated, to be immediately available and to remain available until June 30, 1919, for payment of claims on account of loss of firearms and ammunition taken by the United States troops from civilians in the State of Colorado during the labor strike troubles which occurred in the calendar year 1914: *Provided*, That settlement of such claims shall be made by the Auditor for the War Department, upon the approval and recommendation of the Secretary of War, where the amount of the loss has been ascertained by the War Department, and payment thereof will be accepted by the owners of the property in full satisfaction of such claims.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

AMHERST W. BARBER.

Mr. ROBINSON. From the Committee on Claims, I report back favorably, without amendment, the bill (S. 4787) for the relief of Amherst W. Barber, and I submit a report (No. 582) thereon. I call the attention of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] to the bill.

Mr. NELSON. I ask for its present consideration.

Mr. SMOOT. I am not going to object, but——

Mr. NELSON. It is recommended by the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. SMOOT. I was going to say I am not going to object to the consideration of the bill, although some 105 or 106 similar claims have been before the Public Lands Committee for a number of years, and have always failed to pass the House. I do not know whether it will do any good for the Senate to pass the bill.

Mr. NELSON. A favorable report was made on this matter by the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. SMOOT. That the claim is just there is no question; but there are about 105 similar claims, and I should like to have an omnibus bill covering the whole of them.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and it was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any moneys in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, to Amherst W. Barber, the sum of $263.37, for the resurvey of 23 miles, 75 chains, and 42 links of township lines on public lands in the State of Colorado, executed by him and necessary to complete the lines of survey embraced in his contract No. 710, dated April 2, 1885.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A bill (S. 4975) granting a pension to W. S. Coburn (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 4976) granting a pension to William Maguire;

A bill (S. 4977) granting an increase of pension to Marion T. Mitchell; and

A bill (S. 4978) granting a pension to Francis E. Searway; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FERNALD:

A bill (S. 4979) granting an increase of pension to George C. Houghton (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 4980) granting an increase of pension to John A. Chadwick (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 4981) granting a pension to Sarah M. Geiger (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CALDER:

A bill (S. 4982) to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to save daylight and to provide standard time for the United States," approved March 19, 1918; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

THE REVENUE.

Mr. PITTMAN (for Mr. THOMAS) submitted seven amendments, intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 12863) to provide revenue, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

Mr. FLETCHER submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 12863) to provide revenue, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

PURCHASE OF DRY DOCK.

The bill (H. R. 12982) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a large dry dock and appurtenant lands was read twice by its title.

Mr. LODGE. I ask that this bill may have present consideration. The Committee on Naval Affairs has reported unanimously an identical bill and the matter is one of great immediate importance. Time is very necessary for the completion of the dock which the Government desires to purchase.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and it was read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to contract with the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for the purchase of the dry dock, with its equipment, now under construction at Boston by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, together with the land adjacent thereto necessary for the proper utilization of said dock, and there is hereby appropriated for said purpose the sum of $4,550,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Navy, in his discretion, in order to expedite the completion of the construction of said dry dock, may expend out of the sum above appropriated an amount not exceeding $350,000.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. LODGE. I ask in this connection to have printed a letter from the Secretary of the Navy in regard to it, which appears in the House hearings.

There being no objection, the letter was orderd to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, September 20, 1918.

Hon. LEMUEL P. PADGETT,
Chairman Committee on Naval Affairs,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. PADGETT: The dry dock under construction by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts at Boston is now approaching completion, and the Commonwealth, represented by the Commission on Waterways and Public Lands, with the approval of the governor and his counsel, have submitted a proposition for the purchase of this property by the Government.

The tentative proposal as presented by the Commonwealth for the acquiring of this property contemplates the following principal features: The Commonwealth will proceed with the construction under the contracts now executed and with other features which are necessary for the proper completion of the dock within the limit of the amount appropriated by the Commonwealth for this purpose, namely, $3,107,366.93. Upon the completion of the dock the Commonwealth will convey it, together with such adjacent land as may be necessary for its proper operation, to the United States free of all incumbrances.

The large dimensions of this dock and its location near the deep-water channel of the harbor makes it very desirable that this property should be acquired by the Government. This need is particularly urgent in view of the great necessity for additional docks to provide for the increasing units of the Navy, as well as for the rapidly expanding merchant marine, and particularly to provide facilities for the docking of the superdreadnaughts and large transports.

The contract for the dock was executed prior to the war and at a cost much lower than would now be required for the construction of such a dock. It is found that the progress of the work could be, and should be for the Nation's needs, greatly expedited and the dock rendered usable at a much earlier date than will be possible at the present rate of progress. To expedite the work will cost an amount estimated at $350,000.

It is estimated that approximately the sum of $4,550,000 will be required for the purchase of the foregoing property, including the amount necessary to expedite the completion of the work.

It is requested that this matter be given careful and favorable consideration by your committee, and the department will cheerfully supply such further and detailed informattion as the committee may call for in the premises.

There is submitted herewith a draft of a provision that it is believed will cover the desired legislation.

Sincerely, yours, JOSEPHUS DANIELS, *Secretary.*

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill (S. 4974) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a large dry dock and appurtenant lands will be indefinitely postponed.

CORRUPT PRACTICES.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 3438) to prevent corrupt practices in the election of Senators, Representatives, or Delegates in Congress, which were: On page 1, line 4, to strike out "things" and insert "thing"; on page 1, line 8, to strike out "or persons"; and on page 1, line 8, to strike out "their" and insert "his."

Mr. GERRY. As these amendments are merely a question of verbiage and entirely immaterial, I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED.

H. R. 12769. An act relative to fees for claim agents was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Claims.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Public Lands:

H. R. 79. An act for the sale of isolated tracts of the public domain in Minnesota;

H. R. 10432. An act to abolish the office of receiver of public moneys at Wausau, Wis., and for other purposes; and

H. R. 12438. An act authorizing the conveyance of the United States jail and land on which the same is located at Guthrie, Okla., to Logan County, Okla.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

H. R. 5167. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to provide aid to State or Territorial homes for the support of disabled soldiers and sailors of the United States," approved August 27, 1888, as amended March 2, 1889;

H. R. 12549. An act authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to appoint a commission to investigate and report upon the available sources of water supply for the District of Columbia;

H. R. 12872. An act making certain officers of the Army eligible for appointment as chief of staff corps and departments;

H. R. 12936. An act to prescribe the pay and allowance of certain officers of the Army while holding a brevet grade;

H. R. 13036. An act transferring jurisdiction and control for the period of the war over the Southern Branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers from the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers to the Secretary of War for use for Army hospital purposes;

H. R. 13035. An act to amend section 4 of Chapter V of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919," approved July 9, 1918, and to make said amendment retroactive; and

H. R. 13037. An act to amend the fiftieth article of war.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds:

H. R. 204. An act to provide for the fitting up of quarters in the post-office building at the city of Sacramento, Cal., for the accommodation of the district court of the northern district of California and its officers and making an appropriation therefor;

H. R. 282. An act amending the public-buildings act approved March 4, 1913, providing for the purchase of a site for a public building at Nogales, Ariz.;

H. R. 8828. An act authorizing the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Yonkers, N. Y.

H. R. 12404. An act authorizing the construction of a building for the Public Health Service in the city of Washington, D. C.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

H. R. 2614. An act to amend sections 2139 and 2140 of the Revised Statutes and the acts amendatory thereof, and for other purposes;

H. R. 12801. An act to amend section 1 of Title VII of the act entitled "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 15, 1917; and

H. R. 12998. An act to amend section 3528 of the Revised Statutes.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Commerce:

H. R. 7637. An act to authorize the construction and maintenance of a dike on Depot Slough, Lincoln County, Oreg.;

H. R. 11709. An act granting the consent of Congress to Norman County, Minn., and Traill County, N. Dak., to construct a bridge across the Red River of the North on the boundary line between said States;

H. R. 11948. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Great Southern Lumber Co., a corporation of the State of Pennsylvania, doing business in the State of Mississippi, to construct a bridge across Pearl River at or near the north line of section 22, township 8 north, range 21 west, west of the basis meridian, in the land district east of Pearl River, in the State of Mississippi;

H. R. 11949. An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Pearl River, Miss., and the fourth ward of the parish of Washington, La., to construct a bridge across Pearl River, between Pearl River County, Miss., and Washington Parish, La.;

H. R. 12631. An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Winnebago, in the State of Illinois, and the town of Rockford, in said county and State, to construct a bridge across Rock River at or near Camp Grant; and

H. R. 12773. An act to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Little Calumet River, in Cook County, State of Illinois, at or near the village of Riverdale, in said county.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs:

H. R. 10747. An act providing for the better administration of justice in the Navy;

H. R. 10849. An act to establish certain new ratings in the United States Navy;

H. R. 12194. An act to provide for the award of medals of honor, distinguished-service medals, and Navy crosses, and for other purposes;

H. R. 12860. An act granting to members of the Army Nurse Corps (female) and Navy Nurse Corps (female), Army field clerks, field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, and civil employees of the Army pay and allowances during any period of involuntary captivity by the enemy of the United States;

H. R. 12916. An act to provide for the temporary promotion of commissioned officers of the Marine Corps serving with the Army; and

H. R. 12945. An act providing for the purchase of uniforms, accouterments, and equipment by officers of the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, and midshipmen at the Naval Academy from the Government at cost.

PEACE PROPOSALS OF CENTRAL POWERS.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, I should like to call attention to what I understand is the program of the Senate,

to adjourn after the conclusion of the morning business until Thursday. As the Senate is well aware, there are pending before the country and before the world in a most critical stage of consideration problems more vital perhaps than any that have ever been presented for the decision of our Government—relating to our foreign affairs, relating to the action that may be taken by this Government upon the suggestions of representatives of the nations with which we are at war as to an armistice.

I scarcely know how to make the inquiry that I have in mind, but I content myself with expressing the hope that the Senate of the United States, which is peculiarly vested under our Constitution with responsibility relating to our foreign and international relations, acting through its Committee on Foreign Relations during the recess or adjournment of this body, will keep in touch with this vital situation and assure to the country and to the Senate that the great functions which this body ought to perform in connection with matters of this kind shall not be entirely ignored and neglected.

I do not know what the official relations of the members of the Committee on Foreign Relations with the President of the United States are nor how close they are keeping in touch with the consideration of these great questions, but the Committee on Foreign Relations ought to be consulted, they ought to seek an opportunity, if necessary, to be consulted, in regard to problems of this kind.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

Mr. POINDEXTER. Just one second. They ought to keep the Senate advised. They ought to be ready to respond to questions in this body as to the progress of negotiations which may be on foot which affect in the most vital way the welfare of the country as to peace or war or as to the results which are to come out of the destructive war in which we have been engaged.

I yield to the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. McCUMBER. I desire to say to the Senator that I anticipated that a question of this character might arise, and I prepared a resolution which I intend to introduce as soon as we reach concurrent resolutions, the purpose of which is to insist that the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations shall perform its functions, and that the Senate shall perform its functions under the Constitution in connection with the war and in determining matters of peace. That resolution will be introduced to-day.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I am gratified to know that a prominent member of the Committee on Foreign Relations has been alive to what seems to me is his responsibility in this situation.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield for a question.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Would it not be satisfactory to the Senator if an agreement should be made by which in the matter of recesses it would be a recess subject to call from the joint action of the leader on the Republican side and the leader on the Democratic side? Every Senator wants to be here to aid and assist in any legislation that may be necessary, and I am sure that everyone would respond promptly and would be here if it were necessary, even upon the joint request of the two leaders of the Senate.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, there never was a time, it seems to me, when the Senate ought to be more alert to the performance of its duties than this time, and certainly there could be such an agreement as that which the Senator from Colorado suggests, although I would myself prefer that that body which the Senate has selected itself to exercise in part the functions of the Senate, the Committee on Foreign Relations, should have some voice in calling the Senate together in the face of an emergency which may become acute at any day or any hour.

I notice statements in various newspapers this morning which seem to me to indicate a situation of danger to the country. In great newspapers whose loyalty is beyond question and whose influence is great, who throughout the course of this war have been diligent in upholding the hands of the Nation and of the Government, in protecting the interests of our people and the honor of the country, it is suggested that if Germany will evacuate the countries which she has conquered we will agree to an armistice in our military operations.

Mr. President, there could not be a proposition of more insidious menace to the vital interests of this Nation than that proposition which seems to have so much currency. What would the situation be—I want to make just a brief comment on it—if such a proposition as that were agreed to, we will say, by the Executive branch of the Government during a recess of the Senate? A compromise peace, a premature peace, a sacrifice of the fruits of the efforts which this Nation and our allies have made in this great war.

There is one fortunate condition, however, that exists in regard to this matter; and, strange to say, it is a factor in the situation which once was a source of weakness to the allied cause, and now, under the blessing of Providence, is a source of strength. That is the fact that the allied power is divided into a number of sovereign nations, leagued together for the purpose of conducting this war. It was a source of weakness when positive action was required, because of the difficulty of bringing about an agreement. It is a source of strength when negative action is required in wisdom, as a situation which puts obstacles in the way, in the face of the emergency which I have referred to, of the conclusion of a premature and compromise peace—in my opinion the most insidious danger which confronts the country to-day, and will confront it during the coming winter.

We have secured a unity of leadership in military matters, which has been the source of increased efficiency of the allies in the great campaign which they have conducted during the last two months. The prosecution of that military campaign will go on under one leader; and it is a fortunate thing that when propositions are made for a too early peace—propositions which have in them, although concealed, the element of surrender and sacrifice of that which is already almost in the hands of the United States and its allies—their acceptance may be prevented because of the impossibility of agreement between France, Great Britain, the United States, and their other allies. If there should be something in the form of our Government, something growing out of this condition of neglect of its responsibilities by the Senate of the United States, which would leave the way open for some unwise agreement by our Government to bring about an armistice, which would inevitably mean the end forever of any additional military effort, I have faith that Clemenceau, who has been called "the Tiger of France," in some respects the greatest man that this emergency has produced, or that Lloyd-George, the seer of Wales, the great statesman premier of England, would yet be alert to protect their countries and ours from the results of any such unwise step.

But what would be the result of the acceptance of this proposition, which I see it stated in many quarters we very probably would be willing to accept—that we would stop our campaign if Germany should evacuate the conquered territory? Germany would come out of the war a victor. Germany would come out of the war in the same situation in which she went into it, after all the crimes which she has committed.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President——

Mr. POINDEXTER. In just a moment I will yield to the Senator.

If we accept this proposition, which seems to be so insidious and to have so much support, Alsace-Lorraine will still be German; Poland will still be enslaved; Italy still unredeemed; the Serbians and Bohemians of Austria still under the Austrian yoke; Russia, although evacuated, even though Germany's armies should be withdrawn from Russian soil, still at the mercy of Germany. This proposition, which is supposed to have so much support and so much authority back of that support, would leave all of the frightful wrongs of Belgium and France unindemnified. It would leave Constantinople occupying a situation strategically the most important and valuable in the world, still dominating the short line of commerce and intercourse between Europe and Asia under the control of the unspeakable and unterrified Turk.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I will yield just a moment later. This proposition, Mr. President, would leave the German-Turkish alliance still intact. Even though territorially they might have been separated by the surgical operation of the occupation of Bulgaria, separating these Siamese twins of evil, still the alliance and treaty between Turkey and Germany would be continued.

I yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I wanted to ask the Senator what proposition he is referring to?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I am referring to the proposition that I have stated two or three different times, and that is that the United States should use its influence with the allies to bring about an armistice on the western front and on all fronts upon the condition that Germany evacuate the territory which she has conquered.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Are those the only terms of the proposition?

Mr. POINDEXTER. That is the only proposition which is laid down by the newspapers and other sources to which I refer as the condition upon which this armistice would be entered into; and I am taking this opportunity to call the attention of the Senator from Nebraska, the chairman of the Foreign Rela-

tions Committee, to the danger of any such proposition and to the results of it.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Is not the Senator omitting one very important condition of that proposition, which is that the nations which make it are offering to accept the 14 terms laid down by the President in his address of January 8, as modified later in February, and still later by his New York speech of September 27?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I have all those things in mind. Now, I infer——

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President——

Mr. POINDEXTER. Just let me answer the question.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Let me pursue that inquiry. If the Senator feels that those conditions are accepted by Germany and Austria, is he not in error when he says that Belgium will be left in her present condition, that France will be left in her present condition, and that the Polish people will be left in their present condition? Do not the 14 conditions laid down by the President in his speech of January 8 to the Congress not only specifically mention the restoration and indemnification of Belgium, but the restoration of France and the giving back of Alsace and Lorraine to France?

Mr. LODGE. Does he say that?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Well, I think that may be at least inferred. I shall have to read it.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, I shall be obliged to decline to yield further. The Senator from Nebraska has stated his question. I will yield to the Senator in just a moment. What I meant was that I must decline to yield for a colloquy between the Senator from Nebraska and the Senator from Massachusetts, because the Senator from Nebraska has stated a very important proposition.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, may I call the Senator's attention——

Mr. POINDEXTER. In just a moment I will yield to the Senator from Florida. I want to answer the inquiry of the Senator from Nebraska, and call attention to the fact that the inquiry of the Senator from Nebraska itself demonstrates the dangerous and the insidious character of this proposition to which I referred in the beginning of my remarks and the far-reaching support which has been given to it. The Senator from Nebraska asked me, if Germany evacuates the territory which she has conquered in France and in other countries, whether the important condition is not attached that she offers to accept the 14 propositions of peace which President Wilson laid down, and to which I will briefly refer, as to their character, in a moment.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President——

Mr. POINDEXTER. By that question the Senator from Nebraska seems to think that Germany's offer of acceptance can be relied upon as though these propositions of the President would be accomplished if we should go into an armistice with Germany and cease our military operations upon the condition that she evacuates the conquered territory and promises to accept the 14 propositions. What we would be left with, Mr. President, would be with Germany a great armed nation, with her unconquered army on her interior lines of defense, negotiating with the United States from that citadel of strength as to which one of the propositions of the President, if any, she will agree to, and furthermore—what is equally important—what interpretation should be placed upon the 14 propositions stated by the President, about the meaning of which even an ordinary lawyer, to say nothing of the astute diplomatists of Germany, can very easily raise a question.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, will the Senator permit an inquiry?

Mr. POINDEXTER. For instance, I will call attention to the proposition just made.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I am sure the Senator does not intend——

Mr. POINDEXTER. I will yield in a second. I call attention to the proposition just made by Prince Maximilian, now chancellor of Germany, that Germany is willing to cease military operations and conclude a peace based upon principles of justice. Of course she will agree to that; but what she means by justice is not what we mean. Justice with Germany would mean the execution of some of the murderers and robbers who have laid waste Belgium and France. It would mean the trial by court-martial, or at least in some international tribunal, of the Kaiser for the crimes which he has permitted and which he has sanctioned; but that is not what Prince Maximilian means. Their ideas of justice and our ideas of justice are as far apart as the two poles. What they want is not justice, but mercy; and that is what they ought to ask for.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I am not at all antagonistic to the attitude which the Senator is taking. I agree with him that the thought of the suspension of hostilities while Germany or Austria are occupying a single foot of Belgium, France, or Italy would be preposterous. It is impossible. But I hope the Senator will permit me to set him right in this matter.

The proposition which has been put forward is not simply one of suspending hostilities. If Germany and Austria agree to accept the terms which the President has laid down, and which the country in the main has accepted, and which the other nations in general terms have accepted, Germany would agree, for instance, to this proposition, which was No. 8 of the President's 14 propositions: Here is what the President proposed with regard to Alsace and Lorraine:

> All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly 50 years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Now, let me ask——

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Let me finish. When the Senator says it is seriously proposed by anybody to leave Alsace and Lorraine where they are now, in the possession of Germany, the Senator is mistaken. One of the very conditions which the President laid down, and which would be absolutely essential before the allied countries would undertake even to discuss terms of peace with Germany, is the restoration of those Provinces.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, I must say that I am somewhat surprised at this statement, coming from the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. He says that nobody has made this proposition; and yet I have read in at least half a dozen different leading papers this morning that if Germany will evacuate conquered territory we may then take up negotiations with her about the matters which the Senator from Nebraska is talking about.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; the Senator has misread it.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Where are your indemnities and guarantees to compel Germany to do any one of the things which the Senator says the President proposes?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Let me interrupt the Senator.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Let me answer the Senator's question, and then I will yield further. I decline to yield until I have answered his question.

The Senator has read the eighth of the 14 propositions laid down by the President. As I understand the Senator from Nebraska, he interprets that to mean the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, but it does not say so. It does not say anything of the kind. What it says is:

> All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly 50 years, should be righted.

What does he mean by being "righted"? How should it be righted? I will tell you what my proposition is, if the Senator will allow me to express an individual opinion on that phase of the issues between Germany and the United States—that Germany should not only evacuate the French territory which she has occupied but that she should evacuate Alsace-Lorraine, and that Alsace-Lorraine—which was taken from France in 1871—should be occupied by the French, the German flag pulled down, and the French flag pulled up before we declare an armistice.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, may I call the Senator's attention to the very latest announcement in the afternoon paper, the heading being:

> Germans fire 20 towns—Flanders retreat begun.

In other words, they are going out of Flanders, but before they go they fire 20 towns.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Yes.

Mr. FLETCHER. It reminds me of the lines in Shakespeare's Tempest, where one of the characters says—

> Hell is empty,
> And all the devils are here.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Yes; very true; an apt quotation.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President——

Mr. POINDEXTER. I might add, in connection with the interjection of the Senator from Florida, what guaranty would we have, upon the mere statement of Prince Maximilian that he will agree to it, that the unspeakable outrages of which the instance cited by the Senator from Florida is only one will ever be indemnified? After we have quit fighting, how are we going to begin again, in cold blood, to renew a war which has almost wrecked the world?

Mr. NELSON and Mr. HITCHCOCK addressed the Chair.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. NELSON. It seems to me that this discussion is rather academic. Let us leave this matter to the commander in chief

of our armies over there, Marshal Foch. Let Germany, through her military authorities, propose to him to lay down her arms and ask for an armistice. In other words, let the Germans do as the Bulgarians have done—come there and say: "We will lay down our arms; we will evacuate this territory; and we will submit to the dictates of the allied Governments in the matter of peace." I am surprised at the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee assuming the attitude which he does this morning.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President——

Mr. POINDEXTER. I might add, Mr. President——

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I have not had an opportunity to assume any attitude.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Just a moment, and I will yield to the Senator.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I shall assume an attitude in a few minutes when the Senator from Washington shall have finished.

Mr. POINDEXTER. There ought to be only 1 and not 14 terms to an armistice; the question of the basis of peace should be considered at some time in the future and ought to be discussed after peace has been attained. The only condition of an armistice ought to be an allied victory; unconditional surrender of our enemies. Anything else would be approaching in a degree the betrayal of the great cause for which we are fighting, and would be action along the line of what the Bolsheviki of Russia perpetrated in a larger degree. Any surrender by the United States of the use of its influence to compromise in any way whatever this great cause, any action which might be taken during the vacation of the Senate or at any other time to grant an armistice before we are in control of Germany, would be of the same sort. I have no idea that the President will, but this is a matter which the country should be alert upon, and which it is peculiarly the duty of the Senate to keep in touch with.

The Senator from Nebraska—and I suppose this will be what he will discuss in a moment—seems to be laboring under some confusion of thought as to the exact process by which we are going to arrive, if we arrive at all, at the result stated by the President in his 14, and afterwards his 4, propositions of settlement of this war.

I am not discussing for the time being the merits or the demerits or the construction which one country or the other might put upon these propositions. I will say, in passing, that some of them, in my opinion, have but little to do with the war.

The President's proposition about an economic free-trade league certainly is not a principle which this Government is going to fight very long to maintain, and ought not to be considered in any way whatever as a necessary basis for concluding hostilities between Germany and the United States. But whatever it does mean, and whichever one of these various propositions is essential and wise as a condition upon which this great controversy shall be settled, the question which I am discussing is that the power to settle it shall not slip out of our hands through such loose reasoning, if I may be permitted to say so, as the Senator from Nebraska just now indulges in, when he seems to think because Germany promises that she will accept these propositions that we shall obtain them. The only way we are going to obtain them, and the only basis upon which we should hope to accomplish them, is by force of arms, which we now, happily, have within sight.

Mr. LODGE. Will the Senator from Washington yield for a question?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. LODGE. Does not the Senator from Washington think that the plain English of it is that an armistice now means the loss of the war?

Mr. POINDEXTER. Exactly. I do not think that that is too strong a statement. An armistice now, or even when Germany only evacuates her conquered territory, if I can put it in a few words, and in the very simplest form, would be to leave Germany in the same condition of power and strength that she was when she began the war.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. POINDEXTER. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Has the Senator any fear that anybody in this country favors an armistice now? Has the Senator any doubt about the fact that it will be rejected?

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, I know that some do favor it, on the sole and illusive condition that Germany evacuate allied country.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Who favors it?

Mr. POINDEXTER. Otherwise I would not have spoken.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Who favors it?

Mr. POINDEXTER. Well, there is a collection of editorials from various papers which are printed in the Washington Post of this morning, in which the Senator can read their various opinions; and I understand, if I understand anything at all, that the Senator from Nebraska——

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Senator has had an opportunity in the New York Times of this morning to read exactly what I favor; and, if the Senator reads that, he will see that I distinctly say that it is impossible and unthinkable.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Well, the Senator has just suggested by the question that he asked me that, if we insist upon Germany evacuating this territory, then we shall accomplish what the President of the United States has asked. I think that we shall not accomplish it until we compel not only the evacuation of conquered territory, but the evacuation of German Poland, the evacuation of German Alsace-Lorraine, the evacuation by Austria of the Italian Provinces in Austria, the evacuation by Austria of Bohemia and of the Serbian sections of Austria, and the establishment not only of autonomous governments in those countries, but of an independent nation, under such auspices as may be agreed upon by the allies, without consulting with Germany.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED. I want to call the Senator's attention to a news item which is contained in the noon edition of the Washington Times. Of course, I can not vouch for its accuracy, but it comes with the usual sanction of telegraphic reports which are printed in this newspaper, which is certainly one of good standing. It is as follows:

PARIS, *October 7—10.31 a. m.*

The Germans are burning villages and towns behind their lines along the whole front from Lille to Rheims. This is believed to presage a retirement in several sectors.

South of Cambrai the enemy is reported already to have fallen back 2 miles on a 7-mile front.

At least a score of places are in flames. Laon, the great communication center and base east of the St. Gobain massif, was set on fire yesterday. Sallaumines, east of Lens, and several villages southeast and west of Lille and between Douai and Somain are burning. The French found Nogent-L'Abbassee, Bein, and all the villages in the Suippe Valley in flames.

M. Civirieux, writing in the Matin, says: "The fighting continues and will continue to the end until there is a general German retreat. This retreat is announced by the burning of villages. Great evacuations seem near."

I am calling the Senator's attention to this simply to emphasize the fact that it appears, notwithstanding the Germans are asking for peace, that they are still making war like barbarians.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Yes; there is no doubt about that.

Mr. REED. But I have not any doubt, if the Senator from Washington will permit me this one remark, that our allies and that America will not grant any armistice until Germany desists from carrying on war in a manner more atrocious than ever did the Sioux Indians of North America or the savages of South Africa.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield to me, I will say that the Sioux Indians never violated a treaty and never gambled away their honor on "a scrap of paper."

Mr. REED. I said the Germans were worse than they were, and, however much worse the Senator wants to make it, he can fix it in that way.

Mr. NORRIS. If the Senator from Washington will permit me, I should like to read a letter, signed by Gen. Grant during the Civil War, which, it seems to me, would be very appropriate for the President to use in replying to the note of the Kaiser asking for an armistice. It was written at "Headquarters, Army in the Field, Camp near Donelson"; and is as follows:

FEBRUARY 16, 1862.

Gen. S. B. BUCKNER,
Confederate Army.

SIR: Yours of this date, proposing armistice and appointment of commissioners to settle terms of capitulation is just received. No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT,
Brigadier General.

Mr. POINDEXTER. That is very appropriate for the occasion, it seems to me.

The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] has asked me who advocated this proposition. I was going to say, from a recollection of reading it this morning, that the Washington Post advocated it, as illustrative of much other expression on the subject. I want to read what it says. I agree in the main with the editorial in which it is contained; the objects which it has in view are excellent; and I entirely agree with them; but, as I have attempted to explain before, the question which

I am raising is as to the means of accomplishment; in other words what guarantees are we going to have.

Now, here is what the Post says, after saying that there should be no peace until after unconditional surrender:

> When Germany really wants peace she will know how to get it—that is, by withdrawing her armies from every foot of allied soil in the west, in the Balkans, and in Russia.

That is the program that is advocated by this great newspaper and by many others, and which, it seems to me, was approved by the Senator from Nebraska.

Now, the status is, supposing Germany does everything that is proposed in that editorial, she will be occupying her own country; she will be occupying Poland; she will be occupying Italian Provinces in Austria; she will be occupying Alsace-Lorraine; and, to repeat what I said a moment ago, Belgium will not be indemnified, and the destruction which Germany has wrought in France will not in any way be made good.

How are we going to compel her to do these things after we declare an armistice? That is the question. We must receive adequate guarantees; and the only guarantee which is adequate to the situation that I know of is the occupation of German territory, pursuing the policy that Gen. Franchet d' Esperey, in Serbia, pursued, who out of hand, showing that he was a statesman as well as a soldier and a general, laid down for Bulgaria, that her army should be demobilized; that her territory should be occupied; and that her means of transportation should be put into the hands of the allies.

Then, when we are in that position, and not until then, the United States and her allies will be able to guarantee a just peace, the indemnification of Belgium, the righting of the wrongs of France, the abolishment of the spirit of ruthlessness from the world—then, and not until then, can a peace be made which will make it clear that those who sleep in France shall not have died in vain.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, the Senator from Washington [Mr. POINDEXTER] opened his address by inquiring what, if anything, the Committee on Foreign Relations would do to keep the Senate advised and to keep in touch with diplomatic conditions. I am not in a position to answer a question of that sort, and I think no member of the committee is in any such position.

We are confronted by a situation which is absolutely without any precedent. I can say this, however, that I believe the members of the committee coincide fully with the opinion of the Senator from Washington that the Senate of the United States, which is called upon to ratify any treaty that is made, should be advised in advance of important agreements and treaties that may come up for discussion, and I believe it will be.

The Senator from Washington says that what he calls a "proposition" has been made to grant an armistice to Germany and Austria and to suspend hostilities in order that peace terms may be discussed. I do not know of any responsible person in the United States who advances such a ridiculous proposition. The situation is that our enemies are in possession of large areas of France, Belgium, and Italy; they are in no condition to sue for peace. It would be ridiculous for enemies, under those conditions, to do so. On the other hand, they are in retreat, and we know that they are in no condition to offer or dictate terms of peace. Austria has made a certain proposition, the terms of which we do not as yet know exactly, and Germany has made a proposition. They have asked for a suspension of hostilities. It is unthinkable that such a request will be granted either by the United States or by any other power; it is unthinkable that a suspension of hostilities can even be considered while our enemies are in possession of the territories belonging to France, Belgium, and Italy. So I say, when the Senator declares there are in this country responsible individuals who are proposing the acceptance of these terms, that he is grossly in error.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, the Senator just said, if I can repeat his words, that no responsible person in this country proposes an armistice so long as the German armies are in possession of allied countries. From that position I infer he means that if Germany evacuates the allied countries these responsible persons in this country are driven to an armistice.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I request the Senator to withhold his inferences. I am here to state in a general way the view of the situation which I take.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I have a right to make a legitimate inference.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I decline to yield further on that point. The Senate has nothing to do with the initiation of peace proposals. We have nothing to do with the consideration of the granting of an armistice. That is a military matter. It belongs to the President. All we can do here in the Senate at this time can be done by anyone else in a responsible position. We can express our opinion, and I want to express mine in a few words, if the Senate will permit.

The President of the United States on the 8th of January appeared before the Congress and delivered an address in which he practically gave an answer to Germany, in which he laid down 14 conditions or principles which would be absolutely essential as a preliminary to the discussion of terms of peace or as a basis for the discussion of terms of peace. He elaborated those 14 propositions in his address on the 4th of July of this year, and again in his speech in New York on the 27th of September. Those declarations by the President have up to the present time stood as the declaration of the American people, and not only that, but they have been in general terms tacitly accepted by everyone of the nations associated with us in the present war.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

Mr. HITCHCOCK. We have a right to assume that they constitute in large degree the basis of any general terms of peace.

Mr. McCUMBER. I was just about to ask the Senator——

Mr. HITCHCOCK. In addition to this we recall that when Austria recently made application to the United States that we should enter into negotiations with her to ascertain the terms of peace the President replied in this brief and emphatic fashion:

> The Government of the United States feels that there is only one reply which it can make to the suggestion of the Imperial Austro-Hungarian Government. It has repeatedly and with entire candor stated the terms upon which the United States would consider peace and can and will entertain no proposal for a conference upon a matter concerning which it has made its position and purpose so plain.

We all know that this reply of the President was not only acclaimed by the whole country and by other nations of the world as an adequate and proper one, but that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Relations and Republican leader in the Senate of the United States, gave it his full and complete indorsement. If that is so, those terms so repeatedly stated have become the foundation stones for any possible peace.

Mr. LODGE. I gave my entire approval to the President's reply to the Austrian note. I did not cover anything else.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. And that reply referred only to these conditions as being the terms upon which the United States would consider peace.

Mr. LODGE. How does the Senator know they referred to those conditions?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It was specifically stated.

Mr. LODGE. Was it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. What could the President refer to if he did not refer to this address to Congress and to the great address in New York on the 27th of September?

Mr. LODGE. He did not say so. He said our purposes were plain.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. What he stated was "that the Government of the United States has repeatedly and with entire candor stated the terms upon which the United States would consider peace." He could not be any more specific. I say, therefore, not only has the United States accepted the statements of the President of January 8 and subsequently as the foundation stones for a peace settlement, but they have been at least tacitly accepted by all the nations of the world associated with us in this war.

Mr. McCUMBER. Will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield.

Mr. McCUMBER. The Senator has asserted a second time that they have been practically agreed upon by all the nations of the world. Is there one word of reparation—there is of restitution, but is there one word of reparation in those 14 articles, and have not both Lloyd-George and Clemenceau declared again and again that there must not only be restitution of the territory but that there must be reparation for the wrongs inflicted by Germany?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That is a very fair inquiry made by the Senator, who is also a member of this committee, and I will answer it.

The President nowhere says, nor have I said, that these are the complete terms. Others will, of course, be imposed. I myself am very anxious that another condition shall be imposed. While I do not believe that we as a Nation have any right to dictate to Germany what kind of a government she shall have, we can say with what government we will conclude terms of peace and what government we will not deal with.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I want to finish. We have the right to say whether or not we will enter into a contract with the Hohenzollern dynasty, and I believe we should add to what

the President has specifically set forth the further condition that we will not enter into any contract with Germany unless the representative of the German people are first vested with the power to make a contract with us, intrusted with the power of war and of peace heretofore held by a few war lords.

Mr. BORAH. Has the Senator the President's speech of September 27 before him?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; I have not.

Mr. BORAH. The Senator will find a paragraph in that speech which makes that statement very clearly. The President says there that we can not deal with the Government of Germany; that we do not speak the same language of agreement. There can not be any doubt about what that kind of language means. I will read it:

> We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the governments of the central empires, because we have dealt with them already and have seen them deal with other governments that they were parties to this struggle, at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest. They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We can not "come to terms" with them. They have made it impossible. The German people must by this time be fully aware that we can not accept the word of those who forced this war upon us. We do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language of agreement.

There can be no mistake about what the President said.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I am glad the Senator has quoted it into the RECORD at this time. It corresponds with the former statement of the President. I had, however, gathered the impression from reading the speech of the President in New York that he was more disposed at the present time to trust to a league of nations to enforce the terms of peace which might be agreed upon at the close of this war, and that he might not adhere to that earlier expressed opinion of his, that any contract made with Germany must be made by the representatives of the German people. The fact is that such a condition would really involve a change in the organic law of Germany. So, whether or not the President intended in the New York speech to adhere to that former statement of his, I certainly think it ought to be one of the conditions laid down by us which must be accepted by Germany. Indemnities must also, of course, be included.

Mr. President, I have said all that I care to say. As one member of the Committee on Foreign Relations I can assure the Senator from Washington that the committee will go as far as it properly can, not only to uphold the dignity and the importance of the Senate of the United States in its proper function in any consideration of peace terms, but from what I know of the membership of that committee I believe I can say that it will probably go as far as the Senator from Washington would feel justified in going in influencing the terms of peace. This thing, however, must be remembered. The Senate has no initiative. That is with the President. He is in control of our foreign negotiations and our foreign relations, and we must be content with the extent to which he deems it wise to take into his confidence Members of the Senate pending negotiations and before agreements are reached. I hope I have made it absolutely clear, especially to the Senator from Washington, that the thought of suspending hostilities as requested by Germany and Austria at this stage of affairs is absolutely abhorrent to every member of the committee and I believe to every Member of the Senate.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, there can be no doubt of the fact that the initiation of any negotiations for peace rests wholly in the hands of the President. As Commander in Chief he can make or agree to an armistice. I do not myself suppose that he has the slightest thought of agreeing to any armistice at this time. I can not imagine that he should, and I do not believe for one moment that he is even thinking of it.

Mr. President, I agree most cordially with the statement which the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] has just placed in the RECORD, made by the President with regard to negotiations with the existing German Government. We have no right to undertake to settle a form of government for any other Nation, but we have an absolute right to demand that when we negotiate in any way, great or small, we shall negotiate with somebody who does not regard treaties as scraps of paper. This the President himself has said over and over again, and I am in full accord with him.

Mr. President, it is not a question of the 14 points or the 4 points or 8 points or whatever they are. The question now is a very simple one. Germany has begun this great peace offensive, as it is called. I predicted it upon the 23d of August. It was an easy prediction to make and one certain of fulfillment. It comes. Every newspaper in the country blazes it in headlines and fills columns with the account of it. They treat it as if it were something that we ought to deal with seriously at this stage.

What is the German proposition? That they will have an armistice and then begin to discuss the principles laid down by the President; that they will undertake to discuss peace, while they leave their armies in full activity, burning the cities and towns of France and Belgium at this moment; while they hold vast tracts of Russia and are ready to go on at any moment; under these conditions they propose to us to enter into a long discussion of the basis of peace.

Mr. President, as I said when I interrupted the Senator from Washington, an armistice now could mean simply the loss of the war and all we fight for. As to this theory that the Senator from Washington has so strongly and I think wisely denounced, that if Germany will retire from the country she has conquered we will lay down our arms and begin to talk peace. It can not be too strongly condemned. Mr. President, where are you going to begin to draw the line on what Germany has conquered? In all the conquered territory she holds there is not one conquest more infamous than Frederick the Great's conquest of Silesia, when he tore it from Austria in utter disregard of solemn obligations which he had entered into, took it by surprise, and as Macaulay said after the Seven Years' War "all Europe in arms had failed to tear Silesia from that iron grasp." In all history there never was a worse case of armed robbery than that. Is it proposed to go back to that? I fancy not, although it would satisfy eternal justice if we did so.

Do we propose to go back to the war of 1870? Yes, most assuredly. The French people will never submit in my judgment to anything less than Alsace-Lorraine without condition, without deduction, and it is the interest of the entire world that we should take Lorraine from Germany forever, because there she got most of her iron, 21,000,000 tons last year, to make shells and munitions of war to slay our troops and those of the allies. France did not desert us. It is not conceivable that we should ever desert her.

We know what other things she has taken. When she retires into her own boundaries, not the boundaries of her robberies, and holds up her hands, then let her ask for an armistice.

The President of the United States, in the fulfillment of his high responsibilities, and I believe with the universal approbation of the American people, has recognized the Czecho-Slovaks as a belligerent nation. That is not territory conquered by Germany. It was conquered by Austria a good many centuries ago. We are committed to the Czecho-Slovaks. We have recognized them as a belligerent nation. Are we going to leave them under Austrian oppression and hang our heads forever after in shame for a breach of faith? I do not believe that is contemplated for one instant, either with the Czecho-Slovaks, or with Poland, or the Jugo-Slavs.

Mr. President, there is but one right course in my judgment, and one only, and that is to put Germany in such a position as to physically guarantee that she can not break out upon the world again, to put her in such a place that she can not again enter upon a war of world conquest. It does not matter what treaty she signs, put her behind the bars; treaties with Germany have no worth or meaning. She has inflicted more misery on an innocent world in four years than was ever dreamed of in the human imagination. I think myself that we should not only put her in a position where she never can break out upon the world again but make full reparation; for I firmly believe that there is such a thing in this world as retributive justice and punitive justice. She has not only violated all human laws, she has violated the higher laws which have been recognized by all nations since we have had any history.

Mr. President, the mischief is in any discussion of the principles upon which peace should be debated. When Germany has surrendered, when she holds up her hands and says: "We are beaten; what terms will you impose?" then the allies and the United States can tell her what terms they will impose. There is, there must be, no other end, no other solution.

As for this league of nations to enforce peace, it is caught up by Germany in order to divert attention. Can you imagine our going to work and forming a league to enforce peace on the world with Germany as one of the partners? There is one league to enforce peace now in existence, and that is the United States and the allies; and when they have beaten Germany, as she must be beaten, the world will have peace. Nobody else wants more war, and the world does not mean to have more war; but we must put Germany in such a position that she can make no more war. Until we get her in that position there is no use in talking about discussions of any kind whatever, or armistices, or anything of the sort. The true peace will come when American soldiers and French soldiers and British soldiers are on German soil, and hold military and strategic points of such advantage that Germany must surrender.

It is a long, hard path; I recognize it; but all the awful sacrifices we are making would be a crime if we did not bring back that result to the world, to make the world safe, not

merely for democracy, but safe against Germany, against such hideous atrocities as have been poured out on us in the last four years.

I am sorry that any newspaper pays attention to these propositions which all emanate from Germany and are as poisonous and insidious as the gases she uses in the field. They are all made to chill our blood, to hold us back as we are advancing to victory. They should be cast into the dust heap. The time for peace will come when we have won this war, and it will never come until we have won it and crushed Prussian militarism to the earth never to rise again.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I wish to say that I have not risen to take part in the discussion which has just been under way further than to add this word: In my judgment, the people of the United States desire and will demand a just, honorable, and enduring peace; a peace that will last, not a truce that will break, not a truce that will spawn future wars and future woes. We are in this war now, and—

> Should we wade no more,
> Returning would be worse than going o'er.

This may be a pretty good time to write the last chapter in the history of the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns, and seal that history with seven seals. I merely suggest this as a sort of peace insurance policy. Being in, this is the best time to teach Prussian militarism that he that liveth by the sword shall also perish by the sword; the best time to teach the Kaiser that his "place in the sun" is a spot in the sun, and to teach the world that such sun spots are plague spots, breeding wars, pestilence, and famine.

There may be a great deal of hard fighting and a great many heavy sacrifices ahead of us yet; but to prepare for the worst is sometimes the best way to prepare for the best.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I simply want to make two observations:

First, I think it unfortunate, as has been said, that we should treat this so-called peace offer at this time in a serious manner. I think the discussion of peace in the way it has been carried on is liable to affect seriously the present liberty loan. Thousands of people will hesitate about subscribing, believing that it will be found unnecessary to subscribe. I am inclined to think this proposition may have been put forward at this particular time with that as one of its objects, namely, to discourage this loan. As has been very properly suggested to me by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BENET] that point gains force when we understand in connection with it that the last German loan has failed; at least, so the press states. I think, therefore, that as far as the Senate can it ought to give the country the understanding that there is nothing in the propositions which have been made which warrants us for a single instant in relaxing our vigilance and our efforts.

Next I want to point out the deceptive character of the Austrian and German propositions. The casual reader would understand that the President had laid down certain demands of a specific and definite character which Austria and Germany now unconditionally accept. As a matter of fact, what the President laid down were certain principles of action declaring that a peace must embody those principles; but for the most part the President did not state specifically what should be worked out under these principles. Therefore an antagonist may say: "We accept the principles," and still the entire controversy may remain open. For instance, if the President had said: "This war shall never cease until the Teutonic powers shall agree to do justice by the world," and if the Teutonic powers were to say: "We accept your proposition," the question would arise, "What is doing justice by the world?" and we would have arrived at no point whatsoever.

Most of the propositions laid down by the President, as I have said, are propositions of principle; and it is easy enough for our antagonists to say, "We accept these principles." If they can get the war stopped we never will be able to get them to agree on how to interpret and apply the principles.

Let me give you one illustration of that. Now, let nobody understand that I am criticizing the President's method of statement. Indeed, when he stated the principles he did all that could be done, or practically all, at the time he stated them. But before we stop our fighting these principles ought to be reduced to concrete propositions of fact; and I illustrate now the thought I had in mind that I expressed a moment ago. I will read paragraph 9 for illustration:

> A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

A very proper principle; but if we stop the war before the lines are actually fixed, or our right to fix them conceded, then Germany or Austria might contend that the frontier line drawn according to that principle possibly should be where it is now, whereas Italy might think it ought to be far over into Austrian territory, and we would have arrived at nothing after all our controversy.

I cite simply that one clause, not because it is perhaps the best illustration, but because it serves to illustrate the fact that what the President laid down were general principles and not concrete demands, for the most part. Of course he does say our enemies must get out of certain countries; but when this "foxy" gentleman—I think I will use the slang term—who has just been put into the ministry of Austria for the purpose of camouflaging—I will use that much-abused term again—the house of Hapsburg and the house of Hohenzollern, attempting to appear as a sort of a democratic representative, although owing his appointment to these particular sources, steps before the world and says, "We are ready to accept the President's peace terms," he well knows that the President never undertook to write down specifically what the terms were, but simply to lay down certain principles of action. I think if that were understood in our country there would be less misunderstanding of this proposal that has been made. It would be estimated at its true value, which is that Austria wants time and that Germany wants time.

They are like a contestant whose breath is getting short, whose muscles are becoming weak, and who longs for the sound of the gong, so that he can get a little time to rest. They want the hand that is now closing on their throat to relax its iron grip. They want time to breathe. They want an opportunity for their armies to rehabilitate themselves, to bring up supplies, to reassure their people, to improve their fortifications, to get ready to stand on a new line, which perhaps will be somewhere near the German border, where, with a girdle of fortresses to sustain their earthworks, they can be prepared to withstand siege. They want also, as has been again wisely suggested by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BENET], who sits by me, to wait for winter to slow up our operations. It is inconceivable to me that any man at this time thinks for one minute of stopping that process of hammering, hammering, hammering, which Foch has been so well conducting.

Let me say one thing further that is as absolutely certain, I believe, as any statement that a human being can make at this time—that Germany will not consent to any peace we can now accept unless Germany knows she is whipped; and whenever Germany knows she is whipped, and we know she is whipped, then will be the time for the United States and her allies in this war to write the terms of peace; and when we write the terms of peace, it seems to me that they will be written along the line indicated by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], namely, that we will not trust to treaties with nations that tear treaties to pieces. We will not trust to guaranties that such nations may give us, but we will reduce them to a condition where they can not do any harm for a long time in the future, and then we will not need to trouble ourselves about agreements.

Mr. President, I think the President of the United States will know pretty well how to handle this matter; and I have every confidence that he will handle it so that the honor of America will be vindicated, the safety of the world will be assured, and every compact, express or implied, that we have with our allies will be redeemed. Germany will be taught that he who takes the sword shall perish by the sword, and that, if out of a Christian charity something less than that may be imposed, still the punishment will be rigorous enough so that while we live and those that come after us within the next century shall live there will be a historic example of the fact that the conquest of the world by military power is a thing that can never be accomplished.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I simply wanted to suggest to the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED], whose remarks I have been following very closely, that there is one thing the President has said that Germany apparently has not yet agreed upon. Her spokesmen may have verbally stated that they have agreed upon the 14 grounds of settlement; but the President of the United States has very definitely stated, as I remember, that it would be impossible to negotiate with Germany until the German people established a government that believed in honesty. That has not yet been done. The same government that brought about this war; that depended upon militarism; that violated treaties with Belgium and other weak people; that has laid down as its line of principle the law of necessity as against the law of honesty and right is still in existence; and there is not any question as to what position the President of the United States will take on this matter. He will still hold that the German people have not come within the requirements of negotiation by the establishment of an honest government.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I did not overlook that fact, although I did not mention it, because it had been mentioned, and the statement of the President of the 27th of September

had been read. I think, perhaps, the Senator from Nevada was out at the time.

Mr. PITTMAN. I was absent at the time.

Mr. REED. I did not mean in any way to do more in my statement than to supplement the statements that had already been made. I thank the Senator, however, for emphasizing, as he has very properly emphasized, the fact that the President, as I interpret his words, has clearly stated that he does not propose to make treaties with governments that break treaties.

Mr. PITTMAN. I intended to make no statement on the subject at all; and I thought it was a good opportunity, in the Senator's time, to inject that observation. I was not here when that phase of the matter was discussed.

Mr. LODGE. I referred to that; so did the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH].

Mr. PITTMAN. That would relieve me of the necessity of making any statement.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, I may be permitted, I hope, to say just a word or two in this connection. The whole discussion, as it seems to me, is premature. We are talking as if Germany were whipped; we are giving notice to the world, while we are trying to sell bonds, that we have no enemy before our soldiers in France. What the American people ought to understand, the one great lesson they ought to learn, is that we have just started on this great war to whip Germany to the point where she has got to come before we can deal with her at all. It seems to me the call should go forth from this body to the American people to subscribe to the new liberty loan, and oversubscribe for it.

It is not now time to talk of peace. Even when Germany shall have withdrawn her line, as the Senator well suggested she may do in any event when the winter sets in, she will have all her present resources left. When the Kaiser's offer that came through the Austrian official, who has been called "the new camoflеur," was made, the Kaiser is reported in the papers to have said that no peace except an honorable peace would he ever consent to on the part of Germany; yet we are here talking as if we had already whipped them. Let us admit that we have not done so, and will not do so before this time next year, and let our people know that they have got to put up their money and that they have got to make this fight. Let the call go forth from both branches of Congress.

There is nothing more calculated to weaken the people in their subscriptions to the liberty loan than the impression gained from reading the papers that Germany is already whipped. Such an impression will stop the liberty-loan effort in the midst of the preparations and campaign being made; and many a man will be a reluctant subscriber who would be a very willing one if he appreciated the actual danger that confronts us. Many hundred thousand soldiers are yet to be killed, and we had better quit talking about peace, or even the ultimate terms of peace, until, as the Senator from Massachusetts has frequently so well said, the Kaiser is absolutely on his knees listening to the terms that the allies shall dictate and which the German people will be compelled to accept.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I have been waiting some two hours until we could reach a place in the morning business when I could submit a concurrent resolution. I offer the resolution and ask the Secretary to read it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 24), as follows:

Whereas the Imperial German Government has signified a desire for an armistice and a discussion of peace terms on the basis of the declaration of the President contained in his address to the Congress on January 8, 1918, and subsequent addresses on the same subject; and

Whereas the Imperial German Government refused to consider the proposals contained in said address at the time it was made, but, on the contrary, defied this country and our allies, asserted its purpose to dominate all central Europe, and with such domination to control the destiny of the world and subject all other nations to its military power, and to force indemnities from its enemies; and

Whereas it has continued its war of conquest with unrelenting savagery and against all laws of honorable warfare, and has since said address caused the death of about 1,000,000 men and forced this country and our allies to a further sacrifice of life and property; and

Whereas by its refusal to accept those more than just terms it has forfeited its right to limit this country to the proposals stated in said address; and

Whereas since the date of that address its retiring armies have burned and destroyed all cities and villages evacuated by those armies; and

Whereas under the Constitution of the United States, upon Congress alone is devolved the duty of determining between peace and war: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the United States (the House of Representatives concurring) That there shall be no cessation of hostilities and no armistice until the Imperial German Government shall disband its armies and surrender its arms and munitions, together with its Navy, to the United States and her allies in this war;

That before any armistice shall be considered the Imperial German Government shall unreservedly consent to the principles of reparation declared as terms of peace by our allies;

That it will pay in damages the cost of rebuilding and reconstructing all the cities and villages destroyed by its armies, and restore to fertility the lands devastated by it;

That it will repay every dollar and the value of all property exacted from the people of any territory invaded by it;

That it will make proper compensation and allowance for every crime committed by its armies contrary to the laws of warfare and humanity, whether on land or sea;

That it will return to France Alsace and Lorraine and the indemnity exacted from her in 1870; and

That it further accepts all the additional conditions laid down by the President in his said address of January 8, 1918.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, those are terms that we can consider; those are the terms that we should exact. At a proper time I shall move that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and at some future period I shall take occasion to discuss it in the Senate.

The resolution contains nothing unjust to the German Empire. If they seek a just peace, it is for our allies and ourselves, after considering who caused this war, who inflicted these miseries upon the world, to determine what is just; and there can be no such thing as justice which leaves Germany free to perpetrate another such crime against the world. I would not exact punitive damages beyond the ability of the people to pay, but I would let the German people and the German nation understand that they must pay for the damages they have committed contrary to the rules of honorable warfare; that they shall return Alsace and Lorraine; that they shall return the billion dollars that they exacted from France; that they shall return the tribute that they have exacted from the people of Belgium and other conquered territories; that they shall pay for the property which they confiscated in those territories; that they shall pay for every ship sunk by submarines contrary to the rules of warfare; and when they have done that I think they will have learned the lesson that the world will not recognize the right of any nation to defy the rules of humanity.

I ask, Mr. President, that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, before the Senator yields the floor, I should like him to give his opinion about the question that I am about to ask him.

The fourth provision of the President's program for the world's peace, as laid down in his address to Congress on January 8, is as follows:

IV. Adequate guaranties given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

I wish to ask the Senator from North Dakota, in view of the requirement contained in his resolution as to disbandment and surrender of the German Army as a condition precedent to peace, whether he thinks that anything less than that will insure a world peace? Does the Senator think that the mere retirement of the German Army from the countries which it has conquered or which it now occupies would be any assurance of peace? Does he think, as long as the German Army exists in Germany, armed and munitioned as it is, that there is any assurance of the peace of the world?

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, it is very easy to answer that question. The resolution which I have introduced declares that the Germans shall surrender their armies, surrender their arms and munitions, surrender their navy. When they have disbanded that army and surrendered its arms, I think there will be little danger of our not being able to enforce the guaranty. Until they have done that I do not think we ought even to talk to them.

I think another reason why we should not speak with them upon the matter of any cessation of hostilities now lies in the remarks made by the German chancellor, which, to my mind, are insulting to the intelligence of the world, in which he declares that Germany is fighting only a defensive war for its own life. We all know who caused this war; we all know who started it; we all understand the ambitions of the Kaiser; and now are we to have them speak to us of peace, to declare as the basis of that peace that they are fighting a defensive warfare for the life of the German Empire, and invite us to meet them on equal grounds, as though we had committed the same kind of crimes that they have committed, and as though we were in any wise responsible for the war?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. And, Mr. President, if I may be permitted for expressing an opinion in relation to the German proposition for an armistice, in addition to the other difficulties and objections to it which have been cited by Senators, there is this: The proposition offered by Prince Maximilian does not express agreement to the terms of peace laid down by the President; it simply begs for an armistice for the purpose of entering upon a discussion of them. Of course, that is a mere trap to divide and separate the allies. When Germany agrees to these terms of peace and disbands her army, or when that army is conquered in the field, it will be time enough to consider terms of peace, in my opinion.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I was struck just now by a headline in the New York World. I read from that paper as follows:

PRINCE MAXIMILIAN'S NOTE ASKING WILSON FOR PEACE.

[Associated Press.]

AMSTERDAM, *October 6.*

The text of the note forwarded by the German chancellor, Prince Maximilian, to President Wilson through the Swiss Government follows.

Omitting the first two paragraphs, the concluding paragraph of the note reads as follows:

With a view to avoiding further bloodshed, the German Government requests the immediate conclusion of an armistice on land and water and in the air.

I presume the chancellor thought that, like Cyrano de Bergerac, in the last lines he would be strongest.

To hear that the German Government is concerned about bloodshed and to hear it thus hypocritically express a desire to avoid further bloodshed is the supreme sarcastic fling of the century—the grimmest bit of irony perpetrated in this war. The German Government sprang like a tiger at the throat of an unoffending and unsuspecting civilization, caused the rivers, the streets, and the fields of continental Europe to run red with innocent blood, then insults the intelligence of the world by pretending that it is very much concerned about the further shedding of blood!

Mr. President, the German junkers and German Kaiser are not only red-handed, but yellow-hearted; the moment the bayonets of the patriotic soldiers of the world have pricked their cowardly hides they yell for peace. A wide pathway of fire and blood from the Rhine to Berlin should be the course our Army should take; and when our armies have reached Berlin, in the city of Berlin, the German Government will be told what the peace terms will be.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President——

Mr. ASHURST. I will not yield at this moment; I will yield when I conclude.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. ASHURST. Some Senators say this discussion is of no value. This discussion is of value. We must assure the American people that we are not going to commit the sacrilege of dishonoring our dead soldiers by thinking of peace until our soldiers have entered Berlin. Anything other than complete and triumphant victory will not suffice. A glacial grinding and crashing down of German autocracy is the only thing that should be considered for a moment. I would deem it a sacriligious insult to the memory of our patriotic dead to think for a moment of doing other than striking the enemy all the harder for the insult offered by his proposing an armistice.

For what did we go into the war if not to make civilization safe? And it can not be made safe until the German junkers and the German Kaiser, the man with the withered soul, are absolutely annihilated. Revenge; no. Justice; yes! Have we the strength of heart and the sinew and the thew, and the soul to do justice? We have. Like the Czar of Bulgaria, who did not even have the attribute of personal courage, the Kaiser and his war lords have proven themselves to be what every tyrant and every autocrat in the history of the world has been, not only red-handed, but yellow-hearted.

We can do our country a service here, and I think the Senators who have spoken have done their country a service, by letting our constitutents, our countrymen, and the world know that we look with contempt, derision, and disdain upon any such notes as have come this morning through the public press asking for a cessation of hostilities to avoid any "further effusion of blood."

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

Mr. ASHURST. I yield to the Senator from Washington.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I did not intend to interrupt the Senator. I thought he had concluded his remarks.

Mr. ASHURST. I am glad to yield to the Senator.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I did not intend to interrupt the Senator, but what I have to say will occupy only a moment. I am delighted that the Senator has expressed the view that he has. I think it is a public service to make known the attitude of the Senate on this question.

But what I desired to say was rather in answer to the statement made by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK], who, in answering the query which I made of him, stated that he as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee would not consider for one moment the granting of an armistice to Germany at this time. There was nothing in the remark which I made which called forth that statement by the Senator from Nebraska or that suggested that anybody would consider for a moment the granting of an armistice at this time. What I discussed was an entirely different question, a question which has been considered by a great many people of importance in this country.

Mr. ASHURST. Whenever you hear anybody talking of an armistice or a premature peace, if the Senator listens closely he will detect a decided German accent in such fellow's voice.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I think there is a good deal of merit in that suggestion. The proposition is insidious and sinister that we should discuss an armistice now. But the Germans themselves when they see defeat staring them in the face say they will retire from the conquered territory on condition that they get an armistice. My proposition to the Senator from Nebraska is, What is his attitude on that question? We are all agreed upon the victorious conclusion of the war, and the question is, How are we going to bring it about? Whether we are going to compel it, as we now have the power to do, or whether, by submitting to an armistice, calling a halt to our military campaign, after all the sacrifices we have made, we will have to depend upon negotiations with Germany to determine whether or not there shall be a victorious conclusion to this tragedy.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, as I was saying when I yielded, I think all the speeches of this morning are of value to this country and they are of value to our soldiers. These proceedings here serve notice, as I said before, that the treaty-making branch of the Federal Congress of the United States have opinions on this subject, that the body of men who under our Constitution will ratify treaties of peace have decided opinions, and are not going to conceal what those opinions are. Moreover, the Chief Executive, whose burdens are very great, has a right to know that we are behind him in his wondrously successful conduct of this stupendous conflict which has engaged the energies of the patriotic people of nearly all the countries of the world. So these proceedings have not been without benefit, and the Senator from Washington [Mr. POINDEXTER], who initiated them this morning, did a public service. When cowardly vandals, who have attempted to murder you and burn your house over your head, outraged your wife and family, begin to plead for peace and express their regret, would you, an officer of justice, be content to let the vandals escape by mere expressions of regret? The German Kaiser and all his criminal junkers should be made to know that in this world there is a law of compensation which sooner or later does its perfect work; made to know that the thief robs himself; that the outrager and the pillager outrage and plunder themselves; and that behind every criminal kaiser in the universe silent but relentless stands with uplifted blade the shadow of retribution and vengeance. Not a single effort of any sort on land or sea or sky should be made to soften any blows we are aiming toward Germany. Let the business of justice move onward.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL THURSDAY.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BANKHEAD in the chair). The hour of 2 o'clock has arrived.

Mr. SMOOT. I move that when the Senate adjourns to-day it adjourn until Thursday at 12 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to.

DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE TALBOTT.

A message from the House of Representatives, by G. F. Turner, one of its clerks, communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. J. FRED. C. TALBOTT, late a Representative from the State of Maryland, and transmitted resolutions of the House thereon.

Mr. SMITH of Maryland. Mr. President, I ask that the resolutions just received from the House of Representatives be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolutions will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. J. FRED. C. TALBOTT, a Representative of the State of Maryland.

Resolved, That a committee of 16 Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions, and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. SMITH of Maryland. Mr. President, as a mark of respect to the distinguished Representative I send the following resolutions to the desk and ask for their adoption.

The resolutions (S. Res. 312) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. J. FRED. C. TALBOTT, late a Representative from the State of Maryland.

Resolved, That a committee of 12 Senators be appointed by the Vice President, to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives, to attend the funeral of the deceased.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

The VICE PRESIDENT, under the second resolution, appointed as the committee on the part of the Senate Mr. MARTIN

of Virginia, Mr. BANKHEAD, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. UNDERWOOD, Mr. SAULSBURY, Mr. SMITH of Maryland, Mr. LODGE, Mr. NELSON, Mr. PENROSE, Mr. DILLINGHAM, Mr. GERRY, and Mr. FRANCE.

Mr. SMITH of Maryland. Mr. President, at a later date I shall ask the Senate to set aside a day for further suitable testimonial in memory of the distinguished Member of the House of Representatives, whom I knew well and intimately for very many years, and for whom I had the highest regard and esteem. I move as a further mark of respect that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 8 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Thursday, October 10, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *October 7, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty and everliving God, whose goodness stands approved, so move upon the hearts of Thy children that the grief and sorrow which they have brought upon themselves may be removed; that the peace which all true men are praying for and compelled to fight for may come in liberty, justice, and righteousness; that the world may be free from the sin and iniquity which follow in the wake of war.

We stand before Thee, our Father, with bowed heads and sorrowing hearts because of the removal of a Member of this House, who from his early manhood lived to his convictions—a faithful and gallant soldier, fighting for what he believed to be right, and when the war was over, accepted as gallantly its conclusions and gave himself to restoring the Government of the United States, in his State and in the affairs of the Nation.

Wise in his counsels, clear in his judgments, he won the respect and favor of all who knew him.

Comfort us and his kinsfolk with the everlasting promises of the immortality of the soul.

Fare thee well old friend until we meet again, where wars and sorrows never enter; and everlasting praise be thine, in the name of Him who died that we might live. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday was read and approved.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted—

To Mr. WHEELER, to assist in the liberty-loan campaign.

To Mr. BANKHEAD, on account of sickness in his family.

To Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan (at the request of Mr. MAPES), on account of a death in the family.

To Mr. JONES of Texas, for two weeks, on account of the liberty-loan campaign.

CLOSING THE HOUSE GALLERIES.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, it is matter of common knowledge that an epidemic of alarming proportions is prevailing throughout the country. Out of an abundant precaution the Senate has ordered the galleries closed, which action, I understand, meets with the approval of the medical authorities, and so I ask unanimous consent that the Speaker be instructed to close the galleries of this House until further action shall be taken by the House.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

DEATH OF HON. J. FRED. C. TALBOTT.

Mr. COADY. Mr. Speaker, with a heart full of sorrow I rise to inform the House of the death of my colleague, Mr. TALBOTT, who died at his home in Lutherville, Baltimore County, Md., Saturday afternoon. With the exception of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SHERWOOD], Mr. TALBOTT's service here antedates that of any other Member of the House. He was serving his twelfth term. I think there are only three other Members of the House who have ever had longer service here. He was one of the three former Confederate soldiers on this side of the aisle. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, Mr. TALBOTT, died a martyr to his duty here. When the naval appropriation bill was before the House for its consideration he sat here day after day, although not a well man, giving the members of his committee the benefit of his advice, counsel, and good judgment. I urged him at that time to go away—I saw that he was failing rapidly—but he would not do it. He felt his duty was here and he stayed here. After the bill came back here from the Senate and was sent to conference he was appointed one of the conferees. I again urged him to go away, because I felt he was failing rapidly. He said to me then, "I will not go away; I shall stay here doing my duty until I sign that conference report if it is the last report I ever sign." It was the last report he signed.

At some future time, Mr. Speaker, I shall ask the House to set aside a day on which his colleagues may address the House on his life and character. He was a splendid man, bright, genial, with a happy disposition, and the best thing I can say of him is that I never heard him speak ill of any man, friend or foe. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolutions.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolutions.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 443.

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. J. FRED. C. TALBOTT, a Representative from the State of Maryland.

Resolved, That a committee of 26 Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions, and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The question was taken; and the resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

The SPEAKER announced the following committee on the part of the House: Mr. COADY, Mr. LINTHICUM, Mr. PRICE, Mr. MUDD, Mr. ZIHLMAN, Mr. PADGETT, Mr. ESTOPINAL, Mr. RIORDAN, Mr. HENSLEY, Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas, Mr. OLIVER of Alabama, Mr. VENABLE, Mr. VINSON, Mr. LITTLEPAGE, Mr. WILSON of Texas, Mr. KETTNER, Mr. BUTLER, Mr. BROWNING, Mr. FARR, Mr. BRITTEN, Mr. KELLEY of Michigan, Mr. PETERS, Mr. HICKS, Mr. MCARTHUR, Mr. CANNON, and Mr. GILLETT.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the additional resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect this House do now adjourn.

The question was taken, and the motion was agreed to.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 12 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, October 8, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII,

Mr. SCULLY introduced a resolution (H. Res. 442) providing for the appointment of a committee to investigate the causes and ascertain the losses sustained by the recent explosion at Morgan, N. J.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII,

Mr. SANDERS of Indiana introduced a bill (H. R. 13055) granting an increase of pension to John Trimble, which was referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. RAKER: Petition of R. E. Miller, president of the Owl Drug Co., protesting against tax on distilled spirits, etc.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Petition of May Blakely, secretary of Boston Grange, No. 1256, Boston, N. Y., protesting against the present postal laws and demanding their repeal; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, *October 8, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou, who hast made us and not we ourselves, our Father in heaven, who hast endowed us with wisdom and understanding; and bestowed upon us the power of choice; and who hast taught us by a long line of predecessors in history, sacred and profane, that Thy laws are inexorable. To obey them is wisdom, peace, happiness; to disobey them brings confusion, wars, desolation. Give us the courage, strength, and fortitude to do what we know to be right that the peace which passeth all understanding may be ours. In the name of the Lord Christ. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

ADJOURNMENT OVER.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, in compliance with the agreement, I move that the House do now adjourn, to meet again on Friday next at 12 o'clock noon.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois moves that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn until next Friday.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Of course, the gentleman is not making that as a privileged motion? He is making it in accordance with the agreement?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Yes.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAINEY].

The motion was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 4787. An act for the relief of Amherst W. Barber; and

S. 4964. An act for the payment of claims for loss of private property on account of the loss of firearms and ammunition taken by the United States troops during the labor strikes in the State of Colorado in 1914.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 3438) to prevent corrupt practices in the election of Senators, Representatives, or Delegates in Congress.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the bill (H. R. 12982) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a large dry dock and appurtenant lands.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. J. FRED. C. TALBOTT, late a Representative from the State of Maryland.

Resolved, That a committee of 12 Senators be appointed by the Vice President, to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives, to attend the funeral of the deceased.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect that the Senate do now adjourn.

And that under the second resolution the Vice President had appointed as the committee on the part of the Senate Mr. MARTIN of Virginia, Mr. BANKHEAD, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. UNDERWOOD, Mr. SAULSBURY, Mr. SMITH of Maryland, Mr. LODGE, Mr. NELSON, Mr. PENROSE, Mr. DILLINGHAM, Mr. GERRY, and Mr. FRANCE.

ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that this day they had presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bill:

H. R. 12429. An act to authorize the health officer of the District of Columbia to permit the disinterment of the bodies of Eliza Hill Bowles, Bernice Worthen Bowles, and Bessie Vivian Bowles.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. HARDY, by unanimous consent, was granted leave of absence on account of death in family.

ADJOURNMENT.

Accordingly, under its previous agreement, the House (at 12 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) adjourned until Friday next, October 11, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. SINNOTT, from the Committee on the Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 12579) to grant to citizens of Malheur County, Oreg., the right to cut timber in the State of Idaho for agricultural, mining, or other domestic purposes, and to remove such timber to Malheur County, Oreg., reported the same with an amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 826), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII,

Mr. RAKER introduced a bill (H. R. 13056) to grant to the citizens of Modoc County, Cal., the right to cut timber in the State of Nevada for agricultural, mining, and other domestic purposes, and to remove such timber to Modoc County, Cal., which was referred to the Committee on the Public Lands.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DOWELL: A bill (H. R. 13057) granting a pension to Oliver P. Jackson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13058) granting an increase of pension to Margaret A. Van Dyke; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *October 10, 1918.*

Rev. G. W. Popkins, of the city of Washington, delivered the following prayer:

Most gracious God, our Heavenly Father, we thank Thee that we can realize under the stress of one of the most trying periods in the country's history that Thou art our Father and our God. Accept of the gratitude of our hearts for the preservation of our lives, for health and strength. Let Thy blessings rest upon these Thy servants here. Endow them with wisdom from on high in these great crises in the history of our country. Guide and enlighten them by Thy Spirit. Bless our boys in foreign lands. May the spirit of God be around and about them. May they be protected from the pestilence that walketh in darkness. May their arms be crowned with victory for the glory and the honor of God and the attaining of a righteous peace to all the nations of the earth. We humbly ask it all in Jesus' name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday last was read and approved.

PEACE PROPOSALS OF CENTRAL POWERS.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I have a telegram which I shall read. It is addressed to me and the Washington delegation in Congress, and is as follows:

OCTOBER 10,

It is the opinion of these bodies and this community that Germany's latest peace proposals are promulgated in part for the purpose of hindering the fourth liberty loan, and, further, to delay operations in the hope of gaining time to strengthen their armies and prolong the war. Therefore we trust our Representatives in Congress will stand for unconditional surrender as our only terms of settlement with Germany.

This telegram comes from Sunnyside, Wash., and is signed by H. Lloyd Miller and W. J. Cloud, presidents of the local organizations of the National Council of Defense and the American Defense Society.

Mr. President, I have a telegram similar in sentiment from the American Defense Council of Sumner, Wash.; also one similar in sentiment from the Commercial Club of Kennewick, Wash.; also one similar in sentiment, but expressed in much more vigorous language, from the chairman of the American Defense Society, Chelan County, Wash.; another from the Puyallup National Loyal League, Washington.

Mr. President, all these telegrams come from small communities; most of them are communities of farmers, and I am satisfied they express the real sentiment and patriotic heart of the people of our State and of the Nation. They appeal to their Representatives in Congress to act. They apparently overlook the fact that in the matter of negotiations for peace, or an armistice, Congress has absolutely no authority; that it rests entirely with the President as the Chief Executive and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy.

I would say nothing that might be construed as a criticism of the President of the United States in connection with Germany's peace call. He may know some things that I do not know that led him to do what he did. I do desire to say that my own personal view as to the course to be followed is in hearty accord with the sentiment of these telegrams. I think it would be far better for us to tell Germany that she must throw herself upon our mercy than to attempt to negotiate at the same time we are carrying on war. This war must end, if it ends rightly, in Germany accepting such terms as the allied nations of democracy shall deem wise and just to impose. Anything short of this will be a German victory as well as a distinct shock to the aroused soul of the American people, who are fully set upon doing completely and well what they have sent millions of their sons to France to do.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, in line with the telegram which the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] read, I desire to say that I have received a telegram from the Connecticut Chamber of Commerce which reads as follows:

HARTFORD, CONN., *October 9, 1918.*

Hon. FRANK B. BRANDEGEE,
Washington, D. C.:

The Connecticut Chamber of Commerce approves the resolution passed unanimously by the Connecticut State Council of Defense on October 7, copy of which has been forwarded to the President, and desires no peace

with the Imperial German Government which is not preceded by unconditional surrender and is not followed by restoration and restitution.

CONNECTICUT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
By AUBREY I. MADDOCK, *Secretary.*

Mr. WARREN. I present three telegrams, one from the American Defense Association, of Buffalo; one from the One Hundred Per Cent American Club, of Lovell; and another from the One Hundred Per Cent Society, of Superior, all in the State of Wyoming, in relation to the late tender of Germany. The telegrams are very short, and I ask that they be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The telegrams are as follows:

BUFFALO, WYO., *October 9, 1918.*

Hon. FRANCIS E. WARREN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The 400 members of our chapter are unalterably opposed to considering any peace proposal except on terms of unconditional surrender. Confirmation by mail.

WILSON MCBRIDE, *President,*
R. W. WATKINS, *Secretary,*
American Defense Association.

LOVELL, WYO., *October 9, 1918.*

Hon. FRANCIS E. WARREN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

One Hundred Per Cent American Club, of Lovell, urge that your influence be exerted to the end that nothing but unconditional surrender of Germany and her allies be accepted as a satisfactory basis for peace.

ONE HUNDRED PER CENT CLUB,
By H. S. JOLLY, M. D. HARRIS, REN LEEDOM.

SUPERIOR, WYO., *October 9, 1918.*

Hon. FRANCIS E. WARREN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Consider latest German peace offer for purpose of hurting fourth liberty loan. Resolutions passed by this society urge rejection of German peace proposals and demand that peace be granted only on unconditional surrender of Germany and her allies.

ONE HUNDRED PER CENT SOCIETY, *Superior, Wyo.*

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President, among many telegrams and communications relating to the question of suspending hostilities I have received one letter that I really think worthy of a place in the RECORD, and I believe it would be no imposition on the time of the Senate if I asked the consent of the Senate for the Secretary to read it. It comes from one who had just been a participant in a memorial to nine soldier boys in one small community who have given their lives in the war. The letter is so near a classic that I should like to have consent for the Secretary to read it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

MARYSVILLE, OHIO, *October 8, 1918.*

Hon. WARREN G. HARDING,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Ever since Sunday morning I have been in close touch with the people of this county, and I find the sentiment among them not only unanimous but intensely earnest with reference to Germany's request for an armistice "to consider" the terms of peace.

Nothing would outrage more the feelings of a county that has sent out 600 boys to make a thorough "job" of the effort to break the power of the most iniquitous political power that has ever cursed the world than to accede to its cowardly whine for a cessation of hostilities at this stage of the game.

A beaten outlaw has no claim on the leniency of the person whom he has attacked. We sent our boys over to "lick" the Kaiser, not to coddle him. If we had our way we would make his abdication and that of the whole Hohenzollern family a sine qua non of any armistice or parley or negotiation with the German Nation with reference to peace.

You will readily understand, then, how your constituents in Union County would regard any concession made to the proposal of the German chancellor. It would be regarded as a monstrous injustice to summon our sons to sacrifice themselves in an effort to crush this accursed autocracy, and then when they have all but accomplished their mission to cry "hands off," and thus spare the monster and give it time to recover its breath and secure for itself a new lease of life.

Last Tuesday we held a memorial service in honor of nine brave boys who had given up their lives and whose bodies lie now somewhere in the sacred blood-bought soil of France. They went from us with our benediction. Germany broken, humbled, repentant would be some compensation for their death. Germany sitting at the council table and administering on what is left of the world from the ruin she has wrought would be an insult to every home in the country that has suffered bereavement in consequence of the President's call upon it to give its best and bravest to wage relentless war against the "evil thing" he professes so utterly to detest. Let the President know that those who commended him for keeping us so long out of the war will condemn him the most severely if he takes us out of it too soon. He has no right to make the demand upon us for so great a sacrifice unless he is prepared to persevere until the objects for which the sacrifice was demanded are fully attained. The unconditional surrender of the foe is the only condition that will be just to those brave boys whom we have sent to fight him. Let Germany forsake her idols and bring forth fruit meet unto repentance; then, and then only, can we be just to our martyred heroes in heeding her plea for peace.

Very respectfully, yours, J. L. DAVIES,
Pastor First Congregational Church.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, the letter just presented by the senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HARDING] was presented by him probably as expressing his own opinion or at least as having met his approval. I listened to it very carefully. It shows a total ignorance of even the text of the President's note, or, on the other hand, it shows a prejudice which is willing to give a misconstruction to it.

There have been some other telegrams introduced of a similar character this morning from the Republican side. I think it is nothing but fair, and not only fair but I think it is due the country at this time, to publish the note itself and to publish some of the criticisms bearing on the note from newspapers and people whose opinions would be worthy of some weight.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President——

Mr. PITTMAN. Excuse me; I wish to take only a few minutes to read the matter into the RECORD. I do not care to be interrupted. I want to read into the RECORD right here the President's note and Senator LODGE's criticism.

Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, Senator LODGE, the leader of the Republican Party in the United States Senate and, in fact, throughout the United States, and the senior member of the minority of the Foreign Relations Committee, has, in my opinion, I regret to say, publicly misconstrued the reply of the President of the United States, made through the Secretary of State, to the peace note of Prince Maximilian, the chancellor of the German Empire.

The construction given by the Senator from Massachusetts in a public interview can not possibly serve any good public purpose, but, on the contrary, may lead the German people and even some of our own citizens who are not familiar with the facts to believe that the President of the United States has receded from the positions taken by him in his message to Congress on January 8 and in his speech delivered in New York on the opening of the fourth liberty-loan campaign on the 27th day of September last, and that he is now unduly anxious to enter into peace negotiations with the Imperial German Government. The establishment of such a conviction in the minds of the German people and many of the citizens of the United States would deaden the enthusiasm and zeal of our people at home; would be detrimental to the spirit and vigor of our own armies and the armies of our allies in the field, and would tend to destroy the confidence of the world in the President of the United States, whose highest service is essential to a lasting and just peace.

This is what the Senator from Massachusetts said, in the interview referred to, published in the Washington Post of October 9:

I am keenly disappointed that the President should at this stage enter into a discussion with the Imperial German Government, as he has done in the note signed by Mr. Lansing. In his first and second paragraphs he asks for further information and invites further discussion. It is true that in the last paragraph he inquires whether Prince Maximilian of Baden represents merely the constituted authorities of the German Empire. Prince Maximilian is the chancellor of the German Empire, appointed by the Kaiser. I do not understand what he can possibly represent except the constituted authorities, which represent the German Empire and the German people, unless a revolution has occurred of which the world has as yet no knowledge. To us he stands as the representative of Germany and of the Kaiser.

Personally I adhere to the statement of the President made in his speech of September 27, in which he said:

"We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the Governments of the central empires, because we have dealt with them already and have seen them deal with other Governments that were parties to this struggle at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest * * *."

I feel very strongly that there should be no discussion with the German Government until they are ready and compelled to accept the terms we think it right to impose.

The President, answering the suggestion by the Imperial German Government of an armistice, says the good faith of this proposal rests on the consent of the central powers to withdraw their armies from invaded territory. Are they to withdraw unattacked from Belgium and northern France, burning and robbing and destroying as they go, to positions behind the Rhine, where they will have time and opportunity to refresh their armies and replenish their munitions? Alsace and Lorraine are not invaded territory.

I can not but feel a painful anxiety as to what effect this note will have upon the allies, upon our armies, upon our soldiers *who are fighting* and dying and conquering in order to "crush the thing" with which the President is opening a discussion.

At the same time Representative FESS, the leading Republican of the House of Representatives and chairman of the Republican congressional campaign committee, gives this interview:

The way has been opened for Germany to save herself by withdrawing her armies within her own border by agreement rather than by retreat under fire as she has been forced to do the past few weeks. Peace discussions with Germany before our armies are on her soil will not insure the future. The imperial chancellor, the appointee of the Kaiser and as such the spokesman of the Hohenzollern government, will doubtless enter the door now open to declare himself the voice of the German people. Who will be able to refute it?

I had hoped that no step would be taken to transfer the discussion from the field to the table. I do not believe the soldiers or the country will ever be satisfied with anything short of a conclusive peace, which can only be assured by such chastisement of Germany as will make a like sacrifice in the future impossible.

This is what the President of the United States said in his note to Prince Maximilian, which was criticized by Senator LODGE in his interview:

Before making reply to the request of the Imperial German Government, and in order that that reply shall be as candid and straightforward as the momentous interests involved require, the President of the United States deems it necessary to assure himself of the exact meaning of the note of the imperial chancellor. Does the imperial chan-

cellor mean that the Imperial German Government accepts the terms laid down by the President in his address to the Congress of the United States on the 8th of January last and in subsequent addresses and that its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon the practical details of their application?

The President feels bound to say with regard to the suggestion of an armistice that he would not feel at liberty to propose a cessation of arms to the governments with which the Government of the United States is associated against the central powers so long as the armies of those powers are upon their soil. The good faith of any discussion would manifestly depend upon the consent of the central powers immediately to withdraw their forces everywhere from invaded territory.

The President also feels that he is justified in asking whether the imperial chancellor is speaking merely for the constituted authorities of the Empire who have so far conducted the war. He deems the answers to these questions vital from every point of view.

In the first place, the President did not "enter into a discussion with the Imperial German Government." He expressly stated that he would not make reply until the note was made more definite in certain particulars. He further pointedly asked whether the Imperial German Government was ready to accept his terms for a lasting and just peace. If they answered in the affirmative and proceeded immediately to carry out all of those conditions, the war will be won as fully and completely as it is possible to win it. If the answer is in the negative or equivocal then the reply of the President will undoubtedly be only a repetition or a reference to the demands he has heretofore made. How or why the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts placed such a construction upon the President's reply I do not know. I do know, however, that the people of this country and the press of the United States do understand the President's message and do not concur with the Senator from Massachusetts in his misconstruction of it.

As an example of what the press of the country thinks of the President's note and the construction to be placed upon it, I will read comments from three of the largest and most influential newspapers in the United States.

The New York World says:

In dealing with the German peace offensive, President Wilson has employed the same tactics that Foch used in breaking the German military offensive—a counter offensive. * * * The President has simply shifted the issue back to Germany, and left the German Government to get out as best it can of the trap which was so carefully set for the United States and the allies.

The comment of the New York Tribune is as follows:

Our conclusion is that President Wilson's "inquiry" was intended by him not to express the state of mind in this country toward a faithless people * * * but to make it impossible for the Imperial German Government to capitalize its insincerity in terms of morale by saying to the German people, "We have asked in vain for peace on President Wilson's own conditions."

While the New York Sun, the most powerful Republican paper in the United States, gives this clear and forceful analysis of the note:

Perhaps no document has ever gone so swiftly to the heart of the question or disposed with such candid and yet subtle dialectic skill of a dangerously plausible trick of the enemy's diplomacy as the President's reply. * * * It is as incontrovertible in its majestic simplicity as the laws governing the movements of the heavenly bodies and as beautiful as the American flag.

The Associated Press has just reported that text of the President's note has reached the foreign offices of our allies, and that it meets their hearty approval.

Mr. President, this is not the first time that the Senator from Massachusetts has voiced his disapproval of the principles, policies, and methods pronounced by the President for the conduct of the war, the negotiation of peace, and the settlement of post-war conditions looking to a lasting and permanent peace.

In the President's address to Congress on January 8 he laid down definitely and specifically a program for world's peace embracing 14 distinct points. This program was agreed to and adopted by all of our allies and received the hearty approval of all of the neutral countries of the world. Yet it did not satisfy the senior Senator from Massachusetts. In the United States Senate on August 23 he laid down his own program for world's victory. This program differed from the program of the President in the readjustment of territory after the war. The spirit that the two programs breathe is as different as might is from justice. The program of the Senator from Massachusetts means war for victory, revenge, and advantage, while the program of the President means war for victory, justice, and everlasting peace.

The President in his New York speech on September 27 described the essential instrumentality of a lasting peace. He said:

If it be in deed and in truth the common object of the Governments associated against Germany and of the nations whom they govern, as I believe it to be, to achieve by the coming settlements a secure and lasting peace, it will be necessary that all who sit down at the peace table shall come ready and willing to pay the price, the only price, that will procure it; and ready and willing also to create in some virile fashion the only instrumentality by which it can be made certain that the agreements of the peace will be honored and fulfilled.

That price is impartial justice in every item of the settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed; and not only impartial justice but also the satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with. That indispensable instrumentality is a league of nations formed under covenants that will be efficacious. Without such an instrumentality, by which the peace of the world can be guaranteed, peace will rest in part upon the word of outlaws and only upon that word. For Germany will have to redeem her character, not by what happens at the peace table but by what follows:

Senator LODGE is not in accord with this program of the President, as is evidenced by his remarks in the United States Senate on October 7, when he said:

As for this league of nations to enforce peace, it is caught up by Germany in order to divert attention. Can you imagine our going to work and forming a league to enforce peace on the world with Germany as one of the partners? There is one league to enforce peace now in existence, and that is the United States and the allies; and when they have beaten Germany, as she must be beaten, the world will have peace.

Mr. President, the Senator from Massachusetts is not in accord with many of the principles, policies, and actions of the President of the United States in the conduct of this war looking to everlasting peace. He is not encouraging the warring powers to accept the program of the President, but, on the contrary, he is openly opposing such program. In his speech on the 7th day of October he made this statement:

Mr. President, it is not a question of the 14 points, or the 4 points, or 8 points, or whatever they are.

Mr. President, the opposition of any statesman of the Senator's great ability and learning to the efforts of the President of the United States, upon whom the duty devolves to successfully conduct this war and bring about a lasting peace, would have its effect, but when that statesman is the leader of the Republican Party in the United States Senate, and by virtue of that position in the United States, and the minority leader on the great Foreign Relations Committee, his opposition becomes a matter of grave concern to all of the people of our country. He can now obstruct the carrying out of the principles and policies of the President of the United States; but if he were the leader of a Republican majority in the United States Senate he could block the consummation of such world policies. It is true that the President of the United States is vested with the sole authority to direct the Army and Navy of the United States. He has the sole jurisdiction to conduct diplomatic and foreign negotiations. He is the chief executive officer of our Government, upon whom devolves the duty of formulating treaties and agreements with other governments; but these treaties do not become operative until ratified by the United States Senate. Would a Republican United States Senate, under the leadership of Senator LODGE, ratify treaties embracing the President's program, or would they substitute for it a program formulated by the senior Senator from Massachusetts?

This is but one of a hundred illustrations that might be made to prove the necessity of a united Government in time of war. This is the people's war, and it is to the interest of every citizen of the United States to see that the President of the United States is upheld in every particular in his great humane policies that have been approved and adopted by all of our allies. Our people do not distrust Woodrow Wilson. He is loved, trusted, and respected not only by all of the people of the United States, but by the suffering peoples of the governments of our allies. He is recognized throughout the world to-day as the predominant statesman of the age. I recognize and admire the statesmanship, learning, and loyalty of the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, but he has no right to be offended if I say to him that in the eyes of the world he does not compare with Woodrow Wilson. He will have his chance for a test in the coming election, because the contest is inevitable between the policies of Woodrow Wilson and the policies of Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE.

Mr. WILLIAMS and others addressed the Chair.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I am quite willing that this discussion should proceed at the proper time, but we have some business to transact; and so I ask for the regular order.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I hope that the Senator will not insist upon that. Three or four speeches were permitted to be made the last time the Senate met, criticizing the President of the United States.

Mr. THOMAS. I do not object to discussion of the subject. I may take part in it myself later on; but I think we should have a morning hour devoted to the transaction of morning business.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, Mr. President, I have made the request. I think it would have been fairer if the point had been made the other day, instead of making it to-day.

Mr. THOMAS. I do not wish to offend the Senator, and, if he desires to go on now, I will withdraw the request.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. There are several matters we ought to attend to. We can get through with them in a few minutes, and then this discussion will have the broadest opportunity in the entire Senate. There are two or three matters in the ordinary line of business that we ought to get through with during the morning hour. Then we shall have two or three hours for discussion of this subject. Would it not be just as agreeable to the Senator from Mississippi to speak a half hour later as now?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have no objection to any request of that sort. I was merely saying that it seemed to me it would have been more fair if the objection had been made the other day, instead of waiting to make it now; but that is all right.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Petitions and memorials are still in order.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. WARREN presented the petition of Mrs. Vivia A. B. Henderson, of Cheyenne, Wyo., Wyoming representative of the League of American Pen Women, praying for national prohibition as a war measure, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the American Defense Society of Rock Springs, Wyo., favoring the Americanization of foreigners through education, which were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. FLETCHER, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 4894) to amend the one hundred and eighteenth article of war and to authorize the calling into service of dismissed or discharged officers (Rept. No. 587); and

A bill (S. 4946) to permit organizations, units, and detachments of the military forces to sell kitchen by-products, waste, and garbage from their messes, and to permit the Government to be the purchaser thereof (Rept. No. 586).

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 4858) to provide method of settlement for materials, stores, and supplies transferred between different bureaus, departments, or agencies of the Government, and for other purposes, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 585) thereon.

Mr. ASHURST, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 282) amending the public-buildings act approved March 4, 1913, providing for the purchase of a site for a public building at Nogales, Ariz., reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 584) thereon.

Mr. OWEN, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, submitted a report (No. 588) accompanied by a joint resolution (S. J. Res. 179) authorizing national banks to subscribe to the united war-work campaign.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be placed on the calendar.

DAYLIGHT-SAVING LAW.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], the chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, is absent from the city, as is likewise the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE], the ranking member of the majority side of that committee. The chairman of the War Industries Board has submitted a request, supported by information, for the modification of the day-light saving law, so as to give it permanent effect. On behalf of the Committee on Interstate Commerce—who, I think it fair to say, has been polled, no formal meeting of the committee having been held, but the committee having been polled and a considerable majority of the members having subscribed to the report—I desire to submit a report on Senate bill 4982, being a bill to make permanent the daylight-saving law, and I ask for its immediate consideration.

The reason I make the request for immediate consideration of the bill is that the period contained in the daylight-saving act expires on the 27th day of October, being the last Sunday in the month of October; and the bill should be passed prior to that time, if it is to be passed at all, in order to avoid confusion and inconvenience.

The reason which, in Mr. Baruch's opinion, justifies this legislation, and that of the committee also in part, is that it will result in a very great saving of electric and other power, which at this time is necessary to the successful conduct of war industries. A report from the chief of the War Industries Board, power section, accompanies the report of the committee. It is several pages in length, and I would not at this time like to read the report in detail, unless some Member of the Senate desires to hear it read; but I will state that the report shows that there will be an enormous saving of power, and that almost every large city in the United States, where this is a vital question, has reported in favor of the legislation, the conclusion of the War Industries Board being that it will result in saving at least 250,000 kilowatt capacity of power.

I ask that a letter to the Senator from New York [Mr. CALDER] be printed in connection with the committee's report, and I ask for the present consideration of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be reported by title.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 4982) to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to save daylight and to provide standard time for the United States," approved March 19, 1918.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, in order to be consistent, I must object to the immediate consideration of the bill.

Mr. ROBINSON. I give notice that at the conclusion of morning business I shall ask for the consideration of the bill.

Mr. THOMAS. I shall not object to its consideration at that time.

FEDERAL BUILDING AT EATONTON, GA.

Mr. REED. On behalf of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, I report back the bill (H. R. 10609) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to exchange the present Federal building site at Eatonton, Ga., for another site on the public square in said city. I desire also to say, as did the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON], who preceded me, and I desire also to advise the Senate, that the committee was polled, and that there was no regular session of the committee; but it is a bill which involves only a matter of $5,000. I call the attention of the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] to the bill.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, the bill does not carry an appropriation. It is merely an authorization to the Secretary of the Treasury to exchange a post-office site in a little city in Georgia for another post-office site. The bill has been passed by the other House.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. THOMAS. I shall have to object to its consideration.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Then I shall ask for the consideration of the bill at the close of the morning hour. It involves merely a formal matter.

CLAIMS FOR DAMAGES TO PRIVATE PROPERTY.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, on behalf of the Committee on Military Affairs, I desire to make a favorable report on the bill (S. 4945) to amend an act entitled "An act to give indemnity for damages caused by American forces abroad," and I submit a report (No. 589) thereon.

I presume it is unnecessary to ask for the immediate consideration of the bill, although I intended to do so, but I give notice that I shall try to get action upon it at the close of the morning business. Gen. Pershing has just cabled the War Department asking for information relative to the status of the bill and setting forth the necessity for immediate action thereon. It is hoped that the bill may be speedily passed.

PROTECTION OF TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH SERVICE.

Mr. ROBINSON. I ask that the Committee on Interstate Commerce be discharged from the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 12976) providing for the protection of the users of the telephone and telegraph service, and the properties and funds belonging thereto, during Government operation and control, and that it be referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. The bill has already passed the House of Representatives. Jurisdiction of the matter, I think, properly lies in the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. May I inquire who introduced the bill?

Mr. ROBINSON. It is a House bill——

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Oh!

Mr. ROBINSON. And was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce. There accompanies this request a letter from the clerk of the committee in reference to the matter, which I ask may be printed in connection with the request.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. What committee did the bill come from in the House of Representatives?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me?

Mr. ROBINSON. I yield to the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. My understanding is that the bill originated in the Post Office Committee in the other House, and it seems to me that it is clearly within the jurisdiction of the Post Office Committee of the Senate.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. That may be so; I have not seen the bill, and I am not aware of its provisions.

Mr. ROBINSON. I can state to the Senator from Connecticut that the bill provides certain penalties for the misuse of the telegraphs and telephones, which are now under the control and operation of the Postmaster General.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. All I wanted to ascertain was whether, the bill having been referred by the Senate to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, that committee had requested that it be discharged from its further consideration?

Mr. ROBINSON. I assumed to speak for the chairman of the committee, as I said, in connection with another request which I submitted a few moments ago. The chairman of the committee is absent from the city, and my attention was called to the matter by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD], a member of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. I

was convinced that the jurisdiction under existing circumstances lies properly with the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the Committee on Interstate Commerce will be discharged from the further consideration of the bill, and it will be referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. REED:

A bill (S. 4983) for the relief of Northrop Banks (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 4984) granting an increase of pension to Ella R. Brown (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. REED (for Mr. LEWIS):

A bill (S. 4985) to provide surgical or medical treatment for the men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard who have been honorably discharged from the service; and

A bill (S. 4986) to authorize the Secretary of War to grant a perpetual easement for railroad right of way and a right of way for a public highway over and upon a portion of the military reservation of Fort Sheridan, in the State of Illinois; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. On my own account and also at the request of the National Educational Association and the Association of College Presidents of the United States I introduce a bill to create a department of education.

By Mr. SMITH of Georgia:

A bill (S. 4987) to create a department of education, to appropriate money for the conduct of said department, to appropriate money for Federal cooperation with the States in the encouragement and support of education, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 4988) amending those paragraphs relating to extension of time on desert-land entries contained in an act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year 1915 and for prior years, and for other purposes, approved March 4, 1915; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. SMOOT:

A bill (S. 4989) to increase the pensions of widows of men who served in the War with Mexico; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

A bill (S. 4990) to repeal a proviso of paragraph 3, section 1, of an act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917, and further amending said act; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

THE REVENUE.

Mr. GORE submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 12863) to provide revenue, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed.

TAX ON CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

Mr. THOMAS. I offer an amendment to the revenue bill, being House bill 12863, designed to levy an income tax upon political contributions to campaigns. I ask that the amendment be printed in the RECORD and lie on the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. THOMAS to House bill 12863:

At the end of Title II, page 53, add a new section, as follows:

"SEC. 261. That there shall be levied, assessed, collected, and paid in respect of the excess over the sum of $500 which any person, firm, or corporation shall give, advance, pay, expend, subscribe, or contribute in the aggregate during any taxable year for the purpose, directly or indirectly, of influencing the nomination or defeat of any candidate or candidates for nomination, or the election or defeat of any candidate or candidates for office, or the success or defeat of any proposition, to be voted upon at any primary election or general or special election at which candidates for Members of the House of Representatives or for United States Senator or presidential electors are to be nominated or elected, a tax equal to 100 per cent of such excess; such expenditures or contributions to include all sums in any form contributed, subscribed, advanced, expended, paid, or given to or for such candidate or candidates or to or for party or other political committees or campaign funds, but not to include expenditures made by such candidates or regular political committees or out of such campaign funds of moneys lawfully contributed to them.

"Every person required by this title to make a return shall state therein specifically each item and the date thereof of all gifts, advances, expenditures, subscriptions, payments, and contributions made, and to whom, for the purpose of influencing the result of such primary and general elections and of all taxes due thereon under the provisions of this section. And the treasurer or chairman of all State or congressional committees and of all political committees as defined in the act of Congress approved June 25, 1910, entitled 'An act providing for publicity of contributions made for the purpose of influencing elections at which Representatives in Congress are elected,' and of all associations or committees organized to promote or prevent the nomination or election of any candidate for Member of the House of Representatives or of the Senate of the Congress of the United States or for presidential elector or electors, shall, within 30 days after the election to be held therefor, file with the collector for the district where the headquarters or other office where such committee or association is located, a return stating specifically all sums of money received, from whom received, and the date thereof. Such return shall be verified by the chairman or treasurer of such committee or association."

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS—GEORGE H. HAUF.

On motion of Mr. PENROSE, it was

Ordered, That the papers accompanying the bill (S. 4238) granting a pension to George H. Hauf, Sixty-fifth Congress, be withdrawn from the files of the Senate, no adverse report having been made thereon.

CORINNE LOWE.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 313), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay, from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate, to Corinne Lowe, sister of James W. Lowe, late a carpenter in the employ of the United States Senate under the Sergeant at Arms, a sum equal to six months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

COMMITTEE SERVICE.

Mr. LODGE, at his own request, was relieved from further service as chairman of the Committee on Private Land Claims.

Mr. NELSON, at his own request, was relieved from further service as chairman of the Committee on Five Civilized Tribes of Indians.

On motion of Mr. WARREN, it was

Ordered, That the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] be assigned to the chairmanship of the Committee on Private Land Claims.

That the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] be assigned to the chairmanship of the Committee on Five Civilized Tribes of Indians.

ALIENS IN MILITARY SERVICE.

Mr. GORE and Mr. ROBINSON addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. GORE. I ask unanimous consent to call up House joint resolution 331, being calendar No. 533. I will state that it is a measure in which the State Department has expressed a great interest, and it is one that ought to be passed without delay.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be read by title.

The SECRETARY. A joint resolution (H. J. Res. 331) authorizing the readmission to the United States of certain aliens who have been conscripted or have volunteered for service with the military forces of the United States or cobelligerent forces.

Mr. LODGE. I think the joint resolution had better be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the joint resolution.

The Secretary read the joint resolution, as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 331) authorizing the readmission to the United States of certain aliens who have been conscripted or have volunteered for service with the military forces of the United States or cobelligerent forces.

Resolved, etc., That, notwithstanding the provisions of section 3 of the immigration act of February 5, 1917, excluding from the United States aliens who are likely to become a public charge, or who are physically defective, or who are contract laborers, or who have come in consequence of advertisements for labor printed, published, or distributed in a foreign country, or who are assisted by others to come, or whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another or by any corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign government, or who are stowaways, or who are illiterate, aliens lawfully resident in the United States when heretofore or hereafter enlisted or conscripted for the military or naval service of the United States, or of any one of the nations cobelligerent of the United States in the present war; and aliens lawfully resident in the United States who have enlisted for service with Czecho-Slovak, Polish, or other independent forces attached to the United States Army or to the army or navy of any one of the cobelligerents of the United States in the present war, who may during or within one year after the termination of the war apply for readmission to this country, after being honorably discharged or granted furlough abroad by the proper military or naval authorities, or after being rejected on final examination in connection with their enlistment or conscription shall, within two years after the termination of the war, be readmitted; and that any alien of either of the foregoing descriptions who would otherwise be excluded under said section of the immigration act on the ground that he is idiotic, imbecile, feeble-minded, epileptic, insane, or has had one or more attacks of insanity, or on the ground that he is afflicted with constitutional psychopathic inferiority, tuberculosis, a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, or mental defect, shall be readmitted if it is proved that the disability was acquired while the alien was serving in the military or naval forces of the United States or of any one of the nations cobelligerent of the United States in the present war or in an independent force of the kind hereinbefore described, if such alien returns to a port of the United States within two years after the termination of the war; and that the head tax provided in the immigration act of February 5, 1917, shall not be collected from aliens readmitted into the United States under the provisions of this resolution.

PEACE PROPOSALS OF CENTRAL POWERS.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, this joint resolution, I think, requires very careful consideration. With the purpose of it

I am in sympathy, but I hope Senators will look at it with some care, because it seems to me that it contains some provisions which, if not guarded, might lead to very serious abuse. It lays aside all the inhibitions of the immigration laws; it removes them from aliens with the worst physical defects if they have served in the army of any of our cobelligerents and if they acquired those defects in such army. It is somewhat difficult to prove some of those matters, and I should be glad if the Senator——

Mr. GORE. The Senator says that it applies——

Mr. LODGE. One moment, if the Senator will allow me.

Mr. GORE. Certainly.

Mr. LODGE. I desire merely to call attention to the joint resolution and to its importance; but in connection with the war, of which this bill now before us is an outgrowth, I desire, Mr. President, to say a few words, as a statement which I made in the press has been brought before the Senate, I think not in full, as nearly as I can judge from the reading, and has been criticized seriously by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN].

Mr. President, peace negotiations, however approached, are entirely different, from the constitutional point of view, from measures for the conduct of the war. In all measures relating to the conduct of the war the President is the Commander in Chief, and the measures necessary for the conduct of the war, although they may merit criticism or amendment, it has seemed to me my duty to support, even if I did not fully approve or even if I disagreed with them in some respects; but in the question of making peace the President's power is not that of the Commander in Chief; it is a power specifically and separately conferred upon him by the Constitution. The power of initiating and negotiating peace is wholly his, but a treaty can never become law, it can never find ratification, without the advice and the consent of the Senate. The responsibility of a Senator in dealing with any question of peace is as great in his sphere as that of the President in his. The manner of making a treaty of peace and the provisions it shall contain differ very widely from the question of the conduct of the war. I think, therefore, that the right of Senators to discuss anything that looks toward the negotiation of peace is unquestionable.

Mr. President, if I had taken the ground that the President was going too far in the direction of hostility to the German Government, that he was involving us in needless extension of the war; if I had been trying to hold him back from laying down terms of an extreme kind, I might justly be criticized for interfering with the progress of the war. I did the exact contrary. I expressed regret that he had not taken stronger ground, that he had not gone further, not that he went too far.

Mr. President, I did not hope that the President's reply to the note of the German chancellor would be a decisive reply, I counted upon its being so with absolute certainty. On the 27th of September in New York, about a fortnight ago, the President said:

> We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the governments of the central empires, because we have dealt with them already, and have seen them deal with other governments that were parties to this struggle, at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest. They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We can not "come to terms" with them. They have made it impossible. The German people must by this time be fully aware that we can not accept the word of those who forced this war upon us. We do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language of agreement.

That was the President's statement on the 27th of September. With that statement I am in the fullest accord; on that statement I am ready to stand. I am standing with the President on his statement of September 27 against the President in his note of queries and inquiries of October 8. I think, with submission and in all respect, that I have a legitimate right to a preference for one statement of the President over another by the President. Believing, as I did firmly, that the reply to Prince Maximilian would be in that same high tone as the New York declaration which I have quoted, I was, I confess, astonished when I read not a reply but three queries, to use Mr. Lansing's definition of the note.

When you ask questions seriously of another nation, you enter into debate, because it is to be supposed that you expect and will await an answer to them. The one great source of regret to me was that the President should ask questions of the German Empire through its chancellor after that vivid description which he gave of Germany in New York. His last question is whether Prince Maximilian represents merely the constituted authorities of the empire. I can not conceive what the chancellor of the German Empire represents except the hereditary and the elective bodies of the State. He can represent nothing but the constituted authorities. He is appointed by the Kaiser under the constitution, of the Reichstag of the empire, as I understand. He is the representative of the executive in the Reichstag, and those constituted authorities represent the German people until the German people see fit to lay them aside. He might easily reply by asking whether Mr. Lansing, who signed the note, represented merely our constituted authorities or whether he was elected by the people. He certainly is, and beyond all doubt, the chancellor of the German Empire, and the President asked him two questions as to what he meant and as to his attitude in regard to 14 points, which, as the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] pointed out the other day, are declarations of principles, not terms of peace in any sense. They are broad principles, and the President asks the chancellor whether he is to understand that Germany accepts the principles and then will agree to discuss the details. The details, Mr. President, are the vital points involved. But these points as to the note, Mr. President, are incidental.

That which disappointed me, that which I regretted in the note, because, as I said, what I was looking for was an answer on the basis of the New York speech, was the fact that the President asked questions which invited discussion. What possible value is it to put Germany in a dilemma? As to the shifting of the onus of the war, Mr. President, if we are to end this war as it ought to be ended, as we every one of us on both sides of this Chamber desire it should be ended, are we not ready to bear the onus of carrying it on until the great end is reached? If we are not ready to take that onus, then we should not have begun with the still greater onus or burden of entering the war at all.

The shifting of responsibility for the continuance of the war by a debate in diplomatic notes does not seem to me at this time to have much value. The note containing the President's queries, as the Secretary of State describes them, has given rise to questions of interpretation from one end of this country to the other. The note is being interpreted and explained everywhere. Was it a crime for me to wish that he should have sent an answer which needed no explanation and no interpretation? He sent a reply on September 16 to the Austria-Hungarian note. I think that by the accident of recognition I was the first in the Senate to give that note the most cordial approbation of which I was capable. Nobody undertook to interpret that note. Nobody found it necessary to explain that note. The mere fact that this note requires an explanation and defense is my criticism. I did not want a note that needed either explanation or defense. I wished it to go out as the note to Austria-Hungary went out—with general acclaim, a note that he who ran might read, that the whole people with one voice said we are behind, we are not puzzled about it, we know just exactly what it means, it needs no defense or explanation, it is the voice of the American people denying the attempt at peace made by Austria-Hungary.

Mr. President, I do not desire to go into the details of the note. I do not wish to examine all the possibilities which arise under it. The first query is as to whether Germany means to accept the 14 points, and also the language is what has been said "in subsequent addresses." Therefore it is an inquiry whether Germany will accept the 14 points and also the 4 points which came in another message and these great statements made subsequently at New York and at Baltimore. You all recall the latter. Let me read it to you again:

> There is, therefore, but one response possible from us: Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

That is included in the subsequent addresses. That is the sentence of which the whole people were proud and which roused them up from one end of the land to the other. That is one of the propositions for which I stand.

The President asks the German chancellor if they accept his 14 points and his subsequent addresses. What they will say I do not know, and I do not care, but he gives them a large opportunity to say a great many things and discuss a great many points for a very long time. He asks them if they accept those principles and are prepared then to proceed. If they do, then the only open question is the agreement on details. Mr. President, as I have already said, those details are the very life of the whole question. They are vital. They go to the very heart of things. Everything is involved in those details.

To take one instance, the President laid down a general principle as to Alsace-Lorraine. He said the great wrong of 1870 and 1871 must be righted. The detail is, How shall it be righted, and what is to be called righting it? France thinks that that wrong can be righted in only one way, and that is by the return of the Provinces then rent from her by German armies, without condition, without deduction, without any German arrangement about vote and autonomy and a buffer state, that they shall simply come back to France. That is one of the details. I hope

I shall not be thought to be saying anything that "grazes treason" when I say that the view of France is my view. I think Alsace and Lorraine ought to go back to France absolutely and unconditionally. That is one of the details which is to be considered. I believe profoundly that Italia Irredenta should go to Italy, who has served and sacrificed greatly, without condition or restriction. Is that a detail to be settled by notes?

Here is another thing which does not occur in the 14 points or in the 4 points. By a great act of the President, one with which I was in the most hearty sympathy, a great irrevocable act, he recognized the Czecho-Slovaks as a belligerent nation. They are not only an integral part of Austria, but Bohemia is the most valuable Province in the Austrian Empire. Bohemia is the western Province. Then comes Moravia; then what they call Slovakia, which is where the Slovaks live, on the northern slope of the Carpathians. The Slovaks are a peasant people, and the lands are in the hands of the most oppressive landlords in the world, the Hungarian Magyars. That is the territory lying there in the heart of Europe, and those are the people, the wonderful people, whose exploits in Russia and Siberia the world has been admiring, and that the President, joining with Italy and France and England has recognized as a belligerent nation. There is one of the details not mentioned in the 14 points. Does anyone imagine that Austria is going to sit at a table and bargain away those Provinces? Those Provinces will receive the independence which we have promised them when the recognition we have given them is fulfilled. They will receive it when Austria-Hungary and Germany are in a position where we shall impose our own terms upon them and not one minute before.

Every encouragement has been held out to the Poles and to the Jugo-Slavs. I was thankful to the President when I saw the tone he took both in his address to the Poles and still more in the 14 points. There must be a large Poland, taking all those regions rent from the Polish people by the partitions, one of the most infamous crimes in history. There must be a large Poland, a strong Poland, a Poland with access to the sea by the River Vistula, which flows entirely among the Polish people until it reaches Dantzig. It is for our interest, the interest of the world, to have that great barrier State built up between Russia and Germany, to aid and protect Russia and help to bar Germany on the east, for the people who, under John Sobieski, saved Europe from the oncoming Turk, have not lost their capacity for brilliant fighting or for devoted patriotism. Then there are the Jugo-Slavs. They have been encouraged, I am happy to say, by the President. They are headed by the Serbs, whose treatment has been worse, if anything, than that of Belgium, who are fighting now with undiminished gallantry and breaking through the enemy lines into Bulgaria. Those Jugo-Slavs we must protect.

Let me read another extract from the address of the President at Baltimore. He says:

Their purpose—

Referring to Germany—

Their purpose is undoubtedly to make all the Slavic peoples, all the free and ambitious nations of the Baltic Peninsula, all the lands that Turkey has dominated and misruled, subject to their will and ambition, and build upon that dominion an empire of force upon which they fancy that they can then erect an empire of gain and commercial supremacy—an empire as hostile to the Americas as to the Europe which it will overawe—an empire which will ultimately master Persia, India, and the peoples of the Far East.

He sees plainly, and never has it been better stated, the absolutely vital importance of the independence of the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs. That is another of the vital details. Without Constantinople and without the independence of those nations our war would be only half won.

Do you think that Germany is going to yield those things on an exchange of notes? They will yield them as they must yield them, as they shall yield them when they are beaten and not before.

Mr. President, in the principles with many of which I find no fault, in the principles laid down of the 14 points or 4 points, I find nothing that is satisfactory to me at least about reparation. The German Armies are falling back to-day. In Flanders and northern France they are burning every town, every harmless village as they go, without any regard to its military value. They have taken people into slavery, and as they become hopelessly diseased they send them back to be fed until their death in France. I am not going to rehearse the crimes of the Germans, but that is what they are doing now as they retreat. As they fall back in Flanders I am filled with fear that they will blow up and destroy Bruges and Ghent, not in any military process, but just out of pure savagery, two of the most beautiful cities in Europe. Though I think we ought to have a large reparation for some of our merchant ships and for our passengers who went down on the *Lusitania*, the world ought to have, must have, far larger reparation. There is such a thing as retributive justice; there is such a thing as punitive justice. If any criminals have ever walked this earth deserving retributive justice and punitive justice it is the empire of Germany, and in any peace in which I have even the smallest share I want to see something done for reparation for all those crimes which are being committed. Am I to be accused of treason because I demand that? It is not mentioned even in the details.

Now, Mr. President, let me read just one little extract that I clipped from the papers this morning:

GOMPERS CABLES GERMANY TRIES TO DIVIDE ALLIES.

In a cablegram from Rome, Italy, received yesterday at American Federation of Labor headquarters from Samuel Gompers, who is with the American labor mission in Rome, Mr. Gompers has this to say of the German peace offer:

"The offer of an armistice is nothing more than another maneuver of Germany and the central powers to weaken the solidarity of the allied democracies and their will to fight for the destruction of imperialism, militarism and autocracy. The safety of labor and of the people generally demand from the central powers their unconditional surrender or that their military menace be crushed. This is the judgment of not only the American labor mission now in Rome, but of all with whom we have come in contact."

Mr. President, all I say, is what Mr. Gompers says, and they will be very slow, let me tell you—anybody, certainly on the Democratic side, will hesitate long before accusing Mr. Gompers of hostility to the President. I say nothing more than what he said. I believe that Mr. Gompers correctly interprets the will and the wishes of the American people.

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN], as he always does, undertook to give a party complexion to this subject. Mr. President, if there was any party advantage in it, and I do not suppose there is the slightest, I say to you with all the solemnity that I can bring that I would have gladly forfeited any advantage to myself, any advantage to my party, which could possibly be dreamed of if the President would only have written a note like the Baltimore speech, like the reply to Austria-Hungary, and not a series of queries and had given neither me nor anybody else anything to criticize or find fault with.

Party advantage is as nothing in what we are dealing with now. Upon the question of discussion with Germany hangs the result of the war. I could not help being disturbed for fear that the queries might be misinterpreted, that they might be misunderstood. I hope and trust that I am utterly wrong, but I could not but feel anxiety lest the thought, conveyed to the popular mind that we are on the eve of peace negotiations might affect the liberty loan among people who did not look closely into language. I hope and trust that it will do nothing of the kind. No liberty loan was ever more necessary than the one we are now making, and a failure of it would be equivalent almost to the loss of a battle. But when we begin to talk about peace and ask Germany what she thinks about certain things the average man is confused and misled and imagines peace to be upon the threshold.

Mr. President, my view is a simple one. Nelson once said that the best diplomatists in Europe were his hundred-gun ships. Mr. President, the best diplomatists in Europe at this moment are the armies of France and Italy, of England and the United States. The best men to carry on discussion with Germany are Haig and Pershing and Diaz, and over all the great commander, Marshal Foch. Those are the negotiators with whom I would leave the question of peace. They will win it. They will win it on German soil. They will bring back the peace which the whole American people desire, for they desire, I believe, unconditional surrender, and unconditional surrenders are not obtained by clever discussion and exchanges of notes. They are won by armies in the field.

When the war ends, Mr. President, is wholly secondary to how it ends. The war might end in such a way as to make us feel like criminals, because we had been responsible for the sacrifice of the young manhood of America with no result. The result must justify the sacrifices. Nothing else is possible and nothing will justify those sacrifices but putting Germany where she can not again break out like an armed lunatic upon the world. That will do more than any league of peace. Are we going into a league to enforce peace with Germany as a partner? The way to compel the peace of the world is to break Germany down and make her accept our terms.

Mr. President, as a Republican—and I know I speak for all about me—let me say that we have given, we shall continue to give, a full and whole-hearted support to the President as the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. We give it to him because he is there by the election of the people and our belief is in laws, not men. We have been brought up on the old doctrine that this is a Government of laws and not of men, and as to the man placed at our head at this great hour, not only as President, but as Commander in Chief, the law has placed him there and he has our support, not for what he can give us, not

for what he can do for us, but because he is the head of the Nation under the law and the Constitution of the United States, the head of the Nation in time of war.

Mr. President, the highest allegiance is that which we bear on both sides of this Chamber equally. The highest allegiance is to the country and the cause. To that all else must yield and to that all else will yield in the end. The Republican Party stands for unconditional surrender and complete victory, just as Grant stood. My own belief is that the American people mean to have an unconditional surrender. They mean to have a dictated and not a negotiated peace. That is my own belief here, deeper in my heart than any belief I have ever had. I may be wrong, but I so believe with all my heart and soul, and I shall stand for my belief in this great hour of my country's fate, in public or in private, in any field at any time.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Will the Senator from Minnesota yield to me for less than five minutes?

Mr. KELLOGG. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I only wish to ask in connection with this debate to have printed the President's peace terms announced January 8, February 11, July 4, and September 27 and the correspondence with the Governments of Austria-Hungary and Germany. I wish the people when reading the Senate discussion to have before them in the RECORD these statements by the President. Let me add the further statement that while agreeing to the main results announced by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] which we must accomplish, I also believe that the President's last letter was wise and will be fraught with real service to the country.

Mr. KELLOGG. I have no objection to having the matter printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

PRESIDENT'S PEACE TERMS ANNOUNCED JANUARY 8, FEBRUARY 11, JULY 4, AND SEPTEMBER 27.

President Wilson's program of world peace, stated in 14 terms in his address to Congress last January 8, and which the German chancellor now is asked to say whether he accepts without qualification, before the President replies to the latest peace proposal, is as follows:

1. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

3. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

4. Adequate guaranties given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

5. A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

6. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing, and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of their needs as distinguished from their own interests and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

7. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they themselves have set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

8. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly 50 years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

11. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guaranties of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty. But the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development. And the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

13. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

14. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

TERMS GIVEN IN FEBRUARY.

In an address to Congress on February 11, 1918, President Wilson "enumerated the principles which must be applied to any further exchanges of view between governments," as follows:

1. That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

2. That peoples and Provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that

3. Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival States; and

4. That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world.

MOUNT VERNON SPEECH.

On July 4, 1918, in an address at Mount Vernon, President Wilson said:

These are the ends for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting and which must be conceded them before there can be peace:

1. The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it can not be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence.

2. The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

3. The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct toward each other by the same principles of honor and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern states in their relations with one another; to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracies hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and a mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right.

4. The establishment of an organization of peace, which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international readjustment that can not be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned.

ADDRESS IN SEPTEMBER.

On September 27 President Wilson, addressing Congress, said:

"These, then, are some of the particulars, and I state them with the greater confidence because I can state them authoritatively, as representing this Government's interpretation of its own duty with regard to peace:

"1. The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard, but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned.

"2. No special or separate interest of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interests of all.

"3. There can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the league of nations.

"4. And more specifically, there can be no special, selfish, economic combinations within the league and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the league of nations itself as a means of discipline and control.

"5. All international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world.

REPLY TO AUSTRIA'S PLEA.

The following is President Wilson's answer to the first peace proposal of Austria-Hungary, sent on September 16, 1918:

"The Government of the United States feels that there is only one reply which it can make to the suggestion of the Imperial Austro-Hungarian Government. It has repeatedly and with entire candor stated the terms upon which the United States would consider peace and can and will entertain no proposal for a conference upon a matter concerning which it has made its position and purpose so plain."

—

TEXT OF GERMANY'S PEACE PROPOSAL TO UNITED STATES.

The German Government requests the President of the United States of America to take steps for the restoration of peace, to notify all belligerents of this request, and to invite them to delegate plenipotentiaries for the purpose of taking up negotiations. The German Government accepts, as a basis for the peace negotiations, the program laid down by the President of the United States in his message to Congress of January 8, 1918, and in his subsequent pronouncements, particularly in his address of September 27, 1918. In order to avoid further bloodshed the German Government requests to bring about the immediate conclusion of a general armistice on land, on water, and in the air.

MAX, PRINCE OF BADEN,
Imperial Chancellor.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 9, 1918.]

TEXT OF REPLY OF UNITED STATES TO GERMANY'S PEACE OVERTURES.

Secretary Lansing yesterday handed the following note to Frederick Oederlin, chargé d'affaires of Switzerland, ad interim:

"I have the honor to acknowledge, on behalf of the President, your note of October 6, inclosing a communication from the German Government to the President; and I am instructed by the President to request you to make the following communication to the imperial German chancellor:

"'Before making reply to the request of the Imperial German Government, and in order that that reply shall be as candid and straightforward as the momentous interests involved require, the President of the United States deems it necessary to assure himself of the exact meaning of the note of the imperial chancellor. Does the imperial chancellor mean that the Imperial German Government accepts the terms laid down by the President in his address to the Congress of the United States on the 8th of January last and in subsequent addresses and that its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon the practical details of their application?

"'The President feels bound to say with regard to the suggestion of an armistice that he would not feel at liberty to propose a cessation of arms to the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated against the central powers so long as the armies of those powers are upon their soil. The good faith of any discussion would manifestly depend upon the consent of the central powers immediately to withdraw their forces everywhere from invaded territory.

"'The President also feels that he is justified in asking whether the imperial chancellor is speaking merely for the constituted authorities of the Empire who have so far conducted the war. He deems the answers to these questions vital from every point of view.'"

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, I listened with the closest attention to the eloquent and inspiring statement of his position upon this great question by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], who has just taken his seat. In that connection, I want to mark the speech of the Senator from Massachusetts just delivered, to which the Senate, I noticed, paid the closest attention, by referring to the statement made a few minutes ago upon this floor by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN], to the effect that the policies and views of the Senator from Massachusetts upon this question differ greatly from the policies and views of the President of the United States. We have just heard the views of the Senator from Massachusetts as to the way the war with Germany should end. He is in favor of an unqualified victory; he is in favor of subduing the military power of Germany and of imposing upon her a peace and a reestablishment of conditions after the war to be dictated by the allies.

The Senator from Nevada says that is not the position of the President of the United States. As for me, Mr. President, if that is true, I take my stand upon this question by the side of the Senator from Massachusetts and not by the side of the President of the United States on the conditions of peace, if the view of the Senator from Nevada as to the difference between them is correct, because I indorse, and I believe that the overwhelming sentiment of this country approves, the position just taken by the Senator from Massachusetts.

That further recalls the remarks that were made by the Senator from Nevada. He said that the Senator from Massachusetts, in a statement which he had given to the newspapers, had publicly misconstrued the reply of the President to the offer of the German chancellor, and I listened with rapt attention to the entire carefully prepared statement of the Senator from Nevada for a demonstration of the proposition that the Senator from Massachusetts had misconstrued the reply of the President; and I think I do no injustice to the Senator from Nevada in saying that he did not show, nor did he even attempt to show, in any respect whatever any injustice that was done to the President in the statement of the Senator from Massachusetts in any misunderstanding of the President's note delivered through the Secretary of State, or any misconstruction of it.

On the other hand, the Senator from Nevada, as he pursued his thesis, seemed to forget the proposition with which he started out; and the burden of his argument consisted entirely in this—not that the Senator from Massachusetts had misconstrued the President's reply but that the Senator from Massachusetts differed with the President of the United States upon this proposition. Of course, it is not necessary for the Senator from Nevada to introduce proof in support of the fact that the Senator from Massachusetts does not agree with the President on this note, for the Senator from Massachusetts admits it, and has taken great pains to make clear in the most forcible, and, I think, the most eloquent and impressive style, his difference of views with the President upon this particular phase of this great question. That is, in fact, the issue; that is why this matter is being discussed, and is worthy of being discussed—because of the fact, that is so elaborated by the Senator from Nevada, that some of us do not agree, and have taken pains to show wherein we do not agree, with the President's note.

The conclusion of the Senator from Nevada, as to the different views taken by the Senator from Massachusetts and the President—that the President being a greater man than the Senator from Massachusetts, and the Senator from Massachusetts—as the Senator from Nevada says—not comparing with the President, we must follow the President in this matter. The argument of the Senator from Nevada is not upon the merit of the propositions advanced but merely a fulsome eulogy of the President, who, he says, is smarter than the Senator from Massachusetts. The Senator from Nevada apparently does not undertake to arrive at a conclusion for himself on the question itself, but is content to follow the President without question or investigation.

Comparisons of that kind are not instructive. The fact of the case is that, on the other hand, I think they are rather offensive and scarcely worthy of this arena. It may be perfectly natural in view of the political fate that has overtaken some of those in the Democratic Party who dared to differ from the President that Senators, if there are any of that party represented by the Senator from Nevada, who are content to shine in a reflected light and prosper by the favor of the great, should take the position that he has taken, that no one should differ, even in the slightest particular, with the views of the President. If the Senate, as the Senator from Nevada proposes, is to be the mere echo of the President—although I have for him, and I am sure we all have, the greatest respect—we may as well vacate our functions and let the Senate be abolished.

Now, I want to refer a little more directly than the Senator from Massachusetts did, to the consequences of the course which the President is taking in his conduct of these negotiations.

I think the President has accepted a parley with the German Government, and the President's acceptance of a parley with the enemy by his answer to Germany's offer gives Germany the opportunity which she has long been seeking. The two questions and one statement by the President, which latter also implies an interrogatory and calls for an answer, presuppose a negotiation as to the conditions on which the war shall end, based upon the answers which may be received, with this criminal lunatic among the nations. I am referring to Germany. That is rather strong language, but I formed an opinion some time ago that German is so afflicted.

It is the preliminary clearing of the way, as it were, for entering into a discussion with Germany as to the terms and conditions upon which the various nationalities and peoples shall be reestablished at the conclusion of the war. Although couched in an interrogatory form, it is in itself a preliminary answer to the German chancellor's audacious proposal. As such, as an answer, and by reason of the fact that it is an answer, it is most unfortunte.

In view of Germany's multiplied crimes, both in deliberately planning and commencing this war, and in the manner in which she has conducted it; in the repeated express statements of her officials and spokesmen that every consideration and sanction, including her plighted word, should be subordinated to the military interests of the state; and in view of her constant disregard and express repudiation of her treaties and solemn agreements, as well as of every restraint of morals and of international law; her deliberate starvation of the inhabitants of occupied countries, who would have utterly perished but for the voluntary contributions of the people of the allied countries; and the unnameable and degenerate tortures which she has inflicted upon prisoners and noncombants; her attacks upon hospitals and hospital ships; her burning of the houses of civilians and murder of civilian inhabitants, have so destroyed Germany's moral standing in the world that it is surprising that the President apparently expects by the interrogatories to the German chancellor to base his further discussion of an armistice, which is the same thing as peace, upon the answers which that official will make to these questions.

The answers of the German chancellor will be such as in his opinion suit the material interests of Germany in her present desperate situation. Although the President by asking the questions apparently intends to base his further negotiations upon these answers, they can no more be depended upon than any other of the statements, treaties, moral or legal obligations which Germany has repudiated in her 40 years' course of systematic subordination of right to expediency. It ought by this time to be known to the leaders of all the allies that Germany is destitute of political morality, that she is cunning, astute, crafty, and treacherous. In her entire course with Denmark, Austria, and Russia she has been habitually guilty of duplicity and bad faith. By the express utterances of her most authoritative military and civil leaders she has declared the doctrine that all means may be justifiably employed, however unlawful and treacherous, which tend toward German success and the supremacy of the German people. Our own State Department only a few days ago called attention to the cynical repudiation

by Germany of the Brest-Litovsk treaty within a few weeks after its ratification. The vast system of international propaganda in neutral, as well as allied countries, which Germany has maintained through her secret service and her diplomatic establishments has shown her to be, whatever else she may be, an unscrupulous master of political cunning and artifice. In the light of this disclosure of German character, which has been burned into the hearts and consciences of the world through the colossal sacrifices and sufferings of this war, it is humiliating that anyone of the allied Governments should accept, even for a moment, as a basis of discussion, of armistice, or peace the promises of this traitor to civilization.

Germany should be regarded as an outlaw among the nations. She has proved herself to be not amenable to any of the moral sanctions which are the basis of negotiations and of settlement between Christian and civilized peoples. The answer, which should be made forthwith, to the ambiguous and worthless promises of the German chancellor should be a demand for unconditional surrender.

The German chancellor can well answer each one of the inquiries of the President in such way as will be most calculated to accomplish his object. He can say that he represents both the Government and the people of Germany, and who can dispute his statement? In this he undoubtedly would be correct, as, for the purposes of this war, there is no difference between the German people and the German Government. He could say that he does accept the terms laid down by the President in his address to the Congress of the United States on the 8th of January last and in subsequent addresses.

I pause here to say that there is as much latitude and room for disagreement and for the arrival at different conclusions in the greater part of the 14 principles enunciated as there would be in any mere declaration that we are in favor of the right settlement of the war or a righteous peace; in fact, language similar to that is used in some of these propositions. So that an acceptance of them arrives nowhere, so far as any tangible and definite establishment of boundaries is concerned, and the fixing of the conditions of the peoples of the world at the conclusion of the war. If the German chancellor should take that course, as he very likely will, and should state that he accepts all of the propositions of the President, what is his statement worth? The President calls for his statement. What will his statement be worth when he shall have made it?

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield to the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. OWEN. Will the Senator permit me to suggest that the query of the President as to whose this voice was fully answers the question as to whether the voice has any capacity to speak.

Mr. POINDEXTER. But the answer to the Senator from Oklahoma is perfectly obvious, that the same person is going to answer all the queries.

Mr. OWEN. The query which was offered through the Secretary of State was, Are the persons speaking merely the same people representing the military power, without any authority to rule the German people without their consent?

Mr. POINDEXTER. Oh, no; the Senator has not quoted it correctly.

Mr. OWEN. The substance of the query of the President is, Are these the same constituted authorities who have heretofore ruled the German people——

Mr. POINDEXTER. Oh, no!

Mr. OWEN. And whose right to rule the German people has been denied by the President?

Mr. POINDEXTER. There is nothing of that kind in the note.

Mr. OWEN. I will demonstrate that it is in the President's note when the Senator concludes.

Mr. POINDEXTER. The substance of the note was the inquiry whether or not the chancellor represented the authorities who have heretofore conducted the war.

Mr. OWEN. Merely those authorities.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I do not think that the word "merely" is in it, but we will assume that it is——

Mr. OWEN. The word "merely" is the most important word in it, and when the Senator interprets the word "merely," he will see there is no difference of view between him and the President.

Mr. POINDEXTER. There is no statement whatever in the note that these authorities did not represent the German people, that they had no right to rule; nothing of that kind whatever is contained in the note.

Mr. OWEN. It is already included in what the President said in New York.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I am talking about the note to the German chancellor, and there is nothing of that kind in the note. I should like to suggest further to the Senator from Oklahoma, that that inquiry, as to whom the chancellor represents, will be answered by the chancellor himself, and he will adjust his answer to that question the same as he will to the other questions—to suit his interests. I will ask the Senator from Oklahoma what credence or dependence or faith would he attach to the answer of the German chancellor upon that question?

Mr. OWEN. The same that the President has heretofore expressed.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Then, what is the use of asking the question?

Mr. OWEN. None whatever.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Then we are in accord; we are agreed. That was the conclusion I was leading up to.

Mr. OWEN. It is where the Senator will find himself when he gets through with the debate.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I agree entirely with the Senator; and I am very glad, indeed, that he has so declared himself, that there was no occasion to ask such a question.

Mr. OWEN. I made no such suggestion; I entirely approve the question.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Well, let the RECORD stand for what the Senator said.

Mr. OWEN. I entirely approve the question, but the Senator omits the word "merely"; he has not seen the word "merely"; he does not think it is in the note, in the query that was made, and yet it is the most important word in that query.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I do not think it is very important.

Mr. OWEN. Then the Senator will need to reread it; and, when he does, he will see that it is the most important part of it.

Mr. POINDEXTER. What is the use of asking the German chancellor whom he represents, and what faith could be attached to the answer of the German chancellor when he makes it?

Mr. OWEN. None whatever; we are agreed as to that.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Now, upon that point, repeating, I will ask what difference does it make what the German chancellor or any other German statesman states as to what he will accept in the way of terms of peace. Here is the question: The President has asked the German chancellor these questions. Will the President accept the answer of the German chancellor when it is made, if he accepts the President's terms, and says he represents the German people, will the President negotiate an armistice on the strength of such answers; and if not, what is the purpose of the President in asking the German chancellor the question?

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President——

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. OWEN. The Senator ought to be able to see that without requiring an answer upon the floor of the Senate.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Just a moment, and then I will yield to the Senator from Oklahoma. If he should answer the President that he accepts the 14 general propositions laid down by the President and all others that he has made, and if he should answer the President that they would agree to evacuate the conquered territory, what would the Senator from Oklahoma consider would be the result of these answers in arriving at an armistice?

Mr. OWEN. The answer involves unconditional surrender.

Mr. POINDEXTER. That is the exact issue between the Senator from Oklahoma and myself; and that is the point that I want to make in a few remarks.

Mr. OWEN. There is no issue between the Senator and myself, because he believes in the same thing substantially that I do.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Oh, no; I believe just the opposite on this point. The Senator believes that the outcome which I have just stated amounts to unconditional surrender. I think I can demonstrate that it amounts to a German victory.

Mr. OWEN. The Senator overlooks this issue which the President pointed out on September 27:

> Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force?

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, the entire debate here on this proposition is based upon the disappointment that has been expressed that the President did not adhere to the position that he has heretofore taken.

Mr. OWEN. The President has not departed a hairbreadth from his position heretofore taken.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Well, the President asks three questions of the German chancellor, or, at least, two questions, and a statement which may produce an answer, all three of which may be answered in accordance with the President's terms; and if so

answered, and if the President should concur with the Senator from Oklahoma, that those answers and the acceptance of them would amount to unconditional surrender, then the allies would have sacrificed the fruits of victory, for the reason, Mr. President, as I will point out more in detail, that they would leave Germany unconquered, in a stronger military, political, and moral position than she has ever been in since the war began, fighting upon her own soil, upon shortened lines, with a superb railroad system, and interior communications——

Mr. OWEN. She has an opportunity——

Mr. POINDEXTER. Just a moment—for supplies; and as against that nothing but the promise of the German chancellor to accept certain general conditions, which promise would amount to nothing, as the Senator from Oklahoma has just said.

Mr. OWEN. The German chancellor can not answer these questions either "yes" or "no" without destruction.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Well, I should like to have the faith the Senator from Oklahoma has.

Mr. OWEN. I will undertake to demonstrate that when the Senator concludes.

Mr. POINDEXTER. If the President, in the face of Germany's crimes and falsehoods, will undertake to bring about an armistice because the German chancellor offers to accept certain conditions, whatever they may be, then indeed would the world see the apotheosis of faith and innocence being led to the slaughter. The German chancellor may well say that Germany will evacuate every foot of allied territory. The President says: "He would not feel at liberty to propose a cessation of arms to the governments with which the Government of the United States is associated against the central powers so long as the armies of those powers are upon their soil." By this does the President mean that if the central powers evacuate the allied soil he will accede to the request of the German chancellor and "invite the belligerent States to send plenipotentiaries for the purpose of opening negotiations of peace"? If not, what is the purpose of the President in making this suggestion to Prince Maximilian; and if not, what will the attitude of the President be if the German Government immediately agrees to evacuate all of the territory which it has ravaged and pillaged and retire to its own frontiers?

The conception which the German Government has of the meeting of the plenipotentiaries of the belligerent States, which it asks the President to bring about and which the President, strange to say, is discussing with the German Government, is shown by the following curious passage from the speech of the German chancellor delivered to the Reichstag at the same time that he dispatched his message to the President of the United States:

The striking force—

He says—

which the Government has in its striving for peace depends on whether it has behind it the united, firm, and unshakable will of the people. Only when our enemies feel that the German people stand united back of their chosen leaders, then only can words become deeds.

I would like the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN] to pay particular attention to these quotations from the speech of the German chancellor:

At the peace negotiations the German Government will use its efforts to the end that treaties shall contain provisions concerning the protection of labor and insurance of laborers, which provision shall oblige the treaty-making States to institute in their respective lands within a prescribed time a minimum of similar, or at least equally efficient, institutions for the security of life and health as for the care of laborers in the case of illness, accident, or invalidism.

These are not the words of a conquered government. It throws an interesting light on the workings of the German mind. Evidently it is a sop to the German socialists. Thwarted for the present in the dream of a Pan Germany of arms, but never ceasing for a moment in its ultimate purpose, we here see the German effort to extend its propaganda and establish its policies, for such perversion to its own purposes hereafter as may seem expedient, when it would renew, if we fall into the trap that is set for us, its war of intrigue, to be followed by its war of arms against the peace and liberty of the world. We here see the curious conception in the mind of the German chancellor as he apparently already visualizes the great sitting down of the nations, Germany in equal status among them, to a conference table to which for the time being the contest, during the armistice of arms, will be transferred.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. THOMAS. The hour of 2 o'clock has arrived, and my purpose in interrupting the Senator is to call the attention of the Senator to the fact that at our last meeting the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG] gave notice that he would address the Senate to-day regarding the constitutionality of certain important features of the revenue bill. Assuming that he would have the opportunity to do so, he has given the press the contents of his speech. It is evident that if this discussion is to continue, the Senator, notwithstanding the notice, will be deprived of the opportunity of speaking upon a very important measure, so important, indeed, that I think the present discussion, which is largely political, might well be postponed until the Senator from Minnesota can comply with the notice he has given and give the Finance Committee the benefit of his views on that important question.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I shall conclude my remarks in a few moments and give way to the Senator from Minnesota. In the meantime I appreciate the motive and the spirit of the interruption which was granted by my courtesy to the Senator from Colorado, who undertakes to use the privilege I granted him to interfere with me while I am making an address to the Senate. As to the importance of my remarks I reserve the right to decide that for myself and I do not necessarily accept the views of the Senator from Colorado, interjected in that way.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator entirely misinterprets me.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I do not think I did.

Mr. THOMAS. I think the Senator did. I had no intention to offend the Senator. The Senator from Minnesota spoke to me a few moments ago regarding the fact that he had given this notice, and I told him I would——

Mr. POINDEXTER. I doubt very much whether the Senator from Minnesota requested or expected the Senator from Colorado to interrupt me in the manner in which he has done and imply that I should give way to another Senator. I resent it as utterly uncalled for and improper and not a part in any way of any responsibility which rests upon the Senator from Colorado in the Senate of the United States.

Mr. THOMAS. Will the Senator yield for a moment?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I decline to yield just now.

Mr. THOMAS. I shall have something to say then later.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I was interrupted in the middle of a sentence. I was referring to the proposed conference of plenipotentiaries of the belligerent nations asked for by the chancellor of the German Empire and undertaking to show the idea that the German chancellor has in his mind as to the position he will be in and the purpose which the German Government has in view in that conference, with the tremendous prestige and power which Germany will possess in it, relating to the domestic affairs of her enemies, if her armies are left intact and entrenched upon her international boundary lines. Not content with preserving his empire intact, as will be the case if the evident purpose of these negotiations should be consummated, even in this hour he plans to compel, by the leverage of peace negotiations, agreements of the allied powers affecting their purely individual and domestic social and economic laws. The use which the German Empire would make of such an agreement, in an uninterrupted continuance of that international intrigue which sleeps neither day nor night, and is not resting even now while the President is carrying on his discussion with this arch-traitor of the ages, both in palliating her own domestic disturbances and in forwarding her propaganda among the varying political elements of her enemies, is quite plain. It has no essential bearing in the exchange of views now taking place except as defining and illuminating the mental attitude with which Germany makes this proposal.

If the incredible thing should happen, and the allies should agree to an armistice at the request of the President on the statement by the German chancellor that he speaks for the German people, as he undoubtedly does, and upon the retirement of the German Armies to the German frontier, and the promise of the German Government that it will accept the 14 propositions of the President and his later terms, as referred to in his message, Germany will be then far stronger from a military point of view than she is to-day or than she has been at any period of the war. She would be standing upon shortened lines, with her great and well-equipped army concentrated on her western frontier.

The allies, meanwhile, under the armistice, would have surrendered the military advantage which they now have in the constant pressure of successful attacks. Germany will have time to recover from her confusion, to reorganize those forces which have been at the front, to repair her supply and equipment, and to strengthen her fortifications and entrenchments.

If these negotiations are entered into and an armistice granted on the terms suggested by the President's inquiries of the German chancellor, Germany will be morally and politically immeasurably stronger than she was at the beginning of the war, or has been at any time since. Then, in deed and in truth, she would be fighting, after an interval of peace, a purely defensive battle, upon her own soil and for her own institutions, whatever those institutions may be. An armistice, whatever definition

may be given to the word itself, in this case means an end of the war, and never again will the allies be able to renew, in cold blood, against Germany on her own soil, with her reorganized and rehabilitated army, with her incomparable interior lines of communication, with the renewed morale and devotion of her people, and the concentration of her troops upon a shortened battle front, this war of righteousness and liberty. The German morale will have been strengthened, the sympathy of her own people for their Government, and, in fact, of many other people now joining in the war against her, will be intensified in her behalf. The allied morale will have cooled; the great war machinery of the allied belligerent nations will have slowed down. Never again in this generation will that supreme momentum of devotion to cause, of sacrifice to the death, of settling once and forever the civilization of the world be recovered. It will be impossible to gear up again to a high pitch the financial, industrial, and commercial war organization of the allies. The weapons with which the conditions which are to follow after the war are to be shaped and determined will have been forged. They can not be changed. Germany will be unwhipped. From that day forth, with her reorganized forces she will pursue that plan, which she has never ceased to follow, to renew at the most vulnerable point of the world her war of conquest, rapine, and enslavement. For the allies, instead of entering into a millennium of security and peace for the culture of the better natures of mankind and the dwelling in happiness of the children of men—there will be, if they are to survive at all, an era of preparation for another war. Children will be reared, not in that easy security necessary for the soul's beauty and development, but in the constant and insidious menace of a struggle to protect life and liberty against a degenerate and evil power, still at large in the world. From the time of their birth until their eyes close in the death of old age men of the coming generations will see in front of them the specter of secret intrigue and the menace of an open war of conquest.

There is only one way in which this specter can be dispelled, and that is by the absolute and unqualified destruction of the power of this renegade nation. That, and that only, should be the answer of the President and of the allies to the insidious suggestion of the German Government. Then, when that has been accomplished, in the wisdom and mercy of the great powers of light and righteousness, Germany's place in the world will be fixed. Her power for evil will be destroyed; her criminals in high places will be restrained of their license.

The indemnification of Belgium, the righting of the wrongs of France, and the banishment of the German menace to the world will never be provided for by any guaranty in this program—which seems to attract so much support from those who act upon first impression without careful consideration of the ultimate results—that we should cease fighting and slow down our war machinery upon the condition that the German chancellor promises that he will on certain conditions withdraw troops from the conquered territory and place them on the German frontier. What provision is there in these suggestions for the indemnification of Belgium, the righting of the wrongs of France? When we meet in this conference of the plenipotentiaries and insist upon such reparation and Germany begins with the artifice which I have undertaken to describe, to dicker and inquire, and refuse, and decline to indemnify or to repair her wrongs, which undoubtedly will be Germany's attitude, what will the allies do? How are they going to compel Germany to carry out the 14 principles laid down by the President? They would have no power to do it. Germany could postpone and defy them, and there would not be left in the world enough spirit after an armistice to renew this bloody war. Once the armistice is granted the things we are fighting for will be settled and determined by the conditions that exist on that day.

The indemnification of Belgium, the righting of the wrongs of France, and the banishment of the German menace of the world will never be accomplished if our sole dependence is merely the word of the German people or of the German Government through whom they speak. There must be other guaranties, and there can be no other guaranty but the armies of the allies standing in triumph in Berlin either by conquest or by the unconditional surrender of the German people. If it is to be conceived that upon any possible answer of the German chancellor to the questions asked by the President our Chief Executive will request our allies to agree to any armistice with Germany short of her absolute surrender, it is to be hoped that under the divine guidance of an Almighty Providence the mighty powers of France and England, who have sustained this conflict for civilization through more than four years—in the midst of their ruins and their dead—will refuse to surrender the victory which is in sight.

Mr. President, I ask leave to incorporate as bearing upon this subject as a part of my remarks a brief article from the Manufacturers' Record, of Baltimore, and an article by myself in the New York Times of June 9.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. OVERMAN in the chair). Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and leave is granted.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[From the Manufacturers Record, Oct. 3, 1918.]

HELL WILL BE BUSY TRYING TO SAVE ITS ALLIES, GERMANY AND HER ALLIES, FROM PUNISHMENT.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INDIAN DEPREDATIONS,
Washington, September 28.

EDITOR MANUFACTURERS RECORD:

DEAR SIR: I read this morning in the Post your letter urging that the influence of this country be thrown against any premature or compromise peace with Bulgaria. I have not the article before me at this moment, but recollect clearly the substance of it, and hasten to congratulate you upon your promptness and soundness in giving every possible publicity to this view. The greatest menace confronting the United States and the allies now is not from any military source, but is the danger of a weak and compromise peace. The acceptance of anything short of absolute surrender of Germany and all of her allies would be one of those blunders which are worse than crimes, and would be a fearful waste of the lives and treasure which the allies have expended in this war.

With kind regards,
Very truly, yours, MILES POINDEXTER.

P. S.—The situation brings to mind the unwise policy of this Government in not having declared war against all of the allies of Germany. The notion that we should wage war against Germany and not against her allies, whose soldiers are fighting against us on both the eastern and western fronts, is so illogical that it is bound to lead to embarrassing situations and cripple our activities in the final adjustments at the conclusion of the war.

M. P.

The letter to which Mr. POINDEXTER thus so strongly refers was a cablegram which the editor of the Manufacturers Record felt justified in sending to the London Times on September 27. It was as follows:

"While the United States is not technically at war with Bulgaria, its people are at heart at war with Bulgaria and every other enemy of our European allies. From all parts of this country we are hearing of an overwhelming sentiment that there should be no peace parley of any kind with Germany or any of its allies until there has been an unconditional surrender of the armies and navies of Germany and all of its allies. Civilization can not permit an armistice or peace parley with assassins. The universal thought in America of every honest-hearted man and woman is for unconditional surrender by the criminals and adequate punishment afterwards. America is whole-souledly in this war to a finish."

This cable and some further comments upon the situation were sent out from Baltimore and rather widely published in the daily papers.

Our position has been that we should be at war technically as well as in reality with Bulgaria and Turkey. It seems to us to be a very grave mistake for this country to have permitted the minister from Bulgaria to remain in Washington while the troops of Bulgaria were fighting our allies and while Bulgarian troops were in the very armies that are fighting our own people, or else Bulgarian armies, by fighting our allies, were releasing for fighting against us the soldiers of Germany and Austria.

We can not conceive any diplomatic reason, or any reason in ordinary common sense, which has permitted the Bulgarian minister to remain in Washington and which has kept this country from declaring war against Turkey and Bulgaria. They have been two of the most unscrupulous powers engaged in this war. Bulgaria has been almost as vile as Turkey. Bulgaria has been without regard to any honor or integrity. It has cared not for the right, and it would just as lief fight on the side of the allies as on the side of Germany if it were sure the allies were going to win. Turkey, the murderer of a million or more Armenian Christians, the most atrocious nation except Germany which the world has known, is fighting to the limit of its strength against our allies, and yet we are at peace technically with both Turkey and Bulgaria.

We have no right to stand in such a position. It necessarily, as Senator POINDEXTER says, raises questions which must be embarrassing and must cripple our activities in the final adjustments at the conclusion of the war.

By what right at that time will we be able to say that Turkish power should be banished from Europe, or that Bulgaria and Turkey should share in the burden of paying the fearful cost of the war?

We are not at war with them. What right, therefore, will we have to sit at the peace table and help to dictate terms by which they shall bear their full share of punishment? Were we at war with them, as we should be, this Nation could have said to the allies we believe that there should be no acceptation of any terms of peace from Bulgaria or from Turkey except unconditional surrender, with the certainty of punishment for their crimes. But what right has America to say that when it is not at war with Bulgaria and Turkey?

It was for this reason that the Manufacturers Record, knowing the sentiment of the people of this country, cabled to the London Times its expression of opinion in regard to this situation.

We are glad to have Senator POINDEXTER'S wholly voluntary commendation of the position taken. From many others commendation equally as strong has come, and it is gratifying that throughout the country there is growing up a determination that Germany and all of its allies shall be made to unconditionally surrender, and that the flags of America and our allies shall float in triumph over the capitals of these criminal countries before there can be any terms of peace discussed.

We fully agree with Senator POINDEXTER that the greatest menace of the world is the tremendous effort that will be made to bring about "a weak peace, a peace of compromise."

Every power of hell and earth which can be controlled by Germany will be used to produce such a peace, and we may rest assured that hell will be very active in the campaign, for hell can ask no greater achievement than an inconclusive peace, or one which leaves Germany and its criminals unpunished.

Hell knows that this would mean the continuation of hell on earth and another war in the not distant future which would surpass this war.

Unconditional surrender is the only term which should ever be used in connection with peace, and with the definite determination that every criminal leader in this great conflict shall on the gallows pay with his life the penalty of his crimes, and that the nations guilty of bringing this war upon the world shall be made to pay the full cost to the allies. Nothing else would satisfy justice. Anything else would be a blot upon civilization for centuries to come.

[From the New York Times, Sunday, June 9, 1918.]

SENATOR POINDEXTER URGES ACTION IN RUSSIA—WANTS MILITARY EXPEDITION CHIEFLY OF JAPANESE TROOPS—UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, HE SAYS, HAS MISCONCEIVED THE BOLSHEVIKI.

[By MILES POINDEXTER, United States Senator from Washington.]

The collapse of Russia and its assimilation by Germany, acting through the latter's Bolshevist agents, opens a new act with completely changed scenes and conditions in the world war. Its effect is the dominating factor in the great struggle now hanging in the balance on the so-called western front, in France. With the great armies intrenched from the mountains to the sea and to all appearances limited in their action to the physical application of the accumulated driving force of either side, the master strategy of the war lies elsewhere.

We may put aside for the moment consideration of the turmoil between the conflicting and heterogeneous nationalities in the Austrian Empire, and the opportunity for wise statesmanship by the Government of the United States in taking up openly and forcefully the struggle for liberty of the enslaved Serbians, Czechs, Slovaks, and others, thus adding to the material as well as the moral force of the allies the tremendous organized influence of these people and their friends in and out of Austria.

Greater by far than this in its significance and consequences is the question as to what disposition is to be made of Russia, its 170,000,000 of people, and its boundless resources of food, fuel, and metals. In modern war the labor and sacrifices, endurance, and heroism of millions undergoing the hardships and sufferings of campaigns for weeks and months and years are required for the decision of battles, while the decision of such a question as the saving and rehabilitation of Russia, by means of a great armed and civil force, accompanied by military and diplomatic officials, may be made in a brief conference of the Cabinet and pass almost unnoticed in the news dispatches of the day. And yet upon that decision and upon the turning of the path here or there the outcome of the war and the future of civilization may depend. All of the sacrifices of the brave men and women of the allied nations may be rendered vain by a few easy blunders of their rulers in the higher questions of strategy and statesmanship.

The eyes of the whole world are looking at the swaying combatants in France, and desperation almost characterizes the struggle of the allies there. What would be the effect upon that scene if the news agencies of the world carried to the German command the information that an army of 2,000,000 ably led, thoroughly armed and equipped Japanese were advancing westward in Siberia, accompanied by French, British, and American troops and officials, under international guaranties of good faith toward Russia and the allied cause? It is certain that it would have an instant and powerful effect, not only upon the morale, but upon the physical military forces of the German Army. Such a word, spreading like the impalpable ether from man to man and regiment to regiment of the Germans, overwhelming them with the consciousness that, however the struggle might go against a powerful foe in their front, there was slowly, but surely, advancing upon them a powerful and thoroughly organized foe upon their undefended rear, would unquestionably discourage many of that army and greatly weaken its spirit. Very soon, too, as such an allied army advanced in Siberia, it would be necessary for Germany to begin to retransport across Europe and Asia troops, cannon, supplies which she so recently laboriously moved from the east to the western front. As the allied forces advanced in Russia the drain upon German resources to meet them would each day become greater, and so each day would weaken the power which she would be able to hurl against her enemies in France. Even though this weakening might be comparatively small and of limited extent, yet when brought to bear upon a struggle so evenly balanced as is that in France, it might be absolutely decisive of the result, and consequently of all the issues of the war, boundless and inexpressible and unlimited as they are in their effect upon the human race.

ELEMENTS OF SUPPORT.

Such an influence, however, of the rehabilitation of Russia, through an allied military force as the nucleus of a rehabilitated Russian Army, would not be small or limited in its extent. The intelligent elements of the Russian Empire, now helpless and bound hand and foot under the tyranny of German influence and Bolshevist tyranny, would rally to this movement and make of it the nucleus of a new Russian Army and the means of the redemption of Russian civilization and freedom.

As early as February, 1918, the Japanese Government, whose officials are by reason of their proximity and more direct interest better informed of movements and conditions in Asiatic Russia than are those of the western nations, made inquiries of their allies in the war as to the attitude the latter would take toward the sending of a Japanese force to stem the growing tide of German influence and to check the atrocities of Bolshevism in Siberia. Great Britain and France, through their premiers and foreign ministers, gave their approval to the suggested enterprise. The United States, however, by reason of its interests in the Pacific and also by reason of the dependence of the allies upon this Government for food, munitions, and finance, as well as troops, was in a position to control the policy to be pursued. Unfortunately for America and the world our Government, instead of welcoming with grateful appreciation the magnificent opportunity and the generous offer of Japan, interposed an objection to the suggestion.

One can readily appreciate the private feelings of a sensitive people which, in such a situation, could not be publicly expressed, at this attitude on the part of the American Government. Japan, as demonstrated by her every act in this war, has been faithful to her obligations as an ally of Great Britain and coworker with France and America in opposing the effort of Germany to enslave the world. Considering Japan's interest in the Pacific as well as her opportunities, a selfish course on her part might well have dictated the conservation of her armies and resources, so that she would come out of the war fresh, vigorous, and unexhausted. When, no doubt, with peculiar interests of her own in view, as well as those of her allies, she offered to equip, transport, and maintain an expedition in Siberia, realizing as she does the vital benefit this would be to the allied cause, it is not difficult to imagine her disappointment, if not humiliation, not only at the failure to accept the proffered assistance of the Government of the United States, but at our positive objection interposed thereto.

On May 17, 1918, the Associated Press sent out the following dispatch from Tokyo: "The military agreement between Japan and China has caused increased attention to be given to the question of intervention in Siberia. It is understood that both Great Britain and France are actively favoring intervention, the former because of the danger of the spread of German influence, and both Great Britain and France because they are convinced that it would hasten the winning of the war. The General Staff is ready for any action that may be ordered, but the Government has not announced any decision in the matter. The best information here is that intervention is not likely until it is favored by the United States."

Speaking in the lower house of the Japanese Parliament in the latter part of March, 1918, Mr. Mochidzuki made the following statement: "As regards America, she is believed to have signified her disapproval to the Japanese Government for two reasons, namely, that though she does not take exception in principle to Japan undertaking to maintain peace and order in Siberia single-handed, she does not think Siberia is in such danger, and that Japanese premature intervention in Siberia will have the effect of driving a majority of the Russians into the arms of the Germans."

As to these objections Mr. Mochidzuki says: "It is superfluous to say that intimate relations exist between Japan and America, and I am not behind the foreign minister in any desire for their relations growing in intimacy. I must, however, point out that the German menace through Siberia is by no means felt in the same measure in this country and in America, which is situated on the other side of the Pacific some 5,000 miles away. Let us suppose that Canada, which is contiguous to America on a frontier extending for 3,000 miles in length, had concluded a separate peace with Germany and enemy prisoners of from 100,000 to 150,000 threatened to invade America. In such a case would America decide to dispatch troops to cope with this serious situation only after Japan's acquiescence in her project was obtained? * * * As regards the second point of anxiety raised by America, that Japan's premature intervention in Siberia will drive the Russians into the arms of the Germans, I can only say that if no helping hand be extended to the Russians at the present time they will soon be crouching on their knees before the Germans by reason of their unpreparedness and impotence."

DELAY AND DIPLOMACY.

These interpellations of the foreign minister by Mr. Mochidzuki were greeted with cheers in the Japanese House of Representatives. It may be pertinent to add the following words used on that occasion by Mr. Mochidzuki: "The foreign minister is apt to make use of the words 'the most deliberate consideration,' but it must be remembered that 'deliberate consideration' has always been the last place of refuge for incompetent diplomatists."

On the same occasion this clear-headed and well-informed statesman said that Russia was "a mere baby in the hands of the German giant," and that the German menace was spreading practically unopposed to the East. He also quoted the minister of war to the effect that "100,000 German war prisoners are being armed in Siberia east of the Urai. That German influence is growing in those districts is evident from the fact that Irkutsk, where the Bolsheviki and the anti-Bolsheviki were practically matched in influence about December and January, has at last passed under the sway of the Bolsheviki, and, as you are well aware, an army corps of German and Austrian war prisoners is in process of formation there under the training of German officers."

It must be borne in mind that these official statements quoted from Japan's war minister obtained from Gen. Semenoff and other loyal Russians standing with a small force against the traitorous Bolsheviki were made in March, and that this German so-called "peaceful conquest" of Russia, even to the Pacific, has been steadily proceeding ever since. The military success of the Bolsheviki and the firmness with which they have carried out their bloody policy can not be explained in any quality of the undisciplined and ignorant and vicious anarchists and tyrannical socialists who compose their forces and their so-called leaders; it is to be found in the trained and educated German officers among the million or more prisoners east and west of the Ural, who have been armed by these Russian enemies of the allies with weapons taken from the disbanded Russian Army.

About the same time as the statement just quoted Viscount Motono, Japanese minister of foreign affairs, answering interpellations of Mr. Sugita on the last day of the session of the Diet, said:

"As I stated a few minutes ago, the chaotic state into which the Russian situation was thrown caused the question to be discussed very earnestly at home and abroad. In order to give categorical answers to some of the questions put by Mr. Sugita, however, I would have to disclose details of the exchange of views that has taken place between the Japanese Government and the other allied Governments on the subject, which I must refrain from doing, as I regard the time as still premature for such an announcement. Mr. Sugita asked whether it was too late for Japan to take action in Siberia. The Government is, of course, called upon to make a good choice of the time for dispatching troops to Siberia when such a course is deemed imperative. I can not, however, make any definite statement as to when such an expedition will be sent. Some anxiety has been expressed by the member as to whether the supplies in Siberia and war materials in the Far East would not fall into enemy hands. This is, needless to say, a very serious question, over which much apprehension is entertained by the Japanese and other allied Governments. On this point the Government is on the alert and intends to take opportune steps for preventing the supplies falling into hostile hands. Mr. Sugita asked what feelings, favorable or unfavorable, prevail among the Russians regarding Japan. Judging from the reports I have thus far received, it appears that the Russians as a whole do not regard Japan with hostile eyes."

Under the influence of the United States Government the French and British Governments did not urge or insist upon the acceptance of the Japanese suggestion for armed intervention against the Germans and the Bolsheviki. Those Governments stated their desire (and it may be said it was in fact their necessity) to act in harmony with the United States on the question. Before surrendering their strong views, however, they attempted to influence the United States in favor of this most vital and important move. As late as May 25, 1918, the newspapers in Washington City published semiofficial statements as follows: "During the last week the British and French have both urged a change in this country's attitude toward possible military cooperation with Russians and Japanese in the effort to rehabilitate Russia to a spirited defense against the German invaders." This Government, however, insisted upon its objection to any kind of intervention.

AID TO BOLSHEVIKI.

It seems, however, notwithstanding the deadly warfare which the Bolsheviki have carried on against the allies, that this Government is even now conferring with various misguided organizations on the proposition of sending further financial and material support, munitions, food, and other supplies without military protection to Russia, and this in the face of the fact that fighting has already taken place between the Bolsheviki and the allied legation guards at Blagovestchensk; that supplies already sent to Russia at great sacrifice by the allies have been turned over directly to Germany or wasted and destroyed, and that it was necessary for the British and Japanese to land troops at Vladivostok to protect the property of the allied governments and people in that port.

The chief objection made by the administration to Japanese and allied military intervention in force in Russia is stated to be a fear of antagonizing the Rusisan people and driving them to an alliance with Germany. As stated by Mr. Mochidzuki, "If no helping hand be extended to the Russians at the present time they will soon be crouching on their knees before the Germans." As a matter of fact, those who have not been actually enslaved, murdered, mutilated, or starved into weakness by the Huns or their Bolshevist agents are already in the situation described by Mr. Mochidzuki. But, aside from that, it does not seem to be generally known that actual war is already being carried on between some of the allies and the Bolsheviki in Russia. In the issue of the Japan Weekly Chronicle of March 21, 1918, it is stated:

"According to telegrams received in many quarters the fighting between the Bolsheviki on one side and the Cossacks and legation guards of the allies on the other at Blagovestchensk became very serious on the 12th instant, when the Bolsheviki were reinforced by about 1,000 troops who arrived from the direction of Khabarovsk. The chief body of the Cossacks was ultimately obliged to retreat and many inhabitants sought refuge elsewhere. The casualties among the Japanese, so far ascertained, were 1 killed and 3 injured, but it is suspected that out of 150 Japanese residents many were either butchered or their property was looted. * * * In this battle the Cossacks fought with desperate vigor and held their own against the Bolsheviki even after the latter were reinforced. Their ultimate defeat is believed to be due to further reinforcements the Bolsheviki obtained in the shape of over 2,000 German prisoners of war. * * * The news is published as official."

The same condition exists at Vladivostok, where merchandise, largely shipped from America for Russian use against the Germans, of the value of $70,000,000, has been captured by the Bolsheviki, after resistance by the loyal Russian authorities, and undoubtedly will sooner or later fall into the hands of the Germans, or be used by the Bolsheviki under their direction, unless they are stopped by allied forces. There was also at this port a considerable quantity of property belonging to allied nationals which the Bolsheviki sought to seize. This was only prevented by the landing of allied troops, and the property is now protected against the Bolsheviki by a Japanese military guard.

LINES TO AMERICA.

The attitude of the Bolsheviki toward the United States is indicated by the fact that John Reed, a socialist and representative of the Russian Bolsheviki, was arrested in Philadelphia on the night of May 31 while trying to make a soap-box speech on a street corner and was held on a charge of inciting to riot and a breach of the peace. The connection of the Russian Bolsheviki and the American Industrial Workers of the World, composed of revolutionists, yeggmen, dynamiters, and direct-action socialists, is well known. These people are carrying on war against the allies not only in Russia but in the United States. The overthrow of Russia and its surrender to Germany was largely brought about by American social revolutionists, many of whom, strange to say, by concealing for the time being their real purposes, managed to go to Russia from this country under the auspices of the Federal administration. In the words of an official investigator of high intelligence and standing, "more than half of these men whom this Government was thus sending over were anarchists whose luggage was loaded down with anarchistic literature of all kinds, with editorials from the pro-German press and with speeches of a pacifist Senator."

As indicating how much friendship exists between these people and the Government of the United States, or at least the institutions of the United States, it is but necessary to read the testimony introduced in the trial now proceeding of the 112 Industrial Workers of the World in Chicago. On May 24 Joseph Burdall testified that G. J. Bourg, a defendant, and other Germans who gathered at the Milwaukee hall, declared "if they were drafted into the Army they would shoot, but they would choose their marks carefully. Our bullets will not strike down the Germans, but will pierce the necks of the American officers. We can put the American Army on the bum as quickly and effectively as we can wreck a construction company plant."

These are the elements nominally in control of the Russian Government. Wonder has been expressed that men of this kind could maintain themselves so long in power. The answer is that they are mere marionettes, and that the strings are pulled by the German Government; that their so-called military forces are directed by trained German officers, and their ruthless policy of blood and iron, by which they have wiped out whole populations and cast their mutilated corpses chained together into the Black Sea, has its inspiration and its direction from the same source which committed identical atrocities in France and Belgium.

The error of the American Government apparently is due, in part at least, to a misconception of the character of the Bolsheviki. In view of the destruction which has been wrought to food, crops, munitions, and ships by them in the United States, and the disclosed conspiracy between them and the German Government to slow up war production in this country, and the actual war and bloody atrocities which they are carrying on against those Russians who remain friendly to the allies, and against allied legations and citizens, it seems strange that our Government should persist in calling these pronounced and vicious enemies our friends and in bestowing official compliments upon them from the very highest source in the country. As a matter of fact, the Russian people would welcome the advent of an allied force, making war against the Germans and the Bolsheviki, as a deliverer. The Russian people are now helpless. They are disorganized, without leadership, cowed, and terrified under the cruelties of the German-directed Bolshevist government—starved and in despair.

An allied force, consisting chiefly, of course, of Japanese troops, accompanied by sufficient forces of England, France, and America to give it an international allied standing, thoroughly equipped with commercial, diplomatic, industrial, and agricultural representatives and officials, able to stand alone in the midst of hostile Bolshevist and German influences, equipped and prepared with materials and knowledge to instruct the Russian people and rehabilitate the transportation, industry, and agriculture of Russia as fast as occupied, would constitute a refuge and a nucleus around which would gather the helpless and oppressed people of Russia, glad of an opportunity to escape the butchery of the combined Bolsheviki and the million and a half German and Austrian prisoners whom they have released and armed to prey upon their own country. This force of loyal Russians, organized as fast as possible under allied leadership, armed and equipped, would rapidly grow into a formidable army, adding its strength to that of the allies, and forming a basis for the reestablishment of law, liberty, and organized government in what once was Russia.

BASES OF SYMPATHY.

The pitiful and desperate effort which the loyal people of Russia are making under the leadership of such men as Gen. Semenoff, the Cossack chief, with the small forces which they are able to get together out of the abyss into which Russia has been plunged, should be a powerful appeal to the sympathy of the allies and particularly of America, and, it seems, should arouse us from our indifference to the situation and induce us, at least, to accept the splendid offer of our great ally, Japan, to go to their rescue with sufficient forces to free them from their oppressions and restore their country. If our sympathy for our former ally is not sufficient to induce us to act it would seem that self-interest and the opportunity to raise again a new foe against the German tyrant would do so. However, instead of going to the rescue of the oppressed Russian people to free them from the yoke of the Bolsheviki and Industrial Workers of the World, through whom flows the malice of the German tyrant, who is willing deliberately to wipe out of existence whole peoples in order to make room and loot for himself, our Government has been carrying on friendly exchanges with the Bolshevist criminals.

Lenine and Trotzky, who have such far-reaching influence with the American Government, notwithstanding their frightful cruelties to the Russian people and the abyss into which they have plunged that country in the interest of Germany, and notwithstanding the ruthless war of arson and murder which their associates in America have carried on against the United States, have been in the employment of the German Government since 1905. In that year Germany financed these scoundrels to create a revolution in Russia. After the failure of the attempt Trotzky ran a motion-picture theater on the Barbary Coast in San Francisco, and also founded a Bolshevist club on Jefferson Square in San Francisco, over which David Milder, a radical pro-German direct-action socialist, presided. They were friends and intimate associates of a pro-German Russian of the name of Selig Schulberg, living in San Francisco, and of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. The further connection of these people, and the ramification of their plot against the United States, with von Bernstorff, von Papen, the People's Council of America, the Industrial Workers of the World, and the Russian Bolshevist government, are well known to investigators and ample evidence is at hand, but it is unnecessary to detail it here, as it is demonstrated by many obvious facts.

Not only do the little bands of Russians, who here and there are attempting to make a stand in Russia against this tyranny, appeal to us, but delegations representing them, at the risk of their lives, have escaped the Bolsheviki and visited this country, seeking that allied intervention and military assistance which we have so strangely denied even when offered to us. They have announced that this Government could organize large forces of loyal Russians in this country to join with Japan against the Bolsheviki and the Germans.

At a subcommittee meeting of the Japanese House of Representatives on March 15 Lieut. Gen. Oshima, minister of war, made the following statement in reply to a question:

"The number of enemy prisoners of war in the districts east of Lake Baikal is estimated at 104,000, while there are some 60,000 prisoners west of that place (it will be noted that this relates only to prisoners in Siberia and not in Russia proper). As regards the conditions west of Irkutsk nothing definite is as yet known. The above-mentioned prisoners have a large supply of arms, as reported in the papers. In the regions east of Baikal the moderates have greater influence than the Bolsheviki, and Gen. Semenoff is actively engaged in military operations at the head of 1,000 moderate troops. * * * The influence of the Bolsheviki is gradually growing in Siberia. * * * Should the Bolsheviki start a systematic activity, with the support of the Germans and Austrians, a serious situation would surely be created. * * * War stores supplied by Russia's allies now lying at Vladivostok amount to 70,000,000 yen in value and consist chiefly of explosives, gunpowder, guns, rifles, and ammunition."

In reply to a question put by a member concerning the report that two army corps of German prisoners of war were in process of organization in Siberia, the war minister is quoted by the Japan Weekly Chronicle as saying that "though no definite report had been received in official quarters, it was tolerably certain that some project was contemplated by the German prisoners of war."

In an editorial in the same paper of March 7, 1918, it is stated that "the Government is apparently paying due attention to the spread of German influence to the East and the outrageous acts of the Bolsheviki, and it is believed that the authorities are making efforts to promote both the interests of the nations and the peace of the Far East."

SUPPLIES AT MUKDEN.

China has collected 2,500,000 rifles, 80 guns, and 40 machine guns at Mukden. Japan has supplied arms as well as troops to assist Gen. Semenoff in the stand he is making. The Japanese Osaka Mainichi states that the "German current is fast finding its way to Siberia." It refers to various incidents of recent occurrence to show that "the Bolsheviki are determined to assist the Germans in the work of bringing the anti-German element among the Russians under German sway * * * and that if these Bolsheviki are determined to do the bidding of the Berlin Government acting under instructions from the Leninite Government, it will be an easy thing for Germany to bring the whole of Siberia under her sway."

Even as early as March 21, 1918, it was stated that official information had been received in Japan that Germany was organizing two army corps from the prisoners of war to meet the expected Japanese expedition; that the organization of one of these corps was actually in process at Irkutsk and that 130 officers had already arrived there from Krasnoyarsk. The Japan Weekly Chronicle of March 21, 1918, states that large numbers of German officer prisoners were arriving at Irkutsk in disguise; that field guns and armored motor cars were in transit from European Russia; that a Russian colonel, president of the detention camp at Irkutsk, received telegraphic instructions to organize armies of prisoners of which Austrians constituted one-third, and to provide accommodations for 30,000 cavalrymen in the prisoners' camp; that his son was offered the command of the automobile corps; and that German and Austrian prisoners were arriving in large numbers in the disguise of miners. On the authority of the Japanese War Department it was stated

in the Japanese Mainichi that the French legation at Peking had lent four field guns, with some soldiers, to Gen. Semenoff to oppose the Bolsheviki and the German prisoners; that the British embassy had lent him two field guns and two machine guns, while Japan had supplied him with arms. "Thus efforts are being made," says the Mainichi, "to prevent the Bolsheviki from being made use of by the Germans. Germany's activity is appalling."

These are the desperate efforts being made by the available representatives of our allies to stem this rapidly moving German occupation, assimilation, and organization of Russia, with its 170,000,000 of people, its 34,600,000 men between the ages of 18 and 44, and its material resources whose possession by the Germans, Lord Robert Cecil says, will enable them to carry on war indefinitely against the rest of the world. In the meantime the United States not only fails to cooperate but discourages the action of our allies for fear of offending the Bolsheviki, and even talks of sending further supplies to those outlaws.

Japan has available 13,000,000 men between the ages of 18 and 44. They are men of discipline, courage, and endurance. Through her great subsidized steamship companies, supplemented by private shipowners, Japan is prepared to transport, without delay, an army to Siberia. The question has been raised as to the possibility of moving such an army to the west. A railroad already in existence stretches from Vladivostok to the western front in France. Russia transported over it a great army to Manchuria in the Japanese War. Japan in the same war transported an army into Manchuria. With American aid of railroad engineers and finance this railroad can quickly be equipped and operated for the transportation of allied troops. The movement of such an army might be slow, but it would be sure and steady, and its effect as soon as put in motion would be instantaneous upon the Germans on the western front.

This is the opportunity which knocks at our door and which, if not embraced, may pass forever. Germany is already enlisting troops, according to a dispatch in the Dorpater Zeitung, from Zurich, in Livonia, Courland, and the Baltic Provinces. With Machiavellian hypocrisy she says: "It is but natural that the children of the provinces freed from Maximalist tyranny should contribute to increase German effectiveness." Prof. Rohrbach, the German historian, lecturing a few days ago in Berlin, said that Russia was "a mere geographical conception and nothing more, and it will never be anything else. Its powers of cohesion, reorganization, and reconstruction are gone forever. * * * The nation no longer exists save as an inchoate mass." He denominates what is left of Russia as "Residue Russia," and proposes to organize the population of the border States as German subjects, asserting that the remainder, while huge in area, is "politically, economically, financially, and militarily weak—a stupid, apathetic State of peasants." The Germans are already in absolute control of these border States, of the Black Sea, and the area around the Caspian, and their influence is established as far as Central Asia.

As Mr. Mochidzuki says: "It may be some time before India's sleeves catch fire, but the flames burning in Siberia are spreading so fast that Japan's eyebrows are about to be scorched."

While this conflagration is spreading around the world, are we to refuse to intervene because of fear of offending the Bolsheviki, who have perpetrated against the allies and civilization the most colossal treason of all time?

It is one of those moments in the life of a nation when a wrong step by the leaders at the branching of the road takes us further and further away from the destiny which we all desire. It is the time of high decision which, if wrong, may render vain all the noble sacrifices and efforts of a people.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], the leader of the Republicans in this body, has charged the President of the United States with contradicting himself in the queries to Chancellor Maximilian. He expresses his great regret that the President does not stand firmly upon the positions which he has heretofore stated in relation to the German and Austrian Governments, and he enlarges upon and justifies his charge of contradiction by showing what he describes as an inconsistency of position. There is no inconsistency whatever in the President's attitude. The President has not changed his position a particle. A proper and a careful reading of the note of the German chancellor and the authorized query through the Secretary of State will clearly demonstrate my statement and completely justify the President, even from the standpoint of the view of the Senator from Massachusetts, who wishes to see an unconditional surrender. Without reading, I insert the German note and in reply Mr. Lansing's note:

The Secretary of State makes public the following communications:

[From the chargé d'affaires ad interim of Switzerland in charge of German interests in the United States.]

DEPARTMENT OF GERMAN INTERESTS.

LEGATION OF SWITZERLAND,
Washington, D. C., October 6, 1918.

Mr. PRESIDENT: I have the honor to transmit herewith, upon instructions from my Government, the original text of a communication from the German Government, received by this legation late this afternoon from the Swiss foreign office.

An English translation of this communication is also inclosed. The German original text, however, is alone to be considered as authoritative.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.

F. OEDERLIN,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Switzerland,
in charge of German interests in United States.

Mr. WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States,
Washington.

THE GERMAN NOTE.

[Inclosure.]

Translation of communication from German Government to the President of the United States, as transmitted by the chargé d'affaires ad interim of Switzerland on October 6, 1918:

The German Government requests the President of the United States of America to take steps for the restoration of peace, to notify all belligerents of this request, and to invite them to delegate plenipotentiaries for the purpose of taking up negotiations. The German Government *accepts, as a basis for the peace negotiations, the program laid down by the President of the United States* in his message to Congress of January 8, 1918, and in his subsequent pronouncements, particularly in his address of September 27, 1918. In order to avoid further bloodshed the German Government requests to bring about the immediate conclusion of a general armistice on land, on water, and in the air.

MAX, PRINCE OF BADEN,
Imperial Chancellor.

MR. LANSING'S NOTE.

From the Secretary of State to the chargé d'affaires of Switzerland:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
October 8, 1918.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge, on behalf of the President, your note of October 6, inclosing a communication from the German Government to the President; and I am instructed by the President to request you to make the following communication to the imperial German chancellor:

"Before making reply to the request of the Imperial German Government, and in order that that reply shall be as candid and straightforward as the momentous interests involved require, the President of the United States deems it necessary to assure himself of the exact meaning of the note of the imperial chancellor. Does the imperial chancellor mean that the Imperial German Government *accepts the terms laid down by* the President in his address to the Congress of the United States on the 8th of January last and *in subsequent addresses* and that its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon the *practical details of their application?*

"The President feels bound to say with regard to the suggestion of an armistice that he would not feel at liberty to propose a cessation of arms to the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated against the central powers so long as the armies of those powers are upon their soil. The good faith of any discussion would manifestly depend upon the consent of the central powers immediately to withdraw their forces everywhere from invaded territory.

"The President also feels that he is justified in asking whether the imperial chancellor is speaking *merely* for the constituted authorities of the Empire who have so far conducted the war. He deems the answers to these questions vital from every point of view."

Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of my high consideration.

ROBERT LANSING.

Mr. FREDERICK OEDERLIN,
Chargé d'Affaires of Switzerland, ad interim,
in charge of German interests, in the United States.

I call the attention of the Senate to the vital points only. The chancellor says:

The German Government *accepts, as a basis for the peace negotiations, the program laid down* by the President of the United States—

And so forth.

The President, observing that that language is equivocal, allows a query to be put that will disclose its hypocrisy. It is equivocal in this, that the statement that the President's program is accepted as a basis of peace negotiation may mean either that the principles laid down are now fully accepted as a basis of peace or it may mean that the program will be accepted *as a thesis for discussion* and negotiation. The President does not permit the double tongue of Germany going before the world and deceiving either the people of the entente or the people of the Teutonic allies, and he permits a query to be extended the double-tongued chancellor that will utterly confound him.

Does the imperial chancellor mean that the Imperial German Government *accepts the terms laid down* by the President in his address to the Congress of the United States on the 8th of January last and in subsequent addresses, and that its object in entering into discussion would be *only to agree upon the practical details of their application?*

Does the German and Austrian Governments accept in honest truth the principle of *abandoning the divine right to rule* and accept the entire democratic program? If it does, this war may be soon ended. The Hohenzollern government can not do that and maintain its military power over the German people another day. The German chancellor dare not answer yes, and he can not answer no to any of a dozen questions vital to maintain dynastic power involved in the President's democratic program.

The President, in the next instance, refuses to consider the question of an armistice and will not permit the Germans, as far as he is concerned, the convenient and comfortable opportunity to retire from the battle line extended throughout Europe and where the German forces are under constant pressure and are crumbling. He will not even suggest to our allies that they consider any armistice while the German troops are on the soil of the allies in France, Belgium, Italy, Serbia, Montenegro, Roumania, Russia, Poland——

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

Mr. OWEN. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. McCUMBER. Suppose the German chancellor should answer, "I represent the German people," and should also answer, "I agree to accept the 14 conditions laid down in your address of January 8, 1918. We will remove our army from foreign soil just as rapidly as we can do so." What position then will we be in, under the suggestions made in the note of the President, to say our armies will still press forward?

Mr. OWEN. I should be glad to be permitted to make my reply to Senator LODGE connectedly and not have it interjected

with questions until I get through with it and then answer questions, but I will answer the Senator's question now.

Mr. McCUMBER. I should be pleased to have the Senator's view on that point. What would he then do?

Mr. OWEN. The answer is that this query of the President's is a refusal to consider an armistice under any conditions until the German troops are back within their own country, and no suggestion that he would even then permit it.

Mr. McCUMBER. But as long as the chancellor says "We will immediately remove from the foreign soil," would not the President be compelled to say, "We will allow you to withdraw in peace"?

Mr. OWEN. Absolutely there is no foundation whatever for any such theory; on the contrary it is a flat denial. The President of the United States has said to these leaders moreover, that their word is absolutely worthless; that they are "incapable of covenanted peace." He says to them now by necessary implication that they do not represent the German people.

Mr. McCUMBER. If their word is absolutely worthless, then why does the President ask what their word is with reference to representing the German people?

Mr. OWEN. As I said to the Senator from Washington [Mr. POINDEXTER], that question need not be answered on this floor. The necessary implication of this communication is that when the President permits the query to be made whether the imperial chancellor is speaking MERELY for the constituted authorities of the empire who have so far conducted the war, it must be taken in connection with what he said on the 27th of September.

I insert in the RECORD, without reading, that part of the President's address on September 27 which precedes and which follows immediately the quotation made by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], who did not put in all that the President said in that connection and omitted what I regard as of vital importance:

The air was clear about us. We saw things in their full, convincing proportions as they were; and we have seen them with steady eyes and unchanging comprehension ever since. We accepted the issues of the war as facts, not as any group of men either here or elsewhere had defined them, and we can accept no outcome which does not squarely meet and settle them. Those issues are these:

Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force?

Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose and interest?

Shall peoples be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force or *by their own will and choice?*

Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?

Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?

No man, no group of men, chose these to be the issues of the struggle. *They are the issues of it;* and *they must be settled—by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interests,* but *definitely and once for all and with a full and unequivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest.*

This is what we mean when we speak of a permanent peace, if we speak sincerely, intelligently, and with a real knowledge and comprehension of the matter we deal with.

We are *all agreed* that *there can be no peace* obtained *by any kind of bargain or compromise with the governments* of the *central empires,* because we have dealt with them already and have seen them deal with other governments that were parties to this struggle, at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest. *They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice.* They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We can not "come to terms" with them. They have made it impossible. *The German people must by this time be fully aware that we can not accept the word of those who forced this war upon us.* We do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language of agreement.

It is of capital importance that we should also be *explicitly* agreed that no peace shall be obtained by any kind of compromise or abatement of the principles we have avowed as the principles for which we are fighting. *There should exist no doubt about that.*

Is the chancellor "MERELY" representing the same authorities above described as "without honor" and who have made it "impossible" for sensible men to deal with them? The same criminals described as "*incapable of covenanted peace,*" and does the chancellor accept the President's principles as a sound basis which describes the chancellor's Government as "impossible" to deal with and "incapable of covenanted peace."

There are 60,000 German prisoners in Berlin under machine guns as prisoners now, unwilling to fight, dominated by the war lords who have control of the military establishment of the German Empire. The whole German and Austrian people are "*subjects.*" The chancellor can not and dare not answer this question. If he does, he exposes his hypocrisy. The German chancellor said:

The German Government *accepts,* as a basis for the peace negotiations, *the program laid down* by the President of the United States in his message to Congress of January 8, 1918, and in his subsequent pronouncements, particularly in his address of September 27, 1918.

The chancellor did not intend really to accept the principles laid down, and now he is caught by his own craft and compelled to say to the German people as well as to the world that he did not intend to agree to those principles. He and his associates can not agree to them and survive as a governing power of the German or of the Austrian people. They intended when their tender of peace was offered and rejected to say, "We asked peace on Wilson's own terms" and were denied. If they now say, "We do not accept your terms finally," they are exposed in their hypocrisy, which was intended to mislead the nations to whom this was addressed as well as the German people inside their own lines. They can not answer "yes" and they dare not answer "no." An armistice is out of the question. They must reply that they do not represent the German people by the consent of the German people, but that they are governing the German people under the principle of divine right, maintained by heredity, exercised by force, and treating the German people as subjects and calling the German people subjects. Whatever their reply, we know the fact, and the President has made no answer.

Mr. McCUMBER. If the Senator will allow me, I think the Senator and myself are in absolute accord as to what ought to be done, and I hope that we are both in absolute accord as to what the President intends to do, but I confess that I am afraid the chancellor will answer, "Yes; I represent the German people," and in addition to that he will answer, "Yes; we will agree to the terms laid down in your speech of January 8, 1918." What is troubling me is what position we will then be in——

Mr. OWEN. The Senator need not be afraid——

Mr. McCUMBER. Because, it seems to me, if he makes those two statements in the affirmative, in honor we would be compelled to allow them to retreat from the conquered territory.

Mr. OWEN. Not at all; an adequate guaranty would be required to carry out their agreement which they can not give without surrender. They dare not agree to the Wilson terms, and they will not make the guaranties required by civilization until they are well beaten on the battle field.

President Wilson's query does not in the slightest change his sound position, but it will suffice to show the hypocrisy of the central empires and prevent their stimulating the morale of Germany and Austria. I favor unconditional surrender and reparation for the damages inflicted on the allies and the end of the dynasties of the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs.

Mr. McCUMBER. May I ask the Senator from Minnesota if he will allow me to have printed in the RECORD without taking time to read it a few of the telegrams that I have received demanding unconditional surrender.

Mr. KELLOGG. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WILFLEY in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

The telegrams are as follows:

DEVILS LAKE, N. DAK., *October 9, 1918.*

Senator PORTER J. McCUMBER,
Washington, D. C.:

Refuse peace proposal. Demand unconditional surrender.

W. E. HOCKING,
President Devils Lake Vigilance Corps.

—

FARGO, N. DAK., *October 7, 1918.*

Senator PORTER J. McCUMBER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Congratulations on stand against armistice and for unconditional surrender of Germany. Every man I have talked with during busy day and telephone messages from State are for unceasing fight to complete victory. Even peace extras issued by camouflaged Socialists' morning daily fail to swerve loyal Americans from unconditional surrender demand.

HARRY CURRAN WILBUR.

—

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *October 8, 1918.*

Senator PORTER J. McCUMBER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We extend to you not only our thanks but the thanks of all our friends for the resolution published in last night's papers. Our only objection is you don't go far enough. Remember that we want reparation, restitution, and guaranties, as it is against our scruples to butcher men and children and devastate German towns. We must have an indemnity from Germany large enough to pay the relatives of the innocents who have suffered, and in addition to this Germany, and Germany alone, should pay for the rehabilitation of the countries she has devastated.

GRIFFITH DURNEY CO.

—

CHICAGO, ILL., *October 9, 1918.*

Hon. P. J. McCUMBER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Congratulate you on the resolutions you have presented regarding the Max proposition. There should be no thought of anything but evacuation of all allied territory and surrender of arms, ammunition, restoring all damaged property, indemnity for everything they have caused the allies to expend, and restoration of Alsace and Lorraine.

JOHN O. HARRING.

BATON ROUGE, LA., *October 7, 1918.*

Senator MCCUMBER,
Washington, D. C.:

Read your resolution in evening paper. Hold to that. That is the least demand we should make.

DAVID W. COMMERO.

ST. PAUL, MINN., *October 7, 1918.*

Senator PORTER J. MCCUMBER,
Member Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D. C.:

Your resolution introduced to-day against any cessation of hostilities until the Hun shall fully surrender and indemnify must evoke the cordial response of every true American. Fight vigorously; the entire Northwest will support you.

JOHN R. MILLER.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Minnesota yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. KELLOGG. I yield for a question, but not if the Senator desires to take up any time in discussion.

ALIENS IN MILITARY SERVICE.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I dislike to make any further draft on the courtesy of the Senator from Minnesota, but I think without any further debate the pending joint resolution (H. J. Res. 331) can be passed.

If the Senator will allow me to say one word, I inferred from the remarks of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] that he misapprehended the purpose of the pending joint resolution. I have since conferred with the Senator, and he assured me that he would interpose no further objection. I ask for the present consideration of the joint resolution.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. GORE. I will briefly state the object of the pending joint resolution: Conventions have been entered into between the United States on one hand and France and England on the other permitting the reciprocal drafting and enlistment of their respective nationals. An Englishman might volunteer in the military service of the United States or a Frenchman might be drafted under these conventions, and if he lost an eye or a limb in France fighting for the United States and our cobelligerents he might be precluded from returning to the United States. This ought not to be. The terms are limited to aliens who are lawful residents of the United States. In addition to that, an Englishman might return home and be drafted or a Frenchman might return to France and volunteer in the Army of France and might sustain injury and be forbidden the privilege of returning to this country. The pending resolution is designed to secure Englishmen and Frenchmen and others, who are lawfully in this country and who enter our military service or that of the cobelligerents, to return to the United States after such service, notwithstanding the immigration act of February 5, 1917.

Mr. KELLOGG. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] is not here, and I hope the Senator will wait until he comes into the Chamber before taking up the joint resolution.

Mr. GORE. I will say to the Senator that I conferred with the Senator from Massachusetts since he interposed his objection.

Mr. KELLOGG. I have no objection to the passage of the joint resolution now if there is no objection to it.

Mr. GORE. With one further comment, I will say that England and France have entered into these conventions notwithstanding the absence of this legislation, but under protest and with the confidence that it would be passed. Italy has withheld her signature from the convention and enlistment is being delayed now. That is the reason for urgency in behalf of this legislation. I hope it will pass.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

TAXATION OF STATE GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, I am aware that the great absorbing question before the American people is the present status of the war, and I have no desire to interrupt Senators in the full discussion which has arisen over the proposition of Germany looking toward an armistice and negotiations toward settling the war; but, Mr. President, there is pending before this body in the Finance Committee a revenue bill of surpassing importance raising questions of great interest to the people of this country, and I beg the attention of the Senate while I submit some observations upon the power of the Federal Government to tax the governmental activities of the States.

The revenue bill as it passed the House levies a tax on incomes derived from interest on State and municipal bonds hereafter to be issued, as well as upon salaries of State officers, and the question now involved is whether Congress has such power.

This leads us to inquire upon what grounds this extraordinary power is based. Some Senators, I understand, base it upon the sixteenth amendment, which was adopted solely for the purpose of removing the restrictions of the Constitution of the United States, requiring direct taxes to be apportioned according to the census and enumeration. On the other hand, the Senator from Pennsylvania does not claim that any such power was granted by this amendment, but he bases the right of taxation upon the war power of Congress; or, in other words, upon the theory that in time of war the restrictions and limitations of the Constitution of the United States as to taxation are suspended.

It is a question of surpassing importance, for if either of these theories is correct, and this tax is levied, it marks a departure from the fundamental principles of government recognized for more than 100 years and sustained by repeated decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. It is also a momentous step, because for the first time it invokes a power which might be used to destroy or render ineffectual the State governments. I do not believe that the necessities of the war justify the Government laying its hands upon the sovereignty of the States. The continuance of our dual form of government, the stability, independence, and effectiveness of our State and municipal governments are of the greatest importance to the peace and happiness of the Nation and the perpetuity of our institutions.

While I am a federalist, and believe in a strong, vigorous central government which no State can impair or impede in its effectiveness and have so expressed my views on many occasions, I am equally a believer in the local government of the States, a government which reaches more intimately the daily life of the citizen and in which he more directly participates. But I did not rise to discuss the science of a dual form of government, for these principles were enunciated by the framers of the Constitution and have withstood the trials and vicissitudes of succeeding generations. The extent of the power of the Federal Government to levy taxes was foremost in the minds of the framers of the Constitution and the publicists of that day. The Confederacy had suffered during the Revolution through the want of this authority. On the other hand, there was great jealousy in the States against an undue extension of Federal power. Had there been any idea that there was placed in the Federal Government the power to tax the very instrumentalities of State governments no one believes that the Constitution would have been ratified. That such was not the understanding is not only made clear by contemporary discussions but by the judicial and legislative history of this country for a century and a quarter. I shall not attempt to state this entire history, but shall confine myself principally to a discussion of those constitutional principles defining his rights and powers of the Federal and State Governments, and the decisions of the courts construing the Constitution and enunciating those principles.

Under these well-established principles the States have no power to levy taxes upon the instrumentalities of the Federal Government, including a tax upon Government bonds or the income therefrom, the salaries of Federal officers, or upon the exercise of any governmental authority. On the other hand, the Federal Government has no power to levy taxes upon the instrumentalities of the State, including State and municipal bonds or the income therefrom, or the salaries of the State officers, or upon the exercise of any governmental authority.

These rules or principles do not arise from any direct constitutional inhibition, for there never has been any provision of the Federal Constitution prohibiting the States from levying taxes upon these instrumentalities of the Federal Government or prohibiting the Federal Government from levying taxes upon the instrumentalities of the States. The want of power arises from the very nature of the sovereignty of the Federal Government and the limited sovereignty of the State government. I do not deny that if the exercise of the legitimate powers of the Federal Government conflicts with the attempted exercise of State powers, the latter must give way.

For instance, in the exercise of the power for the regulation of interstate commerce, in sustaining the supremacy of the treaties of the United States, in declaring war, raising and supporting an army, the Federal Government is in the exercise of its sovereign powers, which can not be obstructed or interfered with by the States. But in war times as well as in peace times taxes must be levied and revenues collected according to the rules of the Federal Constitution. For instance, while Congress in the exercise of war power may lay an embargo upon all exportation it can not levy a tax upon such exportation.

If, therefore, it is claimed that Congress may tax the instrumentalities of State governments, we must inquire by what authority under the Constitution this power comes.

The sixteenth amendment does not confer any power to tax any article which Congress could not before properly tax, but it simply removed the rule of apportionment among the States according to census or enumeration. This is evident not alone from the history of the amendment, but the Supreme Court has held, in construing this amendment since its adoption, that it did not confer any power to tax any income or property which was theretofore untaxable, but was enacted solely to remove the rule of apportionment.

The Congress has always had power to tax incomes and, in fact, to tax all property, as was shown conclusively by the speech of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] and by the speech of the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH]. The words "from whatever source derived" in the sixteenth amendment confer no power whatever. The limitations upon the power of the Federal Government to levy taxes are contained in sections 8 and 9 of Article I of the Constitution, as follows:

SEC. 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States. * * *

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

In other words, duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the States and direct taxes shall not be laid unless in proportion to the census or enumeration provided by the Constitution.

As I understand the position of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX], he believes while in times of peace those restrictions upon the power of taxation exist, yet in times of war, under the all-encompassing power of self-preservation, they do not apply. If that is so, then in war times duties, imposts, and excises might be laid without being uniform throughout the United States, and direct taxes on real estate might be levied without apportionment. In other words, taxes might be levied on land in New York and in no other State, and duties and imposts might be laid on goods coming through the port of New York and not through other ports, although the Constitution provides that no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another.

It must be remembered that when the Constitution was adopted we had just emerged from the struggle for independence, and the subject of the respective powers of the Federal Government and the States was fresh in the minds of the statesmen of that time. Mr. Madison presented this question with remarkable clearness in the Federalist during those memorable days in which the adoption of the Constitution hung in the balance. He said:

The Federal and State Governments are in fact but different agents and trustees of the people, constituted with different powers, and designated for different purposes. Now, to the existence of the States—themselves necessary to the existence of the United States—the power of taxation is indispensable. It is an essential function of government. It was exercised by the Colonies, and when the Colonies became States, both before and after the formation of the confederation, it was exercised by the new governments. Under the Articles of Confederation the Government of the United States was limited in the exercise of this power to requisitions upon the States, while the whole power of direct and indirect taxation of persons and property, whether by taxes on polls, or duties on imports, or duties on internal production, manufacture, or use, was acknowledged to belong exclusively to the States, without any other limitation than that of noninterference with certain treaties made by Congress. The Constitution, it is true, greatly changed this condition of things. It gave the power to tax, both directly and indirectly, to the National Government, and, subject to the one prohibition of any tax upon exports and to the conditions of uniformity in respect to indirect and of proportion in respect to direct taxes, the power was given without any express reservation. On the other hand, no power to tax exports or imports except for a single purpose and to an insignificant extent, or to lay any duty on tonnage, was permitted to the States. In respect, however, to property, business, and persons, within their respective limits, their power of taxation remained and remains entire. It is indeed a concurrent power, and in the case of a tax on the same subject by both Governments, the claim of the United States as the supreme authority must be preferred, but with this qualification it is absolute. The extent to which it shall be exercised, the subjects upon which it shall be exercised, and the mode in which it shall be exercised are all equally within the discretion of the legislatures to which the States commit the exercise of the power. That discretion is restrained only by the will of the people expressed in the State constitutions or through elections, and by the condition that it must not be so used as to burden or embarrass the operations of the National Government. There is nothing in the Constitution which contemplates or authorizes any direct abridgment of this power by national legislation. To the extent just indicated it is as complete in the States as the like power, within the limits of the Constitution, is complete in Congress. (Pollock v. Farmers' Loan & Trust Co., 157 U. S., 560, 1, 2.)

That the sixteenth amendment was not adopted to confer the power to levy income taxes is evident from the same judicial history and from the decisions of the courts from the earliest day to the present time. Summarizing those decisions it is sufficient to say that the taxing power was given to Congress in the most comprehensive terms subject to the limitations as to uniformity of excises and duties and apportionment of direct taxes, that no hint of any power to tax the State activities is contained in this long line of decisions.

I ask permission to insert as a part of my remarks some quotations from the Supreme Court of the United States and from statesmen of that time explaining these powers of taxation.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in Pacific Co. *v.* Soule (7 Wall., 433), said:

The taxing power is given in the most comprehensive terms. The only limitations imposed are that direct taxes, including the capitation tax, shall be apportioned; that duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform, and no duty shall be imposed upon articles exported from any State. With these exceptions—

That is, as to uniformity and apportionment and exports from States—

the exercise of the power is in all respects unfettered.

Again, the Supreme Court said in Veazie *v.* Fenno (8 Wall.):

Nothing is clearer from the discussions in the convention and the discussions which preceded final ratification by the necessary number of States than the purpose to give this power (to levy taxes) to Congress as to the taxation of everything except exports in its fullest extent. * * * More comprehensive words could not have been used. * * * The words used certainly describe the whole power, and it was the intention of the convention that the whole power should be conferred.

In the late case of Nichol *v.* Ames (173 U. S., 515) the Supreme Court said:

It (Congress) has power from that instrument (the Constitution) to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises in order to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare, and the only constitutional restraint upon the power is that all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States, and that no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid unless in proportion to the census or enumeration directed to be taken, and no tax or duty can be laid on articles exported from any State. Thus guarded, the whole power of taxation rests with Congress.

Again, in Bank *v.* Billings (4 Pet., 514), Chief Justice Marshall said:

The power of legislation and, consequently, of taxation operates on all persons and property belonging to the body politic.

Mr. Hamilton, in his Report on Manufacturers, said:

The National Legislature has express authority to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare, with no other qualifications than that all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States; that no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid unless in proportion to numbers ascertained by a census or enumeration taken on the principle prescribed in the Constitution; and that no tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State. These three qualifications excepted, the power to raise money is plenary and indefinite.

In the case of Brushaber *v.* Union Pacific Railroad Co. (240 U. S., 17), of the opinion considering the sixteenth amendment, the Supreme Court said that this amendment does not confer power to levy income taxes, but that the authority was already possessed and never questioned.

Pollock *v.* Farmers' L. & T. Co. (157 U. S., 557):

And this view was expressed by Mr. Chief Justice Chase in the License Tax Cases (5 Wall., 462, 471), when he said: "It is true that the power of Congress to tax is a very extensive power. It is given in the Constitution, with only one exception and only two qualifications. Congress can not tax exports, and it must impose direct taxes by the rule of apportionment and indirect taxes by the rule of uniformity. Thus limited, and thus only, it reaches every subject, and may be exercised at discretion."

I come, now, to the consideration of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States directly passing upon the question involved in this discussion. I shall not burden the Senate by reading extended quotations from these opinions but shall content myself with inserting them in the RECORD for the convenience of Senators who desire to examine this question. I believe the following propositions are established as the law of this land:

The Congress has no power to levy taxes upon the instrumentalities of the States, nor the State to levy taxes upon the instrumentalities of the Federal Government, and by instrumentalities I mean to include Federal and State officials, bonds, or the incomes therefrom, or the exercise of any power of government as distinguished from the exercise of a pure business power.

This does not arise from any direct prohibition in either the Constitution of the United States or the States, but by reason of the dual form of Government and the necessity for the existence of each and the exercise of the necessary governmental power. The exercise of these governmental powers by each, within its proper sphere, unhampered by the other, is necessary to its existence. The Federal Government is based upon the indissoluble unity of the States, but the existence of the State government is as necessary to the Union as the existence of the Federal Government. The State government has more to do with the interior regulation than the Federal Government. The maintenance of its taxing power and its power to elect officers, pay their salaries, to exercise all other functions of government,

is as necessary to the Union as the exercise of the powers of the Federal Government.

It must be evident to anyone that if the Federal Government may tax the bonds or the income from the bonds issued by States, it may, by the exercise of that power, prevent the States from realizing on such bonds. And taxing the income of bonds falls within the same inhibition as taxing the bonds themselves, for the Supreme Court of the United States has thoroughly settled the proposition that a tax upon the income of property is a direct tax upon the property itself, and in the question of power there is no distinction. If the Federal Government may tax the salaries of State officers, it may place that tax at a prohibitive rate. It is unfair to say that this is an extreme case and the power would not be exercised, for the power to tax is the power to destroy, and while a necessary power of government, it is as necessary to the maintenance of independent State governments as to the maintenance of the Federal Government within their respective spheres of action. So I say that there never has been any specific prohibition against taxation, but this prohibition is inherent in the very form of our Government and has been sustained from the earliest day of judicial pronouncement to the present time.

The question was first decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Weston against City Council of Charleston (2 Peters, 449), opinion written by Chief Justice Marshall, in which it was held that a tax on stock issued by the United States and held by individual citizens is a tax on the power to borrow money on the credit of the United States and can not be levied by or under the authority of the State.

The opinion of the great Chief Justice is an absolute demonstration of this proposition, and applies with equal force to the attempt of the Federal Government to tax the borrowing power of the States. The Chief Justice said:

> This brings us to the main question: Is the stock issued for loans made to the Government of the United States liable to be taxed by States and corporations?
>
> Congress has power "to borrow money on the credit of the United States." The stock it issues is the evidence of a debt created by the exercise of this power. The tax in question is a tax upon contract subsisting between the Government and the individual. It bears directly upon that contract while subsisting and in full force. The power operates upon the contract the instant it is framed and must imply a right to affect that contract.
>
> If the States and corporations throughout the Union possess the power to tax a contract for the loan of money, what shall arrest this principle in its application to every other contract? What measure can government adopt which will not be exposed to its influence?
>
> But it is unnecessary to pursue this principle through its diversified application to all the contracts and to the various operations of government. No one can be selected which is of more vital interest to the community than this of borrowing money on the credit of the United States. No power has been conferred by the American people on their Government the free and unburdened exercise of which more deeply affects every member of our Republic. In war, when the honor, the safety, the independence of the Nation are to be defended, when all its resources are to be strained to the utmost, credit must be brought in aid of taxation, and the abundant revenue of peace and prosperity must be anticipated to supply the exigencies, the urgent demands, of the moment. The people, for objects the most important which can occur in the progress of nations, have empowered their Government to make these anticipations, "to borrow money on the credit of the United States." Can anything be more dangerous or more injurious than the admission of a principle which authorizes every State and every corporation in the Union which possesses the right of taxation to burden the exercise of this power at their discretion?

In the case of Dobbins *v.* The Commissioners of Erie County (16 Peters, 435) the Supreme Court held that the States can not tax the salary of an officer of the United States.

The same principle was applied to an attempt of the Federal Government to impose a tax upon the salary of a judicial officer of the State. This was decided in the case of Collector *v.* Day (11 Wallace, 113). The reasoning of the court seems so conclusive that I beg leave here to quote from the decision of Mr. Justice Nelson:

> We do not say the mere circumstances of the establishment of the judicial department, and the appointment of officers to administer the laws, being among the reserved powers of the State, disables the General Government from levying the tax, as that depends upon the express power "to lay and collect taxes," but it shows that it is an original inherent power never parted with, and in respect to which the supremacy of that government does not exist and is of no importance in determining the question; and further that being an original and reserved power, and the judicial officers appointed under it being a means or instrumentality employed to carry it into effect, the right and necessity of its unimpaired exercise and the exemption of the officer from taxation by the General Government stand upon as solid a ground and are maintained by principles and reasons as cogent as those which led to the exemption of the Federal officer in Dobbins *v.* The Commissioners of Erie from taxation by the State; for in this respect—that is, in respect to the reserved powers—the State is as sovereign and independent as the General Government. And if the means and instrumentalities employed by that government to carry into operation the powers granted to it are, necessarily, and for the sake of self-preservation, exempt from taxation by the States, why are not those of the States depending upon their reserved powers, for like reasons, equally exempt from Federal taxation? Their unimpaired existence in the one case is as essential as in the other. It is admitted that there is no express provision in the Constitution that prohibits the General Government from taxing the means and instrumentalities of the States, nor is there any prohibiting the States from taxing the means and instrumentalities of that government. In both cases the exemption rests upon necessary implications, and is upheld by the great law of self-preservation; as any government, whose means employed in conducting its operations, if subject to the control of another and distinct government, can exist only at the mercy of that government. Of what avail are these means if another power may tax them at discretion? (Collector *v.* Day, 11 Wall., 126, 127.)

Here I desire to remark that that opinion was rendered in 1870, and from that day to this there has never been a dissenting opinion by a single judge of the United States Supreme Court upon this question. There have been dissents upon the question involved in the Pollock case as to the power to levy an income tax without apportionment; but all the judges in all the decisions from that day to the present time have conceded that the Federal Government had no power to tax the salaries of State officers or the income from State bonds.

In the case of United States *v.* Railroad Co. (17 Wallace, 322), the Supreme Court held that the Federal Government could not levy a tax upon the income of railway bonds held by a municipality, being the city of Baltimore.

In the case of Pollock *v.* Farmers' Loan & Trust Co. (157 U. S. 430), reargued and decided in One hundred and fifty-eighth United States Statutes, page 601, the Supreme Court had the identical question involved in the present law before it. The income-tax law of 1894 imposed a tax on all incomes which would include revenues received from State bonds. The case was elaborately argued. The court, after reviewing decisions from the earliest date, including Weston *v.* Charleston (2 Peters, 449); Dobbins *v.* Commissioner (16 Peters, 435); Collector *v.* Day (11 Wallace, 113); United States *v.* Railroad Co. (17 Wallace, 322); and other decisions, including the case of Mercantile Bank *v.* New York (121 U. S., 138), said:

> The Constitution contemplates the independent exercise by the Nation and the State, severally, of their constitutional powers.
>
> As the States can not tax the powers, the operations, or the property of the United States, nor the means which they employ to carry their powers into execution, so it has been held that the United States have no power under the Constitution to tax either the instrumentalities or the property of a State.
>
> A municipal corporation is the representative of the State and one of the instrumentalities of the State government. It was long ago determined that the property and revenues of municipal corporations are not subjects of Federal taxation.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> It is contended that, although the property or revenues of the States or their instrumentalities can not be taxed, nevertheless the income derived from State, county, and municipal securities can be taxed. But we think the same want of power to tax the property or revenues of the States or their instrumentalities exists in relation to a tax on the income from their securities, and for the same reason, and that reason is given by Chief Justice Marshall in Weston *v.* Charleston (2 Peters, 449), where he said: "The right to tax the contract to any extent, when made, must operate upon the power to borrow before it is exercised and have a sensible influence on the contract. The extent of this influence depends on the will of a distinct government. To any extent, however inconsiderable, it is a burden on the operations of government. It may be carried to an extent which shall arrest them entirely. * * * The tax on government stock is thought by this court to be a tax on the contract, a tax on the power to borrow money on the credit of the United States, and, consequently, to be repugnant to the Constitution." Applying this language to these municipal securities, it is obvious that taxation on the interest therefrom would operate on the power to borrow before it is exercised, and would have a sensible influence on the contract, and that the tax in question is a tax on the power of the States and their instrumentalities to borrow money and, consequently, repugnant to the Constitution. (Pollock *v.* Farmers' L. & T. Co., 157 U. S., 583, 584, 585, 586.)

While the decision upon the main point in the case as to whether the income tax is a direct tax and must therefore be apportioned, the court was divided, the opinion being by five of the judges; yet upon the question of the taxation of the bonds of municipal corporation it is well to note that there was no dissent. Mr. Justice White, now the Chief Justice, in writing the dissenting opinion, stated:

> In regard to the right to include in an income tax the interest upon the bonds of municipal corporation, I think the decisions of this court, holding that the Federal Government is without power to tax the agencies of the State government, embrace such bonds, and that this settled line of authority is conclusive upon my judgment here. It determines the question that where there is no power to tax for any purpose whatever no direct or indirect tax can be imposed. The authorities cited in the opinion are decisive of this question. They are relevant to one case and not to the other, because in the one case there is full power in the Federal Government to tax, the only controversy being whether the tax imposed is direct or indirect; while in the other there is no power whatever in the Federal Government, and therefore the levy, whether direct or indirect, is beyond the taxing power.

The subject was again elaborately considered by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Farmers' Bank *v.* Minnesota (232 U. S., 516), which, I believe, is the last opinion upon this subject, decided February 24, 1914, after the sixteenth amendment had been adopted, but this decision did not involve a construction of that amendment for the reason that the tax was levied before it went into effect. The court said:

> But we deem it entirely clear that a tax upon the exercise of the function of issuing municipal bonds is a tax upon the operations of the Government, and not in any sense a tax upon the property of the mu-

nicipality. And to tax the bonds as property in the hands of the holders is, in the last analysis, to impose a tax upon the right of the municipality to issue them.

* * * * * * *

It is on this ground that United States bonds have always been held exempt from taxation under authority of the States. By like reasoning it has come to be recognized that bonds issued by the States are not taxable by the Federal Government, and it was upon this ground that this court held, in Pollock *v.* Farmers' Loan & Trust Co. (157 U. S., 439, 584), that the income-tax provisions of the act of August 15, 1894, were unconstitutional in that they imposed a tax upon the income derived from municipal bonds issued under the authority of the States. (Farmers' Bank *v.* Minnesota, 232 U. S., 526–527.)

Such has been the settled construction of the Constitution of the United States by the highest court of the land for a period of nearly 100 years. It has been accepted by the people and acted upon, and under this salutary rule the Federal Government has exercised all powers necessary to its existence, and the State governments within their proper sphere of action have exercised their functions. This has not only been the rule in time of peace, but in time of war. The Nation has passed through four wars since the Constitution was adopted and has not suffered for want of power.

No one will deny that the War of the Rebellion taxed the resources of the Nation to its limit and yet the Supreme Court of the United States held that a tax levied in 1864 upon the income of State officers and their salaries was an infraction of the power of the States; that decision has remained as an authoritative construction of the Constitution for nearly 50 years. True, the Attorney General who argued that case evidently did not press upon the court the position that the constitutional limitations were suspended during war, nor did the distinguished judges who sat in that tribunal express any opinion upon this question, although necessarily involved in the case. At that time, evidently the theory of the suspension of the Constitution during war had not been thought of by the jurists and statesmen who impressed their ability upon this remarkable period of American history. It remained for statesmen of a later day to discover this principle; but is it not remarkable, if this is a correct principle of our Government, that in the framing of the Constitution it was not given expression or in the long judicial history of the powers of government no one, until this day, has thought of it?

Mr. President, I ask permission to insert as an appendix (A) to my remarks excerpts from the brief of the Attorney General and Mr. Ropes, of Boston, who represented the Government in the case in Eleventh Wallace, which involved a tax levied in 1864.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, I shall not deny the right of the Federal Government to exercise to the limit all the power necessary to the preservation of the Nation, and I have, in this Senate, gone far beyond many of my associates in sustaining the war power of Congress and the President; but I am not one of those who believe that the Constitution is suspended in time of war. There is, I think, some misapprehension as to the nature of the war power. It is not a power dehors the Constitution, but one granted by the Constitution and to be exercised coordinately with other powers therein conferred upon the Federal Government. In so far as it is legislative, it is vested in Congress; in so far as it is executive, it is vested in the President. In a general way, war power includes the power of declaring war, raising and supporting an Army and Navy, directing military operations, providing regulations for the trial of offenses by a court-martial within the theater of military operations, and many other subsidiary powers which it is unnecessary for me to mention. But in the exercise of all the other functions of government, the legislative, including the power of taxation, the judicial, and executive, the Constitution is as binding in war times as in peace times. This is not only in harmony with the spirit of democratic institutions, but in harmony with the judicial pronouncements of our courts.

In a very noted case, the case of Johnson against Jones, 44 Illinois, 165, following the decision in the Milligan case in 4 Wallace, Mr. Justice Breese, in a separate opinion, said:

I cordially concur in the sentiment that the Constitution of the United States was designed by its framers, and has been hitherto so understood by the people, to be the same protecting instrument in war as in peace; that a state of war does not enlarge the powers of any one department of the Government established by it, nor has any one of these defendants any right to urge "necessity" or "extraordinary emergencies" as a plea for the usurpation of powers not granted. The first is the tyrant's plea, and the other places the dearest rights of the citizen at the mercy of a dominant party, who have only to declare "the emergency" which they can readily create pretexts for, which bad men are keen to find and eager to act upon. There can be, and there should be, no higher law for the conduct of the Government in its relation to the citizen than the Constitution of the United States.

I believe that in a democracy like ours the Nation is stronger when the people can throw into the mighty struggle for existence all their resources, their man power, their ability and individual energy with perfect confidence that the constitutional rights of the citizens will be preserved.

I commend to my fellow Senators the language of the Supreme Court of the United States, by Mr. Justice Davis, in Ex parte Milligan, Fourth Wallace, 125, in which that distinguished jurist expounded the rights under the Constitution in these memorable words:

This Nation, as experience has proved, can not always remain at peace, and has no right to expect that it will always have wise and humane rulers sincerely attached to the principles of the Constitution. Wicked men, ambitious of power, with hatred of liberty and contempt of law, may fill the place once occupied by Washington and Lincoln, and if this right is conceded and the calamities of war again befall us the dangers to human liberty are frightfull to contemplate. If our fathers had failed to provide for just such a contingency they would have been false to the trust reposed in them. They knew—the history of the world told them—the Nation they were founding, be its existence short or long, would be involved in war; how often or how long continued human foresight could not tell; and that unlimited power, wherever lodged at such a time, was especially hazardous to free men. For this, and other equally weighty reasons, they secured the inheritance they had fought to maintain by incorporating in a written constitution the safeguards which time had proved were essential to its preservation. Not one of these safeguards can the President, or Congress, or the judiciary disturb, except the one concerning the writ of habeas corpus. (Ex parte Milligan, 4 Wall., 125.)

I have the most profound respect for the learning, ability, and patriotism of the Senator from Pennsylvania. But I am compelled to dissent from his opinion, which brushes aside those established principles upon which our Government was founded and which have withstood the storms of war and the trials of peace, and likens them "to many fictions of the law which were invoked to ward off the bugaboos whose unreality we now clearly comprehend."

The principles which I enunciate are broad, fundamental principles of the Government, without which the sovereign power of the Nation or the limited sovereignty of the State is a mockery.

It is idle to say that taxation is not a power to destroy and could not be so interpreted without its abuse. All human power is subject to abuse, but I will remind the distinguished Senator that under the legitimate power of taxation the Federal Government taxed out of existence, and rightly so, the power of the States to issue money through State banks. The trouble is, the power once conceded, what constitutional limitations set the bounds to its exercise and who is to determine what is abuse of the power? If we once concede, as the great Chief Justice Marshall said, that the States may tax one instrument employed by the Government in the execution of its powers, they may tax any and every other instrument. "They may tax the mail; they may tax the mint; they may tax patent rights; they may tax the papers of the customhouse; they may tax judicial process; they may tax all the means employed by the Government to an excess which would defeat all the ends of government. They did not design to make their Government dependent on the States."

Later the Supreme Court, quoting this language, applied it with equal force to the right of the Federal Government to tax the legitimate exercise of powers by the State government within its limited sphere of action. There being no constitutional inhibition, I know of no reason, so far as the taxing power of the State is concerned, why it should not reach the income from liberty bonds as well as the Federal Government to reach the income from State bonds.

The Federal Government is stronger when exercised within constitutional limits. The Government is more enduring because it is based upon indissoluble union of the States, and without the States there can be no union of States, and without the sovereign power of the States there can be no States. I do not deny the right of the Federal Government in war times to seize any property, to enter into any domain, to exercise any power necessary to the preservation of the Union. Such a power is well illustrated by the example instanced by the Senator from Pennsylvania, in which he stated that if a foreign foe should occupy the capitol at Harrisburg the United States might enter the capitol and destroy it as a war measure. No one denies this principle.

The armies of the United States may destroy any property, take possession of any place for the purpose of defense or aggression—this is the war power. But when Congress comes to levy a system of taxes, to exercise its legislative powers when the other departments of the Government are exercising their powers, both in war and in peace, it does so in the manner and under the limitations pointed out by the Constitution. The power of taxation and the manner of its exercise conferred by the Constitution were deemed sufficient to satisfy the needs of the United States in times of war. If they are not, the people have reserved the power to change the Constitution. Nor is the other illustration given by the distinguished Senator any more

apt in its application. He cites as an illustration of the war power of the Nation the soldiers and sailors' civil-rights bill, which suspended the sovereign power of the State to collect taxes due from soldiers and sailors. The two acts are clearly distinguishable. In the latter case the soldier or the sailor has actually entered the service of the United States Army or Navy. It is a part of the power as well as of the duty of the Government to protect him during this term of service. It is a far cry from the exercise of this power to the exercise of the power of the Federal Government to tax the governmental functions of the States.

The Senator from Pennsylvania made a statement in his address as follows:

> Aside even from the extraordinary exactions of war, the national economy may hardly withstand the effect, if the theory of exemption be carried to its logical conclusion. The modern tendency may result in a State's increased socialization of various profitable enterprises. Apply the theory of State exemption and a State might conceivably take over so many interests as to remove as a source of Federal revenue the bulk of its taxable wealth.

The Supreme Court of the United States in the case of South Carolina *v.* United States (199 U. S., 438) has answered completely the argument of the Senator. The court there distinguished between functions of a governmental character and of a purely business character, and held that the issue of bonds, the creation of offices, and the fixing of salaries are governmental functions. If the State goes outside of that and enters into competition with its citizens in doing ordinary business the property may be subject to taxation.

In that case, as Senators will remember, the Supreme Court sustained the revenue law levying a tax upon spirituous liquors that the State was handling through its local dispensaries. But the judges writing the majority as well as the dissenting opinion pointed out that by a long line of decisions it had been settled in this country that in exercising the power of borrowing money, creation of offices, and the payment of salaries the States are exercising strictly governmental functions as distinguished from business functions and that the income from such bonds and from salaries of State officers is not subject to taxation by the Federal Government.

So we need have no fear that if socialism, in its march, shall take over to the States all the business of the Nation, the Federal Government will be deprived of the power of laying its hands upon the property and the income to satisfy its needs.

The debates in Congress show that one of the objects of the sixteenth amendment was to meet any extraordinary emergency which might occur in times of war, and that while ordinary revenues might be sufficient for the Government in time of peace there might come a time when this power of taxation would become necessary to the life of the Nation. If it is true that there is no limit to the power of taxation in time of war, the sixteenth amendment was entirely unnecessary to meet this object which Senators and Representatives had in mind.

The Federal Government could levy direct taxes without apportionment, could tax exports, although it is a fundamental principle of the Constitution that such exports shall never be taxed. It could stop the exercise of State government, because these governments are a drain upon the resources of the Nation. It could amalgamate the States into one upon the theory of economy. It could tax the bonds of other States, in fact, any securities held by any State in its treasury. The State of Minnesota holds $28,000,000 of the bonds of other States and securities of its own municipalities. If the power of war taxation exists to the extent claimed by the Senator from Pennsylvania, the Federal Government can tax those bonds.

Mr. President, it has been said that we are in this war to make democracy safe; we are in the war not alone to make democracy safe, but to make our democracy safe, to maintain our right to existence as the leading representative democracy of the world. We are fighting to preserve our institutions. We can best do so by maintaining those institutions in all their force and strength, maintaining the constitutional rights of citizens and of the State governments. It is an old saying that encroachment upon constitutional rights do not come boldly by the assertion of the right of usurpation, but insidiously under the guise of necessity. It is easy in time of war for us to overstep the bounds of liberty as laid down in the Bill of Rights, but one step is apt to lead to another. It is a specious argument, I believe, to say that we are exempting a large amount of wealth from taxation. Experience has shown that the people of the States are subject to less burden if they sell their securities exempt from taxation, because they save in interest a greater sum than they would reap in benefit by taxation. This has been the policy of the States, as well as the policy of the Federal Government. Because we are now called upon to issue an unparalleled amount of Federal bonds and have deemed it unwise to exempt them from special surtaxes during the war, should we attempt to reverse the policies of the States and tax State bonds which have been issued under the solemn promise of the State governments and under the decisions of the Supreme Court exempting them from taxation? What would be thought of a law which would tax the income of the 3½ per cent liberty bonds after the solemn pledge of Congress? What would be thought of a law that would tax the income of the bonds we issued prior to that time tax free? The same thing will be thought of the Federal Government if it undertakes to tax the bonds which the States have issued under as high authority and exempted in the same way.

Furthermore we do not attempt to place a normal tax upon the income of Federal bonds, but this bill would place not only a normal tax but a surtax upon the income received from State bonds. We exempt a large amount of Federal bonds. We propose to exempt only $5,000 of State bonds. It is useless to disguise the real object of this bill. It is to deter the States and municipalities from exercising that sovereign power. The States and municipalities are responding splendidly to the request of the Federal Government not to issue bonds, but it is absolutely necessary to the welfare of local communities that some bonds be issued, and I believe we can rely upon the patriotism of the people to carry on this policy.

After a very careful consideration of this subject, I am convinced that if any power exists to tax the instrumentalities of the State it must be found in the sixteenth amendment. We either have the power or we do not have it. In order properly to construe this amendment we must know the state of the law prior to its adoption, the defect or wrong intended to be remedied, and the object to be attained by the amendment to the Constitution. This, I think, every Senator will admit. The Supreme Court of the United States has time and again held that while, of course, the individual opinions of Senators and Representatives will not be considered for the purpose of construing a particular law, that the history of the times, the judicial and legislative history of the particular law, including debates in Congress, will be resorted to for the purpose of such construction, no principle of construction which can be invoked is stronger than this, for it demonstrates the very reason for the enactment of the amendment. Let us then consider what was the state of the law and exactly what Congress, the States, and the people generally attempted to accomplish by the amendment to the Constitution.

First, bear in mind that at the time of its adoption it was thoroughly established by an unbroken line of decisions of the Supreme Court that there was an entire want of power in the Federal Government to tax these State instrumentalities or the State to tax those of the Federal Government, and that a tax upon the income of bonds or the salaries of State officials comes within this inhibition. That this was not by reason of any specific constitutional inhibition but by reason of the fact that such power of taxation was inconsistent with the exercise of that sovereign power necessary to the maintenance of Government.

In the very decision of the Pollock case, which gave rise to this constitutional amendment, the court was unanimous upon this proposition, although divided upon the main question. Let us now see what was this decision and what the Congress and the legislatures of the States and the people understood they were accomplishing. It will be remembered in the law of 1894 Congress provided for an income tax, which included the income from municipal bonds, from real estate, and other property. It was elaborately argued by most distinguished counsel, was reargued and reaffirmed. I do not propose to take the time of the Senate to discuss the merits of this case. In the two cases the opinion was five judges holding the law unconstitutional and four judges dissenting. The whole history of this constitutional inhibition was considered, including the various decisions in the earlier days of the Republic. It was finally decided that a tax on the income of property was a direct tax and therefore void because not apportioned among the States; that the court would consider the source from which the income was derived in determining this question, and it was this consideration which gave rise to the constitutional amendment, giving Congress power to levy from whatever source derived without apportionment.

These questions having been settled by the Supreme Court of the United States, an agitation immediately commenced in the country looking toward an amendment of the Constitution to remove the inhibition providing that taxes must be apportioned according to the census or enumeration. It was discussed in the platform of political parties, by Senators, Representatives, and in the public press, particularly during the campaign in the fall of 1908, which resulted in the election of Mr. Taft. Lawyers and public men were divided as to the soundness of these decisions, although not divided as to what the decisions meant. Many expressed the view that if the subject was again submitted to

the court, in view of the far-reaching effect of this opinion, there might be a different decision.

When the tariff bill came before Congress in the spring of 1909, so strong was the sentiment for an income tax that Senators Cummins and Bailey each introduced amendments to the tariff bill providing for a tax on incomes. Both Senators admitted that the passage of either of these amendments would again raise the question of the validity of such tax, decided in the Pollock case, by reason of the apportionment provision of the Constitution. But no claim was made that the Constitution should be changed to grant the right to Congress to tax the State instrumentalities. In fact, these amendments provided for the exemption of the incomes from State, municipal, and Federal bonds and the salaries of State officers. Elaborate discussion then took place in Congress, participated in by Senators CUMMINS, Bailey, BORAH, NELSON, and many others, as to the soundness of the opinion in the Pollock case and the necessity of having an amendment to the Constitution changing the rule of apportionment.

With the permission of the Senate, I will attach as Appendix B a reference to the discussions in Congress, which may enable Senators to find them without difficulty.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KELLOGG. President Taft thereupon, on June 16, 1909, sent a special message to Congress calling attention to this decision holding that income taxes were direct taxes and therefore must be apportioned, stating that it might be indispensable to the Nation's life in a great crisis that the power should exist to levy such taxes. Among other things he said:

I therefore recommend to the Congress that both Houses, by a two-thirds vote, shall propose an amendment to the Constitution conferring the power to levy an income tax upon the National Government without apportionment among the States in proportion to population. This course is much preferred to the one proposed of reenacting a law once judicially declared to be unconstitutional. * * * I recommend then first the adoption of a joint resolution by two-thirds of both Houses proposing to the States an amendment to the Constitution granting the Federal Government the right to levy and collect an income tax without apportionment among the States according to the population.

And, second, he recommended the corporation tax.

The first amendment was introduced by Senator Brown, of Nebraska, on April 27, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 44, part 2, page 1548, which was as follows:

Resolved, etc., The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes and inheritances.

On June 17, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 44, part 4, page 3377, Senator Brown introduced another amendment, as follows:

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect direct taxes on incomes without apportionment among the several States according to population.

On the previous day, June 16, the date Mr. Taft's message was delivered, Senator NELSON introduced an amendment, as it was finally reported by the Committee on Finance, which is substantially the same as Senator Brown's last amendment, with the words "from whatever source derived" added. The amendment was reported by Senator Aldrich, chairman of the Finance Committee, as follows:

ART. XVI. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived without apportionment among the several States and without regard to the census or enumeration.

I have examined the debates in Congress upon the amendment to the tariff bill proposing an income tax and the debates upon the constitutional amendment, and nowhere is there a suggestion that the amendment was intended to authorize Congress to levy an income tax on any subjects not theretofore within its taxing power. In fact, after the most elaborate discussions of the reasons lying at the foundation of the opinion in the Pollock case, and after review of the entire history of the constitutional restrictions as to direct taxes without apportionment, the entire discussions in Congress show that the object of the amendment was not to grant any power to levy income taxes, as that power already existed, but simply and alone to remove the restrictions as to the manner of levying the tax, namely, the restriction of apportionment according to the census or enumeration.

In all these debates no mention was made that the amendment was being submitted to the legislatures of the States for the purpose of giving the power to the Federal Government to tax municipal securities or the salaries of State officers or any other instrumentality or activity of the State governments or that was one of the objects. Is it not strange that if such a far-reaching power was to be conferred on the Federal Government, mention of it was not made in the debates of either House of Congress in the public discussions or in the press? When the amendment came up for consideration by the Legislature of New York in 1910, Mr. Hughes, who was then governor, raised the question as to whether this amendment did grant to the Federal Government the power to tax municipal bonds and salaries of State officers. Senator BORAH, in a very able speech before the Congress, demonstrated, I believe, that such power was not granted by the sixteenth amendment; and the Hon. Elihu Root, who was a Member of the Senate at the time the amendment was submitted, replied in a letter to the same effect. Much public discussion took place at this time, and no one, so far as my knowledge goes, took the position that it did grant any such power. Subsequently the Legislature of New York ratified the amendment.

For the convenience of Senators I will state that Senator Root's letter appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 1, 1910, volume 45, part 3, page 2539.

Mr. THOMAS. If the Senator will permit me, I will state that I inserted it in my remarks last week when I made some observations upon this question.

Mr. KELLOGG. I had forgotten. I think it is very pertinent to state here that Gov. Hughes, who raised that question in the State of New York, has, since the adoption of the sixteenth amendment, as judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, concurred in the opinion in the Brushaber case in Two hundred and fortieth United States, in which it was held that the amendment did not extend the taxing power of the Federal Government to any new subjects. I have every reason to believe that the distinguished jurist, who was then governor of New York, had not, prior to the time of his message, given this subject careful consideration.

Subsequently the Legislature of New York ratified the amendment, and the Legislature of New Jersey, upon the same representation, in a message delivered by Gov. Fort, ratified the amendment upon the ground that it did not grant to the Federal Government the power of taxation over instrumentalities of the State.

But I submit that a consideration of the language of the amendment, as well as its history, demonstrates that it was not intended to and does not confer any such extraordinary power. It does not authorize the levy of the income tax from whatever source derived as such, but from whatever source derived without apportioning the same among the several States. The power to levy income taxes theretofore existed. That this was the understanding of the Congress is borne out by the fact that when Senator Brown was discussing his first amendment, which authorized the Congress to lay and collect taxes on incomes and inheritances, Senator Rayner pointed out to him that the Congress already had that power. Undoubtedly this view prevailed, because Senator Brown shortly thereafter introduced another amendment, which, with the exception of the words "from whatever source derived," is the same as the one finally adopted. It will be said that the words "from whatever source derived" are all-embracing and sufficient to include the power to tax the instrumentalities of the States.

If the words were considered separate from the text of the amendment it might be so, but the amendment is practically one sentence. It is the levy of an income tax from whatever source derived without apportionment that the Congress authorized. The sources from which the revenue was derived were discussed elaborately in the Pollock case in order to determine whether they were in effect direct taxes or not.

If this is true they are sufficient to authorize the Federal Government to levy taxes upon State property, upon securities in the treasury of the States, upon the exercise of judicial and legislative power. I do not believe anyone will contend that such is its scope. Furthermore, the language is entirely consistent with the object the people had in adopting the amendment. It must be remembered that in the Pollock case it was necessary for the court to consider the source from which the income was derived in order to decide that a tax upon the income was equivalent to a tax upon the property.

But in this matter of interpretation we are fortified by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in three cases decided since the amendment was adopted in which it was held that it was not adopted for the purpose of granting any power of taxation over any subject, but solely to remove the inhibition against levying direct taxes without apportionment. (Bushaber *v.* U. P. R. Co., 240 U. S., 1; Santon *v.* Baltac Mining Co., 240 U. S., 103; Peck *v* Lowe, decided May 20, 1918, and not yet reported)

In the first case the Chief Justice, who wrote the principal dissenting opinion in the Pollock case, not only explained the language "from whatever source derived," but stated clearly the object of the amendment. He said:

While not questioning at all that in common understanding it was direct merely on income and only indirect on property in a constitutional sense, since to burden an income by a tax was from the point

of substance to burden the property from which the income was derived, and thus accomplish the very thing which the provision as to apportionment of direct taxes was adopted to prevent.

* * * * * * * *

It is clear on the face of this text that it does not purport to confer power to levy income taxes in a generic sense—an authority already possessed and never questioned—or to limit and distinguish between one kind of income taxes and another, but that the whole purpose of the amendment was to relieve all income taxes when imposed from apportionment from a consideration of the source whence the income was derived. Indeed, in the light of the history which we have given and of the decision in the Pollock case and the ground upon which the ruling in that case was based, there is no escape from the conclusion that the amendment was drawn for the purpose of doing away for the future with the principle upon which the Pollock case was decided—that is, of determining whether a tax on income was direct not by a consideration of the burden placed on the taxed income upon which it directly operated, but by taking into view the burden which resulted on the property from which the income was derived—since in express terms the amendment provides that income taxes, from whatever source the income may be derived, shall not be subject to the regulation of apportionment. (Bushaber v. U. P. R. Co., 240 U. S., 16–18.)

Again considering the subject in the Stanton case (240 U. S., 112) the Supreme Court said:

The contention is that as the tax here imposed is not on the net product, but in a sense somewhat equivalent to a tax on the gross product, of the working of the mine by the corporation, therefore the tax is not within the purview of the sixteenth amendment, and consequently it must be treated as a direct tax on property because of its ownership, and as such void for want of apportionment. But aside from the obvious error of the proposition intrinsically considered, it manifestly disregards the fact that by the previous ruling it was settled that the provisions of the sixteenth amendment conferred no new power of taxation, but simply prohibited the previous complete and plenary power of income taxation possessed by Congress from the beginning from being taken out of the category of indirect taxation to which it inherently belonged and being placed in the category of direct taxation, subject to apportionment by a consideration of the sources from which the income was derived; that is, by testing the tax not by what it was, a tax on income, but by a mistaken theory deduced from the origin or source of the income taxed. Mark, of course, in saying this, we are not here considering a tax not within the provisions of the sixteenth amendment; that is, one in which the regulations of apportionment or the rule of uniformity is wholly negligible because the tax is one entirely beyond the scope of the taxing power of Congress and where consequently no authority to impose a burden either direct or indirect exists. (Stanton v. Baltac Mining Co., 240 U. S., 112.)

In the last case of Peck against Lowe the court again stated with clearness and precision that the sixteenth amendment did not extend the taxing power to any new subjects. The court said:

The sixteenth amendment, although referred to in argument, has no real bearing and may be put out of view. As pointed out in recent decisions, it does not extend the taxing power to new or excepted subjects, but merely removes all occasion, which otherwise might exist, for an apportionment among the States of taxes laid on income, whether it be derived from one source or another. (Brushaber v. Union Pacific R. R. Co., 240 U. S., 1, 17–19; Stanton v. Baltac Mining Co., 240 U. S., 108, 112–113.)

These are clear statements of the meaning of the sixteenth amendment when the whole subject was fresh in the mind of the court. And while, of course, the question litigated in the case was not the power to tax State bonds or salaries of State officers, the scope and meaning of the amendment was necessarily involved and the court spoke three times with deliberation and emphasis. This judicial expression is in harmony with the entire history leading up to its adoption and in harmony with the settled principles of the Constitution.

I do not believe there is any such exigency in the Federal Government to require this doubtful and dangerous experiment. From the statements of the Secretary of the Treasury but small revenue will be received. The tax is not imposed on the incomes of bonds heretofore issued, but only upon the incomes of bonds hereafter to be issued. In time of war, when of necessity all powers of the Federal Government are marshaled, when there is a great concentration of power, let us not, under the guise of war, undertake to change the fundamental principles under which the States and Federal Governments maintain their separate existence.

APPENDIX A.

The plaintiff in error maintains the constitutionality of the tax on the general principle that, in the exercise of its granted powers, the Federal Government is supreme; that, under the general power of taxation, every man and every thing throughout the country (exports excepted) are subject to taxation in the discretion of Congress, provided that the power be exercised for the purpose declared in the Constitution and not for unauthorized purposes, and that the conditions of its exercise, prescribed in the Constitution, uniformity, etc., be complied with.

* * * * * * * *

Suppose the defendant in error had been drafted into the Army under a general conscription law, would his office have saved him? If it would, how far is this exemption to extend? Are justices of the peace exempt? Are aldermen exempt? And is it to be supposed for a moment that the number of persons exempt in a particular State from military duty depends on the laws of that State? We are not speaking of a law drafting into the Army all probate judges; that would be a law which the court would probably consider as not aimed at legitimate purposes; but we are asking whether the fact of a man's holding a commission as a State judge exempts him from serving in the United States Army in time of war.

From the above considerations, among others, the principle may reasonably be deduced that the United States Government in the exercise of its granted powers can reach every man and every dollar in this country. The common defense and general welfare demand this: All the resources of each State were liable to the full for these purposes to each State before acceding to the Constitution; now they are all available, under the limitations of the Constitution, for the general Government.

* * * * * * * *

We pass to a consideration of the objections to this view urged by the defendant in error.

1. It is urged that within the sphere of their jurisdiction the States are as independent of the Federal Government as that Government, within its sphere, is independent of the States; and that a government whose officers are taxed can not be considered independent. But this independence of the States is confined to a certain sphere by the terms of the objection. That is to say, it is an independence consistent with the supreme authority of another government over its citizens and its property for certain of the most important purposes of government. Can that State, it may be pertinently urged, be in any sense independent, all of whose citizens may, against their will, be drafted into the Army? Can that State be considered independent, all of whose citizens, except its officers (to adopt the defendant's theory for a moment), may be at any time deprived by another government of a percentage of their income to defray the expense of a war, for instance, to which they are all opposed? In fine, is it any more an abridgment of the independence and sovereignty of a State to tax the agents of the people than to tax the people themselves? (Collector, pp. 2, 5, 6, vol. 7, file copies of brief, clerk's office.)

APPENDIX B.

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 61st Cong., 1st sess.]

Remarks by Senators during Senate's consideration of proposed amendment in form of income-tax law to the then pending tariff bill on the question of the power of the Federal Government to tax the income derived from State and municipal bonds:

Senator Bailey, April 15, 1909, page 1351.
Senator Bailey, April 26, 1909, page 1540.
Senator Burkett, April 26, 1909, page 1540.
Senator Bacon, May 3, 1909, page 1683.
Senator NELSON, May 3, 1909, page 1683.
Remarks on floor of Senate upon submission of proposed income-tax amendment to Federal Constitution, pages 1568 to 1570, inclusive.
Remarks and debates on floor of House of Representatives pertinent to the then pending and proposed income-tax amendment to Federal Constitution, pages 4389 to 4441, inclusive.
Memorandum joint resolution for income-tax amendment to Federal Constitution, S. J. Res. 8, 25, 39, 40; H. J. Res. 51.

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 61st Cong., 2d sess.]

Letter of Senator Root to Frederick M. Davenport then a member of the New York State Legislature, dated February 17, 1910, pertinent to the scope of the then pending and proposed income-tax amendment to Federal Constitution; also, speech of Senator BORAH on the same subject and pertinent remarks of Senator Bailey and Senator Brown immediately subsequent to said speech.
Senator Brown, letter of Senator Root, March 1, 1910, pages 2539–2540, inclusive.
Senator BORAH, speech, February 10, 1910, pages 1694–1698, inclusive.
Senator Bailey, remarks, February 10, 1910, pages 1694–1699, inclusive.
Senator Brown, remarks, February 10, 1910, pages 1698–1699, inclusive.

DAYLIGHT-SAVING LAW.

Mr. ROBINSON. I renew the request I made during the morning hour for the immediate consideration of the bill (S. 4982) to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to save daylight and provide standard time for the United States," approved March 19, 1918. It is a bill providing for the extension of daylight saving, and the Committee on Interstate Commerce have reported it unanimously.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in the Committe of the Whole, and it was read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 3 of the act entitled "An act to save daylight and to provide standard time for the United States," approved March 19, 1918, be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. That hereafter the standard time of each zone shall be the same as that in effect on October 1, 1918, or one hour in advance of the mean astronomical time of the degree of longitude governing each zone, respectively, and as thus established shall remain fixed and determined."

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

CLAIMS FOR DAMAGES TO PRIVATE PROPERTY.

Mr. FLETCHER. I ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the bill (S. 4945) to amend an act entitled "An act to give indemnity for damages caused by American forces abroad," approved April 18, 1918.

Mr. CURTIS. Let the bill be read first.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be read.

Mr. FLETCHER. It was reported from the Committee on Military Affairs and it is urged by Gen. Pershing.

Mr. CURTIS. Is it a unanimous report?

Mr. FLETCHER. Yes. There is a communication from Gen. Pershing to the War Department, and it is very important.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBINSON in the chair). Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Florida?

There being no objection, the bill was considered in Committee of the Whole, and it was read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That an act entitled "An act to give indemnity for damages caused by American forces abroad," approved April 18, 1918, be, and the same is hereby, amended by adding to the title thereof the words "and for other purposes," and by adding a new section, as follows:

"SEC. 5. That claims of inhabitants of France or of any other foreign country not an enemy or ally of an enemy of the United States against any officer, enlisted man, or other person in the United States Army, who has died, or hereafter shall die, during service overseas, for unpaid indebtedness incurred for current personal expenses of board, lodging, fuel, light, laundry, personal wearing apparel, or other items of ordinary current living expenses may be presented, approved, and paid as provided by section 1 of this act in cases of claims for damages; and whenever any such claim shall have been paid as aforesaid the Government shall reimburse itself therefor by deducting the amount of such payment from any pay or allowance due the deceased at the time of his death: *Provided*, That the provisions of section 2 of this act shall not apply to the claims described in this section."

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I ask that the report of the committee on this bill be printed in the RECORD, so as to show the reasons for the passage of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, leave will be granted. The Chair hears none.

The report referred to is as follows:

[S. Rept. No. 589, 65th Cong., 2d sess.]

INDEMNITY FOR DAMAGES CAUSED BY AMERICAN FORCES ABROAD.

Mr. FLETCHER, from the Committee on Military Affairs, submitted the following report to accompany S. 4945:

The committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 4945) to amend an act entitled "An act to give indemnity for damages caused by American forces abroad," approved April 18, 1918, having had the same under consideration, report thereon with the recommendation that it do pass, and in support thereof submit the following letter from Hon. Benedict Crowell, Acting Secretary of War, addressed to the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, September 14, 1918.

The CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS,
United States Senate.

SIR: The following is a draft of a bill requested by Gen. Pershing to provide for the prompt settlement of debts of deceased members of our expeditionary forces abroad:

"An act to amend 'An act to give indemnity for damages caused by American forces abroad,' approved April 18, 1918.

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That 'An act to give indemnity for damages caused by American forces abroad,' approved April 18, 1918, be, and the same hereby is, amended by adding to the title thereof the words 'and for other purposes,' and by adding a new section as follows:

"'SEC. 5. That claims of inhabitants of France or of any other foreign country not an enemy or ally of an enemy of the United States against any officer, enlisted man, or other person in the United States Army, who has died, or hereafter shall die, during service overseas, for unpaid indebtedness incurred for current personal expenses of board, lodging, fuel, light, laundry, personal wearing apparel, or other items of ordinary current living expenses may be presented, approved, and paid as provided by section 1 of this act in cases of claims for damages; and whenever any such claim shall have been paid as aforesaid the Government shall reimburse itself therefor by deducting the amount of such payment from any pay or allowances due the deceased at the time of his death: *Provided*, That the provisions of section 2 of this act shall not apply to the claims described in this section.'"

Gen. Pershing states that it is highly desirable for the prestige of our forces abroad that provision should be made for the prompt settlement of debts of deceased members of our forces. The bill as drafted will cover cases that may arise in our expeditionary forces in any part of the world now or in future wars.

It is requested that you endeavor to secure the early enactment of the above.

Respectfully,

BENEDICT CROWELL,
Acting Secretary of War.

Gen. Persing has also cabled the War Department asking for information relative to the status of this bill and setting forth the necessity for immediate action thereon. It is hoped that this bill may be passed with the least possible delay.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, a few moments ago the Senator from Washington [Mr. POINDEXTER] yielded to me; I took advantage of the opportunity to refer to the notice of the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG] that he would to-day deliver the speech to which we have just listened, and which is one of the ablest legal arguments ever delivered upon this floor. I seem to have given offense to the Senator having the floor, who strongly asserted that I had taken advantage of his courtesy to belittle his subject—take him from the floor. I do not give his exact statement.

Mr. President, the good opinion of the Senator from Washington is something which I cherish too highly to permit the day to pass without giving the assurance to him and to the Senate that if I have said anything to justify his resentment, I am very sorry and desire to withdraw it.

I have been anxious for some time to hear the Senator from Minnesota upon a very important question, because, as a member of the Senate Finance Committee, I knew that it would be a valuable contribution to the discussion of a very important question which we must dispose of. It may be that my zeal to hear the Senator led me into expressions which were justly subject to the construction which the Senator from Washington placed upon them. But I discerned that several Senators had asked for recognition when he took his seat, and I hoped that by reminding the Senate at the close of the morning hour of the notice of the Senator from Minnesota they would yield to him when the Senator from Washington yielded the floor. The Senator from Washington is not in his seat; I hope, however, that he will accept this expression of regret in the spirit which prompts its utterance.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. McCUMBER and Mr. WILFLEY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I wish to take some little time of the Senate, and therefore, if the Senator from Missouri has some matter that would take but a short time, I shall gladly yield.

Mr. WILFLEY. I wish to say to the Senator from North Dakota that what I have to say will also take some time.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, will the Senator from North Dakota yield to me for just a moment?

Mr. McCUMBER. I yield.

Mr. KENYON. I intended to make a motion to take up the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 121) creating a commission to report a plan for the adoption of a national budget system, for consideration by the Senate, but the Senator from North Dakota was first recognized. I wish to give notice that at the first opportunity I shall move to take up that joint resolution and ask for its consideration by the Senate. I do not know what the plan is as to the transaction of business, but I assume business will be transacted. I serve this notice in order that complaint may not be made at the time I make the motion that no notice of my intention to do so has been given.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] informs me that he desires the passage of a small local bill, and that likely there will be no discussion of it. I therefore yield to him.

EXCHANGE OF FEDERAL BUILDING SITE AT EATONTON, GA.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, the House of Representatives has passed House bill 10609, allowing the Secretary of the Treasury to exchange a post-office site in Eatonton, Ga. That is the substance of the bill. We are quite anxious for the exchange to be made at once, and I therefore ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia asks unanimous consent for a present consideration of the bill named by him. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 10609) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to exchange the present Federal building site at Eatonton, Ga., for another site on the public square in said city. It empowers the Secretary of the Treasury to exchange the present Federal building site at Eatonton, Ga., for another site on the public square in that city upon such terms as he may deem to be to the best interests of the United States, but the cost of such new site, including the purchase price of the present site, shall not exceed the original limit of $5,000 fixed by the act of Congress approved March 4, 1913, authorizing the acquisition of a Federal building site at Eatonton, Ga.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President——

Mr. McCUMBER. I yield to the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that when the Senate adjourns to-day it stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to.

REPUBLICAN ATTITUDE AND POLICIES.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, provisions are being made to the end that our soldiers in France and in different parts of the United States may exercise their sovereign power of voting upon any and all the issues before the American people in our elections this fall. If, within the sound of the battle, the soldier may pause for the purpose of casting his ballot and expressing his voice upon any great national question, I certainly think it most appropriate that Members of Congress, upon whom is imposed the duty of conducting the Government and guiding the Nation through this war, may well pause for a moment and consider some of the issues which will be involved in our next election.

Mr. President, we often hear and read the statement, "politics is adjourned during this war." That statement is not and can not be wholly true. Under our form of government legitimate politics can never be adjourned.

Whether we would desire it or not, our Federal Constitution compels us to elect every Member of the House of Representatives and one-third of the Members of the Senate on the 5th day of November, 1918; and our State laws make those elections partisan. We can not adjourn those elections or take from them their political character.

Those State laws provide for primary elections to present political candidates for the November general election. Under State statutes each candidate must elect before the primary, whether he seeks the office of United States Senator or Representative as a Republican or a Democrat or other party adherent; and the several States require their voters to register as Republicans, Democrats, or other party adherents; and, further, compels each voter in the primary election to vote only for a candidate of his own party. Not only this, but our Federal law and our State laws each and all recognize political organizations and provide laws to govern the conduct of those political organizations in elections.

What nonsense, then, Mr. President, is this talk of laying aside partisan politics in any campaign? You might with just as much reason talk about omitting the next November election. The Constitution compels you to hold that election. The State laws compel you to conduct and hold a partisan election.

In the matter of war, of course there can be no party question, because there can be no two policies. He who is not with his country in the prosecution of this war is the enemy of his country. It is the one thing on which the patriotic members of all parties must agree, and ought, therefore, never to be a party or partisan question.

But, Mr. President, there are a vast number of questions most vital in their nature which, while secondary in importance, are not less valuable and lose none of their virtues because of a state of war.

While Grant was battling his way through the Wilderness in 1864 and Sherman and Thomas were forcing the offensive all along the line, Lincoln became a candidate for reelection as a Republican, and Gen. George B. McClellan, a Union general, was the Democratic candidate for President. Questions other than that of the war were discussed and entered into the respective party platforms. So in this coming campaign there will be party issues on important questions outside of the prosecution of this war.

But, Mr. President, while we can not eliminate or adjourn legitimate politics we can and ought to eliminate illegitimate politics. I wish I could truthfully say that this kind of politics had really been adjourned. I mean by "illegitimate" politics, first, the enactment of laws demanded neither by justice nor the general welfare, intended to influence, or the natural consequence of which will be to influence, votes in any election; second, the use by any official of a power conferred by law to meet war exigencies, for the purpose of influencing or controlling votes; third, reckless extravagances in expending the huge sums of money raised for war purposes, with a view of securing the political support of the beneficiaries of these extravagances; and, I might add, so manipulating the vast powers necessarily created by our war legislation to crush or reward, and thereby stifle criticism or shield wrong. I wish I could satisfy my mind that the incomparable waste and extravagance under the "cost-plus" system, adopted in our contracts for war needs, the disclosures of the squandering of nearly a billion dollars for airplanes without any visible return, the awful imposition on the tax-burdened public, present and future, who, I believe, are paying for war preparations from two to three times what would be imposed upon them under efficient management—I wish I could satisfy my mind that this could all be attributed to chance or inefficiency, and that in no instance political or personal interest intervened.

But I shall not allow even a persistent suspicion to assume the form of a charge. I hope I am entirely mistaken. I hope the enormous increase in wages to all railway employees, ordered by the Director General of Railways, on taking over the great railway systems of the country; the great increases allowed in wages by the Post Office Department on taking possession of the telegraph lines of the country; the ordering of private concerns producing for the Government to add to their cost in wages, in many instances far beyond what was demanded by employees; the compelling in many instances of laborers to associate themselves with unions before they could receive Government employment—I hope all these acts were done with the single purpose of securing equal justice to all producers, laborers, including those engaged in employments not touched by this magic wand of governmental power. But my own investigation convinces me that the drastic disregard of the law of supply and demand and the substitution of class or industrial favoritism has so unsettled the reasonably fair balance heretofore obtaining that gross inequalities and hardships have been inflicted on very many patriotic people and our industrial efficiency enormously impaired, to the great detriment of the country.

But my purpose to-day is to consider some features of legitimate politics which can not and should not ever be adjourned and which especially demand attention to-day.

As I have stated, whether we will it or not, an election is to be held in November. The candidates are seeking election as Republicans and as Democrats. As a Republican I shall attempt to declare what should be the Republican policy on the all-absorbing question of the day and on only one other question demanding solution while this war is in progress and before its termination.

Mr. President, far above all other issues and questions, so far superior that all others must be circumscribed within it and conduce to its success, is the issue of this war. The Republican Party is intensely patriotic. It has always been with the country; never against it. It recognizes the everlasting justice of our cause, and its statesmen fully comprehend what a disaster to the world would be a defeat or any conclusion short of a most decisive victory.

As, from the very beginning of this war, the Republican Party has advocated placing on the battle front an army of not less than 5,000,000 fighting men, and placing them there in the quickest possible time, so to-day it is still urging the speeding up of this mighty army, speeding up in ship construction to transport and maintain that army, speeding up of munitions and ordnance to enable it, in conjunction with our bleeding allies, who have been fighting an unequal battle for more than four years, to finally crush this giant ogre of militarism, whose arrogance, greed, and lust for world domination have made every land a charnel house and filled the earth with misery and horrors beyond description.

And that party would be untrue to itself and unfaithful to the country if it failed to condemn and constructively criticize any inefficiency or irregularity which has hampered or delayed us in putting forth the full strength of our war power.

The Republican Party stands squarely on the declaration that there shall never be any patched-up peace, any temporary lull in this great world cause which will enable a defeated militarism to again prepare, probably with weapons more insidious and deadly than their liquid fires, their poisonous gases, or their U boats, to destroy the weaker nations and subjugate and dominate the world. That we should have peace is important. That we should have such a peace as will make it impossible to inflict upon the world another such war is a thousandfold more important.

I assert that it can be truthfully said that in all matters concerning the prosecution of this war both branches of Congress and both political parties in Congress have adjourned partisan politics and stand united in patriotic zeal and determination to carry this war to a full and complete victory.

Had those intrusted with the production of war equipment and material exercised a degree of economy or demonstrated an efficiency comparable with congressional zeal and alacrity in furnishing them with the billions of dollars to achieve such result, we would have been many months ahead of what we are to-day in our war program.

President Wilson, in his capacity of Commander in Chief of the American Army and Navy, is neither Democrat nor Republican. And he should have back of him at all times not a partisan support but a united national support, unstinted and unlimited. That support he has received from the Republicans of both Houses every day since we entered this conflict. We have gone further, and often against our own judgment as to their necessity, have conferred autocratic powers in matters not directly connected with this war—powers so broad and comprehensive as to threaten and endanger our ancient safeguards of human rights and liberties. We have gone to the limit, if we have not overstepped the limit, of safety in our endeavor to withhold no power that might possibly assist in the prosecution of the war.

As there is no party division in matters pertaining to the prosecution of this war, I feel safe in declaring that there is and will be no party division on the principles for which we entered the conflict or the conditions of a just, honorable, and lasting peace—a peace that can mean nothing less than restitution, reparation, and future guaranty.

But if it be contended that full reparation for wanton destruction of property, for vessels sunk and property destroyed in a manner not recognized by the laws and rules of civilized warfare, for tribute exacted, for enslavement and murder does not clearly fall within those 14 conditions for peace, then the Republican Party records itself in favor of demanding this full reparation, in addition to the 14 articles promulgated as peace conditions, and to assure this reparation, the Republican Party stands and demands as a first condition the unconditional surrender of the armies and navies of our enemies.

While individuals may differ on details, the Republican Party can and will stand squarely with the President for the great doctrines enunciated by him on the 8th day of January, 1918, as the foundation upon which to build the structure of a lasting peace.

Mr. President, while we shall claim no higher conception of duty or patriotism than that which actuates every loyal member of every other party, we would be untrue to our convictions and false to our history if we did not believe we could assure an acceleration of speed, efficiency, effectiveness, and economy far beyond what has been achieved and thereby shorten this war many months, saving the lives of many thousands of our soldiers and many billions of dollars.

So much, Mr. President, for the war issue, which is a world issue and not a merely domestic one. I wish now to discuss a domestic question, one of the most important elements in our national life and concerning which there has always been a difference of policy between the two great political parties. I refer to our agricultural industry.

In two ways can the Republican Party give very substantial support to the agricultural interests of the country, and both should be put into force and effect before the close of this war if we are to save that industry from a most serious reverse. The first is the reinstatement of the old policy of protection; the second, a new and advanced step which changed industrial conditions and especially the increasing dependence on the home market makes necessary.

As all State and foreign commerce is under the control of Congress, so the financial and commercial welfare of the American people is peculiarly a matter of Federal concern. It is the clear and unquestioned duty of the Federal Government, which alone has the power, to so adjust our commercial relations with other countries as to assure the greatest prosperity to all our people. As individuals compete with each other in all their internal trade and business, and are ever alert to increase their volume of commerce and meet their competitors, so nations in their international relations are strong competitors for world markets, and so they direct their energies, usually first to the protection of their home markets, and second to securing the greatest possible foreign market for their surplus. Alert to meet these duties, the Republican Party has stood, first, for the protection of the home market, knowing that in the certainty and stability of that market is the greatest assurance of prosperity.

While this war is on there is little need for this protection. The countries of the old world can not seriously invade our markets. All their energies must be directed toward the production of war materials. But the moment this slaughter ceases and the tide turns back to the normal, then more than ever before shall we need the old Republican doctrine of protection. And why? Because these people, impoverished by war, can not wait to regain their lost manufacturing trade which would take years, so they will seize upon that which will bring the quickest returns. In from 6 to 16 weeks all agricultural products can be matured and ready for market.

Their first attention will, therefore, be given to agricultural production. Again, those people, who during these years of carnage have accustomed themselves to rigid economy in food consumption, will be slow to return to the old and greater extravagances. That means that the foreign demand for our cereals will be diminished enormously at the close of the war, and we will be more than ever dependent upon our home markets. With our foreign markets enormously decreased or destroyed we shall more than ever need the Republican policy of protection of our home markets against invasion. I am aware of the fact that it is often contended that if we are exporting cereals or flour therefrom, no protection can be given in the shape of duties on imports. No person, however, who understands the grain situation and the enormous size of this country would ever make such a statement. During a protective period of more than 20 years our spring wheat sections obtained a price averaging more than 10 cents per bushel above what such price would have been without the protection. Our barley showed an average of 25 cents per bushel over Canadian barley. During a great proportion of the year 1910 Minneapolis and Liverpool quoted about the same figures. Had we at that time had free trade with Canada we should have been swamped with Canadian grain and our prices driven down to the exporting price, which would have meant a loss of from 16 to 20 cents per bushel, a very important percentage when the price of wheat was only about $1 per bushel.

So the Republican Party assures the American farmer the reinstatement of its policy of protection at the close of this great world conflict.

In what other way can the Government assist in placing agriculture on a more prosperous basis?

Mr. President, the day of small independent businesses is rapidly passing. Economy to the highest possible degree is the watchword of success. While individual production may be continued in some lines and, in agriculture, must be so carried on, distribution of the product demands combined or cooperative effort. As the period when the farmer traded his firkin of butter for a bolt of calico, his bushel of onions for a gallon of molasses was succeeded by the present period of intermediate commission men, so to-day the irresistible pressure of rapidly advancing economic conditions demands a rearrangement, if not a total abolition, of the present extravagant system of distribution of farm products.

Just as the growth of commerce made necessary the great bank clearance system of the country, so the vastness and complexity of commerce in food products demands to-day a cooperative system of marketing, not only to stabilize the market for any product, but also to assure a fair return for the sale of every food product. The dumping of many carloads of peaches into the Chicago River a few years ago because there was no wholesale demand, while hundreds of thousands of mouths in that city were watering for this luscious fruit, the selling at auction of hundreds of carloads of farm products to pay the charges for their transportation, condemn the present system; and a charge to the Washington consumer of $1.50 for a melon for which the Georgia producer was paid 5 cents demands the abandonment of such an unjust and obsolete system and the construction of a new one that will bring together the producer who has a food article which he wishes to sell for a fair price and the consumer who needs that article and is willing to pay a just price for it.

The form and scope of this new system is already foreshadowed in the many cooperative organizations of grain elevators, creameries, fruit growers, and so forth, which, while now scattered and unrelated, point the possibilities of a great, harmonious system governed and supported by a general law, and answering the needs of each of the hundreds of divers agricultural industries.

How would I inaugurate this new system? First, I would enact a general Federal law which would authorize and provide for the organization of one great central Federal food-distributing corporation. I would provide in that law for State or district suborganizations, the latter to be made up of groups of producers associated together under a cooperative plan to market their products. I would bring them all under one uniform plan. I would not make this corporation a Government owned or Government operated institution. That would mean to bureaucratize it to death. That would mean to load it down with Government officials. That would mean to subject it to political influence. That would mean the usual Government extravagance and inefficiency. I would simply have this corporation organized under Federal laws, and as its operation would necessarily be interstate, for its protection against adverse State or municipal regulation, I would have it under general Federal supervision. Then I would have the Federal Government assist, as far as Government can assist by law, in promulgating the purpose of this association, which purpose would be to assure the producer a market for his farm products at a fair and just price and to protect the consumer from extortionate or robber charges. The California Fruit Growers' Association, whose usefulness has been marvelous, points the benefits of such cooperation and affords suggestions for a general law covering the marketing of all agricultural products.

Mr. President, about 35,000,000 people in this country are dependent upon the products of the soil for a living. Whether that living be meager or good depends upon three principal factors—climatic conditions, insects and other pests, and markets. The first two are beyond the control of humanity or the Government. For that reason agriculture must always be more or less uncertain. The agriculturist can never anticipate with any degree of accuracy the value of his year's labor. Unlike the laborer or the mechanic, who can compute with certainty just what his services will produce in a given time, the farmer must always be governed by chance. He must wage war against all the hundreds of destructive agencies and accept whatever the chances of victory or defeat may yield him. Hail and winds,

heat and cold, drought and deluge, Hessian fly and chinch bug, potato bug and cattle tick, boll weevil and fruit scab, cholera and blackleg, wild mustard and wild oats, French weed and Canadian thistle, Russian cactus and quack grass, and a hundred other pestiferous weeds and evils make his vocation not only one of constant warfare, but one of uncertain return.

But, notwithstanding all these discouragements and uncertainties, humanity with natural affection still clings to the soil. And, Mr. President, it is well for the country that this is so, for were the vocation of every man governed solely by its profits farming in this country would long since have been abandoned. To whatever extent the production of other articles may vary, national safety demands that the food production as a whole must be stable and sure. The wearing apparel, however threadbare, can still be worn for another month, if necessary, but the stomach can not remain empty a day without dire results.

So if there be any one industry in the whole country that ought to be encouraged, that ought to have extended to it the sympathetic and assisting hand of Congress, it is that of agriculture. And the only way to encourage it is to assure to it a degree of prosperity commensurate with other lines of business. People abandon farms because there is more drudgery and less profit than in other vocations. Make farming just as profitable and the tide will immediately flow back to the land.

Mr. President, I speak of this proposed Government assistance in marketing the food products of the country within our own domains and in every city of the Union as an advanced Republican policy, because it is in conformity with the Republican idea of governmental assistance to every industry, and is contrary to the Democratic idea of permitting every business to take its chance in the competitive world.

As applied to farming, and especially to grain and stock raising, the Democratic idea is that if this farmer or stock raiser is able to eke out a mere existence on his farm, is able to earn enough to satisfy his hunger and cheaply clothe himself and family, he is receiving all he is entitled to; that, if through storm or flood or drought he loses a crop, the General Government might properly dole him out sufficient means to tide him over the disastrous year; or, failing to do that, open some pork barrel of public appropriations in his vicinity, into which he may thrust his hand for his proportionate share.

The Republican policy is that agriculture as a business should enjoy a prosperity sufficient to enable the farmer to live as well as those engaged in other vocations, to have equal comforts and opportunities to pay wages and salaries, whether to members of his family or others, equal to the wages and salaries paid for like services in other employments, and still be able to lay aside a reasonable surplus to meet the lean years and to care for himself and those dependent upon him when the feeble hands of age can no longer wield the working tools of life.

The one party satisfies itself with alms appropriations, the other seeks to insure a prosperity that will place the business above all alms taking. The one party by its policies and principles says, "Let us take from the rich and give to the poor among us." The other says, "Let us have no paupers among us."

Mr. President, we need in this country to-day a campaign of education. We not only want to bring the food producer and food consumer face to face in a commercial sense, in the sale and purchase of farm products, but we want to bring them face to face to the end that each can understand the just and equitable rights of the other.

We who speak for the farmer ask this of the consumer of his products: Are you willing to pay him such a price for his products as will enable him to earn as much in eight hours of labor as you earn in an equal number of hours of labor? Are you willing to sell your services to him, either directly or when coined into manufactured articles, on the same basis that you purchase his labor coined into food products?

We ask the business man, the merchant: Are you willing to allow the farmer such a price for his products as will enable him to pay his wife and his children, who perform work on the farm, just what he would be required to pay others to do the same work? In other words, do the same as you do when you employ members of your family in your store or in your bank?

This, then, is the Republican policy toward agriculture, namely, to assist in every way to place it on a paying basis, to make it a business for profit and not merely a means of existence.

We should educate the American people, the American consumer, to a clear and definite understanding of the equitable rights of the producer, the right to receive a price for his products that will enable him to have and enjoy the same comforts and luxuries that are enjoyed by those conducting the ordinary business avocations in our cities, the right to exchange his labor on a plane of equality with other like labor in our great cities, the right to a reasonable interest on his investment in land and equipment, in addition to salaries allowed to each and every member of his family performing services, and in addition to all other expenses and depreciation charges connected with the operation of his farming business the right to lay aside a reasonable surplus to meet the exigencies incident to all farming operations and the necessities of the advancing years.

Toward that end the Republican Party should stand ever pledged.

Compare this with the attitude of the Democratic Party, an attitude that most naturally follows its policy of neglect. I would scarcely be warranted in asserting a prejudice or a premeditated hostility on the part of that party toward the northern farmer. But I would be clearly within the facts in declaring that this party continually subjects the northern farmer to wrongs and injustices for the benefit of those following other vocations, and with a heartlessness that ought to challenge the resentment of every tiller of the soil.

I need go no further back than the treatment accorded by officials of the present administration to demonstrate this hostility. Our Democratic friends have always preached that the Government could do nothing to assist the wheat raiser, that he should be let alone to secure the best price a world market would give him; but the moment the world market gave him a good price, a price determined by the law of supply and demand, they did not let him alone. On the contrary, they immediately forced him to accept $2.20 a bushel at the terminal markets when the world demand and the American demand were giving him $3 to $3.07 at such terminal markets. In its price fixing the farmer's wheat was the only important product that was reduced in price, and that was reduced in the face of an increase in price of everything the farmer must purchase, an increase ranging from 100 to 400 per cent. The Government sent out its circulars and bid for country labor against the farmers until in my State farmers were compelled to either pay 80 cents an hour to labor to thrash their crops or allow them to rot in the field. The Government took possession of the railways and telegraph lines of the country, and, though employees of the former had already been granted a 25 per cent increase in 1916, their wages were again enormously increased in 1917 and 1918. This increase compelled the raising of freight rates, and these increased rates were charged back against the farmer whose earnings had just been reduced.

By reducing the price of wheat 80 cents per bushel, on the Agricultural Department basis of the 1918 crop, the wheat raisers lost about $800,000,000. It is safe to say that by reason of the increase in freight rates, necessitated by the increase of salaries and wages to railway employees, the wheat raisers lost another $200,000,000, or about $1,000,000,000 altogether.

And, Mr. President, while the Government forced the price of wheat down 80 cents per bushel, how did it treat other industries? How did it treat the millers who grind and sell the farmers' wheat, and the packers who buy and distribute the farmers' cattle?

Mr. President, it allowed them to increase their earnings above prewar earnings from 200 to 500 per cent. I take the figures here quoted from the report of the Federal Trade Commission. For four years ending June 30, 1916, the average annual profit of the American millers per barrel of flour was 13½ cents. The average price received by such millers on the allowances made by the Food and Fuel Commissions was 52 cents per barrel, an increase of 400 per cent. Some mills made a profit as high as $2 per barrel. Swift, Morris, and Cudahy made a combined average profit for the years 1912, 1913, and 1914 of about $19,000,000 per year. Then this Food Commission, which cut down the farmer's grain 80 cents per bushel, or 26⅔ per cent, and which also fixed the selling price of the meat packers, allowed them to make a profit in one year of about $87,000,000, an increase of 350 per cent.

While this commission cut down the farmer's wheat price 26⅔ per cent it allowed the leather manufacturers, who purchase the hides of the farmer's cattle, to increase their earnings about 500 per cent.

The Government also fixed the price of steel products. This same Federal Trade Commission finds that this administration, which forced the wheat raisers to accept a loss of $800,000,000, allowed certain important steel companies, whose net earnings were $46,500,000 in 1914, to increase those earnings in a single year to $294,000,000, an increase of more than 500 per cent.

I might carry this on to cover hundreds of other industries. Surely I am justified in asserting that if the Democratic Party has earned the gratitude of all those to whom its administration has allowed increased salaries to such an enormous extent, it

has certainly earned the condemnation of every American farmer whose interests have been sacrificed for the benefit of these other classes.

Mr. President, I can not close this argument in defense of our farming population without replying to and refuting the charge often made against the farmers of the Northwest, and especially those of my own State, who have sought to redress their grievances by becoming members of the Nonpartisan League, the charge of disloyalty to the country. Such a charge is worse than a slander, whether uttered in political campaigns or through the medium of the press. There are no more patriotic people in the United States than the farmers of the Northwest.

I shall not discuss the political theories of those who are at the head of this organization. Their beliefs may be wholly socialistic or paternalistic. But the membership of the organization is made up of farmers of every shade of political belief and theory. You will find among them the most radical Republicans and the most obstinate Democrats. You will find the Socialist, pure and simple, and those who never departed from the idea of individual ownership. You can no more charge that the members of this organization as a whole are socialists than you can declare that all those who believe in Government ownership and operation of railways and other public utilities are socialists.

What we ought to do is to try to ascertain what is at the bottom of this movement and what caused the movement. The rapid development of this organization ought to convince any thoughtful man that there must have been a condition of discontent and dissatisfaction with the present order of things and we should direct our attention to its cause. I have fully realized the situation and during every year of my official life I have put forth my utmost endeavors to make the Congress and the country realize it. I have again and again presented the conditions which discriminated against the farmer, and I have again and again prophesied just what has happened, that these people would some day organize and make their power felt in an effort to remedy injustice and inequalities. All complaints of the farmers can find their basis in this neglectful attitude, which is the political theory of the Democratic Party, and these complaints, in my opinion, have not received the full consideration that should have been given by the Republican Party. I shall not say that we have given too much consideration to the interests of our great city populations but that we have given too little consideration to the comparative interests of our country populations.

As a result of this neglect of country interests our cities have become so abnormally wealthy as compared with the country, the earnings so incomparably greater than in the country, that the people of the cities have lived on a plane of luxury, extravagance, and comfort far beyond the possibilities of country life. The ever-increasing cost in the price of labor and in manufacturers' and retailers' prices to maintain this higher standard of city life has found no fair counterpart in farm life.

Taking my own State as an illustration, 95 per cent of its products must be shipped and sold outside its own borders. Our State laws therefore could not protect the farmers in the matter of distribution and sale of their products. They were at the mercy of trade organizations built up and conducted for their own financial benefit in every great city of the country. It was inevitable that the farmers should get the worst of it under such a system. They should have been helped to free themselves from the clutches of that system. Failing to secure that help from the National Government, they sought through this organization to help themselves.

I do not think anyone can call me a Socialist. I am so far from it that I never believe in the Government attempting to do that which the individual citizen can do as well or better. I have never known a Government enterprise that was not vastly more expensive and far less efficient than it would have been if operated by individuals. When the Government enters into any line of business enterprise it must recoup its losses and meet its extravagances by taxing the very people who may be in competition with it, a manifestly unfair thing to do.

But it must be remembered that in our State there is but one business—agriculture. Therefore that State can lend its assistance to that industry in many ways without injustice to any other industry. It can not be said that by rendering this assistance to agriculture you are levying a tax on the miner or the manufacturer, for we have no miner and no manufacturer. Every dollar expended by the citizens of our State must first come out of our own State soil. If the farmer does not get that dollar, no one gets it. We should, therefore, be most liberal in assisting this farmer to increase his dollars. His increased prosperity will add just that much to the prosperity of all our people.

The patriotism of our North Dakota farmer, whether within this league or out of it, can not be justly questioned. By my standard of measurement that patriotism is of the very highest quality, because, notwithstanding the fact that the Government grossly discriminated against him; notwithstanding the fact that the Government forced down the price of his product far below the market price and at the same time grossly boosted upward—doubled and trebled—the price of everything he must purchase, he has nevertheless met every liberty-bond call to the full limit of his ability; and if that is not a test of fidelity and patriotism, then I know of no true standard.

I can only say to the farmers of the country that the Republican party to-day stands for the advancement of the agricultural interests of this country until it reaches a plane of prosperity equal to other great industries, until the American farmer and his family can have and enjoy all the comforts and luxuries enjoyed by other prosperous vocations throughout the land, and it will proceed to enact legislation to accomplish that purpose.

THE NECESSITY FOR VIGOROUS PROSECUTION OF THE WAR.

Mr. WILFLEY. Mr. President, the peace proposals of the German chancellor should not divert the attention of Congress and the American people from the immediate tasks before them. While a revenue law is being prepared to provide the greatest annual income ever raised from taxation by any government in the history of the world, and the country is subscribing to a bond issue in the largest amount ever attempted in any single loan in history, the valor and the victories of the American Army in France bring us to a clearer realization that this war will be won. The situation is of supreme importance to the cause in which the world is now so deeply concerned. In the stupendous battle that is now raging from the North Sea to Lorraine the American Army occupies a position of strategic importance and faces the hardest problem and the most arduous task of the war. The brilliant stand at Chateau Thierry and the quick and decisive achievement at St. Mihiel brought Germany to realize that the courage and strength of the American soldier is more than a match for the skilled Prussian, so well schooled in the arts of war. Up through Argonne Forest the American Army pushed its way, from hill to hill, from tree to tree, from rock to rock, despite the stubborn resistance of the mischievous machine-gun nests of the Germans. American soldiers are sharing the burdens and victories in the present drive between Cambrai and St. Quentin. Metz, which, in fortification and equipment of defense, is the pride of the Empire and the key to Germany, is being bombarded by the guns of the American Army. It is remarkable that the American soldier, untrained and untried in the arts of war, should be assigned to the task of taking this most powerful fortress of the world. This is a strategic position, because of the fact that within a radius of 35 miles of where American guns are now in operation is found the richest iron-ore deposits of the earth. Before the American advance, extending down to the Belgian and Luxemburg frontier lie the iron deposits of Longwy and Briey, flanked by the valley of the Moselle and the fortress of Metz. This field provides German armaments with more than 80 per cent of their steel, without which Germany could not long conduct her frightful slaughter. The output of this region, and the iron fields of Russia, seized by Germany, give her unlimited supply of this all-essential element of war, and enable her to take care of the immense demands for war purposes. Forty-eight years ago this month Metz was surrendered to the Prussians by the French, the first time in its history, extending from the time of Cæsar, that it ever succumbed to an enemy. This resulted in the federation of the German Empire, and since that time this region has furnished minerals which have enabled Germany to attain her commercial greatness and prepare for the conquest of world dominion for which she brought on this war. Bismarck's famous utterance that "not by speeches and majority votes are the great questions of the day decided, but by iron and blood," was more than a mere figure of speech. It stated a fact and embodied a program upon which the policy of the German Empire was founded. The waging of war by industrial nations such as are engaged in this world conflict requires immense quantities of iron. It is an essential element of war. No substitute has been discovered to take its place for war purposes. It is the basis of necessary equipment for military operation. The constituents of battle are iron and blood. This is why Germany shortly after the outbreak of war took possession of Luxemburg, and the adjoining territory of France and Belgium, which gave her control of the greatest iron region of the world. This iron field is imperative to Germany's military operations, and she will hold it until she is whipped to exhaustion, unless she can sooner successfully promote her peace propaganda. Germany knows the value and importance of iron in commerce as well as in war. German bankers and

manufacturers are more concerned about iron fields than they are about colonies. It was chiefly for the purpose of acquiring the iron mines of Lorraine that Germany fought France in 1870. With the spoils of that war she has not only developed her gigantic industrial and commercial system but has also built up her tremendous military equipment. Had Germany not gained riches through her coal and iron industries of this section of Lorraine—although she has rich coal deposits elsewere—she would never have had the means with which to wage this war. This is why her expressions, heretofore, have indicated her purpose to contend for the absolute control of this important raw material, which in her hands may be used for her own weal and for the woe of the rest of mankind. She will stoutly contend for these iron fields. The Kaiser has very recently proclaimed that the central powers "will defend this territory with the last drop of their blood."

Control of these raw materials would make Germany the industrial master of Europe, but, more than that, it would, in spite of any treaty provision that might be imposed, make her an immeasurable and intolerable menace to civilization. If by dint of war she could hold these great iron fields and retain those now held by her in the Ukraine, she would have only one rival in this essential element of war and industry, and that would be the United States. In its advance upon the region of these iron fields in the valley of the Moselle, the American Army faces the fiercest conflict of the war and must meet the utmost resistance Germany can command. That Germany is feeling the inevitable result of the American advance in this vital part of the battle field and the early consequences of that advance, is evidenced by her proffers of peace, while she still holds these great natural reservoirs of commercial prowess and military might. Without Lorraine's iron Germany's blood can not win the war. For that iron she will shed her blood until the vitality of her army is reduced to where submission and surrender are inevitable. If the war is fought to a finish the most stubborn and finally the most sullen, and, I fear, the bloodiest battle will be at Metz. It will require the maximum effort and test of all the determination, spirit, and energy of the American Army. Germany realizes that not only her military but also her commercial supremacy will be lost when she surrenders Metz. This fortification has been the protection of these iron fields in Lorraine. Rather than surrender them she has opened negotiations for peace. For nearly half a century Germany has been increasing the fortifications of Metz, which in 1870 was one of the strongest fortresses of France. Metz now ranks with Strassburg—the two great bulwarks of the west frontier of Germany; but the Prussians to-day treat Metz as the principal pivot of offensive operations against aggressions from France. Of the "minimum terms of peace" none is more important than that Germany must disgorge this great iron region as well as the Ukraine. This, not for the purpose of exercising "the power of economic penalty," but to emasculate her military machinations. We have no selfish commercial purpose to serve in taking from Germany the vast iron fields she has seized or in relinquishing Germany's grip on Europe's steel capacity. North America produces more than one-half of the known iron of the world, and the industrial supremacy of the United States is already established beyond the possibility of destruction. Aside from our coal and iron, we also have incomparable possessions of copper, and after the war our advance in wealth and power will be equal to all European countries. We are not fighting for commercial supremacy. We have a holier purpose than that, but our present business is to perform our part, the major part of the war burden, and use our vast wealth and power toward a successful termination of the war. There will be no spoils of war; but there should be adequate indemnities for the ruthless devastations of German invasions. This war has brought about a most oppressive taxation, which can only be met by the exercise of the most rigid economy on the part of all peoples at war. When we joined the allied forces of Europe in the task of overcoming this cruel and powerful autocracy, which had undertaken to obliterate from the world the principles upon which Christian civilization and democratic governments are founded, we assumed an obligation to the world to wage this war to a final triumph of justice and fair dealing. So far as we are concerned, this is war against war. Germany must not only be compelled to surrender and submit to a "common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations" but she must of necessity be subjected to limitations that will make it impossible for the cruel lust of conquest, that may again fill the hearts of her savage rulers, to involve the world in such a holocaust of horror. This is the only way to give guaranty to the future generations that the principles which civilized society has considered fundamental shall indeed be eternal, and that free government and Christian principles shall never perish from the earth. Germany's promises have proven untrustworthy and means must be found to protect the world from her treachery and deceit. No one step can be more effective in that direction than to restore to the countries which she has robbed the iron-ore beds which rightfully belong to them. This does not violate the principle that "the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just." It would be unjust to future generations to leave Germany where it would be possible for her to again build such a gigantic military machine as that which is now bringing such untold horror and misery upon the world.

Germany can consistently and safely be supplied with all the iron she needs for commercial and industrial purposes, either from the surplus of the European nations controlling this ore or from Brazil and the United States. Her export trade will naturally and of necessity be greatly curtailed by the loss of friendly foreign commerce, which she has heretofore enjoyed, and which was growing with such marvelous progress when she entered upon her ruthless conquest of destruction. German atrocities have destroyed her good name in trade and commerce. That is the inevitable misfortune of her own acts for which she will have to suffer. We do not lose sight of the fact that when the war is over there will be 70,000,000 people in Germany who will have to work out their own destiny, under a sentence that will impose sacrifices that will test their spirit and industry for a long time to come. But the cost of war will fall heavy upon all the nations involved, and its burdens will be borne by many who are innocent and who will derive no benefits from the burdens they will have to bear. This does not relieve Germany of the sentence her conduct has brought upon her and the economic penalty she must pay in retribution of her deeds of devastation and destruction. There are certain means of discipline and control which must be exercised in the common interest of all, and among these is the taking of the iron ore beds of Europe from Germany, which she could no doubt use to her commercial advantage but which she could also use to build up another military machine with which she might seek "to determine the fortunes of peoples over which she has no right to rule except the right of force." These observations are suggested by the present strategic position of the American Army and its advance upon the coveted territory now held by Germany and the immediate effect of that advance upon the destiny of the central powers. I do not propose to take the time of the Senate to discuss even in a general way the many problems of the war. I have limited my observations to this particular phase of the situation, because it appears to me to be the controlling feature at this time. The peril of these iron fields is the chief concern of Germany and had more to do with forcing her proffers of peace than any other existing influence.

Every American is watching our Army, anxious and confident that the blows now being dealt by it will soon wrest from Germany the territory so imperative for her welfare, and without which she can not long maintain either offensive or defensive warfare. So long as the American Army occupies this important and perilous position, the American people must realize the tremendous necessity of giving their unlimited support. Great as is the task before us to raise revenue and organize industry and marshal the energies and resources of the Nation, it is not comparable to the strain and endurance required of our soldiers on the battle field. The daily casualty list reminds us that our boys are paying the supreme sacrifice. They are facing the fiercest fire of the greatest guns in the hands of the most skilled gunners the world has ever seen. The American soldier, without experience or education in the arts of war, is in a death grapple with the greatest military machine of history, at the very climax of the decisive battle of the war. As he stands on that battle front, on a strange foreign soil, and bares his breast to that bold and savage foe, he presents an example of the most heroic sacrifice in the history of war. The world recognizes that he is sounding the doom to German military might and freeing mankind from the threatened tyranny of the most savage foe that has ever menaced civilization. So long as the American Army is engaged in this momentous struggle the American people must bring to its support the combined resources of the Nation. The reply of the President of the United States to Germany's proposal demonstrates his far-sighted statesmanship and ability to handle peace proposals. We are not yet so much concerned with the problems of peace as we are with the mighty problems of war, which at this critical time must command all our energies and resources and consume all our thought and efforts. This is a momentous hour of the war, because both the civil and military forces are engaged in the most stupendous efforts they have ever undertaken. Those efforts must continue with increased vigor and determination. The retreating enemy is desperately seeking positions of advantage on the field

of battle and the field of diplomacy. The forces of civilization are successfully subduing the powers of trained barbarism. The conflict is fierce and desperate, the sacrifice may be very great, but the forces of the allies are prepared to make that sacrifice and to wage this war to a conclusion of unconditional surrender of the armies and navies of the central powers.

CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENTS.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator to withhold the motion for a moment in order that I may make a motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHEPPARD in the chair). Does the Senator from Nebraska withhold his motion?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I withhold the motion for a moment.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask unanimous consent to take up Senate bill 4637, being Calendar No. 526. It is a bill for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, and I will say to the Senate that there is no purpose at all to take it up this afternoon for consideration. I should like, however, to have it considered on Monday next, and I merely wanted to move to proceed to the consideration of the bill, and then, if that motion is agreed to, have it laid aside until Monday.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I wish to inquire if that is the bill which is designed to pension the civil-service employees of the United States?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes, sir; it is, in a way. It is for the retirement of the civil-service employees.

Mr. THOMAS. Has the Senator any estimate of the added expense to the Treasury?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes, sir; I have all the figures, and I should like to lay them before the Senate Monday and let the Senate pass upon the measure, if the Senator has no objection.

Mr. THOMAS. Of course, I could not object to its consideration, but I have some views about the expediency of entering upon a matter of that kind now when we are spending so many billions in other directions.

Mr. McKELLAR. I think when the Senator hears a statement about the cost and finds that instead of being a burden upon the Government, for the first 10 years it will be a source of income to the Government, because of the employees paying in more than will be taken out, the Senator will not oppose the bill.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator knows the length to which the Army pensions have gone.

Mr. McKELLAR. I understand that, and I may simply say to the Senator that I think, upon hearing, perhaps he will be willing to agree to the bill; but at any rate, all I want to do now is to take up the bill, make it the unfinished business, and on Monday proceed with it.

Mr. THOMAS. I will not make any objection to that.

Mr. McKELLAR. I thank the Senator very much.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Tennessee that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 4637.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (S. 4637) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.

ABANDONMENT OF GERMAN LANGUAGE.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I ask to have printed in the RECORD an article issued by the Council of Defense of Victoria County, Tex., suggesting the abandonment of the use of the German language.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McKELLAR in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[Issued by the council of defense, Victoria County, Tex.]

Sixty years of Germany in America—A tale in four chapters—"Where is the German fatherland? As far as the German tongue is spoken and German prayer is said." (German national hymn.)

CHAPTER I.

AN ADDRESS SUGGESTING THE ABANDONMENT OF THE USE OF GERMAN, PUBLISHED BY THE VICTORIA COUNTY COUNCIL OF DEFENSE JUNE 1 TO JULY 30, 1918.

The National and State Councils of Defense request that the use of the German language be proscribed among us.

The highest evidence of patriotism is self-abnegation. The customs and language of a lifetime are dear to the heart of every man. The traditions of a fatherland, even though remote, are part of the life of an amalgamated people such as ours.

But to-day all loyal American citizens must know no creed save that of a firm belief in the cause for which we stand—freedom for humanity; must feel no divided allegiance, and must follow only the guiding star that leads to full and complete victory for our arms.

There are loyal Americans among us to whom our country's cause comes first, but who, by the circumstances of birth or parentage, have learned to speak the German tongue.

This does them no discredit. They may look with pride upon true greatness in their ancestry. No man need hang his head in shame for German blood.

The crime of all the ages is the prostitution of that great people by militaristic masters, whose barbarities befoul the world.

Free Germany will follow fast upon free America.

In war we must break all fetters that bind us to those whose ideals are human slavery.

The German tongue is a language of our enemies.

As a high evidence of patriotism and love for those tenets of freedom for which our sons are dying we call upon all loyal Americans to abandon the use of the German language, in public and private, as an utmost condemnation of the rule of the sword.

A few there are who know no other tongue and are too old to learn another. To these only this demand is not addressed.

Your sons are in the trenches. Will you deny them this?

VICTORIA COUNTY COUNCIL OF DEFENSE.

CHAPTER II.

THE PETITION OF TRINITY EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH PRESENTED TO THE VICTORIA COUNTY COUNCIL OF DEFENSE AUGUST 10, 1918, AND PROMPTLY REJECTED.

To the honorable COUNCIL OF DEFENSE
OF THE COUNTY OF VICTORIA, TEX.

After having taken due notice of the demand made by the local council of defense to proscribe the use of the German language among us in public and private, and as a congregation appreciate and further the more intense use of the English, as the language of our country, both in public and in private, as the history of the past four years of Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church proves, and knowing that the National Council of Defense and the State council of defense—and in like sense we interpret also the demand of the honorable council of defense of Victoria County—do not desire to work a hardship upon those who are not able to speak the English language; and that the National Council of Defense recommends not force but educational methods to bring about the common use of the English language.

We, the undersigned, appear before this honorable body in the name and in behalf of Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, not to complain but that there may be better cooperation toward a common aim between Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church and the honorable council of defense, and ask that for the members of Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church who can not understand an English sermon and who, in part, are the parents of boys serving in the Army and Navy of our country now, and who can only worship and pray to God in the German tongue, one service per Sunday in the German language be permitted.

Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church believes that it is entitled to this consideration on the following grounds:

1. That there is no Germanizing influence in Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church. The name "German" justly can claim no space in its title, for during the past four years English has been making rapid progress in her midst. So rapid has this progress been that there are not only regular services in the English language every Sunday but that her organizations, such as the Luther League and the Lutheran Brotherhood, are entirely English. All instruction in Sunday school is entirely in the English language; also the regular catechetical classes are conducted in the English language. German is fast passing into oblivion, and within a comparatively few years will cease to be used in Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church. Why, then, by sudden suspension create sympathy for it now, even in the hearts of such who otherwise would sneer at it?

2. That the patriotism and the loyalty of Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church can not be questioned. This is borne out by the existence of a strong auxiliary to the Red Cross and a large surgical-dressings class, the reputation of which can easily be inquired into at the local chapter of the Red Cross or by a visit to Luther Hall. It is also borne out by the purchase of liberty bonds, not only by the individual members but by the congregation as such, the Luther League, and the ladies' aid organizations, and by her 51 sons who followed the call to the colors and among whom are represented both the volunteers and the selectmen, some of whom speak only the English language, while others speak both equally well. All of whom, however, if they were here before this honorable body to-night, would emphatically express the desire that their fathers and mothers be permitted to pray for their boys and for their country in the only language they know and themselves receive the spiritual comfort and encouragement they need at the public worship in their church. Dare we deny them this?

3. That the guilt of the neglect to learn and to use the English language can not be laid at the door of the citizens of German extraction alone. Business men catered to them in the German language, and even in the public schools German was taught. Why, then, should they learn another language when they could get along so well with the one they knew. It is therefore both gratifying and surprising to notice that in spite of such conditions the younger generation of the members of Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church possesses a good knowledge of English, which is the best argument for their thorough Americanization.

4. That Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, through the undersigned, appears before this honorable body only after an actual test with the exclusive use of the English language in the regular services had been made and the hardships therefrom become apparent, and then only after voluntary and not solicited appeals came from 26 such members who can not understand an English sermon, requesting it to intercede for them with the honorable Council of Defense.

Respectfully submitted.

(This petition was signed by the present pastor and two trustees of the church.)

CHAPTER III.

REASONS WHY THIS PETITION WAS REJECTED, AS SET OUT IN ARTICLE BY V. B. PROCTOR, CHAIRMAN OF PUBLICITY COMMITTEE, WHICH ARTICLE WAS ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN THE VICTORIA ADVOCATE, AND WAS DIRECTED TO BE PUBLISHED IN THIS PAMPHLET BY THE VICTORIA COUNTY COUNCIL OF DEFENSE.

"Where is the German fatherland? As far as the
German tongue is spoken and German prayer is said."

The above lines are an exact translation of the opening words of the German national hymn. It may be a lie, like many things put out by Germany, but the Germans believe it, and there is some foundation for their faith.

I wish every citizen of Victoria County could read two recent publications. One of these is a pamphlet, issued under the auspices of the United States Government. It is known as Number Twenty-one, and is entitled, "The Tentacles of the German Octopus in America." The second publication is one that appeared in the May number of the Forum, and is en-

titled, "Our Danger: To-Morrow's German-Americans." The limits of a newspaper article preclude any attempt to state the substance of either of these publications. They stress the one central idea of all recent German writers and philosophers, namely, that the German tongue must be perpetuated in all countries, so that there may arise thereon the structure of pan-Germanism with its hideous gargoyles of dual allegiance and hyphenated citizenship. Of course, the object of pan-Germanism is the undisguised one of merely subjugating the earth and making all the peoples thereof serfs of Germany.

Do you know that several months after America had declared war on Germany there were hundreds of public schools in Nebraska, Iowa, Michigan, and Wisconsin and other States which were conducting their entire exercises in German, and at which schools the morning exercises were usually begun by the singing of the infamous hymn above quoted from? This was the poisoning of the minds of hundreds of thousands of American children As an illustration nearer home:

As a witness myself, I can state that a number of years ago I had occasion to examine the municipal records of a town not 100 miles from Victoria, and I then discovered that the entire records of that municipality, for its entire existence, had been kept in the German language, and this was only one of quite a number of towns of the same character. Indeed, there are dozens of them in Texas, where German is the rule and English the exception.

There is a church in Victoria, known as the German Lutheran Church, but the correct title of which is "Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church." This church has been stablished in Victoria probably 60 years. Its pastor for some 35 years, immediately preceding the incumbency of its present pastor was a man who, however admirable otherwise he may have been, could not carry on the most commonplace conversation in the English language, and he was just as German in appearance, conversation, and tongue as any German in Germany to-day.

Several weeks ago the Council of Defense of Victoria County caused to be published in the Victoria Advocate an address to the people of Victoria County stating the views of the council of defense as to the use of the German tongue. This address was in most courteous language, and, in substance, took the following position: That a state of war always calls for self-sacrifice and, its attendant virtue, self-denial. That many people in our community have the habit and custom of speaking German. That almost every American family, in Victoria and elsewhere, has some of its own flesh and blood in the fighting line, facing such things as poison gas, shrapnel, and other bric-a-brac of hell, "Made in Germany." That the German language, of course, has a similar trade-mark. That it would be a gracious act of self-denial, and practical demonstration of patriotism, for people who had formed this habit of speaking German to cease such habit. The address closed with the following words: "Our sons are in the trenches. Will you deny them this?"

At the last meeting of the Council of Defense of Victoria County there was presented to this council a petition of the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, which petition is printed in full in this issue of the Advocate. A similar petition, with different petitioners, was presented to the councils of defense of the counties of De Witt, Colorado, Caldwell, and probably other counties in Texas. De Witt County had granted this petition, and the other counties had rejected the same. The Victoria Council, by a vote of 12 to 1, rejected this particular petition.

The attention of the citizens of Victoria County is therefore invited to these two things:

First. The address published by this council, which can be easily found in the Advocate of some two weeks ago.

Second. The language, purport, and objects of the particular petition which this council saw fit to reject.

At the request of a number of members of this council, and as chairman of its publicity committee, I am going to indicate some of the reasons that influenced us in rejecting this petition, and I ask that these reasons be considered by the citizenship of Victoria County, with the language of this petition before them.

First. This is the only petition that has come before this council on this subject. Therefore, apparently, there is no complaint as regards the spirit of this address anywhere save in one particular organization.

Second. If the previous address of the council and the petition are read together, no one can escape the conclusion that this petition was framed and designed to answer the address of the council, and to protest against it.

Third. It is plainly stated in "Ground 1" of this petition that if the German language is suddenly suspended "a sympathy will be created for it." Our council wants to know who are the people that will conceive this sudden sympathy for the German language. Also, if such people do conceive this sudden sympathy for anything German, will they not immediately manifest a corresponding lack of sympathy for something American? If there are any people in Victoria County to-day that are going to conceive, suddenly or gradually, any sympathy for anything German, language or otherwise, the quicker they are smoked out of their holes the better it will be for the public welfare. Therefore we do not think that "Ground 1" states any reason whatsoever.

Fourth. "Ground 2" is even more objectionable. It is camouflaged with a great deal of language about patriotism and loyalty, but just take the butter and the honey out of this "Ground 2" and see what we have left. We find left only a statement that the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church has 51 sons in the United States Army, and the council of defense "does not dare deny these 51 soldiers the privilege of having their fathers and mothers preached to in German." This council thinks this is a calumny on 51 of our Victoria boys. We know no difference between the 51 sons of the Lutheran Church and the hundreds of sons of the other churches, constituting the over 800 soldiers from Victoria County. The council isn't going to deny anything that is right to any American soldier, whether he be a son of the Lutheran Church or not, but it likewise is not going to confer any special privilege upon or play any favorites among the boys of Victoria County and a covert threat does not sit well with this council that it does not "dare to deny" the use of the German language to the parents of 51 American soldiers.

This council is supposed to be a body, organized by the citizenship of the county, for the purpose of conserving the resources of Victoria County and keeping alive the home fires of American patriotism. The use of the German tongue is not necessary for the one and is calculated more than anything we know to put out the other.

Did the reader ever consider what thought really was? It is nothing but the framing of words by the brain though those words are unspoken. It is a doubtful psychological question in the writer's mind whether any brain can think good, honest United States patriotism in German words, but there can be no question that the best vehicle with which to express good, honest United States thoughts is the language of the United States itself.

"Ground 3" of this petition actually claims that the reason why the astounding condition prevails that there are 26 old people, members of this church, who can not speak the language of this country is due, in great measure, to the fact "that business men catered to them in the German language, and even in public schools German was taught." "Ground 3" then asks, "Why, then, should they learn another language when they could get along with the one they knew?" Is it not utter nonsense to attempt to lay at the door of merchants of Victoria the shameful neglect of these people in failing to learn the language of their own country, and is not the very fact that the language was spoken in the stores and taught in the schools an eloquent demonstration that both of these things should stop, and the suddener the better.

As to these 26 members who can not understand an English sermon, the writer asks these questions:

Name each one of these members, and name when he came to America, and how long he has lived here?

Did each such person come to this country to remain a German or to become an American?

Who kept these people from reading, speaking, or talking English, and who kept them from attending a church where the English language was preached, prayed, and spoken?

How many of these 26 have been forced, under the laws of the United States, to register as alien enemies and file their photographs and thumb prints with the United States authorities, and name each one of these so photographed and thumbed.

How long has each one of these alleged Americans, who cared so little for this country that he would not even learn its language, lived in this country and enjoyed its freedom, bounteous opportunities, and lavish hospitality?

How many of them are poorer in worldly goods than when they came to America, and how many are now willing to quitclaim to the United States what they have made in the United States, and go back to the German language and a German country?

Furthermore, it is stated in this petition, that for the "past four years this church has conducted most of its services in English." What did it do for the previous fifty-odd years of its existence? Is it not as much responsible for these 26 benighted persons as the "merchants of Victoria" or the public-school teachers? It is a fact—and the present pastor of this church has so admitted—that an American soldier was buried by this pastor at Victoria, Tex., and the funeral rites were conducted in German, and a German sermon was preached over his body. Do the people of Victoria County approve of this as a question of propriety?

There are also expressions in "Ground four" of this petition which state that "the hardships of the exclusive use of the English language are apparent." Again we ask that the citizen be named who is of the opinion that it is a hardship that he or she be required to speak the language of their country, and not the language of their enemy's country, in a time of a desperate and bloody war.

But the most conclusive answer of all to this petition is the one now stated. Just reverse conditions and geographical environments. Let us imagine a petition of an American church, signed by its pastor and two of its members, handed to any German organization in Germany, asking that that church be permitted to preach English sermons to 26 aged persons, members of that church and citizens of Germany, who could not speak or understand German, and actually stating in this petition that if this request was not granted, a sympathy would be created for the English language, and sons of this American church, soldiers in the German Army, would be offended, etc. As soon as the hilarity died down there would be a first-class hanging, and 29 would be the exact number hung, the 3 askers and the 26 askees.

Our country does not follow German methods. All of us over here believe in Christ, who, on the cross, prayed: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Even Christ's wondrous prayer, however, is not broad enough to embrace or forgive Germany and German soldiers, because they know exactly what they do, and not only know it, but they vaingloriously boast of it. If the German language is disgraced and humiliated—and, frankly, I think it is—its deplorable status can not be laid at the door of the "merchants of Victoria" or public-school teachers, but the corpse lies at the door of the German people themselves.

If we could spotlight this entire episode and see in the contracted lighted circle only 26 aged persons and their prayer for religious worship in their native tongue, and could exclude in the outer darkness all else, even such things, as the tens of thousands of likely petitioners with similar plea, the great tidal wave of Pan Germanism threatening to engulf the world in a second deluge, this time of blood and not mere water, the shameful lessons of Pan Germanism as written and taught by its satanic advocates and demonstrated by German troopers, its devotees, and, above all, could we so exclude and forget the sacrifice our own soldiers are now offering, then we could grant this petition. We can not so contract our vision. Pan Germanism is a world force, and in both structure and shadow is present in our land. From turret to foundation stone the structure is of German clay cemented with German tongue. Diverse tongues destroyed the Tower of Babel, but one tongue has built and preserves the tower of Pan Germanism. The building permit, however, for this unrighteous structure, and its maintenance, repair, and alteration, was filched from the careless generosity of the American people, and we think the time has come to cancel such permit, and for good cause. It is true this particular Victoria incident is but one brick in the building, and one brick may appear of little consequence, but suppose every one of the tens of thousands of such communities as Victoria each preserves its one particular brick, when will the building fall?

Nations, people with a multitude of tongues, are either despotisms or no man's land. There is no genuine, honest American household where the English language stops at the front gate.

Also, we have before our eyes the vision of some wounded American soldier, one of our own Victoria boys, returning from France and dropping in at one of these German services in his own town. After what he has seen with misted eyes, after what he has heard from pallid lips, after what he has suffered with smiling face, after what he has lost with unshaken nerve, what will he think of a German sermon as a rest cure at home? In his bitterness he may even think the bitterest of all thoughts. "What's the use?"

We predict that councils of defense who approve by their action of the German tongue anywhere or any time will have short shift "when our boys come home again."

This home-coming day is going to be the white-stone day of America. Why not put our houses in order now? Some of our boys will not return. Can we explain to the dead that we intended to stop everything German after the war? Why not keep the faith now and suddenly, and then afterwards, and then forever and a day.

Our council is not going to be misunderstood about this matter. We know no racial lines. Distinctions of blood are absurd, since in only 12

generations each of us have some 8,000 ancestors. We will stake our lives on the utter faith and loyalty of countless thousands of American soldiers and citizens of immediate German blood. The most useful American we have to-day, barring only the President, is of both German blood and name, Charles Schwab. We care nothing for pedigrees. It is the German mind, the German heart, and the German tongue, of which we disapprove.

In last Saturday's New York Times there is an article by Lafayette Young, president of the Iowa Council of Defense. He claims the fight in Iowa is not to make Germans Americans, but to keep Americans from being made Germans. He says the foes of his council are three—German churches, German schools, and German newspapers. He says the plea of these churches always is "that there are a few 'old people' who can not understand English." He says the German textbook is usually a panegyric on the Hohenzollern family. He asks if "anyone ever saw a real red-hot patriotic American sentiment in a newspaper published in the German language?" The answer is easy. If anyone lives as old as Methuselah and travels farther than the Wandering Jew, he never will see bona fide Americanism garbed in German words. Isn't the problem about the same in Texas as in Iowa?

The council of defense stated in its original articles of organization that "it knew no race and no creed, but that it would not permit Germanism on the part of any persons." It further declared that "Americanism was a matter of soul, not of racial lines." The council has not changed these articles of its faith, and it proposes to hew to these lines, regardless of who is hit by the chips. It does not believe that any American citizen should ask of this council the privilege of holding services in the language of the enemy's country, and such an enemy!

This council further believes in the absolute loyalty and good faith of the vast body of the citizenship of Victoria County, and thinks racial lines cut little figure in such loyalty. It is just as proud of "the 51 boys" from Victoria County in uniform as it is of any other 51 Victoria boys in similar uniform and no prouder. All these boys merely did their duty, though it is conceded that duty is the sublimest thing that can be done by any man.

This council repeats, however, that there is a lesson that a few yet in Victoria County must learn, and this lesson is a plain one if the heart is right. The lesson is: That we are fighting Germany, German soldiers, German methods, German ideas, and everything conceivably German, and there is no compromise in us, and we have just begun to fight; that America has already changed the goose steps of the German soldiers to the goose bumps, and we are going to continue the transformation process to all Germans at heart, whether they are in America or Germany; that between the United States on one side and Germany on the other there is an ever widening gulf of blood in which now lie some 20,000 dead and maimed American boys, and in which there may lie hundreds of thousands of the same kind. Before this war is over there will be hardly an American household that is not saddened by the loss of some near kinsman, if not one of their own very flesh and blood. This gulf between America and Germany is too wide ever to be bridged again, and no hands will ever be clasped across it. During this war and after this war there will be no more talk of the "old country."

Our State has seen the danger of the German language, and for many years we have had a statute prohibiting the record of any instrument save one in the English language, and the last legislature took a much-belated action in prohibiting the teaching of German in our primary schools.

We can have no "bits of Germany" in America. Inches soon become ells and bits bushels. The Stars and Stripes will show but faintly upon a background of German prayers or German sermons. All of the young men and women in this country know this, and, regardless of racial lines, each is zealously claiming the right to serve the United States, and why not? Each son and daughter of our own motherland is equally as dear in her sight. The trouble lies chiefly among those of the aged, who have kept their bodies in America and their hearts and hopes in Germany, who have been poisoned with such treasonable publications as the Vaterland, who have spoken the German tongue in their households, and cradled their American children with songs of triumphant Germany. Verily, trouble lies "where the German tongue is spoken and German prayer is said."

V. B. PROCTOR,
Chairman Publicity Committee,
Victoria County Council of Defense.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND TRINITY EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH OF VICTORIA, TEX., UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

There is in existence a letter, written, of course in German, by this very church to Mr. E. F. William Stellhorn, dated September 18, 1913. It is signed officially by the then pastor and seven trustees of the church. Two of these very signers subsequently signed the original petition set out in chapter 2. This letter is most edifying. In the main it embodies complaint of an Ohio synod which was evidently properly trying to get even some English into this particular Victoria church. It contains many strictures upon Rev. (then student) Paul Ebert, subsequently and until quite recently pastor of the English Lutheran Church at Victoria. Mr. Ebert's character and reputation in Victoria are amply able to take care of themselves. This council of defense indorses Mr. Ebert as a proven loyal American, a Christian gentleman, and a most admirable citizen. With this comment we can dismiss the Ohio and Mr. Ebert phases of this remarkable letter.

There is one portion of this letter, as to any use of English, which we will quote in correct translation:

"You further remark you have waited for years for our parish to begin English. We needed no English and need none as yet to-day in our parish. All of us can still understand German. Is it not wholly absurd to preach English to German people? What would Martin Luther say to that, Mr. Professor? Is it not true? What would you answer him? Now you wish to come and act as our guardian. That can never be. Why did you not come 61 years ago?"

Wake up! This letter was written when this church was 61 years old. It was written not at Bingen on the Rhine in Germany but in Victoria, Tex., on the Guadalupe, in the United States of America, September 18, 1913. Why, the utter supreme gall of this sort of thing!

The Victoria County Council of Defense is not going to give any German privileges to American citizens.

And, "Mr. Professors," this council has its compass set on George Washington and it will not shift it, even to Martin Luther.

THE VICTORIA COUNTY COUNCIL OF DEFENSE.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 10 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

RATIFICATION OF CONVENTIONS.

During executive session the following conventions were ratified, and, on motion of Mr. HITCHCOCK, the injunction of secrecy was removed therefrom:

EXTENSION OF ARBITRATION WITH JAPAN.

To the Senate:

I transmit herewith to receive the advice and consent of the Senate to its ratification, an Agreement between the United States and Japan, signed at Washington, August 23, 1918, extending for a further period of five years from August 24, 1918, the Arbitration Convention concluded between the two Governments on May 5, 1908.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 29, 1918.*

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The PRESIDENT:

The undersigned the Secretary of State has the honor to lay before the President with a view to its transmission to the Senate, if his judgment approve thereof, to receive the advice and consent of that body to its ratification, an Agreement between the United States and Japan, signed at Washington on August 23, 1918, extending for a further period of five years from August 24, 1918, the Arbitration Convention concluded between the two Governments on May 5, 1908.

Respectfully submitted.

ROBERT LANSING.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *August 27, 1918.*

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The Government of the United States of America and the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, desiring to extend for another five years the period during which the Arbitration Convention concluded between them on May 5, 1908, and extended by the Agreement concluded between the two Governments on June 28, 1913, shall remain in force, have authorized the undersigned, to wit: Robert Lansing, Secretary of State of the United States, and Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Washington, to conclude the following Agreement:

ARTICLE I.

The Convention of Arbitration of May 5, 1908, between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, the duration of which by Article III thereof was fixed at a period of five years from the date of the exchange of ratifications, which period, by the Agreement of June 28, 1913, between the two Governments was extended for five years from August 24, 1913, is hereby extended and continued in force for the further period of five years from August 24, 1918.

ARTICLE II.

The present Agreement shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, and it shall become effective upon the date of the exchange of ratifications, which shall take place at Washington as soon as possible.

Done in duplicate in the English language at Washington this twenty-third day of August, one thousand nine hundred and eighteen, corresponding to the twenty-third day of the eighth month of the seventh year of Taisho.

ROBERT LANSING.
K. ISHII.

—

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCE WITH URUGUAY.

To the Senate:

I transmit herewith, to receive the advice and consent of the Senate to its ratification, a convention between the United States and Uruguay, signed at Washington on August 27, 1918, to develop commerce between the two countries and to increase the exchange of commodities by facilitating the work of traveling salesmen.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, August 31, 1918.

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The PRESIDENT:

The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President, with a view to its transmission to the Senate, if his judgment approve thereof, to receive the advice and consent of that body to its ratification, a convention between

the United States and Uruguay, signed at Washington on August 27, 1918, to develop commerce between the two countries and to increase the exchange of commodities by facilitating the work of traveling salesmen.

Respectfully submitted.

ROBERT LANSING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 28, 1918.

The United States of America and the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, being desirous to foster the development of commerce between them and to increase the exchange of commodities by facilitating the work of traveling salesmen, have agreed to conclude a convention for that purpose and have to that end appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America, Robert Lansing, Secretary of State of the United States; and

The President of Uruguay, his minister, Dr. Don Baltasar Brum, Secretary of State in the Department of Foreign Relations—

Who having communicated to each other their full powers, which were found to be in due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

Manufacturers, merchants, and traders domiciled within the jurisdiction of one of the high contracting parties may operate as commercial travelers either personally or by means of agents or employees within the jurisdiction of the other high contracting party on obtaining from the latter, upon payment of a single fee, a license which shall be valid throughout its entire territorial jurisdiction.

In case either of the high contracting parties shall be engaged in war, it reserves to itself the right to prevent from operating within its jurisdiction under the provisions of this treaty, or otherwise, enemy nationals or other aliens whose presence it may consider prejudicial to public order and national safety.

ARTICLE II.

In order to secure the license above mentioned the applicant must obtain from the country of domicile of the manufacturers, merchants, and traders represented a certificate attesting his character as a commercial traveler. This certificate, which shall be issued by the authority to be designated in each country for the purpose, shall be viséed by the consul of the country in which the applicant proposes to operate, and the authorities of the latter shall, upon the presentation of such certificate, issue to the applicant the national license as provided in Article I.

ARTICLE III.

A commercial traveler may sell his samples without obtaining a special license as an importer.

ARTICLE IV.

Samples without commercial value shall be admitted to entry free of duty.

Samples marked, stamped, or defaced, in such manner that they can not be put to other uses, shall be considered as objects without commercial value.

ARTICLE V.

Samples having commercial value shall be provisionally admitted upon giving bond for the payment of lawful duties if they shall not have been withdrawn from the country within a period of six (6) months.

Duties shall be paid on such portion of the samples as shall not have been so withdrawn.

ARTICLE VI.

All customs formalities shall be simplified as much as possible with a view to avoid delay in the dispatch of samples.

ARTICLE VII.

Peddlers and other salesmen who deal directly with the consumer but who have no established place of business in a given country shall not be considered as commercial travelers in that country but shall be subject to the license fees levied on business of the kind which they carry on.

ARTICLE VIII.

No license shall be required of:

(a) Persons traveling only to study trade and its needs, even though they initiate commercial relations, provided they do not make sales of merchandise..

(b) Persons operating through local agencies which pay the license fee or other imposts to which their business is subject.

(c) Travelers who are exclusively buyers.

ARTICLE IX.

Any concessions affecting any of the provisions of the present Treaty that may hereafter be granted by either high contracting party, either by law or by treaty or convention, shall immediately be extended to the other party.

ARTICLE X.

This Convention shall be ratified; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Montevideo within two years, or sooner if possible.

The present Convention shall remain in force until the end of six months after either of the high contracting parties shall have given notice to the other of its intention to terminate the same, each of them reserving to itself the right of giving such notice to the other at any time. And it is hereby agreed between the parties that, on the expiration of six months after such notice shall have been received by either of them from the other party as above mentioned, this Convention shall altogether cease and terminate.

In testimony whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed these articles and have thereunder affixed their seals.

Done in duplicate, at Washington, this twenty-seventh day of August, 1918.

ROBERT LANSING.
BALTASAR BRUM.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I move that the senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, October 14, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 10, 1918.

CONSUL GENERAL.

CLASS 4.

Evan E. Young, of South Dakota, now a consul general of class 5, to be a consul general of class 4 of the United States of America.

CONSULS.

CLASS 4.

George A. Bucklin, of Oklahoma, now a consul of class 5, to be a consul of class 4 of the United States of America.

CLASS 5.

Albert H. Putney, of Illinois, now Chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs, Department of State, to be a consul of class 5 of the United States of America.

CLASS 7.

William L. Jenkins, of Pennsylvania, now a consul of class 8, to be a consul of class 7 of the United States of America.

John R. Putnam, of Oregon, now a consul of class 8, to be a consul of class 7 of the United States of America.

CLASS 8.

Frank Bohr, of Kansas, now a consular assistant, to be a consul of class 8 of the United States of America.

Henry B. Hitchcock, of New York, now vice consul and interpreter at Yokohama, to be a consul of class 8 of the United States of America.

COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION.

William T. Christy, of Louisiana, to be commissioner of immigration at the port of New Orleans, La.

REGISTERS OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Benjamin M. Tribble, of Camden, Ark., to be register of the land office at Camden, Ark., effective November 1, 1918, or as soon thereafter as he qualifies, vice Robert D. Newton, term expired.

Benjamin F. Spires, of Little Rock, Ark., to be register of the land office at Little Rock, Ark., effective January 1, 1919, or as soon thereafter as he qualifies, vice John W. Allen, term expired.

RECEIVERS OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Homer V. Sewell, of Russellville, Ark., to be receiver of public moneys at Little Rock, Ark., effective November 1, 1918, or as soon thereafter as he qualifies, vice Augustus M. Ward, term expired.

Oscar B. Gordon, of Arkansas, to be receiver of public moneys at Camden, Ark., his term having expired. (Reappointment.)

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 10, 1918.

COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION.

William T. Christy, of Louisiana, to be commissioner of immigration at the port of New Orleans, La.

COAST GUARD.

Charles A. McAllister, engineer in chief of the Coast Guard, to have the rank of captain in the Navy and colonel in the Army, for temporary service.

Ellsworth P. Bertholf, captain commandant of the Coast Guard, to have the rank of commodore in the Navy and brigadier general in the Army, for temporary service.

The following-named constructors with the rank of first lieutenant to be constructors with the rank of captain in the Coast Guard, for temporary service:

John Q. Walton and
Frederick A. Hunnewell.

NAVAL OFFICER OF CUSTOMS.

Lot W. Reiff, of Reading, Pa., to be naval officer of customs in customs collection district No. 11, with headquarters at Philadelphia, Pa.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

INFANTRY.

To be lieutenant colonels.

Maj. Frederick G. Stritzinger, jr.
Maj. Charles C. Smith.
Maj. Frank L. Wells.
Maj. Briant H. Wells.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENT IN THE ARMY.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

To be second lieutenant.

Second Lieut. John Elliott Wood.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

Brig. Gen. Peter C. Harris to be The Adjutant General with the rank of major general.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Maj. Gen. Merritte W. Ireland to be Surgeon General with the rank of major general.

Brig. Gen. Robert E. Noble to be major general for the period of the emergency for service abroad.

To be brigadier general, Regular Army.

Brig. Gen. William S. Scott.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENTS, BY PROMOTION, IN THE ARMY.

INFANTRY.

To be first lieutenants.

Second Lieut. Evan C. Williams.
Second Lieut. Joel A. Fite.
Second Lieut. George T. Metcalf.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY DURING THE EXISTENCE OF THE PRESENT EMERGENCY.

To be major generals.

Brig. Gen. Guy Carleton.
Brig. Gen. De Rosey C. Cabell.
Brig. Gen. William H. Hay.
Brig. Gen. Frank L. Winn.
Brig. Gen. Edmund Wittenmyer.
Brig. Gen. Mark L. Hersey.
Brig. Gen. Henry Jervey.
Brig. Gen. Clement A. F. Flagler.
Brig. Gen. Charles D. Rhodes.
Brig. Gen. Joseph D. Leitch.
Brig. Gen. Hanson E. Ely.

To be brigadier generals.

Col. Tyree R. Rivers.
Col. John W. Heard.
Col. Farrand Sayre.
Col. George O. Cress.
Col. William C. Rivers.
Col. Francis J. Koester.
Col. John D. L. Hartman.
Col. Edward Anderson.
Col. William T. Littebrant.
Col. William O. Johnson.
Col. James R. Lindsay.
Col. Daniel W. Ketcham.
Col. Vernon A. Caldwell.
Col. George D. Moore.
Col. Harold P. Howard.
Col. John B. Bennet.
Col. Melville S. Jarvis.
Col. Herbert O. Williams.
Col. Albert C. Dalton.
Col. Edward Sigerfoos.
Col. Harrison J. Price.
Col. Walter C. Short.
Col. George C. Barnhardt.
Col. Robert W. Mearns.
Col. Edward L. Munson.
Col. George H. McManus.
Col. William R. Smedberg, jr.
Col. Mathew C. Smith.
Col. Paul B. Malone.
Col. Frank S. Cocheu.
Col. William E. Welsh.
Col. John W. Barker.
Col. Louis M. Nuttman.
Col. Benjamin T. Simmons.
Col. Frederick B. Shaw.
Col. William B. Cochran.
Col. Clarence H. McNeil.
Col. Charles B. Drake.
Col. Reynolds J. Burt.
Col. Rufus E. Longan.
Col. William M. Fassett.
Col. Henry W. Butner.
Col. Marcellus G. Spinks.
Col. William K. Naylor.
Col. Charles E. Kilbourne.
Col. Campbell King
Col. Percy P. Bishop.
Col. John W. Kilbreth, jr.
Col. Hugh A Drum.
Col. Daniel F. Craig.
Col. George S. Simonds.
Col. Stuart Heintzelman.
Col. Orval P. Townshend.
Col. Daniel W. Hand.
Col. Robert I. Rees.
Col. Brice P. Disque.
Col. Archibald H. Sunderland.
Col. Laurin L. Lawson.
Col. Dennis H. Currie.
Col. James H Bryson.
Col. Lesley J. McNair.
Col. George R. Allin.
Col. Pelham D. Glassford.
Col. William Bryden.
Col. Charles S. Blakely.
Col. Sanford B. Stanberry.
Col. Charles I. De Bevoise.
Col. William H. Rose.

QUARTERMASTER CORPS.

Col. John M. Carson.
Col. Harry E. Wilkins.
Col. Albert D. Kniskern.
Col. Charles R. Krauthoff.
Col. John F. Madden.

MEDICAL CORPS.

Col. James D. Glennan.
Col. John M. T. Finney.
Col. William S. Thayer.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

Col. Herbert Deakyne.
Col. James F. McIndoe.
Col. Sherwood A. Cheney.
Col. Avery D. Andrews.
Col. Charles G. Dawes.

SIGNAL CORPS.

Col. George S. Gibbs.

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

Col. Charles C. Jamieson.
Col. Samuel McRoberts.

AIR SERVICE.

Col. William Mitchell.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

The following-named captains to be rear admirals, for temporary service:

Newton A. McCully,
Henry F. Bryan,
Andrew T. Long.
Thomas Washington,
Guy Hamilton Burrage,
Ashley H. Robertson,
Carlo B. Brittain, and
Samuel S. Robison.

The following-named commanders to be captains, for temporary service:

Julius F. Hellweg,
Sinclair Gannon,

Robert Morris,
John D. Wainwright,
George W. Steele, jr.,
Stafford H. R. Doyle,
William N. Jeffers,
John W. Timmons,
Charles S. Freeman,
Henry C. Mustin,
William P. Cronan,
William B. Wells,
Paul B. Dungan,
Hilary H. Royall,
William R. Sayles, jr.,
Kenneth G. Castleman,
Franck T. Evans,
Wilbert Smith,
Harry K. Cage,
Ward K. Wortman,
Hayne Ellis,
Frank D. Berrien,
Paul Foley,
Edwin H. Dodd,
Charles R. Train,
Hugo W. Osterhaus,
Charles P. Huff,
Louis J. Connelly,
Ernest J. King,
Byron A. Long,
Alfred G. Howe,
William R. White,
William K. Riddle,
John G. Church,
James H. Comfort,
George B. Landenberger,
William Norris,
Adolphus Andrews,
Frederick L. Oliver, and
Thomas R. Kurtz.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders for temporary service:

Frank N. Eklund,
David A. Scott,
Willis W. Bradley, jr.,
Miles A. Libbey,
Raymond A. Spruance,
Earle F. Johnson,
Henry K. Hewitt,
Felix X. Gygax,
Guy E. Davis,
Weyman P. Beehler,
Lemuel M. Stevens,
Joseph S. Evans,
John W. W. Cummings,
Roy LeC. Stover,
Chester H. J. Keppler,
Charles A. Dunn,
John W. Lewis,
James J. Manning,
Charles G. Davy,
Horace T. Dyer,
Charles C. Gill,
Rufus W. Mathewson,
Augustin T. Beauregard,
Damon E. Cummings,
Russell S. Crenshaw,
Warren G. Child,
William H. Lee,
Randall Jacobs,
Vaughn V. Woodward,
Richard S. Edwards,
Robert T. S. Lowell,
Clyde R. Robinson,
Richard T. Keiran,
Ralph C. Needham,
Charles C. Slayton,
Irving H. Mayfield,
John H. Hoover,
Louis H. Maxfield,
Philip H. Hammond,
Claud A. Jones,
Harry Campbell,
George W. Kenyon,
Allan S. Farquhar,
Lucian F. Kimball,
Harvey W. McCormack,
Ernest D. McWhorter,
John M. Schelling,
Bert B. Taylor,
William O. Wallace,
Frank R. King,
Bruce R. Ware, jr.,
Carl T. Osburn,
William S. Farber,
Albert M. Cohen,
George M. Ravenscroft,
Arie A. Corwin,
Harry J. Abbett,
George McC. Courts,
Charles W. Crosse,
Frank D. Pryor,
Claudius R. Hyatt,
Roy P. Emrich,
Jacob H. Klein, jr.,
John S. Barleon,
William T. Smith,
Jacob L. Hydrick,
Stephen B. McKinney,
Louis F. Thibault,
George C. Logan,
Clarence McC. McGill,
George E. Laird,
John B. Earle,
Harold V. McKittrick,
Henry G. Shonerd,
Charles T. Blackburn,
George T. Swasey, jr.,
Ellis Lando,
Thomas A. Symington,
Harlow T. Kays,
Robert C. Giffen,
Richard E. Cassidy,
Richard S. Galloway,
Clarence N. Hinkamp,
Riley F. McConnell,
Ralph R. Stewart,
Leslie E. Bratton,
Ezra G. Allen,
Henry C. Gearing, jr.,
Elmer W. Tod,
Thaddeus A. Thomson, jr.,
William F. Amsden,
George W. Simpson,
Homer H. Norton, and
Charles S. Keller.

Pay Director Charles S. Williams to be a pay director, with rank of rear admiral, for temporary service.

The following-named pay inspectors to be pay directors with the rank of captain, for temporary service:

John H. Merriam,
George Brown, jr.,
David Potter,
Charles Conard, and
George C. Schafer.

The following-named paymasters to be pay inspectors with the rank of commander, for temporary service:

Cecil S. Baker,
Donald W. Nesbit,
John S. Higgins,
Ignatius T. Hagner,
George P. Auld,
James S. Beecher,
Henry De F. Mel,
Emmett C. Gudger,
Stewart E. Barber,
Howard D. Lamar,
William C. Fite,
David C. Crowell,
Chester G. Mayo, and
John R. Hornberger.

Medical Director Albert M. D. McCormick to be a medical director with the rank of rear admiral, for temporary service.

Medical Director Robert M. Kennedy to be a medical director with the rank of rear admiral, for temporary service.

The following-named medical inspectors to be medical directors with the rank of captain, for temporary service:

Washington B. Grove,
Raymond Spear,
John B. Dennis,
Eugene J. Grow,
Frank E. McCullough,

Granville L. Angeny,
William H. Bell,
Holton C. Curl, and
Edward G. Parker.

The following-named medical inspectors to be medical directors with the rank of captain, for temporary service:

Henry E. Odell,
James S. Taylor,
Joseph A. Murphy,
Charles N. Fiske, and
George F. Freeman.

Medical Inspector Charles St. J. Butler to be a medical director with the rank of captain, for temporary service.

The following-named surgeons to be medical inspectors with the rank of commander, for temporary service:

Winfield S. Pugh, jr.,
James E. Gill,
Isaac S. K. Reeves,
Robert E. Stoops,
William J. Zalesky,
Henry A. May,
William A. Angwin,
Frederick E. Porter,
Paul T. Dessez,
Norman T. McLean,
Wray G. Farwell,
David C. Cather,
Harold W. Smith,
Addison B. Clifford,
Richard A. Warner,
Paul R. Stalnaker,
Curtis B. Munger,
John B. Mears,
George S. Hathaway,
Frank E. Sellers,
Edward H. H. Old,
Edward C. White,
Thurlow W. Reed, and
Edward U. Reed.

Surg. Edward L. Woods to be a medical inspector, with the rank of commander, for temporary service.

The following-named surgeons to be medical inspectors, with the rank of commander, for temporary service:

Robert C. Ransdell,
Edwin L. Jones,
Condie K. Winn,
John B. Kaufman,
James P. Haynes,
Thomas W. Raison,
James M. Minter,
Renier J. Straeten,
Reynolds Hayden,
Edward V. Valz,
Montgomery A. Stuart,
Frank X. Koltes,
Herbert L. Kelley, and
Julian T. Miller.

Surg. George B. Trible to be a medical inspector, with the rank of commander, for temporary service.

Civil Engineer Homer R. Stanford to be a civil engineer, with the rank of captain, for temporary service.

The following-named civil engineers to be civil engineers with the rank of commander, for temporary service:

Walter H. Allen,
Frederick H. Cooke,
Clinton D. Thurber, and
Norman M. Smith.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) John E. Meredith (retired) to be a lieutenant on the retired list.

The following-named lieutenants on the retired list to be lieutenant commanders on the retired list, for temporary service:

Homer B. Gilbert,
Thomas M. Dick,
Frank O. Branch,
Earle W. Jukes,
Omenzo C. F. Dodge,
John P. Hart,
Renwick J. Hartung,
Robert W. Spofford,
Charles A. Harris,
Horace C. Laird,
Richard E. Byrd, jr.,
Philip F. Hambsch,
Charles McK. Lynch,
Herbert J. French,
Stanley P. Tracht, and
John H Conditt.

The following-named chief boatswains on the retired list to be lieutenants on the retired list, for temporary service:

August Ohmsen,
George B. Hendry,
Percy Herbert, and
Patrick J. Kenney.

Chief Gunner Cornelius Dugan on the retired list to be lieutenant on the retired list, for temporary service.

Chief Sailmaker Garrett Van Mater on the retired list to be lieutenant on the retired list, for temporary service.

Machinist William J. Powell on the retired list to be lieutenant on the retired list, for temporary service.

Lieut. Commander Alfred H. Miles to be a commander, for temporary service.

POSTMASTERS.

TENNESSEE.

Robert G. Loyd, Lewisburg.
Valerious E. Williams, Millington.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, *October 11, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. William Couden, of Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

Heavenly Father, there are eyes that are weary with watching for the dawn of peace; there are hearts that are breaking at the violence done to the laws of love; there are souls that are longing for the permanent reign of justice and humanity. We ask Thee to bless every agency that is redeeming the world from the curse of this terrible war. We pray Thee that Thou wilt bless those who are fighting, those who are working, those who are giving, and those who are praying. Bless our legal machinery and our military and naval organizations. We pray Thee, O Lord, above all, that even though the cost be great we may have a clear vision and retain it, and we may have a strong faith and be true unto it. May our dear country endure hardness—the hardness that is demanded of a good soldier of Jesus Christ—so that when the victory comes we may have humility in our triumph and reverence in our use of power and kindness and opportunity for all men. And Thine be the glory through Christ, whose way to triumph was the bloody path of Calvary. This we ask in the name of Him. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, October 8, 1918, was read and approved.

RESERVE OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, if I may be permitted, I want to speak to the Members for a moment. I would not ask this except on account of the disease that is now raging throughout the country, which is carrying off a good many hundreds of our people each day. In the city of Washington in the last 24 hours more than 50 persons have died as the result of this disease——

Mr. PADGETT. Seventy-two.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; 72 have died—I thank the gentleman—and more than 1,200 new cases have been reported.

Mr. PADGETT. Seventeen hundred new cases were reported this morning.

Mr. FOSTER. I am corrected again; 1,700 new cases this morning, and we probably have not reached the crest of the epidemic. As it is moving on west there will be thousands more cases and hundreds of deaths as the result of the disease.

The Public Health Service is battling as best it can to stamp out this disease, teaching the people how to prevent it, and how to care for themselves when they get it. As we know, there are between 30,000 and 35,000 doctors who have been called into the service of the Government, and in many localities, as is the case in the country in which I live, there are many small cities and towns that are without the services of a physician. I understand from my colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLY], here on the Committee on Rules, that there is a town of 5,000 people in Pennsylvania where there is not a single doctor left. In other communities there may probably be a surplus of physicians that might be removed from one place to another. The Public Health Service believes that if it were given the power to commission these men and send them into the communities where they are so badly needed from the communities in which they can be spared it would be of great service to the people in this crisis.

The Committee on Rules this morning ordered reported out a rule to be presented to the House for the consideration of Senate joint resolution 63, to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service. The officials in that service say that they do not want any money; that the million dollars appropriated heretofore is sufficient for all their purposes. That is the situation as it is now.

Now, we know that we agreed last week not to pass any legislation until next Monday, and I am, of course, loath to ask that we should take up this resolution at this time. While I think that possibly conditions might change, so that no man would offer an objection to the consideration of this legislation which is believed to be so necessary for the health and to prevent the death of our people, I am willing to do anything that I can at all times, and I know all gentlemen present are willing to do the same that we may stamp out disease among our people and that we may save human life.

That is the situation, gentlemen. I know that no man will probably want to object to this legislation at this time. I bring it up and make this statement to you this morning, and if it is not considered this morning it will be brought up the first thing on Monday after the reading of the Journal.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. Certainly.

Mr. HEFLIN. Would not this be in the nature of an emergency measure?

Mr. FOSTER. It is thought so, and that is the only reason I speak of it. If it is passed at all it ought to be passed at as early a date as possible.

Mr. HEFLIN. The agreement, I think, would not touch a case of this character.

The SPEAKER. Has the gentleman any request to make?

Mr. FOSTER. I will ask unanimous consent for the consideration of this resolution only if there is a universal opinion it ought to be passed. I have only stated the case.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent for the consideration of the resolution to which he has referred. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Well, Mr. Speaker, that is not, I think, such a case as ought to be brought up here in the absence of a quorum and in the face of a private agreement. If we passed this resolution to-day, we would have to wait until Monday anyway before it could become a law, because the Senate is not now in session. It might just as well be put through on Monday, when a quorum will be here, and it will become a law just as quickly as if we were to pass it to-day.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALSH. Certainly.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. The Senate has already passed the resolution.

Mr. WALSH. That may be so; but it would have to go back to the Vice President for signature on Monday.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Is not the Senate to sit again until Monday?

Mr. WALSH. That is what the RECORD says. I want to ask the gentleman from Illinois if he thinks he will gain anything by passing it to-day?

Mr. FOSTER. I think it might; but if the Senate does not have a session until Monday, it would not be delayed very much, and I do not insist.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. ESCH. I understood that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, through Judge SIMS, intended to ask that the action brought out in recommending a substitute for the Senate resolution be rescinded, and that action be taken on the Senate resolution with an amendment.

Mr. FOSTER. I am glad to have the gentleman state that.

Mr. ESCH. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] is ill with influenza. I feel myself that we should act as expeditiously as possible; but in view of the fact that the Senate will not be in session until Monday, if we could give a privileged status to the resolution on Monday, Judge SIMS will then be present and give assent to the action.

Mr. FOSTER. In view of the statement by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] that the Senate will not meet again until Monday, and not wanting to violate any agreement made, I withdraw my request for consideration.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman withdraws the bill.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the bill (H. R. 10609) allowing the Secretary of the Treasury to exchange a post-office site in Eatonton, Ga.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 4982. An act to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to save daylight and provide standard time for the United States," approved March 19, 1918; and

S. 4945. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to give indemnity for damages caused by American forces abroad," approved April 18, 1918.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment joint resolution of the following title:

H. J. Res. 331. Joint resolution authorizing readmission to the United States of certain aliens who had been conscripted or have volunteered for service with the military forces of the United States or cobelligerent forces.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the following titles:

S. 3438. An act to prevent corrupt practices in the election of Senators, Representatives, or Delegates in Congress;

S. 933. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent for certain land to school district No. 9, of Sanders County, Mont.;

S. 3225. An act to reserve as a part of the Oregon National forest certain lands that were revested in the United States pursuant to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the Oregon & California Railroad Co. against the United States;

S. 4871. An act to authorize the Philadelphia, Harrisburg & Pittsburgh Railroad Co., its lessees, successors, and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Susquehanna River from the city of Harrisburg, Dauphin County, Pa., to the borough of Lemoyne, Cumberland County, Pa.; and

S. 2493. An act to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes," approved December 29, 1916.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the following titles, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 12982. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a large dry dock and appurtenant lands; and

H. R. 12402. An act to exclude and expel from the United States aliens who are members of the anarchistic and similar classes.

DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. SHERLEY. I ask unanimous consent to address the House for a minute or two.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent to address the House. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHERLEY. I know that the membership of the House are interested in the state of progress of the work of the Committee on Appropriations in connection with the pending deficiency bill. The committee will finish its hearings to-night. It will finish those hearings by closing them. There are a number of minor matters that the departments have brought to the attention of the committee informally, that they would like to submit, and that are in process of reaching the stage of estimate and submission; but the matters that are before the committee have been heard as fully as the opportunities permitted. I have personally had hearings every morning from 10 o'clock, and every afternoon and every night, sometimes as late as 12 and half past 12 o'clock at night. It will take some time to mark a bill of this magnitude. Of course, the hearings are for the purpose of enabling us to mark it intelligently. It will then take a day or two for the mechanical preparation of the bill in its final shape, and for the clerks to check up the items and see that the bill is in proper form.

Mr. MADDEN. Then it will be more than a week before the bill is reported?

Mr. SHERLEY. No; I hope that by continuing to work day and night and Sunday, we will be able to present the bill to the House Wednesday morning, and to present it along with printed copies, so that if the House is desirous it may be taken up that same day instead of going over until the next day under the rule. That is a matter for the judgment of the House; but the bill is one of tremendous importance, and practically its consideration has forced a review of much of the entire Army program from its inception, because, as I stated the other day, you can not intelligently determine a deficiency without going into the question of moneys that have been had, and the total estimated expenditure for the fiscal year.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Can the gentleman give an estimate as to how long it will take to consider the bill?

Mr. SHERLEY. That is entirely with the House. If the various items in the bill are discussed at length, you might spend a week or two weeks or a month in the consideration of it. Of necessity the committee is required to act very largely from the military viewpoint touching the major sums that are involved. Whether the House will feel disposed to act on that same basis or not is for the House to determine. The responsibility of the committee is tremendous. For my part I am always glad to have any sort of action that the House may choose to take, either affirmatively or negatively, touching any action that the committee takes on matters of such enormous magnitude as are involved. I do not think that even the membership of this House, conversant as it is with war matters, can have a full appreciation of the intricacy of the problem that is put up to the Committee on Appropriations at this time, a problem that involves matters that affect practically every activity known to man.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. A good many of us, like the gentleman himself, have been here during all the session since the war began. It just so happens that in our States those who wish to vote in November must go home and register, and we can not vote unless we do go home and register personally. The last registration day is next Tuesday. I want to go home and register. I would like to be here also while this bill is under consideration, and it would please me—though, of course, I would not have any right to ask other men to be inconvenienced—if the consideration of this bill should not begin until a week from Monday.

Mr. SHERLEY. It is for the House to determine. There is perhaps no man in this House who is ignoring more completely than I am his personal situation.

Mr. MADDEN. I am doing the same thing.

Mr. SHERLEY. I represent a district that has always been politically close, and there is a campaign on in my district. What the result of it will be the election alone will disclose. But I have a primary duty here on the floor. It is a duty of a magnitude that I would not voluntarily assume, but with the war coming on, all of us have had duties placed on us that tax more than our capacity. For my part I am going to continue at the work on that bill and bring it to the House at the earliest moment that I properly can, and then whatever the House wants to do touching its consideration, or the convenience of its Members, is for the House. I shall stay here until the bill is passed, because as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations I owe that to the House and I owe it to the country.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. The bill will carry about how much money?

Mr. SHERLEY. I can not answer that. The estimates on their face run close to $9,000,000,000.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Will the bill be itemized, or is it largely in lump sums?

Mr. SHERLEY. It will follow the usual form of appropriation bills. The biggest items relate to the Ordnance and the Quartermaster Corps. The items under consideration as to the needs of the Army in connection with the Field Artillery and ammunition therefor will total something like $2,500,000,000. Those are carried in four or five items. Of course the committee has undertaken to go into the details of that, and the hearings, which will cover more than a thousand printed pages, undertake as far as possible to give to the House the financial side of it. It is physically impossible for the committee, except very incidentally, to touch upon the detail of expenditure and production and of all the matters that are engaging the attention of hundreds of thousands of men to-day.

Gentlemen, I am sure, realize that no committee working for an indefinite time can possibly hope to follow out all the ramifications of the expenditure of the money. All we have tried to do is to examine, as best we might with the facilities in hand, the financial statements to see upon what they were predicated. In doing that I think the committee has been able to demonstrate to the satisfaction of the officials presenting the estimates that in many instances the estimates submitted were not warranted by the facts.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Is it planned by the Senate to set aside the business they have in hand and take up the bill for passage immediately after its passage by the House?

Mr. SHERLEY. I am not advised formally as to that, but it is my understanding that the Senate Committee on Appropriations will probably immediately consider the bill and, judging from other bills that have gone over from the House, will report it in a day or two to the Senate and the action of the Senate will only take a limited number of days.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, will the House allow me to propound a question to the gentleman from Illinois, the acting leader? Under the agreement that there would be no business done until next Monday, and under the statement of the gentleman from Kentucky, will it be the purpose of the gentleman from Illinois to continue his motion to adjourn until next Wednesday, when the appropriation bill will be ready, or will the gentleman see that there is a quorum here on next Monday? Like the gentleman from Kentucky, I am here all the time, and am going to stay here, but if there is an adjournment of three days at a time until Wednesday there is the matter of the liberty loan at two places I would like to attend to.

Mr. POU. Before the gentleman from Illinois answers the question, I would like to remind him, and also the gentleman from California, that on Monday there will be an effort made to present the measure referred to by the gentleman from Illinois, Dr. FOSTER, and if the House is going to act on it at all it ought to act on it not later than Monday or Tuesday of next week.

Mr. RAKER. Will that necessitate bringing a quorum here, and if it should develop that there was no quorum will a quorum be brought here?

Mr. POU. I would not think that a quorum would be necessary, because I believe the matter will be considered of sufficient urgency to go through on its own merits—practically by unanimous consent.

Mr. RAKER. The statement of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations will undoubtedly be published widely because it is so important, and Members being informed that the bill will not be brought in until Wednesday many might not think it necessary to be here until that time, although on the statement of the gentleman from Illinois, Dr. FOSTER, that the measure he refers to is so very important, Members might deem it necessary to return to make a quorum.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. I will say that in accordance with the understanding and agreement as announced on the floor we expect a quorum to be here next Monday if a point of no quorum is made. That was the understanding over a week ago. We expect a quorum to be here when these important war measures are considered.

Mr. RAKER. And Members will not be notified that their presence is not desired here on Monday?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. No.

THE PRICE OF WHEAT (H. DOC. NO. 1323).

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the Department of Agriculture, which was read, ordered printed, and referred to the Committee on Agriculture.

The communication is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, October 8, 1918.

Hon. CHAMP CLARK,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of a copy of House resolution No. 429, requesting me to furnish to the House of Representatives with a copy of a report made by the Agricultural Advisory Committee touching the price of wheat on or about the 20th day of August, 1918, and a copy of a report made by me to the President touching the price of wheat on or about the 24th day of August, 1918.

With respect to the report of the Agricultural Advisory Committee, I will say that it was made on a matter which I did not present to it, which I was not handling, and on which no official communication was received by me. In reference to the report referred to as having been made by me to the President, I may say that it was submitted by me in an advisory capacity to the President for his information in studying and deciding a matter in the discharge of an executive duty.

I therefore do not feel at liberty to comply with the request contained in the resolution.

Respectfully, D. F. HOUSTON, *Secretary.*

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that two weeks' leave of absence be granted to my colleague, Mr. IRELAND, who is making liberty-loan speeches.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOOHER, by unanimous consent, was given leave of absence for four days, on account of death in the family.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE—INFLUENZA.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for three minutes on the prevailing influenza.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Florida asks unanimous consent to address the House for three minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Speaker, as we know, the number of cases of influenza are rapidly increasing and the death rate each day is growing larger. The Washington papers have stated that Washington is already crowded and that it is practically impossible for the boys and girls who come here to secure lodgings.

The doctors are overworked and the nurses are practically exhausted. In view of these facts, I am to-day writing to the young men and women of my district urging them not to come to Washington. I feel that I should do this for their protection. Many of them have waited for months and months to receive favorable action on their applications, and fear if they do not come they will not get another opportunity to do their bit. I therefore hope and trust and believe the Civil Service Commission will at once send out statements to the effect that no one should come here until the disease is thoroughly in hand and that no further appointments will be made, even though the applicant should come, until present conditions have been relieved. [Applause.] I do not believe the Members of the House should be forced to write to their constituents not to come, nor do I believe the Civil Service Commission will make same necessary, now that the matter has been, in a way, officially called to their attention, for I know they have the welfare of the young people thoroughly at heart. If I am mistaken, the House should pass a resolution urging the departments not to bring any more young men and women to Washington until the disease is under thorough control.

Mr. NORTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SEARS. Yes.

Mr. NORTON. I want to say that this is what is occurring in my section of the country: There are news items now being sent out from Washington by the Associated Press and other press agencies to the effect that the Government departments here in Washington are in great need of men to enlist in the Government service for work in departments of the Army as well as for work in departments of the civil government. These news items are daily and weekly being published in local newspapers throughout the country. One particular department in which I have been somewhat interested is the Judge Advocate General's office. The motor-truck service of the Quartermaster's Department and the Judge Advocate General's Department are two departments of the Army service which have within the past week been called to my attention as having news items published reciting that these departments are in great need of men to join these services at once as commissioned officers for service abroad.

This morning in my mail I received five letters from attorneys in my State, stating they had read in the papers notices that the Government was in dire need of attorneys to enlist and accept commissions in the Judge Advocate General's office for over-sea duty. For the past 10 months I have been frequently told by the officers in charge here of the Judge Advocate General's Department that they have several thousand more applications than they have places to fill in the Judge Advocate General's Department. However, these notices of the need for additional men are going out from that department and from almost every other department of the Government I have had anything to do with, and are being published in the newspapers of the country, and people in near and remote sections of the country are being led to believe that their services are badly needed by the Government in Washington, when such, of course, is not the case.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Does the gentleman mean to say that the department is sending out these notices?

Mr. NORTON. Department agents are. I believe one of the notices to which I refer that is being published at the present time in the papers of my State emanates from agents or representatives of the Judge Advocate General's Office.

Mr. SEARS. I thank the gentleman from North Dakota. These notices are being sent out by some one, and it is these notices that I hope to correct. If some one does not introduce a resolution stopping it I shall next week introduce the resolution myself.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I do not think the statement of the gentleman from North Dakota ought to go unanswered. Is not this the condition in regard to the Judge Advocate General's Office? There are two or three thousand applicants now, and the Judge Advocate General's Office has sent out notices to the various supreme court judges, governors, and others in the States that they are asking to investigate the candidates, that they have more applications now than they can handle, and, further, that there is no necessity for men to come to Washington to be appointed in the Judge Advocate General's Office. The statement of the gentleman in regard to that office is contrary to the information they furnish at the office.

Mr. SEARS. The statement of the gentleman from California is absolutely true, but I take this position: The head of each department where these notices are going out should, over his own signature, state to the country there are no vacancies. I am not criticizing any department, but simply trying to get relief and prevent further crowding in an already overcrowded city. It is certainly not just to permit patriotic girls and boys to come here until this epidemic is checked, and to do so, to my mind, will almost be criminal.

Mr. NORTON. I desire to say in reply to the gentleman from California that I am not endeavoring to, and do not mean to, make any criticism——

Mr. RAKER. I do not take it as a criticism.

Mr. NORTON. I am just stating the fact that notices to-day are appearing in the papers which mislead attorneys throughout the country to believe their services are greatly needed here by the Judge Advocate General's Office for over-sea duty, and practically very attorney in the country is being mislead into believing that he is needed at Washington at once. Similar misleading information concerning the need of men and women here in Washington in other departments of the Government is likewise appearing daily in the press of the country. The publication of these misleading notices is wrong and harmful and should be stopped.

ADJOURNMENT OVER UNTIL MONDAY.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Monday next. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 32 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned until Monday, October 14, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Secretary of Commerce submitting a deficiency estimate of appropriation required by the Bureau of Fisheries for the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1321); referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

2. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Acting Secretary of War submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation required by the Engineer Department for the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1322); referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

3. A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture in response to House resolution 429, requesting copy of report made by the Agricultural Advisory Committee regarding the price of wheat on August 20, 1918 (H. Doc. No. 1323); referred to the Committee on Agriculture.

4. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting an urgent deficiency estimate of appropriations required by the United States Public Health Service for the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1324); referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DENT: A bill (H. R. 13059) regulating the personnel in the Coast Artillery bands; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13060) relating to chaplains of the Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13061) to authorize the appointment of additional field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, for service with the American expeditionary forces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13062) to amend the one hundred and eighteenth article of war to authorize the calling into service of dismissed or discharged officers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13063) to permit organizations, units, and detachments of the military forces to sell kitchen by-products, waste, garbage from their messes, and to permit the Government to be the purchaser thereof; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13064) to authorize the requisitioning of lands, including buildings thereon, or the temporary use thereof, required for hospital purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DENTON: A bill (H. R. 13065) granting an increase of pension to Catharine Conn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JAMES: A bill (H. R. 13066) granting a pension to George W. Taylor; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. OSBORNE: A bill (H. R. 13067) granting a pension to Ida Helene Davis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13068) granting a pension to Louisiana Thompson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13069) granting a pension to Alice H. Von Pinnon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13070) granting an increase of pension to Jacob B. Mundorff; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SNYDER: A bill (H. R. 13071) granting a pension to Melissa Roche; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

Mr. MAGEE laid on the Clerk's desk a petition of La Fayette Grange, No. 1330, of New York, protesting against the postal zone rate system, which was referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *October 14, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we thank Thee for Thy gracious favor, for the blessings conferred upon us as a Nation, for the indication that Thou art leading us forward to the accomplishment of a worthy end, in the fulfillment of Thy designs for us as a people. We thank Thee for Thy guiding victory. We pray that Thou wilt complete the work. Lead on the lovers of liberty and those who stand for the rights of humanity toward the completion of their glorious task. Make us fit for the battle. Make us fit for the victory. May we be willing instruments in the hands of God whether upon battle field or at peace table to accomplish Thy righteous will. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last was read and approved.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on October 5, 1918, approved and signed the following acts:

S. 4194. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors;

S. 4543. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors; and

S. 4722. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.

PEACE PROPOSALS OF CENTRAL POWERS.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, the newspapers of yesterday morning printed what purported to be the reply of the German Government to certain interrogatories propounded to it by the President of the United States. What I am about to say, consuming a very few minutes of the time of the Senate, is based upon the assumption that that report is approximately correct.

Mr. President, speaking for myself, I am against a negotiated peace now as I have been from the moment the United States entered the war. I think I know the temper of the people of the State I have the honor in part to represent sufficiently well to say they share this objection. For four years Germany has run amuck among nations, during which she has wrought the greatest havoc the world has ever witnessed. In that time she has desolated Belgium, devastated France, strangled Serbia, wrecked Poland, and made a shambles of Russia. She has violated the most sacred rights of the United States by destroying women and children on the high seas and finally forced us to take up arms in the defense of the most sacred of human rights. In all that this Government has since done in prosecution of the war the President has had the support of both the great political parties and of the whole people to a degree never before accorded a President either in peace or in war. For four years Germany drenched a continent in blood without conscience or compassion. It has been her policy to leave behind her nothing but wreck, ruin, devastation, and woe. She has spared neither the property, the persons, nor the souls of men and women who stood in her path, and wherever the German heel has trod the ruin has been made complete. As yet no blade of grass on German sod has felt the pressure of a hostile foot. Not a field or vineyard of the Fatherland has been disturbed. Every German city is intact, every German home in order.

At this stage they see the turning of the tide, and in order to save themselves whole they say to the President, "Let us cease fighting where we are and from this time forth carry on the war by correspondence." They seek to be permitted to do peacefully what the armies are already compelling them to do at the end of the four most terrible years of all recorded history at much greater speed than they would employ if left to move without being hindered. Northeastern France is ablaze and the whole of Belgium a smoldering waste at this very moment. Fifty thousand American boys have died or suffered wounds in driving the despoilers back beyond the Rhine. I do not believe that the people of this country or our allies will be even momentarily content to barter with the Hun. Nothing short of absolute, complete, and unconditional surrender, carrying with it full reparation for the damage wrought, will be accepted or tolerated, and it is my belief that anything that has even the appearance of willingness to accept anything less will be taken as a failure to carry out the purposes for which we entered this war and will be resented with a unanimity and an emphasis that will permit of no misunderstanding. I think I have not misjudged or misrepresented the attitude of mind of the American people in making this statement.

Mr. President, the United States did not enter this war from any selfish motive. We desired no colonies, sought no commercial advantages, but took up arms in the direct interest of human rights and with no other purpose than that these might be forever guaranteed. But, Mr. President, in the 18 months during which we have been cobelligerents we have made sacrifices that can not be computed. The lives that have been lost can not be restored or compensated for. We have neither hope nor desire to regain the fabulous sums of money we have spent and may yet spend before the end is reached. But, sir, while all this is true, I do not believe that the American people will wittingly or complacently submit to seeing themselves placed at a permanent and irremediable commercial disadvantage through the medium of the terms of peace, whenever or wherever they may be submitted. I therefore think the time not wholly inopportune to invite the attention of the Senate and the public to one of the 14 terms laid down by the President on the 8th of January last and since repeated in some form on various occasions. I refer to the third article, which reads as follows:

The removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers, and the establishment of a neutrality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

Mr. President, as I read it, if this article means anything it means the announcement on the part of the President of a purpose to write free trade into the peace treaty. It is, of course, possible that I may misconstrue the President's meaning, but I find myself unable to place any other construction on it. Nor have I been able to find one among the many with whom I have talked concerning it who takes any other view of its import. If this be indeed the purpose, and it is carried into effect, it would, in my belief, entail more serious financial consequences to us than those inflicted by the war itself. From these we shall in time recover but from the consequences of that kind of a compact we never should or could recover. I am aware that eminent Senators on the opposite side of the Chamber will disagree with this opinion; but, Mr. President, I believe it is sustained by the judgment and experience alike of a great majority of the people. Treaties with us are not mere scraps of paper. One participated in by as many nations as must be party to this one can not be lightly abrogated if its effects prove unwholesome. A mere popular election will not suffice. Once entered upon it would bind us hand and foot, almost, if not quite, beyond hope of relief. Therefore I repeat that I do not believe the American people will view the possibility of it with approval or complacence. It is not my purpose to discuss the matter at length on this occasion, but particularly in the light of recent and prospective events I do believe it time to direct attention to it that it may have the serious consideration which I fear has not been accorded it up to this moment. It is well that we should ourselves understand fully just what the nature of this proposition is.

CALLING OF THE ROLL.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hale	Myers	Sutherland
Bankhead	Harding	Nelson	Thomas
Benet	Hitchcock	New	Townsend
Brandegee	Jones, N. Mex.	Nugent	Trammell
Chamberlain	Jones, Wash.	Overman	Underwood
Culberson	Kendrick	Phelan	Vardaman
Cummins	Kirby	Pittman	Wadsworth
Curtis	Knox	Poindexter	Walsh
Dillingham	La Follette	Pomerene	Warren
Drew	Lenroot	Reed	Watson
Fernald	Lodge	Sheppard	Wildey
Fletcher	McCumber	Shields	Williams.
Gerry	McKellar	Smith, Ariz.	
Gore	McNary	Smith, Ga.	
Guion	Martin, Va.	Smoot	

Mr. CURTIS. I desire to announce the absence of the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. FRANCE] on account of illness.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I wish to announce that my colleague [Mr. GOFF] is absent, owing to illness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Fifty-seven Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

PEACE PROPOSALS OF CENTRAL POWERS.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to offer the following resolution. I ask that it be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 314) as follows:

Whereas all treaties are made by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; and

Whereas the German Government has indicated to the President its desire for peace in accordance with his views as outlined on and since the 8th day of January, last; and

Whereas any negotiation or formula for the establishment of peace between the United States and Germany must receive the constitutional sanction of the Senate, thus making its views on the subject of great present importance: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate of the United States, That the program for a lasting and permanent peace among the nations, as declared by the President of the United States on the 8th day of January and thereafter, and those announced by the spokesmen for our several allies, including the recognition of Polish and Slav peoples as communities entitled to their independence and to self-government, collectively represent the attitude of the entente allies regarding terms of peace with Germany.

That the President's outline of a basis for peace, made with full knowledge of, and wholly consistent with, allied demands for reparation, restitution, and guaranties, does not supersede those demands, but supplements them.

Acceptance of all these conditions and requirements must, therefore, be embraced in any offer of peace proceeding from the German or Austro-Hungarian Government.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I shall not at this time interrupt the ordinary procedure of the Senate. After the morning hour is over, if I can get the floor, I shall address myself to the subject of the resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Meanwhile the resolution will lie on the table.

MANUFACTURE OF PRISON-MADE GOODS.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting an additional report from the consul at Dakar, Senegal, relative to the extent to which prisoners, paupers, or detained persons are utilized in the production or manufacture of the commerce of the various countries, which was referred to the Committee on Printing.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills, and they were thereupon signed by the Vice President:

S. 933. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent for certain land to school district No. 9, of Sanders County, Mont.;

S. 2493. An act to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes," approved December 29, 1916;

S. 3225. An act to reserve as a part of the Oregon National Forest certain lands that were revested in the United States pursuant to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the Oregon & California Railroad Co. against the United States;

S. 3438. An act to prevent corrupt practices in the election of Senators, Representatives, or Delegates in Congress;

S. 4871. An act to authorize the Philadelphia, Harrisburg & Pittsburgh Railroad Co., its lessees, successors, and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Susquehanna River from the city of Harrisburg, Dauphin County, Pa., to the borough of Lemoyne, Cumberland County, Pa.;

H. R. 12402. An act to exclude and expel from the United States aliens who are members of the anarchistic and similar classes; and

H. R. 12982. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a large dry dock and appurtenant lands.

PEACE PROPOSALS OF CENTRAL POWERS.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I have here a communication, in the nature of a petition, from the Connecticut State Council of Defense, accompanied by a letter to me, which I should like to have the Secretary read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

"CONNECTICUT STATE COUNCIL OF DEFENSE,
"STATE CAPITOL,
"*Hartford, Conn., October 9, 1918.*

"Hon. FRANK B. BRANDEGEE,
"*United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*

"MY DEAR SIR: Inclosed is a copy of resolutions which were unanimously adopted by the Connecticut State Council of Defense at its meeting on October 7, 1918. We know that you will agree heartily with us in the belief that it expresses the profound conviction of the citizens of this State that the present peace offensive of the central powers can not be regarded as bona fide, but that it represents an effort on the part of mid-Europe to escape the penalties of its moral and political criminality.

"Yours, very truly,
"CONNECTICUT STATE COUNCIL OF DEFENSE,
"R. M. BISSELL, *Chairman.*

"Sent to President Wilson and members of Cabinet."

"RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONNECTICUT COUNCIL OF DEFENSE, OCTOBER 7, 1918.

"*Resolved*, That the Connecticut Council of Defense heartily rejoices in the unparalleled achievements of the allies. Bulgaria has unconditionally surrendered. Turkey is cut off from the Central Powers. The right wing of the Austrian Army is fleeing from Serbia. Its left wing is being steadily pressed out of Albania and Montenegro. The Italian drive is on the way. From the North Sea south all along the western front the allies are steadily driving Germany and her vassals out of Belgium and France. On September 9 in resolutions then passed by the council we said: 'We wait with confidence the day when American troops, under their own commanders, shall execute their orders and carry on a battle upon their own sector. They will emulate the valor and military skill of our allies, and we can not ask for more.'

"Three days later Gen. Pershing struck at the St. Mihiel salient and the American forces won in an incredibly short time one of the most brilliant victories of the war. The valor of our troops had been demonstrated at Seicheprey and in every conflict in which they have been engaged since.

"St. Mihiel told the world that the American general could conceive a plan of battle which is the admiration of military experts, prepare it to its last detail, and carry it out ahead of schedule time, successful at every point.

"All of this continued, triumphant progress is due in no small measure to the unity of command under that master of strategy and self-control, Marshal Foch.

"Germany is resisting desperately. As she is forced back she leaves behind her a waste of desolation and woe. No single thing that trained and ruthless cruelty could conceive of has been omitted. Her cruelty continues on land and sea. Every industry which could compete with Germany is destroyed. All that she can do to despoil Belgium and France that she continues to do.

"Germany is organizing her industry and her business so that after the war she may flood the markets of the world with her goods at a cheaper rate than any can sell for. Her industry and her business have largely been under government control. Her mercantile marine and her fleet are largely intact. Her present purpose is to secure an economic dominion upon which to build another world-dominion war. Neither the German Government nor the German people show the slightest appreciation of their crimes, nor the smallest desire to make reparation. They finally see that their doom is impending, and they ask directly or through their vassals that we enter upon negotiations for peace—'for an honorable peace,' as William proclaims, meaning a peace which will not strip the Fatherland of all the land it has seized, or the plunder its troops have taken, nor make her pay for the losses she has caused to the innocent wherever her troops have gone.

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of the council there should be no peace considered until Germany and her vassals are thoroughly beaten and her far-reaching plan of world dominion de-

stroyed. We are opposed to any peace by negotiation, conciliation, or bargaining.

"Germany must be stripped of all the territory she has won, and her grip on territory, nations, and peoples adjoining her must be loosed. The safety of the world depends upon this.

"Justice demands from Germany and the German people and her vassals—and Connecticut insists upon that demand—that they make reparation for the damage and losses caused by them, and that they be compelled to give adequate assurances for the future and to practice lawful liberty to all. We are opposed to any peace treaty which does not substantially include these provisions.

"*Resolved*, That this council is opposed to every suggestion of an armistice while a soldier of Germany is without the bounds of Germany as they were at the outbreak of the war and while a single submarine is operating against the ships of the allies.

"*Resolved*, That the making of a peace treaty with Germany and her vassals at this time, unless preceded by an unconditional surrender, is against the interests of America and her allies and against an enduring and a just peace."

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I want to read two very brief telegrams, which I think are typical of the feeling in the State of Connecticut, as I think the resolutions of the Connecticut State Council of Defense, which the Secretary has just read, are typical of that feeling. The first telegram comes to me from the town of Washington, which was the home of my predecessor, the Hon. Orville H. Platt, and which reads as follows:

WASHINGTON, CONN., *October 14, 1918.*

Hon. FRANK B. BRANDEGEE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Please convey to the President the following: The people of this community view with distrust any temporizing with Germany. We hope and believe that this Government will accept unconditional surrender as the first step of negotiations.

WASHINGTON WAR BUREAU,
S. F. SEELEY, *Chairman.*

The second telegram is from New Haven, and reads as follows:

NEW HAVEN, CONN., *October 13, 1918.*

HON. FRANK B. BRANDEGEE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Urge you insist Germans unconditionally surrender. No armistice; no compromise.

JAMES HILLHOUSE.

Mr. President, it is my firm conviction that any armistice at this time means *the losing of this war*. I can not picture to myself the German Army standing in battle array, facing the armies of the allies, while a joint commission, part of which consists of Germans, in whom the President has repeatedly stated that nobody can place any confidence and whose agreements are not worth the paper on which they are written, while such a commission negotiates.

If the allies stop fighting, Mr. President, and the war is transferred from the battle field to the council chamber, the allies will never resume fighting. The imperial German Army, even if it retires behind the Rhine, if peace should then be established, and Germany surrenders all the territory which she has invaded, the imperial German Army, then standing in Germany, would face upon her east a prostrate Russia, out of which a great imperial Germany could be built. Bulgaria, as soon as the army of the allies had withdrawn and disbanded, would again fall like a ripe plum into the lap of Germany. Every hero who has died and every man who has impoverished himself in attempting to help his country raise the money for this war would have made his sacrifice in vain. It would be a tragedy such as the world has never looked upon, that on the threshold of victory we had dashed the cup of victory from our own lips and had been seduced by a nation whom we have all been saying for the last three months it was useless to have any bargain or contract with.

Mr. President, there are three articles—one in the Washington Sunday Star of Sunday, October 13, by Frank H. Simonds, the military expert, who writes for the New York Tribune and other newspapers about the war; another by the military critic of the New York Times in the Times of the same date; and a third from the Outlook of October 9, entitled "With whom and for what are we at war?"—which I should like to have incorporated in my remarks in the RECORD, as they show the situation both from a military point of view and from a political point of view. If I may have that permission, I will content myself with simply reading the last paragraph of the article in the New York Times. It is as follows:

Either we shall stop fighting and make a patched-up peace or the war will continue for two more years, if not longer. It may, therefore, be said as the logical conclusion that if we grant an armistice before we are ready to make peace a military decision will have been averted and we shall have lost the war.

That, in my opinion, is the logic of the situation, and I will state that my position is and has been and ever shall be in favor of conducting this war as we instructed the President to do when Congress declared war, to a successful conclusion as a war, and pledged all the resources and every dollar and every man in this great Republic to that end.

I am in favor of conducting the war to a defeat of Germany in the field, and I am satisfied in my inmost soul that that is the only thing which will bring the change—the necessary change—in the German soul, and which will put Germany, the mad dog of the nations, where she belongs—behind the bars, manacled and fettered—and will, in truth, make the world safe for democracy or for any other kind of government that each nation chooses to establish for itself.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, permission is granted to the Senator from Connecticut to have printed in the RECORD the matter referred to by him.

There being no objection, the articles referred to were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Star, Oct. 13, 1918.]

CAMPAIGN OF 1919 NECESSARY TO WIN WAR, MR. SIMONDS SAYS—NO MILITARY DECISION THIS YEAR LIKELY, AND UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER OF GERMANY BEFORE ARMY IS BEATEN HARDLY TO BE EXPECTED—GERMAN PEOPLE MAY PREFER TO PROLONG WAR IN THE HOPE OF BENEFITING BY NEGOTIATED PEACE.

[By Frank H. Simonds. Copyright, 1918, New York Tribune, Inc.]

"For three months, ever since Foch launched Mangin in the decisive counter thrust south of Soissons, our armies, the armies of all the nations fighting Germany, have been marching from victory to victory. Since Napoleon was defeated at Leipsic, a century ago, there has been no such amazing transformation in military history as we have seen in something less than a hundred days.

"As a consequence of military events and the resulting peace offensives, both Austrian and German, there has developed everywhere, but particularly in this country, where there has been no such series of disappointments as have tempered European optimism in the past four years, a quickly mounting conviction that the war is rapidly coming to an end and that the present will prove the last campaign.

"On the face of the military situation as it now exists this belief seems to me unwarranted, and I purpose in this article to lay stress upon the military reasons why it seems inevitable, on the basis of things as they now appear, that there will be one more campaign, and a campaign likely to make a supreme demand alike upon the human, the material, and the moral resources of the nations at war.

CHANCES 50 TO 1 AGAINST DECISION.

"It is well to recognize at the outset that there exists a remote but still patent chance that the German armies may in the two or three weeks left for active campaigning be decisively defeated, meet a colossal Waterloo or Sedan. Marshal Foch is unquestionably striving for a decisive victory, a win-the-war success, exactly like that sought by Ludendorf in the opening months of the campaign. Under the terrific pressure which is being exerted German military strength may collapse at any moment, but I do not believe there is one chance in fifty of such a collapse, given the practical certainty that within three weeks the weather conditions will place a final veto on further general offensive movements. If we had two months, or three, then the chances would be even, but we have, perhaps, no more than a fortnight.

"In the same fashion political developments between November and March may make further fighting unnecessary. Germany may surrender; she may offer the same proposals which have been accepted from Bulgaria, and she may be forced to offer such terms because of internal conditions, concerning which we are at best only imperfectly informed. Again, it seems to me that such a surrender is almost out of the reckoning, but not quite; and, of course, if Germany surrenders there will be no more fighting.

SURRENDER OF HUNS IS DEMANDED.

"But we have to face the situation which we have deliberately created. As a Nation we have said, and we have meant, that short of a German surrender we will not make peace with Germany. We have clearly demonstrated that we mean to continue the battle until the capacity of the German Army for resistance is exhausted, until the German people are compelled to recognize that the doctrine of force invoked by them at the outset is altogether false, that their army can not conquer the world, that it is not even strong enough to defend Germany herself against the collective strength of aroused civilization.

"This means, if it means anything, that short of the destruction of German military power by a victorious battle, or series of battles, peace can only be attained by the unconditional sur-

render of the German people to the will of the nations which are now at war with them, a complete resignation of all power to resist, an unqualified consent to accept, when their armies have been demobilized and their conquered Provinces evacuated, the decisions of their enemies in the matter of the payments for past crimes and the guaranties for the future safety of the world.

WHAT SURRENDER MEANS TO HUNS.

"In sum, Germany must resign not merely her grandiose dreams of Mitteleuropa, not merely her domination of Russia, still continuing, but she must resign in the world, for the present, that position which has been created by a long series of aggressive wars and has enabled her from the treaty of Frankfort to that of Brest-Litovsk to dominate European counsels. She must see the economic edifice which she created in Europe and out of it, at the expense of her neighbors and by the use of threats and blackmail, propaganda and corruption, demolished. She must consent to return to many of the conditions existing before the Franco-Prussian War politically, and in a sense economically, and she must consent to have her future, during the period of the new settlement, determined by the nations whom she has attacked. This is what surrender means: It means that the German must submit his will to that of civilization and take his chance.

"Now, does the military situation warrant the expectation of such a surrender at the close of the present campaign? Let us analyze the facts. We have by our victories of July deprived the German of the initiative, not for the time being, but for the balance of the war. We have by our August offensive turned him out of the lines of 1916, on which he accepted battle. We are at the present moment sweeping him out of the Hindenburg line. It is already clear that he will end the campaign at the Meuse and the Belgian frontier, and he has in two months and a half lost more than a quarter of a million prisoners, nearly 4,000 guns, and war material without measure.

"On the basis of what has happened since July 18, on the west front, we are justified in demanding and expecting that Germany will consent to evacuate the rest of France and all of Belgium, abandon all claim for indemnity or for the return of any of her lost colonies. Meantime, in the east, the victory of the army of the Orient has eliminated Bulgaria and broken the German edifice of Mitteleuropa into fragments. Coincident with this disaster has been the defeat of the Turk in Palestine and the creation of a situation which must inexorably lead to the surrender of Turkey on Bulgarian terms and the final liquidation of the estates of Germany's eastern allies on the terms of Germany's allies.

"At no distant date all of Serbia will be free, all of Bulgaria will be in our hands, the Turk will have surrendered or be at our mercy; Mitteleuropa, which yesterday reached the Euphrates and the Jordan, will end at the Carpathians and the Danube. Germany has only her Russian conquests left, and upon these her hold is precarious, while she has now to guarantee her Austrian ally against Roumanian as well as allied attacks at the south. And unless she can do this she must expect to see Austria at no distant time make a separate peace or fall into anarchy and ruin.

1914 BASIS WILL NOT SUFFICE.

"At the present moment, then, Germany and her Austrian ally must and unquestionably will make peace, if they can, on the basis of 1914. But we are all of us in America and Europe agreed that the basis of 1914 must not be restored. We mean to erect a stronger Roumania, a greater Serbia, to bar forever Teutonic expansion toward the south; we have recognized the Czecho-Slovaks in Bohemia, we have given unmistakable pledges with respect to Poland, we have in a very large measure committed ourselves to a program which, in liberating the Slavs of Austria and the Poles of Russia, insures the dissolution of the Hapsburg empire and the erection of a Polish barrier to Teutonism in the east.

"In the present mood of the world it seems to me unmistakable that any list of peace conditions would include a Poland which reached the Baltic at Danzig and comprehended Posen as well as western Galicia. In the same fashion we have accepted the view that the Jugo-Slavs shall occupy all of the Adriatic littoral save for the portions which belong rightfully to Italy. We have determined that Alsace-Lorraine shall return to France and we have resolved that Germany shall pay dollar for dollar and brick for brick for the terrible devastations of her army in Belgium and in France.

"All of this means but one thing. It means that the Germany which emerges from this war will be weakened as no other nation at war will be weakened; it means that the Germans will have to lay aside all the dreams which they have cherished for half a century—dreams of world power—and accept conditions growing out of their conduct of the war which will for a generation leave Germany crippled. I do not think there is a single one of the conditions which I have sketched above which is not consonant with the conscience and the sense of justice of civilization. I do not think any one of them is nonessential to the making of a safe peace and an honorable peace, a peace which shall guarantee the world against another tragedy. But granted all this, is the German military situation so bad that Germany will accept such terms?

GERMAN ARMY STILL STRONG.

"I do not believe this is the case. On the contrary, the German armies, despite great reverses, are still numerous, powerful, capable of sustained resistance. They have before them a whole winter for recuperation after a few weeks more of fighting, and they have behind them admirable lines of resistance still far outside of German territory. If we conceive that the Germans will halt at the line of Antwerp-Tournai-Mezieres-Metz at the end of the present campaign we may see them standing on the far shorter and stronger line of Antwerp, Brussels, Namur-Mezieres-Metz in the spring, or even at the line of the Meuse from Holland to the front north of Verdun, and behind this line is the line of the Ardennes. Last of all there is the line of the Rhine, strong, as we all know, and certain to be strengthened in the next months.

"Is it not conceivable that the German general staff will calculate that it can break the force of allied attack between the Scheldt and the German frontier by the end of one more campaign and that an exhausted world will at last consent to peace by negotiation, which will save for Germany not her conquests of 1914–1918 but her position of August, 1914, her position when she set forth on her great and tragic adventure? As it stands, peace on such terms as are conceivable means the surrender of all Germany's aspirations, ambitions, and not a few of her actual assets.

"The military situation of Germany is bad, but it is not yet sufficiently bad to lead German rulers and leaders to accept the only terms on which peace is to be had from the enemy. Napoleon refused better terms than William II can now obtain in the months between Leipzig and Fontainebleau; the result was ruin, but the alternative was the sacrifice of his dreams of European domination. For many months Napoleon believed that he could wear out his foes; that he could separate them by playing upon their mutual rivalries; he believed that France would rise against the invader in 1814 as it did in 1792. His calculations were wrong, but the German general staff is not likely to see more accurately.

WHY HUNS WILL FIGHT ON.

"It seems to me that the decision of the world—of the allied world—with respect to Germany is so clear, so definite, and so fatal to German hopes, to German future, that those who rule Germany are bound to fight on, because between the terms which are now obtainable and those which would be obtainable after military defeat—complete defeat—there is no great margin of difference, and there is still, for them, the chance, remote, but real, that they may escape the decisive defeat, and endure until war weariness and domestic unrest in allied countries make peace by negotiation inevitable. And peace by negotiation means the salvage for Germany of much—of very much—from the wreck.

"As I see it, the situation is this: The German general staff expects to escape any decisive defeat this year and to stand with its main mass of armies still unbroken on some strong defensive system when bad weather closes the campaign of 1918. Despite its losses of men, material, and territory, it will then claim that it has defeated the allied effort to win a decision and that it has demonstrated that no decision is possible and that the war must go on indefinitely at a terrible cost unless it is ended by negotiation. Then will begin a period of reorganization by the German armies for the next campaign and the fortification of new lines on the basis of the lessons of the present campaign.

PEACE OFFENSIVE THIS WINTER.

"Meantime Berlin and Vienna will launch a tremendous peace offensive designed to separate the rulers of the various countries—that is, the leaders from their people. They will make every conceivable verbal concession, put aside all claims for profit themselves, and argue that only the imperialistic ambitions of their foes prevent the making of peace. Such an offensive will certainly have a great effect in Germany; we shall have to be on our guard to prevent its making progress in our own country.

"We may assume that the peace offensive will fail; we may assume that the allied nations will stand firm and insist upon

a complete surrender as the only condition of peace. Then, when spring comes, Germany will have made her plan for another campaign; she will retire to her selected positions, leaving devastated districts behind her, and strive to break our first offensive blows as she broke those of Nivelle and Haig in 1917. All of her still considerable resources will go into this first effort, and the German leaders may calculate that they will prolong the fighting for another whole summer and see the campaign end with the Germans at last within their own boundaries, out of Alsace-Lorraine, and behind the Rhine. In such a situation Germany may hope and will hope that peace can be had without surrender, with her position with respect to Russia unshaken, and with the essential integrity of Austria assured. This would be a far better ending to the war than is now obtainable. And there is always the possibility, certain to be counted upon by Germany, that some allied nation would weary; that, for example, the new election in Britain might turn out a victory for pacifism.

CAMPAIGN OF 1919 LIKELY.

"Short of a military victory this year, wholly improbable, I believe that there will be a campaign of 1919, because the only conditions on which we are willing to make peace with Germany are conditions which the mass of the Germans will not accept until their capacity for military resistance has been exhausted, and that is far from the case at the present moment. Frederick the Great and Louis XIV successfully defied Europe, after terrible defeats and even invasions. Germany hopes now to make peace on the basis of things as they were in 1914, while keeping alive the possibility of profiting from the destruction of Russia. But this means nothing more nor less than that Germany will consent to abandon now what she feels that she can not accomplish in the present war, and that she will begin on the morrow of peace to prepare a new attack upon civilization, building on the same foundations on which she built in the years before the present struggle.

"There is no middle ground for compromise between the world and the German; not to break his military power or compel him to surrender is to consent to the continued existence of his military machine; is to leave open for the future all the old avenues of attack upon democracy. Victory is not and will not be geographical. Frederick the Great lost Berlin, but won his war and retained Silesia. Victory is not comparative; it is in the nature of things absolute. The destruction of German militarism is the destruction of the German Army, whether by defeat on the battle field or by even more ignominious surrender in advance of the final blow.

"Looked at calmly, our successes since July 18 are only a degree more impressive than those of Ludendorf before that date. We have not yet progressed as far north of the Hindenburg line as the German got south of it in the spring. He took 200,000 prisoners and 2,500 guns; we have taken 250,000 prisoners and 3,500 guns. He has Belgium behind him and the lines of the Meuse, Ardennes, and the Rhine. He arrived within 40 miles of Paris; we are not yet as near as that to Brussels. He has lost a campaign, but we have lost the campaigns of 1915, 1916, and 1917. Bulgaria has quit him, but Russia quit us. Turkey is falling, but Belgium, Serbia, and Roumania fell and still we endured.

MORAL FACTORS AT WORK.

"Now, the moral factor can not be estimated and can not be exaggerated in its importance. The German may be morally conquered, but there is yet no sign of it. He is fighting doggedly, determinedly, and his defense is not a shade weaker than our defense between March 21 and July 15. He is fighting, not with the idea of victory in his head, but with a growing consciousness of what absolute defeat means. He sees about him the ruins of Belgian and French cities and Provinces; he knows that the same ruin or the price of the ruin must be found in Germany. His courage may depart or a wild and agonized determination to avert impending national ruin may fire him to still more determined resistance.

"I find about me a growing conviction that the war is over and that we are seeing the last phase of the decisive battle—that 'peace by Christmas' is assured. It may be so; but it is at least as likely that we are seeing the end of one more campaign in which there has been no ultimate decision, no breaking of the armed resistance, and no taming of the will of the opponent. For myself, I expect to see a campaign of 1919; I believe the German will still be in arms and fighting desperately when next spring comes, and that it will take all of our best strength to break his military power next year in a full and terrible campaign.

NEGOTIATED PEACE DANGERS.

"Negotiated peace is and will remain possible, if we are willing to make it, at any moment now. Between the present hour and the opening of the next campaign the German terms will grow more and more reasonable. The German maneuver to catch the weak, the blind, the weary of the enemy nations, to break the home front as it was broken in 1917, will be repeated. But the German is not likely to accept the only terms which he can obtain, because he is almost certain to conclude that he would do better to risk all the consequences of another campaign rather than accept terms which will not have become materially harsher if he fights and loses next summer, and may be greatly modified if he fights and postpones a military decision.

"This much, at least, is to be said and must be said: It would be the height of folly to make any calculation of any sort based upon the assumption that this year will see the end of the struggle. Two evils would instantly flow from such a calculation. Insensibly, but inevitably, war effort would slacken and equally inevitably disappointment would weaken our moral strength next year. By each of these weaknesses the enemy would profit; by both he might succeed in escaping from the defeat which must come if the war is to be ended properly.

"Reading history one may see that bad as is the German's present posture, nations have escaped from worse, as did Prussia in the Seven Years' War. That victory which, now assured, is only assured if we increase rather than lessen our effort and strengthen rather than weaken our determination. Two years ago we were just as sure of immediate victory as now and with almost as sound reason. Then the German peace offensive surprised and routed us. A new German peace offensive is in preparation, and there is the same peril.

"Constant victory, the interminable reports of the forecasts of captured Germans, the large scale map, the catalogue of captured positions, all these build up an optimism, natural, within limits useful, but dangerous when it gives rise to unbounded confidence in a speedy and complete collapse of the enemy. It took the Leipzig campaign of 1813, the Marne campaign of 1814, and the Waterloo campaign of 1815 to rid Europe of the Napoleonic peril and to destroy the Napoleonic legend. If we have won the Leipzig campaign this summer, we have done nothing more. We have not advanced a foot in Germany; we are still demanding that the German make peace on the basis of what we expect to do, not what we have done and not what he believes we can do. Our victory is still limited; our terms absolute.

"In sum, on the military side no allied success up to the present hour supplies any conclusive or impressive evidence that the German Army can be decisively beaten this year or that it will surrender rather than bear the cost in blood of another campaign. On the political side the peace conditions which we are agreed must be imposed upon Germany are such that the Germans may not improbably prefer to risk all the sacrifices and burdens of another year in the hope of escaping our present terms, satisfied that even if they lose that campaign they can hardly face much stiffer terms. On the moral side we know little, but two years ago, when we were counting upon a moral collapse of the German, our own morale broke down in Russia and Italy and was severely shaken in France and in Britain as a result of the German peace offensive.

BOTH SIDES FAIL TO UNDERSTAND.

"All through this war there has been nothing more striking than the utter failure of the people of the two contending groups to grasp in any degree the actual state of mind of the enemy. We have been wrong just as often as the German. We have again and again been convinced that German masses were eager for a surrender peace; we have been convinced that a starving Germany was on the point of throwing off its rulers and embracing democracy and peace, and at the critical moment we have found that we had calculated on our hopes rather than with regard to the facts.

To-day the German people may be willing to surrender, they may compel their generals and their statesmen to abandon the struggle and pay the price of surrender. They may, on the other hand, be in the mood of France after Sedan, when the people rose to the defense of the nation. Until the German Army is decisively beaten we shall not be assured of peace, and the German Army is much further from decisive defeat than was French military power after the opening disasters of 1870. We have never yet failed to blunder when we based our military and political calculations upon what we believed to be the German state of mind and the German situation materially, and all our past mistakes have led to disastrous disappointments.

NO COMPROMISE IS POSSIBLE.

"The issue between the German and ourselves is one that can not be settled by compromise. Either he or we must surrender, and for either surrender means the abandonment of national faith. Bernhardi said nearly a decade ago that the issue of the next war for Germany would be 'world power or downfall.' Time has not changed the issues, nor can the German now escape

downfall by any other means than arms. Therefore it seems wisest to believe that he will fight on until he can fight no more, conscious that his fate then will be but little worse than it would be should he surrender now.

"As I close this article, on Monday, October 7, the world is discussing the latest German peace offensive. But nothing which has yet been disclosed with respect to this offensive modifies the views expressed above and in earlier articles. Germany is seeking to acquire immunity for the past and preserve her army and the Prussian tradition for the future. She proposes not surrender, but compromise. She is willing to bargain, but the very proposal to bargain indicates that she does not believe that surrender is necessary.

"By the campaign of 1918 we have brought Germany to the point of resigning her plan to impose her terms of victorious peace upon a conquered world. I see nothing now to suggest that short of the campaign of 1919 we can bring the enemy to accept those terms which we all agree must be the foundation of the future, the basis of any just and enduring peace. We have driven the wild beast back into the jungle, but he will return if we do not pursue him into his own fastnesses."

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[From the New York Times, Oct. 13, 1918.]

FOE'S DILEMMA IN FRANCE ANALYZED BY MILITARY CRITIC—FOCH IS TRYING TO FORCE DISASTER FOR KAISER'S ARMIES, WHILE THEY TRY DESPERATELY TO EXTRICATE THEMSELVES WITHOUT LOSING HUGE ACCUMULATION OF SUPPLIES—GRAVE DANGER TO ALLIES' MILITARY TRIUMPH IF AN ARMISTICE SHOULD BE GRANTED.

[By the military expert of the New York Times. Copyright, 1918, by the New York Times Co.]

"The past week has crowded the press with reports of allied victories on a scale which the war has not seen before from the beginning. At almost every point from the North Sea to Verdun the German tide has been receding.

"In the north, where the pressure has not been constant, the retrograde movements have been conducted without direct pressure on the part of the allies. The movement has progressed quietly and the German troops have made good their escape as far as they have gone. In the south, however, they have been in serious difficulties. But, in calculating upon a German retreat, we must bear in mind the purpose of Foch's strategy.

"His object is not primarily to force a retreat. In fact, he does not want a retreat at all unless he can force it to take place along lines which he himself is dictating. His object is, first, to destroy the German reserves, to deplete the army so that, when he is ready to administer the final blow, the power of resistance will be reduced to a minimum. If, in the process, the German Army is forced to retreat, it will be forced to abandon the supplies which it has gathered together during four years of occupancy of France and Belgium, together with much of its artillery, and return to its new and, possibly, its final line, a much weakened and badly crippled army.

"The Germans, on the other hand, are determined not to retreat at all until they can do so under conditions favorable to themselves. To fall back now would be to invite serious difficulties which would embarrass them for the remaining days of the war. They are, therefore, playing a waiting game, trying to hold on until winter comes.

"This situation forces them to take desperate chances. Even though they may be driven into a military situation which is almost impossible, they are compelled to hold on and trust that they will be able to escape in time before the débâcle comes.

FIGHTING NEAR CAMBRAI.

"The principal actions of the week have occurred on the front between St. Quentin and Cambrai. There are several reasons why this section of the front is considered by the allied commander as the most vital in the west. The strength of the German position has rested primarily on the chain of bases which extend from Rheims to the North Sea, a chain admirably connected by railroads and having numerous secondary means of communication. The foundation of the chain in the north is Lille, while in the south it is Laon. The center of the chain was Cambrai.

"But Laon is more than the southern pillar of the north-and-south line. It is also the pivot of the line where it swings to the eastward and supports the eastern line in the Champagne. This chain might be broken in the north by an extension of the attacks at Lens and in Flanders, which would envelop Lille and squeeze the Germans out. But in this event the Cambrai positions would still remain intact and the line in the south could remain steadfast in spite of the successes in the north. Success south of Cambrai, however, would flank the latter city, force the Germans out of it, but would at the same time throw the allies well to the east of St. Quentin and force the Germans back to the Oise River. This would in turn half surround Laon, and if persisted in would drive the Germans from this important angle, releasing the troops in the Champagne. This is the principal reason why the allied attacks have centered between Cambrai and Laon. This would seem to negative the idea that Foch is primarily concerned with the destruction of the army and not with forcing a strategic retreat.

"But there is no real inconsistency. If the chain of bases could be badly broken, not through the destruction of a single link but through the disruption of the entire system of transportation, the Germans might get out. They would, however, lose many thousands of men in the process, and, most important of all, they would have to abandon much of their stores and supplies, so that the retreat would, after all, tend strongly to the destruction of the army as a well-armed and thoroughly equipped fighting body.

FOCH'S STRATEGIC GAME.

"A few words will show how this general strategy has worked out. The early part of the week was devoted to minor operations on this front. There was some very hard fighting by the British, but nothing like a general engagement was attempted. Presumably these earlier operations of the British were for the purpose of getting necessary military information.

"Then came a terrific attack, participated in by British, French, and Americans. The Germans were struck on the entire front between Cambrai and St. Quentin. Their entire line gave way. Previous inroads into the German positions by the British had brought the British lines close to the end of the Hindenburg defensive zone. The last attack carried them clean through the defensive area and out into the open.

"This was more than the Germans had bargained for. It was no part of their game to meet a superior army in the open. And the allies are superior in all that goes to make up a military force. It was necessary to stage a retreat as quickly as possible. This was done, the allies using cavalry and small tanks on a large scale to follow closely. One line after the other was crossed, Le Cateau was taken, and the British pushed on and beyond the Selle River.

"In the south the Germans were also seriously affected. The French, operating on the right flank of the attacking force, swept east of St. Quentin and reached the line of the Oise practically all the way from La Fere to the great bend near Longchamps. This immediately drew the line in the north tightly about Laon, leaving the area of the city guarded only by the Oise River. The result in the north was to stretch the British line all along the southern bank of the Sensee Canal, the most eastern point of the line being 35 miles east of the most western part near Arras. In other words, the German line is outflanked by that distance.

"The conditions on the western front may most easily be grasped by considering it in two sections. One is a huge semicircle, roughly, the horns of which are at Solesmes on the Selle River in the south and at Nieuport in the north. The radius of this curve is about 35 miles and contains, at distances varying from 30 to 20 miles, the important bases of Lille and Douai.

"The northern part of the curved area is guarded by the Lys River. The allies hold the northern bank entirely and the Germans the southern bank. No attempt has been made to force a crossing, this part of the front having been relatively quiet since the Belgian attack of 10 days ago, which first completed the northern part of the circle.

"The southern half of the circle is formed by the line from a point east of Arras to Solesmes. This section is guarded by the Cojeul River and the Sensee Canal, the Germans holding the northern bank, the allies the southern. Here the British have made several attempts to force a crossing. On one occasion they really got across and took the town of Arleux, but a heavy counterattack drove them back across the canal. Thus the Germans would appear to have their flanks in the north carefully guarded.

"The southern semicircle, which is the second part of the line we need consider, begins at Longchamps, on the Oise, follows the river around as far as La Fere, and then, curving around to the east, follows the Ailette and later the Aisne.

"Here we have a condition similar in many respects to the northern curve. The northern flank of the Germans is guarded by the Oise River, which is a most effective barrier. It has not, so far as we know, been under attack, the French having just reached it as this is being written. The southern flank is guarded by the Ailette and then by the Aisne, the semicircle being complete at Berry-au-Bac. The Ailette front is just as securely guarded as is the Oise front in the north. The Ailette itself is not much of a barrier, but the steep hills which rise from the valley of the river make it an obstacle of great defensive value.

"The danger point is found near where the Ailette turns north. This is the only unguarded section of the entire German line.

If the French can push their lines but a little farther eastward and clear the line of the Aisne as far as Berry-au-Bac there is every likelihood of their being able to cut off Laon from the east by an advance northward from Berry-au-Bac.

"It is possible that the Germans may yet disappoint the allies and get away, but minus a large part of their military paraphernalia. Their method of retreat has always been the same; it consists in holding tightly on the flanks and gradually drawing away the center, the sides gradually yielding as the center pulls back. For this operation the Germans, as we have seen, are admirably located. They can not, of course, get away clean, but they can escape disaster unless Foch is able to crush in the sides of their defense before the center can get far enough eastward.

"There can be no doubt of a German retreat. It is inevitable. Germany may be able to delay it for a few days longer at great risk to herself, but it is certain to come.

"Distinctive features of the week's fighting are also seen in the operation of the French and American forces between the Meuse and Rheims. The Americans have completely cleaned out the Argonne in one of the most tenacious bits of fighting we have recently seen. It has been brilliant work, well carried out, and of great importance. It practically clears out of the way all obstacles of terrain between the Argonne and Sedan.

This operation has one great value—it prevents the Germans from occupying for any great length of time any line west of a line through Grand Pre and Mozieres. This has been one of the main objects of the American action and illustrates the farsightedness and calculating ability of the allied commander. Foreseeing that his blows farther west were going to force a German retreat, he planned the attack of the American forces to prevent that retreat from stopping too soon. Any position which the Germans might take west of the line mentioned would be in immediate danger of being taken in the rear by the allied advance between the Aisne and the Meuse.

EARLY PEACE PROBABLE.

"With the Germans giving ground on all sides it is thought in many quarters that the war is over, and that we shall have peace before the new year. That will depend on just what kind of a peace we mean.

"We can have peace tomorrow if we wish—a German peace, a peace made around the council table on a basis of compromise. But if we still hold that there can be no compromise between right and wrong, that you can not arbitrate murder and piracy and pillage—if, in short, we hold that the only peace we will accept will be a German surrender, there is no probability of peace this year, certainly not before summer of next year.

"What Germany will do, what she is doing, is to fall back to shorten her lines. She can take up a line back of the Meuse River over a hundred miles shorter than her present lines and thereby add from three-quarters of a million to a million men to her fighting strength. Her position will be admirably suited for defense and will involve a great deal of fighting before it can be taken.

"The end is in sight for the first time since the war began, but it is still some distance ahead. It is useless to deceive ourselves on facts which are so patent. We are merely yielding to our sentiment and not to our understanding.

"The crying need for the moment for Germany is time. Her armies are for the most part in an impossible military situation, the extrication from which can be accomplished only with difficulty. It can not be accomplished at all except with grievous loss unless Germany has time.

"She has accumulated in France and Belgium since 1914 mountains of supplies of all kinds. Shell has been sent to the front for offensive and defensive purposes in enormous quantities. These represent millions of dollars of expenditure. Her organization of depots, of repair and replacement facilities, of billets, has been without limit. For the four years of the war this feature has gone on concurrently with the military operations and on an ever-increasing scale.

"Now, as a result of the allies' incessant hammering, she finds herself confronted with retreat or disaster. For various reasons the retreat can not be a small affair, but must involve the entire front from Rheims to the sea. There is not sufficient transport in the world to remove Germany's accumulations from the danger zone in a short space of time. And the allies, realizing their advantage, are pressing the situation with all possible speed.

THE GERMAN SCHEME.

"Germany, seeing the processes of destruction at work, begs for time, her petition coming to us in the nature of a peace proposal. She wants an armistice. Without going further into the matter, it may be stated that two results will doubtless flow from a cessation of fighting: The first is that, no matter what may happen, even should we discover at the last moment that the German proposal was but another hoax, another lie, another example of a plighted faith broken, once the fighting is stopped for any appreciable time the war will be over. It is hardly possible to conceive that, once arms are laid down, they can be taken up again. The heart of the soldier, his morale, will be gone. There will no longer be the spirit for fighting of which victorious armies are made.

"The second point is that if Germany is granted the time she wants and for which she will do anything, give anything, say anything, promise anything, she will utilize it in withdrawing her arms, her mountains of supplies, her artillery, her shell, and her men to a much shorter and much more powerful line, a line possibly behind the Meuse, through the French and Belgian Ardennes, before Metz, and down the Vosges Mountains, and there she will stay. She will have shortened the battle front over a hundred miles and will be able to hold it with a million less men. Everything that we have done since July 18 will thus be scrapped. Our losses will have been for nothing.

"Either we shall stop fighting and make a patched-up peace or the war will continue for two more years, if not longer. It may, therefore, be said, as a logical conclusion, that if we grant an armistice before we are ready to make peace, military decision will have been averted and we shall have lost the war."

—

[From the Outlook, Oct. 9, 1918.]

WITH WHOM AND FOR WHAT ARE WE AT WAR?

[By an expert in international law.]

"In discussing this war we often speak of it as a war between nations, and speak of the German Empire as if it were a nation subject to the rules and entitled to the benefit of international law; but the Kaiser and his associates in the Prussian military autocracy have put themselves outside the pale of international law. Long before the war began the Kaiser declared, 'Nothing must henceforth be settled in the world without the intervention of Germany and the German Empire.' By international law, however, 'nations are equal in respect to each other and entitled to claim equal consideration for their rights.'

"So far from being satisfied with the natural development of her manufactures, her agriculture, and her commerce, the German leaders maintained the right and the duty to make war for the acquisition of territory and the destruction of rivals. Bernhardi declared, 'France must be so completely crushed that she can never again cross our path.'

"In reference to the conduct of war they were even more audacious. Nietzsche describes the German warriors: 'These men are, in reference to what is outside their circle (where the foreign country begins), not much better than beasts of prey. * * * They feel that they can revert to the beast-of-prey conscience like jubilant monsters who, perhaps, go with bravado from the ghastly bout of murder, arson, rape, and torture.' This description has been realized during the present war.

"It is true that before the war the Imperial Governments went through the form of sending delegates to international conventions. The most notable of these was at The Hague, in 1907. In one of the conventions adopted at The Hague, and signed by the delegates of Germany and Austria, it was agreed: 'Arbitration is recognized by the contracting powers as the most effective and at the same time the most equitable means of settling disputes which diplomacy has failed to settle.' In order to facilitate immediate recourse to arbitration, an arbitral tribunal had been established.

"Another convention, signed by the same delegates, regulated the laws of land warfare. Among other things, it was agreed that prisoners of war should not be employed in works that had any connection with the war operations. 'All necessary measures should be taken to spare as far as possible buildings devoted to religious worships, arts, science, and charity, historical monuments, and places of assembly of sick and wounded.' 'The honor and the rights of family, the life of individuals, and private property should be respected.' 'Private property shall not be confiscated.' Contributions in money in occupied territory shall be levied 'only for the needs of the army or of the administration of said territory.' 'Looting is positively forbidden.' Hospital ships shall be respected. The bombardment of undefended cities or villages is forbidden. 'It is forbidden to lay submarine mines off the coasts and ports of the enemy with the sole object of interrupting commercial navigation.'

"Long before these conventions were made it was a principle of international law that a merchant vessel should not be captured without giving to the passengers and noncombatants on board an opportunity to depart in safety.

"From the beginning of the war every one of these sacred rules has been persistently and brutally violated by the Germans and the Austrians. With the approval of Germany, at the outset Austria refused to arbitrate the matter in difference between herself and Serbia. They have thus placed themselves outside the pale of civilized communities and have become nothing more than organized bands of pirates, entitled to no more consideration than were the buccaneers. These also had a certain rude government. Their principles of action were similar to those of the Germans and Austrians in this war. They were finally suppressed.

"It is our business in this war to suppress the buccaneers of the twentieth century. We shall win the war. Overtures for peace will be made, as they have been made, the design of which has been and will be to enable these pirates to retain as much of their booty as possible. Such peace would simply give them an opportunity to repair their losses and renew their attacks upon peaceful nations. What, therefore, we ought to obtain may be summed up in one famous phrase: 'Indemnity for the past and security for the future.'

"To gain these results we ought to impose upon the conquered Imperial Governments of Germany and Austria terms which will execute themselves and will not be dependent on the good faith of those who have shown by their actions that they have no sense of honor, and love a lie more than the truth.

"Before considering the terms in detail, let us note the analogy between the situation of the allies in this war and that of the United States in 1865. Then, as now, we were fighting for fundamental principles. It was impossible for the United States to permit for a moment the dissolution of the Union or the continuance of a government founded on slavery. As Mr. Lincoln said in 1858—and the words are equally true to-day:

"The real issue in this country is the eternal struggle between those two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles which have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, 'You work, and toil, and earn bread, and I'll eat it.'

"To establish forever the principles of justice and freedom, which are the foundation of the American Constitution, we refused again and again to make any terms with the Confederate Government which involved its continuance or the continuance of slavery. We did not count the cost, either in life or in money, and we were deaf to every overture. We repeatedly offered protection to the rights of individuals in the South and compensation for emancipation. But on the two main points, the continuance of the Union and the abolition of slavery, we were inexorable. It is equally important now that we refuse any propositions for peace which will not include the destruction of the Prussian and Austrian autocracy and compensation, as far as possible, for the countless woes it has brought upon the world.

"The details are far more complicated than they were at the end of the Civil War, but the principles are the same. Let us consider these details.

"Indemnity for the past.

"This indemnity should be based on the fact that it is the Prussian military system that is responsible. Indemnity, therefore, should be taken, not in the form of a Government payment but by a seizure of the property of the guilty. Indemnity from the Government could be raised only by a loan. The taxes which would be levied to pay the interest on this loan would come in part, at least, out of the plain people. These have been deceived by a persistent system of falsehood, and thus have been like sheep led to the slaughter.

"It is claimed by some that the great commercial and manufacturing interests of Germany and Austria joined from the first with the military caste, and that the war was the development of their joint greed and ambition. Whether this be so or not, it is at least clear that the commercial and manufacturing interests of Germany and Austria could have prevented the war. Whether or not, therefore, they actually promoted it at the outset is unimportant. They are jointly responsible. Some of their property in the allied countries has already been seized. Whenever their property can be found in these countries, that should in like manner be seized. Their property in the central Empires should equally be appropriated at the end of the war. The vast fund which would thus be available should be applied to make good the actual losses which have been inflicted upon the people of Belgium, France, Italy, Serbia, and Roumania. The German Government is responsible for the Turkish atrocities committed against the Christians. For these also reparation should be made.

"When this is done, a suitable amount should be appropriated toward paying the expenses of the war which has been forced upon the allies. There would be a remnant which should be applied to the relief of the suffering of the plain people of Germany. There will be at the end of the war innumerable widows, orphans, and wounded men in the central empires who can not justly be blamed for the crimes that have been committed. It is very important that some provision should be made for them, so that in the countries now under the sway of the two Kaisers there should be hereafter an opportunity for the plain people to develop a new and better national life. In this way it will appear to the people of these countries that our object is justice and not vengeance.

"A very important part of this system of compensation is the taking over of all the German and Austrian ships that have been seized during the war. This will constitute a partial and appropriate indemnity for the ships that have been piratically sunk.

"Another and very important part of indemnity for the past is the punishment of the great criminals. Here again we have an American precedent. There was a German named Wirz who held a commission under the Confederate Government and was put in charge of the prison at Andersonville. In violation of the laws of war he caused to be killed many of these prisoners. When the war was over he was arrested and tried before a competent court for murder. The specification was that he had put to death, in violation of the laws of war, certain men who were prisoners in his custody. He was found guilty, condemned to death, and executed. We thus established the principle that killing men, even during war and under cover of a commission, is murder, if in doing it the perpetrator willfully violates the laws of war.

"It should be our business, when the two Kaisers are subdued, to make inquiry for the men who are responsible for the shameful violations of the laws of war, far more cruel than Wirz committed, and bring them to trial before a court-martial. Let them have the benefit of counsel, as Wirz had, but let us equally apply to them the words of the prophet: 'He shall have judgment without mercy, that hath showed no mercy.'

"One of the most conspicuous of these men is the commander of the submarine who sank the *Lusitania*. In his case the crime is especially clear, for after he had disabled the ship by his first torpedo he fired another, the only object of which could have been to hasten her sinking and destroy the lives of those on board. This was as much murder as though he had taken a rifle, picked out one of the women on deck, aimed directly at her, and killed her. There are those above him who have approved his action and rewarded him for it. They can be ascertained, and no rank should save them from a like condemnation.

"It is only by such an exercise of justice that we can hope to prevent the commission of similar crimes in the future. We hope, indeed, to establish a commonwealth of nations which shall in the future make war impossible. Whether this will succeed or not, we can not tell. But if there ever should be another war the men who go into it should now be made distinctly to understand that they do so at their peril, and that the leaders who involve thousands and perhaps millions of innocent victims in bloody strife can not expect immunity when the strife is over.

"Besides the punishment thus to be inflicted on the persons of these murderers, there are robberies for which restitution must be enforced. Nothing in modern warfare compares with the pillage of these Huns. There must, after the war, be a search for all the stolen property, and, as far as possible, it should be returned to the rightful owners.

"Indemnity for the future.

"The first thing will be to draw the teeth of the monsters with whom we are fighting. All the munitions of war of every kind which then shall be in the possession of the two Kaisers and their Governments must be taken away. Their manufactories of such munitions must be broken up. If there is any machinery in them which can be of use to the allies, it should be turned in as part of the indemnity. Everything else should be destroyed. If, for example, the Krupp factories at Essen can be used for peaceful purposes, care should be taken that they are put to this use only. Otherwise they should be razed to the ground. It is far better that Bertha Krupp should labor for an honest living and give up making guns to kill Christians gathered in church on Good Friday!

"Complaint would doubtless be made that this would leave the two allied Empires defenseless. In executing this decree they should, however, be permitted to provide for an adequate police force. In the league of nations which should be formed as part of the readjustment of the world that this war compels there will be provision for the protection of individual nations against wanton aggression.

"Another important element in this reconstruction is a declaration by the allied powers that the two Kaisers, having deliberately organized a military system for the subjugation of the world, and having persistently violated the laws of nations in carrying out their plans, have forfeited all right to sovereignty, and that their thrones have become vacant. This would be a similar principle to the action of the English Parliament which in 1689 declared that King James II had 'abdicated the Government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant.'

"It may be claimed that this action of the allies would be in violation of the right to self-government that America is maintaining, but it is so only in appearance. Every right is inseparably connected with a corresponding duty. The principle of the old maxim, 'Protection and allegiance are inseparable,' is of universal application. The moment the two Kaisers and their Governments joined with the Governments of other nations in international conventions they thereby declared themselves to be part of an international system. They admitted that each nation owed certain duties to the rest. For example, in one of the conventions adopted at The Hague in 1907 the Emperor of Germany and the Emperor of Austria, as well as the rulers of other powers, declared that they were—

"Animated by the sincere desire to work for the maintenance of *general peace*

"Resolved to promote by all the efforts in their power the settlement of international disputes.

"Recognizing the solidarity uniting the members of the society of civilized nations.

"In the face of this convention, how can the two Kaisers contend that they and their Governments have not become a part of an international society? If, then, they commit crimes against that society on the scale of this present war, they cease to be rulers recognizing obedience to the law of God and to international law, and become pirates. This is manifestly an abdication of the throne, and should be treated as such by all the nations.

"Taking this position does not give to the allied powers the right to impose new sovereigns upon Germany or upon the kingdoms composing the Empire of Austria-Hungary. It is for the people of these countries, in constituent assembly, to choose their new rulers; but for all international purposes the imperial houses of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg must cease to exist. They have too long tyrannized over their own people and destroyed the peace of the world.

"Under newly chosen rulers and forms of government based upon the fundamental principle of freedom, guarded by and subject to law, we may hope that these countries will become loyal and peaceful and prosperous members of the great family of nations. If they do, they will half a century hence look with as much satisfaction upon their emancipation as the South does upon the abolition of slavery and the restoration of the Union.

"There is one important element in this constructive program which remains to be mentioned. For that we have a precedent in the reconstruction of the American Union after the Civil War. It is provided by the fourth section of the fourteenth amendment that 'neither the United States nor any State shall pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.'

"In like manner, it should be provided at the end of the present war that no debt incurred either by the Empire of Germany or that of Austria-Hungary in aid of the present war shall be paid, but it shall be held illegal and void. The continuance of this debt would be an impossible burden for the people of these central empires if the indemnity before mentioned is provided. It is better to cancel it at once. It would be right to make some provision for small holders, who would be impoverished by the loss of all their savings. But the debt was contracted for purposes of aggression and crime and is therefore illegal and void.

"These propositions will seem radical. But the fundamental principle upon which they are based is the sole justification for the entrance of America into the war, namely, that the war is a war of aggression begun by the central empires as part of a plan to subjugate the world, and that in the course of the war they have committed every possible crime. When this is remembered, it will appear that these terms are just and that the enforcement of them is the only possible security against another war. In reality, they are far more merciful and less likely to promote continued rancor than would the boycott propesed by many.

"The author of this article was one of the first to urge upon the Government and people of the United States, immediately after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, that America should intervene in defense of her own rights and the rights of all nations; that convoy should be provided for merchant shipping; and that the German ships and terminals which were within our jurisdiction should be seized. Our Government, with the unanimous approval of our people, has finally done all this. It has declared war in a righteous cause; our people are incurring countless sacrifices in the prosecution of that war, and we must never rest until the objects for which we began it are accomplished.

"These were summed up by the President in his reply to the communication of his Holiness Benedict XIV: 'Peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not the rights of governments—the rights of peoples, great or small, weak or powerful—their right to freedom and security and government.'

"One advantage of dealing with our treacherous foe in the manner proposed is this: Our victorious armies will ere long be in Germany. The indignation that has been roused in the soldier's breast by the crimes committed would naturally lead to retaliation. If the allies should announce their fixed purpose to punish the real criminals and spare the civilian population who have not shared in the crimes, the latter would be more mercifully treated.

"Another advantage would be this: The German leaders have stimulated the population at home to renewed sacrifice by assuring them that if the allies conquer and get a footing in Germany the people there would suffer as the French and Belgians have suffered. This appeal has been effective. If we make it known that the contrary will be the case and that our aim will not be the desolation of the country, but the punishment of the real criminals—in a word, 'retributive justice'—the German leaders will find their people indifferent or even opposed to the continuance of the war.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD, without reading, resolutions adopted by the war committee of the Union League Club of Chicago, Ill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The resolutions are as follows:

"THE AUSTRIAN PEACE TRAP.

"Resolutions adopted by the war committee of the Union League Club of Chicago at a meeting held the 16th of September, 1918.

"Whereas the war committee of the Union League Club of Chicago, assembled in special session this 16th day of September, 1918, sees the Austrian proposal to call an informal conference to discuss terms of peace as a diplomatic trick whereby the central powers hope to avert the consequences of certain military defeat; and

"Whereas it is the belief of this committee that the central powers, by putting out this peace feeler, hope and plan to create a division of sentiment among the peoples of the allied nations which will bring about a slackening of military preparations; and

"Whereas it is essential to the interests of permanent peace that the military aristocracy of Germany be rendered incapable of further successful aggression: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the war committee of the Union League Club of Chicago respectfully urges upon the President of the United States of America and the Members of the House of Representatives and Senate thereof that there be no peace negotiations, formal or informal, until these two results have been achieved:

"1. The territories of all the nations which have been overrun by Germany and her allies have been evacuated; and

"2. The armies of Germany and her allies have been dispersed or captured: And be it further

"*Resolved*, That the war committee of the Union League Club of Chicago, having in mind the principles enunciated by the President of the United States, further respectfully urges that when these objects have been attained and the time comes for the consideration of a permanent peace dictated by the victorious entente allied nations, the terms which must be forced upon the defeated central powers shall be such that, among other things—

"1. Belgium, Serbia, and the other invaded States shall be fully compensated for the material damage which has been done in those lands by the brutal invaders from the central powers.

"2. Alsace-Lorraine shall be restored to France and reparation shall be made to France for the damage done during the present war.

"3. Poland shall be recreated an independent State, free from domination of Prussia, Austria, or any other power, and compensated for injury during the present war.

"4. Bohemia and the neighboring provinces of Moravia and Slovakia in Austria-Hungary shall be erected into a Czecho-Slovak State absolutely independent of Teutonic or Magyar control.

"5. That effect be given to the declaration of Corfu, and that the millions of Slavs held in bondage by Austria-Hungary in the southern part of the dual monarchy shall be set free and allowed to join with their kinsmen in Serbia and Montenegro in a great Jugo-Slav nation.

"6. That certain portions of Austria-Hungary, populated mainly by people of Italian nationality and adjoining the Italian borders, shall be restored to Italy.

"7. That the treaty forced upon Roumania by the central powers be abrogated, and that Roumanians living in the Provinces of Transylvania and Bukowina shall be allowed to join with their kinsmen in the formation of a free and independent greater Roumania.

"8. That the Brest-Litovsk treaty be abrogated and that Finland, Ukrainia, the Baltic Provinces, and other portions of Russia be freed absolutely from German domination."

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I have received a great mass of telegrams, with which I shall not undertake to fill the RECORD, but I have selected a few which I desire to read simply to illustrate the feeling as it comes to me from many quarters.

PITTSBURGH, PA., *October 11, 1918.*

Senator HENRY C. LODGE,
Washington, D. C.:

Unconditional surrender only. No temporizing with criminals.

GEO. O. CALDER.

—

CHICAGO, ILL., *October 13, 1918.*

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The mere suggestion of an armistice is an insult to the brave armies of the United States and our allies. A brutal, cruel, and inhuman foe, totally devoid of truth and honor, is rapidly being defeated, and no foundation for a real peace is possible until after the complete defeat and unconditional surrender of the military forces. Humanity demands the rejection of the German note.

C. H. DANBY.

—

ORLEANS, MASS., *October 13, 1918.*

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

As American citizens and constituents, we heartily approve your attitude and object to any parley with Germany. We demand unconditional surrender from that nation as a preliminary to a dictation of peace terms.

HOLLIS FRENCH.
FREDERICK S. CONVERSE.
DWIGHT BLANEY.

—

NEW YORK, *October 14, 1918.*

Hon. H. C. LODGE,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

No armistice; no negotiations; unconditional surrender.

J. W. MAYNARD.

—

NEW YORK, *October 14, 1918.*

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Horse sense requires that burglars, thieves, and murderers must be disarmed before approaching the bar of justice. Public opinion demands unconditional surrender first and justice afterwards for the Germans.

JOSEPH E. DALTON.

—

BOSTON, MASS., *October 14, 1918.*

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Why not require Germany bring out entire high-seas fleet and place it under guard of British Navy as guaranty of good faith.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

Those are mere samples, which I have read to go into the RECORD.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, I send to the desk a telegram which I have this day received from the Chamber of Commerce of Jackson, Mich., and I ask that it be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read the telegram, as follows:

JACKSON, MICH., *October 13, 1918.*

Hon. C. E. TOWNSEND,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At a special meeting of the Jackson Chamber of Commerce, Jackson, Mich., representing 70,000 people, held this Sunday afternoon, a resolution was unanimously adopted opposing a peace conference in advance of an unconditional surrender of Germany and her allies. We feel that this same sentiment prevails throughout the country, and assure the President and yourself that our undivided cooperation is behind him and you in his and your support of such a proposition.

JACKSON (MICH.) CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.
By C. F. HOLLAND, *Secretary.*

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. TOWNSEND presented telegrams in the nature of petitions of George Seal, of Detroit; of the Federal Employees' Union of Soo; of Local Union No. 143, National Federal Postal Employees, of Kalamazoo; of Local Branch, Railway Mail Association, of Detroit; of the Michigan State Federation of Labor; of Local Branch, National Federation of Federal Employees, of Detroit; and of the Trades and Labor Council of Kalamazoo, all in the State of Michigan, praying for the passage of the so-called McKellar retirement bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. NELSON presented the memorial of J. A. O. Preus, State auditor of Minnesota, transmitting a resolution adopted by the Minnesota State Board of Investment, relative to the proposed tax on State and municipal bonds in the pending revenue bill; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the memorial of Miss Hattie Woell, of Browerville, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed tax on proprietary medicines in the pending revenue bill; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a memorial of the Minnesota Western Oil Co., of Minneapolis, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed tax on oil in the pending revenue bill; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. WARREN. I present a telegram in the nature of a memorial, from the One Hundred Per Cent American Society, of Hanna, Wyo., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

There being no objection, the telegram was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Telegram.]

HANNA, WYO.

Senator FRANCIS E. WARREN,
Washington, D. C.:

The One Hundred Per Cent American Society, of Hanna, Wyo., representing 500 miners and 65 men in uniform, demand the unconditional surrender of the central powers and unlimited force to bring this about. Such a peace only will compensate our outraged ideals, more precious than the lives required to enforce it.

W. L. COWDREY, *President.*

Mr. ASHURST (for Mr. THOMPSON) presented a memorial of Pomona Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, of Montgomery County, Kans., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation granting pensions to civil-service employees of the Government, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also (for Mr. THOMPSON) presented a memorial of the Wyandotte County Democratic Club, of Kansas City, Kans., remonstrating against the unjust discriminations by the industries of the country against the blind in denying them employment, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also (for Mr. THOMPSON) presented a memorial of the Missionary Circle, mothers and sisters of the boys in khaki, Ada, Kans., remonstrating against the execution of the order prohibiting denominational camp pastors from Army camps, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also (for Mr. THOMPSON) presented a memorial of the Woman's Club, of Topeka, Kans., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to provide for the fourteenth and subsequent decennial censuses and also against creating political jobs during the present national crisis, which was referred to the Committee on the Census.

He also (for Mr. THOMPSON) presented telegrams in the nature of petitions from Federal Employees' Union No. 49, of Fort Leavenworth, Kans., and from the Federal Employees' Union, of Kansas City, Kans., and a petition from Local Branch, National Association of Letter Carriers, of Washington, D. C., praying for the passage of the so-called McKellar retirement bill, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. CUMMINS. I present a telegram embodying a resolution adopted by the Farm Improvement Association and the farmers of Black Hawk County at Waterloo, Iowa, remonstrating against the further extension of the daylight-saving bill, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CEDAR FALLS, IOWA, *October 12, 1918.*

A. B. CUMMINS,
Washington, D. C.:

I am instructed to send you the following resolution adopted at a meeting of the Farm Improvement Association and the farmers of Black Hawk County at Waterloo, Iowa, October 12, 1918. The daylight-saving plan is operating to the detriment of rural institutions, and on account of the critical labor situation it is seriously interfering with our efforts in keeping up agricultural production, on account of the dews in the morning during the haying, harvesting, and thrashing season. It causes the loss of an hour of the best working time of each day. It enforces a further loss of time, feed, and profit through the improper and unnatural times for the care and feeding of all classes of live stock. It forces a serious hardship on country school children by compelling many during the cold winter months to leave their homes before daylight.

A. A. BURGER.

Mr. THOMAS. I present a telegram in the nature of a memorial from the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association of my State, protesting against the so-called campaign of certain

women of this city against the Members of this body, which I desire to have printed in the record.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DENVER, COLO., *October 9, 1918.*

Hon. C. S. THOMAS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The Colorado Equal Suffrage Association deeply regrets that the United States Senate should be annoyed and insulted, as is being done by any body of women, even by an organization so diametrically opposed to all the principles of the National Equal Suffrage Association as is the Woman's Party, and we are deeply chagrined that a Colorado woman should be among the number guilty of such acts, while we are keenly disappointed at the failure to pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment we are not discouraged and feel confident of success at a later date in spite of the conduct of these women.

THE COLORADO EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. FLETCHER, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each with amendments:

A bill (S. 829) to authorize the employment of Federal prisoners on public roads within the States; and

A bill (S. 4931) to insure a supply of coal for munition works, and for other purposes.

Mr. BANKHEAD, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 12976) providing for the protection of the users of the telephone and telegraph service and the properties and funds belonging thereto during Government operation and control, reported it without amendment.

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 4990) to repeal a proviso of paragraph 3, section 1, of an act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917, and further amending said act, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 591) thereon.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Mr. FLETCHER introduced a bill (S. 4991) to establish load lines for vessels in foreign trade, which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

AMENDMENT OF CRIMINAL CODE.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 3470) to amend section 35 of the Criminal Code of the United States, which were, on page 1, line 6, after "Sec. 35," to insert:

Whoever shall make or cause to be made or present or cause to be presented for payment or approval to or by any person or officer in the civil, military, or naval service of the United States, or any department thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, any claim upon or against the Government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, knowing such claim to be false, fictitious, or fraudulent; or whoever, for the purpose of obtaining or aiding to obtain the payment or approval of such claim, or for the purpose and with the intent of cheating and swindling or defrauding the Government of the United States, or any department thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, shall knowingly and willfully falsify or conceal or cover up by any trick, scheme, or device a material fact, or make or cause to be made any false or fraudulent statements or representations, or make or use or cause to be made or used any false bill, receipt, voucher, roll, account, claim, certificate, affidavit, or deposition, knowing the same to contain any fraudulent or fictitious statement or entry; or whoever shall take and carry away, or take for his own use or for the use of another, with intent to steal or purloin, any personal property of the United States, or any branch or department thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder; or whoever shall enter into any agreement, combination, or conspiracy to defraud the Government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, by obtaining or aiding to obtain the payment or allowance of any false or fraudulent claim; and whoever, having charge, possession, custody, or control of any money or other public property used or to be used in the military or naval service, with intent to defraud the United States, or any department thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, or willfully to conceal such money or other property, shall deliver or cause to be delivered to any person having authority to receive the same any amount of such money or other property less than that for which he received a certificate or took a receipt; or whoever, being authorized to make or deliver any certificate, voucher, receipt, or other paper certifying the receipt of arms, ammunition, provisions, clothing, or other property so used or to be used, shall make or deliver the same to any other person without a full knowledge of the truth of the facts stated therein, and with intent to defraud the United States, or any department thereof, or any corporation in which the United States of America is a stockholder, shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both.

On page 2, line 1, after "law," to insert "having knowledge or reason to believe that the property has been taken from the possession of the United States or furnished by the United States under such allowance."

On page 2, line 2, to strike out "and" and insert "or."

On page 2, line 2, after "years," to insert "or both."

Mr. OVERMAN. I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

PEACE TERMS.

Mr. LODGE. I desire to introduce a Senate resolution, to be printed and lie on the table.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I ask to have the resolution read, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 315), and it was ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that there should be no further communication with the German Government upon the subject of an armistice or conditions of peace, except a demand for unconditional surrender.

ADJOURNMENT TO THURSDAY.

Mr. SIMMONS. I move that when the Senate adjourns today it adjourn until 12 o'clock on Thursday next.

The motion was agreed to.

PEACE PROPOSALS OF CENTRAL POWERS.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I have received many communications upon the subject which is engrossing the American mind this morning, one of which I beg to read as follows:

CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA, *October 13, 1918.*

Hon. A. B. CUMMINS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At a public meeting held to-day the following resolutions were adopted:

First, That we stand back of the Government and President in demanding an unconditional surrender and nothing less;

Second, That we are opposed to any peace that is not wholly acceptable to our allies, who have borne the greater burdens of this war and who have suffered most and have most at stake;

Third, That we believe the treaty of peace should be written in Berlin by the allied nations, and that allied armies should occupy portions of Germany until the stipulated conditions have been complied with; and

Fourth, That there shall be no cessation of force to the utmost until Germany turns over to the allied nations both her army and her navy as parts of the unconditional surrender.

The telegram is signed by a committee of the citizens of that community.

If the Senate will indulge me a moment, I desire to make an obseravtion with regard to the subject matter.

Mr. President, we are drifting into an exceedingly unfortunate and dangerous position with respect to peace terms with Germany. Consciously or unconsciously, we are permitting general homilies upon the reorganiaztion and reformation of the world, and everybody in it, to obscure the one specific object we should hold constantly in view.

It is praiseworthy, whether in war or peace, to forward the cause of democracy and to stimulate as best we can the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; but if in lauding this fundamental doctrine we allow Germany to escape her well-merited punishment, we will have made little progress in universal regeneration.

Our immediate, imperative purpose should be to make the world, and especially the United States, safe against Germany. It is true that Austro-Hungary and Turkey must be dealt with as our enemies, but they are not formidable, and we have nothing to fear from them in the future. The Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs will see to it that Austro-Hungary is dismembered, and Turkey will be necessarily eliminated in the natural readjustment which must ensue. Germany is the chief and powerful criminal, and unless this war ends in the right way her crimes will be repeated and she will again plunge all mankind into the indescribable horrors of another world war.

Let us forget, for a time at least, all about dividing eastern Europe into a series of sovereignties which will owe their existence, not to self-determination but to military force. Let us forget, in this vital moment, the league of nations which is to rule the earth in accordance with the Sermon on the Mount and in which the United States is to become a mere municipality. Let us fasten our attention upon Germany and answer the one burning question, What shall the allies do with her? And above all let this answer be so concrete in its substance and so clear in its form that plain people everywhere can understand it.

The overwhelming majority of the people of this country are determined that the war shall go on with ever-increasing vigor until the armies and navies of the Imperial German Government have unconditionally surrendered; and until the allies are in full possession of that country with power to impose just such terms upon her future existence as may be thought necessary to repair the wrongs she has committed and to protect humanity against a recurrence of her criminal endeavor. To the great body of American citizens any cessation of the brave and brilliant efforts of our armies on the land and fleets on the sea is unthinkable. I intend to assume that nothing that has been

or can be said in any quarter will turn aside the allied nations from this unalterable purpose. My concern relates mainly to our attitude toward Germany after the victory has been won and after her surrender is complete, for it will be just as fatal to impose inadequate terms upon Germany as it would be to secure inadequate terms through negotiation. There seems to be great reluctance upon the part of the Executive who must, in the first instance, speak and act for us in this grave matter and also upon the part of those who have discussed the question in the Senate to approach the real problem and prescribe the only remedy. It is as easy as it is indefinite to declare that Germany must be so dealt with that there can be no repetition of the wrongs she has committed, but that declaration does not satisfy the common mind and heart, and least of all does it satisfy those who are bearing the burdens of this unparalleled struggle.

Aside from the suggestion that her path toward the East should be barred by the new powers that are to be established and the hope that a partial disarmament may be brought about among all nations, we are left to grope our way amidst the depressing uncertainties of the broadest generalities.

It is not strange that 14 articles, or even more, are required to cover the revision of the political map of Europe and to define the relation which all the nations of the earth should bear toward each other; but I venture the observation that a lesser number will be found sufficient to state what the allies should do with Germany. I take it for granted that when the allies gather around the council table to determine what shall be done with Germany certain things will already have been accomplished.

Belgium and Serbia will be free, without a hostile foot within their borders.

Alsace-Lorraine will be in possession of France, there to remain forever.

I dismiss for the present the infinitely difficult problems of Russia, of Poland, of Ukraine, of Austria, of Bulgaria, of Turkey, of Roumania, of Greece, and Italy. I disregard for this discussion the whole Czecho-Slovak and Jugo-Slav controversy. The Kaiser should have nothing to say about these readjustments. The question recurs with persistent force, What shall be done with Germany?

There is but one answer that will meet the demands of justice and satisfy the claims of an outraged world. There must be reparation for the past and security for the future.

First. Germany must pay, pay to the last farthing of her capacity to pay, pay until the generations yet to come will remember and curse the insane ambition which well-nigh destroyed civilization itself, and so she will repair in some small measure the destruction she has wrought.

Second. Germany is a menace to mankind because she has a cruel, wicked, malicious intent toward the remainder of the world, and because she has a powerful army and navy to execute her murderous designs. We can not change her intent, for it is the result of years and years of training and teaching in a false and selfish philosophy; but we can disarm her and leave her helpless and harmless.

It is to be hoped that armaments everywhere may be reduced, but Germany should have none. Her army must be disbanded, her navy must be distributed among the allies, her fortifications dismantled, and her munitions factories destroyed. Not only so, but there must be no resurrection of her military system until the allied nations are fully convinced that it is safe to free her from these restrictions. Until that time comes she must be a dependent nation, at liberty to engage in commerce but powerless to make war.

Viewed from the ordinary standpoint these terms are severe beyond precedent; but the situation itself has no parallel in history. I understand perfectly that these conditions mean the degradation, possibly the disintegration of a once mighty nation; but if we are to be safe, if the world is to be secure, they must be imposed.

We entered the war with our eyes open to the consequences which would follow as inexorably as the passage of time, for from the moment of our entrance into the struggle it was sure that either Germany or the United States must die as a first-class power. It must have been, must now be, obvious to every thoughtful man that if all other powers are not to remain an armed camp, nothing short of the absolute physical disability of this war-drunken people will protect us from her revenge and save the world for tranquility and peace.

It will be gratifying to see Germany supplant her existing government with a better and freer one, but that will not suffice, for republics are as strong in their purposes as autocracies. Oftentimes they are as ambitious as the most absolute of monarchies, and we are now witnessing the ease with which they mobilize and the success with which they fight.

My proposal is capital punishment for a nation, and I am keenly conscious that many innocent German people will suffer; but why shrink from the inevitable? Either they must suffer or the millions who have laid down their lives upon the battlefields of Belgium, France, Italy, and the Far East will have died for a mere truce with brutality. Either some innocent Germans must suffer in national pride, property, and progress or the hellish atrocities which have shocked and benumbed all Christian lands will be perpetrated again upon an unoffending world. Which alternative will you adopt?

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask to have read two telegrams, and, if the Senate will indulge me, I desire to make some observations with reference to them.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

KANSAS CITY, MO., *October 12, 1918.*

Hon. JAMES A. REED,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

This city demands unconditional surrender of Huns. All resent thought of parley. We shall give back nothing; they give up every foot, including our Alsace-Lorraine, immediately. Anger felt at any other thought. Nobody thinks the Huns sincere.

BATELE MCCARDLE.

TUCUMCARI, N. MEX, *October 13, 1918.*

Hon. JAMES A. REED,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

See Kansas City Post editorial last Friday, October 11, entitled "So the people may know," which expresses practically unanimous sentiment of your constituents, regardless of politicial affiliations, that no terms except unconditional surrender must be given Germany, and we must not negotiate with a Government that has neither honor nor conscience. We beg of you do not allow the fruits of our great sacrifices to be lost by sentimental or misguided considerations. The savage Huns must be crushed.

D. J. HAFF.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, to my mind, the Senate is at this hour charged with a very grave responsibility. I have all along maintained, as Senators know, that the legislative branch of our Government has not lost its vitality, force, and importance. At a time like this, when we are dealing with foreign relations, the Senate has a peculiar duty thrust upon it.

An unfortunate impression is, I fear, being made upon the country. Nothing the Senate does ought to add thereto. It seems to me that the country is getting the notion that the President of the United States intends to enter upon a system of parleying and negotiation with Germany, and that at the end of the negotiations Germany is to come off unscathed.

Also, it appears to be a part of that impression that we are to cease making war and sit down about the table at this time, without any guarantees, and barter and dicker with an enemy that we now appear not to have conquered, but to have at a very great disadvantage.

Mr. President, it is inconceivable to me that these conclusions are correct. Let us review the situation.

What has the President done? Some months ago he laid down 14 propositions which he said must constitute the basic ideas of peace. Last September he added four or five important points. At various times he has freely expressed opinions which have been in the nature of added demands.

As I said the other day, I do not understand the President to have attempted to lay down absolute, concrete conditions. What he did undertake to do was to lay down certain principles. If those principles are carried out as we understand they should be and as I believe the President intends, then we will have a peace that all of us can acclaim.

There seems to be an impression, however, that the President intends to permit or to insist upon a cessation of hostilities at this time, when Germany is in full retreat and at a disadvantage, and thus give her time to recover herself while we sit around the council table. I humbly and yet emphatically submit and insist that there is nothing in what the President of the United States has said to indicate that he has any such purpose in his heart. What has he said?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. REED. I will be glad to yield to the Senator.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I was about to ask the Senator this question: If he does not think that some of the feeling in the country to which the Senator has alluded and has stated was not well founded, was produced by the phrase in the President's response to Germany's request for an armistice that he did not feel at liberty to suggest that to the nations with which we were associated so long as Germany held any conquered territory, or words to that effect? Does not the Senator think that phrase responsible for some of the feeling in the country that he is contemplating an armistice?

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I will answer that by continuing the remark I was just about to make, because I think it will constitute an answer.

What did the President say? The President said: "Here are certain principles in accordance with which peace must ultimately be made." Germany replies: "We accept those principles as a basis of negotiation or talk." But Germany did not expressly say she agreed to the principles.

The President sent back word that he wanted to know whether the principles were to be accepted as a fact conceded or were to be merely a basis of negotiations. Unofficially we understand Germany has replied that she accepts the terms as laid down; that she accepts them in fact, and not as the mere basis of negotiations.

One of the things the President said was: Before I will even communicate your proposition to the allies of the United States you must get off all the conquered territory you have taken. Get off how? Has the President said that we will cease our fighting and allow them to peacefully withdraw? No. It may be that some will infer that that follows, but it seems to me the President is in a position to say to them, "Get off the best way you can. If you want us to cease fighting you as you retreat, then you must make a proposition to us which we can accept, and that proposition might well be a surrender of all the military supplies and all the strategic points; in other words, it might be a complete military surrender, as was the case with Bulgaria.

Mr. President, the solemn duty is upon us to construe the President's attitude as it is. What warrant have we to assume that the President intends to submit a proposition for a cessation of hostilities and allow Germany to begin negotiations with her arms in her hand?

What reason is there to assume that the President contemplates any such pusillanimous or foolish policy as that? He laid down his 14 principles months ago, but at the same time he called on Congress for a mighty army and a great navy. He laid down additional principles last September, but he continued to call for more and more of military supplies. He answered the German note a few days ago, but almost the next day in New York City he appealed to the American people to oversubscribe the greatest war loan ever proposed to any people by any Government. Every member of his Cabinet is before the people to-day asking for money and still more money to carry on this war. Every officer of the Government is engaged in mobilizing the resources of our great land. Every military chief is busy training soldiers and filling the camps with new recruits. Every ship is loaded to the guards carrying over, even during this present moment, tens of thousands of men who go for the purpose of enforcing an honorable peace upon our dishonorable enemy.

Is it possible under these circumstances and conditions that the President contemplates the throwing away of the advantage we now possess? I do not think so. At such a time as this I do not think the Senate ought to give a false note to the country.

I have not been a worshiper of the President, for I worship no man; but I honor the President, and I have always honored him. I respect him as a man, and I highly honor him as the Chief Executive of our great Nation. But I have never been a truckler and cringer or one who at command goes "to heel." However, at this hour I stand here to say that Congress can make no greater mistake, the Senate can make no more tragic blunder than to give the country to understand that Woodrow Wilson proposes to fritter away the fruits of this war. I do not believe it. I can find nothing in my heart, I can find nothing in his conduct, to warrant such an opinion.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not think anyone believes it.

Mr. REED. I hope nobody really believes it. It is inconceivable, sir, that such a thing should be in his breast. These telegrams that have been read voice a latent fear of the people; they also voice America's hearts' desire.

Why should the people not demand that there shall be stern justice meted out? Fifty years Germany has contemplated this war. Fifty years of criminal preparedness. Fifty years of premeditation. Fifty years of cold deliberation. Fifty years of malice aforethought. Fifty years of secret planning and unlawful conspiracy to commit the greatest crime in the history of the world.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Missouri yield?

Mr. REED. I would rather not yield at this moment.

Mr. OWEN. I merely want to call the Senator's attention to the fact that 96 years ago these very powers entered into a written agreement to destroy every democracy on earth, and they never have departed from it a hair's breadth.

Mr. REED. I accept that, but I am talking of the later preparation. If I go back to the first German atrocities, I shall be forced to antedate the birth of Christ.

Behind the veil of Christianity they concealed the soul of barbarism. At the foot of the cross they summoned the gods of cruelty and lust. Within the temples of religion they plotted the atrocities of Tamerlane and the brutalities of Nero. They invoked the spirits of Attila and Thor and pictured them with flaming sword leading the armies of Germany to pillage, murder, and victory.

Peaceful Europe was to be transformed into an inferno of passion. Lust was to glut its appetite by the ravishment of virgins; thieves plunder with the sanction of authority; incendiaries burn cities by command of the Government; and assassins thrive by order of the King.

Murderers were to ply their bloody trade under the protection of the imperial houses of Hapsburg and Hohenzollern. Murder indiscriminate; murder by towns, by cities, by countries, by individuals, by millions. Murder coolly planned and deliberately done; murder unrelieved by passion, without palliation of hatred or mitigation of anger; murder in self-interest; murder of soldiers guilty of no crime save the defense of their native land, ruthlessly and criminally invaded; murder of unarmed and unoffending men; murder of helpless women who stood crying for mercy; murder of innocent babes who smiled into the faces of their assassins; murder of the national spirit of a free people; murder of human liberty.

Such was the crime contemplated. Such was the crime prepared. Such is the crime consummated. Four million men have been stretched dead upon the earth. Countless cripples endure the ceaseless torture of wounds. Innumerable women have suffered defilement and then death at the hands of their ravishers. Babes by the thousands have been slaughtered or left to die of exposure or starvation. Myriads of children have been carried into captivity. Soldiers, prisoners of war, forced by starvation, have been compelled to dig trenches for their enemy, and at the point of the bayonet to bring forward guns to slaughter their comrades.

Belgium, that lay smiling in the sun, has been destroyed. Her proud people are enslaved. Her treaties have been broken; her cities leveled to the earth.

Serbia has been transformed into a desert. Every rock of her mountains is splashed with the blood of her slaughtered people.

Russia, corrupted by loathsome bribery, has been turned over to the merciless dominion of anarchists and the even baser scoundrels who sold Russian honor for German gold.

Roumania is prostrate. The iron heel of the brutal conquerer is upon her breast, his knife at her throat.

Italy's battle line was broken by corruption, not by valor; thus were some of her rich Provinces crushed beneath the German Juggernaut; her people have been slaughtered by the tens of thousands; in every home candles of death burn before the crucifix.

The northern half of France has been harried until its beautiful fields have been transformed into cemeteries. Its wonderful cities are charnel houses filled with the bones of the dead; its altars have been desecrated; its churches destroyed; its homes violated; its families broken up. By the hundreds of thousands children wander in the streets or are turned over to the care of strangers, or have been carried into slavery by their oppressors.

To-day the retreat of the German Army is marked by a line of smoke and flame. Four hundred miles it stretches from the North Sea to the Swiss mountains. It is the fires of French homes set blazing by the torch of Germans infuriated by defeat. Villages 500 years old are given to the flames. In the lurid light of their ruins stand women and children, their lips frozen dumb by fear. The glare of the fiery furnace lights up the fiendish faces of the retreating Huns. Above the conflagration hovers the spirit of Attilla, the curse of God.

At such a time as this, with torches blazing, with bayonets wet with the blood of women and of babes, they present their hypocritical appeal for a cessation of arms, for peace by negotiation. Why is this prayer now upon their lips? It is because the sword is at their hearts. The invincible sword of freemen battling for the right; the stubborn sword of England, that never yields; the gallant sword of France, that knows no sheath; the resistless sword of America, that, having been drawn in defense of humanity, will not be returned to its scabbard until the liberty of the world has been attained.

In face of such conditions I do not fear that our President will meekly yield. I believe, sirs, that when the peace council shall have assembled it will be in the midst of a conquered Germany. It may be amidst the flames and smoke of a ruined Germany. I tell you, sirs, when the conditions of peace are written the

name of Woodrow Wilson will not be, it can not be, subscribed to any treaty that does not compel Germany to tread the wine press of repentance, to pay back—to pay back to the world, as far as she can, in her own suffering for the agonies that she has wrought, for the desolation she has brought upon the earth.

Peace now, a cessation of war now? Who has proposed it? Why, sir, if we were to stop at this moment, what would be the condition? Germany is to-day an oasis in a desert of fire and blood, an oasis yet unscathed, yet untouched. What German village has been burned? How many of France's villages lie black and bare, with charred walls outlined against the sky? What German fortress has yet been dismantled?

Is it possible or conceivable that Germany could make a peace now that would be a peace without reparation? Do you fear that the President will subscribe to any document that will allow German statesmen to say to their people, "Behold, though all the rest of the world is wrapped in flames; though all about us there is desolation; though everywhere the German sword has hacked its way through human bone and flesh; though all their churches are destroyed, their crucifixes broken, and their altars desecrated, we have escaped unscathed and unpunished; reparation is not to be exacted"? I tell you, sirs, it can not be in his great heart; it can not be in the heart of any American citizen. The peace that shall come must be a peace of honor; but there can not be honor without retribution. International highwaymen must be taught that the business of the road does not pay. Titled rogues must learn that the thief will be punished, regardless of the quarterings upon his escutcheon. The murderers of the world must be made to know that a crown, though incrusted by priceless jewels, will not protect the head of the monster who brings woe and desolation to the earth.

So I say this much to-day: Let the word go out from this Senate, so far as we can speak, that we have every confidence in the future, and that we propose, and that this Government proposes, to make no peace unless it be a peace that will vindicate the majesty of our arms and, better than that, the majesty of that great cause in which we fight—the cause of human liberty; the cause of earth emancipation; the cause of justice for all races and peoples; and the peace and security of the ages yet to come.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I listened not only with interest but I was at times thrilled with the magnificent outburst from the heart of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED]. I agree with him about everything that he said; my mind and heart are in the condition of his because of the cruelties and atrocities perpetrated by the Germans, all of which he has so graphically described; I agree with everything he has said, except one thing. I do not want to see "a ruined Germany." God knows there is ruin enough on this earth now. I want to see a broken German Army; I want to see a ruined Prussian and Austrian autocracy; I want to see the fiat of the civilized world go forth to the effect that "the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs have ceased to reign"; I want to see the people of Austria-Hungary and of Germany take the government of their land into their own hands; but it would give my heart no gratification to burn a single German village or to retaliate for the ravishment and death of Belgian women by killing German women.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Senator from Missouri did not mean that, of course.

Mr. REED. I hope the Senator will not quote me as advocating that.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Of course the Senator did not mean that, but I only mentioned it because such phrases as that used by him—"a ruined Germany"—will produce in the hearts of those who do not think a vindictiveness that is not in accord with the character of the English-speaking race, either on this side of the water or on the other. The English-speaking race has been the race which has made magnanimous and just and generous peaces. Even when my own section went down in this country, although you subjected us to 10 years' of humiliation later, the terms of immediate peace, as granted by Gen. Grant and by Sherman, were at least in themselves just and generous. When the English-speaking race across the water made peace with the Boers they did it with a generosity and a magnanimity hitherto unprecedented in the history of the world, a peace which was followed by an equally unprecedented success in the practical administration of the country, which in its turn was due to the fact that the hearts of the Boers beat with gratitude that all the power of the great Empire of Great Britain had not been extended to humiliate and to punish.

So much for that, Mr. President. In all else that the Senator from Missouri said, I agree with him absolutely. I agree that we can not make peace; that we can not make an armistice looking to peace merely upon German promises; that we must have dictated conditions of armistice and dictated conditions of peace, which must be accepted, and not negotiated. I say that the very object of the President's inquiry was to get the opportunity to tell what we wanted. Senators seem to think that the President of the United States can dictate the terms of peace. He can not do that. Great Britain and France and Italy and Belgium and Serbia must have a voice in that. But before he could answer the German note he made an inquiry to ascertain upon what basis he could begin to talk with the allies about what we were jointly going to dictate or propose. So much for that.

Now, Mr. President, upon this good day, and for several days gone, whatever the physical weather may have been there has been sunshiny weather in the heart and clear weather in the brain wherever Frenchmen or Britons or Belgians or an American heart or a Serbian's or an Italian's beat together in connection with this war. From far-off Mesopotamia, from Palestine, from the Italian front, from the Serbian desert, made so by the Bulgar and the Hun, from where the Americans are fighting in the Vosges, and cooperating with the British in Flanders, along the British front, along the French front by the Aisne, and through the pleasant valleys of the Champagne, there is sunshiny weather in the hearts of men, and there is clear weather in their brains.

Mr. President, God reigns, Woodrow Wilson is President of the United States, and the sun is shining everywhere. Senators need not bother themselves; they need not pester their souls or even pretend that they are pestered with the idea that Woodrow Wilson is going to make a German peace or a peace negotiated in German interest. I do not believe that anybody believes it or even fears it, no matter how some talk.

It was hard to get him into this war; he did not want to go into it if he could honorably help it; but, being in, it will be exceedingly hard to get him out of it, except upon those conditions which shall lead to security for the peace and freedom of the world in the future. He can be trusted to demand the proper guaranties; he can be trusted not to take the word of those who have hitherto regarded their plighted faith, even when written and signed, as a scrap of paper. Everybody knows that.

There will be no armistice, even, Mr. President, until after complete guaranties are given. And who is to tell what the guaranties are? Do you suppose the President of the United States can fix the military guaranties of a military armistice from the White House? Foch, Haig, and our own dear Gen. Pershing, from the very necessities of the military situation, will have something to say about what are sufficient guaranties for an armistice before one is ever entered into; the allies, France and Great Britain, will have as much to say as we will about the conditions of an ultimate peace, and it will not be a peace negotiated in the interest of Germany.

Mr. President, another thing: There has been much talk about "the danger of parleying," the danger that parleying might bring about and the danger of "peace talk." Woodrow Wilson, with a broader and longer vision than that of those who entertain the fear, or say they do, was glad to have a parley—he did not seek it; they sought it themselves. He doubtless was glad of it, because he knew that, while peace talk would do no harm right now in this country, even when it takes place in the United States Senate, and could do no harm in England or France or Italy nor on the army front, because the Tommies, the poilus, and the American doughboys are upon the very flood of victory, and because when peace is mentioned they scorn it except upon their own conditions, and because it will be harder to hold them back when we want to stop than it will to urge them forward as far as we want to go. He knew that it could not do any harm amongst us, but he also knew that it was a deadly weapon, almost equal to the army itself, among the populations in Germany and in Austria-Hungary, and in Turkey. Let him, then, keep on parleying here, and let the boys keep on fighting over there along the Aisne and the Suippes and the Oise and clear to the Flanders coast and among the Serbian mountains and in the rest of the Balkans. Let the armies go ahead. So far as I am concerned, if I were President, do you know what I would do right now? I would delay answering that and other notes awhile, in order that those enemy populations might "wobble upon the gudgeon" and "sizzle in their own grease." The utmost state of demoralization has already been created among them by the very fact that the German chancellor has proposed an armistice and has said that he wanted to comply

with the President's conditions. This has been reinforced by President Wilson's innocent-looking "queries" and still further by the chancellor's apparent—to them—absolute surrender. It has even infected their army in Serbia and on parts of the west front.

That all of that apparent surrender was a camouflage, I have no doubt. That Germany said it for the purpose of securing an armistice so that the munitions works of Germany could resupply her armies with shells and guns and that her army might be reorganized behind the lines, I have no doubt; but I also have no doubt as to the fact that Woodrow Wilson is not a fool; that Clemenceau is not a fool; that David Lloyd-George is not a fool; and I have no doubt of the fact that they are just as patriotic and just as intense about a just and full victory at the end of this war as we are. I do know in my heart that neither of them is going to make a peace that is not a right peace for us, and I think I know in my heart that at least two of them are never going to make a peace which is not only apt to secure the peace of the world but which shall also be a just peace, and just even to the German people.

Mr. President, of course, there is a good deal of loose talk about what peace terms Tom or Dick or Harry would make if he had the power, and perhaps I might be justified in saying a few words along that line for myself. I do not see what good it would do particularly, but still I might say them, and I believe I will. If I had the outlining of it, in supplement and explanation to some of the President's points which have been emphasized here this morning; when I came to the definition of "invaded territory," for example, I would say it not only means Belgium and northern France and Serbia but it means Italia Irredenta and Alsace-Lorraine, because we regard them because of their populations as French and Italian territory. I would say, "It is true you invaded them some time ago and not during this war, but get out of them before the armistice shall even start." I would say another thing: "Before an armistice shall even be considered, before we shall cease firing at your backs as you retreat out of Serbia and Palestine and northern France and Flanders; before we cease firing at you, you must drop your arms, *drop them where you are.*" I would say another thing to them: "In addition to these conditions, before an armistice, before any peace negotiations are begun after the armistice, you must give us guaranties that will free us of the fear that with the treachery of your ruling military caste you will use the armistice period and the period of peace negotiation or acceptance for the purpose of reorganizing your army for a future trouble. We therefore politely request—'a request for the present which will become a command if you do not comply with it'—that you shall put us in possession of Essen, where the Krupp armor and munitions works are; of Mannheim; and of the steel and iron works in Westphalia, and in possession of such other strategic points as will prevent your organizing in our rear and striking us while we are talking."

I am not afraid of peace talk doing any harm amongst us, and I believe that before it is over in Germany and Austria and has completed its awful work there it will not be necessary for the allies to say that "the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs have ceased to reign," but that the peoples there will say it.

I would say, moreover, "before even the armistice can begin you must not only withdraw your armies from Serbia, but you must withdraw them from the territory of the Czecho-Slovaks, because we have recognized them as a nation. And you shall withdraw them from Bosnia and Herzegovina, because they are Serbians in race, in language and religion, and you not only 'invaded' but stole them while Russia was busy with Japan."

I would say one thing more to the German chancellor if I were President. I would say, "You have to satisfy me that you speak for somebody else besides Wilhelm the Kaiser. I have to have a guaranty that he can not put a new chancellor in your place to-morrow who will reverse what you have done or unsay what you have said, because I know that a German chancellor is appointed by the King of Prussia, and your talk about the Reichstag's being behind you does not fool me at all, because, having been a professor in a great American institution, I have at least sufficient knowledge to know that the Reichstag has no authority or jurisdiction in Germany concerning foreign affairs. I would like to have a little plebiscite of the German people, if it please you, to indicate to me that they approve of these terms of peace before our allies and we can consent to withdraw the armies of occupation, although we will make the peace *provisionally* with whatever Government you shall have, but before we withdraw the armies of occupation, as a security that what has been done shall not likely be undone, we want a plebiscite of the German people upon the question, 'Shall these terms be accepted?' the voter to vote 'Yes' or the voter to vote 'No.' And if the German people vote for the treaty and make the peace with us, and the other guaranties be complied with, then we will not only withdraw our armies, but we will in our prayers pray for you just as we pray for all the other sons and daughters of men all over this world. There will be no vindictiveness in our hearts at all. Brutes—yes; a lot of you, but under orders and training of Hohenzollerns and Junkers. Help us pray God to forgive you."

One of the things I would want to do is to organize a commission for the purpose of discovering all stolen property and sending it back. We can not organize a commission of our own, except while we are in military occupancy, for that purpose, because that would destroy the sovereignty of the Austrian people and the German people, as well as of their Governments.

Then, my friends, I would take a hint from what took place at the close of our Civil War here and embodied in the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution. I would in the treaty of peace have it declared that no indebtedness made by Germany or Austria in aid of the prosecution of this war should ever be paid. These debts, however evidenced, should be canceled and declared invalid. Why? Because that would "spread," as John Allen used to say, "a holy wave of caution" amongst moneyed men as regards hereafter financing a war of aggression like this one. It would do more to keep the peace of the world for 50 years than any one thing that you can think of. A man would not buy a bond hereafter merely because a government issued it when war was to be prosecuted. He would exercise his judgment as to whether it was a war of aggression or a war of defense, and if it were a war of aggression he would say, "No, no. The result of what happened in America after the Civil War, the result of what happened as to German debts after Armageddon, convince me that I want to know beyond a reasonable doubt that this is the right sort of a war or you do not get from me the right sort of a dollar, which I made in the right sort of way." Then I would have Germany pay in reparation a sum equal to the total of the indebtedness thus canceled. Thus the common people would be no more heavily burdened with debt than now, and yet would pay a just indemnity for suffering and loss wrought by them.

Mr. President, I would include a few other little things as a part of the peace treaty. I would take over and hold all of the seized properties of German and Austrian citizens, and sell them and all of the ships that have been seized; and I would take the proceeds and devote them, first, so far as the property in the United States and the ships seized here are concerned, to the indemnity of the families of people who died upon the *Lusitania*, the *Arabic*, the *Sussex*, and upon the other ships upon which men, women, and children were foully murdered. And after I was through with that, I would turn the balance over to a fund for the restoration of Belgium, northern France, and Serbia. And I would demand in the treaty of peace that every interned German and Austrian ship on the earth should have its title vested in us and our allies by the consent of Germany and Austria, and I would also sell them and turn the proceeds into a fund for the restoration of these brutally blighted, devastated lands, and I would make the German Government engage to pay the owners of property destroyed or stolen any balance still left due.

But what good does it do for me to be talking about what I would do if I were making peace, or for half a dozen Senators on this side of the Senate and half dozen on the other side to so talk? We are not the constituted authorities. They exist in France, Great Britain, Italy, and here, and they are trustworthy; and, my friends, God will have more trouble—I am talking about our God now—in restraining them from going too far than He will have in urging them on to severity of terms.

Mr. President, I never heard of one atrocity being cured by another. That blessed old friend of my grandfather's, Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, could never be persuaded to retaliate, upon the ground that he did not see how the punishment of the innocent could cure the crime of the wicked. If you will show me the thief who looted the houses in Belgium I would restore the property and punish him. I would deal likewise with the individual who ordered the looting. If you show me the man who fired upon the *Lusitania* and fired the second shot after she was already helpless, I would have him tried by a court-martial and shot upon German soil.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

Mr. WILLIAMS. But I am not willing to hurt the man who did not do the deed. If you will show me the man who ordered him to do it, if anybody did, even if it were the Kaiser, I would be willing to have him court-martialed and shot upon German soil. I yield to the Senator now.

Mr. REED. The Senator has almost answered the interrogatory I was going to make. I was going to ask him what he would do with the responsible head of a government that,

through its responsible agents, to wit, its minister to the United States, served notice that it was going to sink the *Lusitania*, and did it several days before the sinking occurred, thus showing, necessarily, that there must have been an order issued.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I read a very interesting story about that, which I will not go into now, to the effect that the real thing that Bernstorff thought would be done was that the *Lusitania* would be destroyed at another place by somebody else, and that this particular man in this particular submarine had received no particular orders. However, that has nothing to do with it. But I say that if I could find a man who had issued an order to commit such a murder upon the high seas, I would have him court-martialed and shot on German soil.

Mr. REED. Will the Senator permit me, since he has allowed me to interrupt him, to say that his remarks concerning what I had to say I think were justified by the expression I used in the heat of running along. I used the words "a ruined Germany." I should have said "a humbled Germany," which more nearly expresses my thought.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, this must happen to Germany, because this, like every other great thing, is in its ultimate analysis a psychological problem, to wit: There must be "a broken and contrite heart" in Germany, but that can be trusted to come about within due time after total defeat. Whenever you take out of the German mind the idea that they can whip and override the world as a superior race of supermen your psychological result has followed automatically. No people ever made more mistakes. Even Bismarck—brute as he was and liar as he was, because he brought on the Franco-Prussian War by a lie and a forgery—said that the imponderabilia were very important things. The modern German forgot the imponderabilia. He forgot that the strongest things in this world are traditions, ideals, sentimentalities, love, hatred of cruelty, a sense of justice, and aspirations for fraternity. These modern Germans came to the conclusion finally that they could erect a material machine, with no imponderabilia about it, a great organized industrial and military machine, dedicated to the god Efficiency, and that just so they had a machine perfect enough it did not make any difference what people loved or what people hated, what people's past was, or to what future people aspired. It was the same old philosophy, Mr. President, that brought the first "blonde beast," with his knife in his teeth, around the shores of the Caspian to devastate the Greek world and the Roman Empire.

The Senator from Missouri said one good thing—which was not the only good thing he said—that might be expressed in one sentence. The best thing he said, though not in his exact language, was that this has been a war with one side worshiping Christ, the God of love and justice, bearing aloft his cross, and the other side worshiping Thor, the brute god, and flourishing his hammer.

But do you think every modest merchant and every peasant in Germany serving in these armies was carrying any hammer of Thor? He probably never heard of Thor, or his hammer either. But they had been disciplined and taught; they are—I know them—at once one of the most docile people, while they are one of the most emotional people on the face of the earth. For forty or fifty years they had been indoctrinated with a religion new to the world since the Roman Empire died, the religion of State worship. It existed in Rome.

The reason why the early Christians were persecuted and burned and thrown to the lions was not on account of their religion, but because they would not bow down to and worship the image of the Emperor and the Roman banner as they were carried through the ranks. They were, therefore, held guilty of treason to the State.

So these false prophets taught the modern Germans State worship. "Whatever is for the good of the State is right," and "the right of the State is founded upon might," and "the might of the State is founded upon implicit military obedience" to the military autocracy. That became their religion, practically.

Suppose you had been educated that way, and your father before you had been educated that way, too. Would not you have been like them, brutalized by the philosophy of brutality? One of the reasons why I have always objected to Federal control of education consists in the fact that as long as you have 48 different schemes, there is no danger of *stereotyping* men intellectually or morally. But this autocracy did stereotype these Germans.

Do you hate them for it? I do not. I pity them, with my whole soul. I hate the fellows who organized the machine and made of them nothing but cogs and springs in it. But I do not hate them.

Mr. President, after all is said, you can trust the President of the United States, I think, to do another thing, and that is to organize one piece of machinery, if it might be so called, consisting altogether, nearly, of imponderabilia, and that will be an "Amphictyonic council of the civilized world," a league of nations to secure and enforce the peace of the world, first by commercial pressure, and if that fail then by force itself, just as the municipal law is ultimately enforced by force itself, although in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a thousand no resistance is made to its execution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WALSH in the chair). The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, one sentence and I am through.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 4647) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, two men stand forth, to my mind, to-day as the greatest men upon the international arena at this time. There are greater men in the world of course, "mute, inglorious Miltons," and all that, who have never been in position, but the two men with the opportunity to be seen and known who stand forth greatest in civil rank to-day are Woodrow Wilson and David Lloyd-George, and I would rather trust those two than to trust myself. Which is the greater of the two it would be hard to say. David Lloyd-George has an element of audacity and a promptitude of action that our man has not to the same extent. Our man has some elements of nonpassionated, cool, and cautious and even-handed judgment that David Lloyd-George, with his peppery Welsh temperament, is incapable of.

Mr. President, I do want the American people to be persuaded by anything that is said here or elsewhere that there is the slightest fear that the hope of the world, the civilization of the world, humanity itself, gentleness and love and mercy, or the complete victory necessary to secure these, will be forgotten by either of these men or by either of the great countries which they represent. I want no man to fear that there can possibly be an armistice without absolute guaranties that render Germany harmless to violate the armistice; that there can be any peace except a peace which shall secure the peace of the world as fully as it can be done by mere human agency, a peace which shall be a just peace, and one which shall tend to the future development of democratic institutions all over the world. When I say "democratic institutions" I do not mean democratic forms of government. I care not whether the form be republican or monarchical or what not, but the spirit of the government should be democratic, as it is in France and in England and here, and Canada and Australia, and wherever English-speaking white men breathe, brought up with the worship of justice for which that race has always had an innate and a trained sense, which led to the development of the common law itself, which is the unwritten constitution of the great branch of the white race which inhabits the continents and islands on which the sun never sets.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution which I desire to offer and to have read and lie on the table. I merely wish to say one or two words on the subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 316), as follows:

Whereas the Constitution authorizes the President to make "treaties by and with the advice and consent of the Senate"; and
Whereas it is the constitutional function and duty of the Senate to advise with the President in the making of treaties; and
Whereas the victorious Germans in 1871 required the French people to elect a national assembly for the purpose of negotiating peace; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Senate respectfully advise the President that it is the sense of the Senate that the treaty concluding the present war and requiring the consent of the Senate should be made with the peoples concerned through representatives duly elected for that purpose and empowered to conduct such negotiations by them in the name and by the authority of the peoples of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Resolved further, That the Senate favors the vigorous and uninterrupted prosecution of the war until a democratic, just, and acceptable peace is made certain upon the terms approved by the President and faithful to the cobelligerents of the United States.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I have no doubt the treaty of peace which will be agreed upon and submitted to the Senate for its ratification will provide for a just peace, an acceptable peace, an enduring peace. As to the negotiation of that treaty I agree with others that we remit those problems and that responsibility to those charged by the Constitution with that high and solemn duty. The President will, of course, vindicate the honor and guarantee the security of the United States and keep faith with our cobelligerents in any convention which may be entered into.

The resolution offered by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] meets one phase of the situation. The resolution offered by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] meets another phase of the situation. Those resolutions relate to terms. The resolution which I have offered relates to methods. It does indeed imply the fate of the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns. For my own part, I shall be disappointed if those dynasties, survivals of the Middle Ages, shall survive this war. I doubt if the American people will be satisfied with anything less than the abdication or dethronement of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns. I believe that if the American people could write the protocol it would consist of two words: "Unconditional surrender." Their sovereign challenge to the Imperial German Government would be "You surrender." Such a result would commit, and such a resolution as I have introduced would commit the fate and the future of the German people to the hands of a democratized people.

In 1871 the victorious Germans compelled the French people to elect a national assembly for the purpose of negotiating peace. May we not with even-handed justice commend this German precedent unto German observance? I know of no better way to begin, or to permit them to begin their own democratization, than to have them negotiate the treaty of peace in the name and by the authority not of Hapsburgs, not of Hohenzollerns, not in the name of and by the authority of the Imperial German Government, but in the name and in behalf of the people themselves.

There are three motives or purposes for which war may be waged: For conquest or spoils, for revenge or retaliation, and for justice and an assured peace. I agree with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] that America is incapable of waging war for conquest and for spoils. It would be unworthy of all our traditions, unworthy of the character alike of the American people and the American Government. The motive and purpose of waging war for conquest and spoils have been reserved in modern times to the Imperial German Government. America is likewise incapable of waging war for sheer revenge or retaliation. Our people are incapable of dealing destruction merely for the sake of destruction; are incapable of inflicting pain merely for the sake of inflicting pain. Such methods and motives are reserved for Huns and Tartars and untutored savages. We are waging war against such methods of warfare. We can not compete with them in cruelty. We do not pretend to be their rivals in ruthlessness. Our conduct should convince our enemies of the superiority of our principles and our methods and our civilization. We should seek a moral as well as a military triumph.

I agree with the Senator from Mississippi that the allies would not if they could burn one single German town for the sake of witnessing the flames. They would not, if they could, put to death one single German child or German woman, or punish the innocent and the helpless. That is not the motive; that is not the purpose of the present contest. Whatever reparation will be insisted upon I am sure will be insisted upon not for the mere sake of the burden, the injury, or the suffering that the reparation would visit upon the German people, but in order to amend, as far as it can be amended, the injuries and the devastation visited upon these invaded lands.

I would have the German people understand that America is waging this war not for those purposes and that the United States has no purpose to wreak vengeance upon the German people as mere vengeance. I would have the German people understand that America is waging this war to establish a just peace and to insure as far as human foresight can insure a permanent and enduring peace, a peace that no autocracy will dare to violate in the future.

I hope that one of the results of this war will be to convince autocracy everywhere, and to convince those who might by any chance aspire to autocracy, that they can not with safety provoke this great democracy to wrath and to arms. This democracy is slow to wrath. It should be slow to wrath. But when it once unsheathes the sword it should not sheathe it again until justice is established, or until security is made doubly secure. I would have this war teach this truth to the skeptical everywhere that no government can ever become strong enough to adopt as a rule of conduct the abhorrent doctrine that the moral law is not binding upon states and nations. The acceptance and practice of this doctrine is the fundamental fault, the fatal fault, of the German policy, German culture, German philosophy, German thought, and German conduct. This is the cult of international anarchy, the creed of international immorality. This shocking philosophy is the mother of evils. It should perish utterly from the earth.

Mr. President, I would teach that lesson in such a way not that the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns but that the German people themselves will celebrate the day that peace is concluded as the day of their own deliverance from the twin evils of militarism and autocracy. I would have those people convinced that the breaking of the tiger's teeth was as essential to their own deliverance as it was to the peace and security of an endangered world.

RECONSTRUCTION COMMISSIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Mr. McCUMBER obtained the floor.

Mr. OWEN. I ask permission to present a memorandum on the reconstruction commission established by Great Britain, France, and Italy, and several other nations. I think it will be of particular interest at this time, because there are several of these measures pending. I should like to have it printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RECONSTRUCTION COMMISSIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

[By Elisha M. Friedman, to appear in the New York Times Annalist.]

(The Weeks and Owen resolutions and the Overman bill providing for the creation of a Federal commission on reconstruction has aroused interest in the general subject. There had been previously introduced for a similar purpose a bill by Representative EDMONDS on May 16, a Senate resolution by Senator WEEKS on September 22, and a House resolution by Representative LONDON on October 4.)

It is only by studying the steps taken by the various countries, belligerent or neutral, on all the continents that we in America can properly understand the meaning of reconstruction.

1. FRANCE.

France was the first country to take any steps providing for the after-war period. It was because her territories were devastated that her statesmen were compelled to cope with the problems of rehabilitation. On May 18, 1916, the President of the Republic created an interministerial committee to aid in the reconstruction of the invaded regions. On July 28, 1917, this commission was reorganized by presidential order. It included the ministers of the interior, of public works and transportation, of agriculture, of labor and social prevention, of war and munitions, and the undersecretaries of the general administration of the army and of commerce, industry, posts, and telegraphs.

During August, 1917, a law was passed to open an agricultural credit of 300,000,000 francs for the purpose of purchasing material, draft animals, cattle, seed, grain, plants, and other material urgently needed for the resumption of agricultural life in the devastated departments. A similar measure was enacted to aid the merchants in the invaded regions in purchasing the raw materials and tools needed for the restoration of industry.

On September 25, 1917, there was issued a presidential order constituting the ministry of public works and transportation as a special committee charged with studying the means needed to reestablish dwellings and to rehabilitate the real property damaged or destroyed by the invaders. This committee includes representatives of the various cabinet departments and of their bureaus. Its duties are to conduct investigations, to control building materials, to find manual labor and means of transportation, and to prepare the plans necessary to restore roads and structures.

In a letter to the President, dated October 1, 1917, the minister of finance, L. L. Klotz, pointed out that although there had been paid out to the war sufferers installments to apply on the reimbursement for the war damage inflicted, this measure was inadequate to revive economic activity. He recommended, therefore, that there be created a commission to study the means of organizing credit, so as to facilitate the restoration of industry and agriculture. Shortly thereafter, October 17, the President created this commission under the presidency of the minister of finance, and including representatives of the various ministries, economists, engineers, bankers, members of the chambers of commerce, and of various agricultural and industrial societies. (Sources: Bulletin de Statistique et de Legislation Compars, for August, September, October, 1917.)

2. GERMANY.

Reconstruction in its wider aspects was taken up in Germany officially in August, 1916. On the 3d of that month the Bundesrat issued its decree nominating an imperial commission for the period of economic transition. (Reichscommissariat für Übergangswirtschaft.) Article 1 of this law specifically empowers the commissioner to control the importation of merchandise and its distribution according to the instructions of the Imperial Chancellor, who will fix the date when the law ceases to be in effect. The commission was to be aided by representatives of the Federal States, the officials of the Empire, and a number of specialists. The duties of the commission, according to an address of the Finance Minister Helfferich, at a meeting of the Reichstag committee on trade and commerce, October 14 and 16, were to bring the soldiers back to civil life, to care for the disabled and provide suitable work for them, to eliminate women and children from the labor market, and to restore protective labor laws. Its additional tasks were to create credit based on real and personal property, to revive trade, to deflate the currency, and to make liquid the capital tied up in war loans. Most important of all, it would study the raw material and shipping situation.

The commission consists of nine departments, covering (1) finance; (2) transportaion; (3) iron ores, timber, paper, and stone; (4) the nonferrous metals, graphite, and clay; (5) textiles, with subdepartments for cotton, wool, flax, and substitutes, etc.; (6) food, feeds, and meats; (7) over-seas imports, as rubber, tobacco, sausage skins, oils, and fats, skins, hides, and leathers; (8) overland imports; (9) the general organization of transition economy, priority, rationing, demobilization, and general economic and legal questions. There are also two special departments covering statistics and administration.

To aid it in its work there was also created a "transition economy parliament," a council of over 250 members, subdivided into 21 subcommittees, which include some of the leading financiers and manufacturers. On October 21, 1917, a new ministry was created to deal with problems of reconstruction, whose purpose was to unify the divers measures already undertaken. The imperial ministry of economics (Reichswirtschaftsamt) took over that part of the duties of the ministry of the interior which dealt with social and economic problems and absorbed the imperial commission for transition economy. The

new ministry has under its jurisdiction policies concerning industry, taxation, statistics, bourses and banks, tariffs, treaties, foreign trade, as well as social legislation. Its three main tasks are at present to find a supply of raw material and foodstuffs, to supply and distribute ocean tonnage, to improve the rate of exchange, and, in general, to facilitate the transition from a war régime to a peace basis.

It is divided into two main sections, one dealing with commercial and economic questions and the other with domestic social policy. The former is subdivided into three subsections, the first dealing with agriculture, manufacturing, and banking, which are further classified by industries. This subsection will deal with compulsory amalgamation of industry, taxation, and related questions. The second deals with navigation, water power, fisheries, etc. The third is concerned with economic intelligence and information, exhibitions, publications, propaganda, and chambers of commerce abroad. (Sources: The Bulletin de Statistique et de Legislation Comparée, Oct. 1917, pp. 656–657; Board of Trade Journal, Jan. 31, 1918; Deutsche Tageszeitung, Aug. 31, 1917; Vorwaerts, Aug. 9, 1917; Vossiche Zeitung, Feb. 7, 1918; Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Feb. 19, 1918.)

3. GREAT BRITAIN.

Late in 1916 the British Board of Trade appointed several committees in the various trades to consider their position after the war, with special reference to international competition, and to report such measures as might be necessary to safeguard those positions.

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After vigorous appeals by influential Englishmen like Sidney Webb and Lord Parker, of Waddington, and largely as a result of the study of the progress of preparations for peace made in other countries, Great Britain established a ministry of reconstruction on August 21, 1917, to promote organization and development after the termination of the war. (New ministries act, 1917, 7 and 8 Geo. C, c. 44.) The act of Parliament provided that "it shall be the duty of the minister of reconstruction to consider and advise upon the problems which may arise out of the present war and may have to be dealt with upon its termination, and for the purposes aforesaid to institute and conduct such inquiries, prepare such schemes, and make such recommendations as he thinks fit. The act also provided that "the minister present a report to Parliament each year of such of the schemes prepared and recommendations made by him as he shall deem suitable for publication."

Shortly after its organization the ministry published a list of its committees and commissions, 87 in all and falling into 15 groups: (1) Trade development; (2) finance; (3) raw materials; (4) coal and power; (5) intelligence; (6) scientific and industrial research; (7) demobilization and disposal of stores; (8) labor and employment; (9) agriculture and forestry; (10) public administration; (11) housing; (12) education; (13) aliens; (14) legal (prewar contracts and "period of the war"); (15) miscellaneous (muntions, land settlement, and civil aerial transport). The reports of many of these committees have been submitted to Parliament and several published.

4. CANADA.

In Canada there was formed early in 1918 an unofficial committee called the Canadian Industrial Organization Association, in order to consider and prepare to meet the after-war problems in industry, to maintain industrial stability, and to obtain wise consideration and treatment of reconstruction problems. According to a statement issued by the executive committee of the association, it will investigate the conditions in the various industries, the markets which they must supply, the particulars of labor, competition, and the comparative cost of transportation. Among its other aims are to promote better relations between capital and labor, to improve the social and industrial welfare of women, to support technical and general education, to increase cooperation among rural producers, improve rural conditions, and provide for land settlement of the demobilized army. (New York Times, June 9, 1918.)

5. ITALY.

In the early part of 1918 the Italian Government created a commission to study and formulate measures needed to affect a transition from a state of war to a state of peace. There had been various committees working, but a new ministry of economic reorganization was advocated to consider the acquisition of raw materials for manufactures, the increase of the Italian merchant marine, the regulation of foreign exchange by the control of trade, and the treatment of problems in labor, education, and social policy. The new commission has two auxiliary commissions, the first of which deals with administrative, judicial, and social questions, and the second with industrial, commercial, and agricultural problems. Each of the auxiliary commissions will be subdivided into sections to investigate the question apportioned to them and submit their findings to the central committee, which will draft a report to Parliament. (Weekly Bulletin, Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce, May 27, 1918.)

6. JAPAN.

With a view to inaugurating new policies so as to insure continuation of its prosperity after the war, Japan appointed an economic commission, consisting of representatives of the departments of foreign affairs, finance, communications, and of agriculture and commerce, who ought to have the services of distinguished Japanese scientists. The scope of work will include a study of the changed conditions of industries as a result of the war, the retention of its foreign trade, especially in the Far East, and the fostering of the newly established industries and an investigation of the necessary tariff reforms and the effect of the war on national and international finance. (Japanese Official Gazette, Americas, April, 1917.)

As part of the plan for fostering foreign trade there was established in Yokohama a foreign-trade bureau, which will investigate foreign-trade conditions, collect and exhibit samples of imports and exports and catalogues and magazines. It is further intended to send technical commissioners abroad to study industry so as to maintain the efficiency of native industries. Exhibits of samples of Japanese goods in various countries are another feature of the after-war trade program. (Weekly Bulletin, Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce, Aug. 12, 1918.)

7. RUSSIA.

In 1916 Russia similarly had appointed a commission to study the problems of transitions from war to peace. The program was to include the development of the resources of the Empire, to adapt industrial concerns now on a war basis to peace conditions, to secure raw material, fuel, and machinery, and to secure employment for the demobilized army and navy. In addition, the problem of currency and the public debt was to be taken up. A brief summary of the scope of the work of this economic and financial commission included the following questions of—

I. Foreign trade.

II. Attraction of foreign capital.

III. Development of ways of communication.

(1) Financial measures necessary for railway construction and waterway improvement.

(2) Measures to coordinate rail and water transportation.

(3) Commercial navigation and the construction of ports.

(a) Creation of a commercial fleet, improvement of conditions of commercial navigation, and construction of ports.

(b) Development of navigation by sea, particularly the establishment of a northern water route.

IV. Development and improvement of agriculture.

V. Development of industry:

* * * * * * *

(4) Establishment of credit for industrial concerns.

(6) Measures relating to individual branches of industry and the promotion of new branches of industry to manufacture articles now imported.

VI. Regulation of foreign and domestic trade:

(1) Measures for promoting the sale of goods exported from Russia; the establishment of permanent official bureaus, both in Russia and abroad, for supplying information and promoting foreign trade; development of Consular Service.

VII. Measures for utilizing natural resources and developing industrial life in the north of European Russia and various districts of Asiatic Russia.

VIII. Measures relating to State dominions:

(1) Extension and improvement of forestry.

(2) Exploitation of oil-bearing land, salt springs, gold-bearing areas, and other State property.

(3) Consideration of introducing system in some branches of industry and trade.

(Footnote.—Abstract of Journal of Russian-American Chamber of Commerce, Moscow, October, 1916, Commerce Reports, Feb. 8, 1917.)

8. BELGIUM.

Upon the recommendation of the minister of foreign affairs, King Albert created a ministry of economic affairs on October 12, 1917. In the words of the recommending report "the destruction and ravages of the war and the illegal despoiling of our resources by the enemy had previously led the Government to create a number of organizations to prepare for the restoration of the economic life of the kingdom. However, it is advisable that the work of economic reconstruction be directed after methodical plans in which all the great national interests will be harmonized. There should be an intelligent unity of conception in the economic field. A wisely coordinated plan will promote the best interests of the nation. A consideration of the ends to be attained and of the facts involved lead me to the conviction that only a new department will be able to prepare adequate solutions to the grave questions which will crowd in upon us."

Article II of the law provides "that there will be attached to the ministry of economic affairs (a) the bureau of economic studies; (b) the committee of economic inquiry at London, Paris, and The Hague; (c) the Italo-Belgian committee of economic studies; (d) the Belgian delegation to the permanent international committee of economic policy; (e) the bureau of industry, created in order to study the measures to be taken and the policy necessary for the industrial reconstruction of Belgium; (f) the national consulting committee of minerals and metals; (g) the commission for the industrial and agricultural revival of Belgium; (h) the bureau of war devastation." Article III provides that "the minister of economic affairs shall take over from the other ministers the plans in preparation for economic reconstruction."

Immediately upon his appointment the new minister, Paul Hymans, recommended that there be created an economic council, consisting of experts outside of Belgium, to whom the minister might look for advice and cooperation. This body was created by royal decree on October 13, 1917. A reconstruction mission, consisting of a representative of the Belgian Board of Trade, some scientists, some labor representatives, and technical experts, is to visit the United States for the purpose of making a survey of American industrial methods, which may be used in rebuilding Belgium.

An industrial company, whose aim is to assist in the purchase of tools and raw materials of all kinds, metals, leather, textiles, chemicals, farming and other machinery, electrical goods, cars, and trucks, was organized under the name "Comptoi National pour le Réprise de l'Activite Économique en Belgique."

The planning for industrial rehabilitation and for the rebuilding of destroyed villages and cities, the repairing of ruined structures, and the replacing of public and private equipment has been provided for. A committee on national reconstruction has been formed under the leadership of the prime minister, Baron de Broqueville. (Bulletin de Statistique et de Legislation Comparée, Jan., 1918. Commerce Reports, June 6, 1918. Christian Science Monitor, Apr. 24, 1918. New York Times, Feb. 24, 1918.)

9. AUSTRIA.

Like Germany, Austria also has a minister for transition economy. There was recently formed in Hungary an interministerial commission for the distribution and utilization of military goods which are no longer needed on demobilization. The commission will be charged with the distribution of these goods among the various branches of production and with the control of the central organization which is to be created to carry out the actual work. The commission consists of the minister for transition economy (as president), one representative from each of the ministries of trade, agriculture, finance, the interior, national defense, transition economy and national welfare, and the national food ministry. Pester Lloyd, Board of Trade Journal, Mar. 28, 1918.)

10. BULGARIA.

In anticipation of a revival of trade after the war, Bulgaria developed water-power facilities, created a bank for the promotion of trade, and founded a great variety of banks for the financing of industry with a total capitalization of about $50,000,000. (Commerce Reports, Oct. 27, 1917; Jan. 22, 1918.)

11. SERBIA.

In realization of the collapse of agricultural and commercial activity in Serbia, the State has undertaken to assist and control private initiative in the attempt to revive the national industrial life. The minis-

try of commerce communicated with traders and banks and others concerned in the reprovisioning of the country so as to regulate the quantity, price, and origin of imports, special preference being given to the allies.

Assuming that the central powers would retain Serbia, the Hungaro-Bosnian and Oriental Economic Central Association has undertaken a study of the reconstruction needs of Serbia in agriculture, industry, trade, as well as social and cultural institutions.

(Footnote: British Board of Trade Journal, Feb. 1, 1917. "Our Economic and cultural work in conquered Serbia," by Dr. Constantine Partos.)

12. SPAIN.

In order to anticipate its future needs, Spain appointed, late in 1917, a commission of the directorate general of industry and commerce, which, within four months, was to draw up a memorandum dealing with the questions of the foreign trade of Spain. The subjects on which the commission is to report cover—

1. The state of the foreign trade of Spain in 1913 and 1914, classified by countries and articles and citing the competition encountered and the reasons Spanish manufacturers found it impossible to retain these markets.

2. The disturbance in the world market occasioned by the war; nations that have suspended their exports; nations that have maintained their export, showing the extent and the conditions; markets lost and won by Spain; the permanent and transitory character of new exports from Spain; the strengthening of former branches of the export trade; Spanish industries that have increased their productive capacity by entering such market.

3. The analysis of the economic consequences of the war, including the possibility of economic wars and the formation of two irreconcilable groups, or the necessity for living together economically with no greater separation than that of differential tariffs among allies; the consequences to Spain of either form of international trade arrangements, and the foundation on which Spain may base the continuation of its economic relations with the various groups; an inquiry into the system of commercial treaties, including a consideration of the "most-favored nation" clause; a tariff for encouraging Spanish industries; and a defensive custom tariff to counteract export bounties.

4. Economic independence of any country is not entirely desirable as it might isolate it from the rest of the world; the commission is therefore to include a classification by countries—the market and products of the goods which Spain can contribute toward the trade of the world in such a manner as to allow Spain to obtain supplies from foreign countries and build up home industries by acquiring outlets abroad. (Gacetta de Madrid, Oct. 15, 1917; Board of Trade Journal, Nov. 22, 1917.)

Late in 1918 the minister of public works announced "the creation of an organization which will forthwith take care of the economic life of Spain both for the period of transition between war and peace and for the lines of policy which will have to be followed after the war." (British Board of Trade Journal, Aug. 1, 1918.)

13. HOLLAND.

On July 2, 1918, the Netherlands minister of foreign affairs installed the "advisory commission for economic information abroad," with a view to coping with the increased impediments in the world's traffic after the war. Among the plans provided for are an increase in the number of consuls, greater facilities for travel by consuls, and the creation of an office of technical adviser at the important consular posts. (Commerce Reports, Sept. 3, 1918. New York Times, Aug. 7, 1918.)

14–15. SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES.

Representatives of the Scandinavian countries assembled at Stockholm to consider means for the protection of Scandinavian trade after the war, in the direction of further commercial cooperation, the adoption of uniform commercial law, a revision of the maritime law, and the further maintenance of the Scandinavian coin convention. (London Economist, Oct. 20, 1917.)

In order to acquire greater economic independence and to import the least possible amount of goods, the Norwegian Government established a department of industrial supply, whose function will be to develop the natural resources of the country and to build up the industrial organization of the country. (Commerce Reports, Feb. 7, 1918.)

In Sweden there was formed in the summer of 1918 a new organization to aid the export trade after the war. As a result of the close cooperation in Germany between the State and industry, Swedish merchants felt the need of following all measures taken in foreign countries which may be inimical to Swedish interests. By cooperation and centralization Swedish traders intend to secure the most favorable prices and conditions. An expert committee capable of negotiating new trade treaties is an outgrowth of the new organization. (Tidsskrift for Industri, Commerce Reports, July 6, 1918.)

16. CHILE.

On September 6, 1917, the President of Chile appointed a committee to investigate and report on the condition which the industries and commerce of Chile will face upon the reestablishment of peace, the competition between domestic and imported commodities and to recommend measures for the protection of the present condition and for the encouragement of their further development. (Commerce Reports, Dec. 15, 1917.)

17. BRAZIL.

Some recent economic measures, though not strictly relating to postbellum conditions, indicate the foresight with which all nations regard the future. At a recent meeting of the Commercial Association of Rio de Janeiro it was proposed to extend the commercial relations of Brazil by studying how to increase reciprocal commercial relations between Brazil and its allies, by asking for suggestions from chambers of commerce in foreign countries concerning Brazilian legislation, tariffs, exchange, and merchant marine, and by intensifying domestic production. (Commerce Reports, May 14, 1918.)

18. COLOMBIA.

A financial conference of the representatives of various chambers of commerce in Colombia convened to study the drop in foreign exchange, its cause and remedy, the deficiency of currency, and the fiscal crisis.

OPPOSITION TO RECONSTRUCTION DISCUSSIONS.

In England some of the leading publications have opposed the discussion during war time of afterwar conditions because of the many uncertain factors in the situation. The London Economist (May 4, 1918) severely criticized the report of the Balfour committee on commercial and financial policy after the war. A similar attitude is prevalent in Italy and Japan. (Corriere della Serra, July 16, 1918; Nichi Nichi, Oct. 22, 1917.)

PEACE PROPOSALS OF CENTRAL POWERS.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, I thank the senior Senator from North Dakota for his courtesy in yielding for a very brief statement. During the morning hour I presented to the Senate a petition in the form of a telegram sent to me by the chamber of commerce at Jackson, Mich., one of the strongest and most patriotic business organizations in our State. It expressed the almost unanimous sentiment of the people. It insisted that there should be no peace parley, no armistice, at this fateful hour, but that the President and Congress should demand of Germany unconditional surrender. I was glad to present that petition to the Senate and to say to my constituents that I am in hearty accord with their sentiments. I think it is unfortunate that this controversy should have arisen. There was no adequate excuse for it. The President's reply to the German chancellor has made equivocal what the people and its Army and Navy felt was certain. It is the doubt that disheartens, when hope and courage should predominate. The President, however embarrassing it may be to himself, must save the diplomatic situation. He should counsel with our allies before speaking to Germany. I must assume that his often-expressed desire to speak the will of the people still maintains and in some way will find expression now. I have presented this petition in order that he may understand what the peoples' will is. I trust that it will reach his attention.

To lose the advantage which the allies now have and to lessen our great influence with them would be a colossal blunder and might result in a practical German victory. It must not be.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I know of nothing that can be more valuable at this time than these discussions as they have been going on for the last two or three sessions of the Senate. I know that the President keeps in close touch with the sentiments of the people of the United States, but I believe that the sentiments of the several States are emphasized by the declarations that are made by the several Senators on the floor upon the great problem now before the American people.

I desire first, Mr. President, to have read a telegram, a single one which I have selected from many from my own State, which I believe very succinctly expresses the conviction of all the people of the State upon any proposed armistice or any suggestion of peace. I ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NUGENT in the chair). The telegram will be read, without objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

MANDAN, N. DAK., *October 13, 1918.*

Hon. P. J. McCUMBER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Citizens of Mandan oppose armistice that will give Huns opportunity to retire safely within their own borders with army fully equipped to defy the world. We should demand unconditional surrender as first step.

E. D. TOSTEVIN, *Mandan Daily Pioneer.*

Mr. McCUMBER. I now present, as epitomizing my own views upon this subject, the resolution which I introduced the other day. I ask that the Secretary may read the resolution, omitting the preamble.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. McCUMBER on the 7th instant, omitting the preamble, as follows:

Senate concurrent resolution 24.

Resolved by the Senate of the United States (the House of Representatives concurring), That there shall be no cessation of hostilities and no armistice until the Imperial German Government shall disband its armies and surrender its arms and munitions, together with its Navy, to the United States and her allies in this war;

That before any armistice or peace proposals shall be considered the Imperial German Government shall unreservedly consent to the principles of reparation declared as terms of peace by our allies;

That it will pay in damages the cost of rebuilding and reconstructing all the cities and villages destroyed by its armies and restore to fertility the lands devastated by it;

That it will repay every dollar and the value of all property exacted from the people of any territory invaded by it;

That it will make proper compensation and allowance for every crime committed by its armies contrary to the laws of warfare and humanity, whether on land or sea;

That it will return to France Alsace and Lorraine and the indemnity exacted from her in 1870; and

That it, further, accepts all the additional conditions laid down by the President in his said address of January 8, 1918.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, until the President replied to the peace proposal of the German chancellor, Prince Maximilian of Baden, I had rested secure in my conviction that nothing would stay the progress of our war until we should secure an unconditional surrender on the part of the enemy, and that, after having secured that unconditional surrender, we would then be in a position not to make a negotiated peace

but a dictated peace with the enemy which would not only assure restoration and reparation but also the future peace of the world. I had felt assured after the President's speech of September 27, in which he declared that—

We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the Governments of the central empires, because we have dealt with them already and have seen them deal with other Governments that were parties to this struggle at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest. They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We can not come to terms with them. They have made it impossible. The German people must by this time be fully aware that we can not accept the word of those who forced this war upon us. We do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language of agreement.

I say I had felt assured that there would be no further discussion until the Hohenzollern dynasty had been entirely eliminated by the German people themselves. I had also felt a degree of assurance and certainty that inasmuch as the President recognized that we and our allies were fighting a world war for world interest we would not even suggest terms that were not entirely in accord with the declarations of our allies.

The President's reply to the German chancellor, I confess, has made me a little less certain of our position. I have never made any criticism of that reply and shall not do so, because the reply did not speak the last word the President had to say on the subject, but rather presented certain queries the answer to which might determine his position as to whether he would give any answer whatever to the plea. It seemed to me, however, that the President's reply as it then stood left certain inferences and was subject to such implication as might estop this country from making the full demands which justice, right, and the sentiment of the American people and our allies demand. It seemed to me that when the President requested the chancellor to state whether or not he represented the powers which were responsible for this war or the German people, he would be more or less bound by the reply of the chancellor, and especially if his reply asserted that he did represent the German people, and also that when the President suggested to this chancellor that he did not feel justified in presenting the question of an armistice to our allies so long as the German Government was in possession of any part of the allies' country, and especially when he requested to know whether it was the intention of the German Government to immediately withdraw its armies from conquered territory, that the German Government might well assume that if they did declare their purpose to withdraw from invaded territory and proceeded to do so—as they are now doing with some speed, accelerated by the bayonets of American and allied soldiers—that an armistice would probably follow; and, further, that when the President asked the German Government whether or not they agreed to accept not merely the principle but the terms laid down in his address of January 8 and subsequent addresses, that the question carried with it the suggestion that if they answered directly in the affirmative, no other or further terms would be imposed by this country or its allies as conditions of peace.

And, Mr. President, it was because I felt that the country ought to know that the Senate of the United States does not believe that the mere withdrawal of German troops from conquered territory, and even the surrender of claim to the French Provinces seized in 1871, or the reconstruction of Baltic States, set out in the President's several addresses, ought to be the limit of our demands or the only conditions upon which we will discuss terms of peace with that Empire, that I introduced my resolution on the 7th day of October.

It will be remembered that nearly three-fourths of a year of most desperate warfare has elapsed since the declaration made by the President on the 8th of January, 1918. At that time the German Government defied the United States. Since that time about a million brave men have died because of that refusal. Does not that fact justify an additional demand if the President's terms do not include all that justice requires? Since that time the German armies have wantonly destroyed hundreds of cities and villages. Doesn't that fact alone justify and even demand additional penalties?

I now wish to present to the Senate and the country each specific declaration in my resolution, upon which I ask a response from the Members of this body. I know what the response of the people of this country is as to each demand contained in this resolution. The first is—

That before any armistice shall be considered the Imperial German Government shall unreservedly consent to the principles of reparation declared as terms of peace by our allies.

The Senate will remember that again and again have Great Britain, speaking through her several premiers, and France, speaking through Clemenceau, declared that inasmuch as Germany had made this unprovoked war, was wholly responsible for it, had been the cause of all the deaths resulting from it, all the misery and suffering, she should not and would not be allowed to escape by a mere restoration of the territory she had invaded. They insisted and demanded reparation as well as restoration. And I ask the Senate and I ask the American people, Ought we to demand and insist upon that reparation? Is not the insistence by us upon such a demand a solemn duty which we owe to our allies? We who have scarcely gotten into this war little realize what our allies have been suffering for more than four years, the crimes committed against them in the name of war, the awful acts of brutality which they have had inflicted upon them. And now, when the tide of battle has just begun to turn in their favor, when they, with our assistance, are in a position to punish those who have so brutally maltreated them, can we and will we call a halt in our onward march? Can we allow diplomacy to weaken the avenging arm? No, Mr. President; I know the answer, the heart response of the American people and of this Senate, and that answer can be expressed in two words only—"unconditional surrender."

That resolution declares that before any armistice shall be considered the German Empire and its allies pledge themselves to pay in damages the cost of rebuilding and reconstructing cities and villages destroyed by their armies and to restore to fertility the fields devastated by them.

I am not in this declaration assuming that this country or the allies will compel the criminal who committed this awful act against humanity to pay the full cost of the war. Of course that in justice should be done, but we can not afford to enslave a people because of the crime of their aristocratic rulers. But most of this destruction was not the result of ordinary warfare. There was no occasion demanding that soldiers should set fire to the homes of the peasants; that they should cut down their orchards; that they should murder their people. As Germany retires from France and Belgium there is no military necessity demanding the destruction of every city abandoned by them. Such destruction does not and can not impede the march of our victorious armies. It is done not through the necessities of war but through the sentiment of malice and hate engendered, encouraged, and commanded by this autocratic militarism against which we are now battling.

And again I ask of the American people, of the Senate of the United States—yes, and of the President himself—the heart response as to whether this wanton destruction of property at least should be met and covered by indemnity?

Again, this resolution declares:

That the central powers must agree to repay every dollar and the value of all property exacted from the people of any territory invaded by them.

Mr. President, things have transpired so rapidly, new wrongs and atrocities have followed one upon the heels of the other so rapidly, that we are wont to forget, and I fear possibly our souls become so inured to these acts that we might fail to demand that which was in our hearts at the time, full recompense for the injuries inflicted. The central powers deported from conquered territory the entire able-bodied population of both sexes from the age of 16 to 60, except women with young children. While we were paying enormous wages, as were Great Britain and France, for labor the central powers enslaved and forced to work behind their lines from the population of Belgium 7,500,000, of France 3,000,000, of Serbia 4,500,000, of Roumania 5,000,000, of Poles and Lithuanians 22,000,000, or a total of 42,000,000 slaves.

The plunder of human beings, supplies and property, laborers, war materials, provisions, minerals, raw products, manufactured products, personal property, art objects, and specie during the four years has amounted to at least $10,000,000,000.

Andre Cheredame, in his book Pan Germany, published at the close of the year 1917, gives the value of many items of property taken up to that time. I shall recite only a few of the more important ones.

Germans have taken possession of vast stores of raw materials in their descent upon France, Belgium, Serbia, and Roumania. Cannon, rifles, munitions, wagons, locomotives, cars, as well as thousands of kilometers of railway of which they make full use, representing billions of francs.

The Belgian railways system is worth three billions.

In France they stole all the horses, cattle, domestic animals, grain, potatoes, food products, meats, sugar, alcohol, and so forth.

They seized all the coal and iron ore, copper, petroleum, and so forth.

From the cities of northern France alone the Germans took 550,000,000 francs worth of hay. The plunder has been worth a number of billions to them.

Everywhere in the occupied territories they took motors, steam hammers, rolling mills, lathes, press drills, electrical engines, lamps, and so forth, and transported them to Germany.

They took private property of all character of the value of several billions and divided it among German officers.

The works of art taken by them are of enormous value.

War imposts:

Our official report shows that requisitions have everywhere been continuous. Towns that have had to meet the expense of troops quartered within their jurisdiction have been overwhelmed by huge levies. Belgium is staggering under an annual war assessment of 480,000,000 francs. Bucharest, after its capture by the Germans, was forced to pay a levy amounting to about 1,900 francs per capita of the population. At Cralova the levy was 950 francs per capita. An edict forbids the circulation of paper money unless it has been stamped by the Germans who retain 30 per cent of its nominal value.

In April, 1917, the Frankfurter Zeitung announced that the leaders of the Austro-German forces of occupation in Roumania would shortly call for an obligatory internal loan of 100,000,000 francs. In Poland the German Government has just issued a billion marks in paper money for enforced circulation.

As I have stated in another address, tribute upon the poor Belgians alone amounted to $500 per capita. In the light of all that afflicted country has suffered, the savage destruction of everything within its borders, in most cases for no other purpose than to satisfy the lust of the invaders to terrorize the population, ought we not to demand and insist by every principle of honor and justice that the sums extorted, the property stolen, should be fully compensated for? And let it be remembered, Mr. President, that in the speech of January 8 there is not one word concerning this retribution for these offenses committed against these innocent, helpless people; there are words of restitution, but not a word of reparation.

Again this resolution reads:

That it (the German Government) will make proper compensation for every crime committed by its armies contrary to the laws of warfare and humanity whether on land or sea.

Mr. President, prior to our entering the war, the President of the United States on many occasions declared to the German Government that this Government would hold that Government to a strict accountability for any infringement of the laws of war affecting American ships, property, or lives. Have we forgotten the *Lusitania?* Was that vessel sunk contrary to the laws of war? Was the act of the demon who hid under the waves, sent the shot without notice, without according the right to surrender, which sent mothers with their babes to the bottom of the ocean, an act of honorable warfare or the act of a murderer? Shall we maintain the word which we sent to the German Government at that time, that we should hold her to a strict accountability? What is the sentiment of the President? What is the answer of this Senate? What is the answer of the American people? You and I know what it is.

And again let us recall that our allies who have, as the President has often declared, and as we all now recognize, been fighting our battle for about four years before we really got into the war, have suffered a hundred fold more than we have suffered. Shall we desert them or shall we stand with them in demanding the reparation for the wrongs committed against them? There can be but one answer to this question. The American people will stand with France and Great Britain, and Belgium and Serbia, until all of these wrongs have been righted.

Again this resolution declares that:

The central powers shall make proper compensation and allowance for their crimes committed by their armies, contrary to the laws of warfare and humanity, whether on land or sea.

But a few days ago an American liner was torpedoed. After its little guns were shot away so that it could not continue even that feeble defense against a deadly submarine, the commander of this submarine proceeded to shoot into fragments its lifeboats that no one on board should escape. He seized the only lifeboat with its 20 occupants that had escaped the shrapnel, tied it to the submarine, and in that spirit of hellishness which has seemed to actuate the heart of every submarine commander, the submarine submerged. The breaking of the cable alone saved the lives of these doomed men who were thereby enabled to convey this atrocious murder of their comrades to the American people. And this is done at the very moment that the central powers are extending their hand and crying for mercy. What mercy had they for these poor helpless victims? Will this country demand as a condition of an armistice, or as a condition of peace, that the German Government surrender this monster for court-martial trial? Can you, and will you, say to the mothers of those brave boys who were sent down to death without any opportunity of defense, who were not accorded a single right accorded to the most desperate enemy when he has surrendered—will you say to these mothers and to the American people, that this matter is of such little concern, such a small incident in this great warfare, that we will not take notice of it? I would ask the heart response of the members of this Senate and of the American people upon this declaration. And remember again, that while we have suffered an occasion of this kind but once or twice, our allies have suffered it a hundred or a thousand times.

Shall we desert them in their just demands for retributive justice? Do you think that the captain of the U boat who, having destroyed a British merchant ship, proceeded to destroy all the lifeboats, then compelled the few remaining persons who were still alive to throw away their life preservers, and then submerged, sending all but one, I believe, to death—do you believe that that commander should continue to enjoy the sunshine and the blessings of life? Will you join the allies in the demand that this captain shall be surrendered and tried by a military court? Gen. Pershing reported that one of our American boys who had been captured was found with his head almost severed from his body, under evidence which showed a struggle, and that after his capture he had been most brutally butchered. Will you say to the American father who gave that son, There shall be no peace until these murderers pay the penalty of their crime against your boy? What is the response of Senators; what would be your response were it your own boy? What is the response of the American heart to this declaration?

Mr. President, there have been published in the New York Tribune each day accounts of a series of atrocities that have been established beyond any possible question, and which I wish to insert in an epitomized form, without reading them, as a part of this address.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHEPPARD in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

NO. 1.

Near Mellen, Belgium, a woman was standing by the roadside with a babe in her arms, watching the Germans of the Thirty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Regiments marching some prisoners by. A German officer halted and asked for water. The woman brought the water and observed that he should be shot instead. The officer pulled his revolver and killed the woman and babe.

NO. 2.

The Thirty-fifth Regiment of Germans were on hands and knees, moving against Belgian trenches near Antwerp, behind a human screen of Belgian women and children. One woman turned and faced the Germans and refused to advance. The German creeping behind her gave her two bayonet thrusts, at the second one of which she fell. One of the children ran to her, and the German placed his gun to its head and blew it off. Then the Belgians, who had been unable to fire for fear of killing their own women and children, left the trenches and attacked with bayonet.

NO. 3.

A German patrol—6 men and 1 officer—with 40 civilian prisoners was marching near Malines, Belgium. The officer stopped and knocked at a door. No one came. He ordered the men to break in. The peasant appeared, and they shot him for not coming quickly. The wife came out with a child in her arms. She put the child down and sprang at the Germans. She clawed their faces. One soldier killed the woman by a tremendous blow, another transfixed the child with his bayonet, and held it up for the others to see. Then the house was fired.

NO. 4.

For some reason the Huns declared the village green in Tamines, Belgium, a sacred zone. One day on this green were 20 German soldiers and one officer. A little Belgian girl and her two brothers came trespassing. To those who witnessed the act it appeared the children were only looking at the soldiers. They may have been impudent or taunting. Nobody will ever know. Suddenly the Germans slew the children, all three. The little girl was shot through the ear.

NO. 5.

One September evening four years ago a Belgian air scout reported to the defenders of Malines that the Germans appeared to be advancing with children in front of them. It was true. There were about 10 children in front of them. They were from 7 to 9 years of age and reached to about the Germans' chests. The Germans were firing above their heads as they advanced.

NO. 6.

At Monceau, Belgium, the Germans burned 312 houses and shot a lot of the inhabitants. They entered a house, and seeing a young man run into the garden shot him in his tracks. Then they took the father and a second son into the garden. They shot the boy first and compelled the father to stand close to his son, and shot the father in that position.

NO. 7.

Four years ago at Malines, Germans suffered first temporary defeat. Belgian soldiers saw one house not burned like the others and investigated. On the floor were the dead bodies of a man, a woman, a boy, and a girl, all with feet and hands cut off. One of the Belgian soldiers who forced the door was surviving son and brother. He went mad at the sight, seized a gun and a horse, and rushed off in the direction of the German Army. He was never seen again.

NO. 8.

Four years ago, on September 8, the English shelled Basseville, Belgium. Huns temporarily repulsed visited their vengeance on the helpless. On entering the village the British found in one house an old man by the fireside strangled, an old woman in a bedroom strangled, and a young girl about 17 in the yard strangled.

NO. 9.

At Campenhaut, three German cavalrymen entered the house of a well-to-do merchant who was known to have a good wine cellar. Having drunk 10 bottles of champagne they called in six more officers. Then one officer called for the society of the merchant's wife. She came, and he put his revolver to her temple and shot her dead; then told the merchant to dig a grave and bury his wife.

NO. 10.

In August, 1914, the Germans marched through Herve to Liege. A German officer in a motor car with several soldiers called to two young men, who, being frightened, started to run. They were shot in their tracks. On August 8 the Germans were stopped at Fléron by one of the Liege forts. Enraged at this, they returned to Herve for revenge. They burned 327 houses in two days and fired indiscriminately on civilians at the doors. Shot one woman at close range, although she had a crucifix in her hands and was begging for mercy.

NO. 11.

Between Flemalle Grande and Jemepepe in Belgium is an inn called Campagne de Flemalle. Fourteen Germans placed four men and one woman against a wall and then shot the four men. They did not shoot the woman. She cried and fell on her knees, begging for mercy. The four men were not quite dead, so the Germans finished their work with bayonets.

NO. 12.

Herod's massacre of all male children in Bethlehem 2 years old and under was with a purpose that could be understood. The slaughter of Belgian children by Germans was worse. Civilian prisoners were compelled to march with the Huns out of Malines. Near Sempst they passed a small farm homestead burning. Close by the road stood a woman with two children. As the Germans passed they drove their bayonets through the children. (Bryce report, appendix, p. 110.) "The two children," says the testimony, "were pitched into the flames by the soldiers who killed them; they tossed them in with their bayonets. It was a different soldier who killed each child."

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, we have read of the deportation of women and girls of France into Germany and of their abuse by the cruel military masters, and then when broken down in health and no longer able to work that they are returned to be a charge on the French Government. Let me cite here but one instance. There was returned only the other day a woman who testified that during the nearly four years she had been a prisoner she had been compelled to become the mother of three children. Two were boys, and they were kept. The third, a frail little girl, was sent back to France with the health-broken mother.

Senators, this may seem to be far away, but it is right at home in France; and this is but one case out of tens of thousands. Will we insist for France that those who have committed this crime against the daughter of some French mother, possibly whose husband has died for his native land, shall pay the penalty of that crime?

Now these, Mr. President, are things which I say the central powers may well say to be outside of, and not included within the clear terms of the President's declaration of January 8 and subsequent declarations. The question with us is, Should we make peace without those additional terms? Should we declare an armistice until we are in a position to enforce those terms? Is there any man in the whole United States with a soul, with a human heart, who does not feel that all of these are most righteous demands, demands which if surrendered would be a blot on our own sense of justice and humanity?

What I fear, Mr. President, is that taking this speech of January 8, 1918, as the basis of negotiation, the central powers expect that, except as to matters clearly indicated by that speech, to escape without further punishment across their own borders which have not been scarred anywhere by this awful war. I first ask myself, Can we in honor say this will be the extent of our terms? If I remember rightly the President in one of his speeches, which I do not now recall by date, declared in substance that the same principles of right and wrong which govern individuals in their relations with each other must henceforth govern nations in their relation to each other. With that I am in most hearty accord. But how are we to inaugurate such a system if we impliedly say to the world in our peace proposals that the nation which commits murder shall in no way be held in punitive damages for that murder? Let us present a parallel case. Your neighbor for years has been secretly preparing to rob you of your property, to murder you and your family. He has inculcated in the hearts of his own family the principle that force alone should govern this world. He has inculcated in their hearts hatred toward you. He has been preparing and waiting for an opportunity to carry his murderous purpose into effect. The opportune time comes. He knows you are not prepared to defend yourselves. Without a word of warning he fires your buildings. He forces himself into your home. You and your unarmed children defend yourselves with the best improvised weapons you can command. Being prepared he inflicts terrible punishment upon you. You see your children brained by this monster of hate, your wife murdered before your eyes. You see your innocent and helpless babe with a bayonet thrust through its breast. You battle on in desperation and resolve to avenge their deaths or die in the attempt. Your enemy begins to show signs of exhaustion. In the strength of your right, you find yourself at last able to meet him on something like equal terms. He feels his own waning strength. He reads vengeance in your eyes, victory in your raining blows. He must now depend upon his cunning to save his life. He proposes an armistice. He says to you: Do not battle further, and I will retreat and go back to my own home, and you and I will sit down together and we will enter into an agreement whereby there shall be henceforth peace between us. Let me ask you as a normal human being, what would be your response? Would you take his bloody hand, dripping with the life current of wife and babe, in yours, or would you continue that battle until he was mauled into submission? I know what your answer would be.

Now, this is just exactly what has transpired in Europe, except that nations and not individuals are engaged in that drama. The Central Powers were ready. They had schemed for 40 years the destruction of their neighbors. They had robbed France of two of her Provinces in 1871, and made her pay in damages for the privilege of being robbed. With the memory of the seizure of Silesia from Austria, of Schleswig from Denmark, of Alsace-Lorraine from France, the time had come for the conquest of Belgium, the domination of Serbia and Roumania, the great Mitteleuropan military power, the destruction of Great Britain, and the defiance of the world, and those powers struck the blow on land and sea. They struck it against nations wholly unprepared, at France first, and then Great Britain who, as I have heretofore stated, fought for two years with one hand while preparing for war with the other hand.

No act has been too atrocious to be eliminated from their mode of operation. They expected to win by terrorism. But a righteous and indignant people, though fewer in numbers, held them back until this great Nation, tardy of action, slow in preparation, came into the conflict on their side. We know what would have been the result had they succeeded—an enslaved world, buffeted and kicked and abused by the most despotic militarism the world has ever known. Their arrogance did not leave the world in doubt as to their purpose. They had even declared it long before the blow was struck. A confiding world could not believe that such an atrocious purpose could be possible. Let me read to you the terms the Central Powers had decided upon when their initial success in the great onslaught of March 21, 1918, gave them a brief but signal success. These were the terms:

Germany is entitled to the following terms because of its strength, and until they are realized there should be no armistice:

Annexation of Belgium.

Annexation of the entire Flanders coast, including Calais.

Annexation of the Briey and Longwy basins and the Toul, Belford, and Verdun regions eastward.

Restitution to Germany of all her colonies, including Kiaochow.

Great Britain must cede to Germany such naval bases and coaling stations as Germany designates.

Great Britain must give Gibraltar to Spain, cede its war fleet to Germany, give Egypt and the Suez Canal to Turkey.

Greece must be reestablished under former King Constantine, with frontiers as before the war.

Austria and Bulgaria will divide Serbia and Montenegro.

Great Britain, France, and the United States must pay all of Germany's war costs, the indemnity being a minimum of $45,000,000,000.

They must also agree to deliver raw materials immediately.

France and Belgium must remain occupied at their expense until these conditions are carried out.

This is what Germany would have imposed upon the world had she succeeded in her most accursed war.

In the face of these demands by those who had made this criminal war against the peaceful nations of the world, in the face of the condition in which we would be placed had this great Mitteleuropa propaganda been successful, let me ask Senators, let me ask the American people, yes, let me ask the President himself, if we are not committing a grave injustice to the American people and to our brave allies if we say to these central powers that upon the surrender of Alsace and Lorraine, which do not belong to you; upon the retrocession of the territory invaded by you; and upon the agreement to cede certain territories in the Balkans we will allow you to return to your own home and will make no further demand upon you than that you will agree with us that you will not again commit such an offense? Are we not clasping the blood-guilty hand of the worst criminal the world has ever known? Are we not dishonoring our own cause by failing to insist that before we will speak one word of peace to these powers we must bind their arms and insist that before they can expiate their crime they must respond in damages at least to the extent of compensating for those things which are outside the pale of recognized and honorable warfare? I insist that the nations engaged in the defense of the world against this ogre of militarism is committing a crime against its own people, an offense against its own cause, if it fails to exact this partial justice from our enemies.

Coming now to the present aspect of the case upon the exchange of notes between this country and the Berlin Government, what will the German Government lose if this war is continued

until her armies are defeated? Mr. President, she will, first, lose the Provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. They will be returned to France, and returned unconditionally.

Second, she will lose her navy, because she can not be left with arms to renew this war.

Third, she will be compelled to pay for the wanton destruction of cities and villages and for her devastation of lands and homes.

Fourth, she will be compelled to return every dollar exacted as tribute and the value of every article which she took from people of municipalities in conquered territory and for every murder or enslavement committed by her contrary to the laws of modern warfare.

Fifth, she will be compelled to pay for every merchant ship and property therein sunk contrary to the recognized rules of warfare, and make allowance for the families of those whom she has murdered contrary to such laws.

Sixth, she will be compelled to surrender those military beasts who have perpetrated these crimes against helpless men, women, and babes.

Seventh, she will be forced to witness the dethronement of her Hohenzollern dynasty.

Eighth, she will be compelled to surrender important strategic positions to the allies until all agreements have been fulfilled.

Ninth, she would probably see the collapse of the great structure built up by the Iron Chancellor Bismarck. Bavaria, at least, would probably become an independent nation.

And right here I might ask if there is a single one of those terms that ought not in justice to be imposed? Has not this military autocracy earned, and more than earned, this mild penalty, when viewed in the light of the awful crime it has committed against the world in making this war, the monstrous purposes it had in view, and what punishment it would have inflicted on its enemies had it been victorious?

Now, what does the German Government expect to gain by the acceptance of the principles laid down by the President in his January 8 address and in his subsequent utterances? And this is a most important fact for the Senate to consider. Remember that these are all the German Government has agreed to accept, either in principle or in detail.

First, it expects to save the Hohenzollern dynasty and with it the military autocracy of Germany, the root from which it may again grow the deadly Upas tree of German militarism. I know many of those in this Chamber say we have nothing to do with the question of who shall govern or how the German people shall be governed. Mr. President, if that is none of our business, then this war is none of our business. Whatever may have been the particular cause which forced us into this conflict, once being in it, we accepted its full issue and full responsibility, and that issue was a world issue. In the words of our President it was a war "to make the world safe for democracy," and the world will never be safe for democracy nor safe for any unmilitary nation as long as the present governmental system of Germany, with its standard of force and brutality, is allowed to continue.

Therefore, Mr. President, we declare that it is our business as to what kind of a government shall be continued in Germany, whether it shall be a military government or a peacefully inclined government.

I was most gratified when the President, in his speech of September 27, declared:

> We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the Governments of the central empires, because we have dealt with them already and have seen them deal with other Governments that were parties to this struggle at Brest-Litovsk, and Bucharest. They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We can not come to terms with them. They have made it impossible.

And, again, in his Baltimore speech, when he says:

> There is, therefore, but one response from us—force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish domination down in the dust.

I am still hoping that the President has not backed down one inch from that position. Of course, he knows, as we all know, that the spokesman of the German Government is Kaiser made. The meeting which accepted the terms referred to in the last reply of the German Government was a meeting of the petty sovereigns of the different States composing the Empire, not one of them elected by the people and every one of them representing the military idea of force and plunder.

I have heard it rumored that pressure has been made upon our President to recede from this position. It has even been stated to me that an American ambassador to one of our allies has written to the President suggesting that it would be necessary for him sooner or later to recede from that position; that in the end he would have to deal with the present German Government which forced this war, as the German people would not repudiate their self-deified rulers, and even urged the President to consider peace proposals by negotiation.

Second, the German Government, by accepting as a basis for peace the President's said speech, hopes to retain Alsace and Lorraine by according to those Provinces certain autonomous rights. The President declared in his address of January 8 as follows:

> All French territory should be free and the invaded portions restored and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly 50 years, should be righted in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

But the President does not say how this wrong shall be righted. I have not the fear, as some have, that the President will ever accept anything less than the absolute return to France of those Provinces, torn from her by force, and the repayment of the indemnity exacted at that time. How else could these wrong be fully righted? But this return is not declared definitely, and, of course, if we enter into any discussion with the central powers, they will claim that their proposed autonomy for these Provinces will meet the President's demand.

Third, the German Government expects by accepting these proposals to avoid any and all other responsibility for its wrongs and atrocities. And, Mr. President, this fear of retributive justice is by far the most important reason for accepting the President's suggestions at this time. The German Government, in the face of a sure defeat, sees its haven of refuge in the President's mild proposals. It sees in those proposals not one word of reparation for wrongs, not one word about indemnities for atrocities committed. You will note the rather cunning inquiry or supposition contained in this last reply of the German Government, in which they say:

> The German Government believes that the Governments of the powers associated with the Government of the United States also take the position taken by President Wilson in his address.

That means that they take no further position; that they make no further demands.

Now, as a matter of fact, the German Government well knows that these addresses of the President of the United States do not comprehend the limit of the demand by other powers. Lloyd George and preceding British premiers, as well as Clemenceau, have declared again and again that no peace will be considered until the Central Powers are ready to make reparation. And, Mr. President, if either the United States or France or Great Britain concludes a peace without righting these wrongs they will have wronged and deeply wronged the brave soldiers who have died for world justice as well as those who have been murdered through hate.

The moment the allies near German territory an awful fear comes over the people. "Save us from invasion" is their wild cry. And why? Because, Mr. President, they say, "The invaders will come with their hearts filled with the atrocities and brutalities committed by our armies against them. They will burn our cities as we have burned theirs. They will maltreat and murder German prisoners as we have maltreated and murdered their prisoners. They will drive the bayonet through the tender bodies of our babes as our soldiers have done in Belgium and as our allies have done in Roumania and Serbia. Surrender or do anything that will save us from this retributive justice."

Mr. President, this is a battle to the death between the doctrinaires of force and the advocates of right. Both can not survive, one or the other must fall. If the autocratic militarism of the Central Powers is ever to be defeated, now is the opportune moment. For it might never again be possible to so unite the weak against the strong, the unprepared against the prepared.

At this critical moment there can be but one safe reply to the plea of this military autocracy for a respite—that reply is, Unconditional surrender. There can be but one place to discuss and formulate terms of peace—that place is Berlin.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, when the Senate met this morning I asked and obtained unanimous consent to introduce a resolution (S. Res. 314). That resolution was read, and I have no intention of asking that any disposition be made of it until the Senate shall again convene. The resolution was prepared with some care, although I introduced it with a view that it might not entirely represent the existing situation, and, therefore, might be aptly subject to amendment. The purpose which I had in mind was to clarify, if possible, what seems to be a misunderstanding in some quarters, both in Congress and among the people, of the character and extent of the President's frequently announced program of peace.

I have noted, Mr. President, with some regret, both in the discussions here and in the comments of the press, what seems to

me to be a distinct note of distrust either of the President's courage or of his purposes; a feeling that unless the Senate and perhaps the press generally, to say nothing of the vast body of the people, shall announce their views regarding the pending diplomatic situation, the President will commit the Nation to a policy which does not represent the public opinion of the country, and which will also prove to be a distinct disappointment to our allies. I am sorry to observe the existence of such a feeling, for I do not believe that there is any occasion for it, and because, unfortunately, it is too apt to justify the impression that political considerations have much to do with the discussion.

I have no right, Mr. President, to speak for the President of the United States or for anyone except myself on this occasion, and, therefore, by way of preliminary, I wish to emphasize the fact that this resolution is an attempted embodiment of my own view of the President's attitude on the terms of peace. If I am correct about it, then there is nothing in any position taken by the President, either in the formulation of a program of peace or in his comments upon it, that need give anyone but Germany and her allies any serious cause of apprehension.

The President of the United States, by the fortunes of war, has become the spokesman of all the world, except the central empires. As one writer aptly expresses it, he has advanced to leadership through the anguish of the Nation, and right well, Mr. President, has he discharged the duties of that lofty and most exalted position. He has spoken many times since America entered this war, and what he has said on all occasions has been apt, has expressed the sentiment not only of America, but of the allies, and has received the almost unanimous approval of the public sentiment of the people of all the allied nations. He has never spoken impulsively nor without due consideration of the tremendous import which every word uttered by such a man must convey. I, therefore, assume, Mr. President, because I believe it to be a fact, that when he speaks, he speaks not only for but with the allies; that when he speaks, he voices the conclusions to which all the allies have previously given their assent; and that he has never committed himself to any line of policy since this war began, unless and until that line of policy has been communicated to our associates in this war and has received their approbation.

Mr. President, I base that statement upon the unbroken tide of applause and approval which has greeted every utterance of the President since the 1st day of January, 1918. I refer to that date because every utterance of his regarding a program of peace has been made since then.

If I am correct, Mr. President, in my assumption, then it must follow that the celebrated 14 items or bases of a permanent and lasting peace promulgated by him before the Congress on the 8th day of January last, and his subsequent references to that subject, are the collective thought and expression of every nation engaged in this war on the side of the entente allies; that it is not only the American idea of peace but the allied idea of peace; that it is American, because we are in this war with other nations; that it is allied, because a common spokesman announces a common sentiment.

Mr. President, we should also remember in our consideration of the President's attitude and of his recent actions that he knows world conditions and everything relating to this war far better than we do. It is his duty to be informed, as it is the duty of his associates to see that he is informed. He, therefore, speaks from an abundance of information to which we can not at present lay claim; and, while he may say some things which do not at first meet with our entire approval, we may be sure that they are not impulsive or careless utterances, for they are the utterances of a man at present charged with great responsibility. If this were not so, more than one note of disapprobation would have reached us from Great Britain, from France, from Italy, or perhaps from all these nations combined; yet I do not recall, Mr. President, the utterance or announcement of any such discordant view.

On the 6th day of October an incident occurred which placed upon the shoulders of the President the most imposing duty and the most far-reaching responsibility which, in my judgment, was ever borne by mortal man. I have reference to the note of the German chancellor which, communicated by the representative of the Swiss Government, informed the President of a request by the German Government that he take in hand the restoration of peace, acquaint all the belligerent States of this request, and invite them to send plenipotentiaries for the purpose of opening negotiations. The German Government also informed the President of its acceptance of the program set forth by him in his message to the Congress on January 8 and in his later pronouncements, especially his speech of September 27, as a basis for peace negotiations. There is a vast difference, Mr. President, between the acceptance of pronouncements as a basis for peace and the acceptance of those pronouncements as a basis for negotiations leading to peace.

But the German Government went further, and, "with a view of avoiding further bloodshed," it requested "the immediate conclusion of an armistice on land and water and in the air." Let me note here, Mr. President, that it is Germany, and Germany alone, which has requested or suggested an armistice. The President has suggested no armistice; and, of course, neither he nor the allies have ever requested one.

This note addressed to the President of the United States by the head of the German Government could not, in my judgment, be ignored. Some seem to think that the President should have treated it as he treated the Austrian request of a few days previous, and that there is some inconsistency between his terse rejection of the Austrian note and the manner of his inquiry regarding this one; but, Mr. President, there is no parallel. Austria, in a most involved communication, seemed to request a conference which would be unbinding upon anyone and whose purpose would be to discuss terms of peace.

The President very properly pointed to the terms which had been clearly announced more than once and declined all further reference to the subject. This, however, asks for an armistice pending negotiations of peace based upon the President's own request.

Now, bearing in mind, Mr. President, what I believe to be the fact, that this communication was sent to our associates in this war, as Prince Maximilian requested, and bearing in mind the necessity of mutual action, not only with regard to the details of the progress of the war but particularly with regard to the immensely more important subject of peace, it was communicated to the allies either through their ministers here or through our ministers at their respective capitals, and no reply was made to it until a complete and satisfactory understanding regarding the character of that reply had been arrived at.

The President on the 27th day of September, I think, in laying down what may be called supplemental terms of peace also took occasion to use this language. The Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN] put it in the RECORD the other day, but it is appropriate that I should again read it:

> We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the Governments of the central empires, because we have dealt with them already and have seen them deal with other Governments that were parties to this struggle at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest.
>
> They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We can not come to terms with them. They have made it impossible.

No weightier words ever fell from the lips of our Chief Executive. But he continues:

> The German people must by this time be fully aware that we can not accept the word of those who forced this war upon us. We do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language of agreement.

Having therefore a suggestion from the German Government, a government which the President had a few days before declared to be wholly untrustworthy and treacherous, what reply could the President make except it were an inquiry regarding the character of the government making the request and also regarding the suggested armistice? It was the most natural thing, therefore, and I think the most shrewdly diplomatic course that could possibly have been taken that the President answered as follows:

> Before making reply to the request of the Imperial German Government, and in order that that reply shall be as candid and straightforward as the momentous interests involved require, the President of the United States deems it necessary to assure himself of the exact meaning of the note of the imperial chancellor. Does the imperial chancellor mean that the Imperial German Government accepts the terms laid down by the President in his address to the Congress of the United States on the 8th of January last and in subsequent address and that its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon the practical details of their application?

This was made necessary in my opinion because the note itself, as I have already said, asked the President to request and invite all the belligerent States to send plenipotentiaries for the purpose of opening negotiations and for using the President's propositions as a basis for such negotiations. But in view of the fact that the German chancellor had also suggested an armistice the President continues:

> The President feels bound to say with regard to the suggestion of an armistice that he would not feel at liberty to propose a cessation of arms to the governments with which the Government of the United States is associated against the central powers so long as the armies of those powers are upon their soil.

This is unmistakable.

> The good faith of any discussion would manifestly depend upon the consent of the central powers immediately to withdraw their forces everywhere from invaded territory.

The President also feels that he is justified in asking whether the imperial chancellor is speaking merely for the constituted authorities of the empire who have so far conducted the war. He deems the answers to these questions vital from every point of view.

Mr. President, I think there is but one historical instance where the asking of questions was so fraught with momentous consequences as this. I refer, of course, to the celebrated queries propounded by Mr. Lincoln to Mr. Douglas during their celebrated debate two years before the Civil War. Mr. Lincoln during that debate was questioned by Mr. Douglas and with characteristic candor he answered every one of them plainly, and then propounded four of his own. I will read the second and most important of them:

Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution?

It is said that Mr. Lincoln's friends attempted to dissuade him from asking that question as well as the others, fearing that as a consequence he would be defeated in the senatorial race then pending. Mr. Lincoln's reply was that he was after larger results than the senatorship, that his adversary might answer those questions so as to succeed himself in the Senate, but if he did so he would destroy forever his chances of being President of the United States, and if he answered them for the latter purpose then he was doomed in the existing race for Senator. So, Mr. President, it resulted. Mr. Douglas saved himself in the senatorial race but wrecked himself and his party in the far greater and more important presidential campaign of 1860.

Mr. President, an answer has come to the queries to which I have just referred. It will be noticed with what hot haste it was announced that upon the receipt of the President's queries a gathering of kings was ordered in Berlin. They came from the four quarters of Germany at the behest of the Kaiser himself to answer two simple questions propounded by a plain President of a democratic Republic, hitherto regarded with supreme contempt by their majesties and whose armies were declared to be of little power or consequence. But these kings in their asembled capacity or otherwise did not answer the President's query. That proceeded from the German Government, and attention has already been called to the fact that the word "Imperial" no longer appears in official German communications. It did not appear in the note of Prince Max. It does not appear in this. The German Government itself declares:

The German Government has accepted the terms laid down by President Wilson in his address of January 8 and in his subsequent addresses on the foundation of a permanent peace of justice. Consequently its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon practical details of the application of these terms.

This, Mr. President, commits Germany, not the Kaiser. It has committed Germany to the President's peace program. Whatever the immediate result of this note may be, it spells for all time the defeat of a German peace; for there can be no German peace without a repudiation of this note, and there can be no repudiation of the note without domestic disaster to Germany herself.

But that is not the President's greatest triumph. It says:

The German Government believes that the governments of the powers associated with the Government of the United States also take the position taken by President Wilson in his address. The German Government, in accordance with the Austro-Hungarian Government, for the purpose of bringing about an armistice, declares itself ready to comply with the propositions of the President in regard to evacuation.

The German Government suggests that the President may occasion the meeting of a mixed commission for making the necessary arrangements concerning the evacuation. The present German Government, which has undertaken the responsibility for this step toward peace, has been formed by conferences and in agreement with the great majority of the reichstag. The chancellor, supported in all of his actions by the will of this majority, speaks in the name of the German Government and of the German people.

Berlin, October 12, 1918.

(Signed) SOLF,
State Secretary of Foreign Office.

In all the history of the Hohenzollerns, Mr. President, no such document as this was even sent from their capital to a foreign country. Only during the dark days for them of 1848 was such language tolerated anywhere. In answering this question, therefore, the President has driven his diplomatic dagger straight into the heart of the Hohenzollern dynasty. It is the beginning of the end for them, because he has forced that Government, whatever it may be, out into the open, in so far as to make it declare that it has consulted with the representatives of the German people and speaks in its name, and no reference to the Kaiser exists here in any particular.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WADSWORTH. May I ask the Senator from Colorado if he has complete faith in the description of the German Government of its own status?

Mr. THOMAS. I think it might and probably is open to serious doubt; but, assuming the authenticity of this note, the voice to the world is a voice which German people have also heard. And in this age of democracy, at a time when the issue is a deadly one between autocracy and democracy, the sincerity of the German Government in making this declaration is in my mind secondary to the vast importance of the declaration itself.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I did not intend to pursue the interview, but merely to remark that the Senator from Colorado is more optimistic than I am.

Mr. THOMAS. I am seldom accused of optimism, on the contrary I am sometimes the source of great depression to my friends because of the somewhat darker and more somber view that I take. In this instance, if I am optimistic I am decidedly glad to know that for once in the world I am taking a brighter view of things than perhaps is the common one of my friends on the other side.

Mr. President, the weakest part of this note as regards its last phrase lies in its coupling of the German Government with the German people. The President has declared that he has no confidence in and can have none and will not treat with the German Government if that Government is still under the control in part of the junker forces of Prussia. If it still represents, as I am inclined to think it does represent, the reactionary forces of the German Empire then the question of the President has been answered, but not in such a way as to permit him to accept the good faith of that Government and consider any question of negotiation at all.

Moreover, Mr. President, the German Government, whatever it may be, does not in this note comply with the unquestioned and positive suggestion of the President, which declares that no armistice can be considered until the evacuation is an accomplished fact. On the contrary, for the purpose of bringing about an armistice it declares itself ready to comply with the proposition of the President in regard to evacuation, the German Government suggesting that the President make known the meeting of a mixed commission for making the necessary arrangements concerning the evacuation. That is no answer. The President says virtually, "Get off the soil of the allies before you can expect me to submit a question of an armistice to the allied powers." That is a condition precedent which Germany does not meet, and not having met it betrays the fact and is not ready to accept any suggestion covering completely the position and the attitude occupied by the President and by the allies with regard to the fundamental conditions of a suspension of hostilities.

Mr. President, here is a dispatch of October 12, published in yesterday's papers:

LONDON, *October 12.*

The ministers of the allied Governments, says the Express, have discussed the German peace overtures and agreed upon a line of common action. The British, French, and Italian ministers first conferred and reached a decision, after which the British and French cabinets confirmed the conclusions.

Does anyone doubt, if that be so, but that the President is fully informed as to what those conclusions are? Does anyone question but that those conclusions and his own are identical; and can anyone therefore doubt that the action to be taken very soon by the President of the United States with regard to this note will be eminently satisfactory to all the allies and therefore to ourselves? Mr. President, I know in my inmost heart that the man at the head of the affairs of this great Government is as much concerned in the making of such a peace as will be permanent, such a peace as will accord with victory and the supremacy of democratic institutions, as any man in the country in or out of this Chamber. Nay, more, Mr. President, the responsibility being his, his concern in that regard is infinitely greater. He needs support, encouragement, confidence to-day more than a President of the United States ever needed these influences from every man, woman, and child in these United States. I think that he has them. I believe that he deserves them. I am sure that when his reply comes he will vindicate them.

I was asked this morning by an eminent Senator why, in the resolution which I offered, no reference was made to Turkey. I think the answer is obvious. We are not at war with Turkey. Turkey is not at war with us. Turkey is not included except inferentially in the letter sent to the President and published yesterday morning. The Austrian Government doubtless is, although the name of that Government does not appear in the note. The allies will deal with Turkey. The voice of the United States when that time comes may be potential—it certainly will have it influence—but I do not conceive it proper to make any mention in a resolution like this of any country with which we are not actually engaged in war. We have to deal with the two central empires, and those only. Our allies

have to deal with the central empires, Bulgaria, and Turkey. A common peace, Mr. President, may and should include them all, but the terms of peace between Turkey and the nations with which she is at war must be dictated and determined by those nations alone, our good offices being extended, of course, whenever they may be requested.

I have no question, Mr. President, but that the many telegrams and the many addresses to which we have listened since the 6th day of October correctly voice the sentiment of the American people. This war, the greatest and most destructive and most causeless of all the wars of history, has levied its bloody toll upon every nation engaged in it. Ours, the greatest Nation in the world, with unlimited resources, has, since its entry into the great tragedy, given most freely of its men and of its means. Its only purpose has been and is to vindicate its own institutions, maintain its own honor, and do its part in the salvation of the human race and the preservation of its civilization.

To surrender now to Germany, even indirectly or partially, would probably prove a tragedy, because it might prove to be nothing but a truce. We do not want any more wars that will come to plague our posterity if we can avoid it. That they will come in spite of all we can do I verily believe, because human nature is the same throughout the centuries, but that they may be minimized and made as rare as possible will be worth all the blood and all the treasure that we have poured out and will continue to pour out in our own cause and that of our allies.

Of this I feel sure that the President is as earnestly convinced as any man can be; I know that in his declaration as a basis for peace he has kept in mind the terms of the allies, which, tersely stated, consist of reparation, restitution, and indemnity. There is nothing in his own utterances upon the subject which do otherwise than supplement the utterances of our allies. Peace must come with the complete subjugation of Germany, and that will come, Mr. President, by refusing to treat with any Government representing indirectly the influences which made this war possible. To do less would be to do injustice to ourselves and a graver injustice to posterity. The price which has been paid and which is being paid, that free institutions may prevail and individuals and individual nations live without oppression, must continue until that end is reached, whatever the cost.

This sentiment, Mr. President, was well expressed in a little verse written by a soldier who paid for his devotion to liberty the penalty of his life upon the succeeding day:

In Flanders fields the poppies grow,
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; while in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Unheard amid the guns.

We are the dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunsets glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe.
To you from falling hands we throw
The torch. Be yours to bear it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies blow
In Flanders fields.

We shall break faith, Mr. President, neither with our soldier dead, with our allies, nor with the great principles for the vindication of which we entered this war.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I was unable to be present during all the debate this morning. I have secured a copy of some of the speeches that have been made, and I wish to read from the speech of the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED]. He speaks with great emphasis and with great clearness. While I do not always agree with him, I am very glad to find that I fully indorse the entire speech which he made this morning. I am going to comment upon that speech, and I wish to say now that I deem myself fortunate to be considered as one of his friends. He is Missouri's gifted and brilliant son. I repeat, while I have not always agreed with him—indeed, have very frequently disagreed with him—his views command not only the respect of the Senate but the respect of all other thinking people. Reading from his speech of this morning, on page 153 of the manuscript, he says:

I have not been a worshiper of the President, for I worship no man; but I honor the President; I have always honored him. I respect him as a man and I highly honor him as the Chief Executive of this great Nation; but I have never been a truckler, a cringer, or one who goes at his heels. However, in this hour I stand here to say that Congress can make no greater mistake, the Senate can make no more tragic blunder, than to give the country to understand that Woodrow Wilson proposes to fritter away the fruits of this war. I do not believe it; I can find nothing in my heart and nothing in his conduct to warrant such a thought.

Mr. President, "apples of gold in pictures of silver." I would that I had the power and the gift of expression to say as succinctly and as clearly what Missouri's eloquent son said this morning.

If a stranger should have walked into the Senate galleries, Mr. President, during the proceedings this morning, or during our last session, and he should without any previous information on the subject have heard only the debate here, he would imagine that Woodrow Wilson has done all those things which the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] some weeks ago said that Mr. Buchanan did. If a stranger, with no previous information upon these questions, should sit in the Senate gallery that stranger would be led to believe that the President of the United States was now on the very verge of committing the most colossal blunder of all human history. That stranger, if he possessed no information upon the subject and judged only from and by the debate, would be led to believe that all the strategic advantages which our victorious and valorous Army has achieved and all the advantages which the soldiers of the allies have achieved were about to be frittered away by some thoughtless, heedless, careless man who is now Chief Executive of the United States.

Mr. President, the Senate has a great function to perform. In speaking the other day I said I was glad to see the Senate express opinions. I think the truth is that we do not express opinions enough on these great questions. But how can we assist the Chief Executive in the prosecution of this war by these dolorous utterances, by these tones so like lamentations, by these forebodings of disaster, by these anticipations of betrayal, as it almost were, charged up against the Chief Executive? When did the Chief Executive of this Nation betray a trust? Where do you get any information or any suggestion that he is about to be weak-handed in this great hour of victory? One Senator this morning said that right now in the hour of victory the fruits were about to be dashed from the lips of the allies.

Mr. President, I am not venturing to assume the rather dubious rôle of a prophet, but I know enough about the affairs of men, and I believe I know enough about the affairs of governments, to realize that when the answer of Woodrow Wilson is made it will ring out like a silver bell when struck by a steel hammer at midnight, and all of this rumor, and all of the lamentations, and all of the mournful things that we hear on the other side of the Chamber will be dissolved and dispelled, even as the mist and fog are dispelled by the bright sunlight that shines in the great southwest.

Mr. President, if Senators objected to the 14 terms laid down in the speech of the President to both Houses of Congress on January 8, why have they been so ominously silent until this very grave hour? If there was a mistake made when the President laid down his 14 principles, why did not then the Senate object? Why did it wait until this hour, the critical hour, I was about to say the most critical hour, in the history of the world, for I think I am not overstating the case when I say this is the most critical hour in the history of the world? Since Von Kluck, in 1914, began to drive his army, with irresistible force and deadly precision, straight against the heart of France, the situation has been perilous. From that very hour until a couple of months ago all civilization was in peril. Who was the steady President at that time? The same Woodrow Wilson. What was it that induced Congress to declare war? It was nothing less than the message of the President of the United States. Would the Sixty-fifth Congress have ever declared war had it not been for the message of the President delivered to both Houses of Congress on the 2d of April, 1917? Only the President could have shown Congress its duty.

Having induced this Congress to declare war, having led the people correctly, having by his commanding ability placed himself in the position where he is now not only the spokesman of our country but the spokesman of all of the allies as well, what has come over the spirit of the dreams of people and especially of Senators who now claim to see about to be played by the Chief Executive a betrayal of the world's civilization?

Mr. President, Senator after Senator has arisen and declared that the 14 terms were not sufficiently specific. I have no quarrel with any man who misinterprets or misunderstands a question. Some things seem plain to me that other Senators do not understand, and I confess that events and circumstances and deductions that other Senators make I do not see at all, but let us recur for a moment to the eighth subdivision of the terms laid down by the President in his speech of January 8 to both Houses of Congress:

8. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Loraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly 50 years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

"The wrong done France." What was the wrong done France? The tearing away of Alsace and Lorraine, those two gems, those two Provinces from France that belonged to her.

Again, Mr. President, what little reputation I have as a prophet, if indeed I have any, I am willing to stake here and now that when finally peace comes Alsace and Lorraine will belong not to Germany but will be restored to France, to which nation they justly belong.

Senators have expressed the fear that Belgium may not be restored. I wish to say that my view of the President's speech of January 8 is that Belgium must be restored and that compensation will be made to the Belgian people. How could Belgium be restored if proper and adequate compensation were not made to the Belgian people? Would the evacuation of Belgium be sufficient? Does anybody who indulges in the luxury of reflection pretend to say that a mere evacuation would be a restoration?

Not at all. Cities and towns destroyed should be rebuilt; and I believe—and I may have faith larger than that of other men—that under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson they will be rebuilt and the devastated portions will be restored, so far as human energy and German money can be made to restore them.

A note of fear has been sounded that an armistice might be granted. I am not a military man. The only place I ever drew a sword was at a raffle [laughter], and I know nothing about military affairs; but I do know that armistices are not made by presidents or kings. Here in this Chamber are men who have served in the Army. They know that an armistice is made by the generals in the field.

An armistice, if there be one, will be granted upon the suggestion of Marshal Foch, that brilliant, that resilient, that wonderful genius who has driven the Germans back; if an armistice is granted to the German brute it will be upon the suggestion of Marshal Haig, that sturdy Englishman who has stood as Wellington stood with the immortal squares at Waterloo; if an armistice is granted to the Germans it will be made after the request of Gen. Pershing. No President has ever taken the field. It was suggested, indeed, when St. Clair met with disaster in the Indian fighting in the West that if Washington had left the Capital and gone into the field the disaster would not have come; but I do not recall that any President—and the historians of the Senate will correct me if I am wrong—ever left his place to go into the field. I presume if Woodrow Wilson would go into the field he might have the power to ask, and, following precedent, might ask for or grant an armistice, if he saw fit; but I wish again to assure the Senate—and I am speaking for myself alone—that if an armistice is had it will be upon the suggestion and request of the generals who are in the field facing the shot and shell and who know whereof they speak.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, does the Senator not mean that it will be with the consent of Marshal Foch and not at the request of Marshal Foch? Surely the Senator does not mean that the marshal of France is going to ask for an armistice.

Mr. ASHURST. I thank the Senator for the interruption; he has corrected me, and I am very glad he has done so. What I meant to say was that if an armistice is granted, if an armistice is had, if the President directly or indirectly consents to one, it will, in my judgment, be because Marshal Foch and Marshal Haig and Gen. Pershing have suggested to him that, in their judgment, it would be proper to grant one. I thank the Senator for his correction.

Mr. President, it seems to me at this time that we ought not to prejudge the President. The distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] in very ornate and correct language portrayed the great burden that is now upon the Chief Executive. I think that any man, whatever his ambitions may have been and whatever his aspirations for the Presidency may have been, ought to be thankful to his star that he is not the President at this hour, and ought to hope that if he ever becomes President no such burden will be laid upon him as is laid upon this man Woodrow Wilson. Like the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED], I have not been the President's spokesman or his confidential friend. I have differed from him when I thought I was right in differing from him, and I shall continue to do so whenever my conscience and my judgment tell me I ought to do so; but I do believe it is not the best service we can render to our country by venturing continually and with tiresome reiteration to repeat that we fear that the President is about to weaken his grasp, and that strategic advantages which our valorous armies have won are about to be frittered away by some ill-considered course of action on his part. I do not know what will be the next move either in the military or the diplomatic world, but I believe that no thinking man, no just man, now believes that the President of the United States is going to say, either by written or spoken word, anything that will weaken the present happy and fortunate condition of our troops—fortunate and happy in so far as victory is concerned and in so far as their leadership is concerned. I do not believe that any man to-day believes that the President contemplates taking any action that would in any way chill the ardor or weaken the spirit of our Army in the field or our people at home whose sons are being sent to glorious sacrifice and whose money is being generously poured out into our common Treasury to pay the expenses of this great war.

Mr. President, another note which has been sounded and upon which the changes have been rung is that should an armistice be had some advantage will be taken of it. I wish to say, further, that it is a very happy thing for the people of the United States that I am not President, and I hope no such unhappiness will ever come to them, but I recognize a wise man when I see him, and I think President Wilson is wiser than I am. I would attempt, if I were President, unfortunately for the country, to leave a trail of blood and fire from the Rhine to Berlin. That might not be the best thing for the world. I do not think I am any more revengeful than any other man, but I might say a life for a life and a ship for a ship; I might say things that would not contribute to success and victory, to happiness, and to the peace of the world in the future. It is a very happy thing that neither I nor any other Member of the Senate to-day is President of the United States. It is a very fortunate circumstance for the peace of the world and for the success of our arms that the man who has a chin like the Plymouth Rock is President of the United States; it is a very fortunate circumstance that a man is President whom neither abuse, sarcasm, ridicule, speeches, oratory, nor anything else can move, except the sense of what he believes to be right and just.

The President in his letter of inquiry to the German Government suggested that no armistice could be had while the armies of the Teutonic powers were on invaded territory. Therefore some fearsome souls say that Germany might not be required to abandon and evacuate Russia because by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk Russia is no longer one of the allies. The President says, in paragraph 6 of his speech of January 8:

> The evacuation of all Russian territory—

All Russian territory.

Senators seem to fear that the treaty of Bucharest might have the effect of taking Roumania out of the category or domain of an ally. Surely, if the President can not be trusted to see to it that Germany must evacuate all portions of all countries she has stolen and pillaged and ravished he can not be trusted to do anything.

As to Turkey, if I had my way, the Ottoman Turk, who has been a pest to civilization for more than a thousand years, would be put to the sword for his long list of crimes. It will be borne in mind, as has been stated, that we are not at war with Turkey. The Turks are shooting our soldiers, however, and, although we are not legally at war with Turkey, we may be technically at war with her; but the President, in paragraph 12 of his speech of January 8, said:

> 12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty. But the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development. And the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guaranties.

So Senators may give their perturbed spirits rest. Turkish power in Europe will be broken.

Mr. President, if the stranger I mentioned a few moments ago, having no previous information upon the subject, should sit in the Senate gallery, he would think that he was looking on the Senate of 1861 to 1865, which was in opposition to Abraham Lincoln. I wish to say—and I have the books here to prove it—that during a part of the War of 1861 to 1865 there was a time when there was only one Senator of the United States who had the slightest confidence in Abraham Lincoln. He was wiser than they were; they were going to win the war with their mouths, and were always indulging in evil forebodings as to what baleful thing Lincoln was about. I am sure that if Gen. Grant had failed to capture Vicksburg—and the only friend Gen. Grant had in June, 1863, was Lincoln—not only would Grant have been removed, but President Lincoln would have been impeached and a dictatorship would have been set up to run the Government for the remainder of the war. That is history.

Why, if a stranger, without any previous information, had walked into the gallery this morning and listened to the lamentations of these modern Jeremiahs, the stranger would think that he was in the Continental Congress, with the galleries open,

and Conway and his cabal and Gates and his adherents were hamstringing, abusing, and making the pathway hard for George Washington. Washington won in spite of the Continental Congress, Madison won in spite of the Blue Lighters, and Polk won in spite of the Little Americans.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KENDRICK in the chair). Does the Senator from Arizona yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. ASHURST. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. McCUMBER. Was there not this difference between that time and this time in both Houses of Congress, namely, that in the Civil War there were at times Members of both Houses who were in reality against the President, who did not support him at all in the war, whereas at the present time there is not a single Senator to-day who is not for the most earnest and aggressive prosecution of this war?

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, as to whether or not Senators have been supporting the President, I leave that to the RECORD; whether the Senators who voted for the war supported the President or not I do not know; I leave that for other men to decide; whether those who voted against the draft supported the President or not I leave for somebody else to decide. but surely for some reason—I know not what—no candid man will deny that this atmosphere in the Senate, especially on the Republican side, is supercharged with hostility toward the President at this hour.

Mr. McCUMBER. Well, what I was asking was, Is not every Member of this body heart and soul for the prosecution of this war?

Mr. ASHURST. I am very glad I do not have to answer for the heart and soul of every Member of the Senate. It is a pretty good-sized task to answer for the heart and soul of myself. I hardly know how to answer the distinguished Senator. I am not going to be partisan enough to deny that a large number of Republican Senators have earnestly and honestly and ably supported the President in this war. No one who has a tinge of fairness would deny that statement, of course.

Mr. McCUMBER. Well, my point was that, while there may have been some Democrats and some Republicans who were slow about getting into the war, nevertheless since we have been in the war there is not one among us on either side who is not most ardently in favor of prosecuting the war.

Mr. ASHURST. Well, now, it has just been suggested to me that some of President Lincoln's critics took the same position with reference to President Lincoln. Senators say they are willing to support the President in his conduct of the war, but they employ captious criticism as to the method in which he conducts the war. I hope that these speeches this morning—these dolorous speeches—were not made for the purpose of securing any partisan advantage in the coming elections. I do not believe that they were made for that purpose; but I should like to know for what purpose they were made. Were they made for the purpose of assisting the President, whose burden now is certainly very great? Were they made to assist him? If not, for what purpose were they made?

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

Mr. ASHURST. First let me finish this sentence. In such a stupendous hour, when the scales are trembling, when we are all looking and seeking for the truth, and possibly the President not seeking for it more than some Senators themselves, I hardly think it contributes to a correct solution to charge the President with the crime of being about to become weak-kneed and yielding up the advantages that our armies have achieved in the field.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, the Senator from Arizona will undoubtedly know that the morning papers of to-day throughout the whole country are—every one of them—expressing the same sentiment that Senators have expressed here. They are all good, strong supporters of the Government and of the President in the prosecution of this war; but undoubtedly they have felt that their voice ought to be heard. They express the American heart and sentiment. Then, why should not the American representatives express the same sentiment? They are supposed to represent the American people. Can there be any harm in saying to the President we do not want any kind of a compromise, even though we may feel that he will not comprise; that there may be no cessation of hostilities, even though we do not believe that there is any great danger of such a cessation; and that there shall be no talk of peace unless there is first unconditional surrender? That means that we are with him, the same as the press is with him.

I am one of those—if the Senator from Arizona will allow me—who stand straight with the President on his 14 propositions. I might possibly, in the first instance, have some doubt as to what the third proposition meant, but I am certain the President did not intend to convey the idea that he would be in favor of free trade with this country. I know he did not mean anything of that kind; and I do not agree with my colleagues who think that he meant just what they have said that third proposition does mean; but I think that we are entitled to a little something beyond that which is in the 14 articles; and, if I say that I want something more, that is not saying that I do not agree with everything that is contained within those 14 articles.

Mr. ASHURST. The Senator is right in the statement which he has just made. The Senator is very calm and very clear headed. Suppose he were President—and the Republican Party could do a vast deal worse than to nominate the distinguished Senator from North Dakota for President—suppose that he were President, and that he had 8 or 10 months previously laid down certain terms to a nation with which we were at war, and had supplemented that with other terms, saying "these terms must be met before we will think of a cessation of hostilities"; suppose then a message purporting to be regular, however irregularly it might come, as this wireless message has come—suppose such a message should come from the Government with which we should be at war, saying "we are ready to meet all of your terms." What would the Senator do? Will the Senator answer that question?

Mr. McCUMBER. I stated that a short time ago; but if the Senator from Arizona wants a direct answer to that question, I will say that I would say to such a nation, "Nine months ago you refused those terms, and because of your refusal you have caused the loss of the lives of millions of men; you have destroyed hundreds of cities and villages; you have permitted a vast number of atrocities; and while you are pleading for peace you are committing atrocities upon American ships and upon American seamen. So I now, in addition to my 14 articles, will demand of you reparation for the wrongs that you have subsequently committed."

Mr. ASHURST. The Senator from North Dakota justifies my inference that he would not make a bad candidate for the Presidency, and I think I would say the same thing which he has just suggested. But who is there here who will dare say that the President of the United States will not say just that same thing? Who is there here who dares say the President is not as wise as the Senator from North Dakota and that the President will not say that very thing?

Mr. McCUMBER. I hope he will.

Mr. ASHURST. My complaint is that we have anticipated what the President is going to say; we have proceeded upon the hypothesis that we can not trust him to say the correct thing.

I will now ask permission, as a part of my remarks, that the Secretary read an article in the Sunday New York Times by Mr. Charles H. Grasty. It is not very long, and I should like to have the Senate listen to the article, headlines and all.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

WISH WILSON'S NOTE HAD REBUKED ENEMY—EUROPE IN WHITE HEAT OVER GERMAN ATROCITIES, BUT COOLER MINDS APPROVE REPLY.

(By Charles H. Grasty.)

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PARIS, *October 11.*

It is remarked that while the President's reply to Berlin has commanded formal approval from the press and public of Europe there seems to be a lack of enthusiasm in some quarters. It is true, perhaps, that the present European mood would have been better suited if the President's reply had contained a note of severe reprobation of Germany's crimes.

Europe is worked up to a white heat of indignation by the wanton destruction of the Hun in northern France. This deviltry, added to all that has happened before, and coming at the moment of a prayer for an armistice, caused a wave of disgust and indignation to sweep over France.

Those who are looking for practical results rather than the venting of these very natural human emotions hold, however, that the President's reply is of precisely the right temper. They say all moral forces still lie at the bottom of the matter. The President has reserved them and they will go into the scale later at maximum weight. Any expression of horror, any tone of vindictiveness would have dissipated in some degree the moral advantage which the entente now has over Germany.

"The President's idea of cold justice saves the situation in its entirety," said a prominent American. "Every wrong Germany has done since August, 1914, is on record, and will count in the final reckoning. If Wilson's note had borne the color of vengeance or expressed the slightest emotion it would have played Germany's game. The controversy once launched in these tones and terms might eventually lead to what would be distorted into an appearance of crimination and recrimination, out of which the militarists could draw new material for fooling the German people.

"Nothing more fortunate for Germany could happen than to have the whole world alight with passion just now. It is reason and justice she has to fear. In the President's reply one seemed to hear the click of handcuffs on the wrist of the German militarist felons."

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I am going shortly to conclude. Other Senators are anxious to claim the floor, and I do not want to weary the Senate. I wish merely, however, to say that one of the reasons why Woodrow Wilson, and not some other man, is President is because Woodrow Wilson can read and speak without color of vengeance. The fact that I am unable at times to speak on these matters without a tone of vengeance is what has retarded me and what retards all of us. That is the reason that some of us are not President, likely; and it is happy for the country that at this hour of great peril there is a man at the helm who can talk without color of vengeance and who can write without color of vengeance, but who, when he does write and does speak, you can hear, as this paper says, the "click of handcuffs on the wrists of the German militarist felons."

Now, Mr. President, I have no fear; in fact, as a modest, unpretending Senator, I will assure the Senate that when the President does speak and does act on the latest German expression or pronouncement, it will be a speech or an action which will not in any way relax the iron grasp which our soldiers and the soldiers of our allies have in Flanders and in France; when he does speak or act it will be such speech or action as will not in any way discourage the spirit of our people, our soldiers, or our allies. On the contrary, it will be such speech or such action as will tend, rather, to encourage and stimulate them to higher and, if it were possible, to more valorous endeavor.

I will again read from the eloquent speech of Missouri's brilliant Senator at page 160 of the manuscript:

I tell you, sirs, that when the conditions of peace are written, the hand of Woodrow Wilson will not be, it can not be, subscribed to any treaty that does not compel Germany to tread the wine press and to pay back to the world, as far as she can in her own suffering, for the agonies that she has wrought and for the desolation that she has brought upon the earth.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD as a part of my remarks an editorial from the New York World of yesterday, entitled "Is this what men are dying for?"

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The editorial referred to is as follows:

[From the New York World, Oct. 13, 1918.]

IS THIS WHAT MEN ARE DYING FOR?

What is back of some of the Republican criticism of President Wilson's diplomacy and some of the Republican opposition to his peace program is frankly and shamelessly revealed by the American Economist, the organ of the American Protective Tariff League.

Replying to the World's questions—"In what way will the election of a Republican Congress hasten the winning of the war? In what way will it assure a more satisfactory peace?"—the American Economist tells the American people that they are not fighting for liberty and democracy and civilization, but for money and markets. We quote its exact language:

"In the great issue of 1918 far more is involved than the release of nations from the tyranny of Germany. True, that is the rallying ground—the reason why the allies and the boys from America are fighting so desperately.

"But back of all the shouts for liberty and freedom is the bare, cold fact that this is an economic war, a war for national supremacy and security."

Continuing, the Economist says:

"A conclusive and satisfactory peace in 1898 needed that undivided support of the American people. A conclusive and satisfactory peace in 1918 would likewise need the undivided support of the people, provided nothing but liberty and justice were involved.

"But the present war is now an economic war."

Hence President Wilson must be beaten in the fall election because he has declared in favor of "the removal of all economic barriers between nations"—meaning that there must be no special and secret trade agreements. "The proposed Democratic peace program also contemplates a 'league of nations,' and that must be blocked by "a protectionist Congress."

The American Economist may not seem important in itself, but it speaks for the American Protective Tariff League, and, unfortunately, the American Protective Tariff League is the Republican organization in all economic matters. Every Republican tariff schedule has been dictated by the protected manufacturers who constitute this league and fill the campaign chests of the Republican treasury.

Thus the Economist gives us the first authentic definition of an old-guard peace—the kind of peace for which the Republican organization is battling in the congressional elections. Individual support of the President might be all right if "nothing but liberty and justice were involved," but reactionary Republicanism is not concerned about liberty and justice. This is "an economic war," and an economic war is one which pays dividends to big business.

There are hundreds of thousands of Republican voters in the American Army. There are hundreds of thousands of Republican fathers whose sons are fighting in France. There are thousands of Republican mothers whose heroic boys have already given the last full measure of devotion.

We wonder what they think of this cold-blooded, sordid, mercenary proposition that the American Economist puts forth in pleading for a Republican protectionist Congress? We wonder what they think of the claim that their sons have not been fighting for human freedom, have not been fighting for the liberty of mankind, but have battled merely for economic gain, for dirty dollars to be stuffed into the swollen pockets of steel and wool and cotton? How many of those patriotic Republican men and women would like to stand beside the graves that dot the fields of France and be told that these dead did not die for justice and civilization, but for Schedule K?

Yet is there the slightest reason to doubt that the American Economist speaks with authority as to the policy that a reactionary Republican Congress will pursue toward peace? Is there the slightest reason to doubt that a Republican majority under the present leadership of the party means that if there is any possible way to bring it about, the blood of 6,000,000 dead soldiers is to be capitalized for the profit of protected industry?

If so, we trust that there is at least one Republican in the House or Senate who will have the courage to stand up and protest in the name of Abraham Lincoln against such a revolting prostitution of humanity's tears and blood.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, in these momentous times I believe it is the privilege of every Senator to express his views and, if he may think he can correctly do so, to make known as well the views of his constituents on the vital questions of the times which are burning in the heart of every true American citizen. That I shall undertake to do on the question extensively discussed here to-day. I know my views and think I know those of my constituents. I have an Associated Press dispatch of a few days ago, clipped from a morning paper of this city. I will read it.

HELENA, MONT., *October 7.*

The Montana Council of Defense to-day sent a telegram to President Wilson declaring it to be the sense of the council that no negotiated peace be made with Germany, and that the only terms granted her be unconditional surrender.

The body mentioned in that dispatch, the Montana Council of Defense, is an official body, officially entrusted with the conduct of war activities in and for and on behalf of the State of Montana, and it speaks with official authority. I am in hearty accord with the sentiments set forth in the dispatch which I have just read.

I have a telegram from two organizations of my home town, Hamilton, Mont., which I read:

HAMILTON, MONT., *October 9, 1918.*

Hon. HENRY L. MYERS,
Washington, D. C.:

Local division of American Defense Society and Hamilton Chamber of Commerce urge you use your influence against consideration of peace terms unless enemy first lay down arms unconditionally and withdraw from all territory of allies occupied by them.

AMERICAN DEFENSE SOCIETY,
By O. C. WAMSLEY, *Chairman.*
HAMILTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
By J. S. MCGONAGLE, *President.*

I am in hearty accord with the sentiments set forth in that telegram.

There was published a few days ago in the Ravalli Republican, a weekly newspaper published in my home town, an item which I will read. It relates to a meeting which was held in the opera house in that town and which was addressed by a returned private soldier who had seen service with our armies in Europe. It is as follows:

Although not a near-orator, Private Mike O'Rourke attentively held the large audience at the Grand Theater with an account of his experiences in the front-line trenches. He was emphatic in his denunciation of the Huns, as he told of the almost unbelievable things he saw in France.

"Do you know what a Hun is? I'll tell you what he is; he is a dirty brute," said O'Rourke. Whenever he denounced the Germans the applause was almost deafening, showing that the war spirit is growing more intense at home.

I am in accord with the sentiment expressed in that article. The sentiment bluntly expressed by that humble private, who has bared his breast to the fire of our enemies and exposed his life on the battle field in defense of his country, is identical with my sentiment.

I have received a resolution of the Missoula County American Defense Society, of Missoula, Mont., which I will read:

Whereas the Austro-Hungarian Government has made a peace proposal to the United States and her allies, and the Missoula County American Defense Society is desirous of expressing its views with reference to the same: Therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Missoula County American Defense Society that the war be prosecuted until Germany and her allies make a complete and unconditional surrender on German soil, and that, when this is accomplished, the United States and her allies dictate the terms of peace which Germany and her allies must accept.

I am in hearty accord with the principle expressed in that resolution. I at least believe we should exact and should have an unconditional surrender by our enemies, no matter where such surrender may take place. I believe, too, we and those associated with us should name the terms of peace.

I clipped from a Montana paper the other day an item relating to an expression of sentiment by the ministers of the city of Butte, in the State of Montana. It is as follows:

BUTTE, *October 7.*

The Butte Ministerial Association, comprising all Protestant churches in the city, to-day wired President Wilson urging against peace at this time. Rev. Guy Talbot, of Los Angeles, addressed the meeting on the moral aims of the war.

The association took the position that peace now would not accomplish morally what the complete defeat of Germany would accomplish.

I agree with the sentiment expressed in all the articles and communications which I have read. They are in thorough accord with my sentiments. I do not want anyone in my home town or in my State or anywhere else to have any doubt about my sentiments or my attitude on the question which has engrossed the attention of the Senate to-day. Neither do I want any doubt to exist about the sentiment of the people of my State; about the attitude of Montana in regard to the question which has been under discussion in the Senate, to-day.

The people of Montana have "gone over the top" in all war activities. They have gone beyond the limit in subscriptions to liberty-loan bonds, war savings stamps, the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the Knights of Columbus, and all manner of war activities; and, also, as well in enlisted men in our Army and Navy. They have passed the limit in everything pertaining to the prosecution of the war. In war matters I think I can safely speak for the sentiment of the people of Montana. I believe I know their sentiment on this subject and I believe it my duty to express it as I understand it.

I believe the people of the State of Montana are absolutely and unqualifiedly opposed to any armistice in the conduct of the war under any condition, and that they are opposed to an ending of the war under any circumstances other than by unconditional surrender of our enemies. At any rate, whether they are or not, I am absolutely and unqualifiedly opposed to any armistice with our enemies under any circumstances. I am opposed to any method of ending the war other than upon the one term of unconditional surrender by our enemies. I do not know whether or not an armistice is in contemplation. I do not know whether or not there is any probability or possibility of an armistice. That has been much discussed on the floor of the Senate to-day. I have no knowledge on the subject but, whether or not an armistice of any kind be in contemplation, I am absolutely and unqualifiedly opposed to it. If no armistice is in contemplation, if none is thought of, if there is no danger of any armistice, it does no harm for me or any other man to say he is absolutely opposed to it. If it is in contemplation, if even thought of, if there is any possibility of it, then I for one want to register here and now my opposition to an armistice under any circumstances.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President——

Mr. MYERS. I yield with pleasure.

Mr. OWEN. Does not the Senator think that that is the opinion really of every Senator in this body?

Mr. MYERS. That what is the opinion of every Senator?

Mr. OWEN. Is there any dissenting voice about the opposition to an armistice? Is it not unanimous in the Senate that we should have an unconditional surrender? Is not that the sentiment?

Mr. MYERS. I do not know. I do not think every Senator who has spoken to-day has stated in plain words that he is opposed to any armistice, and that he is not in favor of ending the war except by unconditional surrender of our enemies. However, regardless of what others may think or may have said or not said, I want to make it plain that I am absolutely opposed to the thought of an armistice.

Mr. OWEN. The purpose of the Senator's declaration is to establish that sentiment which he is expressing. I have heard no opposition to the view which the Senator is expressing as his own, and I merely wished to emphasize his view by pointing out that I had heard of no Senator reaching a contrary view. I think it is practically the judgment of the Senate.

Mr. MYERS. I hope there is no Senator who would favor an armistice under any circumstances. I am opposed to any proposition of an armistice. My attitude in regard to the termination of the war comprises but one term. My attitude as to the term or terms upon which hostilities should cease is not expressed in the plural number. My proposal for the termination of hostilities comprises only one requirement, one condition, and that is unconditional surrender. I favor the unconditional surrender of our enemies and say: Let the terms of settlement be dictated by the United States and the entente allies after the surrender, and let them be made such as the United States and the entente allies may see fit to impose. I am for peace by dictation and not by negotiation. That expresses my attitude in regard to the prosecution of the war and its termination.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHEPPARD in the chair). Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. MYERS. I yield with pleasure.

Mr. McCUMBER. Do not the words of the President, in which he says in substance, "I can not present to the allies any suggestion of an armistice while your armies are upon their soil," indicate that he would present the question of an armistice when the German armies were not upon their soil, even though those armies had not been disbanded? That seems to be the fear that is in the hearts of a great many of our people.

Mr. MYERS. I do not know whether they indicate or do not indicate that the President would suggest an armistice to the entente allies if the allied territory be evacuated by the troops of our enemies. They do not necessarily imply that he would. That is not a necessary inference. I do not know whether he has such a thought in his mind or not. I can not state. I can only speak for myself. I can only say what I have in mind. I am opposed to any thought of any armistice, on or off of allied territory, on allied territory, or on German territory or on any other territory. I am opposed to any thought of any armistice anywhere.

Mr. McCUMBER. The Senator exactly expresses the feeling of the American people.

Mr. MYERS. I feel complimented to hear the Senator say so. Frankly, I believe, myself, I do. I voted for our declaration of war. I voted for the entrance of this country into the European War. I have voted for every measure for a vigorous prosecution of the war. I have voted for every measure to raise men or money for the prosecution of the war. I intend to continue to favor and support a vigorous prosecution of the war by every means in my power until there be an unconditional surrender of our enemies. That comprises my idea of the proper ending of this war, and I have no thought of anything else being a proper ending.

My belief is that we should have an unconditional surrender or that our enemies should submit to annihilation of their armed forces. If unwilling to surrender unconditionally, annihilation of their armed forces would not be unjust. They should expect nothing else. They deserve nothing else. The Germans not only annihilated but exterminated the lives of about 200 innocent men, women, and children, American citizens, when they sank the *Lusitania*, and the Germans celebrated that infamous act by wine and song and speechmaking and drunken orgies. They gloated over it and boasted of it. If they were now compelled to face unconditional surrender or annihilation of their armed forces, it would be nothing but just punishment and retribution.

Unless they are willing to surrender unconditionally, I favor a termination of the war such as Gen. Jackson put to the Seminole rebellion. When the Seminole Indians refused to surrender unconditionally he burned their towns and villages and camps and pursued them into the swamps and surrounded them and practically annihilated them. A mere handful of a remnant survived. The Seminole Indians were cultured gentlemen and Christian philosophers beside the Germans and the punishment the Seminole Indians had administered to them by Gen. Jackson would be, in my opinion, a hundredfold more fitting to the German armies.

The audacity of our enemies adds to their culpability and criminality and the fate they richly deserve. In my opinion, every proposition that any of our enemies has made for the consideration of peace or of an armistice has been characterized by falsehood, trickery, and deception. A short time ago, a member of the parliamentary body of Austria made a speech in connection with a resolution upon the subject of peace terms, and he started his remarks by saying "whereas it is well known that Austria from the beginning of the war has been fighting only a defensive warfare," and with that false premise he went on with his lying remarks. That is a sample of every move that has been made by our enemies to secure peace or an armistice. The audacity of such a statement is amazing to my mind.

We all know that Austria, under the instigation of Germany, plunged the world into this maelstrom of blood and destruction by declaring war on an humble and weak nation adjoining, Serbia, for the killing of an Austrian prince, and that after Serbia had made every effort to placate the Austrian Government and to make reparation for the act of a lunatic. That is the sentiment of audacity and brazen effrontery that has characterized every move that our enemies have made since they have tired of fighting and feel that it is better to seek cover. Their hearts are false, their motives are false, their words are false, I put no faith in them.

Even the propaganda that was conducted in this country before our entry into the war, by von Bernstorff, von Rentelen, von Papen, Dernburg and all the other nefarious agents of the German Government, for the purpose of poisoning the minds of our people, was characterized by falsehood, deception, trickery,

and audacity, and they are continuing their tactics in an effort to seek cover from a just punishment for their infamous crimes and outrages.

Speaking of brazen audacity, I read in the newspapers that there is a good deal of talk in Germany, Austria, and Turkey about seeking an honorable peace with their opponents. Those countries would be incapable of making an honorable peace because there is no honor in them. You might as well talk about a man without learning making a learned argument. Germany has no honor, and is incapable of making an honorable peace. In the last few days there has been talk in the German Reichstag about a peace without humiliation for the fatherland. It is, to my mind, the height of audacity, after the wholesale destruction and the unspeakable infamies Germany has heaped on the people of the world for her statesmen to talk about a peace without humiliation to the fatherland. It shows the spirit with which they are approaching negotiations for peace.

I am opposed to having any negotiations at all with the Germans. The only negotiations I would have with them are the negotiations of shot and shell, grape and canister. I think that the most fitting response to their overtures for peace would be slaughtering more Huns and piling up the bodies of dead Germans on the battle field. The audacity of our enemies makes my feelings strong for unconditional surrender. I have read something in the newspapers about a peace which would be "tantamount" to unconditional surrender. I do not want anything "tantamount" to unconditional surrender. I do not want the tantamount part of it at all. Nothing but unconditional surrender, in my opinion, would be just. Germany willfully, deliberately, maliciously, cruelly brought on this war for criminal purposes of the vilest kind, after 40 years of preparation, without discussing terms with her victims. Armed to the teeth, she leaped upon an innocent, unsuspecting, unprepared world without consultation about terms. Let her end it without consultation about terms, I say.

I believe the people of the United States will be keenly disappointed and greatly chagrined if the war ends in any other way than by unconditional surrender; at least, I believe a tremendous majority of the loyal people of this country would so feel if this war should end in any other way. Of course, the I. W. W.'s, the anarchists, the American Bolshiviki, want peace right away. I suppose they all want an armistice. I have no doubt that Eugene V. Debbs wants an armistice, that Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman want an armistice, that the 100 I. W. W.'s who were sent to the penitentiary about a month ago by a Federal court in Chicago want an armistice right away; but what they want I am opposed to. Whatever they may favor I think it wise for loyal people to oppose.

There has been a good deal of talk about whether or not Germany is sincere in seeking an armistice. A great many people express the opinion that she is not sincere. I think Germany is absolutely sincere in seeking to escape just punishment for her crimes and infamies. I think Prince Maximilian is absolutely sincere in seeking not only an armistice but peace right away, a cessation of hostilities either temporary or permanent. I think Germany is appealing to this country to save her from the just punishment which she knows to be due her. I think Prince Maximilian is absolutely sincere. I think that his motive in turning to us in despair is to try to save the German people from the just punishment that they richly merit. I think his motive the same no matter whom he may represent. I do not care whom Prince Maximilian represents. It does not make any difference to me whether he represents the war lords of Germany or the people of Germany. I do not differentiate between the war lords of Germany and the people of Germany. They are all of one and the same kind. They all belong to the same bloodthirsty race of people who are dominated by worship of force, lust for conquest, and thirst for world dominion. There never was a government in the world that had its entire populace more solidly back of it than the Government of Germany when it entered this war.

In my judgment, the people of Germany were just as eager for a war of conquest as was the German Kaiser. They wanted a war of conquest, spoliation, brutality. It is their way. I do not believe there has been a French or a Belgian woman who has had her breasts cut out by a German brute; I do not believe there has been a young woman outraged by a German soldier in France or in Belgium, in the presence of her helpless father, tied hand and foot; I do not believe there has been a mother outraged in France or Belgium, in the presence of her helpless husband, tied hand and foot; I do not believe there has been a well poisoned in France or Belgium, an orchard destroyed, a church or cathedral destroyed, an art gallery ruined; I do not believed there has been a city or town bombed or burned, a home demolished, a house wrecked; I do not believe there has been an infant disemboweled in its mother's arms; I do not believe an infant has been seized from its mother's arms and its brains dashed out on the floor in her presence; I do not believe there has been a priest carried off into captivity; I do not believe there has been a woman carried off into worse than slavery by those scoundrels but what it has the approval of the German people. At least, I have heard of no disapproval by them or any of them. Those things were not done by the German Kaiser. I suppose it will be admitted that they were done by people. They were certainly not done by cattle, horses, sheep, or mules. They were perpetrated by people. Were they perpetrated by Italian people, Scotch people, or Greek people? No; they were perpetrated by Germans. The German soldier is a part of the German people. Therefore, I say I do not care whom Prince Maximilian may represent. It is the same to me whether he represents the German Imperial Government or a new Government—the present Government, as he calls it—or the people of Germany. I am opposed, absolutely opposed, to any armistice with the Germans under any circumstances.

In my opinion, if an armistice were instituted it is very doubtful if fighting would ever be resumed.

If an armistice were had at which there was a peace conference, a series of negotiations about the ending of the war, I doubt exceedingly if the fighting would ever be resumed. War is like a great body in motion. It moves largely of its own momentum. It takes a great fervor, a spirit of enthusiasm, a hearty sentiment of the people to keep a war going, and if we had an armistice for several weeks or months I believe the war fervor of the people on both sides would cool and there would be a decrease of the war spirit, the will to win or die, and in that event, I would fear very much that we would have a peace by bargain, parley, negotiation; a compromise peace; a peace in which our enemies would have a voice. To that I am opposed. Whether we shall have negotiations over a peace table for peace or not; whether we shall settle terms through an armistice or after unconditional surrender, I am absolutely opposed to permitting the representatives of Germany, Austro-Hungary, or Turkey to sit at a conference table. I believe when it comes to considering the terms of peace Germany, Austria, and Turkey should be bound hand and foot, bucked and gagged, and left outside the conference room, and only representatives of the United States and the entente allies should be permitted to sit at the table; that they should decide what the terms of peace are to be, and after they decide they should go outside and tell the Germans, Austrians, and Turks what their fate is to be, what the terms of peace are to be.

What those terms ought to be I am not wholly prepared to say. It is not my place to say. It may be that as a part of those terms the German Kaiser should be executed or imprisoned or exiled for life. It may be that as a part of them the German Empire should be dismembered and partitioned. It may be that the German Government ought to be required to pay many billions of dollars for the damage, ruin, spoliation, and infamy that the Germans have inflicted on France and Belgium. It may be that they should be compelled to restore Alsace and Lorraine to France. I think they should. It may be that they should be required to pay back with interest the $1,000,000,000 which they extorted by robbery from France nearly 50 years ago. It may be that they should, and I think they should, be required to pay to the United States damages for every merchant ship belonging to the United States which they have sunk with its cargo and crew and passengers.

It may be that they should be required to pay indemnity for the loss of every American life that went out of existence when the *Lusitania* was sunk. I am convinced of that. I am not prepared now to say that all those terms should be imposed upon the Germans, but I do think some of them should be imposed. I feel quite sure that they should be compelled to give Alsace-Lorraine back to France and that they should be required to pay many billions of dollars of indemnity to France and Belgium for the ruin and spoliation and infamy that they have inflicted upon those countries. I believe that Germany should be required adequately to reimburse the United States for the lives of our citizens which were destroyed on the high seas while they were traveling on peaceful merchant ships, such as the *Lusitania*, unarmed and not carrying munitions of war. I am sure that some of those terms should be imposed; but whatever terms may be imposed I am absolutely opposed to letting the Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, or Turks have anything whatever to say about it. If we should allow representatives of those Governments at the peace table, to my mind it would be a good deal like allowing a hardened criminal, a murderer or a burglar, to go into the jury room with the jury and deliberate with the jury, as a part of the jury, as to what his fate should be. If a man should outrage the women of a family,

burn the house, wound the head of the house, steal everything he could carry away, and destroy all else, I would as leave think he should with his blood-red hands sit down to dinner and talk it over with the wounded husband and father as to whether he should have an honorable peace and a settlement without humiliation to him or not as to think of admitting Germans, Austrians, and Turks to participate in a peace conference with representatives of this country and of the entente allies.

My opinion is that the way to avoid such a travesty on justice is to insist on unconditional surrender, the United States and the allies to fix the terms of peace, and let our enemies know what they are after they have been fixed.

I clipped from the Washington Morning Post the other day an excerpt from an editorial. I will read it. It says:

Let us consider how the average German individual is compelled to act in the terrible situation that surrounds him. He has given his all for four years and is now an emaciated, poverty-stricken, prematurely aged person, mourning the loss of the male members of his family. He has been fed full of promises which have proved to be false from the beginning. He can not now depend upon the word of any human being, from the Kaiser down to his nearest neigabor. The world seems to him to be full of liars and enemies. He obtains the truth only by adopting the opposite of anything that is told him by his Government. He ascertains that the allies are making sure progress toward German soil, their power constantly and rapidly growing, and their purpose inflexibly fixed upon the annihilation of the empire unless it surrenders.

This German from the depths of his soul cries for peace. Give us peace! That is the cry that goes up from all Germany to the Emperor. "Give us peace!"

If that is the condition of the German people they have wantonly brought it upon themselves, and if they want peace let them demand of their rulers an unconditional surrender, just as Gen. Lee surrendered to Gen. Grant, just as Lord Cornwallis surrendered to George Washington. There is nothing unfair about that. Cornwallis did not ask for any terms of peace when he made his surrender; Gen. Lee did not ask for any terms of peace when he made his surrender; and surely the men who fought for the Confederacy were entitled to more consideration than are the people who are fighting us; yes, a thousand times more. The Confederates fought for a principle. They fought over a question about which there was wide room for different opinions, the question of the right of secession. There was nothing in the Federal Constitution on the subject, nothing saying that a State could or could not secede; it was an open question; there were equally honest views on each side; and the Confederates fought for their honest view of that question. It is well, of course, that it was settled forever, and as it was settled, by the arbitrament of the sword; but it was an honorable fight; yet Gen. Lee's veterans surrendered without any armistice, without any terms, except unconditional surrender; and I say let our enemies do the same. If an honorable foe can do that, an infamous one should be made to do so.

Only Saturday last, I received news of the death on the battle field in France of John McConnell, a manly young man of my home town. I knew him when he was a mere boy. I saw him last spring when he reported here in the uniform of his country, and was on his way to France to fight under the flag of his country and to die for our rights. His parents are respected citizens of my home town. There have been other young men of my county who have given their lives to our cause; two of them went down on the ill-fated *Tuscania*, sunk by a German submarine. There have been others from my county who have given their lives in this war, as there have been from other parts of the country. Young men from all sections have died for us and for liberty and right in this cruel war. Of course, they were just as dear to their parents as were the young men of my community dear to their parents. When I think of these young lives being sacrificed in this awful maelstrom of destruction which the greatest band of criminals which the world has ever known has plunged upon the defenseless and unsuspecting people of the world, I think that the criminals ought be made to pay well for it, and that unconditional surrender is the only just condition of ending the war. I would have seared into the heart of every German soldier the words "unconditional surrender." I would have every German who has perpetrated an infamy and outrage against men, women, children, and decency in France or Belgium constantly haunted by the specter "unconditional surrender." I would have that before them until they knew that that was the only possible ending of this war. Then, if they should not want to end it in that way, let them prepare to fight until the last man in their ranks should perish. I wish that everyone here and everyone in our country might always remember the insolent words of the German Kaiser when the United States protested against the sinking of the *Lusitania*. He used words somewhat to this effect in regard to one of our protests:

The United States Government must not go too far in this matter; it must not undertake to humiliate the fatherland.

When I think of those insolent words, I think there is nothing befitting them except unconditional surrender by the infamous scoundrel who uttered them. I recall the statement made to Ambassador Gerard on one occasion by the German Kaiser, when, in effect, he said to him, so Mr. Gerard says:

If the United States does not watch out, after this war is over, she shall hear from Germany, and have something to settle with Germany.

I believe now is the time for the United States to settle whatever she may have to settle with Germany; and I believe the settlement should be nothing less than unconditional surrender by Germany. Let it all be settled now. Leave nothing to the hereafter.

I wish that everybody in this country would read Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis's book on German Atrocities. I have not read it in full, but I have read some choice excerpts from it, and when I read those excerpts and think of those scoundrels over there, now whining and begging for peace like whipped curs, and looking to us for a possible escape from just punishment for the infamies which they have heaped upon the world, upon humanity, and upon decency, it seems to me there is only one fit reply to all of their appeals, and that is "unconditional surrender."

My prediction is that if there be any ending of the war except by unconditional surrender and fitting terms imposed upon the German people, in a very short time after the ending of the war they will be boasting and bragging about the diplomatic victory which they obtained over the entente allies and the United States; that the German Government will be telling its people that not an iota of fighting took place on German soil; that not a particle of blood was shed on German soil; that not a German structure was destroyed by fire or shot or shell; that "we kept them at bay; we kept them off our territory, and finally we made them give in and come to terms before they could get into our territory or exact any reparation for the damage we had done to them." I believe that after such an end of hostilities, that after any termination other than by unconditional surrender, the German Government and the German people, too—yes, the people—would begin immediate preparation for the next war, which would be fought before many years. They would proclaim a victory; and the rulers would tell their people that they would achieve a greater victory in the next war. I want this war ended so there never can be another such. I want it so ended that there will not be another war for centuries to come. I abhor war, but I want to see this one, awful as it is, fought to such a close that Germany, the bandit of the world, at any rate will want no more war for all time.

My idea is that the only way to prevent another monstrous outrage, such as Germany has inflicted upon the world and humanity and decency, is absolutely to crush the monster; to crush the beast of Berlin, and to render him absolutely helpless; to put the Germans under mortgage, paying indemnities and damages for the next hundred years. That is my honest and sincere feeling about the war and its prosecution to a successful end, the only kind of end that it ought to have.

I believe in using to the end "force, more force; force without stint or limit."

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I rise primarily for the purpose of asking unanimous consent of the Senate to have printed in the RECORD an editorial written by Mr. George Morris, in the Memphis News-Scimitar of October 10, 1918, on the subject of "Do not be blinded to German outrages by the cry of 'kamerad.'"

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the article will be printed in the RECORD.

The article referred to is as follows:

DO NOT BE BLINDED TO GERMAN OUTRAGES BY THE CRY OF "KAMERAD."

"The excesses committed by the Hun during the intoxication of success find a parallel in his vandalism that comes of a blinding rage induced by reverses and disaster.

"There can be no excuse for the wholesale destruction he is leaving in the wake of retreating footsteps.

"Somehow the German mind has never anticipated the day of retribution that must eventually overtake him, unless the law of compensation shall cease to function.

"He has relied upon the very simple performance of throwing down his gun, throwing up his hands and crying "kamerad" as a refuge from the wrath of an outraged civilization.

"He lays great stress upon the mercy of those to whom he was merciless in the days when they were defenseless.

"The day is coming shortly when the words of a German must be measured by German deeds, and his protestations must be weighed alongside his conduct.

"The German is going to exert himself to the utmost before he is willing to accept the decree of peace which the allies will impose. That means that the campaign of 1919 will mark the

titanic struggle, and the decisive phase if not the end of the war.

"There are many issues that can be settled around the council table after the guns are silenced. But there are issues that guns and bayonets alone can settle.

"The diplomats will determine the distribution of territory and the rights of colonies to decree their future national affiliation. They will figure with pencil and paper the intrinsic value of property destroyed, cities that have been razed, and lands that have been laid in waste.

"But there are issues that the soldiers of the allied armies alone can determine, and scores that they alone can settle. These are the things that are giving concern to the German people, and they are the things that the Kaiser and the militarists care least about.

"The Kaiser and his chancellor are going to want to discuss the things that are of little moment to the German soldier."

"The German is the author and the sole exponent of frightfulness upon land and sea. He began it to win the war when he was advancing over prostrate people, and he found it so congenial to his nature that he does not withhold the torch and the bomb when there is no demand from military necessity and no strategy to be served.

"The places that escaped the application of his torch in his advance are not spared in his retreat.

"Wherever the German boot has trod there is a path of wreck and ruin and outrage.

"There is nothing comparable to the suffering he has inflicted upon the civil population, and no torture known to the mind of a demon that he has failed to visit upon the unfortunate soldiers that have fallen into his hands.

"The German people have encouraged the soldier for his excesses, and applauded him for his crimes. He has been stimulated in his outrages by the ringing approval of his people.

"The unfortunate women of Belgium tell pitiful tales of their humiliation, and thousands of witnesses, through a merciful Providence, were spared by death from a living hell.

"It was the same in France, Serbia, Russia, Poland, Roumania, and the submarine warfare added a climax to the lust for useless destruction of human life.

"The execution of Edith Cavell, the English nurse, the execution of Capt. Fryatt, who was said to have destroyed a submarine, and the sinking of the *Lusitania* are not proper subjects for diplomatic determination.

"The air raids upon London and Paris, with the wholesale killing of women and children, defenseless and unoffending, is one of the darkest blots upon the pages of German history. How the Germans must have reveled in the news that during a raid on Palm Sunday his bomb went straight to the mark and claimed as its victims the women and children who knelt at the altar in prayer.

"These are incidents that are bright in the minds of those who have sworn to avenge them. There is no likelihood that they will be forgotten when the German begins to whimper like a whipped cur.

"Cowardice will gain contempt, but not sympathy. When a dog runs amuck and bites women and children people do not accept the excuse that it had a right to act differently during dog days, but they cut off its head and send it to a chemist to find out what was the matter with the dog.

"It is no defense for a burglar to say that he would not have committed murder except for the necessity to get away with the loot. He forfeited the right to the plea of self-defense. He had no right on another man's premises, and he had no right to have another man's goods in his possession.

"There is a debt that Germany owes to civilization. It is a debt conceived in blood, and it must be paid in blood. For more than four years the German has lived by the sword, and it is an ancient law that he that lives by the sword must die by the sword.

"Germany has inflicted too much suffering upon humanity, too much sorrow, and too many heartaches to be permitted to escape the penalty by exclaiming 'kamarad.'"

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, this editorial expresses the views that I have upon the present situation and I indorse it absolutely. I am absolutely opposed to any kind of an armistice with Germany, and I am opposed to the ending of this war except upon conditions of absolute surrender by Germany and Austria to the allied armies. Mr. President, I wish to say also that I do not think that the criticism which has been visited upon the President of the United States and upon the note he wrote to Germany a few days ago is either just or fair. Senators will remember that when we went into this war it was practically lost to the allies. It was the entrance of the United States into the war that turned the tide and made victory possible to the allied arms. If the United States had not gone into the war at the critical time in April, 1917, there might have been a very unhappy ending to this war for all the nations that are now allied together against Germany. Under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson war was declared by the United States and has been prosecuted step by step, approved not only by the people of the United States but by the liberty-loving peoples of all the world. Every step that the President has taken in this war has been approved by both sides of this Chamber and by all political parties. If the President has made any mistakes in conducting this war, where is the man who has said so or will say so? Inferentially it is argued that he made a mistake in writing this last note to Germany. Is there a Senator here who will say that he has made such a mistake? Indirectly they will suggest that; but is there one here who will say it? The President has made no answer as yet; he has merely asked the German Government and the German people a question or two that, to my mind, have brought about great good.

Certainly we now know that the same military classes in Germany that have been conducting the war all the time for Germany are still conducting it. There can not be any doubt about that. It is also made absolutely certain by this note that the Hohenzollerns are still in control of Germany. Then we have the admission by this last declaration from Germany, the absolute admission, that she is willing to give up all of the stolen territory and all of the stolen advantages and loot that she has obtained up to this date out of the war; that she is willing to give them all back, thereby admitting that she is an outlaw and a robber.

With that kind of admission in the hands of the President, he is now at liberty to answer the German request for an armistice, or for his good offices in securing an armistice. Unless I am greatly mistaken, when that answer comes—and may be it will come within the hour—when it comes it will be 100 per cent American. It will be American in its every detail and will reflect the undoubted sentiments of the American people to-day for a continuation of the war and no armistice. There will be no mistaking its language and no mistaking its effect. It will be in line with what he has done in every step in this war, making it a success from start to finish.

He has been the great leader not only in this country but of the allied countries of the world fighting Germany. He is the one great central figure of this war. Surely it does not seem to me that with this record of efficiency; this record of wise leadership; this record of undiluted, red-blooded Americanism; this record of war organization; this record which has spelled success on every battle front; this record which has brought us in the very arms of abundant success; this record which has brought us the confidence of our allies and the admiration of the world that anyone in this Chamber or outside of it ought to criticize him directly or indirectly for any step thus far taken in dealing with the common enemy.

Mr. President, I for one have absolute confidence in him; I for one believe that when he answers the note it will demand an absolute and unconditional surrender upon the part of Germany to the allied forces, and that no armistice will be given until that absolute surrender comes.

Mr. President, there is but one possible answer for Germany. There never was a nation so deceptive as Germany. At the very moment she was asking us to intervene for an armistice, and stating to us that she would withdraw from subjugated territory—at the very moment she was sending that kind of message to us—the Kaiser was having his brother-in-law elected King of Finland, a part of the subjugated territory from which he was then promising to withdraw. Could any conduct be more perfidious? It is impossible to conceive, under circumstances like that, that there could be but one answer, and that answer will be, in the words of our President, "Force! Force to the uttermost," and a continuation of this war until there shall be a peace dictated by America and her allies.

I confidently await the note of our great President which will embody and carry out the sentiments of the American people, sentiments that are entertained by more than 99 per cent of the American people, sentiments that will guarantee that there will be no cessation of hostilities, that there will be no attempt to fix peace terms until victory, and until a victory full and complete and permanent, is secured for the allied arms. The President will never stand for anything less than such a victory by force of arms, a victory dictated by allied armies, a victory commensurate with the sacred cause for which we went into this war, a victory which will bring a just and enduring peace and make all peoples subjugated by Germany free forever, and I devoutly hope will destroy for all time the iron militarism of Germany herself.

SUBSCRIPTION TO WAR WORK.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, I think it is practically the unanimous sentiment of the Senate that we can rely with confidence upon the President sustaining the view of the American people and the view of the Senate itself; that he represents that view; that he stands for a peace which shall be permanent and which can only be permanent with the destruction of the military autocracies which have brought this war on.

Mr. President, I wish to call the attention of the Senate to a joint resolution authorizing the national banks to subscribe to the united war-work campaign. Some time ago we passed a resolution permitting the national banks to subscribe to the Red Cross. The joint resolution for which I desire consideration provides that they may subscribe to the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, the Hebrew Charities, and certain others, all of which are associated as one organization for this purpose.

There is a great demand for it. The joint resolution embraces only a few lines; it was reported from the Committee on Banking and Currency a day or two ago. It would take only a minute to dispose of it; I do not suppose that there is a single Senator who would have the slightest objection to it, and I should be happy if the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR] would permit it to be disposed of, because it is so late now that we can hardly hope to get any action on the other and more important bill of which he is in charge.

Mr. McKELLAR. If it will not displace the retirement bill, I shall be very glad to yield.

Mr. OWEN. I ask, without displacing the unfinished business, that the joint resolution to which I have referred may be considered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the unfinished business is temporarily laid aside, subject only to the consideration of the joint resolution for which consideration is asked by the Senator from Oklahoma. Without objection, the Secretary will read the joint resolution.

The Secretary read the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 179) authorizing national banks to subscribe to the united war-work campaign, as follows:

Be it resolved, etc., That it shall be lawful for any national banking association to contribute to the united war-work campaign in the same manner and under the same conditions as they are authorized to contribute to the American National Red Cross by section 1 of the act entitled "An act authorizing national banks to subscribe to the American National Red Cross," approved May 22, 1918.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PEACE PROPOSALS OF CENTRAL POWERS.

Mr. FLETCHER. I desire to have two telegrams which I received to-day placed in the RECORD as indicating the sentiment which I believe to obtain in Florida as well as elsewhere.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the telegrams will be printed in the RECORD.

The telegrams referred to are as follows:

TAMPA FLA., *October 13, 1918.*

Hon. DUNCAN U. FLETCHER,
Washington, D. C.:

Our citizens respect the great judgment of President, but opposed to anything but unconditional surrender of Germany. Mayor wired President to-day.

LOUIS A. BIZE.

TAMPA, FLA., *October 14, 1918.*

Hon. D. U. FLETCHER,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Sentiment here unanimous that to permit withdrawal of German armies from conquered territory and then to talk about it afterwards would be a German victory. Nothing but unconditional surrender and dictated terms will satisfy the people of Florida or of the United States, so far as that is concerned. Trust you will stand for that.

PETER O. KNIGHT.

Mr. FLETCHER. I will say, Mr. President, in this connection, that I have had these telegrams inserted in the RECORD, not because I feel that there is the slightest foundation now, or that there ever has been, for the apprehension which may be inferred or implied from these telegrams. I can well understand how the people of Tampa, whence they come—and they are illustrative of others coming from Florida—feel as they do about this matter, because they have been called upon not only to make numerous sacrifices in various ways, but they have suffered other losses, for some 30 of the brave boys of that city went down on the steamship of that name—the *Tampa*—which was assisting in convoying troop ships on the other side.

I will say, further, Mr. President, that the discussion to-day, especially from the other side of the aisle, seems to proceed along the line of assuming that the President has made propositions to Germany, and that there is danger that some of those propositions may compromise this country in some way or other. There is absolutely no foundation for that sort of assumption in anything that has been said or done. I feel this way: The roads from the battle lines to Berlin, according to last accounts, were in very good order; Ludendorff and Hindenburg and the Kaiser know the route, and about the best thing that can be done is to start to travel.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I wish to add only a very little to this discussion, which from the beginning has seemed inopportune to me. The President of the United States of America is the foremost figure in the world to-day. The war-weary world looks with hopeful eyes to the United States and to the director, the Commander in Chief of our armies, and the American people look with absolute confidence to Washington and to the President to carry on these negotiations successfully and in the interest and honor of the American people. I do not think the time has come yet when the Senate ought to express any opinion as to whether the President should do this or should not do that, but he should be left a free hand, in which event I think the matter will be settled as it ought to be settled, as justice demands that it shall be settled, and as the American people expect it to be settled.

I move that all the resolutions that have been offered here to-day be referred to the Foreign Relations Committee for such action as it may be thought wise to take there.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Arkansas.

The motion was agreed to.

NOMINATION OF OFFICERS OF NATIONAL ARMY.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I am going to ask that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside, solely for the purpose of making a request for unanimous consent for the consideration of another bill. It is very short, and I trust Senators will listen to the reading of it. It is the bill (S. 4990) to repeal a proviso of paragraph 3, section 1, of an act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917, and further amending said act, and reads as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the following proviso in the third paragraph of the first section of an act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917 (Public, No. 12, 65th Cong.), namely, "*And provided further*, That officers with rank not above that of colonel shall be appointed by the President alone, and officers above that grade by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," be, and the same is hereby, in all things repealed, and the following language, as an amendment to said section of said act, be substituted for the language repealed: "*And provided further*, That all commissioned officers shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate."

I desire to say that the bill has the unanimous approval of the Committee on Military Affairs, and I will say further, in explanation of it, that when the war came on in 1917 it was absolutely necessary to have a great number of officers, and they had to be appointed very quickly. It may be that a mistake may have been made in leaving it entirely to the heads of the departments, as the act referred to did leave it. Since that time there has been a splendid officers' personnel organization created in the departments, and there can be no difficulty or trouble about it. I believe that the Senate will agree with the committee that the bill is one that should be passed, and I therefore ask that the Senate proceed to its consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator, as the Chair understands, asks that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside.

Mr. McKELLAR. That request was made, and I understood it was granted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the unfinished business will be temporarily laid aside.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, do I understand the Senator from Tennessee to ask unanimous consent to take up the bill to which he has referred?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes. I supposed that there would be no objection to it, and I thought it might as well be disposed of. I want to go out of the city within the next day or two, and I was in hopes that there would be no objection to the bill. I trust, unless the Senator has some vital objection, that he will not interpose to prevent its consideration.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I am ashamed to say that I was not present at the meeting of the Committee on Mili-

tary Affairs when this bill was reported, and I am therefore compelled to ask the Senator if my understanding of it is correct?

Mr. McKELLAR. I will be very glad indeed to answer any question.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Do I understand that this bill will result in laying before the Senate the nomination of every officer to be named in the United States Army from now on and the promotion of every officer?

Mr. McKELLAR. It will be just exactly the same in the National Army as it is now in the Regular Army. The Senator understands that all appointments to the Regular Army and all promotions in the Regular Army are now required to come before the Senate, but those in the National Army and the appointments of a great many officers in various departments have not had to come before the Senate because of the provision in the act of 1917. The bill for which I ask consideration merely puts them all on the same footing and requires all such nominations to come to the Senate.

I will say to the Senator that I think there is no motive in the world back of the bill except the good of the service. Certain abuses have arisen in reference to the appointment of officers, and it is believed that no harm can come by requiring the approval of the Senate, in the good old constitutional way, to the nomination of officers.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I would not offer an objection at this time if the bill were confined to appointments in the Staff Corps; but, as I understand, the bill will throw before the Senate the name of every boy who graduates from an officers' training school and has been judged by a board of examining officers to be fit to hold a commission in the line of the Army, in the Infantry, Field Artillery, machine-gun organizations, and perhaps one or two other branches, like the Engineers, Quartermasters, and the Tank Corps.

Mr. McKELLAR. I will say to the Senator that that is exactly the requirement the bill makes.

Mr. WADSWORTH. That will result in the carrying out of the program for expanding the Army in placing before the Committee on Military Affairs eventually an aggregate of 160,000 names, which I think is absurd upon its face.

I recognize some of the criticisms and regard them seriously that have been directed from time to time during the last 18 months toward the appointment of officers in the Staff Corps of the Army in the several branches of the service from civil life without going to officers' training schools, and I would gladly join in erecting by legislation some check upon that indiscriminate appointment of men from civil life to the Staff Corps. But I submit that it is utterly impossible for the Military Committee or the Senate as a body to pass judgment intelligently and with any advantage to the service upon the thousands and thousands of names of men graduated from officers' training schools after going through a severe course, and who have been passed upon by a board of officers at each of those training schools. I submit that it is utterly impossible for the Military Committee or the Senate to pass upon those names with any degree of intelligent discrimination or with any advantage to the service, and from time to time it will inevitably delay the appointing and commissioning of those officers. Nothing should be allowed to delay them after they once pass through the officers' training schools.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. THOMAS. I wish to remind the Senator that even now we have become accustomed, and I may perhaps say it is necessary, to consider and confirm military nominees en bloc, instead of going through the names carefully as they deserve, because we have not the time. I was not present at the meeting when this bill was considered, but I share the view of the Senator from New York.

Mr. WADSWORTH. In view of the seriousnsess with which this proposal is presented, I feel constrained to object to the present consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is made and the bill goes over. The unfinished business is before the Senate.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It may be that an important matter will reach the Senate in a short time which I should like to introduce into the RECORD and which possibly should be read to the Senate. Meanwhile we ought to have a very brief executive session, after which we can open the doors for a legislative session. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENT.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The unfinished business is before the Senate and will be proceeded with.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 4637) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, this bill was laid before the Senate as the unfinished business at 2 o'clock, and I intended to let it go over until Thursday, but it seems to me it might very properly be discussed for a few moments.

The question of the retirement of civil-service employees of the Government has been one that has been argued for about 20 years. I think the first bill was introduced about 20 years ago. Up to this time there have been two general plans. One was a plan by which the Government would pay the entire cost of the retirement of superannuated employees and the other was that the employees should pay the entire cost. There have been advocates of both plans, and the result has been that there never has been any getting together on either one of those plans.

I may say that when I became chairman of the committee I called the advocates of both plans before our committee and had them submit their several propositions. I then called on the Government first from the Bureau of Efficiency to give us the exact figures as to how much it would cost to retire superannuated employees. After many delays and after a great deal of work as to the cost of retiring superannuated employees who had reached the ages of 65 and 68 years, 65 years for railway-mail clerks, rural letter carriers, and city letter carriers, and 68 years for all other employees, at a rate of pay of $600 for those who had been in the service 30 years or more, $540 for those who had been in the service between 25 and 30 years, $480 for those who had been in the service between 20 and 25 years, and $420 for those who had been in the service more than 15 years and less than 20 years, it was found that the retirement pay would cost 5 per cent of all the salaries of the employees.

Representatives of various organizations of the employees were brought before the committee and that was explained, and they were asked if they would submit to paying one-half of the cost. After a full consideration they declined to pay one-half, but came back with a proposition that they would bear 2 per cent of it if the Government would bear the other 3 per cent. To this proposition I answered that I would not introduce a bill unless they would each agree to pay one-half.

It was then suggested by some of the experts that by reducing the age of retirement to 62 years and 65 years instead of 65 years and 68 years, with another change about casualty retirements, the cost would be reduced to 5 per cent. The Government experts went into it very fully and the figures are in the report of the committee on file. They reported that it could be done for 5 per cent.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Five per cent of what?

Mr. McKELLAR. Of all the salaries paid the employees.

Mr. POMERENE. Who was the expert?

Mr. McKELLAR. Dr. Maddrill, of the Bureau of Efficiency.

Mr. POMERENE. May I ask the Senator if Mr. Brown was before the committee?

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. Brown was before the committee, and selected Dr. Maddrill for the purpose of making the calculation. The representatives of all the associations except the post-office associations agreed and were willing to bear the one-half of 5 per cent, or 2½ per cent. I declined to introduce the bill until there was an agreement of all the associations. Later on the post-office employees came in, and by their representative said they would agree to pay one-half.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President——

Mr. McKELLAR. Just a moment. It was at that point that this bill was introduced providing for retirement at 65 years of the rural letter carriers, the railway mail clerks, and city letter carriers and 68 years for other employees. Those figures were introduced and at the same time the rate of compensation was agreed on, and the bill was introduced which has been reported by the committee. I yield to the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. WARREN. I notice section 11 provides that any employee may leave the service and withdraw all the money he put in and 4 per cent thereof.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is correct.

Mr. WARREN. Does the Senator believe that the 2½ per cent provided for, the Government to pay one-half, and so forth, is going to establish finally any considerable amount toward the amount that will have to be paid in the various agencies, and that it will come anywhere near supporting the net result, one-half?

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator will examine the figures on pages 6 and 7 of the report he will find that the Government experts of the Bureau of Efficiency state that it will. We find another thing. We find that 2½ per cent will produce $9,000,000 a year. I will say to the Senator that this was urged against the measure—that in war time we want to expend money for a different purpose, and that is a very vital proposition.

The answer to that proposition is this, and I hope Senators will listen to it: The amount paid out during the first year to the 7,500 superannuated employees will be a little less than $2,000,000, while the amount collected the first year under this system from the employees through 2½ per cent will be $9,000,000. The second year it will be a little less than two and a half million dollars paid out and $9,000,000 collected. So it will go until finally it will equalize itself and cost the Government 2½ per cent and the employees 2½ per cent. In other words, they will have a fund there, and instead of being a cost for the Government at first it will be a very large overplus—$6,900,000. The first year there will be collected from the employees more than is paid out, but when it finally reaches the maximum it will equalize itself and cost 5 per cent of the employees' salaries.

Mr. WARREN. I wish the Senator to understand that I favor and have for many years favored some legislation along the lines proposed. I am not quite certain that the figures the Senator has just given will bear the test of experience; but passing that matter for the time, I will observe than on page 8, lines 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14, the transfer of appropriations, I shall offer an amendment to strike out those lines when we come to the consideration of amendments to the bill, not that I wish to avoid in any way appropriating for it, but the idea of appropriating from the appropriated fund some indeterminate amount, whatever may be necessary for all time hereafter, is entirely against good legislation. I think instead of that we should appropriate what is necessary for the first year, and then expect to have reports and estimates made based thereon every year, as we do for the other wants of the Government.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am inclined to think that it is a most excellent suggestion the Senator has made, and if the Senator will prepare an amendment along that line I think it is most likely that I will accept it.

Mr. WARREN. I will say to the Senator that it would require striking out the five lines I indicated on page 8.

Mr. McKELLAR. I understand that perfectly.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, the Senator has been discussing the financial requirements of the bill for the next year or two, and I gathered from his statement that it was in his mind that it would be no financial burden upon the Government at this time.

Mr. McKELLAR. Certainly; not for 10 years.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I am a little unable to understand the foundation for that. If the Senator means that there will not be withdrawn from the purposes of the Government any fund during the next 10 years, it is true that a fund may be accumulated by contributions of the employees in excess of the amount required to pay the current portion of the amounts which will be incurred by the Government, but will not the amount contributed by the employees necessarily remain in the Treasury in a separate fund?

Mr. McKELLAR. That is true.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. And of course not available for current expenses of the Government.

Mr. McKELLAR. It will be available for any governmental purpose if paid out. It will be in the Treasury. For instance, take the year 1920. The receipts in the form of Government employees' salaries will be $9,000,000; disbursements upon withdrawals prior to pension age, $400,000; pensions and guaranteed returns to pensioners, $1,732,000; and there will be an excess of $6,900,000 the first year. In other words, that much will not be paid out.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. That may be perfectly true; but I will ask the Senator of what avail will that be to the Government in this time of financial need?

Mr. McKELLAR. It means that there will be paid into the General Treasury by employees the sum of $9,000,000, and there will be paid out on account of annuities to those who have gone out under the law $1,732,000.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. But does not the Senator understand that that $9,000,000, or whatever sum it may be, will have to remain in the Treasury as a separate fund and can not be actually used by the Government?

Mr. McKELLAR. The act specifically requires that it shall be used by the Government and that the Government shall pay 4 per cent upon it. Instead of not being required to be used it is directed to be used by the very terms of the act. There can be no question about the Government using the money, and there can be no question for at least the first 10 years that the amount paid in will exceed the amount paid out.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I should not understand, then, that this money is to be kept in a separate fund and kept out of use?

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no. It is kept in a separate fund on the books of the Treasury, and in that sense it is separate. In other words, it is a separate account of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Then, so far as the burden on the Treasury is concerned at this time, the Treasury would get $9,000,000 from the employees, and out of the $9,000,000 would pay 4½ per cent, or whatever rate of interest is mentioned, and the liabilities under the act.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is right.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Which the Senator estimates as probably about $2,000,000?

Mr. McKELLAR. A little less than $2,000,000 the first year. Then there will be an increase each year. The second year it will be $1,972,000, the third year $2,154,000, the fourth year $2,400,000, the fifth year $2,589,000, and the sixth year $2,778,000, and so on.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Then, for the present emergency the Government would really be borrowing from its employees about $9,000,000 at 4½ per cent.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is about what it would be.

Mr. POMERENE and Mr. THOMAS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator from Ohio rose first. I will yield to the Senator from Colorado later.

Mr. POMERENE. I understand there will be about 7,500 of these employees retired now.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. POMERENE. How many would become retirable under the bill during the succeeding year?

Mr. McKELLAR. I have not those figures with me, but will put them in the RECORD later.

Mr. POMERENE. At any rate the number who will be retired next year will be very much smaller than the number who will be retired when the act goes into effect.

Mr. McKELLAR. Of course, not in proportion, because——

Mr. POMERENE. Then, I understand your sole saving would be from the fact that you do not pay out on the salary account to the 7,500 employees who are now receiving a salary.

Mr. McKELLAR. That brings me to another phase of this bill which I should like very much to comment on.

Mr. POMERENE. May I ask another question in this connection, for I should like to hear what the Senator has to say upon the point? I confess I do not like the plan very much. I went into that pretty thoroughly some time ago. I think it should be eventually made self-sustaining. Does the Senator in his estimate classify the railway employees as Government employees?

Mr. McKELLAR. No.

Mr. POMERENE. Or the telephone and telegraph employees?

Mr. McKELLAR No; they are not in the civil service. Only civil-service employees are included.

Mr. POMERENE. I am very glad to know that.

Mr. McKELLAR. I want to explain to the Senate about that, and what I am going to say now is purely an estimate. It is estimated that there are 7,500 of these superannuated employees and that 4,000 are absolutely useless to the Government. Many of those old people hobble to the buildings, but are absolutely incapable of doing any work whatever. The proof before our committee showed that those are men and women who have been longest in service. They are absolutely incapable of doing any work for the Government. Ordinarily, they are getting the highest rate of pay, and virtually they are being pensioned now at the highest rate of pay. It is estimated that 4,000 of them are absolutely doing no service to the Government at all, and that probably the salary of each one would amount to about $1,500. There is $6,000,000 that are being paid out toward these 4,000 superannuated employees for which the Government gets no return at all, and there are 3,500 left from whom the Government gets only a partial return; and that will probably make nearly as great a saving as the amount the Government will ever have to pay out. In other words, the bill not only provides for the benefit of employees but it will benefit the Government by increased efficiency and in saving the large salaries now paid to superannuated employees. I now yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator referred to the fact that there are some 4,000 of these employees who are doing no service for the Government at all.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. I suppose the Senator is aware that there are many thousands who are not superannuated who are also doing no service at all?

Mr. McKELLAR. I am afraid that is so, but I do not propose to grant them an annuity in this bill.

Mr. THOMAS. Not now; this is the first step.

Mr. McKELLAR. No, sir; I do not think so. I think this is a very just measure for the benefit of both the Government and the employees, and I do not think it will mean that.

Mr. THOMAS. I will make the prediction that before the act is five years old we will be granting special pensions under it, just as we are granting special pensions now to soldiers.

Mr. McKELLAR. I will call the Senator's attention to the fact that the United States and Turkey are the only civilized nations in the world, if you can call Turkey a civilized nation——

Mr. ASHURST. We will not do that.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator from Arizona says we will not do that. I say the United States and Turkey are the only civilized nations in the world that do not have retirement pay for superannuated employees.

Mr. THOMAS. I presume parallels could be drawn between the United States and some other nations with regard to the absence of some other legislation, but my purpose in rising was rather to make an inquiry regarding section 11, which provides that if an employee becomes separated from the service before he becomes superannuated he will receive back from this fund all that he paid in with 4 per cent compounded.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is true.

Mr. THOMAS. I take it, therefore, that if the employee begins now to make his payments and continues them for 24 years—I believe 25 years is the minimum for a pension——

Mr. McKELLAR. Fifteen years.

Mr. THOMAS. Fifteen years—well, for 14 years, or in the other case for 24 years, he will get, as a return from his advances, interest compounded during that whole period, which will be paid by the United States Government.

Mr. McKELLAR. Two and one-half per cent that he pays in annually.

Mr. THOMAS. Does the Senator think that he should receive that with compound interest?

Mr. McKELLAR. I am rather inclined to think that he should.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I do not think so.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I believe that the measure that has been worked out here is a fair one. I will say that it is in exact line with the bill that was formerly introduced by the senior Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH], which was prepared largely by Dr. Beach, one of the most expert accountants and one of the best informed men concerning this legislation that it has ever been my good fortune to know. He is employed in one of the departments here and is really a gifted man. This bill is not my work, except in pointing out its details; it is the same bill that has been prepared and introduced time and time again by others, with the exception that the half-and-half plan was put into it by me or forced into it by me. The employees very stoutly opposed it almost from the beginning, and they only agreed to it when they were informed that nothing more than a half-and-half plan would be introduced and fathered by me.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, in reply to what the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] has said, it seems to me that a sufficient answer is to say that if a man who is within the retirement age when he serves 15 years, retires when he has served 14 years, he will by that time have paid about 35 per cent, and if he receives that 35 per cent back, it is as against 100 per cent which he would receive if he remained in the service one more year.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is true, and I thank the Senator for the interruption. It does seem to me that the bill is fair and just and equitable. I shall be glad to answer any question that any Senator may wish to ask about it, so far as I am able.

I will say about this kind of legislation, that a pension system is now in existence in nearly every up-to-date corporation in this country, but probably none of them have a half-and-half system or a share-and-share system. Nearly every one of the great railroads in the country—the Pennsylvania, the New York Central, the Southern, and various other railroads of the country—have retirement systems for their superannuated employees. Nearly all of the other great corporations of the country have also retirement provisions by which the corporations themselves pay the retirement annuities. Massachusetts, I believe, is the only State that has adopted this system. Massachusetts has such a system, and many of the cities of the country have adopted similar systems. They all work well, and they have all been found to be fair and just.

As I have heretofore stated, the United States is the only Nation, with the exception of Turkey, that has not yet adopted some kind of a retirement system. Great Britain adopted such a system away back before the reign of Queen Victoria in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. FLETCHER. Perhaps it has been answered; I may have been out at the time; but, though it may have been answered, I merely wish to inquire about what would be the direct cost to the Government, not the indirect cost and without regard to the benefits accruing by reason of increased efficiency, and all that sort of thing, but the actual outlay to the Government?

Mr. McKELLAR. In the present status it would amount to about $9,000,000 a year, so far as it can be estimated, and it would amount to about that much brought in from the employees.

I wish now to call attention to another thing. Both political parties have adopted the enactment of this legislation in their platforms.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, the Senator does not mean by that to say that they have adopted this particular plan?

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no; but they have adopted planks in favor of retirement legislation.

Mr. POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. McKELLAR. I read from the Republican platform of 1912, as follows:

> We favor legislation to make possible the equitable retirement of disabled and superannuated members of the civil service in order that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

The Democratic platform adopted at St. Louis in 1916 contained a provision on this subject, as follows:

> An equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employees of the civil service, to the end that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

Those are the two provisions in the platforms of the two great political parties. It seems to me that this is an equitable, fair, and just system, and I can not imagine one that could be any more equitable. It is a half-and-half proposition, and it is safeguarded by careful preparation by Government experts. It is certainly fair to the Government, because we had a Government expert to furnish us all the figures; and it is reasonably fair to the employees, because all the employees' associations are committed to it and are in favor of it.

I will say that Mr. KEATING and I called on the President and asked him about it. He did not commit himself absolutely to this bill, but said he would give it consideration; that he was in favor of a just and fair and equitable retirement measure. The only objection that he raised to it was that it might constitute a burden on the Treasury during the war; but when assured that it will not constitute a burden on the Treasury during the war, as the figures show conclusively, then I am sure that the President's only objection to it has been met.

Mr. President, I think that is about all I care to say in regard to the measure, and unless some Senator is dissatisfied with it, I do not see any reason why we can not pass the measure at this time, if the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] were here, but he said that he had to go out of the Chamber and did not know whether he would be back in time or not, so I am afraid I am committed to postponement until he returns.

Mr. WARREN. The bill has not yet been read, and I assume the Senator desires to have it read.

Mr. McKELLAR. Of course.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I should like to inquire of the Senator whether the various civil-service associations to which he has referred have finally and definitely assented to this plan of raising by assessment one-half of the necessary funds?

Mr. McKELLAR. Every one of them has done so; and there is a provision in the bill directing all of the departments to deduct the 2½ per cent from the salaries of the clerks. It is in the bill and becomes a part of the law from the passage of the bill, that the deduction shall be made from the salaries. I do not know what the purpose of the Senate is. If it is to continue in session I should be glad to have the bill read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the bill.

The Secretary read the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is before the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, and open to amendment. If there be no amendment the bill will be reported to the Senate.

The bill was reported to the Senate.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I certainly hope this bill is not going to be pressed through at this time.

Mr. McKELLAR. I want to say that I have stated to the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] that the bill would not be voted on this afternoon; and I, of course, do not care to have the bill pressed to its final passage; but I understand there is a communication now about to be read to the Senate, and I will——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Before the Senator proceeds along that line, I want to say, in connection with the pending matter, that I wish he would not press it except when there is a comparatively full Senate, for I should myself like to be heard a little bit upon the lines of not establishing a civil pension list for Government employees until the Government is ready to establish a general superannuation pension for school-teachers and misled preachers and carpenters and blacksmiths and other people, who receive a great deal less pay, and deserve a great deal more credit, than do Federal employees. So I hope the matter will not be pressed at any time when I am out of the Chamber, for I have a few innocuous observations to submit on it, as John Allen used to say.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will announce the parliamentary status of the bill. The bill is in the Senate and is still open to amendment.

Mr. WARREN. I ask the Senator in charge of the bill if he is going to proceed, for, if so, I should like to offer an amendment?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator from Tennessee whether, at this stage of the proceedings, he would not be willing to have the bill temporarily laid aside?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will not be necessary to lay the bill aside. The Senator can take the floor in his own right.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I should like to have the bill laid aside, so that we may have an adjournment immediately afterwards.

Mr. McKELLAR. Then I will yield with the understanding that the bill will not be displaced by any other business and will be restored as soon as this matter is disposed of.

Mr. WARREN. I wish to have the motion of record, that I offer to amend the bill by striking out, on page 8, lines 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14, and the word "act," on the next line.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from Wyoming is pending. The Senator from Nebraska is recognized.

THE PRESIDENT'S ANSWER TO GERMANY.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, inasmuch as the Senate, when it adjourns to-day is to adjourn until Thursday next, it has seemed to a number of Senators appropriate that the answer which the President of the United States has directed the Secretary of State to send to the German Government, and which has just reached the Senate, be read to the Senate, and in that way enter the RECORD. With the consent of the Senate I will now read the answer which has been dispatched to Germany through neutral sources to-day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska is recognized to read the President's reply.

Mr. HITCHCOCK read as follows:

"The unqualified acceptance by the present German Government and by a large majority of the German Reichstag of the terms laid down by the President of the United States of America in his address to the Congress of the United States on the 8th of January, 1918, and in his subsequent addresses justifies the President in making a frank and direct statement of his decision with regard to the communications of the German Government of the 8th and 12th of October, 1918.

"It must be clearly understood that the process of evacuation and the conditions of an armistice are matters which must be left to the judgment and advice of the military advisers of the Government of the United States and the allied Governments, and the President feels it is his duty to say that no arrangements can be accepted by the Government of the United States which does not provide absolutely satisfactory safeguards and guaranties of the maintenance of the present military supremacy of the armies of the United States and of the allies in the field. He feels confident that he can safely assume that this will also be the judgment and decision of the allied Governments.

"The President feels that it is also his duty to add that neither the Government of the United States nor, he is quite sure, the governments with which the Government of the United States is associated as a belligerent will consent to consider an armistice so long as the armed forces of Germany continue the illegal and inhumane practices which they still persist in. At the very time that the German Government approaches the Government of the United States with proposals of peace its submarines are engaged in sinking passenger ships at sea, and not the ships alone, but the very boats in which their passengers and crews seek to make their way to safety; and in their present enforced withdrawal from Flanders and France the German armies are pursuing a course of wanton destruction which has always been regarded as in direct violation of the rules and practices of civilized warfare. Cities and villages, if not destroyed, are being stripped of all they contain not only, but often of their very inhabitants. The nations associated against Germany can not be expected to agree to a cessation of arms while acts of inhumanity, spoliation, and desolation are being continued, which they justly look upon with horror and with burning hearts.

"It is necessary also, in order that there may be no possibility of misunderstanding, that the President should very solemnly call the attention of the Government of Germany to the language and plain intent of one of the terms of peace which the German Government has now accepted. It is contained in the address of the President delivered at Mount Vernon on the 4th of July last. It is as follows:

"'The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world or, if it can not presently be destroyed, at least its reduction to virtual impotency.'

"The power which has hitherto controlled the German nation is of the sort here described. It is within the choice of the German people to alter it. The President's words just quoted naturally constitute a condition precedent to peace if peace is to come by the action of the German people themselves. The President feels bound to say that the whole process of peace will, in his judgment, depend upon the definiteness and the satisfactory character of the guaranties which can be given in this fundamental manner. It is indispensable that the Governments associated against Germany should know beyond a peradventure with whom they are dealing.

"The President will make a separate reply to the Royal and Imperial Government of Austria-Hungary.

"LANSING."

[Applause.]

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Thursday, October 17, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 14, 1918.

CONSUL.

CLASS 8.

Luther K. Zabriskie, of Norwich, Conn., now vice consul at Aguascalientes, Mexico, to be a consul of class 8 of the United States of America.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Asst. Surg. Clarence H. Waring, to be passed assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from August 21, 1918.

Asst. Surg. George A. Wheeler, to be passed assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from August 22, 1918.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 14, 1918.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE.

G. I. Christie to be Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

Edwin G. Moon to be United States attorney for southern district of Iowa.

POSTMASTERS.

ARIZONA.

Bertha Koepke, Humboldt.

COLORADO.

Clifford I. Parsons, Central City.

CONNECTICUT.

Clarence H. Crandall, Sound Beach.
Evelyn R. Hawes, Noroton Heights.
Weeden F. Sheldon, Moosup.

FLORIDA.

Edwin D. Lambright, Tampa.
James R. Pomeroy, Stuart.
Nelson A. Stumpe, Palatka.

INDIANA.

Mangus P. Halgren, Oxford.
Reuben Hess, Kentland.
William B. Latshaw, Oaktown.
Carl D. McCarthy, Kempton.
David B. Purinton, Whiting.

KANSAS.

Radia S. Brumfield, Belpre.
Alonzo Glass, Waverly.
Mary R. Hale, Dexter.
Joseph W. Stivers, Stafford.

MISSOURI.

William A. Kirkpatrick, Joplin.
Obadiah C. Mitchell, Springfield.
Isaac J. F. Sitzes, Lutesville.
Francis L. Stufflebam, Bolivar.

MONTANA.

Wilfred J. Hazelton, Townsend.

NEW MEXICO.

James E. Pardue, Fort Sumner.

VIRGINIA.

Walter F. Horne, Coeburn.
George N. Reed, Reedville.

WASHINGTON.

Arthur A. Barnes, Pasco.
Clifton A. Battles, Wenatchee.
Edgar Battle, Seattle.
George H. Bevan, Kettle Falls.
James G. Boughter, Mount Vernon.
Daniel I. Carpenter, Granite Falls.
John H. Chilberg, La Conner.
William P. Connors, Almira.
L. Abram Dale, Brewster.
George B. Day, Walla Walla.
James Doherty, Olympia.
Lutetia M. Fields, Woodland.
Mae O. Gray, Stevenson.
Ethel R. Hanks, Port Orchard.
Maud E. Hays, Starbuck.
Andrew Hunter, Issaquah.
Charles O. Jackson, Eatonville.
Charles C. King, Entiat.
Charles W. McClure, Washougal.
John W. Miller, Snohomish.
Robert Montgomery, Puyallup.
Samuel S. Moritz, Dayton.
James F. Payne, Auburn.
Charles A. Ramm, Davenport.
William M. Relton, Richland.
Tolaver T. Richardson, Northport.
Charles H. Runkel, Arlington.
James H. Schneckloth, Pomeroy.
John W. Shaw, Vancouver.
LeRoy R. Sines, Chelan.
Bennett O. Skewis, Du Pont.
Frank L. Stocking, Port Angeles.
Robert A. Turner, Ellensburg.
Fred L. Whitney, Ferndale.
Helen R. Whitney, Wapato.
James M. G. Wilson, Waterville.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *October 14, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou Great Spirit, above all, through all, in all, our life, our strength, our faith, our hope, our inspiration, a potent factor therefore in the affairs of men, come now, we beseech Thee, with all Thy holy influence to guide us in this most critical period of the world's history.

The crash of elements, pestilence, war and destruction is abroad in the world.

The air is full of the whisperings of peace, the father of our most sincere desires; but peace can never come until the enemies of humanity shall be brought to unconditional surrender. Then negotiations may be taken up by the entente powers and a peace secured which shall adjust the affairs of men to liberty, justice, truth, righteousness; to the glory and honor of Thy holy name, in Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday was read and approved.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. HELM. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Kentucky rise?

Mr. HELM. Mr. Speaker, I ask permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the preparation for and the prosecution of the war.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask permission to address the House and also to extend my remarks in the RECORD to set forth what the Navy has accomplished and is accomplishing and what legislation has been passed by Congress in reference to it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, the record made by the United States Navy in this war has not only justified the pride of the American people, but has challenged the admiration of the world. Called upon to perform tremendous tasks, some of them seeming almost impossible, in not one instance has it failed. Whenever any call has come and we asked, "When will you be ready?" as did the British admiral when the first destroyers arrived in European waters, the answer has been, "We are ready now." Ready to face any emergency, ready to cope with any problem with that supreme courage and unfailing efficiency that is the tradition of the service.

The readiness of the Navy for action when the war call came was no surprise to us who were familiar with its workings, the plans that had been made and the measures that had been taken to prepare for any eventuality. We knew that the organization was sound from keel to topmast, that the men at the helm were worthy of every trust. We knew they had been bending their energies to prepare every branch of the Navy for active service.

The broad basis of naval preparedness was laid in the epoch-making naval appropriation bill of August 29, 1916. That bill not only made the largest appropriation on record up to that time, more than $312,000,000, but it set forth the first consistent, continuing building program ever adopted by Congress, providing for the building, within three years, of no less than 157 war vessels, including every type from battle cruisers to submarines. It furthermore provided for an increase in the Navy to 87,000, whenever, in his judgment, the President should deem such increase necessary; and provided also for the creation of a great Naval Reserve Force and the mustering into the Federal service of Naval Militia in case of war or national emergency. It proved what it was designed to be—a preparedness measure of the highest importance.

Congress in that measure adopted the recommendations Secretary Daniels had made and urged in his annual report of December, 1915, which embodied the best thought and conclusion of the experts of the Navy. The department set to work at once to put its provisions into effect. Contracts were let for battleships, cruisers, destroyers, and submarines. Navy yards increased their force and began enlargements. Munition plants were set to work and stocks of shells and powder were accumulated. When the break with Germany came the machinery of the Navy was in operation, and the plans made long before were soon put into effect.

When the President directed that American merchant vessels be armed to protect them from attack by submarines, his orders were carried into effect without a day's delay. Guns were placed on the first vessel armed, the *Campana*, on March 12, 1917, and in a few weeks scores of ships were armed and furnished gun crews. This was a task no navy had contemplated before the war, for they believed the days of piracy, of sinking ships without warning had vanished long ago, never to return. There were not enough free guns of the proper calibers in existence to arm all vessels. Every available gun was pressed into service, some were even taken from the secondary batteries of battleships and cruisers, to be replaced later when they could be manufactured, and soon every merchantman that applied was given armed protection.

Expert gunners were required for this service and hundreds of the crack marksmen of the warships were detailed for the armed guards on merchantmen. Thousands of gunners had to be trained to take their places and to provide for the hundreds of new ships put into service. The rapid training of gunners

and the record made by these armed guards are among the notable achievements of this war. When war was declared the Navy was ready for action. It was so well prepared that when the fleet was mobilized Admiral Mayo is quoted as saying, "I scarcely had to give an order."

The submarine being the immediate menace, the first duty was to combat it by every means in our power. While it was realized that the Germans might at any time send their U boats across the Atlantic to threaten commerce on our own coasts, our naval authorities did not hesitate in their decision not to wait for the submarines, but to "go after" them. A flotilla of destroyers was immediately organized and equipped for foreign service. Little more than a fortnight after war was declared the first contingent sailed, arriving at Queenstown May 4, 1917. Since that time our forces abroad have been constantly increased, until there are now in service in European waters more than 250 naval vessels, including every type, from battleships to submarine chasers, and under Vice Admiral Sims's command is a force of nearly 50,000 officers and men—as many as were in the entire Navy a few years ago.

There are now 600,000 officers and men in the naval service, including marines—more than were in all the navies in the world when the European war began. Before the break with Germany, in January, 1917, the Navy had a total of 56,000 officers and men, and the Marine Corps fewer than 12,000. In the weeks following recruiting was active, and when the President, in March, issued the order for the increase to the full authorized strength recruits poured in, so that when a state of war was declared April 6, 1917, there were 64,680 enlisted men and 4,366 officers in the regular Navy, totaling 69,046, and 13,266 enlisted men and 426 officers in the Marine Corps, totaling 13,692. Some 10,000 men had been enrolled in the Naval Reserve force, which a few months before had comprised only a few hundreds. The Naval Reserves were called into service; the Naval Militia, 10,000 officers and men, were mustered in as National Naval Volunteers; and the Coast Guard, with its 5,000, came under the operation of the Navy for the period of the war, as provided by law. This gave us a total force of approximately 100,000 upon our entrance into the war.

The growth of the Navy has been remarkably rapid, the strength of the various branches of the service now being as follows:

	Enlisted men.	Officers.	Total.
Regular Navy	218,322	9,411	227,733
Naval Reserve Force	270,424	19,619	290,043
Marine Corps	66,105	2,271	68,376
Coast Guard	6,106	665	6,771
Total officers and men	560,957	31,966	592,923

There are to-day 1,800 vessels in full commission, ten times as many as were in service two years ago, nearly six times as many as were on the naval lists. When war was imminent, ships that were in reserve were quickly manned and placed in full commission. Hundreds of merchant vessels, yachts, fishing vessels, motor boats, and other available craft were acquired and converted into the various types of auxiliary and patrol vessels required, work was rushed on ships under construction, and contracts were given for practically all the naval vessels American yards could build. The interned German vessels, whose machinery had been badly damaged by their crews in the hope of preventing their use, were repaired and within a few months all were in service, the larger vessels being converted into troop transports, officered and manned by the Navy.

Destroyers having proved the most effective type of vessel for combating the submarine, orders were given early in the war for the construction of all which the shipyards, with their then existing facilities, could build. But there was a demand for many more, and broad plans were made for the enlargement of yards and the erection of new shipbuilding and engine plants. The act of October 6, 1917, authorized the expenditure of $350,000,000 for the building of additional destroyers and the increase of facilities. Contracts were given at once, new shipways erected, and at Squantum, Mass., there was erected the largest plant in the world devoted exclusively to the building of destroyers. Little more than half a year after work was begun on this plant the keels of five destroyers were laid there in a single day. The first was launched on July 18, and will be delivered completed within a year from the time the contract was given to convert the swampy land of Squantum Point into a shipbuilding plant.

New records have been made in construction. Formerly 20 months to 2 years was the period required to complete a destroyer. Now some are being completed in half that time, and less. At the Mare Island Navy Yard the *Ward* was launched 17½ days after her keel was laid, and she was commissioned in 70 days. Fourteen destroyers were launched on July 4 last. We are now building more destroyers than were in any two navies when the European war began; and when we consider that a large part of the facilities for building them had to be created in the past year, the record in construction reflects great credit upon naval constructors and shipbuilders alike.

Hundreds of submarine chasers have been completed and put into service and numerous auxiliary and patrol craft built. Vessels of all types, from battleships to submarines, have been completed and put into commission. Hundreds of others of every type are under construction or contract, and our building program is the largest ever undertaken by any navy. The naval appropriation act passed last June directed the completion at the earliest time practicable of all the vessels authorized in the three-year building program embodied in the act of August 29, 1916, and the Secretary of the Navy has assured us that these will be built "as soon as is humanly possible."

The provision of engines and machinery for the enormous number of new vessels has been a tremendous undertaking. Especially has this been the case in providing engines for the new destroyers, which have a speed of 35 knots and require greatly increased power and twice the number of boilers as the older type. New engine and forging plants had to be erected, in addition to utilizing all the available producing capacity of the plants which could build engines and machinery of this type. Some idea of the amount of machinery required for our naval vessels can be given by the fact that the average expenditures of the Bureau of Steam Engineering have increased to nearly three-quarters of a million dollars a day.

The United States Navy now operates the largest radio system in existence. Within the past year stations of the highest power have been completed at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii; Cavite, P. I.; and Annapolis, Md. The completion of the new station at Annapolis recently was signalized by the sending direct of messages to Rome, Paris, and London. Messages are flashed from the Atlantic coast to Pearl Harbor, and from there to Cavite or Japan. Previous to our entrance into the war the number of naval rodio installations afloat and ashore numbered about 500. It is now between 4,000 and 5,000, all the shore stations being under control of the Navy, which also furnishes equipment and operators for cargo vessels and transports, as well as naval vessels.

Upon the declaration of war the control of all radio was placed under the Navy. Commercial stations were taken over. Those that were unnecessary were closed, and those which could be utilized to advantage were made a part of the vast system which has been built up covering a large part of the globe. Thousands of operators were required for service at stations and on ships, and special schools for their training were established, the largest, that at Harvard University, having provision for some 4,000 students.

The work of the Bureau of Ordnance has increased almost 2,000 per cent in the past year and a half. For the two or three years previous to the war its average expenditures were about $30,000,000 a year. For the fiscal year 1918 they amounted to practically $600,000,000, twenty times the ordinary expenditures in time of peace. And this is a fair measure of the work done in providing guns, projectiles, powder, torpedoes, depth charges, mines, and armor plate for naval vessels, arming merchantmen for protection against attack by submarines, and the various other tasks imposed upon this branch of the service. As early as 1915 the bureau had drafted its plans in preparation for war, if it should come, and before the declaration of war had accumulated considerable reserves of munitions. The bureau operates many ordnance plants and factories, some of which are owned by the Government, others have been requisitioned or are operated under contract, and in addition vast quantities of material have been purchased under contract. The Naval Gun Factory, at Washington, has almost doubled its output and now employs nearly 9,000 men. Fifteen acres of adjoining land have been purchased and six large buildings are nearing completion thereon, which will greatly increase the capacity of the plant. Considerable enlargements are being made in the Navy powder factory at Indianhead, Md., which employs 1,100 men and covers a square mile. The facilities and output of the torpedo station at Newport, R. I., have been materially increased.

An automatic mine-loading plant, with a capacity of more than 1,000 mines a day, has been created. Numerous ammuni-

tion depots have been established, which prepare powder charges, load and fuse shells, handle high explosives, and ship ammunition to vessels. A large projectile factory has been erected at Charleston, W. Va., and has been in operation for several months. The designs for the armor-plate factory to be erected at that point have been entirely completed, and much of the machinery is now on order. A large tract of land along the Potomac River has been acquired and a new proving ground is being established. Some of the most important accomplishments of the Ordnance Bureau can not be told at present, without disclosing important naval operations, nor can numerous inventions that have been developed and utilized be discussed in detail. But we may mention the new Navy 16-inch gun, the most powerful Navy gun under construction or designed for use at sea, so far as is known, which was successfully completed and tested last April. A new type of howitzer shooting a heavy depth charge fitted to detonate below the water or in contact with the submarine is one of the devices developed which is aiding in exterminating the German U-boats. Depth charges, which have proved so effective against the submarine, have been produced in quantities. A new type of mine, which is considered one of the safest to handle and which, if it breaks loose from its fastening and drifts, is rendered harmless, and yet is one of the most effective weapons of the kind in existence, has been invented and many thousands manufactured.

To house and train the immense increase in personnel, existing training stations were greatly enlarged and a number of new ones erected. Two years ago the Navy had training facilities for about 6,000 men. The camps already constructed provide winter accommodations for 145,000, and those being built or authorized will provide for 53,000 more. The total cost of these training camps will be about $57,000,000. Great Lakes is now the largest training station in the world, with accommodations for some 50,000, and further enlargements are under way. The acquisition of the old Jamestown Exposition site and Pine Beach properties has enabled the Navy to establish at Hampton Roads, Va., a naval operating base, which includes an extensive training station, aviation base, and will comprise docks and wharves for the accommodation of the largest vessels, warehouses and storage facilities for fuel and all kinds of fleet supplies, and will provide what the Navy had long needed, an operating base for the fleet.

Our navy yards have been greatly enlarged, and have not only carried on the immense amount of work required for the upkeep of the fleet and the conversion of vessels taken over, but are building naval vessels of practically every type. The number of employees at navy yards has been more than doubled. Many new machine shops, foundries, and warehouses have been erected, and new shipways built. Dry docks are being built which will accommodate the largest ships afloat. The new dry dock at Norfolk is nearing completion and is expected to be in service within the next few months, practically a year ahead of contract. The dry dock at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, in the construction of which many difficulties were encountered, is expected to be completed early in the coming year. Scores of warehouses for the storage of supplies and munitions have been erected, including the largest of the kind in existence, at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

Every care has been taken to safeguard the health of the men in the Navy, both ashore and aboard ship. Six thousand additional beds have been provided to meet the immediate needs of war conditions and about 6,000 more are being provided for under present construction or contracts. In addition extensive hospital facilities have been acquired abroad to accommodate the large force in foreign service. The Medical Corps, which formerly numbered about 300 commissioned officers, now consist of 3,000, an increase of ten times its former personnel. The Dental Corps has grown from 30 officers to 500 members. Ample medical supplies have been accumulated and there has been no lack of medical attendance or supplies either in this country or abroad. Every possible precaution for the prevention, as well as the control, of diseases has been taken, and early in the war a special division of sanitation was created, to which experts of the Public Health Service were detailed to insure the best sanitary conditions at every point where sailors or marines were stationed.

When war was declared, April 6, 1917, the Navy passed from a peace to a war basis without an hour's delay. The submarine being the immediate menace and to combat it the first duty, it was decided to send as many destroyers as possible across the sea for service in the war zone. A flotilla of destroyers was immediately organized and equipped for foreign service, and the first contingent sailed a little more than a fortnight after war was declared, arriving at Queenstown May 4. Since that time our naval forces in European waters have been continually augmented until now we have more than 250 vessels, including all types from battleships to submarine chasers, and a force of more than 45,000 officers and men under command of Vice Admiral Sims. British and French naval authorities have paid the highest tributes to their energy, enterprise and effectiveness in convoying troop and supply ships and merchant vessels, in patroling vast sea areas, and in destroying submarines. Just how many U-boats they have destroyed can not now be announced, but it is known that they have accounted for a very material number of them. Only a few days ago American submarine chasers took part in the destruction of the Austrian naval base at Durazzo, screened larger ships under a hot enemy fire, sank one submarine and damaged and probably destroyed another; and this was in the Adriatic, in an area in which few people realized that our Navy was operating.

From the far North, along the coasts of England and France and Portugal, in the Mediterranean and Adriatic our forces are constantly at work. They sometimes call it the "silent Navy," for cloak of secrecy must necessarily cover many of its operations, but whenever and wherever its services are required it is heard from, and always acquits itself with the credit that courage and efficiency demand, upholding the traditions of the service.

The greatest task intrusted to the Navy, and what has well been called "the biggest transportation job in history," is the transportation of our armies overseas, and the way in which it has been accomplished is without a parallel. For a year and a half a continuous stream of transports has poured across the seas to France. Despite the constant menace of submarines and the difficulties of navigation under war conditions, not a single American troop ship under the convoy of our naval vessels has been sunk on the way to France, and not one soldier aboard them has been lost through enemy action. In this tremendous task the British Navy has given us the most valuable assistance, placing at our disposal a large amount of tonnage and carrying hundreds of thousands of American troops. Without their assistance we could not have placed on the fighting front anything like as many men as are there now, and they deserve our warmest gratitude. The French and Italians have also given material aid. All the allied navies have worked together with the same purpose and aim, each aiding the other in every possible way. There are now nearly 2,000,000 American soldiers either in France or on the way, and the total loss of life due to enemy submarine activity has been less than 300 men.

The administration of the Navy Department has been characterized by signal efficiency in every bureau and division. Long before we entered the war deadwood and red tape had been cut out and the department put on a thorough working basis. The machinery was so well organized that when the heavy demands of the war emergency came all that was needed was to expand the personnel and equipment. The Navy has promptly met every demand made upon it, it has responded without delay to every call, and no necessity has been found for any change in its organization. It has successfully met the severe tests, and this is the highest possible tribute to its efficiency and the ability of its officials.

Two years ago, just before the final passage of the naval act of August 29, 1916, the largest ever passed up to that time, I had the pleasure of reviewing before this House the progress of the Navy. I pointed out that during the 16 years from 1898 to 1913 the total tonnage authorized amounted to only 1,116,018 tons, while in the years 1914–1916, 1,014,666 tons had been authorized. During the McKinley-Roosevelt administration, from March 4, 1901, to March 4, 1905, the total cost of vessels authorized amounted to $107,006,642; during the Roosevelt administration, from March 4, 1905, to March 4, 1909, the total amounted to $83,192,938; under the Taft administration, from March 4, 1909, to March 4, 1913, $127,747,113. During the first three years of the Wilson administration the total cost of vessels authorized amounted to $655,289,806. Though the authorized strength of the Navy was only 51,500, until the present administration it had never been recruited up to its full strength. In fact on March 4, 1913, the Navy was 5,312 men short of its authorized strength. The efforts of Secretary Daniels and his aids to popularize the naval service, to provide greater opportunities for the enlisted men, bore such good fruit that over 6,000 men were added to the enlisted strength and the Navy was kept fully recruited.

The improvements in organization and administration, and the liberal appropriations made by Congress laid the basis for that preparedness which was so strikingly apparent when the Navy was called into action. The wisdom of Secretary Daniels's policy of expanding our shipyards, of having the Navy not only build ships but manufacture in its own shops munitions and many other things needed by the Navy was immediately vin-

dicated when war came. It is not difficut to picture the plight in which we would have found ourselves if the policy of closing and dismantling a number of our navy yards and depending almost entirely upon private firms and shipyards had prevailed. Our navy yards have proved a very present help in time of need. Well manned and well equipped, they have, by increasing their working forces and buildings and machinery, been able to care for the enormous amount of repair work to keep in shipshape the vastly increased fleet, and their shipways and shops have proved a very substantial addition to the shipbuilding facilities we sorely needed.

The retention of competent men by reenlistment, the careful training of the personnel, gave us a body of trained seamen that formed a valuable basis for the immense Navy of to-day. Sir Eric Geddes, the first lord of the British Admiralty, on his arrival a few days ago, remarked:

> The dauntless determination which the United States has displayed in creating a huge trained body of seamen out of landsmen is one of the most striking accomplishments of the war. Had it not been effectively done one would have thought it impossible, and words fail me to express our admiration of this feat, undertaken and accomplished by your Navy Department, of which Mr. Secretary Daniels is the civil chief.

This was made possible only by the excellent system of training that had been built up in previous years and the plan of intensive instruction which was made to put into effect in the emergency of war.

Recently when I was abroad in England, France, and Italy there was one unbroken and unanimous expression of wonder and appreciation of the magnitude and the rapidity of the achievements of the United States in the Army, the Navy, and the Marine Corps, and everyone was unstinted in his commendation and praise.

Feeding and clothing the half million men in the Navy has been a task of huge proportions well performed. Despite the many difficulties of securing supplies and materials, the high standard has been maintained, and we have sustained our reputation of having "the best fed, best clad Navy in the world." The volume of purchases by the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts has grown from a prewar sum of $27,000,000 per annum to over half a billion dollars a year. By the use of the widest information in regard to supplies and materials, keeping in close touch with the sources of production, broadening competitive bidding, and using war-time powers, profiteering has been prevented and Navy purchasing put on a scientific basis.

The Navy ration has been maintained steadily at its usual high standard. Importunities to lower the Navy's specifications for food provisions and to adopt substitutes have been resisted, and there is no variation whatever in either quality or quantity and variety of ration. It is as it existed before the war.

While the average cost of the rations increased about 13 per cent over the cost last year, it has been shown by the Department of Labor that there was an 18 per cent rise in average wholesale prices, so that had the cost of the ration kept pace with the increase in the cost of provisions, the total cost to the Government would have been about a million and a half dollars more than it actually was—this means a daily saving of $4,500.

Reports received from commanding officers of our transports, bearing troops for France, amply attest the fact that the men have been well satisfied with the food furnished them. As an instance of this the following is quoted from a report made by the officer in charge of the transport *Mercury:*

> The food supplied the troops during the voyage has been well cooked, most excellent in quality, the variety has been well maintained, and it has been ample in quantity. No man has been turned away no matter how many times he appeared for reissue of food at any meal.

Recently on a transport 11,000 troops were served dinner in the remarkably short period of one hour and seven minutes.

Anticipation of the requirements of material resulted in great advantage to the Navy. Thus, in regard to cloth alone, the Navy will not have to enter the market again until May, 1919. This purchase, amounting to $17,000,000, resulted in yardage sufficient to manufacture a million blouses, 800,000 pairs of trousers, and 350,000 overcoats.

Competitive bidding has prevailed and the widest publicity is sought in connection with all purchasing. By maintaining a rigidly supervised list of qualified bidders great progress has been made in eliminating the middle man while contingent-fee attorneys and brokers have been exposed.

A successful means of readjusting prices downward has been effected by the Navy supplying raw material to the manufacturers who had the facilities for fabricating but who were not able to obtain the raw article.

The commandeering power was most successfully used in the fall of 1917 when the tin market was mounting rapidly. By taking over cargoes and apportioning among a few concerns an instance is shown where the Navy secured tin at 64 cents a pound when the market was 80. The soundness of this policy is found in a letter written to the Secretary of the Navy by the chairman of the Price Fixing Committee, in which he states—

> Manufacturers waste time in attempting to extort unfair prices from the Navy, as it seems to keep itself exceptionally well informed and uses the commandeering privileges to secure fair prices.

To facilitate the shipment of supplies and materials for the Navy a division of inland transportation was formed with the result that little trouble was experienced in the war-program traffic.

Of great interest to the dependents of our men are the allotments made by the personnel of the Navy. During the fiscal year there were paid 849,000 allotments amounting to over $19,000,000.

It is worthy of prominent note that the Navy subscribed to a sum of over $18,500,000 in the third liberty loan, and that every navy yard in the country gave subscriptions from more than 80 per cent of its employees, and reports are that its subscription to the fourth loan will exceed the third.

Activities of the disbursing division have resulted in the actual saving to the Navy of $11,000,000. This control has been exercised without friction, ways being found to prevent the Government's money from being wasted without interfering with the work.

Recently, in company with 12 other members of the Committee on Naval Affairs, I made a visit overseas, going into Scotland, England, Ireland, France, and Italy, where we had opportunity to visit and make inspection of some of the activities of the English Navy and of many of the activities of the United States Navy abroad.

I do not deem it appropriate or advisable because of war conditions to speak in detail of these activities in the war zone in more specific detail than I have set out herein. However, I do deem it appropriate to say that we found the operations of the United States Navy overseas in a most satisfactory condition. We were especially pleased to learn from our own officers, as well as the officers of the English, French, and Italian Navies, that the cooperation between the several navies was most complete, cordial, and harmonious; indeed, they all spoke of it as the one naval service of the three countries and not as three separate naval services. We were also well pleased with the intelligent and efficient management and with the zeal, energy, and devotion of our officers.

No statement can be made at this time in detail of the magnitude of the naval operations overseas. This much, however, I feel justified in saying: That the magnitude of naval operations overseas, on the water and in the air, reflects credit upon the American people and commands the respect and the admiration of our allies. When the war is over and the full history of the magnitude of our naval operations abroad may be given in detail, it will be a source of pride and honor to the American people; and the fidelity, intelligence, patriotism, and devotion of our naval officers and enlisted men, embracing as a part of the Navy the Marine Corps officers and men, will form a bright page in the world's history and will receive throughout future ages the commendation and plaudits of all who admire courage and intelligence and love patriotism and fidelity.

The Marines on land and the Navy men on sea and in the air in the various lines of work and duty to which they have been detailed deserve, and I believe heartily receive, the unanimous commendation of the American people. Well done, faithful officers and men.

In order that the Congress and the country might have full and detailed information concerning the operations of the Navy and the Marine Corps, I have had prepared by the chiefs of the several bureaus a statement showing the work and the operations of the Navy in connection with this war, and I attach them hereto as a part of my remarks:

OFFICE OF NAVAL OPERATIONS.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NAVAL AVIATION.

Previous to the declaration of war the Navy had maintained but one air station. This was a small but complete and active station at Pensacola, Fla., which was used for instruction and experimental work. The personnel of aviation at this time consisted of about 30 line officers of the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, who were trained as aviators, and 300 men. The aircraft in use consisted of a variety of American and foreign types which had been purchased by the department. Owing to the limited facilities and small appropriations, the results of these activities were not very extensive.

The Naval Reserve Flying Corps was established by law in 1916, but it was not until February, 1917, that a definite interpretation was placed on this law and that enrollments in the Naval Reserve Flying Corps actually began. The officers who received training in aviation had been regarded as having been detailed for special duty in connection with aviation. The law passed by Congress in 1916 authorizing the Naval Reserve included not only a reserve to be attached to the fleet but the Naval Reserve Flying Corps. Accordingly when war was declared steps were taken to enroll and train a large number of men for

ultimate qualification as pilots. In addition, facilities were provided for the training of a large number of men specialized in the various functions pertaining to aviation, and at the present time schools are in operation for the training of pilots, mechanics, gas-engine experts, communication officers, etc.

On October 2, 1918, the total strength of naval aviation was approximately 40,383 officers and men. Of this number, 16,621 are now abroad and actively engaged in operations against the enemy. This increase in the aviation personnel of the Navy since the beginning of the war has called for an enormous expansion of training facilities. When the training program was first put into operation there was but one ground school. This school provided at that time training facilities for about 300 men. At the present time this number has been increased to 1,200, and, in addition, schools have been established in the Central West and near the Pacific coast. For the training of dirigible pilots a school was established in Ohio, and the department is now contemplating the establishment of an additional school.

It was evident to naval authorities that one of the most important ways of assisting the allies was to engage immediately in the antisubmarine warfare. In order to bring the United States to the point where the most good could be accomplished with the facilities immediately available various methods of combating the submarine were carefully considered. As a result, it was decided to establish coastal patrol stations, both in this country and abroad.

Construction on stations in the United States was started immediately, and to-day practically the entire eastern Atlantic coast is being patrolled by naval aircraft, and the Navy Department is prepared to extend these operations along the Gulf and Pacific coasts. In addition to seaplane-patrol stations, dirigible and kite-balloon stations have been put into operation, and, in order to attain the greatest possible efficiency and cruising radius for seaplanes, rest and supply stations are being located at the most advantageous points.

The increase in the number of stations abroad has been fully as great. The month following the declaration of war 5 naval aviators and 100 enlisted men were sent abroad, and these forces were the first forces of the United States to land in France for service against the enemy. The bodies of three of these men are now buried in France and two others were killed in seaplane accidents. Since the arrival of this first expedition abroad, stations have been established not only in France but in England, Ireland, and Italy as well. In order to appreciate more fully the magnitude of this achievement, it may be said that it has been necessary to ship from the United States practically all the material for these stations, which includes hangars, machinery, and, in a word, everything that will eventully be used at these points.

During the month of September, 1918, aircraft engaged in patrol flights in the United States covered a total distance of 404,775 miles. Aircraft engaged in training flights covered a total of 1,317,460 miles during the same period. It is not considered advisable to give out actual figures regarding the operations at foreign stations. The work abroad has gone forward steadily and the results obtained are becoming more and more important. A recent announcement by the Navy Department to the effect that American naval aircraft successfully attacked and destroyed a German submarine is only one illustration of the work that is being done over there. The stations, in addition to carrying out active antisubmarine patrols, have been engaged in assisting vessels of the fleet in convoying troop and merchant ships.

On April 27, 1918, an American dirigible abroad made a continuous flight for 25 hours and 43 minutes, during the course of which three convoys were escorted for 13 hours and 50 minutes in a zone which was mined and patrolled. In recognition of this accomplishment the French minister of the marine officially complimented the American forces saying that "such an ascension of 25 hours and 43 minutes, which constitutes by its duration a remarkable performance, gives us proof of the most excellent qualities of endurance, of energy, of sang-froid, and of technical ability of the American forces."

In addition to the activities mentioned above the Navy Department decided to organize an expedition to destroy enemy submarine and naval bases. The personnel and material of this expedition was organized in the United States and later sent abroad. On August 15, 1918, it was announced that operations had been started by bombing and destroying enemy bases in Belgium. The scope of the activities of the expedition have since been increased and the original forces augmented from time to time.

When war was declared on April 6, 1917, 93 heavier-than-air seaplanes had previously been delivered to the Navy and about 135 were on order. Of the number that had previously been delivered, only 21 were in use, the remainder having been worn out or lost. These seaplanes were of the N–9 and R–6 types, which are now considered as training seaplanes.

After eliminating types which had been tried and found unsuitable, the department fixed upon two sizes for war purposes which had been perfected in the United States in anticipation of the development of a high-powered engine. The engine developed is the Liberty. The flying boat which at the present time is strongly favored is an American conception and it has not been necessary to copy foreign patterns to insure our fliers being supplied with the best. With this development of the heavier-than-air craft came the development of dirigibles and kite balloons.

With the development of suitable planes and engines the Navy was able to select the type of aircraft which was best suited for its service and to frame a large and definite building program. As a result there are now over 500 seaplanes in use at naval air stations in the United States and up to date over 400 seaplanes have been sent abroad. Other aircraft at stations, both in this country and abroad, includes dirigibles and kite balloons. There has been no undue delay in supplying seaplanes, and the delivery of service seaplanes is approximately one month ahead of the scheduled time.

The demand for aircraft necessitated an enormous increase of production facilities, and, as a part of this extension, the Navy Department undertook to build and equip a naval aircraft factory at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. Within 90 days from the date the land had been assigned, the factory was erected and the keel of the first flying boat was laid down. In August, 1918, this factory was producing 50 per cent more seaplanes than it had been two months previous. In addition, at least five plants are at present devoted to Navy work and a large proportion of the output of several other factories has been assigned to the Navy.

The delivery of seaplanes for training purposes has been sufficient to more than meet the requirements. The training of personnel and providing of stations and equipment to carry out this training has expanded sufficiently so that the present output of pilots, observers, mechanicians, and men trained in special branches is keeping abreast or ahead of requirements.

The confidential nature of the work prevents any definite statement being made as to future operations. However, it may be said that the Navy Department recently established several air stations in Canada. These stations have been supplied with personnel and material from the United States, and the Navy Department is at present engaged in training personnel for the Canadian Government, which personnel will eventually take over the operation of the stations. In addition, the governments of our allies have requested the Navy Department to take over more stations abroad, and not only are they desired to continue present operations, but also to increase the field of their activities.

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BUREAU OF NAVIGATION.

Just before the entrance of the United States in the war, or in January of last year, the Navy had a total of 56,000 officers and men of all kinds. To-day there are 520,000 officers and men, which include Reserves and Coast Guard—all volunteers. This number does not include the personnel of the Marine Corps.

Commissioned and enlisted personnel on January of last year were assigned by this bureau to a total of 176 vessels in commission. There are to-day 1,800 vessels in full commission, with complete complements of officers and men and with excess personnel on each ship to provide for training. The vessels commissioned include battleships, submarines, cruisers, destroyers, transports, hospital ships, patrol vessels, mine layers, mine sweepers, submarine chasers, converted yachts, gunboats, fuel and supply ships, cargo carriers, etc.

Just prior to the beginning of the war the Bureau of Navigation, which has charge of the recruiting, education, and training of all officers and men and their assignment to the fighting vessels of the Navy, started a carefully considered system of intensive training to provide for the great need for efficient personnel during the war. An estimate of war needs was accurately drawn up and schools for special ratings were immediately started. At the same time the training stations, which could accommodate but 6,000 men, were enlarged and additional training depots erected, until now they can accommodate over 100,000 men in training.

The assistance of universities and schools throughout the country was obtained in order to train men for special ratings along technical lines in which these educational institutions excelled, but the schools established at the training stations covered the great majority of the ratings necessary for the fighting work of the fleet. At the training stations there are schools for practically all the trades, including courses for divers, electricians, radio men, carpenters, machinists, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, bakers, cooks, stewards, Hospital Corps men, fuel-oil men, winch men, camoufleurs, musicians, yeomen, gunners, signalmen, steel and concrete construction men, water tenders, firemen, quartermasters, helmsmen, gyro-compass men, lookouts, armed-guard crews, submarine crews, motor-boat men, hydroplane specialists, torpedo men, aviators, aviator mechanics of all classes, etc.

Training was also started in the battle fleet, and, under the able direction of the commander in chief, Admiral Mayo, every vessel of the Navy, at home and abroad, is now an active training unit for both officers and men in addition to carrying out its main mission of immediate readiness for battle. Trained destroyer, submarine, and patrol boat officers and men from the war zone are being constantly brought back as nucleus crews to man many of the new vessels being put into commission, and the battleships and other vessels of the fleet are turning out specially trained crews for new battleships and other vessels of the fleet and are providing the armed guards for every vessel that visits the war zone.

It is because of the strict adherence to the carefully prepared plans of the bureau in regard to providing trained personnel for the enormous expansion of the Navy from 56,000 to 520,000 that the Navy has been able to satisfactorily meet every call for manning new vessels and for providing the necessary skilled officers and men for all the detailed work of aviation, mining, bombing, and other operations abroad.

The reports from the commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet and from all commanders of forces abroad show that the various units composing the Navy have reached a higher state of battle efficiency than ever before. Further, the system of providing and training personnel is now operating on the assumption that the war will last for several years, and every detail of the needs for 18 months to come has been carefully considered and prepared for.

In the transport service alone, which includes all the convoy and escort system, and which, under Rear Admiral Gleaves, has produced such remarkable results in safely delivering enormous numbers of troops and quantities of supplies on the other side, there are to-day more officers and men than there were in the entire Navy just prior to the beginning of the war. The same statement applies equally to the forces actually operating in the war zone on the other side.

It is proper to state that the successful operation of all activities assigned to the Navy during the war is directly due to the system of training of officers and men, in which this country has excelled for many years past.

The measure of the efficiency of the Navy is the efficiency of its personnel.

BUREAU OF SUPPLIES AND ACCOUNTS.

At the beginning of the war the enlisted strength of the Navy was approximately 60,000 men; since that time the Navy has increased by leaps and bounds until to-day, a year and a half since war was declared on Germany, we have an enlisted strength of approximately half a million. The work of feeding and clothing the greatly increased Navy proceeded with orderly precision and all of the men have been satisfactorily outfitted with clothing adequate for their needs in every respect. All of the clothing provided for the men has been up to the usual high Navy standard, the inspections never having for a moment been relaxed in any degree.

The Navy ration since the war has been maintained at its usual high standard and this factor has greatly contributed to the excellent physical condition which characterizes the health of the Navy to-day. Although constant importunities have been made to lower the Navy's specifications for provisions and to adopt food substitutes, all such importunities were successfully resisted and there is no variation in the quality, quantity, and variety of the Navy ration as it existed before the war.

Great pressure has been brought to bear on the Navy to lower the specifications for beef and to accept carcass beef of a minimum weight of 475 pounds, which is 100 pounds less than that required under the Navy specifications. The first request to lower the specifications was accompanied by a statement to the effect that there was a threatened shortage in the immediate future of beef of Navy specification weight and as a result the Federal Trade Commission was requested to investi-

gate the entire beef situation. Upon receipt of the report of the Federal Trade Commission and after an exchange of views with the Food Administration the following resolution with reference to beef for the Navy was adopted by the Food Purchase Board:

"It is requested that the Food Administration preempt for and allot to the Army, Navy, and fighting forces of our allies a sufficient quantity of beef weighing 575 pounds up to 850 pounds to fill their demands.

"If there be not enough beef of these weights procurable, then the Food Administration is requested to allot, after giving notice to the War Department and the Navy Department, lighter beef of proper quality sufficient to meet such deficiency, keeping the weights of the allotted beef as near as possible to the minimum mentioned above—this lighter-weight beef to be distributed pro rata between the Army, the Navy, and the allied fighting forces on the basis of their total demands.

"During such time, however, as a shortage of heavyweight beef may exist, the Food Administration is requested to take the necessary steps to prevent any such heavyweight beef from being diverted to the civilian populations either within the United States or abroad.

"The quality of all allotted beef to be passed upon by the inspectors for the Army and Navy in accordance with specifications and instructions issued to them by their respective departments."

While the average cost of the ration increased about 13 per cent over the cost last year, statistics from the official bulletin issued by the Department of Labor indicate that there was a rise in the average wholesale prices of provisions of 18 per cent; so that, had the cost of the ration kept pace with the increase in the cost of provisions the total cost to the Government would have been about a million and a half dollars more than it actually was—this meaning a saving of about $4,500 a day.

As stated by the Secretary of the Navy, "the success of the transfer of the Army troops will depend to a large extent on the conduct of the commissary service on each vessel." Keeping this fact in mind, plans were made well in advance of the initial trip of the transports bearing troops for France and complete and satisfactory arrangements for the subsistence of the troops en route were made. The reports received from the commanding officers of the troops on board the transports amply attest the fact that the troops are well satisfied with the food furnished them, the following having been received from the commanding officer of the troops en route on the transport *Mercury:*

"The food supplied the troops during the voyage has been well cooked, most excellent in quality, the variety has been well maintained, and it has been ample in quantity. No man has been turned away, no matter how many times he appeared for reissue of food at any meal."

On one transport recently 11,000 troops were served dinner in the remarkably short period of one hour and seven minutes.

PURCHASE DIVISION.

The volume of purchasing done in Supplies and Accounts has grown from a prewar sum of $27,000,000 per annum to over half a billion per annum. Although the general fundamental principles of Navy peacetime purchasing, definite standards of quality, adequate inspection, etc., have been maintained, it has been necessary by reason of changed conditions in industry to make use of a war-time power of fixing fair and just prices on the basis of cost of production plus a reasonable profit in connection with the purchase of many commodities. Competition which in time of peace assured reasonable prices became inadequate in time of war. In addition, the changed conditions have made necessary the use of the war-time power to compel performance. The developments of the year in the observance of these fundamentals and the new experience gathered in the use of war-time powers have added greatly to the store of purchasing knowledge. The records already were so complete as to warrant the statement that "Navy purchasing has been a science."

Personnel: The purchasing staff of the Navy has increased over 1,400 per cent during the year. From a prewar force of 28 officers, clerks, stenographers, and civilian experts, the purchasing force of the Navy has increased to a present total of 402. It is interesting to note in this connection that practically the entire purchasing staff of to-day was untrained, without previous purchasing experience in the Navy.

Major phases of purchasing: The story of the Navy purchasing system may be briefly summarized under five heads:

(a) The building up of an organization for specializing in various lines of commodities, thus forming a basis for coordinating all governmental purchasing.
(b) Developments in competitive bidding.
(c) War-time means of securing material.
(d) Determination of "fair and just" prices.
(e) Stock upkeep in war.

Studies in material: With purchases amounting to more than a million and one-half dollars a day, the need for an organization of specialists was early seen. For each important industry, the purchasing organization has had its specialist who has been charged with a thorough knowledge of the facts in each industry, labor supply, raw materials, fuel power, finances, together with the capacity of the industry for production. Anticipation of the requirements of this material by these specialists has resulted to the advantage of the Navy.

The value of a specialized study of the Nation's capacity for production may be seen in the following typical case in connection with textiles:

In August last, 10,000,000 yards of duck and 6,500,000 yards of denim were purchased prior to the taking over by the Army of the Nation's entire production until March, 1919. Five million yards of 11-ounce, 18-ounce, and 30-ounce cloth were bought, being the largest purchases of uniform cloth ever contemplated by the Navy and requiring an expenditure of $17,000,000. To make the cloth 15,000,000 pounds of grease wool was used, which resulted in a yardage sufficient for the manufacture of 1,000,000 blouses, 800,000 pairs of trousers, and 350,000 overcoats. By thus anticipating requirements, it will be unnecessary for the Navy to enter the market again for cloth until May, 1919. By adding 2,000,000 yards of 11-ounce, 400,000 yards of 18-ounce, and 600,000 yards of 30-ounce material, Navy contracts were out of the way of the Army before its expanded program was adopted.

Material sections: Special groups (steel and iron, chemicals and explosives, nonferrous metals, textiles, lumber, provisions, etc.) are maintained in the purchasing organization. These groups have been built around men expert in their particular specialty. Other groups are added from time to time as the war demands for any material assume special importance in purchasing operations. As a result of the extension of a policy of organization along material lines to other war agencies of the Government, it has been possible to make all Navy purchases through a Navy organization without conflict.

Developments in competitive bidding: The Navy system of obtaining material by competitive bidding had been thoroughly developed before the war, and was well known to industry. There have been no important changes in principle nor in practice other than those of gradual and orderly expansion. The pressure of war demand has in no way modified the principle that Navy business must not only be right but must look right. The widest possible publicity is sought in connection with all purchasing activities.

A campaign has been conducted with great success with a view to eliminating all middle men from bidding on Navy supplies by maintaining a rigidly supervised list of qualified bidders and by making it attractive to manufacturers to bid direct. Contingent-fee attorneys and brokers have been mercilessly exposed, and the facts in each case have been presented to the Department of Justice for action. A year ago the percentage of brokers bidding for Navy business was between 6 and 7 per cent. To-day this percentage has been cut down to between 1 and 2 per cent. On occasions when satisfactory bids have not been received at the public opening by reason of scarcity of material or unwillingness of manufacturers to bid in the face of rising prices, special appeals have been made in the form of individual letters, pointing out the urgent necessity for the material and the responsibility of the manufacturer in contributing to the supply of war needs. Upon each application of this method the necessary supply of the needed commodity has been obtained at satisfactory prices.

War-time means of securing material: Often by reason of an insufficient supply of raw material or an unwillingness on the part of manufacturers to furnish material at prices which the Navy ought to pay, it has been necessary to exercise the power vested by law to place mandatory orders at prices determined by the Navy after intensive investigation of the cost of production. This procedure has been necessary both to obtain the finished product and to control raw materials when prices were unduly inflated by reason of wide competition on the part of manufacturers who sought to supply the finished product. Price discussions have been held with the representatives of the leading industries and have resulted in securing many classes of supplies at reasonable prices, in addition to establishing close relations between the Navy and industry. In addition to the peace-time method of competition, it has been possible for the Navy to further assure fair prices by reason of its vigorous use when needed of the price-fixing powers. In order to protect the Navy until such time as the competition order of industry is fully restored it would seem imperative that they should be extended beyond the limits at which they are now fixed.

Fair prices to the Navy: In every exercise of the purchasing function the Navy has sought tirelessly to assure fair prices. To this end every means open to it have been actively employed. A few concrete examples of this policy will serve to show the practical results obtained and to further justify the elaborate and detailed study of commodity markets maintained by the Navy since the beginning of the war. In certain instances, after a thorough request for bids had resulted unsatisfactorily, it was found necessary to allocate Government needs among the industry in order that actual production might be assured and at the same time that fair and just prices should be obtained. This practice has been widely followed in the steel industry and has been most successfully applied by the Navy in connection with its purchases of certain classes of food products. Where allocation has failed it has been necessary to commandeer available supplies in order to meet immediate needs. In June, for illustration, in cooperation with the Army, a joint order to commandeer white and kidney beans became necessary. As a result of the order 42,000,000 pounds of beans were secured in California. Many contracts were in force for the sale of the beans which were commandeered, title to pass upon the docking of the vessel at a United States port. In order to protect the Navy's interests and to avoid the obvious increases in cost which would result from the injection of intermediate owners, commandeering orders were entered against the cargoes by wireless, and a fair price, based upon the cost of the product to importers, was fixed. By this means a large supply of the necessary staple was obtained at a great saving to the Army and the Navy, and all parties with equitable rights in the transaction were fully protected.

A successful means of readjusting prices downward has been effected by supplying raw material to the manufacturers. In July, 1917, 3,000,000 pounds of wool were purchased, and the effect upon the market of the price at which wool was offered by the Navy to its cloth contractors was surprising. Although there was no established price control at that time, the action of the Navy helped to stabilize the whole wool situation. Manufacturers state that this wool made it possible for them to obtain satisfactory prices on raw material, and as a result reductions were made in the price to the Navy of finished wool products. In this instance the Navy's small holding of wool prevented the price on contractor's options from exceeding the price set by the Navy on its own supply. A further purchase of 25,000 bales of Australian wool was made under favorable conditions by arrangement with the British Government, and a complete set of samples was made available for the inspection and selection by successful low bidders on manufactured cloth. As a result a direct saving has been effected to the extent of about $1,500,000 and has assured the production of material with which to clothe the fleet. Another instance where the Navy has successfully supplied raw material and so obtained finished products at low prices is seen in the case of high explosives. In a period of unusual demand concerns who had the facilities for fabricating but which were not able to obtain the raw materials at reasonable prices were furnished the raw material by the Navy, which made it possible to secure reasonable prices upon the finished product.

In order to obtain low prices and to avoid a duplication of effort there has been a recent tendency to have one department obtain certain classes of material for the entire war program. At the request of the War Department the Navy now handles the distribution of mercury for the use of explosives, paints, and pharmaceuticals, and by reason of similar request controls all arrangements for inspection, payment, and distribution of imported Indian mica. This practice extends also to the purchase of hemp and kapok by the Navy purchasing organization in the Philippine Islands.

In order to make the fullest use of stored material a permanent naval board of appraisal and condemnation has been established at New York, with authority to take possession of articles needed by the Navy. The board has made inventories of goods of interest to the Navy stored in warehouses and held by banks or forwarding agents for export, in the case of 238 warehouses, 49 banks, and 553 forwarding agents and 223 exporters. By thus making use of finished products instead of placing new orders and by taking material at a fixed price a substantial saving to the Nation has resulted.

The commandeering power was most successfully used in the fall of 1917, when the tin market was mounting rapidly. Upon advices from the collector of customs that a ship with a cargo of 250 tons of pig tin consigned to three owners was about to dock, the 13 tons required by the Navy were commandeered and apportioned among the three concerns. The tin was paid for at 64 cents per pound, the approximate value before the market began to rise. Further arrangements were

made to restrain all tin of Navy specification warehoused in New York, and 2,000 tons were placed under seal. As a result of this action, several hundred additional tons were placed at the disposal of the Navy by a dealer at 64 cents per pound, the market at that time being 80 cents. In connection with this operation, the following statement was made a part of the report of the Senate Investigating Committee on Operation of Government Departments:

"The action of the Navy in commandeering tin which was hoarded in the possession of importers and dealers and thereby held from the market when an acute shortage prevailed was commendable."

By reason of the use of mandatory and commandeering orders, the determination of a just and reasonable price was of first importance—the power to fix a price, implying the responsibility to fix it when quoted prices were not fair. The Navy has earned a reputation for insisting upon fair prices to apply to its purchases, and this principle has become recognized as the only substantial foundation for the Government war-time purchasing. The concrete acknowledgment of the soundness of this policy is found in a letter from the chairman of the price-fixing committee to the Secretary of the Navy, in which he states:

"Manufacturers waste their time to attempt to extort unfair prices from the Navy, as it seems to keep itself exceptionally well informed, and uses, as it should, its mandatory orders and commandeering privileges to secure fair prices."

INLAND TRAFFIC DIVISION.

The congestion on the railroads which was generally prevalent at the time war was declared became more serious; and efforts and methods that had previously been used to secure necessary transportation and expeditious movement for Navy and Marine Corps traffic were unavailing.

In the territory north of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers and east of the Indiana-Illinois State line, where were located at least 90 per cent of the industries engaged in the manufacture of war material, the carriers were unable to furnish transportation required for all traffic; and the problem was, and still is, to distribute the transportation properly and fairly and first to those interests directly involved in the prosecution of the war.

For the purpose of protecting Navy interests, a section known as "rush delivery" was created in the Purchase Division of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, which accomplished results that were far-reaching, particularly at a time when the Navy was endeavoring to place in commission for effective operation against the submarine the greatest possible number of destroyers and submarine chasers.

The shortage of freight equipment was very acute. Where, during normal times, a few days were consumed in handling freight between point of origin and destination weeks were now required. Contractors found it impossible to secure cars in the required number and were unable to move with reasonable promptness those that they did secure except with the assistance of the Navy.

Toward the end of 1917 the volume of traffic to be handled increased enormously; adverse rail conditions continued; congestion and delays increased; and, mainly due to the unusually severe winter, there resulted the most serious situation known in the history of the railroads.

It was therefore deemed advisable, early in February, 1918, to establish a Division of Inland Transportation in the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, consisting of a limited number of employees assisted and advised by a few executive representatives of the United States Railroad Administration. This division has so well accomplished the purpose for which it was created that there has been but little serious trouble since in moving with reasonable promptness the war program traffic in which the Navy and Marine Corps were, or are, interested. While much of this improved situation is due to the ability of the rail carriers to take care of all the traffic involved to better advantage at this time, yet the direct action by this division and the assistance that it has been able to render the various bureaus has enabled action to be taken and to result with greater dispatch.

Particular assistance was and is being given to subcontractors who have very little ability to obtain prompt results (if at all) except through the efforts of the Navy and Marine Corps; and the very few complaints that have been made for some months plainly indicate the value of the assistance rendered in the speeding up of the war program.

The measures adopted by the Navy in connection with labor transportation to and from navy yards, shipbuilding plants, and other activities in which the Navy was and is interested have been far-reaching in their effect upon a situation that was adverse in its operation against Navy activities. Results were obtained by inducing in some instances the street railway companies to expand their transportation facilities, thus giving satisfactory transportation conditions and abating the conditions that would in time have become intolerable to labor.

All during the period of increased activity occasioned by the outbreak of hostilities, close attention has been given to the necessity of avoiding unreasonable or excessive transportation charges. The same attention has been given to rate applications to and from contemplated storage sites.

ALLOTMENT AND WAR-RISK DIVISION.

Of great interest to thousands of dependents of our men, in the fleet and scattered through our stations at home and abroad, are the allotments made by the personnel of the Navy. In July, 1917, there were paid about 29,000 allotments, amounting to a little over $860,000. In June, 1918, there were paid 128,000 allotments, amounting to about $2,700,000. During the fiscal year there were paid a total of 849,000 allotments, amounting to over $19,000,000.

The third liberty loan to the Navy was handled by Supplies and Accounts, the work being in direct charge of Admiral Cowie, and the Navy officers and men, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard subscribed a sum of over $18,500,000. It is interesting in this connection to note that every navy yard in the United States gave subscriptions from more than 80 per cent of its employees, all but one over 88 per cent of the employees, and all but two over 95 per cent of the employees. One yard had 100 per cent of the entire number of employees therein subscribing, and the average subscription in this yard was $87.50.

Steps are being taken to put the fourth liberty loan "over the top," so far as the Navy is concerned, with an even greater total as regards the amount of money subscribed.

The war-risk insurance act approved October 6, 1917, threw a tremendous volume of work upon the Navy, and this work was handled by Supplies and Accounts, by a special division created for this purpose, working in close harmony with the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department.

Specially trained officers were sent abroad to visit every ship there, and all stations, and to explain to every officer and man, afloat and ashore, the provisos of this act. In addition, they conducted an active selling campaign and saw to it that all requests were sent in in proper form, so that allotments would be paid without delay and without interminable correspondence.

In December, 1917, 11,000 applications were forwarded to the Treasury Department; in January, 41,000; increasing rapidly from month to month, in January 20,300 checks being mailed, to the value of nearly $1,500,000, and in June of this year 100,756 checks, of a total of over $4,150,000.

How great a success the war-risk insurance is proving is shown by an examination of the latest applications for insurance received in comparison with the earlier ones, which show an increase of nearly $1,500 on average applications, figures of which are as follows:

	Average.
1,000 early applications	$7,431
1,000 intermediate applications	7,851
1,000 recent applications	8,972
Grand average	8,085

The total of 276,341 insurance applications in the Navy July 31, 1918, at this average, makes a total amount of $2,234,216,985 insurance in the Navy.

Of the 345,720 family-allotment applications in the Navy July 31, 1918, approximately 100,000 are "live" allotments. The average allotment per man of these is a few cents over $16, making a total of $1,600,000 per month that the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department is paying to Navy dependents on these family allotments.

LOGISTICS AND FUEL DIVISION.

The entry of the United States into war made the development and handling of the fuel problem one of increasingly vital importance to the country at large as well as to the Navy. The increased Navy demands for all classes of fuel and the often diminishing supply, due to many surrounding conditions, such as labor, transportation, etc., have made it necessary that the greatest care be exercised in the solution of the problem. A few luminous examples showing the rise in the demands are:

Bituminous coal: For the fiscal year 1917 the Navy's requirements were approximately 1,200,000 gross tons, while in 1918 the requirements were in excess of 4,000,000 tons, 90 per cent of which was delivered at tidewater points.

Anthracite coal: Three times the Navy's prewar requirements were used in 1918.

Fuel oil: There has been a large increase in the consumption of this fuel and, in 1918, 4,600,000 barrels were handled, over 90 per cent being for delivery at the Atlantic seaboard, this being three times the amount of oil stored in 1917.

Gasoline: Again the requirements treble, and 11,000,000 gallons were delivered at the Atlantic seaboard and Gulf ports, with half a million gallons more on the Pacific coast.

Distillate: 400,000 gallons have been used by the Navy during this past year.

The handling of the Navy's fuel requirements made it necessary to resort to placing allotment orders against various leading suppliers throughout the country on a basis of an equitable share in the total production, great care being exercised to have these allotments represent a proper pro rata of the total production of the companies involved, based upon their percentage of output, proximity to the transportation required, convenience of facilities, etc. The question of the price of coal was fixed in August under Executive announcement and has been modified from time to time to correspond to the increased cost of production of the various districts, the average price during the last half of the fiscal year being approximately $3 per gross ton at mines producing Navy coal.

The problem of Navy coal is further complicated by the fact that high-grade coal only has to be used by the Navy to meet the military requirements. This coal has to be furnished from mines accepted for this purpose after careful inspection and tried experience. Great benefit has been secured to all concerned by the establishment of the Tidewater Coal Exchange, which, for example, permits loading assignments to be handled at any pier in the harbor in question. The equalization of coal credits in the exchange, under the rules laid down, takes care of the distribution between the coal suppliers and mines at interest.

To meet the daily current problem of the storage of coal careful and accurate surveys have been made of all the principal ports, and large Navy storage plants have been constructed at various ports along the coast equipped with the latest and most economical handling and loading devices. These storages, when completed, will represent a capacity of approximately 1,500,000 tons; and in a like manner the reserve storage is being developed for oil and gasoline, in order that ships may be rapidly refueled alongside the pier or in stream.

SUPPLY DIVISION.

During the past year 143,000 requisitions from various sources were handled by this division, covering all possible items of naval stores.

Among the special features developed by the war were the special winter clothing, submarine clothing, and flash-proof clothing. There had been no previous need in the Navy for cold-weather clothing as our fleet has usually spent its winters in southern waters. At the outbreak of the war, however, the need developed, and after consulting British experience, specifications were drawn for winter clothing, which was immediately obtained by Supplies and Accounts, and is now in use on all vessels of the fleet, with spare outfits located at all the supply stations ashore. This clothing consists of two heavy woolen undershirts; two pairs heavy woolen socks; one blanket overshirt; one wind-proof suit with hood; mittens; and heavy arctics; and with this outfit a man on watch can stand the coldest winter blasts.

The submarine clothing is another special item which has received special attention; and the special garment now in use, although being modified from time to time, as experience teaches, has been very satisfactory.

The development of the aviation clothing kept pace with the development of our air fleet, and by the fall of 1917, 1,500 outfits were on hand and many more have since been purchased. These outfits are being changed from time to time as experience proves the necessity.

The radical development of special clothing was the adoption of flash-proof clothing, which protects the men at guns from the danger of sparks and fire. A board specially appointed for the purpose inquired extensively into the matter, and this clothing is now being obtained for use aboard all ships needing it.

An important and little-heard-of function of Supplies and Accounts is the salvage of scrap and condemned material. The sale of garbage, for instance, previously discarded, will, it is estimated, result in ultimate returns this year of at least $100,000. With the cooperation of Yards and Docks utilization is being made of former wood waste to pro-

duce heat. The saving is conservatively estimated this year at $300,000. More careful attention is being paid to the reworking, repair, and salvaging of all other scrap materials, and the whole question of salvage is being placed on a modern scientific basis. It is not exaggerating to state the ultimate gain this over last year will be at least $500,000. Not only does this represent a direct dollar-and-cent saving, but it goes further, as it saves the production elements all over the country.

The question of storage in the Navy has taken great strides. The tremendous burden thrown upon it in order to take care of the immense amount of stock needed to supply the fleet and shore establishments at the outbreak of the war meant that storage space must keep pace with the increase in stock. Supplies and Accounts and Yards and Docks, working in closest harmony, show results in the following buildings already completed or near completion:

New York Yard: 11-story building, area 712,900 square feet.
Philadelphia: 7-story building, area 307,900 square feet.
Boston: One 8-story storehouse and one 10-story storehouse adjoining, area 900,000 square feet.
Mare Island: 4-story building, area 128,700 square feet.
Charleston: 4-story building, area 96,600 square feet.
Puget Sound: Nine-story building; area, 287,800 square feet.
New London: Four-story building; area, 57,000 square feet.
Hampton Roads: Six-story building; area, 352,423 square feet.
Newport: Four-story building; area, 59,409 squart feet; cost, $147,833.
Washington: Five-story building; area, 137,500 squart feet; cost, $376,751.

In order to relieve the congestion in the navy yard at Brooklyn and also at Norfolk and to permit the industrial activities of those yards to be properly expanded for repairs of the fleet the supply bases at South Brooklyn and at Jamestown will be developed as the two primary issuing and equipping points for the augmented fleet. Inland storage has been located at Phillipsburg, N. J., immediately across the river from Easton, Pa., from which point bulk supplies will be distributed to the issuing yards and bases along the coast.

Under the explicit direction of the Secretary of the Navy, the development of Navy storage has been rapidly made along the following lines: Permanent storage of sufficient amount to meet the needs of the Regular Navy in peace times, together with such temporary storage as may be necessary at this time to meet war conditions, this being in strict compliance with the Secretary's firm stand not to spend a dollar or use a bit of material or any man power unnecessarily during the war.

OVERSEAS DIVISION.

It will be interesting to note that in all the shipments of Navy stores abroad in naval supply ships or ships consigned to the Navy for this purpose only two vessels have suffered damage, one being torpedoed and the other from fire within. The former vessel did not carry a large cargo, and the greater portion of the cargo of the latter vessel was salvaged. It will be seen that the steady flow of naval supplies abroad to our fleet operating there has been practically uninterrupted.

The shipment of seaplanes—more than 403 to date—has been without mishap.

DISBURSING DIVISION.

As of interest to show the rise in expenditures during the last fiscal year, in July, 1917, Supplies and Accounts paid 5,498 vouchers, amounting to $22,250,000; in June, 1918, 13,202 vouchers were paid, amounting to $62,160,000; and a total disbursement during the fiscal year on 121,931 vouchers amounting to $593,251,526.45—in this one, but largest, disbursing office of the Navy.

The largest part of the accounting efforts of the past year has been required in connection with the purchasing of materials in cases where the determination by the Navy itself of cost and proper compensation has been necessary; i. e., in all cases where, for one reason or another, a fixed-price contract could not be entered into or could not be entered into without investigation and where the product contracted for did not fall under general price agreements controlled by the War Industries Board.

The situation as regards wages, cost of materials, and financing of additional plant capacity has, of course, been such as to make it necessary for many manufacturers to ask for cost-plus contracts; on the other hand, the Navy, in order to avoid the necessity of allowing manufacturers a wide margin for contingencies, has found in many cases that its interests required either a cost-plus contract, with a continuous and careful inspection of costs thereunder, or special investigations of bids and estimates whereby a fair fixed-price contract could be entered into or a fair final price awarded under Navy commandeering orders for manufacture.

In order to meet these conditions a force has been organized, which at the end of the fiscal year included 15 officers and 225 junior accountants and clerks in Supplies and Accounts, and 130 officers and about 2,000 junior accountants and clerks in the field, located throughout the country at about 100 major plants and shipbuilding yards and several score of small ship-repair yards and machine shops.

The activities of this organization have resulted in actual concrete savings to the Navy of $11,000,000, without attempting to estimate what further amounts would have been charged to the Navy had the control exercised by this organization been absent.

This control has been exercised, on the whole, with little friction. The accounting organization has been imbued with the idea that a way must always be found to prevent the Government's money from being wasted without interfering with the expeditious prosecution of the work.

The sphere in which the application of this cardinal principle has been most necessary is in the administration of the cost-plus contracts. Supplies and Accounts has been concerned with the inspection of costs under three general forms of these contracts, which, due to the organization of the Navy Department, have been administered in three separate ways: First, the manufacturing contracts, including guns, airplanes, forgings, special devices, and supplies, aggregating $124,000,000; second, shipbuilding contracts; and, third, the ship-repair contracts, under which have been expended $168,000,000 and $25,000,000, respectively. Payments under public works cost-plus contracts have been made by the disbursing officers upon the certificates of the engineers of the Bureau of Yards and Docks.

Other financial matters of unusual complexity which have arisen have included adjustments with the Shipping Board, the War Department, the allies, and private parties on account of charter rates, freight rates, and inventories on cargo vessels and troop transports seized, purchased, or built; adjustments of accounts receivable and payable with the British and French missions and other departments of the Government; foreign exchange matters arising in South America, China, Turkey, and Europe; the shipment of money; the organization of accounting systems for the new Navy plants; development of accounting systems for the naval districts and the naval overseas transportation service, and the meeting of the many new problems arising in navy-yard accounting with respect to cost keeping and the interpretation of legislation and decisions affecting yard labor.

As to the manufacturing contracts, of which there are 71 in force at 47 plants, Supplies and Accounts is able to speak with knowledge of all phases of the problems which have arisen, from the preliminary negotiations with the contractors to the final settlement. It can be said that notwithstanding the obvious objections to cost plus the operations under these contracts have been on the whole satisfactory.

The general weakness of the cost-plus contract from the standpoint of the Government is, of course, the tendency toward lack of interest or effectiveness on the part of the manufacturer in keeping costs down.

As a partial offset to this, wherever practicable, the profit under the contract has been made a lump sum instead of a percentage of cost; in such cases there obviously exists a certain incentive on the part of the manufacturer to turn over the work promptly, and thus cheaply, and realize his profit, since dragging out the work or inflating the cost will not increase his profit, but will merely tie up his plant and capital for a longer period.

Other and more universal methods of control over waste have been exercised. The first is the careful drawing of the contract to exclude expenses not properly chargeable to Government product. The chief of these is a considerable group of charges such as advertising, bad debts, discounts, commissions, etc., in general to be described as selling expenses, which, in fact, as the Government takes up more and more of the capacity of the plant, gradually tend to disappear. A further group of charges embraces those which, while some manufacturers customarily include in overhead, are in reality a proper charge to capital account, such as extraordinary repairs to buildings, etc., or a proper charge to profit and loss or surplus account, such as interest, income, and profits taxes, losses on contracts, excessive salaries, etc.

Further than this, a system of control over methods of purchase and prices of material and plant procured by the contractor has been established; tool rates and depreciation accounts have been examined and wage schedules compared with the rates prevailing in the vicinity. All wage schedules have been submitted to the Secretary of the Navy for approval in conformity with the general labor policies of the Government. Though the high cost of labor is sometimes attributed to the wide vogue of the cost-plus contract it is believed that on the whole it can not fairly be so attributed. It is due rather to general conditions and policies in which the form of contract under which labor is employed is but a minor factor. Apart from the wage element in the high cost of labor there is of course to be considered the question as to whether the day's pay represents a full day's work. Careful attention has been given to this feature of cost inspection and each Navy cost inspector has a force of competent and trustworthy men to cover this matter day and night.

In the light of actual experience much attention has been devoted in the past year to perfecting the cost, profit, and compensation provisions of the standard manufacturing cost-plus contract. Few contracts providing for a percentage profit have been executed; wherever practicable the fixed profit form being used. The lump-sum profit is based on a percentage of the estimated cost of production, frequently with a provision that should the cost of production fall below the estimated cost named in the contract the saving will be divided between the contractor and the department. The percentage of such savings allowed to the contractor ranges from 10 to 50 per cent, according to the closeness with which it was possible to figure the estimated cost. Before including the estimated cost in a contract of this kind examinations of the cost estimates of the contractors were usually made by officers of Supplies and Accounts to determine the reasonableness of the estimate.

Examination of the accounting systems of several hundred commercial concerns has disclosed the unmistakeable fact that nowhere in the country has as much care and study been given to the development of a proper cost-accounting system, with all that that means in control, economy, and efficiency, as has been devoted to the navy-yard system.

During the fiscal year 1918 accounting departments were established at the Naval Aircraft Factory, Philadelphia, and Naval Ordnance Plant, South Charleston, W. Va. The industrial accounting system in use at other industrial navy yards in general was installed in these plants.

A comparison, as indicated below, of the amount of the expenditures and the number of employees at the industrial navy yards in the United States between the fiscal years 1917 and 1918 represents the expansion of the activities of these yards due to the war, and is an index of the increased burden placed on the accounting organizations of the yards:

Yard.	1917	1918
Portsmouth	$3,928,415	$10,369,423
Boston	7,427,914	22,380,532
New York	19,612,639	78,963,702
Philadelphia	7,269,954	25,185,948
Washington	12,631,638	29,368,183
Norfolk	10,781,886	24,010,703
Charleston	3,020,396	9,623,645
Mare Island	6,870,180	18,236,812
Puget Sound	3,629,096	14,064,154

Yard.	Number employed June 30, 1917.	Number employed June 30, 1918.
Portsmouth	2,364	4,794
Boston	4,484	9,822
New York	10,499	16,687
Philadelphia	6,406	9,378
Washington	6,833	10,639
Norfolk	7,130	10,168
Charleston	2,983	4,531
Mare Island	4,219	8,005
Puget Sound	2,496	5,499
Total	47,414	79,253

The increase in statistical data in connection with naval expenditures has been extremely heavy. This increase has been due to the establishment of accounts for new stations and vessels; additional number of supply and disbursing officers rendering returns; and the increased number and value of expenditures for the naval service. During the year approximately 400 additional accounts for stations ashore and 20,000 for vessels have been established.

From March until July 1, 1918, approximately 1,400 contracts were examined and briefed, 1,393 cost schedules prepared, and at the end of the fiscal year there were 913 open contracts on the books. During this period the amount of material thus consigned and accounted for was $42,500,000.

It has been necessary for the Navy to determine freight rates for the transportation on naval vessels of cargo for the allies, other Government departments, and private parties, made necessary by the ocean tonnage situation. The Shipping Board has cooperated in this matter as well as in the matter of making settlements with the owners of the requisitioned vessels for the value of consumable and nonconsumable stores on vessels assigned to the Navy.

Early in the fiscal year the foreign exchange situation in South America made it necessary to obtain authority from the Treasury Department to negotiate and account for bills of exchange at the commercial rate in order not to work a hardship on the officers and men of the Navy by paying them at the mint value, which had been the former practice.

In Great Britain and France the establishment of depositories by the Treasury Department in London and Paris has provided a satisfactory method of taking care of disbursing requirements overseas.

In response to the suggestion of the military governor of Santo Domingo that the fractional currency of the Republic was very scarce and that he believed the prestige of the United States in the island would be greatly enhanced by the use of fractional currency of the United States, licenses for shipment of small coin were obtained from the Federal Reserve Board.

The number of requisitions drawn on the Treasury Department and the amount of money placed to the credit of the Navy disbursing officers are as follows:

Month.	Number of requisitions drawn.	Amount of money withdrawn from Treasury.
July	253	$70,951,500.00
August	224	65,370,500.00
September	215	68,535,000.00
October	222	115,013,000.00
November	255	120,858,000.00
December	282	116,468,500.00
January	294	136,504,500.00
February	238	89,528,700.00
March	334	143,325,000.00
April	302	136,109,000.00
May	305	160,064,899.05
June	333	155,014,227.24
Total	3,257	1,377,742,826.29

The number of public bills paid has been as follows:

July to September	82,957
October to December	115,180
January to March	137,970
April to June	169,892
Total	505,999

BUREAU OF ORDNANCE.

The service of the Bureau of Ordnance of the Navy Department includes supplying guns and their control equipment, together with powder and projectiles, to all ships in the Navy. It also provides, among other things, armor plates for battleships, torpedoes and their launching apparatus, all our naval mines, and the many new devices that have been developed to combat the German submarine.

Because of the vast quantity and variety of material that must be supplied the organization of the bureau is in the nature of a committee of experts.

The work of the past year has largely dealt with an enormous expansion along lines laid down prior to the declaration of war. As early as 1915 plans were drafted in preparation for war, should it come. When the President signed the declaration of war—April 6, 1917—telegrams were dispatched setting in motion the machinery that had previously been prepared, and during the past 17 months the work of the bureau has increased almost 2,000 per cent.

PREWAR EXPENDITURES.

For the two or three years prior to the war the expenditures were in the neighborhood of $30,000,000 a year. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917 a period which included about three months of war, they jumped to $108,450,000.

Appropriations for the fiscal year 1918, which cover the period from July 1, 1917, to June 30, 1918, reached the enormous total of $585,922,000.

For the current fiscal year—that is, the period from July 1, 1918, to June 30, 1919—the appropriations already made total $304,210,000.

The bureau operates many ordnance plants and factories, some of which are owned by the Government while others have been requisitioned or are operated under contract or on a "cost-plus percentage of profit" basis. Vast quantities of material are also purchased on contract.

Chief among the plants and stations operated is the naval gun factory, located at Washington, D. C. Since the declaration of war this factory has almost doubled its output, and employs nearly 9,000 men. Fifteen acres of adjoining land have been purchased and six large buildings are nearing completion thereon. The naval gun factory builds many of the guns and by far the greatest amount and variety of the special ordnance equipment for them. It has orders for over 50,000 articles for the Navy on its books now, and it is doing work that private concerns have confessed themselves unwilling to attempt. In addition to the new construction mentioned many of the shifts have been rearranged and enlarged to increase their output.

NAVY POWDER FACTORY.

The Navy powder factory at Indianhead, Md., manufactures powder of the highest grade for use in the big guns, employs 1,100 men, and covers a square mile. Additional buildings and machinery, together with a new generating station, are being erected and installed, and the capacity of this plant is increasing rapidly.

The torpedo station at Newport, R. I., a large plant, is engaged in the manufacture of torpedoes. Its facilities have been increased during the past year.

Numerous ammunition depots located throughout the country prepare the powder charges load and fuse the shell, handle high explosives, and ship the ammunition to vessels in the naval service. Among recent additions to facilities is an automatic-mine-loading plant of great capacity and of new design.

Despite the huge increase in number of guns supplied during the past year and the restricted area and inadequate facilities of the present naval proving grounds, the Bureau of Ordnance has continued to test every gun there, as well as to assign every powder charge, test every lot of shell, fuses, cartridge cases, armor plate, and do all ammunition experimental work.

Congress has very recently authorized the Navy to acquire a large tract of land along the Potomac River a number of miles below the present proving ground on which a new and longer gun range is being laid out. The necessary preliminary work is now going on at a rapid rate, and it is hoped that the proof of our long-range guns at battle ranges on this new proving ground will begin at a very early date.

On June 4, 1917, 180 acres of land were obtained at South Charleston, W. Va., for a projectile plant. The construction of buildings was immediately begun, machinery of the most modern type ordered and installed, and the plant is now in operation. The designs for an armor-plate factory have been entirely completed and much of the machinery is now on order.

In one plant taken over by the bureau manufacturing steel forgings, the output was increased 300 per cent within two months after Government managers were installed. In another plant, manufacturing binoculars and optical instruments, the previous output was about 100 accepted pairs per week. Over 75 per cent of the binoculars made failed to pass inspection tests. Under Navy control the output, without the installation of new equipment or improved machinery, is now nearing 1,000 pairs per week. Practically every pair made passes inspection.

The naval warfare of the enemy has brought many new developments. One of the most important steps taken by the United States was the arming of its merchant steamers as well as the naval auxiliaries, transports, mining vessels, subchasers, etc., following the severing of diplomatic relations with Germany.

The first merchant ship to be armed was the oil tanker *Campana*. Guns, manned by Navy men, were on board when she sailed on March 12, 1917. The big American passenger liners *New York* and *St. Paul* were armed on March 16, the *Kroonland* and *Mongolia* on March 19. And continuously, up to the present time, merchant ships, as they have become available, have been armed and provided with Navy gun crews.

GUNS FOR SUBCHASERS.

Guns have likewise been furnished to more than 650 patrol boats, to all our subchasers, to the Army, and many to foreign Governments. These guns vary in caliber from the 14-inch naval guns on British monitors to the 6-pounders on the French fishing fleet. Since the arming of the *Campana* more than 1,600 vessels have been furnished with batteries, ammunition, spare parts, and auxiliaries—a procedure which had never been contemplated by the department prior to the outbreak of the war.

Constant work has been done in the matter of armor-plate development, and considerable progress made during the past year. The problem of correct amount and location of armor on battleships and battle cruisers has received special attention.

Behind the gun supply there must, of course, be an adequate reserve of ammunition. In spite of the huge increase in the number of guns in service, sufficient ammunition has been provided without delay. Contracts for projectiles were placed in time so that a sufficient reserve was on hand. The call for explosives, however, not only for use in guns but for the many other offensive purposes has far exceeded the capacity of the naval powder factory, and the predetermined quantities necessary to complete the war reserve have been obtained from private factories under contract.

Owing to the great demand from both the Army and the Navy for the standard high explosive, T. N. T., or trinitrotoluol, the bureau has decided to use a new substitute product which promises to be satisfactory and of which an ample supply seems available to supplement the output of T. N. T. and make greater quantities of the latter available for Army use.

MANY INVENTIONS.

The task of combating the German submarine has brought the invention of many new devices. An efficient means of attack against the submarine was found to lay in the use of depth charges, or explosive charges, fitted with a mechanism designed to explode the charge at a predetermined depth below the surface of the water. The force of explosion of a depth charge dropped close to a submarine is sufficient to disable or sink it. An American type of depth charge has been developed and issued in quantity to our forces. A quantity of the British type is being manufactured for that navy.

In addition to the depth charge, smoke-producing apparatus has been provided to enable the ship to conceal herself in a cloud of smoke when attacked by a submarine and thus escape. Several types have been developed and the proper type issued to ships according to the character of the vessel. Vessels having the necessary gun power prefer usually to engage in gun duels rather than escape in a smoke screen.

After a study of the various types of mines in existence, the bureau has developed an American mine operating on an entirely new principle which also comprised the good points of all existing mines. This mine is now being manufactured in quantity, and large numbers are being supplied for use in the war zone and elsewhere.

The ordinary pointed projectile, hitting the water almost horizontally, is deflected and ricochets. Consequently the hull of a submarine below the surface of the water is protected from ordinary shell at short ranges. A special type of nonrichocheting shell, which has been issued to ships sailing in the war zone, was developed early in the year for use against submarines.

SEAPLANE DEVELOPMENT.

As the seaplane is an important means for attacking the submarine, special attention has been given to the development of aircraft devices. The past year has brought the perfection of the nonrecoil gun, and the Lewis gun has been adapted to seaplane use.

Aircraft bombs designed to explode either on impact, if they hit a submarine, or at at a predetermined depth, like the ordinary depth charge, have been developed, and the required quantities are being made. Sights for their accurate aim and improved seaplane cameras have accompanied them.

The first year of war saw the completion of the latest type of naval 16-inch gun throwing a projectile weighing 2,100 pounds. Our newest battleships will mount them. At present our largest battleships mount 14-inch guns, which throw a projectile weighing 1,400 pounds.

In this connection it is interesting to note that broadside weights have tripled in the short space of 20 years. The total weight of steel thrown by a single broadside from the *Pennsylvania* to-day is 17,508 pounds, while the total weight thrown by the *Oregon*, the largest ship at the time of the Spanish-American War, was 5,660 pounds.

A 14-inch, 50-caliber gun is 700 inches, or 58⅓ feet long. It weighs, without the mount in which it is supported in the turret of the battleship, nearly 95 tons. Its cost is $118,000.

The program of the Ordnance Bureau of the Navy for 1918–19 is in the nature of further developments along the broad lines laid down in its work during the past year.

The real major accomplishments of the Navy Bureau of Ordnance can not be told, as to do so would disclose important naval operations. Some of these operations are now under way; some only in the planning stage, after acceptance by the allies.

The bureau has conceived and put into execution extensive offensive operations. As is natural it leans to the offensive rather than to the defensive side of warfare. Material of entirely new possibilities for part of these expeditions has been not only originated but designed and produced in the bureau. The bureau can not relate what it is most proud of accomplishing in the time since the war commenced.

The new and frightful methods of warfare practiced by the Huns have not only called for an undreamed of quantity of our principal weapons—guns, shells, and powder—but also for new offensive weapons with which the new conditions of warfare on the seas are being met.

America still lays stress on offensive fighting, and her aim is not merely to equal the weapons of her enemy but to produce new and better ones with which he may be overcome

The arming of more than 650 patrol boats, of hundreds of transports, merchant ships, and naval auxiliaries, as well as the supply of ordnance material to "sub" chasers, the Army, and to foreign governments, has taxed the manufacturing facilities of the bureau.

To meet these demands the Navy has converted large manufacturing plants into gun and shell factories, and where plants were not available for conversion new ones have been built. Since the beginning of the war over 1,600 vessels have been furnished with Navy guns.

To properly provide the Navy with the ordnance material that it needs, the bureau now operates many plants and factories. Among these are:

The Naval Gun Factory, located at Washington, D. C., which, since the beginning of the war, has more than doubled its output and to-day employs 9,000 men.

The Naval Gun Factory builds many of our guns, and an enormous amount of the equipment for them.

The naval powder factory, located at Indianhead, Md., which manufactures powder of the highest grade for use in big guns and which now covers a square mile and employs 1,000 men.

The torpedo station at Newport, R. I.

The output of all these plants, the new sources of supply as well as the old, has been on the whole satisfactory. The majority have made good, and, in consequence, ordnance to supply the rapidly increasing numbers of men and ships in the Navy and merchant marines is keeping pace with the demand and should soon forge ahead, permitting the accumulation of a reserve of ordnance material that the Navy's war policy rightly demands.

Only the salient facts in the field of new naval ordnance can be mentioned, because it is inadvisable to discuss them publicly.

Many of the achievements of which the Navy Bureau of Ordnance is most proud must accordingly be omitted, yet among the new developments, we may mention the new Navy 16-inch gun, the most powerful Navy gun under construction or designed for use at sea as far as it is known, which was successfully tested last April. A howitzer shooting a heavy depth charge fitted to detonate below the water or in contact with a submarine is one of the devices that is aiding in exterminating the U boat.

Although many of the other devices used against the U boat had been developed abroad, partially, if not entirely, before our entry into the war, for a number of reasons it was found to be more advisable to proceed with the design of American types of these weapons that would prove to be more adaptable to American manufacturing methods. In this way an American type of depth charge was designed and is now being produced in quantity.

A large supply of depth charges means that the destroyers may use them without stint, and the chances of a successful attack against a U boat when it is sighted are enormously increased. The supply of depth charges from this country has probably reduced the U boat's sinkings more than any other one cause. Hun prisoners from U boats have stated that German submarine commanders are cautioned that American depth charges explode with great and unusual violence.

Similarly, an American type of mine, operating on an entirely new principle, which is believed to combine all the good points of the foreign mines and to be one of the safest mines in the world to handle, while at the same time a very effective weapon, was developed.

The work in developing this mine and the success attained has been particularly pleasing to the bureau. The output of mines in this country for one single day is now equal to the total output for an entire year before the war. In order to reach this production, manufacture of parts has been undertaken in hundreds of factories throughout the country and a large mine filling and assembling depot has been developed here. In addition, a large final assembling and testing depot has been established abroad. The efficient manner in which this great number of mines is assembled and tested is very impressive.

The enormous demands for explosives for mines, depth charges, and similar purposes showed that a shortage would soon result. Therefore, a new type of explosive, utilizing products not previously used, but available, was sought and adopted by the Navy to help out the situation. A large plant is being built in the West to produce it.

Many of the devices which can merely be briefly named have been developed and are being supplied. Among these are signal rockets and recognition stars, a new and more efficient type of apparatus for producing smoke screens, illuminating projectiles, etc.

Not only has armament for ships of the sea been carefully followed and developed, but armament for airships, seaplanes, was given early attention, and bombs of various types, together with necessary machine guns, large caliber nonrecoil guns, etc., were placed in manufacture and have met the demands of the service. New and improved bomb sights have given much satisfaction. Various training devices for bomb dropping and gunners have been supplied.

It is the policy of the bureau to endeavor to anticipate the needs of the service and to proceed in advance to meet them. In addition, the bureau endeavors to suggest to the Chief of Naval Operations such projects as can be effectively carried out with ordnance material that can be made available.

Accordingly the bureau has conceived and put into operation extensive offensive operations. As is natural it leans to the offensive rather than to the defensive side of warfare. Material of entirely new possibilities for part of these expeditions has been not only originated but designed and produced by the bureau. The bureau can not relate what it is most proud of accomplishing in the time since the war commenced.

BUREAU OF STEAM ENGINEERING.

Brief summary of work under cognizance of the bureau done since the United States entered the war:

Since the United States entered this war the magnitude of the engineering work of the Navy, both mechanical and electrical, has been, not only in its actual amount but in the rapid development of facilities for its execution, without a parallel for the same period of time in the history of the world's navies.

The reasons for this are manifest in the swift growth of the huge fleet which the Navy now operates for the protection of our coasts from naval attack and of our coastwise shipping from submarines and mines, for guarding the steamer lanes to Europe, for offense against the submarines in British and French waters and in the Mediterranean, and, in conjunction with our allies, for keeping watch and ward over the German high-seas fleet in the North Sea.

It is a truism to say that, both on land and sea, this is very largely an engineering war. Hence, the construction, repair, and supply of this vast aggregation of vessels has been, and is, the work of engineers of all branches within and without the Navy.

SHIPS OPERATED BY THE NAVY.

In battleships, cruisers, gunboats, destroyers, mine ships, submarines, submarine chasers, torpedo boats, and auxiliary ships the Navy is now operating a total of about 570 regular naval vessels.

In addition, it is operating 93 vessels drawn from the Coast Guard, the Lighthouse Service, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Fish Commission.

Further, the Navy is operating a fleet of 937 converted merchant vessels, comprising troop transports, mine sweepers, repair ships, tenders, hospital ships, yachts, tugs, and fishing vessels for distant patrol service, and yachts, tugs, and launches in similar service in the various naval districts on our coasts.

And, finally, it is now operating for the Army and Navy 247 vessels of the naval overseas transportation service, with 112 more to be commissioned shortly.

These various items make a grand total of 1,959 vessels on a naval contribution to date to the allied forces waging the world war.

SHIPS NOW BUILDING.

In navy yards and private plants there are now under actual construction a large number of combatant and auxiliary vessels and tugs for the Navy.

The machinery for these vessels is being built either by the machinery division at navy yards or at private plants under the supervision of inspectors designated by the Bureau of Steam Engineering.

EXTENSION OF PLANTS AT NAVY YARDS.

Very extensive facilities are required for handling the construction and repair work for this vast fleet.

Large extensions of the plants under cognizance of this bureau have been made at virtually all of our navy yards. These extensions are especially noteworthy at the New York, Mare Island, and Puget Sound yards, where provision was made for work of the heaviest character, and also at the Philadelphia and Norfolk yards, where new machine shops and foundries were built.

PRIVATE PLANTS—EXTENSIONS FINANCED BY THE NAVY.

The Navy Department has also expended many millions of dollars on private plants in financing the extension of their shops or in building and equipping shops for wholly new plants.

(a) Thus a plant for constructing turbines was equipped for the General Electric Co. at Erie, Pa.

Also at Erie a new plant was built and equipped to be operated by the Erie Forge & Steel Co., for the production of shafting and gun forgings.

(b) A plant for building turbines was constructed and equipped at Buffalo, N. Y., for the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation.

And, for its subsidiary, the Fore River Shipbuilding Co., a new boiler shop was built at Providence, R. I., and an entirely new machine shop 300 feet long, was built at the Fore River Yard. Also a new machine shop was built for this company at Quincy, Mass.

(c) At the Bath Iron Works the Government financed the enlargement of the shops to expedite the delivery of destroyer machinery.

(d) The shops of the Pollak Machine Co., Cincinnati, were extended for the production of destroyer shafting.

(e) The forge plant of the Allis-Chalmers Co., Milwaukee, has been extended for the production of destroyer and gun forgings, and a heat-treatment plant installed there. Further, at Milwaukee, the plant of the Falk Co. has been enlarged to cut the gears for the reducing gears of destroyers. There are only two firms in this country which can do this work.

(f) In order to provide destroyer propellers, the brass foundry of the Cramp Shipbuilding Co. was enlarged.

(g) For the Union Iron Works, San Francisco, a new shop was erected at Alameda, in order to facilitate the construction of destroyer machinery.

The department has had to equip, in this way, a number of smaller establishments. The entire cost of financing these industries will be about $30,000,000. The general type of contract under which these plant extensions were made, is that the Government equips, and if necessary builds, the shops required. And, after the work ordered by the Government is completed, an appraisal will be held to determine the value, to the company concerned, of this new equipment, the company generally having the option of purchase at this figure.

DISTRICT BASES.

About 18 bases have been established in the various naval districts for the repair and maintenance of all district vessels, such as patrol

ships, submarine chasers, destroyers, gunboats, and submarines. These bases have been equipped and supplied by this bureau with all necessary facilities for machinery repairs.

MECHANICAL SCHOOLS.

Numerous schools have been established throughout the country for training mechanics for all classes of vessels and for the Aviation Service. These schools have a complete machinery and hand-tool equipment for this purpose installed by this bureau.

REPAIR OF EX-GERMAN SHIPS DAMAGED BY THE VANDALISM OF THEIR CREWS.

The swift repair of the German ships taken over by this Government forms one of the most striking stories in the history of engineering in our Navy. When war was declared, 103 of these ships of all types were thus taken over, and, of these, practically all were found to have been more or less damaged willfully by their German crews.

In general, the vandalism consisted in breaking main engine cylinders, valves, cylinder heads, steam and exhaust nozzles, and circulating pump casings. One vessel had the connecting and piston rods of the main engines and the stay rods of the boilers sawed nearly through. Several vessels had boilers either ruined or very badly damaged by lighting fires with no water in them.

In addition to remedying this vandalism, extensive repairs were necessary owing to the long period of idleness of these ships and also to the generally run-down condition of the machinery and boilers of many of them.

The grave importance to our Government of their speedy repair is shown by the fact that 20 of the 103 converted to transports can carry about 70,000 troops in one trip.

In about five months, by working day and night, these 20 transports were put in good condition and were in service carrying troops. The repairs were expedited by the fact that the Navy Department put the ships in commission when they were taken over and their crews did much of the work.

The damages were repaired by electric welding, oxyacetylene welding, and by mechanical patching. While the damage was very serious in some cases it was not necessary in any case to renew a cylinder—a fact which redounds greatly to the credit of the welding and the welders.

After the completion of repairs the machinery was subjected to the test required of new machinery, and in addition every vessel was given a 48-hour speed trial to test its machinery throughout. No damaged part which had been thus repaired failed under test. After the speed trial all the vessels were at once placed in service.

Preliminary to the repairs every piece of machinery of the boilers and piping was given a thorough examination in search of vandalism. This work in reality took more time than that required for repairs.

INSPECTION OF ENGINEERING AND OTHER MATERIAL.

This is one of the most important branches of this bureau's work, not only in its own field but for other bureaus.

For example, during the fiscal year 1918 there were inspected—for the Bureau of Steam Engineering and for the Bureaus of Yards and Docks, Supplies and Accounts, Construction and Repair, Ordnance, Navigation, and Medicine and Surgery—a total of 784,427,945 pounds of engineering and other material, of which 97.4 per cent were accepted.

This material was inspected in 2,067 manufacturing establishments by a total force of 306 naval officers and civilian assistants.

RADIO TELEGRAPHY.

All matters relating to radio equipment—design, purchase, installation, maintenance, repair, and replacement—on naval vessels and in United States naval radio stations on shore are—except the actual operation by the radio personnel—directed by the Bureau of Steam Engineering.

Prior to the entrance of the United States into the war the existing naval radio installations afloat and ashore numbered about 305. In the 18 months since then the number has grown enormously and is now between 4,000 and 5,000.

VESSELS.

Thus the radio installations for ships built and under contract are now approximately 4,000. This number includes all vessels of the Navy, combatant and auxiliary, of the Army, and of all other branches of the Government, including the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation.

SHORE STATIONS.

The radio service on shore has increased to such an extent that this bureau now maintains approximately 210 stations. These include high-power stations to replace the cables, if necessary, for trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific communication; section patrol radio stations, radio service at aircraft stations, radio compass stations, listening-in stations, and the entire chain of commercial radio stations formerly operated by the Marconi and other companies.

TRANS-ATLANTIC COMMUNICATION.

A new United States naval high-power radio station, the most powerful in the world, is now being completed in France for trans-Atlantic communication, under the direction of the Bureau of Steam Engineering.

For similar service the Annapolis high-power station, just completed, is not only the most powerful in the United States but, for the time, in the world.

Four high-power radio stations in the United States—namely, those at Sayville, Tuckerton, New Brunswick, and Marion—have been remodeled and enlarged for trans-Atlantic service.

A high-power radio station is nearing completion at El Cayey, P. R., which can be used for trans-Atlantic service, and will as well insure uninterrupted communication with our West India possessions.

The plans of an additional high-power trans-Atlantic radio station, to be located in the southern part of the United States, are practically completed, and the station has been authorized. Also three radio receiving stations, capable of copying radiograms from European stations, have been developed.

TRANS-PACIFIC COMMUNICATION.

The chain of trans-Pacific radio stations, located on the Pacific coast, in the Hawaiian Islands, and at Cavite, have been improved and enlarged, as have also the intermediate stations at Tutuila and Guam. The Marconi Co.'s high-power trans-Pacific circuit, Bolinas-Marshalls and Kahuku-Koko Head circuits, is maintained in such condition that it can be immediately opened for service if the military situation should require increased facilities for trans-Pacific communication.

AMERICAN MERCHANT VESSELS.

In addition to the radio service on all Government-owned vessels, including those of the United States Shipping Board, this bureau is responsible for the radio equipment on privately owned American merchant vessels requisitioned by the United States Shipping Board. Therefore the radio equipment on practically all vessels flying the American flag is under the direction of this bureau for all matters other than operation and personnel.

RECENT ADVANCES IN RADIO SERVICE DEVELOPED BY THE BUREAU OF STEAM ENGINEERING.

The use of radio for fire control on ships and aircraft has been developed into a practical service.

The development of the radio compass has progressed to such an extent that this instrument is now of the utmost value, making it possible for ships to determine their position at sea by means of radio, and also to ascertain the location of stations, either on shore or afloat, sending out radio signals. Further, by this instrument enemy secret wireless stations may be located, and as well the position of a submarine using radio.

A system of underground radio reception has been developed, which obviates the use of masts to support overhead antennæ. This is of great value economically and from a military viewpoint.

The distant control of all principal radio stations has been established, thus permitting the sending and receiving of radio signals in the immediate vicinity at the same time.

Cooperation has also been given in the development of the radio telephone transmitter. These instruments are used in large numbers on vessels of the Navy and elsewhere in the naval radio communication system.

SUMMARY.

From this brief review it will be seen that many of the advances in the science of radio communication, particularly for military purposes, are due primarily to the Bureau of Steam Engineering. This is true especially of the bureau's work in this line since the United States entered the war.

AIRPLANE MOTORS.

The marked military advantage to be gained by having but one type of airplane motor prompted the Navy Department to adopt the motor used by the Army. All Liberty motors used by the Navy are, therefore, obtained through the Aircraft Production Board.

About 1,500 of these motors have been delivered and have been assigned to naval air stations in this country and abroad. Since the number of Liberty motors produced has been too small for the needs of the Army alone, it has been necessary for the Navy to purchase others, to the number of about 700, which have been utilized while awaiting a full supply of Liberty motors.

In addition to these, a large number of motors of less power have been bought for use in training planes, all of which have been distributed to the flying schools, the most important of which is at Pensacola, Fla.

BALLOON GAS.

One of the very important duties devolving on the Bureau of Steam Engineering is the equipment and maintenance of stations for the generation of hydrogen for use in dirigible balloons. A number of stations have been established and a full equipment of hydrogen cylinders provided, so that any calls may be promptly met.

It has also been necessary to give suitable training to a number of young officers for this work and to assign them to stations at home and abroad for the proper conduct of these plants.

ELECTRICAL WORK OF THE BUREAU OF STEAM ENGINEERING.

Communication systems, which are so necessary in the efficient control of gunfire, have, in the ships of the dreadnaught class, been placed in better condition than ever before, and all other vessels, including transports and even merchant ships on which guns for protective purposes have been installed, have been provided with similarly satisfactory systems It was possible to accomplish this because of careful planning prior to the war.

A work of vital importance conducted by this bureau has been that of the development of submarine detection devices. This work is of such a confidential character that it can be only referred to here.

Despite the large number of merchant vessels taken over, all have been provided with the electric signals for day and night use which are so necessary for the efficient and safe handling of ships in company at sea and in making recognition signals.

SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES ATTENDING NAVAL WAR WORK UNDER PRESSURE.

The great difficulties which have been met in the sudden expansion of our fleet can not be better illustrated than by the story of the obstacles overcome in making provision for the machinery of the 150 destroyers ordered recently.

The act which authorized the construction of these destroyers was dated October 6, 1917, at which time there were building 115 other destroyers, 36 mine sweepers, and 360 submarine chasers. The destroyers under construction were given precedence over all other naval work, and the building yards were fully occupied with them. In order to build the mine sweepers other yards had to be enlisted, none of which cared to take the work, because of the greater profit in building merchant ships. The submarine chasers, being of wood, were placed with wooden-ship builders, while their machinery was allotted to one firm.

It will be seen then that to build the new destroyers new facilities would have to be created, especially as in addition to the absence of available plants there was a lack of enthusiasm among some of the shipbuilders.

Several conferences were held at the Navy Department between shipbuilders and representatives of firms manufacturing boilers, pumps, blowers, forgings, etc. When these first conferences were held the speed contemplated was 28 knots. Subsequently, however, the speed was changed to 35 knots, which change presented a totally different problem so far as the machinery of these vessels was concerned. For example, it meant twice the number of boilers, and with the difficulty then encountered in obtaining boiler tubes the problem as to tubes alone was one of very considerable proportion. However, at a subsequent conference, such assurances were received as to justify proceeding with the 35-knot boats.

The most difficult situation to be met was the one of forgings. For 28 knots we could use solid forgings and utilize facilities which were not available if hollow forgings were required. But two firms could handle the forgings of all sizes that were needed for the 35-knot vessels, and neither of these firms was at all keen to do any of this work.

In fact great difficulty had been experienced in getting one of them to furnish forgings for destroyers which were then under contract, and it was only after much persuasion that they were finally prevailed upon to proceed with this work. They preferred to make ordnance forgings, as did the other firm, the former having been designated for work of that character for the Navy, the latter for the Army.

In view of all this it was clear that the new program demanded a large increase in the forging facilities of this country if the destroyers were to be built—as was contemplated—within 18 months.

ALLOTMENT OF DESTROYERS.

The shipyards were filled with work not only for the Navy but for the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and questions of priority had to be decided as to how far one class of work should be given preference. After several conferences with shipbuilders it was decided to allot 20 destroyers to Newport News, 20 to the New York Shipbuilding Co., 25 to Cramp's, and 85 to the Bethlehem Corporation as represented by Fore River and the Union Iron Works.

BUILDING A SHIPYARD ON A "GOOD SWAMP."

To build the hulls it was necessary for Fore River to create a new shipyard. A plat of land—which the builder termed "a good swamp"—was selected at Squantum Point, near Boston, and work was begun on the new shipyard as soon as Congress authorized the construction of the vessels. In order to provide for the transport of men and material to the "swamp" a creek had to be bridged and a branch trolley line built from Boston to the works.

BUILDING OR EXTENDING AND EQUIPPING SHOPS FOR THE PROPELLING MACHINERY.

The shop at Fore River could take the machinery for but a few of the 45 destroyers at Squantum. So it became necessary to build a shop for the manufacture of turbines and another for building boilers. The former was constructed at Buffalo, the latter at Providence. Both are now in operation. The Buffalo shop has no foundry, and the work of making turbine castings has therefore been distributed among a number of large foundries having good shipping connections with Buffalo.

In the case of the Union Iron Works a new shop was erected at Alameda in order to facilitate the construction of destroyers already under contract, and it was hoped that this shop would also be able to handle the machinery for the additional 40 ordered from the Union Works.

But it early became apparent that the bureau could not depend on this source of supply. So a contract was entered into with the General Electric Co., who were then building a new shop at Erie, Pa., to convert this into a special shop for manufacturing turbines for the destroyers at the Union Iron Works.

The order for this conversion was given 10 days before Congress authorized the construction of the destroyers. Under the terms of the contract the Government equips the shops, and after the completion of the contract an appraisal will be held to determine the value to the General Electric Co. of the equipment that has been installed. (This it may be said is a type of the contracts that have generally been entered into in such cases.) It was also found necessary to rent the old Risdon Iron Works at San Francisco and incorporate it as a part of the Union Iron Works, and, further, to launch submarines at Union in advance of the date contemplated in order to make room for the new destroyers.

For the destroyers building at Newport News and the New York Shipbuilding Co. contracts for the machinery have been let to the Westinghouse Co., who have sublet the most important portion of the work to the Allis-Chalmers Co., of Milwaukee. The combined facilities of these two large companies should produce the machinery within the time desired.

The case of Newport News was much more difficult. Even with the destroyers previously contracted for, it had been necessary for them to place contracts for the principal machinery with different establishments, chiefly in the Middle West, and it was only after many conferences and much discussion that satisfactory arrangements could be made to have castings from one place and their machining done in three others.

As to the Bath Iron Works, while they could not take any of the new program, it was found necessary for the Government to finance the enlargement of their shop in order to expedite the delivery of destroyers that had been already allotted to them. The same was true of a number of the older building firms. In connection with this, a notable piece of work was performed at Fore River by building an entire new machine shop, about 300 feet long, and having it under roof in a little more than a month. It was also necessary for the Navy to double-track the trolley road from Quincy to Fore River in order to facilitate the transport of employees who had almost doubled in number.

BOILERS.

While Fore River will build at Providence all of the boilers for the 45 destroyers they have under contract, those for the Union Iron Works will be built in San Francisco, and those for the other firms by the Babcock & Wilcox Co. To accomplish this and to deliver at the rate of five boats a month, it was necessary for the Babcock & Wilcox Co. to greatly enlarge their facilities. This in turn brought many difficulties which could not be foreseen and made necessary the manufacture, in their own works, of certain machine tools required for the production of their boilers. It also necessitated doing a considerable part of this work at Barberton, Ohio.

PUMPS.

As to pumps, it was found that all builders were so crowded with orders that it would be impossible to get the pumps required unless the Government enlarged existing plants. The Blake & Knowles Pump Works seemed to offer the best source of supply, and accordingly this establishment in East Cambridge, Mass., was almost entirely remodeled for the manufacture of pumps for all of the 150 destroyers.

BLOWERS, EVAPORATORS, AND DISTILLERS.

It was necessary to divide the orders for the blowers, giving the Terry Turbine Co. 45 sets and the Sturtevant Works the remaining 105 sets. Evaporators and distillers are being built by the Griscom-Russell Co.

PROPELLERS.

The propellers for the destroyers were allotted to the Cramp's foundry, which was enlarged to care for this work.

TURBINES FOR THE CRAMP DESTROYERS.

In order to manufacture the turbines for the Cramp destroyers it become necessary to buy outright the works of the De La Vergne Machine Co., New York City. This purchase was made by the Cramp Co., acting as agent for the Navy Department. Upon completion of their contract the Cramp's will be given the option of purchasing the plant or vacating it.

TURBINE REDUCTION GEARS.

There were only two firms in this country who could cut the gears for the turbines building by the Cramp and Fore River companies.

These firms were the De Laval Steam Turbine Co., of Trenton, and the Falk Co., of Milwaukee. The De Laval Co. could take care of Cramp's destroyers without difficulty, but the Falk Co. had already so many orders that it became necessary to enlarge their plant, which was done.

EQUIPMENT OF OTHER ESTABLISHMENTS.

The Navy Department was compelled to equip smaller establishments in order to enable them to produce the material desired. Some of these were: The Edwards Valve Co. for the manufacture of globe and angle valves, the Chapman Valve Co. for gate valves, and the Consolidated Safety Valve Co. for the manufacture of safety valves. This latter company has the entire order for the 150 destroyers.

Another firm in the Middle West which it was necessary for the Navy to finance is the Wellman-Seaver-Morgan Co., which is manufacturing many of the condensers and a great deal of sheet-metal work for the Newport News, Cramp, and New York ship destroyers.

BOILER AND CONDENSER TUBES.

The question of the supply of boiler tubes was one which for a year or more had given much uneasiness, since prior to the war there was only one firm on whom the Navy could rely for furnishing them.

After war was declared, however, other firms were brought into line, and a schedule established for tube deliveries, so that there was no delay in this respect for the earlier destroyers.

A similar schedule was formulated for the later destroyers, and the tubes have come—and doubtless will come—along as required. To do this several of the larger mills have practically doubled their production of small tubes in order to meet the demands of this country and our allies.

A similar situation obtains with regard to condenser tubes.

FORGINGS.

Because of the conditions referred to previously and the manufacture of 14-inch gun forgings, it was clear that the new destroyers could not be built unless an enormous increase was made in the forging facilities of the country.

Accordingly the Navy Department entered into a contract with the Erie Forge & Steel Co., Erie, Pa., whereby that plant is to be increased to a capacity adequate to handle the largest forgings that will be required for the destroyers and also to manufacture gun forgings for the Bureau of Ordnance.

Lesser extensions were also financed at the forge plant of the Allis-Chalmers Co., Milwaukee; at the Pollak Steel Co., Cincinnati; and at the Camden Forge Co., Camden, N. J.

MACHINE-TOOL SITUATION.

The question of machine-tool supply is one which has acted adversely, to some extent, as to competition in destroyer building. Certain classes of machine tools are very hard to get, and questions of priority are continually arising between the War and Navy Departments regarding the production of such tools. It has happened in more than one case that where the Navy Department has secured priority, the War Department came in and issued a commandeer order for the same tools. In most cases the commandeer order has been rescinded and the Navy Department tools have retained their original priority.

FUEL SITUATION.

The fuel situation put another obstacle in the path of rapid destroyer construction. For, while last winter exemption was granted to the shipyards and to the principal manufacturers concerned in destroyer building, a large number of smaller establishments, whose product is necessary for the completion of these vessels, were denied exemption.

SUMMARY.

On the whole, however, the shipbuilders, with a most commendable spirit, are doing all they can to meet the dates contemplated when the order for these destroyers was placed.

A striking evidence of this is that the yard at Squantum will probably deliver its first destroyer within a year of the date when Congress authorized its construction—and this speedy delivery comes from a yard which at that time was merely "a good swamp."

COST OF FINANCING.

The entire cost to the Navy of financing these industries was estimated at $30,000,000.

Including its allotment from the sums appropriated for increase of the Navy, the average expenditures of the Bureau of Steam Engineering are, at this time, nearly three-quarters of a million dollars per day.

In closing this brief review of the chief features of its work—of its vast responsibilities and the huge effort required to meet them adequately in war—the bureau feels that its staff in the Navy Department and elsewhere, the engineering forces at our navy yards and repair bases, and on our naval vessels, and finally the many skilled executives and the thousands of highly trained mechanics who, in industrial establishments have aided in this work, have all done their full share in writing in fadeless letters the epic of engineering on the dark pages of the history of this war.

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BUREAU OF CONSTRUCTION AND REPAIR.

On April 1, 1917, there were building and authorized for the Navy the following vessels:

Battleships	12
Battle cruisers	5
Scout cruisers	7
Destroyers	27
Submarines	61
Fuel ships	2
Supply ship	1
Transport	1
Gunboat	1
Hospital ship	1
Ammunition ship	1

Since the declaration of war the following vessels have been contracted for or ordered built at navy yards:

Destroyers	253
Submarines	58
Mine sweepers	54
Sea-going tugs	27
Harbor tugs	46
Fabricated patrol vessels	112
Submarine chasers	447

Some of these may be turned over to our allies.

Since the declaration of war the following vessels have been added to the Navy:

Battleships	2
Destroyers	30
Submarines	25
Mine sweepers	12
Supply ship	1
Transport	1
Sea-going tugs	2
Submarine chasers (including 100 for allies)	405

In addition to the above, 36 interned German ships have been repaired and fitted for service; about 1,000 privately owned vessels (including 83 Dutch ships) have been purchased or chartered and have been or are being fitted for naval use, and orders are out to commission 112 more when they have been completed; about 107 vessels have been turned over to the Navy by other Government departments. Of the above-mentioned vessels about 740 have been put into naval service proper, including offshore and inshore patrol work, troop-transport duty, fleet fueling or provisioning, hospital, and other service, and about 300 have been put into naval overseas transportation service.

In addition to the preparation of designs for new destroyers, submarine chasers, mine sweepers, designs have been prepared by the Navy Department for various other types of vessels. One of the most important of the new designs that have been produced is that for the 200-foot fabricated patrol vessels, Eagle class, which are being built by Mr. Henry Ford in Detroit, and as many of these will be rapidly built as may be needed. In addition to the designs for naval vessels proper, the Navy Department has, in cooperation with the Emergency Fleet Corporation of the Shipping Board, prepared a number of designs for merchant vessels.

Owing to the restricted passages, the knapsack type of gas mask used by the Army can not be used on board ship. The Navy Department has developed a gas mask of superior type and has issued several thousand masks to the service. At present work is progressing rapidly on an order of several hundred thousand gas masks for the naval personnel.

The Navy Department has a building program of approximately 1,000 small pulling and power boats for its own vessels. In addition to boats for naval use proper, there are now under way 6,000 boats to be issued to vessels building by the Emergency Fleet Corporation and turned over to the Navy to operate. This small boat work is being proceeded with to the utmost practicable extent at the navy yards of the country, and most gratifying progress is being made. All naval vessels operating in the war zone are equipped with boat or life-raft capacity sufficient for every person on board. The Navy has also obtained large numbers of life preservers of an improved type and is issuing them to vessels in such numbers as to provide one for each officer and man on board.

The Navy has arranged for the installation on all naval vessels of mine-sweeping appliances. These appliances are being produced in large quantities; and vesels, both naval and commercial, are being equipped most expeditiously. There is already at least one definitely established instance of the saving of a large United States battleship as a result of the installation of this type of protective device. In close cooperation with the Emergency Fleet Corporation vessels building for the corporation are also being fitted with this device.

Numerous experiments have been carried out by the Navy Department in connection with protective camouflage painting of vessels, and a definite system of camouflage has been adopted. At present, in active cooperation with the Emergency Fleet Corporation, all vessels entering the war zone are camouflage painted.

The department has designed, built, and equipped at the navy yard, Philadelphia, a factory for producing naval aircraft. This factory has been delivering planes since April of the present year. In January last it was decided to quadruple the capacity of the naval aircraft factory. The expansion is now nearing completion, and the present capacity of the aircraft factory is about 50 seaplanes of the largest size per month, and will, it is expected, eventually reach a capacity of 95 seaplanes of the largest size per month.

In connection with the destroyer-building program authorized by the Navy act October 6, 1917, the utmost dispatch in construction was directed. This act authorized an expenditure of $350,000,000, not only for the destroyers but for plants to build them and for each and every purpose connected therewith. Unusual commandeering authority was also included in the act in order to enable the work to be pushed to the utmost. Preliminary work had already been done in this connection so that the Navy Department was ready to act at once. On October 9, three days after the passage of the act, orders were given to the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation to erect at Squantum, Mass., a plant specially designed for the rapid construction of destroyers, a large number of destroyers being assigned to be built there. In addition, and as virtually a part of the same undertaking, a large plant was directed built at Buffalo, N. Y., adapted to turn out destroyer machinery and turbines, and a plant was undertaken at Providence, R. I., for the special purpose of building boilers for destroyers. These projects were all pushed as fast as possible, being hampered somewhat by the exceptional winter of 1917–18.

The plant at Squantum consists of 10 building slips, 3 double wet slips, assembly shop, plate and angle shop, angle-smith shop, and galvanizing shop under one roof, the total area covered being approximately 790,000 square feet, or 18 acres. In addition there are necessary storehouses and other incidental establishments. It was necessary to build this plant and fit it with machinery. Even before it was completed, it was possible to begin work in part of it, the first work on destroyer material being done on January 14, 1918, when the first keel plate was punched for rivet holes. On April 20 a large amount of destroyer material had been fabricated, and on this date keels were laid for five destroyers, the first one being named the *Delphy*. This was the first vessel launched from the plant on July 18, and she is now nearly completed, so that she will be turned over to the Government probably within a year of the day when the order was given to convert the swampy, low-lying expanse of land at Squantum Point into a plant for destroyer building. There are now over 6,000 men employed at Squantum, and the force is being steadily increased until there will be between 8,000 and 9,000 engaged in destroyer building only. The turbine-building plant at Buffalo and the boiler-building plant at Providence are also now in full operation.

BUREAU OF YARDS AND DOCKS.

EMERGENCY HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION.

Hospital accommodations have had to be greatly augmented with the increase in personnel for war operations. Emergency hospital units have been constructed in the neighborhood of the cantonments and temporary emergency wards on grounds adjacent to the permanent Navy hospitals.

The buildings have been in general of wood frame construction, one story in height. In Norfolk, Va., and in New York, where two-story buildings are built and where the fire hazards are unusually bad, terra-cotta walls have been used at an increase of about 15 per cent to 20 per cent over wood frame.

About 6,000 additional beds have been provided to meet the immediate needs of the war conditions, and, roughly speaking, 6,000 more beds are being provided for under present contracts or under contracts about to be awarded. The beds are provided for at 25 stations covering the east coast, south coast, and west coast.

For overseas the bureau has provided 190 portable buildings for hospital work and has completed hospital groups at several foreign stations.

SUMMARY.

The bureau has received appropriations from Congress for hospital construction amounting to $16,045,000, from which have been provided at 25 stations approximately:

Patients' beds	12,085
Additional personnel	4,900
Total	16,985

AVIATION CONSTRUCTION.

On the outbreak of the war the only air station in operation in this country was the one at Pensacola, Fla. Immediately upon the declaration of hostilities plans for new stations were drawn, and in May of 1917 actual construction started. Since that time 11 large additional stations have been put in operation, and also a number at strategic points, to assist in efficient patrol work. These stations, including additional work recently authorized and now under way, involve the expenditure of $15,000,000 and provide accommodations for upward of 9,000 men and 400 officers. In addition thereto work is just started at the site of the new station on the Gulf, the initial cost of which will run to $1,200,000, providing for 600 men and 70 officers.

Kite-balloon stations are being provided, one each in the first, third, and sixth naval districts and two in the fifth naval district, involving an expenditure of $500,000.

The bureau is as well supplying plans, hangars, and portable buildings for construction by the Canadian Government.

For the manufacture of aeroplanes there has been provided in the navy yard at Philadelphia the naval aircraft factory, the original installation involving the expenditure of approximately $1,000,000, the contract for which was let on September 15, 1917, and the work contemplated therein completed by November 28, 1917. In February of this year a contract was let for the extension of this factory, involving an expenditure of $2,850,000, providing not only for vastly increased factory space but, as well, a six-story concrete storage building and three-story office and laboratory structure. The office building is occupied as well as a portion of the factory building, and the concrete storehouse is approaching completion.

Additional storehouses for the reception of aircraft parts and materials have been provided at South Brooklyn, N. Y., and Gloucester, Mass. The original contract for storehouse at New York was let on December 5, 1917, and completed on March 10, 1918, the cost being approximately $300,000. Since that time need for further space has developed, and an additional building, practically doubling the capacity of the original structure, has been started under contract dated July 18, due for completion December 17, the cost involved being $362,000. At Gloucester there has been rented a tract of property with buildings already constructed, suitable in large measure for the Navy's use, and they are at this time being prepared for the reception of aircraft material.

A DESCRIPTION OF NAVAL TRAINING CAMPS.

Naval training camps, varying in capacity from 500 men to 45,000 men, have been completed and others are in progress of construction or have been authorized for construction.

Expansion has recently become necessary because of the large number of vessels the Navy has been called upon to man, the increased number of armed guard crews, and the greatly expanded aviation activities.

The design of a complete naval training camp is complex and involves first the special design of the individual buildings such as barracks, mess halls, latrines, instruction buildings, dispensaries, drill halls, recreation buildings, isolation buildings, laundries, power plants, storehouses, refrigeration buildings, bakeries, incinerators, guardhouses, and fire houses; and second, the grouping of these buildings in such a manner as to make a comprehensive plan of the military and naval organization. In conjunction with the planning of camps, topography, drainage, water supply, sewerage, roads, street lighting, and fire protection are important considerations.

Each camp generally has the following major divisions: Administration group, incoming isolation group, outgoing isolation group, main regimental groups, commissary group, educational and recreation group, and service group.

The administration group occupies generally a central situation. Building or buildings for office administration are provided, with subdivisions for executive and general offices. These offices are equipped with desks, chairs, tables, filing cabinets, typewriters, adding machines, and stationery. In a word, they are completely equipped offices. Buildings containing officers' quarters (which are completely furnished and provided with a single bed or cot, mattress, chiffonier, chair, and mirror), officers' mess and kitchen, post office, canteen, petty officers' quarters, armory, wireless and telephone central, make up the administration group.

The incoming and outgoing isolation groups are usually divided to provide for the incoming and outgoing of recruits, who are held under observation here for 21 days upon arriving and 21 days before departing. When new men arrive at camp they enter the receiving building, where their civilian clothes are disinfected and where they are bathed, given a shave and hair cut, examined, vaccinated, inoculated, and fitted out with their service uniforms. The exit of this building is the

incoming probation camp. In both the incoming and outgoing probation camps men sleep in barracks housing 24 men in groups of 12 at each end. Each 12 men are provided with a separate dormitory, mess room, latrine, and serving pantry, all under one roof. Each serving pantry is provided with food by vacuum food carriers distributed from a central probation kitchen by special food trucks. The dishes never leave the building, but are sterilized in each serving pantry. There is a central laundry provided where soiled clothes for each man are brought in a laundry bag and sterilized before being laundered. The isolation camp is provided with a dispensary, officers' quarters, and brig similar to those described hereinafter for the main regimental group. The probation camp is surrounded by a double row of high barbed wire, electrically lighted fencing. Between the rows of fencing is a zone about 10 feet wide to prevent passing anything into the camp from the outside.

The main regimental group is composed of barracks housing men in groups from 54 to 144. The men sleep on mattresses or in hammocks supported by iron pipes. Outside a pipe rail is provided, and it is required that the hammocks be aired there daily in clear weather. Large comfortable latrines are provided, with cement floors. Substantial water-closets, urinals, and ample showers are provided with both hot and cold water. Buildings with scrub decks for washing clothes and hammocks in the same manner as is required of seamen on shipboard are provided. Clotheslines are provided immediately outside the wash houses arranged as similar as possible with racks and blocks as is done on shipboard. There is a dispensary for each regimental unit of 1,000 men. It is provided with 22 beds, a record room, doctor's room, examining room, dental room, pharmacist's room, room for venereal diseases, and adequate toilets. There are in many camps for every 5,000 drill halls approximately 600 feet long, with a span of 100 feet in width and an armory for the stacking of guns and repairs of same. The mess halls are large, airy rooms with cement floors and sanitary bases. The mess halls are equipped with tables and benches and a full equipment of mess gear, such as knives, forks, spoons, dishes, sugar bowls, water pitchers, drinking glasses, and serving trays. The kitchens are large, well-ventilated rooms, the walls of which are painted with washable paint. Kitchens are equipped with double steam kettles and large urns for coffee and tea. There are coal ranges with ovens for roasting or baking. There is also provided an electric potato parer, electric meat chopper, butcher's block, and steam tables and dish warmers. Each kitchen has a refrigerating storage room, a vegetable preparation room, and a storeroom. Large sculleries are provided and equipped with dish-washing machines. A dock is provided for small boats, equipped with float and gangway. Davits for the lowering and raising of boats are also provided as well as a boathouse for suitable storage of boats.

The hospital group has a centrally located and completely furnished administration building similar to that described hereinbefore, with ample provision for the doctor, nurses, and hospital corps, as to sleeping quarters and messing facilities. The hospital has accommodation for between 4 and 5 per cent of the main camp, and is thoroughly equipped with wards, operating pavilion, subsistence facilities, quarters for officers, nurses, hospital corps, and civilians, laundry, heating plant, garage, storehouse, brig, and mortuary and laboratory facilities. The buildings are lighted by electricity, heated generally by steam, completely supplied with hot and cold running water, and have adequate sewerage systems. Complete kitchen and laundry equipments are installed, including provisions for disinfection, sterilizing, and incineration. Operating facilities are available at all stations.

The commissary group contains storehouses, refrigerator building, bakery and general stores buildings for food supplies, clothing, and camp equipment of any kind. The bakery building is provided with modern ovens, electric kneading and mixing machines, and in connection with it there is a storeroom for flour, a room that is warmed for the proper raising of bread, and a room where it can be quickly cooled and stored.

The educational and recreation group contains adequate buildings properly equipped for their various purposes. In this group are an electrical school, a general school, commissary school, rigging school, carpentry school, yeomen school, music school, swimming schools, a stewards' school, radio school, and officers' school. There are also recreation buildings for moving pictures or entertainments. The Young Men's Christian Association and the Knights of Columbus usually provide reading and writing rooms as required.

The service group has buildings for fire house and garage, blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, electrical shop, tailor shop, paint shop, and other shops incidental to the upkeep of a large camp.

MISCELLANEOUS BUILDINGS.

In this group are the central power house, coal-handling apparatus, sewerage disposal, garbage incinerator, and other service buildings.

FIRE-ALARM SYSTEM.

Fire-fighting apparatus similar to that used in well organized communities is installed in each camp upon completion. Adequate water supply and hydrants will be installed for this purpose. In addition to this, buildings will be protected with hand grenades, pyrenes, chemical hand engines, fire pails, and other ready extinguishers. Well-drilled fire-fighting squads will be organized into a fire department.

GENERAL TYPE OF CONSTRUCTION.

Where concrete floors are used, such as in latrine buildings, kitchens, and mess halls, the foundations consist of concrete trench walls; generally, however, foundations consist of timber posts set on concrete footings. The sills, floors, and beams are of wood, and the floors laid double with waterproof paper between. The walls are sheathed inside with matched boards or a thickness of tar paper to prevent the entrance of vermin. The outside walls consist of seven-eighths-inch sheathing, a layer of tar paper, and drop siding of vertical boards and battens. The roofs are sheathed solid and covered in the main camps with green slate surfaced ready to lay roofing. In all the living quarters steam radiators are set somewhat above the floor and the outside walls provided with an opening fitted with shutters so as to regulate the amount of fresh air that can be introduced and warmed as it passes around the radiator. In the ceilings adjustable openings are provided so as to draw this air across the room, where it is exhausted from the top of the building.

PAINTING.

All the hospital interior walls are painted with flat-wall washable paint, and usually the sleeping quarters are painted or finished inside with a coat of barium varnish. The exterior walls of all buildings throughout the camp are painted with a standard olive-green beaver paint.

LIGHTING.

Buildings and grounds are lighted with electricity and so arranged that the master at arms in making his rounds at the proper time can regulate the lighting from the outside of each building. Roads and walks are amply lighted from poles; boundary line fencing is provided with flood lighting.

OTHER SERVICES.

Adequate sewers and sewage disposal, water supply and filtration, and garbage incinerators are provided.

ROADS.

Service roads of concrete are laid and each building is provided with either cement or wooden walks, so that one can pass from any one building to another in the camp without leaving the walks or roads.

NUMBER OF MEN ACCOMMODATED AND COST.

The camps already constructed provide winter accommodations for 145,000 men. Camps under construction or authorized for construction will provide winter accommodations for 53,000 men. The total number of men provided for when the work under construction and authorized is completed will be 198,000 men.

Naval training camps completed, under construction, and authorized for construction will cost about $57,000,000.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1918.

UNITED STATES NAVAL ORDNANCE PLANT, SOUTH CHARLESTON, W. VA.

The United States Naval Ordnance Plant, South Charleston, W. Va., is a combination of the two plants known as the Projectile Plant and the Armor Plant. In August, 1917, contracts for the construction of that portion of the plant originally known as the Projectile Plant were let and construction work begun almost immediately. During construction plans were modified to permit of the manufacture of light gun forgings. Construction work for this portion of the plant is now complete and the manufacture of steel was begun in June, 1918.

Plans for that portion of the plant originally known as the Armor Plant are practically complete and construction work has already begun. This work is being pushed as rapidly as possible, and it is thought that the manufacture of steel may be begun in August, 1919.

Five submarine bases have been authorized, at an expenditure involving over $5,000,000. In addition thereto there have been provided in this country over 60 section bases or repair points, where scout patrol and other vessels may resort for repairs and supplies. This work involves an ultimate expenditure of nearly $2,500,000.

MEMORANDUM ON NAVAL PROVING GROUND, INDIANHEAD, MD.

A vast amount of construction has been completed and is under way at the naval proving ground, Indianhead, to assure the proposed doubling of the output of powder contemplated by the Bureau of Ordnance. Among the regular items may be cited the Navy nitrate plant, for which Congress has already provided in excess of $9,000,000. And quite as important as any other feature is the railroad connection now under way from White Plains, Md., to the proving ground reservation which will give direct railroad connection and assure proper transportation facilities, from the lack of which the proving ground has suffered in the past, it being wholly dependent on water transportation. For this latter item, $850,000 is required.

ORDNANCE STORAGE.

For the storage of ordnance more than 250 buildings have been provided at a cost of approximately $7,500,000. This construction will provide ample space for the storage of the Navy's increased program in the production of the ordnance supplies. All of this work, except about 60 buildings, contracts for which have been let this spring and summer, is completed. The remaining buildings will be completed in ample time for the need.

IMPROVEMENTS AT NAVY YARDS.

Shipbuilding facilities and improvements for the construction of ships at the different navy yards have been made or are being made as follows:

Portsmouth: Improvements of this yard consist mainly of equipping the yard for the construction of additional submarines, the projects being construction of additional building ways and the rearrangement and extension of shop buildings and equipment, such as foundry, machine shop, and cranes.

Boston: Yard is equipped for the construction of auxiliaries and improvements consist mainly of rearrangement of equipment and extension of shops and building ways.

New York: Improvements at this yard, which is already equipped for the construction of battleships, consist principally of equipping the yard for the construction of additional battleships. The principal improvements are a shipbuilding slip for the construction of battleships; a new structural shop 200 by 576 feet, which will be completed by early spring, extension to existing machine shop. All necessary equipment for these projects, including heating and lighting cranes, and mechanical equipment and other accessories, are included in the improvements.

Philadelphia: This yard, already equipped for the construction of auxiliaries, is being equipped for the construction of battleships and battle cruisers. The principal features of the improvements are one building slip 700 feet long for battleship construction, and one 900 feet long for battle-cruiser construction; structural shop, 300 by 700 feet; foundry, 180 by 648 feet, with material yard; machine-shop extension, 130 by 325 feet; central power plant, with distributing system, etc.; galvanizing plant; oxygen, hydrogen, acetylene generating plant; fitting-out pier, 100 by 1,000 feet, including foundations for a 350-gross-ton crane. All of these above improvements, with the exception of the 350-ton crane, will be completed this year.

Norfolk: The Norfolk yard, already equipped for the construction of destroyers, is being equipped for the construction of battleships. The principal features of the improvements are a shipbuilding slip 700 feet long for battleship construction; structural shop 300 by 700 feet; foundry 180 by 408 feet, with material yard; machine shop 130 by 600 feet; central power plant; fitting-out pier 100 by 1,000 feet, including foundations for 350 gross-ton crane. The yard force is at work on a railroad, street, and sewer connections, and the completion of all of these projects with the exception of the 350-ton crane is scheduled for this year.

Charleston: This yard, already equipped for the construction of destroyers or small auxiliaries, is being equipped for the construction of additional destroyers. The most important improvements are three additional building slips for destroyers and three reinforced-concrete buildings for pattern shop, public works building, and machinists' mate school. The other improvements consist of minor extensions. The construction of destroyer ways are being carried out by yard labor.

Mare Island: The Mare Island yard, already equipped for the construction of destroyers and battleships, is being equipped for the construction of additional destroyers and larger battleships. The principal features, which have been or will be completed this year, are additional double ways for destroyers, extension of battleship ways for 700-foot ships, machine shop extension and accessory shop. At the present time bids have been received for the construction of a structural shop group to cost approximately $2,000,000.

Puget Sound: This yard, formerly equipped for the construction of submarines only, is being equipped for the construction of auxiliaries, battle cruisers, or battleships, and for mine sweepers or destroyers. The main features are a shipbuilding slip of dry-dock type 130 by 950 feet, served by traveling hammer-head cranes; accessory shop and yard improvements; also timber ways for two mine-sweeper tugs in tandem or four single destroyers. All projects are due for completion by the end of this year.

STORAGE FACILITIES AT NAVY YARDS.

Allotments have been made for storage facilities at the following yards:

Boston, $500,000; New York, $1,200,000; Philadelphia, $500,000; Norfolk, $800,000; Mare Island, $250,000; Charleston, $225,000; Puget Sound, $500,000; Pearl Harbor, $100,000; and for miscellaneous and temporary storehouses, $100,000. In addition, funds have become available for the following items:

General storehouse, New London, Conn	$120,000
General storehouse, Newport, R. I	148,000
General storehouse, Washington Navy Yard	400,000
Medical supply depot, Brooklyn, N. Y	200,000
Medical supply depot, Mare Island, Cal	125,000

These structures have been designed uniformly with previous structures and in accordance with the revised bureau code. All storehouses are now under contract or have been completed. The storehouses at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Mare Island are completed and in use and the others well under way. The New York building is the largest of its kind in the world. It is 11 stories high, 180 feet wide, and 360 feet long, without courts, and contains 712,000 square feet of floor area. It was constructed in record time by the Turner Construction Co., of New York City. Contract was awarded April 21, 1917, work on the site was started May 21, 1917, and the building completed December 13, 1917. Three thousand seven hundred and seventy-six Raymond concrete piles were used, averaging about 23 feet in length.

In addition to the above, increased storehouse facilities are being provided at Boston; a new storehouse at Philadelphia; a coal-storage plant at Hampton Roads has been completed; storehouses are under way at Newport, Philadelphia, and Norfolk. In addition, facilities for the storage of lumber, steel, and boats are receiving the specific attention of the bureau.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1918.

FUEL-OIL STORAGE.

Contracts have been awarded to provide storage for approximately 50,000,000 gallons of fuel oil, at the cost of $3,850,000. Information relative to these projects follows:

Melville, R. I.: Five million gallons' storage in concrete reservoirs; contract awarded August, 1917. Work now approximately completed. Actual cost, approximately $365,000.

Guantanamo, Cuba: Six million gallons' storage; contract awarded April, 1917. Work now approximately completed. Approximate cost, $530,000.

Pearl Harbor: Six million gallons' storage; contract awarded November, 1917. Approximate cost, $530,000; work 30 per cent completed.

Puget Sound: Eight million gallons' storage; reinforced concrete; contract awarded November, 1917. Estimated cost, approximately $475,000. Work approximately 30 per cent completed.

San Diego: Two million gallons' concrete storage; contract awarded January, 1917. Approximate cost, $350,000. Work approximately 30 per cent completed.

Chesapeake Bay: Twenty-one million gallons' reinforced concrete storage, with necessary equipment and wharf; estimated cost, $1,600,000. Contracts for wharf, reservoirs, and equipment already awarded. Wharf approximately 50 per cent completed; reservoirs 20 per cent; equipment contract just recently awarded.

Overseas: In April, 1918, the bureau purchased one 50,000-gallon gasoline tank and two 200,000-gallon gasoline tanks, all of steel construction, for transshipment to and reerection. At the same time the bureau purchased nine 1,000,000-gallon fuel-oil tanks, three each to be erected overseas. At the same time the bureau purchased the necessary piping, pumps, valves, and fittings for the fuel-oil installation. Most of this material has already been shipped and is being installed under the supervision of the Navy. Recently a request was forwarded from Admiral Sims for three 2,000,000-gallon tanks for fuel oil, for erection at an important point. The bureau entered into contract for these three tanks, and they will be delivered at an early date.

RADIO STATIONS.

Several radio stations are now under construction. The one just recently completed at Annapolis, Md., is the largest high-tower radio station in the world. Detailed information regarding these installations follows:

Philadelphia: Two steel towers, each 300 feet high, were completed August, 1917. Operating building and operators' quarters were completed shortly thereafter.

Cuban Government: In June, 1917, the bureau, at the request of the Republic of Cuba, took bids and awarded contract for 18 towers for use in connection with the radio work in the Republic of Cuba. Fourteen of these towers were 200 feet high, the remaining 4 being 300 feet high. In June, 1918, the bureau added, at the request of the Republic of Cuba, six 200-foot towers, making a total of 24 radio towers. The total tonnage of these towers were 1,120, including the six additional noted above. Arrangements were made with the Cuban Government to have the material shipped from the United States to Cuba by means of a Cuban transport, which is being loaded now at a dock in Baltimore. The original fourteen 200-foot towers and a large percentage of the four 300-foot towers are on the dock ready for shipment. It is anticipated that the entire work will be completed within the next six weeks. Approximate cost, $140,000.

Virgin Islands: Contract awarded December, 1917, for two 200-foot steel towers; approximate cost, $20,000. Work now approximately 75 per cent completed.

El Cayey, P. R.: Contracts awarded October, 1917, for three 600-foot radio towers and necessary buildings. Approximate cost, $250,000. Work on buildings now approximately completed. Work on towers approximately 60 per cent completed.

Annapolis: Contract for four 600-foot towers entered into November 1, 1917. Approximate cost, $690,000. Contract for radio buildings, wharf, radio-water system, electric systems, and other incidentals awarded October 15, 1917. Work now completed. Station actually placed in commission and first message sent to France first week of this month.

France: In January, 1918, entered into contract for eight 820-foot towers, France, on the basis of erection of the towers by enlisted personnel. Material was actually purchased, fabricated, and shipped complete by August 30, 1918. Erection is now going forward. The total estimated cost of Navy work is $635,000.

On September 19 the bureau was authorized to proceed with the construction of twenty 500-foot radio towers, which are to be located near Monroe, N. C. The total estimated cost of this work, with the necessary buildings and service system, omitting the consideration of the work to be done by Steam Engineering, will be approximately $3,600,000. It is expected that five of these towers and all buildings and service systems will be complete so that the station may be put in operation on or before May 1, 1919.

Contracts were entered into for various minor installations of radio buildings at various stations, notably three 200-foot towers at Norfolk, with receiving building; radio building at Charleston, S. C.; compass stations at various small radio stations all along the Atlantic coast; radio towers at Valdez, Alaska; radio buildings at North Truro, Sayville, Tuckerton, and other places. These are all installations, however, of minor character.

OPERATING BASE AT HAMPTON ROADS, VA.

One of the outstanding accomplishments of the year has been the partial development of the operating base at Hampton Roads. It has long been needed.

Congestion at the Norfolk Navy Yard and Training Station made the provision of some base, outside of the navy yard, an absolute necessity, and Congress provided for the purchase and initiation of the development of the operating base at Hampton Roads.

It was the original intention that one of the activities at Hampton Roads was to be a training station for 8,000 men. This is now in operation, and has been for some time, with an expanded capacity up to 15,000 men.

A second activity is aviation operating base, originally intended for a double coastal unit, and for the operation of two coastal patrol balloons. Aviation activities now include training as well as operation, and there is at least twenty times the activities in the air contemplated originally.

The submarine basin for the accommodation of 20 submarines is now under construction and will soon be available for the use of submarines, destroyers, and the small district patrol craft.

A very important activity contemplated at Hampton Roads consisted of storehouses for fleet stores, so that these might be stored where accessible to the fleet and removed from the navy yard, thus leaving the yard storehouses for the storage of yard material exclusively. There have been completed a number of temporary storehouses for the storage of mines and mining gear. There is a storehouse for general fleet stores now approaching completion, also a cold-storage plant to take care of the supplies for the training station, aviation station, submarine base, and the fleet.

The necessity for the fuel-oil storage and coal storage originally planned at this station has been eliminated by the establishment of fuel-oil tank capacity in the immediate vicinity of the station and connecting up by piping, and the development of large coal-storage capacity at Newport News, Lamberts Point, and Sewells Point.

One permanent pier 1,300 feet long is approaching completion. One temporary pier has been in use for some time in the handling of materials for the construction of the remainder of the station.

Retaining walls and dredging, to permit the deep-water vessels approaching the piers, and the filling in behind the retaining walls, is largely increasing the original area purchased.

The value of this development and the necessity of its continuance is becoming more apparent daily to the yard, the department, and the fleet.

GREAT LAKES.

The naval training camp located at Great Lakes, Ill., is the largest of all the naval training establishments, providing accommodations for about 50,000 men. The first training camp buildings constructed at Great Lakes were begun immediately after the outbreak of the war.

As it became apparent that the Great Lakes camps would have to be greatly expanded in order to provide for the greatly increasing requirements for naval training, a comprehensive scheme of camp location was attempted. The original naval training station which existed before the war formed a nucleus for a later development. The station is located on a high bluff overlooking the west shore of Lake Michigan. The camps have expanded in northerly, southerly, and westerly directions on land lent to or purchased by the Government.

The present training camps at Great Lakes comprise a modern city in wood, every essential facility being provided. The buildings are heated by steam from central power plants, lighted by electricity, and furnished with water by underground systems of piping. The water is taken from Lake Michigan and purified for pumping through the mains. A complete sewer system is provided and sewage disposal is required before turning the effluent into Lake Michigan.

The camps at Great Lakes together have cost more than $14,000,000, and all construction conducted since July, 1917, has been the result of advertising for competitive bids from plans and specifications provided in the Bureau of Yards and Docks to cover all types of building construction, utilities, and services. Great Lakes has every facility in incoming detention and in outgoing detention to isolate the incoming and outgoing recruits from the main camp as a protection against disease.

The buildings number several hundred in all and include barracks buildings, mess halls, latrines, detention buildings, dispensaries, storehouses, garages, fire stations, administration buildings, power plants, water supply, sewage-disposal plants, drill halls, swimming schools, bakeries, laundries, machinists' mates and aviation schools, yeoman schools, shop buildings, and various other shop and school buildings for training purposes. The reservation is subdivided into regimental camps for the better administering of training.

NAVAL TRAINING CAMP AT PELHAM, N. Y.

The naval training camp at Pelham is located at City Island, on Rodmans Neck, Pelham Park, in the borough of The Bronx, New York. Permission to build this site in the park was obtained from the city officials in June, 1917, and the construction of the camp, to accommodate 5,000 men, was begun in July, 1917. The camp was divided into three parts—the main training camp, the detention camp, and the camp hospital. The cost of the original work for the 5,000 men was

approximately $2,000,000. The barracks buildings were one-story structures arranged about a centrally located parade ground. The mess halls were large, airy structures with a centrally located kitchen arranged to feed in each wing of the building 500 men on the cafeteria system. Latrines were also large structures fitted to accommodate 500 men. The camp is located amongst trees, and only such trees as were necessary to locate the buildings in a symmetrical plan were removed. In the spring of 1918 an extension was authorized to provide for an additional 10,000 men, 8,000 of which were to be in the extension to the main camp and 1,000 to be in the incoming isolation and 1,000 in the outgoing isolation. The extension to the main camp was located on an oval-shaped piece of property and connected to the old camp by a wooden highway bridge. With the extension to this camp was authorized swimming schools built with reinforced concrete tanks about 75 feet long and 25 feet wide; also a large drill hall, approximately 200 feet wide and 450 feet long, the floor of which has a wearing surface of asphalt to soften the floor for marching and to prevent flying dust, which would have been very unhealthful to men when drilling indoors. This camp was constructed entirely by the Bureau of Yards and Docks. The bureau, through its public-works officer, hired all of the mechanics and labor employed on this work and purchased all of the materials required for the entire camp. The cost of this camp was approximately $6,500,000. This camp is now occupied to its full capacity, a total of 15,000 men. Complete services, such as concrete roads, sewers, water supply, electric service, and steam heat, was provided for the entire development.

HAMPTON ROADS.

Naval Training Camp, Hampton Roads, is located on the property of the old Jamestown Exposition grounds at Hampton Roads, Va. This property was purchased by the Government for the purpose of developing a naval operating base and combining with it a naval training station. The training camp construction was begun in the early part of July, 1917.

With the acquisition of this property the Government became possessed of the old exposition buildings, which were incorporated in the general design for the camps.

The work originally authorized provided for habitation for 10,000 men. The buildings were grouped about the old exhibition administration buildings, which were incorporated in the design of the camp for use as such. The camp was divided about a centrally located parade ground and provision was made at the easterly end of the camp for approximately 5,000 men in a detention unit. The original cost of this camp was approximately $4,500,000. This camp provides for schools of instruction, such as rigging schools, music schools, commissary schools, electrical schools, general schools, and steward schools.

Later, a one-thousand-man isolation detention group was added to the naval training camp. This work was constructed by the King Lumber Co., after taking competitive bids.

At various times authorizations have been granted for the construction of additional buildings, such as swimming schools, drill halls, gyroscopic schools. The complete service, such as roads, walks, sewers, water supply, fencing, central heating plant, etc., were installed for the entire camp.

In September, 1914, the bureau was directed to construct an extension to the naval training station on property bounded on the eastward by Bouch Creek, Willaby Bay on the northeast, and the Virginia Railroad on the southeast. This new camp provides for 14,000 additional men, to be administered from the original camp on the Jamestown site. Two thousand of these men will be in the incoming isolation group and 2,000 men in the outgoing isolation group, and 10,000 men in the main camp. Provision has been made for swimming schools and additional instruction schools.

All of these new barracks buildings will be two stories in height and the men arranged in groups to be messed in four large mess halls, each feeding 25,000 men on the cafeteria system.

Complete plans and specifications for this work were compiled by the bureau. Work was begun about the middle of September, and the time of completion for the entire camp buildings fixed at 125 calendar days. It is estimated that this camp will cost, when completed, including all service, such as storehouse, power plants, roads, water supply, sewers, and electric lighting, approximately $5,000,000.

MARINE BARRACKS, QUANTICO, VA.

One of the two principal establishments for training Marines for the Navy is located at Quantico, Va., about 40 miles from Washington on the west bank of the Potomac River.

The Marines receive a training similar to that given the Army recruits, so that their barracks are modeled more or less after the Army organization. The camp is subdivided into an infantry camp, artillery school, and officers' school, and includes hospital facilities, storage, and commissary facilities.

The camp is fully equipped with modern roads and walks, water supply, mains, sewer system, garbage incineration. The first construction at Quantico provided for 5,000 men. An extension to the Quantico camp to provide for 2,800 additional recruits was started during the spring of this year. Complete plans and specifications for the work were prepared in the Bureau of Yards and Docks, and include 270 buildings of different descriptions. The contract price for the King Lumber Co. contract was $1,085,562.

PARIS ISLAND, S. C.

The second important establishment for training recruits for the Marine Corps is located at Paris Island, Port Royal, S. C. Paris Island is located off the coast of South Carolina, is located on the Beaufort River southeasterly from Charleston.

The first camp at Paris Island was constructed in 1917 and was modeled like Quantico after the Army plans. It provided for about 2,500 men. As a result of congressional action increasing the personnel of the Marine Corps it was found necessary to increase the size of the camp at Paris Island as well as at Quantico. Plans and specifications were prepared during the spring of 1918 in the Bureau of Yards and Docks covering all points of the construction of and extension to the Paris Island camps, and provided for quarters for 5,000 additional recruits.

Construction was provided at six different points on the island, as follows: Extension to the training camp, increasing the facilities at the main station, quarantine station, and existing rifle range, and establishing a new rifle range, and a group of buildings at the maneuver grounds. The buildings include barracks buildings, mess halls, latrines, officers' quarters, outbuildings, administration building, post exchange, library and recreation building, lecture hall, post office, clerk school, auto-repair shop, bakeshop, radio school, pump house, bowling alleys, ice plant, meat-cutting room, resthouse, guardhouse, a group of hospital buildings, and storage buildings, a pier and sea wall. This camp, like Quantico, is provided with roads and walks, water supply and sewer systems, fire-fighting facilities, and sewage disposal.

The work of constructing the extension to the marine barracks at Paris Island will cost $1,882,297 under the contract.

CODDINGTON POINT.

As a result of the acceptance by the Navy Department of the training of the merchant marine it was necessary to establish a new naval training camp at Coddington Point, Newport, R. I. This establishment provides facilities for 15,000 men. Plans and specifications were prepared in the Bureau of Yards and Docks to cover all points of the intricate construction of this camp, which is the largest single camp contract ever prepared by the Navy. The work was awarded to the lowest bidder for approximately $3,500,000. Coddington Point is located a short distance from the naval station, Newport, and is connected by bridge with Coasters Harbor Island, where a naval training camp for 7,000 men is provided.

The layout of the camp at Coddington Point is typical of the latest naval training camp construction. It includes the following features:

Regimental training unit.

Regimental barracks, 104 men each	107
Latrines	35
Mess halls to accommodate 11,000 men	5
Regimental quartermasters' buildings	11
Regimental office buildings	11
Battalion commanders' offices	35
Brigade headquarters	2
Dispensaries	4
Large drill halls, 100 by 350 feet each	4
Barracks for chief petty officers accommodating 100 men each	2
Large storehouses, 60 by 350 feet each	4
Garages for 15 cars each	2

Barracks for cooks and many other features such as would be necessary for the service of a city of 15,000 inhabitants. The total number of buildings provided is 373.

An interesting point in connection with the camp at Coddington is the installation of four swimming pools, complete with pumping, heating, and filtration facilities. These swimming pools are under roof and built of concrete, with showers and locker rooms.

DETENTION UNIT.

This division of a typical camp, such as the Coddington project, will accommodate 4,000 men, 2,000 incoming and 2,000 outgoing. In addition to the barracks would be found two laundries, four dispensaries, four isolation wards, two executive buildings, two office buildings, two storehouses, two garages, and a large receiving building. Where such buildings occur in pairs, it is to be noted that one is in connection with incoming recruits and one in connection with those outgoing.

The completed camp at Coddington Point will include development of the water supply from a distant point, purification of the water supply, a system of fresh-water mains and a salt-water system of mains for flushing and fire-protection purposes. The camp will be provided with large pumping units for fire protection, adequate power plants, and for heating and lighting the camp. A complete sanitary sewer system is also provided and a system of roads and walks. The site is surrounded on three sides by water and is most picturesque. The camp when complete, including heating, lighting, and other services, will cost about $6,000,000.

INFORMATION ABOUT THE TRAINING CAMP, GULFPORT, MISS.

The naval training camp is located on the Mississippi Centennial Exposition Grounds on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico, near Gulfport, Miss. The regimental and isolation group of buildings, the alterations to existing exposition buildings, and complete outside services, such as roads, sewers, gas, electricity, and hospital group, are being constructed. Camp now accommodates 2,100 men. Plans provide for extension for total of 2,500 or more if necessary.

Complete plans and specifications, covering every item entering into the work, were prepared by the Bureau of Yards and Docks and advertised for bids. The award in each case was made to the low bidder, as the result of competitive bidding.

The cost of the main regimental group, isolation group, outside services, drill ground, pier, and other accessories, when completed, will be about $500,000, and the hospital group $100,000, making a total cost of the completed naval training camp, $600,000.

A comprehensive plan of the camp was made with a full appreciation of the esthetic value of the original exposition layout of grounds and buildings, and only such modifications to these original grounds and buildings were made as was necessary to adapt them for camp purposes and provide a suitable mess hall, storehouse, armory, receiving building, officer-of-the-day building, and headquarters building. Temporary buildings, comprising the regimental, isolation groups, and hospital groups, were arranged in such a manner as to interfere as little as possible with the palm court, vistas, trees, and other lanscape-gardening features in the original layout. These groups are composed of officers' quarters, barracks, mess halls, latrines, wash houses, storehouses, brig and guardhouse, dispensary, and garages.

Shell roads were laid out and built as originally planned for the exposition with such additional roads as were necessary to serve the needs of the camp. A garbage incinerator, a landing pier, grading of the ground to provide for a drill field, and a sewerage-disposal plant are also provided in this contract. The training camp generally has the following major divisions: Administration, isolation, main regimental, hospital, commissary, and service.

MARINE CORPS.

Barracks of modern construction for the Marine Corps are under way at several points. Information relative to these operations follow:

Philadelphia: In September, 1917, contract was awarded for an extension to quartermaster's storehouse, at an estimated cost of approximately $300,000. This work was later increased by another contract for mechanical equipment and still a further contract for another building, the total increase amounting to approximately $400,000. Work is now approximately 75 per cent completed.

Philadelphia Marine Barracks: Contract awarded November 26, 1917. These barracks to accommodate 400 men, approximate cost $200,000. Work now practically 90 per cent completed.

Philadelphia advance-base storehouse: Contract awarded June, 1917. Estimated cost, $76,000. Work completed December, 1917.

Peking, China: Contract entered into July, 1918. Estimated cost, $130,000. Work now going forward.

San Diego: Contract for dredging at San Diego, Marine Corps. Base was awarded January, 1918, and work is satisfactorily progressing with the dredging and filling. Plans and specifications for the Marine Corps base are being prepared and it is anticipated that they will be issued for bids within the next month. This total project will cover about $5,000,000.

NAVAL ACADEMY.

Work of extending the Naval Academy is well under way, a very satisfactory plan having been worked out for the extension of Bancroft Hall, the midshipmen's dormitory.

One of the wings accommodating about 550 midshipmen will be completed and ready for occupancy by October, 1918, and the remaining wing in February, 1919. The extension of the mess hall and its accompanying utilities will be completed by the same time, allowing for the messing of the maximum number of midshipmen, for which accommodations are to be provided. The extension of Isherwood Hall is under contract and will be completed early in October, 1918, including the enlargement of the forge shop. Temporary quarters have been completed which will accommodate about 450 reserve officers stationed at the academy for training. These quarters include a recreation and lecture hall large enough to seat the whole number of men.

Work on the high-power radio station at Annapolis is complete.

Extensive additions to the power-plant equipment and outside distributing systems are required to take care of the additional buildings. This work is well under way and will be finished by the time the new buildings are ready for occupancy.

DRY DOCKS.

Three naval dry docks are in course of construction at the present time and two other dry docks for which under congressional authority the Secretary of the Navy was authorized to enter into contract for naval purposes at a guaranteed minimum annual rental, all five docks being of such dimensions as to permit of docking the largest vessels capable of passing through the locks of the Panama Canal. In addition to these, appropriations have been made by Congress for the construction of a 1,000-foot dock at the navy yard, Charleston, S. C.

The two dry docks authorized at the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress were placed under contract under favorable terms after public competition, the Norfolk Navy Yard dock in November, 1916, and the Philadelphia Navy Yard dock in April, 1917.

Work has progressed very satisfactorily on the Norfolk dock and at present it is expected that the dock will be completed ready for use by December of this year, approximately a year in advance of the contract date, due for completion. Satisfactory progress has been made on the Pearl Harbor Dry Dock, which it is expected will be completed early in 1919. Considering the unusual difficulties under which this dock is being constructed and the fact that no dock has ever been built by any such radical method as is being employed on this contract, the status of the work is considered as very satisfactory. The progress of construction of the dry dock being built by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts at Boston has been more satisfactory than during the preceding year. Shortage of labor and difficulty in securing materials have had their influences, however, upon the progress of the work upon this dry dock during the past year. From present indications this dock will probably be completed in 1919. Congress has authorized the use of this dock by the Navy Department under practically the same conditions as those applying to the dry dock of the Union Iron Works in San Francisco, Cal. The Union Iron Works dock is approximately 90 per cent complete.

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BUREAU OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

When war began the Medical Corps of the Navy numbered about 300 commissioned officers. To-day we have that many Navy medical officers on duty in European waters or ashore in foreign countries. To-day the Medical Corps consists of 3,000 officers, all of whom are actually required for the present needs of the service and would not suffice in the event of further expansion. All these accessions to the Medical Corps were taken in after physical and professional examinations and they have received special training for military service and special professional training at the Naval Medical School, Washington, D. C., at naval hospitals, on board cruising ships of the Navy, and at great medical centers like New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, where intensive courses, both didactic and practical, were conducted for their benefit by the best professional talent in the country. The Dental Corps at the beginning of the war numbered 30 officers, it now has 500 members and the demand for their services has not even been fully met. As in the case of the doctors the dentists now serving abroad are numerically equal to the corps of two years ago. At the front, serving in the field with the marines in France, we have medical officers and dental officers. Their record is known from the newspapers. The first commissioned officer of the Navy proper to die in battle on the soil of France was Dental Surg. W. E. Osborne, fatally wounded while carrying a wounded comrade from the field. He was posthumously awarded the distinguished-service cross by Gen. Pershing.

Equal courage and fortitude has been shown by members of the Hospital Corps, the male nurses of the Navy, who serve on our battleships and go into action with the marines, sharing every danger with their comrades of other branches of the service. The Hospital Corps in July, 1916, numbered 1,585 men. To-day the corps consists of 14,000 men, for whom we have four large, thoroughly organized training schools and many smaller centers of instruction.

The female nurse corps comprises 1,128 women, of whom 260 are serving at our naval hospitals and dispensaries in England and France. We have more than doubled, nearly trebled, our enrollment of female nurses for active service since last year. The Navy nurses are without exception women of unusual ability and the highest character. They continue to show in every emergency the fidelity and devotion which has always characterized them.

The most carefully planned arrangements have been carried out during the past year and are now being increased and elaborated in every direction for the care of our sick and wounded. During the first year of the war we completed sufficient emergency hospital construction to increase the previously existing hospital facilities in 18 regular naval hospitals with their 1,600 beds by 114 new buildings, constructed and equipped—wards, contagious pavilions, operating rooms, quarters for female nurses and Hospital Corps men, storerooms, kitchens, mess halls, and barracks for civilian employees. By July, 1917, 2,700 additional beds had been provided for the sick. The buildings since completed, now nearing completion or contracted for and under way, will give the medical department of the Navy a patient capacity of between eleven and twelve thousand beds. For example, the hospital at Norfolk, Va., which had been increased last year to one thousand four hundred-odd beds will soon have 900 more beds. The hospital at Hampton Roads is being increased from 750 to 900. Brooklyn is being prepared for 500 additional patients, and Pelham Bay Park for an increase of 500 over last year, making 750. When I say beds I mean to include all the necessities for that many sick—heating, lighting, food, ambulance service, skilled nursing and skilled professional attendance, medical, surgical, and dental. At the Great Lakes Training Station the hospital capacity is about 1,300. An additional 200 beds are being provided. The three hundred and fifty-odd beds at Charleston, S. C., are to be doubled. League Island, Pa., which last year had 200 beds in 17 buildings, will shortly accommodate 600 additional patients in 30 additional buildings. The old Philadelphia Hospital is being increased this year by 300 additional beds, and a contract has been awarded for an addition to the hospital at League Island of 500 beds. In addition to this a hospital of 175 beds is going up at New London, Conn. At Wards Island, N. Y., 15 barrack buildings are under construction, which will accommodate 800 beds. In all these buildings attention has been given to adequate heating and ventilation. A full allowance of floor space and cubic air space is assured for each bed.

The list of beds here given represents the accommodation for patients only, and it must not be forgotten that the necessary attendant personnel for these patients is large and requires housing too. Thus, with the money expended in this hospital construction, there have been obtained also quarters for doctors, dentists, male and female nurses, and civilian employees, which may be estimated in terms of beds as from 40 to 50 per cent more than the number cited.

It remains to be said in this connection that while buildings were going up and equipment was being assembled arrangements with the best civilian hospitals of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia provided immediate accommodation and skilled treatment for any excess of sick over and above the naval facilities of the moment. Such sick as were sent to civilian institutions continued under the medical surveillance of the Navy, whose doctors were responsible for their welfare and their behavior.

In spite of the interference with business, caused by the war, the medical department of the Navy has not at any time lacked and does not now lack ample supplies of instruments, drugs, and dressings. Substitutes have been found for certain articles needed for the sick; others have been modified, where the cost was prohibitive or it was impossible to obtain them from abroad. All the thousands of recruits who have joined the colors have been vaccinated against smallpox and have received antityphoid prophylaxis. Not only were the candidates for enrollment examined by medical officers at recruiting stations, but trained psychiatrists have been at work in our training camps to weed out from the beginning those who were mentally and temperamentally unfit for the strain of war, aiming not only to remove this element of weakness from the fighting forces, but to prevent the shipwreck in individual cases, due to infringements of discipline and their consequent punishment, which invariably mark the career of these unfortunates when they are encompassed by the iron restraints of military discipline.

A most vital part of the work of the medical department of the Navy has been in the field of hygiene and sanitation. Important as it is to treat the sick it is more important still to ward off the dangers incident to large assemblages of men in camps, barracks, and ships by preventive measures.

The Bureau of Medicine and Surgery had a voice in the planning of our new training stations and in the modification of the existing ones when the expansion of the Navy began. Certain fundamental principles of housing, berthing, ventilation, isolation, and observation were laid down for the handling of recruits, and while epidemics of meningitis, measles, and mumps have occurred, they have been limited and controlled. While recognizing the need for rapidity of enrollment and training, the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery has stood out for systematic, concerted effort against overcrowding and has insisted that preparations for the adequate handling of men must keep pace with the recruiting of them. Two features stand out prominently in the Navy training-camp arrangements. They were accepted experimentally at first. To-day their enormous value has been fully recognized by naval military authorities. They are the detention system and the small-unit barracks. By detention system is meant that all recruits reporting at a training camp or station are housed, fed, and drilled apart for a period of 14 to 21 days. During this period contagious cases or men capable of carrying infection are sent to hospital or subjected to special observation. The detention period permits of careful vaccination and inoculation against smallpox and typhoid fever, while the new arrivals are gradually growing accustomed to their new environment and duties. Homesickness and discouragement are prone to attack the young recruit, and he is peculiarly susceptible to fatigue and physical deterioration, and therefore to epidemic diseases in the first days after enrollment. When the period of training at camp and barrack is over and the recruit has reached the point where he is ready to go aboard ships, a further detention is instituted to protect the personnel of battleship and cruiser from the introduction of contagion from abroad. During the early weeks of the war this so-called outgoing detention was not in full operation and epidemic diseases developed in the personnel afloat, but this no longer happens. The other important point in the Navy training-camp system is the small-unit barrack. The Bureau of Medicine and Surgery has urged that men be housed together in small groups, preferably 9 to 12, never more than 35 or 50 to a building, each man to have a minimum of 50 square feet of floor space. The tendency to overcrowding is inevitable, but abundant cubic air space is the most essential prerequisite of healthy camps.

Besides making these basal demands, the medical officers have exerted themselves to the limit of their strength to keep the men well by sanitary measures. They have had a gratifying success, if we may judge from the general admission rate for the entire Navy for all causes, including accidents and injuries as well as sickness, for the six months from January 1 to June 30, 1918. This admission rate means that when a man is put on the sick list for a boil it counts 1. If the same man later has measles, it counts 2. Later if he sprains his ankle, it means three admissions. The admission rate, as so interpreted, has been 716.5 per thousand men per annum. Compare this with the average admission rate for the eight years of peace from 1909 to 1916, which was 624.23. Consider that the period referred to included the months of January, February, March, and April, the wet, snowy, cold, inclement months, when sickness is most prevalent, when men want to shut windows and doors and ventilators and enjoy being crowded together for the sake of warmth and temporary comfort. Remember that the history of all military operations teaches the disproportionate increase of morbidity that accompanies concentration of men in large numbers. Remember that susceptibility is greatest in youth and that the average age of the Navy enlistments is well below that of land forces. You will then realize that, in spite of the coun-

try's unpreparedness, the need for dispatch and the work accomplished, the Navy's showing as to health has been reassuring, gratifying, splendid.

The factor of youth in causing sickness under stress is so great that I must give you one other figure to impress you with the value of our Navy medical service. It is a very striking figure. The admission rate for recruits in training for the half year alluded to was 1,086.04, as against the average admission rate for apprentice seamen during the preceding eight-year period of peace, which was 1,272.99.

For the sick and injured abroad we have a total hospital bed capacity, divided between England, Scotland, Ireland, and France, of over 3,000, of which 1,475 are in France and the balance in the British Isles. There are, in addition, less elaborate and temporary accommodations in France for 400 patients at smaller stations.

The medical department of the Navy has made special effort to prevent sickness among the troops going abroad in Navy transports. Careful thought was given to the subject, and a very simple scheme has been put in operation. The Army embarks and disembarks the troops, and is expected to embark them free from disease, clean, properly vaccinated, etc. Army medical officers hold sick call for their respective units, and the men requiring to be turned in, that correspond in shore parlance to hospital cases, are berthed in the ship's sick bay under the care of the ship's Navy medical officers. Minor ailments are prescribed for by the Army doctors, and their prescriptions are filled in the sick bay from the ship's stores, so that the Army medical units may not have to break into their outfits and deplete them in transit. (The senior medical officer of the Navy aboard has charge of all sanitary measures.)

The Navy has three hospital ships—the old *Solace*, 20 years in the service and still having a limited usefulness, and two 10,000-ton vessels, originally Ward liners, which have been converted to ambulance ships and fully equipped for 300 patients each. These ships do not more than cover the needs of the Navy. Hence when the Army called for assistance in returning its sick and wounded from abroad it was decided in conference between the two services to utilize the sick bays or hospital facilities of returning transports. Of course these ships can not bring home in comfort as many sick and wounded as the well men they carry on the eastward voyage. The troops on the way to the front can put up with bunks on lower decks and can go up and down ladders to mess, to the toilet, to get into the air and sunlight, as the sick could not. Still this arrangement meets the need, provided the Army sick are evacuated and distributed to different ports so that no transport shall ever return without being filled to its legitimate sick-carrying capacity. The transports vary not only in size but in type of construction, which counts almost as much as size where proper handling of the sick is concerned.

To give some idea of the total patient capacity at present, as distinguished from troop capacity, of these ships, I may say that if they all sailed at once from Europe they would bring home in a single voyage:

Bedridden patients requiring a maximum of care and attention, all occupying hospital bunks	1,400
Patients requiring surgical dressings and treatment but able to live in troop quarters	7,800
Insane	600
Tuberculosis cases, either isolated or housed on open decks	975
Patients requiring no surgical attention quartered in officers' rooms	4,900
Convalescents having the status of well men so far as berthing is concerned	76,000
Total	91,675

At the headquarters, in New York, of Admiral Gleaves, commanding the Transport and Cruiser Force, we have a medical officer of special ability, who acts in an advisory capacity on all matters sanitary. He inspects every transport coming in or going out, and, as opportunity permits, without delaying the expeditious transfer of men, institutes the changes and improvements which experience proves to be required. This doctor has made four trans-Atlantic voyages in transports for the sole purpose of acquiring full knowledge of conditions and problems connected with this service. Another medical officer is stationed at Newport News with identical functions. In each of two French ports we have a Navy medical officer who has had experience of transport service to facilitate the prompt distribution of Army patients to returning transports.

A brief reference should be made to the many enterprises, connected with war service, engaged in by the Medical Corps. The subject of gas warfare, the use of masks, the neutralization of poisonous gases and the treatment of the gassed has been fully mastered. The ventilation of submarines, the food appropriate to men serving in them, has been investigated and improved. Antiflash clothing has been devised to minimize the dangers from liquid fire, burning gunpowder, and explosives. Traveling laboratories have been organized at the medical school, and, on telegraphic request, their units, fully equipped, can proceed to the scene of an epidemic where personnel is overworked or facilities for bacteriological work are limited. The medical departments of the vessels of the fleet are fully prepared for the hazards of battle. The battle dressing stations, located behind armor and equipped with hot and cold water, with electric sterilizers, operating tables, and ample supplies of surgical dressings, manned by skillful and devoted doctors and attendants, are ready. A painstaking study has been made of all problems connected with the food and clothing of the men. Epidemic diseases have been investigated, both as regards prevention and treatment, and elaborate statistics have been tabulated. Instruction on all these topics has been given, as required, to doctors and nurses, and the personnel of the medical department has been kept fully abreast of all scientific advancement through quarterly and weekly publications, which embodied our own findings and all that could be observed by our representatives abroad or learned from current foreign literature.

Sanitary inspectors from the United States Public Health Service have worked with the Navy doctors to improve local conditions in the vicinity of our camps and stations, so that, instead of the presence of these camps being a menace to civilian communities they have proved a blessing, through destruction of mosquitoes and flies and improvement of water supplies, sewage and garbage disposal. Social conditions have also improved, and the fight against prostitution and venereal disease, begun by the Navy 15 years ago, has taken on vast and comprehensive proportions. Lectures and personal talks, moving-picture shows, distributed booklets and posters, have furthered the cause of clean living. Not only the physical man but his spiritual side has been considered and much has been accomplished to promote happiness and contentment as well as health among the men.

Office of the Judge Advocate General.

As the volume of work of this office is very largely dependent on the number of personnel in the service, it is evident how the pressure upon this office has increased by this sudden and extraordinary expansion. But in another respect also the change from a state of peace to that of war has placed heavy burdens on this department, because of the important war legislation affecting the personnel that suddenly became necessary, and because of the many new and varied questions of law that have been constantly arising out of the new conditions, as affecting both the Regular Establishment and more particularly the auxiliary arms of the service.

During the past year 4,831 men under naval jurisdiction were tried by general court-martial, as compared with 1,816 during 1917. This large increase was due to the increase in the naval personnel. During 1917 there were 95,548 men under naval jurisdiction, as compared with 412,415 during 1918. The percentage tried by general courts-martial during 1918 was 1.185, as compared with 2.23 during 1917. Men who have been convicted of purely military offenses are offered every opportunity to rehabilitate themselves in the service.

During the past year 4,505 men under naval jurisdiction were confined in naval prisons, as compared with 2,018 during the previous year. Additional buildings were constructed at Portsmouth to take care of this increase. Contracts have also been let for additional prison buildings at the naval prison, Paris Island, S. C.

Every effort is being made to reduce the number of men confined. All prisoners who are physically or mentally unfit are immediately discharged. That efforts have been successful is shown by the reduction in the percentage of imprisonments from 2.97 per cent in 1914 to 1.22 per cent in 1917, a result obtained while maintaining and improving the discipline of our armed forces. With the methods now employed it is hoped to still further reduce the percentage of imprisonments and make progress in the general lines indicated.

Marine Corps.

When war came to the United States in April, 1917, it found the Marine Corps with authorized enlisted strength of 17,500 officers and men. It was readily seen that this limit would be too small for the new activities of the corps, with the result that in May the authorized strength of the corps was increased by act of Congress to 30,000 men. Within less than six months voluntary enlistments to the corps were up to full strength, while the call was for "more marines." This accounts for the fact that the authorized strength of the corps now is 75,500, and after the 1st of October, when voluntary inductions will be allowed, the 20,000 men who are needed to bring the corps to its full strength will be readily obtained at a rate of 5,000 men a month.

War found the marines ready. In fact, three days before the breaking off of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, an order went forth for 50,000 pair of shoes for the corps and other matters of housing, equipment, and cantonment necessities were handled in the same efficient manner. There have been no troubles from overcrowding or from lack of food, clothing, or equipment in the Marine Corps.

Marines landed in France early in the summer of 1917. Owing to the need for experienced rear troops to guard the lines of communication, it was necessary for Gen. Pershing to scatter a number of the sea soldiers and use them for provost guards at base posts and in Paris. However, as soon as the necessary men to take their places arrived the marines were relieved from this duty and assigned to a "quiet sector" in the Verdun district, there to receive their initiation into war. They stood the tests so well that when Gen. Foch called for troops to help stem the German rush on Paris, the Fourth Brigade of Marines was rushed forward in company with the famous Twenty-third Infantry Regiment, and a crack French unit to achieve what then seemed an impossibility—the stemming of the German advance, with the Germans numbering four to one against the defenders of Paris.

This came in the vicinity of Chateau-Thierry with the battle that began May 27. From then on through the fierce encounters of Torcy, Bouresches, Lucy, and Belleau Wood, the marines, who had been rushed to the conflicts in motors, fought night and day, enduring terrible hardships and terrific losses. But they achieved their aim—they not only stopped the German rush, but drove back the Huns and recaptured lost territory.

Their bravery caused the French Nation to change the name of Belleau Wood to "Bois de la Brigade des Marines," and to give the marines the credit of having saved Paris. To show the fighting spirit of the marines, it is only necessary to cite the fact that one battalion that went into the fight with 1,350 men, emerged with only 350. Another had only 450. Others with 600 and 800 were common. And the surprising part of it all was that the replacement troops who took the places of fallen men fought just as hard and as bravely as the more seasoned men. Some of the replacement troops were under fire for the first time when they hurried forward to reinforce the marines fighting near Belleau Wood and Bouresches.

Following these battles, there was the necessary rest. Then when the great attack began on the Marne at Viller Cottent on July 17, the marines were again present, and again gave a good account of themselves.

The fighting in France does not encompass all the activities of the marines. Of course, the foregoing is in addition to the well-known duty of marines as a part of the Navy. Marine detachments as usual are maintained on board capital ships. Detachment at navy yards, ammunition depots, radio stations, and other naval activities have been largely increased since the beginning of the war, and the advance base force, comprising about 6,000 specially-trained marines, is standing by, ready for service at an instant's notice with the Navy.

The policing of various countries in cooperation with local authorities still continues—especially in Santo Domingo, where occasional brushes between the marines and bandits occur. There, too, the marines are living up to their reputation. Recently 10 men and a colonel, ambushed by brigands, killed 20 of the bandits, while the marine detachment suffered a casualty list of 1 mule.

The careful training of marine recruits has been heightened by the rush of war, rather than weakened. Recently it was brought to the attention of the Navy Department that the Thirteenth Regiment of marines had achieved almost perfection in marksmanship, with 95 per cent of its personnel qualifying on the range, and the ideal percentage of that personnel qualifying to scale. The ideal unit should possess one-seventh of its number in expert riflemen, two-sevenths in sharpshooters, and four-sevenths in marksmen. This division is to be found almost to the man in the 95 per cent of the Thirteenth which qualified.

Another point which illustrates the careful training of the United States marine:

Since the fighting began in France, up to September 21, 1918, 37 officers and 942 men are reported dead, 64 officers and 1,927 men are reported wounded, but only 11 are known to be in the hands of the enemy. The marines don't surrender. They fight.

In addition to the foregoing reported casualties unofficial advices indicate a great many more casualties not included in the cablegrams from Gen. Pershing.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the following titles:

On September 24, 1918:

H. R. 12923. An act to supplement the second liberty-bond act, as amended, and for other purposes.

On September 26, 1918:

H. R. 11283. An act to amend and reenact sections 4, 11, 16, 19, and 22 of the act approved December 23, 1913, and known as the Federal reserve act, and sections 5208 and 5209, Revised Statutes.

On October 1, 1918:

H. J. Res. 333. Joint resolution to aid in combating "Spanish influenza" and other communicable diseases;

H. R. 12714. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919; and

H. J. Res. 334. Joint resolution making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of October, 1918, and for other purposes.

On October 5, 1918:

H. R. 11259. An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of those ores, metals, and minerals which have formerly been largely imported, or of which there is or may be an inadequate supply;

S. 4194. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors;

S. 4543. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors; and

S. 4722. An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.

On October 10, 1918:

H. R. 12429. An act to authorize the health officer of the District of Columbia to permit the disinterment of the bodies of Eliza Hill Bowles, Bernice Worthem Bowles, and Bessie Vivian Bowles.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. MEEKER (on request of Mr. IGOE), indefinitely, on account of illness;

To Mr. WELLING (on request of Mr. MAYS), indefinitely, on account of sickness in his family; and

To Mr. MCFADDEN, indefinitely, on account of illness.

Mr. KRAUS. Mr. Speaker, I ask indefinite leave of absence for my colleague, Mr. FAIRFIELD, on account of the serious illness of his son at Camp Taylor.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The correct way to make these requests is to come to the Clerk, fill out the blanks, and put them in, which would save time.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that to-morrow after disposition of matters on the Speaker's table that I be permitted to address the House for 40 minutes in reply to the charges made by the gentleman from Minnesota against the efficiency of the Post Office Department.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] makes the request that to-morrow, after the reading of the Journal and disposition of business on the Speaker's table, that he be permitted to address the House for 40 minutes about the Post Office Department and strictures thereon. Is there objection?

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I understand to-day we have a little business here—I do not know whether the gentleman from South Carolina wants to get in with his conference report or not?

Mr. LEVER. I would like to call up the conference report on the bill H. R. 11945.

The SPEAKER. What about the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. FOSTER. If it does not interfere with other matters——

Mr. BLANTON. That is for to-morrow.

Mr. FOSTER. I should not object.

Mr. WALSH. It will interfere with the rule, according to the request.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection. [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. FOSTER. That is, we understand it is not to interfere with these other matters.

Mr. WALSH. The request has been granted in the manner in which the Speaker phrased it.

Mr. FOSTER. Well, the Rules Committee can set it aside, as far as that is concerned.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman withhold his request for a moment?

Mr. BLANTON. It has already been granted.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Pennsylvania rise?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Pennsylvania. I ask permission to address the House for a few moments, with the privilege of extending my remarks in the Record, on the achievements of the Department of Labor.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to address the House for not exceeding five minutes, with the privilege of extending his remarks, on the achievements of the Department of Labor. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, 2,000,000 of our best and strongest men have gone into the fighting forces on the battle fields of Europe, while over a million more are in training in the various camps of the country. Their lives and their country's salvation are at stake. We must produce for those at home and we must produce for our soldiers at the front and for our men in the various cantonments in this country. For the battle line is not only in France. The battle line runs through our mills and factories here at home. The workers—and that includes the managers, the superintendents, and the men who make and carry things and the men employed in all our industries—they are all in the second line of defense; they are all comrades in the battle line for humanity and democracy.

That second line consists of an industrial army five to seven times as great as the military forces. We who are back in the second line are not privileged to go to France, so we will do our duty to the utmost here, with one goal in view—production. That means work, for only work can produce food, can produce ships and guns, can produce the equipment necessary for the boys in France.

Upon the United States Department of Labor rests, in a large measure, the duty of handling all of those questions which are so closely related to the mighty problems of production. This means that that department is charged with the duty of the adjustment of trade disputes, with securing the necessary employees for our industrial plants, with the conditions of labor as they affect the employees, with the training of labor, with industrial housing and transportation, and with the necessity of maintaining a fine spirit of cooperation and peaceful relations between employer and employees. And well has the Department of Labor met the very difficult industrial questions incident to the great war. Under the wise and capable direction of Secretary of Labor Wilson this department has been able to cope with and solve these problems as they presented themselves.

The Department of Labor is the department of the Government that deals with the intimate human relations, the inner American life. It represents no one element. It deals with the relations of all elements of our internal industry, for, after all, American life is, to a large degree, American industry. None of us is outside of it. So this department stands for all of us. This department is the youngest in the Cabinet, and notwithstanding that it is the youngest in the Cabinet its every activity has been a vital part of the great war program. To-day the department has eight divisions, showing the scope of its work. They are:

Adjustment Service (including Division of Conciliation).
United States Employment Service.
Bureau of Labor Statistics.
Bureau of Immigration.
Children's Bureau.
Bureau of Naturalization.
Information and Education Service.
Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation.
The War Labor Policies Board.

ADJUSTMENT OF LABOR DISPUTES.
[Hugh L. Kerwin, Director.]

The first problems which faced the department were in connection with the adjustment of labor disputes.

The Mediation Service is under the immediate supervision of Hugh L. Kerwin and seeks to bring about an adjustment of labor disputes on terms mutually acceptable to employers and employees. A large force of trained and experienced conciliators keep constantly at work and in this way hundreds of industrial disputes are quietly adjusted. If they are unsuccessful, the good offices of the National War Labor Board are invoked.

This board is under the joint chairmanship of Hon. William H. Taft and Hon. Frank P. Walsh. The board is composed of an equal number of representatives of employers and employees, the employers having been nominated by the president of the National Industrial Conference Board, and the employees nominated by the president of the American Federation of Labor. Its functions are to decide questions at issue between employers and employees where adjustments have not been reached through the machinery of existing agreements or law.

Both of these services work in complete cooperation with the War Department, Navy Department, Shipping Board, Railroad Administration, and War Industries Board.

The Secretary of Labor himself has been responsible for the peaceable settling of many strikes. When you pick up your paper in the morning and read about a large number of men who have "walked out," you know instantly that the Secretary of Labor himself is working to bring the men and their employers together peaceably.

During the fiscal year of 1917, 378 cases were brought to the department for mediation. Of this number 248 cases were adjusted by commissioners of conciliation, 41 were settled before department took jurisdiction, 42 were pending at close of fiscal year, and in only 47 cases was the department unable to bring about an adjustment. The number of employees directly and indirectly concerned aggregated 807,959.

The department is now called upon to use its good offices in upward of 100 industrial controversies each month. A gratifying feature in connection therewith is that the machinery of conciliation is now utilized to adjust grievances while the men remain at their work. An interesting example of this is that I observed recently that in one week 77 cases were received, only 7 of which had reached the strike stage.

At this point I desire to pay a just tribute to the fine work of the National War Labor Board, which I mentioned a few minutes ago. This board, under the joint leadership of former President William H. Taft and Hon. Frank P. Walsh, has been of inestimable service to the country as a "supreme court of adjustment" when the existing machinery of conciliation has been unable to get a settlement. The marked absence in our daily newspapers of strike news in recent months is a tribute to the efficiency of the adjustment service, the Taft-Walsh Board and the other departmental services all working in fine cooperation for industrial peace. [Applause.]

I also desire to speak briefly of some of the other services of the Department of Labor which are ably meeting the strenuous conditions imposed by added burdens due to the war. There is the—

THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE.
[John B. Densmore, Director General.]

This service is the Government's "helping hand" for the people. Last May it placed more than 200,000 wage earners. On account of the war its functions have been greatly extended. Its purpose to-day is to locate surplus labor and distribute it to supply the needs of the Navy Department, War Department, Railroad Administration, Fleet Corporation, War Industries Board, and contractors doing war work. The general work is handled through a division of information, administration, and clearance. A public service reserve registers and card indexes people of all kinds of professional and technical attainments whose services may be needed by way of the departments or boards for war purposes, and also registers and card indexes a reserve of volunteer workmen for war industries; a boys' working reserve, organized principally for the purpose of training and utilizing the services of boys between the ages of 16 and 21 for seasonal occupations, such as farming; a division of farm service which works in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture, the agreement with that department being that it will recruit farm labor in the rural communities, and when the need arises for using workmen from the towns and cities for farm labor, they will be handled by the Department of Labor; and a woman's division, which, in conjunction with the general administration and clearance, handles the problem of the placement of women in industrial employment.

The Employment Service has 400 organized offices in the United States from which daily reports are received at the Washington office of the local demand for and supply of labor. These are compiled into weekly reports for the preparation of maps which show at a glance the surplus or shortage of every class of labor in the various localities by which the service can be guided in gathering and transporting needed labor for war activities. It has the active assistance of many civic bodies, not organized for profit, which have interested themselves in the matter. It is in cooperation with the War, Navy, and Agricultural Departments, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, the Railroad Administration, and the Civil Service Commission.

The women and girls' division not only provides employment for women and girls but investigates thoroughly the character of every one who applies for female help, ascertains how the employees will be trained, how they will live, and how this work will fit them for the greater work of home building, which is every woman's heritage.

And, by protecting these women, the next generation is protected by the Department of Labor. These women and girls are to be the mothers of the Nation that will carry on the work of to-morrow. The ideals which these working girls set up to-day will be the ideals of the men of to-morrow. Thus this service is daily laying the foundation for a greater America every day.

The department is working upon a plan for the development of ways and means to find employment for aged people. How frequently have we heard it said that in modern times when men and women pass a certain defined line they are subjects for "the human scrap pile."

But the Department of Labor, furthermore, has taken upon itself the work of actually creating new places for employment that will bring health, happiness, and prosperity to workers who have not found employment through the regular channels.

The Secretary of Labor made definite recommendations that Government land be utilized in order to provide new places for employment. Congress has this under consideration.

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS.
[Dr. Royal Meeker, Commissioner.]

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics has been gathering and compiling for Federal and State departments and individuals a great deal of material on wage rates and retail prices in communities affected by the expansion of industry, types of collective bargaining, industrial hazards from accident and disease, and the employment of women in men's occupations. The demand for information on labor conditions in the belligerent countries of Europe has been met by the reproduction, in the form of a special group of bulletins and articles, of British, French, and other foreign official reports on hours, fatigue, health, welfare work, the employment of women and juveniles, labor unrest, and other matters concerning conditions of labor in these countries.

Very thorough studies have been made in regard to industrial poisons used or produced in the manufacture of high explosives and reports have been published on dope poisoning in the manufacture of aeroplane wings, also further studies of industrial poisons used in the manufacture of high explosives.

To assist in the restoration work that must be undertaken at the close of this war, special investigation of the land policies pursued by foreign countries and the land available in this country for settlement by men discharged from the military service has been made. A special phase of this restoration work is the rehabilitation, reeducation, and reemployment of men disabled in the service of the country. In the study of these problems the Commissioner of Labor Statistics is cooperating with the Federal Board for Vocational Education and Surgeon General's Office.

At the request of the shipbuilding, an investigation into the cost of living in shipbuilders' families is being conducted in different parts of the country. The results of this investigation are being used in making of awards in the settlement of wage disputes in shipbuilding.

The work of classifying and standardizing occupations in Government service and in industries doing war work is being carried on under the direction of the United States Commissioner of Labor and Statistics for the United States Employment Service, in cooperation with the War Department, the Navy Department, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, the Civil Service Commission, and the Bureau of the Census.

BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION.
[Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General.]

The war activities of this bureau may be summarized as follows:

Supervision of the importation of skilled men for the manufacture of munitions and other war materials, in cooperation with the Canadian Department of Immigration and Colonization, so

far as such importations from Canada are concerned, to prevent harmful interference with such work in both countries.

Strict examination of all aliens entering the United States with a view to the detection of alien enemies endeavoring to pass as friendly neutrals; as immigration officers are expert in handling aliens of all classes, they are peculiarly well fitted to deal with such persons in a skilled way. It is the Department of Labor that stands between us and the undesirable immigrant.

Interchange of information and cooperation with the investigative agencies of the Departments of Justice, War, Navy, and Treasury in dealing with aliens who are amenable to action under the immigration laws. These relationships are highly confidential and can not be more fully described without prejudice to the work being done.

Cooperation (particularly at New York) with the Post Office Department in checking up the foreign-language newspapers. The facilities of the Immigration Service in the way of translators have been placed at the disposal of the postal authorities.

Supervision of the importation of agricultural and other labor for temporary periods, incident to keeping up production on farm products, particularly in the West and Southwest.

Supervision of alien seamen coming ashore for purposes of reshipment.

Deportation of aliens found advocating or teaching anarchy, sabotage, or other methods of destroying life or property.

German and Austrian seamen taken from merchant vessels at the time of the declaration of a state of war with those countries have been interned under the control of this bureau. At the request of the Swiss Legation, through the State Department, they are about to be transferred to the jurisdiction of the War Department. There will still remain under the control of the bureau aliens arrested in the United States under departmental warrant who have been found advocating anarchy, the destruction of life and property, or who are in this country in violation of any other portion of the immigration law and who must be interned until opportunities of deportation occur.

There has also been organized an alien enemy observation division, which keeps in touch with the officials of upwards of 30,000 labor organizations and conveys to the Department of Justice such information as may be gathered relative to enemy activities.

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CHILDREN'S BUREAU.

[Julia C. Lathrop, Chief.]

In April, 1917, the Children's Bureau began a study of materials available in this country about the effect of war conditions upon children in certain European countries. The studies were not concerned with the children immediately within the war zones, but with children in city and country "behind the lines" whose experiences should be of value for the protection of American children in war time. The following reports have been published:

Care of Dependents of Enlisted Men in Canada.

Governmental Provisions in the United States and Foreign Countries for Members of the Military Forces and their Dependents.

Child Labor in Warring Countries.

The following papers based on the bureau's study have been published by members of the staff in technical reviews and have been reprinted for distribution by the bureau:

Infant Welfare Work in War Time.

Illegitimacy in Europe as Affected by the War.

Child Labor in Warring Countries.

The bureau directed the preparation of the report on soldiers' dependents in Canada by Mr. S. Herbert Wolfe, of New York. Capt. (now Maj.) Wolfe was detailed to cooperate with the bureau and supervise the preparation of the bureau's second report, which gives in detail the provisions made in the United States and 12 foreign countries for soldiers' dependents. Throughout the study for the second report the bureau's readers had the cordial cooperation of the War Department, of the Navy Department, of the Pension Bureau, and of the Library of Congress. The material assembled by the Children's Bureau was used by the special committees appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury and by the committee on labor of the Council of National Defense to draft the measure (enacted on Oct. 6, 1917) for the compensation of American soldiers and the care of their families. The chief of the Children's Bureau was a member of these committees.

Special studies of the decreased use of milk in families with small children because of its rising cost have been made in three cities by local agencies, under the supervision of the bureau. In cooperation with the Food Administration and the Department of Agriculture a bulletin on "Milk, the Indispensable Food for Children," has been issued.

A brief war-time program for the protection of children was outlined in the bureau's last annual report.

In January, 1918, the Children's Bureau, in consultation with the child welfare department of the woman's committee of the Council of National Defense, expanded this program and outlined special activities to prevent unnecessary deaths of babies and to protect children from the hazards of war time. The Children's Bureau has published a popular statement of the importance and the purpose of "Children's Year" leaflets in suggestions for the work of the local committees.

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BUREAU OF NATURALIZATION.

[Richard K. Campbell, Commissioner General.]

The war activities of the Bureau of Naturalization consist of administering the law by which all of the soldiers of foreign birth who are not citizens may be naturalized, whether in the United States or in a foreign country under military jurisdiction of the United States. This work is now being carried on, and in all of the cantonments throughout the United States thousands of American soldiers have had citizenship conferred upon them under this activity of this bureau. It is also actively cooperating with the War Department and the military forces, including the local Army exemption boards throughout the United States, in locating aliens declared subject to the Army draft law.

In cooperation with the public schools throughout the United States, it is fostering and developing with increasing force a spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Nation among the entire foreign body in all parts of the country. Through these foreigners who have taken a solemn oath to become citizens of the United States the influence and effect of the Bureau of Naturalization is being felt throughout the entire foreign body. While the bureau does not induce foreigners to take the oath of citizenship or to take any step in that direction, it does direct its energies to arousing in the minds and souls of the foreign residents a sense of their loyalty and obligation to this country. This force which the Bureau of Naturalization has created in this one-third of the population of the Nation has already reacted and is shown in the large number of reports of loyal aliens to the Bureau of Naturalization through its naturalization examiners in the field, both directly and indirectly, of alien-enemy activity. The bureau has been authorized by Congress to place in the hands of each candidate for citizenship who attends the citizenship classes which the public schools all over the United States are forming at the instance of this bureau a standard course in citizenship instruction. This book is to be presented without cost and will be as soon as it is delivered from the Government Printing Office.

The only bureaus of the Federal Government with which this bureau is coordinating its work at the present time are the bureaus of the War Department having charge of the work referred to and the Council of National Defense.

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INFORMATION AND EDUCATION SERVICE.

[Roger W. Babson, Director General.]

War needs demand expansion to include sectional divisions of publicity, information, industrial plants, and labor reports.

The important aim of all these divisions is the development of sound public sentiment among both employers and wage earners concerning the real issues of the war. The publicity section, which already cooperates with the Committee on Public Information, includes all newspaper, magazine, and educational work of any kind, bringing before the public material that will be of practical value in improving conditions from every angle to give more efficient war production.

An inquiry office is already acting as a medium between industrial information and the public, who need help to work intelligently, but are not acquainted with the source. At present a force of 12 to 15 speakers is continuously on the road all over the country telling the story of the issues of the war and the service this and other divisions offer for the public's use in furthering war production. This is done before existing organizations or by general public meetings.

To the industrial-plants section belongs the responsibility of helping the labor situation by offering advanced employment-management methods; issuing posters for factory distribution; stimulating interest in Government work among employees; and starting a competitive campaign to reduce turnover.

Daily labor reports from the 400 United States Employment Service offices are handled by the other section. These are condensed into weekly summaries showing labor shortage and surplus in different industries. The compilations are used not only by the Department of Labor but by all Government departments

functioning on labor to secure and distribute labor according to the supply and demand.

BUREAU OF INDUSTRIAL HOUSING AND TRANSPORTATION.

[Otto M. Eidlitz, Director General.]

The function of this Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation is to arrange for housing labor employed on Army and Navy contracts by—

1. Discovering vacant dwellings and rooms.
2. Organizing and maintaining room registries.
3. Opening up the suburbs through improved transportation facilities.
4. Commandeering available living quarters not otherwise in use.
5. Construction of new, temporary, or permanent dwellings, and by building communities of houses where large operations are needed.

The bureau cooperates in its activities with other Government departments or bureaus as follows:

1. War Department, Ordnance Department, and Quartermaster and Signal Corps, by investigating housing needs in the vicinity of arsenals and industrial establishments producing for the above departments and bureaus and by recommending and carrying out relief for the needs which its investigations reveal.
2. Navy Department, Bureau of Yards and Docks, and the Bureau of Ordnance by making investigations and plans for the relief of housing needs in the vicinity of navy yards, proving grounds, and war industries filling Navy contracts.
3. Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation. Some of the projects of the bureau are in cities in which the Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation have projects. Under these circumstances there is an interchange of reports of investigators and a joint agreement as to the selection of sites and making allotments.

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WAR LABOR POLICIES BOARD.

[Felix Frankfurter, Chairman.]

The War Labor Policies Board is under the direction of Felix Frankfurter, assistant to the Secretary. This service is endeavoring to coordinate the war-labor policies of the different departments and boards of the Government, from which may be formulated a common Government war-labor policy. The War Labor Policies Board as organized is composed of representatives of the War, Navy, and Agricultural Departments; the Fleet Corporation; the Railroad, Food, and Fuel Administrations; the War Industries Board, and the chief of each of the bureaus and administrative divisions of the Department of Labor.

Through a series of committees representing the various interested departments of the Government, the board is now considering the ways and means for centralizing labor recruiting through the United States Employment Service, the standardization of wages of skilled and unskilled labor, the centralization of data in regard to industrial relations, and the standardization in Government contracts of clauses pertaining to industrial relations. These and other matters are being considered with a view to reaching in a just, deliberate manner conditions making for stability and the largest productivity of the labor of the country.

Through this service the question of rent profiteering in industrial centers has been taken up. An experiment at New London, Conn., a method of regulating rentals through a large committee divided into a subcommittee of three—one professional, one business, and one working man—which will pass upon any complaints of rent profiteering, has been given publicity by the board. The hope is that the public sentiment created by any violations of the award of such committees will have a restraining influence upon rent profiteering. The plan was suggested by Mr. Richard Washburn Child, who was sent in here by the department to look into complaints that had been made about excessive profiteering.

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NEW DIVISIONS.

CONDITIONS OF LABOR SERVICE.

[Grant Hamilton, Director.]

The purpose of this service is to examine into the matter of working conditions in the war industries, to determine the standards as to conditions which should be maintained in the war industries, to adopt rules embodying such standards and explaining them, to determine the best means for securing the adoption and maintenance of such standards, and to cooperate with State authorities for the above purposes.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY SERVICE.

[Mary Van Kleeck, Director.]

The purpose of this service is to consider all general policies with respect to women in industry and to advise the Secretary of Labor as to the policies which should be pursued; to keep informed of the work of the several divisions of the department in so far as they relate to women in industry and to advise with the divisions on all such work; to secure information on all matters relating to women in industry and to collate such information into useful form; to establish connections with all governmental departments and divisions on this subject and with voluntary agencies and societies.

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TRAINING AND DILUTION SERVICE.

[Charles T. Clayton, Director.]

The purpose of this service is to ascertain the best methods used in various plants and industrial establishments for training workers to do specific work; to ascertain the needs for such training of workers; to provide information on this subject to the various plants, industrial establishment, and employees, and to promote such training wherever it is necessary or desirable; to inspect the operation of such training and to report thereon, and to cooperate with the United States Employment Service in all of this work.

For the foregoing statements as to the activities of the new "services" of the Department of Labor I am indebted to the "Committee on Public Information." My object in calling them to the attention of the House and the country at this time is to emphasize the fact that here within the jurisdiction of the youngest department of Government is found machinery created by law and directed by an able and conscientious official—Secretary Wilson—which has proved its efficaciousness in coping with the tremendous industrial problems of war and which will also prove of inestimable value in the reconstruction period which must follow the proclamation of peace—when our people take up their former pursuits and our victorious armies return from the battle fields of Europe.

Could an administration do more toward caring for the great army of toilers in the greatest industrial nation on the globe?

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for five minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] asks unanimous consent to address the House for not exceeding five minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will my colleague state the subject?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes; on the war.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. On the pending peace proposition?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, the situation is so tense and fraught with such possibilities——

Mr. MADDEN. I am not going to say anything that will make it any more tense, I think.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. In view of the situation, I do not like to object. I should prefer the gentleman not to make the request.

Mr. MADDEN. I can not withdraw the request.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Then I shall have to object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois objects.

Mr. MADDEN. All right.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE RESERVE CORPS (H. REPT. 829).

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I present a privileged resolution from the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 440.

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of Senate joint resolution 63, entitled "Joint resolution to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service"; that there shall be not to exceed one hour of general debate. At the conclusion of such general debate the resolution shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. After the resolution shall have been perfected in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union the same shall be reported to the House with such recommendation as the committee may make, whereupon the previous question shall be considered as ordered upon the resolution and all amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois has 20 minutes and the gentleman from Kansas has 20 minutes.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, the resolution which has just been read at the Clerk's desk provides for the consideration of Senate joint resolution No. 63——

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] makes the point of order there is no quorum present. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Ninety-one gentlemen are present, not a quorum.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify the absentees, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The roll was called, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Almon	Ellsworth	Kearns	Roberts
Anthony	Elston	Kelley, Mich.	Robinson
Ashbrook	Emerson	Kennedy, R. I.	Rowe
Austin	Estopinal	Kettner	Rowland
Ayres	Fairchild, G. W.	Key, Ohio	Russell
Bacharach	Fairfield	King	Sabath
Baer	Farr	Kreider	Sanders, Ind.
Bell	Fess	La Follette	Sanders, La.
Bland, Ind.	Fisher	LaGuardia	Sanders, N. Y.
Borland	Flood	Langley	Sanford
Bowers	Flynn	Lea, Cal.	Saunders, Va.
Britten	Focht	Lee, Ga.	Schall
Brodbeck	Fordney	Lesher	Scott, Iowa
Browning	Foss	London	Scott, Pa.
Burnett	Francis	Lonergan	Scully
Burroughs	Freeman	Longworth	Sells
Butler	French	Lufkin	Shackleford
Byrnes, S. C.	Fuller, Ill.	Lundeen	Shallenberger
Caldwell	Fuller, Mass.	Lunn	Sherwood
Candler, Miss.	Gallivan	McAndrews	Shouse
Cannon	Garner	McClintic	Sims
Carew	Gillett	McCormick	Slemp
Carter, Mass.	Glass	McCulloch	Smith, C. B.
Chandler, N. Y.	Glynn	McFadden	Smith, T. F.
Chandler, Okla.	Godwin, N. C.	McKinley	Snyder
Church	Good	McLaughlin, Mich.	Stedman
Clark, Pa.	Goodall	McLaughlin, Pa.	Steele
Classon	Gould	Maher	Steenerson
Claypool	Graham, Ill.	Mann	Stephens, Miss.
Cleary	Graham, Pa.	Martin	Stephens, Nebr.
Collier	Gray, N. J.	Mason	Sterling, Ill.
Connally, Tex.	Greene, Mass.	Meeker	Stiness
Cooper, Ohio	Gregg	Merritt	Strong
Cooper, W. Va.	Griest	Miller, Minn.	Sullivan
Cooper, Wis.	Griffin	Montague	Switzer
Copley	Hamill	Moore, Pa.	Tague
Costello	Hamilton, Mich.	Moores, Ind.	Taylor, Colo.
Crago	Hamilton, N. Y.	Mudd	Templeton
Cramton	Hardy	Neely	Thomas
Crisp	Harrison, Miss.	Nelson	Thompson
Currie, Mich.	Haskell	Nicholls, S. C.	Tillman
Curry, Cal.	Hayden	Nichols, Mich.	Tilson
Dale, N. Y.	Hayes	Nolan	Tinkham
Dallinger	Heaton	Oliver, Ala.	Treadway
Davis	Heintz	Oliver, N. Y.	Van Dyke
Decker	Helvering	Olney	Venable
Delaney	Hensley	O'Shaunessy	Vestal
Dempsey	Hicks	Overmyer	Walker
Dewalt	Hollingsworth	Paige	Walton
Dickinson	Hood	Parker, N. Y.	Ward
Dies	Houston	Peters	Wason
Dill	Howard	Phelan	Weaver
Dillon	Hubbleston	Platt	Webb
Dixon	Hull, Iowa	Porter	Welling
Donovan	Hull, Tenn.	Powers	Whaley
Dooling	Humphreys	Price	Wheeler
Doolittle	Husted	Purnell	White, Ohio
Doughton	Hutchinson	Ragsdale	Williams
Drane	Ireland	Rainey, J. W.	Wilson, Ill.
Drukker	James	Rankin	Winslow
Dyer	Johnson, S. Dak.	Reavis	Woodyard
Edmonds	Johnson, Wash.	Reed	Zihlman
Elliott	Juul	Riordan	

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, it is evident that there is not going to be a quorum present. I do not want to stop the consideration of this bill, so I will withdraw the point of no quorum.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can not do that. One hundred and seventy-eight Members have answered to their names, not a quorum.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 41 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, October 15, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication for the Secretary of the Interior submitting additional estimates of appropriation required by the Reclamation Service for the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1325); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Secretary of the Navy submitting supplemental estimates of appropriation required by the Navy Department for the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1326); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Acting Secretary of War submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation required by the Ordnance Department of the Army for armament of fortifications for the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1327); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

4. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation required by the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance for the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1328); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 13072) to incorporate the War Mothers of America, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 827), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. FERRIS, from the Committee on the Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (S. 4886) providing for the sale of certain lands in the original town site of Port Angeles, Wash., reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 828), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DENTON: A bill (H. R. 13072) to incorporate the War Mothers of America; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. GARD: A bill (H. R. 13073) to amend an act entitled "An act relating to the liability of common carriers by railroads to their employees in certain cases," approved April 22, 1908, and amended April 5, 1910; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LITTLE: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 336) expressing the views of the Congress of the United States on justice to the Armenian people; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. VAN DYKE: A bill (H. R. 13074) granting a pension to Patrick H. Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13075) granting an increase of pension to W. J. Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WELTY: A bill (H. R. 13076) granting a pension to Presley F. Black; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. McARTHUR: Petition from the Oregon Pure Bred Live Stock Association, pledging the support of the association to the President of the United States during the war, and asking Congress to enact such laws as shall forever banish from our shores all persons who shall in any way be inimical to our great country; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SCULLY: Petition of Perth Amboy Council of Defense, protesting against reconstruction of the T. A. Gillespie plant at Morgan, N. J.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Br. Mr. CLASSON: Petition of Mosquito Hill Local Union, No. 6847, A. S. of E., on the subject of taxation of war profits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, *October 15, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Lord God, our Heavenly Father, whose loving heart is ever in sympathy with Thy children, let Thy mercy be upon a suffering and sorrowing world and send us relief from the ravages of pestilence, fire, and the sword.

We thank Thee for the clear and decisive answer of our President to the people of Germany in their overtures for peace. Let it come, our Heavenly Father, but with all the assurances laid down in the President's reply, that justice and righteousness may be assured to us, our allies, and all humanity. In Christ's name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

INFLUENZA.

Mr. LAZARO rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Louisiana rise?

Mr. LAZARO. I ask unanimous consent to address the House for five minutes on influenza in the District of Columbia.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Louisiana asks unanimous consent to address the House for five minutes on the subject of the influenza plague. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to say a few words about the influenza situation in the District of Columbia. It is evident, from the reports, that influenza is spreading and the death rate increasing. If ever there was a time when the people should keep cool, avoid hysteria, and cooperate with the authorities in their fight against this disease it is now. The health authorities understand the situation thoroughly and are undoubtedly doing all they can, but it is necessary that the people cooperate with them in order to succeed.

The situation in the District of Columbia is an unusual one. On account of the war it was necessary to enlarge the governmental activities suddenly. The result was that thousands of clerks from all over the country came to Washington to work. One of the most difficult problems they met was in securing rooms. I know, from personal observation as a physician, that they are crowded, often three and four in small rooms, often not well ventilated and without the necessary heat. I say I know that this condition exists from personal observation, because several times recently I have been asked by parents and friends of these people to visit them when it was difficult to get physicians here. Another thing, with the high cost of living and the small salaries paid these clerks, many of them are compelled to room in one place and eat outside. There is no doubt at all in my mind but that their vitality is reduced as a result of it and renders them more liable to develop complications, such as broncho-pneumonia, which is responsible for the high death rate. Then, too, this sudden increase in the population, with the epidemic on, has placed an extra strain on the hospital facilities, the medical profession, and the nurses.

However, if the people here will keep calm, avoid hysteria, and follow the instructions of the health authorities, and assist in stamping out this epidemic, it will not be very long before the situation will be well in hand. According to my way of thinking, the most vital problems we are facing and must solve as soon as possible are overcrowding, furnishing necessary heat, nutritious food at a reasonable price, and assisting in nursing the patients properly. We should have increased hospital facilities at once, more physicians, and more nurses. The permanent population, especially those who have means and the time, should cooperate with the health authorities and help relieve this situation, and especially give all the relief they can to these thousands of boys and girls who have left their homes and parents to come here and work for the Government so as to make it possible to prosecute this war with speed and success.

Now, Mr. Speaker, when I say that the people here should be calm and avoid hysteria and cooperate with the health authorities in order to stamp out this epidemic I mean this: For instance, on yesterday I was asked by a friend of mine to go and see his secretary, who was sick. I found that young man in a room on the third floor. I did the best I could for him under the circumstances. Upon coming down I found the lady of the house, a lady about 45 or 50 years of age, a very intelligent lady, on the first floor scared to death. She asked me this question: "Doctor, what shall I do to protect myself and my children?" I said, "Madam, the only protection you have in this house is to see that this boy on the third floor gets good medical attention and proper nursing during the physician's absence and nutritions food, and that his room be kept clean. In other words, the sooner he gets proper attention the quicker he will get well and the quicker the danger of infection will be removed from your house."

You will understand from that case exactly what I mean. If the people will only keep cool and avoid hysteria and assist the medical authorities in giving attention to these clerks who have come here and need attention, I think it will be a question of a very short time when this epidemic will be at an end. My intention in addressing the House this morning is to appeal to the Members to look into the condition of these thousands of clerks who have come here suddenly and see that they get needed attention.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD an editorial from the Journal of the American Medical Association on influenza, dated October 5, 1918. It is one of the latest editorials in the Journal, and the Journal is the official organ of the American Medical Association.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAZARO. Yes.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. The gentleman is a practitioner of medicine, and of course understands hygiene. Does he not think a mistake was made in not undertaking to combat this disease by the District authorities when it first broke out?

Mr. LAZARO. Well, I will answer the gentleman from Oklahoma in this way: It makes no difference where and when an epidemic starts; we are always a little slow in adopting the measures that we should adopt in order to stamp it out.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahom. The gentleman knows, I assume, that after the epidemic had broken out and had infected practically the entire city, the schools were still open, and that in a few days they had to be closed, whereas if they had not opened the schools the District might not have been infected as it is now.

Mr. LAZARO. No. I think all these epidemics follow in the same channel. When they begin we are always in hope that with ordinary measures they will be stamped out, but we find out in the course of time that we have to resort to measures that are more radical in order to stamp out the epidemic.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Louisiana has expired. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Following is the editorial referred to:

THERAPEUTICS.

EPIDEMIC INFLUENZA.

Under various names epidemics corresponding to epidemic influenza have occurred at irregular intervals since accurate descriptions have been made of disease. It is likely that at still earlier times this disease was combined and confused with other epidemic disorders and so did not stand out as an entity until a relatively modern period. In early English literature this disease is spoken of under a variety of terms. Creighton (Creighton: History of Epidemics in Britain, 1894) recognizes it under the name "ague," used by the British seventeenth century authors. In 1658 Cromwell died from this disease, when Morton says the country was "one vast hospital." The Italian term "influenza" first came to England in association with the epidemic of 1743, and it has been employed in connection with the great epidemics of 1833, 1847, and 1889–90.

About 1712 the French term "la grippe" came into use and has been periodically revived ever since. The great pandemics usually originated in the Far East and gradually extended westward. The rate of human travel and the degree of intercourse between various parts of the world determined the rapidity of the extension. Besides the great pandemics scarcely a year has passed without local outbreaks, which have been classed under the term "influenza." Whether these are identical with the more widespread epidemics it is impossible to say.

The severity of the disease has varied greatly; some epidemics are very mild, others have been severe. Influenza has embraced America in several pandemics. In his remarkable work on epidemic diseases, published in Hartford in 1799, Noah Webster locates the first American epidemic of which he could find an account in 1647. It passed through the whole country and extended to the West Indies. There were between 5,000 and 6,000 deaths in Barbardos and St. Kitts. In 1655 a second severe epidemic occurred in America. Benjamin Rush described an epidemic in 1789 in Philadelphia, which was brought there by members of the First Congress, which had assembled in New York. Daniel Drake records a widespread epidemic in the West in 1807.

The history of epidemics of influenza does not differ so much from that of other diseases spread by human intercourse that are usually called contagious. A widespread epidemic follows the introduction of a specially virulent virus, and there follows a general immunity among those of the population who have been infected. As the epidemic dies out the infection decreases in virulence and only sporadic cases occur. From such cases and probably chronic carriers local outbreaks occur, but the general immunity prevents any general epidemic. After a period of years a new susceptible population has replaced the immune one, and with the introduction of a fresh virulent virus a general epidemic is again brought about. This would account for the great susceptibility of young persons, and as it is 28 years since the last great epidemic we should not expect many individuals above 30 years of age to be now affected.

CAUSATION.

The causative agent of epidemic influenza has not been certainly recognized. The attachment of the name "influenza bacillus" to a small bacillus described by Pfeiffer in 1892 has been followed by its frequent reception as the actual specific agent. There is, however,

much uncertainty as to its etiologic rôle. It is to be hoped that the study of the present epidemic may lead to some certain knowledge regarding the essential cause of the disease. This should enable us to determine whether the endemic cases and those of limited mild epidemics are really identical with the ones observed in the great periodic outbreaks.

COURSE OF THE DISEASE.

The cases in the present epidemic begin usually quite suddenly with pain in the head, back, eyes, limbs, and joints. With the pains there is great prostration, chilliness, and a fever of from 101° to 104° F. The pulse does not become very rapid, and the patient often is drowsy. Vomiting may occur. Sometimes there may be diarrhea, but usually there is constipation. After the disease has become established the mucous membranes of the nose and throat become reddened, and there is sneezing and redness of the conjunctiva. Involvement of the larynx, causing hoarseness, and of the bronchi, causing cough, is common. There is an associated leukopenia or a normal leukocyte count. A leukocytosis points to some complication. The fever gradually falls to normal after a few days and more or less prostration is present during convalescence. A transient albuminuria is frequent. Many of the cases have hemorrhages of the mucous membrances of the nose, some of the urethra or bowel.

SECONDARY PNEUMONIA.

Not infrequently a lobular pneumonia develops after a few days, and this is responsible for most of the fatalities. The pneumonia differs from the usual picture of pneumonia, in that the temperature may be very slight, and the pulse rate may give little indication of the gravity of the condition. These cases, instead of subsiding, may come down to practically normal temperature for 12 hours; then there may be a sharp rise in temperature, not followed by a chill, backache, boneache, headache, or nausea.

About this time there may also be expectoration containing bright red blood. As a rule, 12 or 24 hours after the second rise of temperature on physical examination in the lower lung, in a preponderance of cases on the left side, as seen at Great Lakes, small areas about the size of a silver dollar of typical pneumonic consolidation are found by auscultation. These areas may become marked so that by the second day of the second rise scattered through the lung, probably both lungs, 10 or 15 of these small areas may have appeared. In the epidemic at Great Lakes, if the patient did well these would gradually disappear. They did not resolve as a pneumonia would resolve. The clearing up of the lung after this in the recovered patients was remarkable as to its rapidity. Other cases went on to a typical lobar, massive consolidation, as far as the physical signs were concerned, with dullness, increase in fremitus, typical tubular voice and breathing, and all the signs, except that there was not a very marked increase in the pulse rate, and the respirations were not up to this time markedly increased. Cases with almost complete consolidation of the lung, as to the lower lobes, with a temperature of 105°, would have a pulse around 100, with respirations 24 or 26. There may be rapidly developing toxemia and vasomotor depression, with death of the patient resulting in many cases.

INCUBATION PERIOD.

The incubation period in these influenzas is probably very short, but it is difficult to obtain accurate figures on this point. The disease is probably spread entirely by contact infection, the virus of the disease being disseminated for short distances through droplets driven into the air in coughing and sneezing. Circumstances which favor this means of spread, such as crowding in cars, favor the spread of the disease.

TREATMENT.

The treatment of the disease is largely symptomatic. Acetylsalicylic acid or similar remedies may be required to relieve the pain. The acetylsalicylic acid may be given in a dosage of 1 gram (15 grains) every three hours, as advised by Hewlett, or a smaller dose combined with 0.1 gram (2 grains) of acetphenetidin, until symptomatic relief is secured. Warm baths may give relief, although in numerous cases seen at the Cook County Hospital hydrotherapeutic methods failed and were discarded. The mouth should be kept clean, and elimination stimulated by the free ingestion of water and hot drinks. The patient should be kept in bed in a well-ventilated room until the fever has disappeared. Chilling should be avoided. The latter precautions will do much in avoiding the occurrence of complications.

When pneumonia develops, as indicated by moist râles in the base of the lungs, with or without dullness on percussion, the patient demands particular care. Every effort must be made to provide for an adequate intake of fluids, and for nourishment which must be given in fluid form to a large extent. Warm packs are often useful, combined with the application of cold to the head. With any indication of failing heart, stimulants are indicated.

In the cases of secondary pneumonia, many of which result fatally, the chief conditions to be combated are the severe toxemia and the vasomotor depression. The toxemia may be combated by the usual methods, getting fluids into the body by mouth or proctoclysis or even by hypodermoclysis. Small doses of epinephrin may be given at the same time. The removal of the toxemia may be aided by securing elimination, giving large doses of salts, such as magnesium citrate, or by the giving of calomel. In severe cases, venesection may prove extremely valuable. If a marked cyanosis occurs, as is frequently the case, this may be combated by the use of oxygen by inhalation, perhaps according to the method devised by Meltzer, or even as has been suggested by Dr. F. Tice, by injection of oxygen under the skin. The prostration is to be combated by the use of the usual stimulants, such as caffein and sodium benzoate, digitalis, strophanthus or camphorated oil, usually hypodermically. The final stages in this pneumonia are frequently a massive exudation into the lungs and bronchi. At the Great Lakes Naval Training Station efforts have been made to combat this by the use of morphin and large doses of atropin, in some cases as much as 0.0025 gram, or one twenty-fifth grain, being used.

Specific measures are not available in the treatment of influenza. With certain identification of the causal agent we may hope for some specific protective measures, and perhaps for some specific therapeutic serum.

In the absence of a specific virus to be used in immunizing animals, there remains but one source of a therapeutic serum at the present time. This is in the blood of persons recently recovered from the disease. It is quite probable that the blood of convalescent patients contains antibodies for the specific agent of the disease. It would be desirable to inject citrated convalescent blood into the muscles of patients with pneumonia at least. Naturally, such blood should be known to give a negative Wassermann reaction. In view of the strikingly beneficial results from convalescent serum in scarlet fever secured by a number of observers, it seems reasonable to try this in influenzal pneumonia, especially as it is devoid of any harmful effects.

PROPHYLAXIS.

The measures to be taken to prevent the spread of the disease comprise all those which interfere with the transfer of the infectious materials from the sick to the uninfected. This includes isolation of the patient, and the intelligent use of proper gauze masks by the attendant. In the time of an epidemic, prompt and efficient isolation of the first cases in a community could accomplish much. If this has been neglected and the infection has spread among the population, measures which prevent the coming together of numbers of persons in close quarters are to be employed. The desirability of closing schools in a large city in the presence of an epidemic is a measure of doubtful value. In smaller places this is more reasonable, and the danger of infection when children are outdoors should be less than when they are brought together in a schoolroom.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 3470) to amend section 35 of the Criminal Code of the United States.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed joint resolution of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. J. Res. 179. Joint resolution authorizing national banks to subscribe to the united war-work campaign.

ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bill and joint resolution of the following titles, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 10609. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to exchange the present Federal building site at Eatonton, Ga., for another site on the public square in said city; and

H. J. Res. 331. Joint resolution authorizing the readmission to the United States of certain aliens who have been conscripted or have volunteered for service with the military forces of the United States or cobelligerent forces.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that this day they had presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bills:

H. R. 12402. An act to exclude and expel from the United States aliens who are members of the anarchistic and similar classes; and

H. R. 12982. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a large dry dock and appurtenant lands.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting an address by the late James A. Garfield.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by inserting an address by Gen. James A. Garfield, late President of the United States. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEATING rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Colorado rise?

Mr. KEATING. To ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the state of the Union.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Colorado asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the state of the Union. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. WALDOW, for an indefinite period, on account of illness in his family; and

To Mr. HUTCHINSON (at the request of Mr. BROWNING), for an indefinite period, on account of serious illness in his family.

DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY TO-MORROW.

Mr. KITCHIN rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from North Carolina rise?

Mr. KITCHIN. I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the business in order to-morrow on Calendar Wednesday.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to dispense with Calendar Wednesday business to-morrow. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. FOSTER rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Illinois rise?

Mr. FOSTER. I want to take up the rule for consideration that we had up yesterday morning.

The SPEAKER. The Speaker knows; but under a special order of the House the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] has 40 minutes.

Mr. FOSTER. Does not that rule have priority and precedence, the previous question having been ordered?

The SPEAKER. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. But, Mr. Speaker, this consent was given after the previous question was ordered, and the arrangement was that it was to follow the reading of the Journal.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman is in error. It was granted before the previous question was ordered.

Mr. WALSH. Well, that makes the arrangement all the stronger.

Mr. VARE rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Pennsylvania rise?

Mr. VARE. I disagree with my colleague from Massachusetts. I was under the impression that it was granted with the understanding that the special business that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER] had before the House was to be considered first.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman knows that you can not grant permission conditionally.

Mr. VARE. Oh, yes; we frequently do.

Mr. BLANTON. I do not care to take up the time of the House if I can get unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas asks leave to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. I object to that.

Mr. BLANTON. Then I insist on my time.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that under the rules of the House anything which is made in order under a rule would set aside other business.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will hear the gentleman.

Mr. FOSTER. Of course, the unanimous consent was given, but a special order of the House came in after that. Now, that special order has not been completed up to this time, and being a privileged resolution it seems to me that under those circumstances the business made the special order under that resolution would come first.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. If the gentleman will permit, the House had proceeded with that business until it found itself without a quorum. It is really the unfinished business of yesterday that was proceeding when the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] obtained his unanimous consent to address the House to-day. I think a fair construction of the situation would be that the business that was started on yesterday that was suspended for the want of a quorum should now proceed to its conclusion before the gentleman from Texas obtains the floor.

Mr. TOWNER. Will the gentleman from Illinois yield?

Mr. FOSTER. In just a moment. I want to suggest to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] that to-day is probably the last day we will have before the Army deficiency bill comes in. If this bill is to be passed at all to do any good in this epidemic which is going through the country now, we ought to pass it to-day, and I believe the gentleman ought to find an opportunity to address the House upon the subject in which he is interested at some other time and let us pass this little bill, which it is believed will be of great service in assisting the Surgeon General, and will help to stamp out this disease that is taking away so many of our people.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I renew my request for unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. FOSTER. I hope under the circumstances the gentleman from Texas will withdraw his request.

Mr. DOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make the point of no quorum present.

Mr. FOSTER. I hope the gentleman will not do that. This is an important bill——

Mr. DOWELL. If the bill is to be presented, and we are to proceed with the business of the House, I am perfectly willing to withdraw my point of order; but I shall raise it again if we are to sit here and listen to something that is of no importance for half the afternoon.

Mr. FOSTER. Of course we can not confine ourselves as to that.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman should have made his objection yesterday.

Mr. DOWELL. The gentleman is not making my objection. I will make it at the proper time.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, if I may be permitted to follow the consideration of this bill, I am willing to waive the time.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. DOWELL] withdraw his point of order?

Mr. DOWELL. If the business of the House is to be proceeded with, I will withdraw my point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa withdraws his point of order as to a quorum, and the gentleman from Texas will follow the matter presented by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER].

Mr. WALSH. Under what arrangement will he follow the gentleman from Illinois?

The SPEAKER. Under the arrangement that he said he would waive his right if he could have his 40 minutes after the consideration of the gentleman's bill.

Mr. WALSH. If he waives his right, then he loses his right to address the House. Let him ask permission to address the House.

The SPEAKER. Yes; but this is an effort to arrange a modus vivendi by which we can go on with the business.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to proceed for the time allotted me after this business is completed.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] asks unanimous consent to proceed for 40 minutes after the matter which the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER] has in charge is disposed of. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

Mr. FOSTER. I hope the gentleman will not do that.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the point of no quorum.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts withdraws the point of no quorum, and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER] is recognized for 20 minutes.

RESERVE IN THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I call up the resolution which we were considering yesterday.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 440.

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of S. J. Res. 63, entitled "Joint resolution to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service"; that there shall be not to exceed one hour of general debate. At the conclusion of such general debate the resolution shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. After the resolution shall have been perfected in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union the same shall be reported to the House with such recommendation as the committee may make, whereupon the previous question shall be considered as ordered upon the resolution and all amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, the resolution presented is for the consideration of Senate joint resolution 63, providing for a medical reserve for the Public Health Service. As some Members know, I have not been in favor of the House bill, as it is written as an amendment to the Senate joint resolution, but I want to do all that I can to relieve the distress that exists throughout the country to-day.

The public health officials believe that if they are enabled to commission men for the time being—which is not a permanent matter—that they can send them from one part of the country to another where the doctors are badly needed. For instance, the Public Health Service has been able so far to get some physicians to go from one part of the country to the other. They found the other day two physicians in the State of Indiana that they were able to send to the State of North Carolina, where the conditions were so urgent from this disease that they found it absolutely necessary to do so. In the State of Ohio, at East Palestine, the conditions were such, as reported to the Public Health Service, that people were dying without being able to obtain the services of a nurse or a physician. The conditions reported from some parts of the country are critical, and they exist throughout the country everywhere.

This attack or epidemic of influenza is the worst our country ever suffered from. We have had numerous epidemics of influenza in the past, but never before in the history of the country have they been so severe as this one is. If you read the daily papers you see that in the city of Washington the number of deaths is large.

There is a peculiarity about this disease. It first appeared along the Atlantic coast, where more than a thousand died in

the city of Boston alone. It then broke out in the State of Arizona, and the State of Montana, way across the country, across the Rocky Mountains. Then it appeared later in the Middle West. It appeared in Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and Iowa, which were free from it while it existed in Arizona and Montana.

The Public Health Service has had some reports throughout the country as to the fatality of this disease. In the Army, where the previous death rate was 4 per thousand, it increased to 80 per thousand, an enormous increase. Every Member, I am sure, is aware of the great number of boys in these camps from all parts of the country that have lost their lives as a result of this disease.

This joint resolution has the indorsement of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McAdoo, in a letter to Mr. POU, of the Rules Committee, which I shall ask to insert in the RECORD. The Public Health Service has been very insistent that this legislation be passed, and that they might call these men, not those going into the Army but those above the age that usually go into the Army, and commission them for a time. This bill provides that it shall expire by limitation in five years. However, the committee may change that provision, making it a less or longer time. The bill carries an appropriation of $300,000 for the Public Health Service, and they ask that that appropriation be stricken from the bill. They say that the money that Congress has already appropriated can be used for this purpose, and that it will be unnecessary to make further appropriation.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. DENISON. I notice from the press reports that boys in the camps die from pneumonia. Is pneumonia the result of the influenza or is the pneumonia the influenza itself?

Mr. FOSTER. Pneumonia is the result of the influenza. The influenza attacks the mucous membrane of the throat and nose and then extends down to the bronchial tubes and the lungs and results in pneumonia.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman state whether it is different from the ordinary form of pneumonia?

Mr. FOSTER. It is not, except that possibly it is of a more severe type.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. If this bill becomes a law, is it not the purpose to send these physicians to communities throughout the country where the doctors have been called into the Army in such numbers that it has left those communities without the necessary medical attendants? Is it not the purpose to send these men to those communities to relieve the situation?

Mr. FOSTER. That is exactly it; that is the reason why physicians were asked to go from Indiana and sent to North Carolina.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. I have had letters in the last three days showing that those conditions exist in Indiana where they are in want of necessary medical attendance.

Mr. VARE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. VARE. Has the Health Department secured data as to the services of physicians in different parts of the country that they can avail themselves of?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; they sent out first a thousand telegrams to different parts of the country trying to secure physicians. Out of those they have had about 150 or 200 favorable replies.

Mr. VARE. And the gentleman is of the opinion that if this bill is passed it will give immediate relief?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; I believe it will aid materially, because they can commission these men and send them to different parts of the country.

Mr. GORDON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. GORDON. What are the salaries of these commissioned officers?

Mr. FOSTER. They will correspond to those in the Army of first lieutenant, captain, major, and lieutenant colonel.

Mr. GORDON. Can not the gentleman give it in dollars and cents?

Mr. FOSTER. The gentleman from Ohio knows as much about that as I do; he is a member of the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. GORDON. Do they get allowances?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; they get allowances.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. I yield.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. As I understand, there will be no age limit in case they find surgeons who are in good health.

Mr. FOSTER. There is no age limit.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I mention that because I know of some cases where men in excellent health have applied for appointment in the Army and have been rejected on account of age.

Mr. FOSTER. That is what this is for—to take men who are not eligible for service in the Army. There are about 140,000 physicians in the United States. Probably 20,000 of those are not in active practice. There are some 30,000 to 35,000 who have gone into the Army, so that you can figure out what a shortage there is. If there are some communities where there may be a surplus of doctors and others that have none, it may be possible to send those physicians where there is a surplus to places where they are badly needed. They have taken nurses from the city of Milwaukee a long distance over the country where they have not been able to secure nurses to take charge of this disease. The Public Health Service is bending every effort it possibly can to relieve this awful situation that exists in the country.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. HAMLIN. What is the necessity for commissioning these men? You can not compel them to enlist. It must be voluntary. If they are willing to enter the service in the interest of humanity and the department has already got the money to pay the expenses and salaries, what is the necessity of giving them a commission to extend over a period of five years. It seems to me that all they have got to do is to get every physician who is willing to volunteer and pay him and let him go into the service now.

Mr. FOSTER. I said to the Surgeon General, or his assistant, that if there was any doctor in the United States who was so derelict in his duty that he would not serve in a crisis like this, he would not be fit to be commissioned in the Public Health Service. He replied that that was not the idea at all. Many of these men who may be commissioned will be sent throughout the country. Many of them will go without commissions, so far as that is concerned, but they would meet up with medical men who would supersede them. I mean by that, medical men in the Army, working as they would be with the Surgeon General's office. The commissioned men would supersede these others and they would have no authority. The doctors of the country have always responded to crises like this. I cite the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HAMLIN] and the House to the heroic work that medical men have done in the past. The other day I mentioned the Walter Reed commission, the yellow fever commission, which had three men appointed upon it, each one of whom died as a result of the disease that they were investigating. It was said of one that he could secure no volunteers, but they had men who did volunteer. There is one man in Indiana, in the district of the gentleman who stands at my left [Mr. BARNHART], who did volunteer and did his part to help find out what this disease was. One of these men put his hand into the jar where the mosquitoes were, in order that they might bite him, so that they could determine how long after the mosquito infested with yellow fever bit the patient before the patient took the disease. He lost his life as a result of that, but he was willing to make the sacrifice.

I say that any medical man who is not willing to go into danger under circumstances that may come is no better than a deserter who would fly in the face of the enemy [applause], and I know that the doctors of the country have always been patriotic, and they will be patriotic and true to their profession, whether they be commissioned or not.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Speaker, I agree entirely with the gentleman, and I believe all that he says in regard to the medical profession is true. That is exactly why I ask, What is the necessity for commissioning them? Here is a man who is just as patriotic, just as brave, just as competent as any other who will get his first lieutenant's commission, which carries a salary of $2,000, while some other man no braver, no better equipped to perform the service, no more loyal, will get a major's commission, perhaps, drawing $3,600 a year. If these men will volunteer, and I believe they will, to combat this danger in the interest of humanity, why commission them? Why not take every one who will go and pay him a salary and let him serve during this epidemic?

Mr. STAFFORD. Why, the very purpose of this bill is to grant them commissions.

Mr. HAMLIN. That is the point I make.

Mr. STAFFORD. That is what the Public Health Service has been straining for for months past.

Mr. HAMLIN. There will be half a dozen discriminations in salary for the same work performed.

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, we have that in many other things.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Will not the fact that these men bear a commission from the United States obviate a great many difficulties in the way of regulations as they go from one State to another?

Mr. FOSTER. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. In a moment.

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. DOREMUS. I call the attention of my friend from Missouri [Mr. HAMLIN] to the fact that the pending resolution rests the discretion in the President to terminate these commissions at any time, so that they will not necessarily continue for the full period of five years. In connection with the question he propounded to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER] I would like to quote briefly from a memorandum prepared by the Public Health Service.

The Public Health Service wishes it clearly understood that it does not believe that the doctors of the country are refusing to accept epidemic service because they are not offered a commission, but it does believe that when these doctors leave their homes and enter a serious epidemic, such as the influeuza has proven to be, such service should be recognized and rewarded with a commission.

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. I do.

Mr. BARNHART. I want to ask the gentleman from Michigan a question. I am heartily in favor of the measure, but I would like to know more about it. We have a situation in the city of Washington now in which a terrible epidemic is prevailing. Every physician in this city is working day and night.

Under the provisions of this bill some physician, to be called, possibly, from Baltimore, will be given an Army commission to come over here and do exactly the same work and take the same risk that these local physicians do. If you are going to commission a man called from one city where they have no epidemic to another where they have an epidemic, why not also commission the doctors who are in the midst of the trouble and risking their lives every day? I can not understand the line of distinction.

Mr. DOREMUS. I will say to my friend from Indiana we have already commissioned about 30,000 physicians and surgeons in the Army.

Mr. BARNHART. Commissioning them does not add to their qualifications and self-sacrifice a particle.

Mr. FOSTER. Does the gentleman think there is no distinction between a doctor who goes from his State, in Indiana, and leaves his home and goes to the State of North Carolina or some other State and a man who is attending his patients in the town in which he lives? I think there is a great difference.

Mr. BARNHART. I say the man who goes from a community where there is no epidemic to assist in a community where an epidemic does prevail is entitled to no more credit than the local man who is doing his best in his unfortunate community.

Mr. FOSTER. I agree; but I am saying this, that the gentleman from Indiana would have a physician go without authority, as said by the gentleman from Louisiana, without any authority from the United States Government when he goes into that community, in a State of which he is not a resident.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FOSTER. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, by printing the matter to which I have referred.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The letter is as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,
Washington, October 10, 1918.

Hon. EDWARD W. POU,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. POU: Permit me to invite your attention to the necessity for the immediate passage of Senate joint resolution No. 63, to establish a sanitary reserve corps in the Public Health Service.

This resolution passed the Senate June 18, 1917, was favorably reported by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce August 30, 1917, and is now pending on the Union Calendar of the House. The object of this bill is to create a medical and sanitary reserve corps in the United States Public Health Service during the present national emergency.

The necessity for this legislation becomes especially urgent at this time because of the epidemic of influenza which has now invaded the whole of the United States and has become so serious as to cause the Provost Marshal General to cancel orders sending drafted men to camp. The passage of the resolution (S. J. Res. 63) is greatly needed in order that the medical and sanitary personnel employed by the Public Health Service may be commissioned. Under this resolution doctors who are required for service in the Army or Navy will not be selected, but it necessarily follows that doctors who are patriotic enough to join this sanitary reserve corps, at a great sacrifice, deserve the honor of a commission. Furthermore, under the provisions of Executive order of April 3, 1917, constituting the Public Health Service a part of the military forces of the United States, it would necessarily follow that the medical and sanitary personnel of the Public Health Service could be utilized, in so far as practicable, for duty in the Army or Navy.

I therefore urge upon you the necessity for reporting the resolution (H. Res. 440) now pending before your committee providing for the consideration of Senate joint resolution under a special rule. This is urgently needed at this time in order that the Public Health Service may meet the present situation, which constitutes a grave national danger.

Cordially, yours, W. G. MCADOO.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr Speaker, I think there is a misapprehension with respect to some of the provisions of this bill. Statements which have been made and questions which have been asked leave the impression that the bill is probably a part of the Army or in some way connected with the Army. As a matter of fact the Public Health Service is under the Treasury Department and these men are not commissioned as officers of the Army but they are commissioned by the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service. They have no title beyond colonels or majors. They are commissioned in certain grades with similar rank to the Army and Navy, but they are not a part of either.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Yes; I will yield for a question.

Mr. SLAYDEN. What particular class of people are these doctors to be appointed to treat, citizens?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Yes; citizens.

Mr. SLAYDEN. It is not to treat the military?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Not the military at all.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Does the gentleman know of any reputable physician in this or any other previous epidemic who has ever refused to do his full duty as a physician in giving medical attention to sick people?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Certainly not.

Mr. SLAYDEN. What is the occasion of opening here a military rank for possibly permanent retention in the service with salary?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. That is what I was just attempting to answer. It does not open up an opportunity for military rank.

Mr. SLAYDEN. The gentleman must admit it is an entering wedge.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman will permit, I wish to say, in reply to the query propounded by the gentleman from Texas, that representatives of the Public Health Service, knowing I was opposed to the health bill, have called upon me on several occasions to have me withdraw my objection——

Mr. SLAYDEN. To this bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. To this bill, and they stated that the purpose of this bill was to confer rank above that of second lieutenant upon the physicians of the country so that the physicians could go around with a uniform above the grade of second lieutenant. They informed me at the present time under existing regulations and law they are privileged to confer rank upon those physicians of second lieutenant and they wanted to confer a higher grade upon them as they go about the country.

Mr. SLAYDEN. That is what I thought.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Now, Mr. Speaker, I agree with the gentleman here that this bill has had opposition for years, and it could not now pass if it were not for the epidemic that prevails throughout the country.

Mr. HAMLIN. If the gentleman will permit, it seems to me the whole thing could be narrowed down—this bill does not propose to carry a dollar of appropriation?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. No; the Public Health Service already has the money with which to carry out the provisions of the act.

Mr. HAMLIN. Now, the passage of the bill would not add to-day a single additional physician. They have got to depend upon the physician to volunteer his services. Now, the only thing it can do on earth is to put a uniform on these fellows, and that does not add to their qualifications.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. That is true.

Mr. MONDELL. Is not this also true: It does not add, but it is more than that; they can now be uniformed, but only with

the uniform of a second lieutenant. The desire is to give higher rank. Is not that the situation?

Mr. STAFFORD. That is what is represented to me by those who are most insistent on this legislation.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman from Kansas yield?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I would like to go on and make the statement I had in mind. As a matter of fact, everything that is contemplated under the provisions of this bill should, as suggested by the gentleman from Missouri, be carried out without the bill, but the contention is that this bill creates an organization that can coordinate throughout the States and across State lines and accomplish better results than the unorganized physicians of the country could accomplish. For instance, the States are not working in harmony to-day with the view of suppressing this epidemic. Kansas, my own State, through the health officer, has forbidden all assemblages of every character. That was done as soon as the epidemic began to show itself within the borders of the State. It was done with the view of preventing the spread of the disease in the State. It will be interesting to the future and interesting to other States to note the effect that forbidding the people to assemble or to gather in their usual places of meeting will have upon preventing the spread and growth of this epidemic that is prevailing throughout the country.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. For a question.

Mr. MONDELL. Does the gentleman understand that all the officers commissioned under this act would draw their salaries so long as they held their commissions?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I hoped the gentleman was going to ask me some question germane to the matter that I was discussing.

Mr. MONDELL. I am not one of those who have any doubt about the patriotism of the doctors of the country or of the people of the country generally. The gentleman does not have to prove that to me, but what I would like to know is something about the bill. That is the important matter now before the House.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. The gentlemen in charge of the bill will have their inning in a short time and will undoubtedly explain to the gentleman from Wyoming and others the purport and intent of the measure.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman means that he "passes the buck"?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. If the gentleman from Wyoming is disposed to put that construction upon my answer.

Mr. HAMLIN. The gentleman from Kansas does not know what that means.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. The reason I have consented, so far as I have had any part in bringing this bill up for consideration at this time, is because I believe that it will coordinate the activities of the physicians of the country and aid in a measure in suppressing the influenza where it exists and preventing it from spreading to where it does not exist. The organization, the uniform, the title, the button, the ribbon, the card, or whatever it is, that signifies a membership in the organization, with a head that can give orders, orders that are respected, will undoubtedly have a beneficial effect upon the activities of the physicians of the country in bringing about the results that the country so much desires.

Now, another thing. This will call into the service physicians who are practically now retired. The country has been literally combed for physicians, and they have been taken into the military and naval service. It is doubtful if there has been a time when the services of physicians have been as universally in demand as they are to-day. This will give older men an opportunity to work in connection with other physicians in their profession.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield again?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I am just concluding now and I would rather not yield. I have promised some time to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD].

And for the reasons I have stated I think the bill should have consideration. I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD].

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, this resolution came to the House of Representatives from the Senate as long ago as June 26, of a year ago, and has received more than special consideration on my part in connection with the work of the Public Health Service. Shortly after the beginning of the war the Public Health Service conceived it should be its policy to branch out extensively and create a reserve corps of the physicians of the country that should be permanent. This resolution came over to the House carrying an appropriation of $300,000. It was opposed by many Members because they feared it would create a permanent force. The Committee on Appropriations had no objection to voting as much money as was necessary for temporary purposes, and in one of the appropriation bills a year ago the amount carried in this resolution, of $300,000, was voted to the Public Health Service to carry on the work of inspecting the zones tributary to our camps and cantonments.

On a casual visit to the War Department I inquired of Surg. Gen. Gorgas whether it was necessary to have the Public Health Service perform the work of sanitation and supervision around the camps and cantonments. He informed me that his office was willing and ready to perform the work of sanitation in territory tributary to the cantonments and camps, but that the Public Health Service requested that they should be permitted to perform that work, and he acquiesced. And accordingly $300,000 was appropriated by the Committee on Appropriations to allow the Public Health Service to perform work that was directly connected with the welfare of our soldiers at the camps and cantonments, and which could have been performed as well, if not better, by the accredited doctors connected with the Surgeon General's office and of the Army.

Mr. ESCH. As I understand it, there is no warrant of law that authorizes the Surgeon General's office to exercise any jurisdiction beyond the confines of a camp or cantonment?

Mr. STAFFORD. There is no warrant of law, but the Surgeon General's office was willing to perform that work. However, the Public Health Service stepped in because we know that the respective bureaus of the Government want to magnify themselves in war time and have some work to do.

Then there came into the House this resolution, amended, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, granting commissions to members of the reserve corps and conferring certain ranks on civilian officers connected with some of the divisions of the bureau. I strenuously opposed it, and raised the question of no quorum one day when the chairman of the committee presented this resolution on Calendar Wednesday for consideration. The resolution was withdrawn. There came down here the health officer of the State of Wisconsin, who asked me to withdraw my objection. I asked him his reason for favoring this resolution. He said that young men of draft age who were doctors and were connected with the health activities of the respective States and municipalities were resigning, because they did not wish to be known as slackers, and desired to go into the Army service; but by this bill they would be given some kind of a status in the Government employ that would retain them in the sanitation work of the States. I said to the health commissioner of the State, "I suspected that was one of the purposes of the bill when I read it, and I am more strenuously opposed to it now than ever, because the Army needs, and pressingly needs, all the young men it can get for the Army service, and we should not throw the mantle of protection around any young men connected with municipal or State health boards in order to prevent them from going into the real service of the Army."

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOREMUS rose.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. STAFFORD. I think the gentleman from Michigan was on his feet first. I will yield to him first. Then I will yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. DOREMUS. Does not the gentleman from Wisconsin realize that this bill provides that the young men liable to military service shall not be exempted?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes; but it will prevent young men connected with the activities of States and municipalities from volunteering in the Army, because if they were not taken into this service they would be known as slackers. This resolution has the support of the health authorities of the States, and the health commissioner of my own city on three different occasions on that same day came and begged me to withdraw my opposition, and when he went home he gave out an interview to the papers of my city to the effect that I was opposed to establishing a reserve of the Public Health Service, not stating any reasons, but with the purpose to prejudice the minds of my constituents toward me by stating that I was opposed to the proper surveillance of the health activities of the Government, when that was not my purpose at all.

Mr. MONDELL rose.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I promised to yield to the gentleman from Texas. Mr. Speaker, how much time have I consumed?

The SPEAKER. Five minutes.

Mr. STAFFORD. I will yield for a short question.

Mr. SLAYDEN. I would like to ask the gentleman whether he thinks that under this bill there is a sufficient increase in the number or scale of physicians to meet the present emergency?

Mr. STAFFORD. That is not its purpose. Only yesterday a representative of the Public Health Service called upon me—and they have been calling upon me every week—and stated to me that in his opinion this bill would in no way have checked the present epidemic or increased the efficiency in any way of the Public Health Service in administering the million-dollar appropriation that was voted them a few weeks ago, when the epidemic became so critical in this country, and it was represented at other times by other representatives of the Public Health Service that the main purpose of this bill was to give a desired commissioned rank to the doctors who are performing service at present.

Mr. SLAYDEN. And to build up a bigger bureau?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes. The main purpose, as suggested by the gentleman from Texas, and quite correctly, is to build up a big bureau, to give them commissioned rank of higher grade than that of second lieutenant, because there were instances where doctors have refused to wear the uniform of a second lieutenant, but who wanted a proper grade commensurate with their station.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania and Mr. MONDELL rose.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I will yield first to the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL], and then I will yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. MONDELL. Perhaps the gentleman can answer the question which I asked of another gentleman, and which he could not answer. Under this bill the officers are to be commissioned to draw the salaries of their rank during the entire period of their commission?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes; but I have an amendment which I intend to offer which will restrict the payment of the salaries they would receive to the time while they were on active duty under the Public Health Service.

Mr. DOREMUS. We have an amendment to cover that.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am very glad to hear that the committee has such an amendment. It was not called to my attention by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER], who reported this rule. I was informed that they intended to abandon the substitute as reported by the committee and accept virtually the bill as it came over from the Senate.

Mr. DOREMUS. That rule also applies to men already in the service, that they shall get pay only while on active duty.

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes; but under this bill there is no such limitation, and they would receive the pay as suggested by the question of the gentleman from Wyoming.

Mr. MONDELL. One more question. Unless such an amendment is adopted as suggested, this would create only an active corps and there would be no reserve, because there would be no young men to be called on when needed.

Mr. STAFFORD. There is no difficulty in corralling the doctors to meet an epidemic. There is no doubt but that the Public Health Service has been endeavoring to magnify itself and spread its activities for many years.

Everybody knows what the real purpose of the Public Health Service is in trying to have this bill passed. They do not dare to say that the epidemic which is now confronting the country is the occasion of their desire for the passage of this legislation, and they do not dare to say that they have been limited in their activities by reason of the want of any such bill as this. This bill merely authorizes a commissioned rank to these men who occupy to-day the various civilian grades and receive the pay of civilian grades while on duty. Now, the question for the House is whether we wish to grant them the epaulets while they are going about doing this civilian work, with the rank and the pay which belong to their present civilian status.

Mr. TEMPLE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. TEMPLE. Is there anything in the bill that limits the payments to be made to the men practicing medicine or that prevents men who are not doctors from receiving commissions under this bill?

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman is quite correct. There are no such limitations as would prevent the President, on the recommendation of the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, from recommending private citizens. The bill is very crudely drawn, without proper restrictions; but, as suggested by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DOREMUS], amendments will be offered that will safeguard the interests of the Government and safeguard the interests of the Treasury.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired. All time has expired. The question is on the rule.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. FOSTER) there were—ayes 29, noes 19.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Tellers, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas demands tellers. The Chair will count. All in favor of ordering tellers will rise. [After counting.] Thirteen Members, not a sufficient number. Tellers are refused. The ayes have it, and the House automatically resolves itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. HILLIARD] will take the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of Senate joint resolution 63, to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, etc., That for the purpose of securing a reserve for duty in the Public Health Service in time of national emergency there shall be organized, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, under such rules and regulations as the President shall prescribe, a reserve of the Public Health Service. The President alone shall be authorized to appoint and commission as officers in the said reserve such citizens as, upon examination prescribed by the President, shall be found physically, mentally, and morally qualified to hold such commissions, and said commissions shall be in force for a period of five years, unless sooner terminated in the discretion of the President, but commission in said reserve shall not exempt the holder from military or naval service. Said officers shall consist of sanitarians, senior assistant sanitarians, and assistant sanitarians, and when ordered to active duty in the service of the United States shall receive the rank, pay, allowances, and leaves of absence of surgeons, passed assistant surgeons, and assistant surgeons, respectively.

SEC. 2. That for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act the sum of $300,000 be appropriated out of any money in the United States Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

With the following committee amendment:

That there is hereby established a Reserve Corps of the United States Public Health Service to be composed of officers of State, county, and municipal health organizations and other persons skilled in sanitary science.

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the further reading of the committee amendment be dispensed with.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I object.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will not the gentleman from Michigan ask unanimous consent that the committee consider the Senate resolution, and not the resolution reported by the House committee?

Mr. DOREMUS. I ask unanimous consent that the committee consider the original Senate resolution in lieu of the resolution as amended by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent that the Senate resolution be considered in lieu of the one reported by the committee. Is there objection?

Mr. MONDELL. I think the matter should be presented to the House in full; therefore I object.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wyoming objects. The Clerk will continue the reading of the House committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 2. That appointments to the Reserve Corps of the United States Public Health Service shall be made by the President upon the recommendation of the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury and commissioned with grade of assistant surgeons, past assistant surgeons, surgeons, or senior surgeons in the Reserve Corps of the Public Health Service for four years or during the war in which the United States is now engaged in accordance with rules and regulations prescribed by the President: *Provided*, That no person shall be appointed as a member of the Reserve Corps as aforesaid until his voluntary application for appointment has been filed with the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I offer the amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, a question of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. STAFFORD. The amendment in the nature of a substitute reported by the committee is one entire substitute and must be considered as an entirety and not by sections, and the substitute has not been read in its entirety.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair thinks the point of order of the gentleman from Wisconsin is well taken.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is that provided in the rule?

Mr. STAFFORD. It is not provided in the special rule, but under the rules of the House and of general parliamentary law.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. What was the ruling of the Chair?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustained the point of order.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does the Chair hold that the amendment is not offered at the proper time?

The CHAIRMAN. This is not the proper time for the gentleman to offer his amendment.

Mr. SEARS. After the reading of the whole bill, then we will return to each section and offer amendments?

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule there will be one hour of general debate, and then the bill will be opened for amendment.

The Clerk resumed and completed the reading of the committee amendment, as follows:

SEC. 3. That said officers when ordered to active duty as members of the Reserve Corps of the United States Public Health Service shall be subject to the orders of the Surgeon General of said service and while so serving shall receive from the United States the same salaries and allowances of officers of the corresponding grade in the Public Health Service: *Provided*, That officers of State, county, and municipal health organizations shall not be commissioned in said Reserve Corps without the assent of the proper executive officers of their respective States, counties, or municipalities. Officers in the Reserve Corps of the Public Health Service may be promoted successively to the higher grades of the Reserve Corps of the Public Health Service under rules and regulations prescribed by the President.

SEC. 4. That when any person other than a commissioned medical officer of the Public Health Service shall be appointed chief of either the Division of Chemistry, Zoology, or Pharmacology of the Hygienic Laboratory he shall be commissioned by the President as zoologist, chemist, pharmacologist, or assistant pharmacologist, as the case may be, in the Public Health Service. Sanitary engineers, assistant sanitary engineers, epidemiologists, and assistant epidemiologists may, on the recommendation of the Surgeon General, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, be commissioned as such by the President. The respective grades and order of promotion of such officers shall be prescribed by regulations of the Public Health Service.

SEC. 5. That the duties of the Reserve Corps of the United States Public Health Service shall be performed under instructions issued by the Surgeon General of such service, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, and shall be directed toward the proper sanitation of ports and places within the United States or within the jurisdiction of the United States Government, including especially places in and near which industrial forces are or are to be mobilized and places in which military forces are to be mobilized and places near which military forces are mobilized.

SEC. 6. That it shall be the duty of the United States Public Health Service to cooperate with State, county, and municipal health organizations and with officials in charge of industrial establishments, with a view to coordinating the activities and making effective the work of the health organizations of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule there is to be not to exceed one hour of general debate.

Mr. ESCH. Can we arrange for a division of the time?

Mr. DOREMUS. Has the gentleman anything to suggest?

Mr. ESCH. I suggest that the gentleman control half the time and that I control half the time.

Mr. DOREMUS. I ask unanimous consent that the time be equally divided between the two sides, the gentleman from Michigan to control one half the time and I to control the other half.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Would it not be more equitable to divide the time half and half between those who favor the joint resolution and those who oppose it?

Mr. DOREMUS. I have no objection to that. The gentleman from Texas suggests that we divide the time equally between those in favor of the resolution and those opposed to it.

Mr. ESCH. I shall yield time to gentlemen on this side who favor the measure, as well as to those who are opposed to it.

Mr. SLAYDEN. All I am asking is that there shall be an equitable division of the time. The aisle is no indication of how gentlemen stand on a question like this.

Mr. DOREMUS. How much time does the gentleman from Texas want?

Mr. SLAYDEN. Not over five or six minutes.

Mr. DOREMUS. I will see that the gentleman gets that time.

Mr. SLAYDEN. I am not speaking for myself alone, but in the interest of all gentlemen who may be opposed to the measure.

Mr. STAFFORD. May I suggest that one-half the time be at the disposal of Members who are in opposition to the joint resolution, if they claim it?

Mr. DOREMUS. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DOREMUS] asks unanimous consent that the time be equally divided, one half to be controlled by himself and the other half by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH].

Mr. SLAYDEN. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DOREMUS] has just stated to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] that that division of time would be made with due regard to the attitude of gentlemen toward the bill.

Mr. DOREMUS. I will say to the gentleman from Texas that I shall be very glad to yield five minutes to him.

Mr. SLAYDEN. I would rather take the time a little later.

The CHAIRMAN. It is understood that the time is to be yielded with due regard to the views of gentlemen in favor of the bill or in opposition to it.

Mr. SLAYDEN. The gentleman from Michigan made that suggestion.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. ESCH. Is it understood that we are to consider the Senate resolution?

Mr. DOREMUS. Yes.

Mr. ESCH. Outside of any amendment?

Mr. DOREMUS. That is my understanding of it; yes.

Mr. WALSH. You can not make that agreement.

Mr. ESCH. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. VARE].

Mr. VARE. Mr. Chairman, I do not hope to be able to say all that I intended to say about this joint resolution in five minutes. I am not very much concerned as to the question of commissioning the physicians attached to the Public Health Service. I am very much concerned about the problem which confronts us in all the large centers of population throughout the country. I am especially interested in subsection (a) of the report on the third page, which states that the purpose of the proposed legislation is to create machinery whereby the Government can instantly attack civilian epidemics which threaten to spread to military forces.

I recently consulted Dr. Wilmer Krusen, the director of public health of Philadelphia, and he writes me as follows:

We need 100 more physicians in Philadelphia to-day in order to properly man our hospitals and take care of the poor people who are not able to get physicians because they are overworked.

He further advises that the acting commissioner of the State of Pennsylvania, Dr. Royer, says that the situation in the anthracite coal regions is desperate, and that unless this epidemic is speedily abated the coal supply, which is so necessary for the completion of the war program, will be jeopardized.

When I went back to Philadelphia last week, immediately upon reaching my office I was called upon by the chairman of one of the draft boards in the southeastern part of the city. He had appealed for the organization of a corps of physicians and there were 10 physicians assigned to one small locality in the southeastern part of the city, taking in a part of my congressional district and part of that of my distinguished colleague [Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania]. A little later on these physicians, having worked night and day, were physically unable to endure the strain. I personally provided automobiles in order that they might be taken without any loss of time from place to place. After 48 hours night and day of constant work there was still a waiting list of 100 people who had received no medical aid. I only give this as an illustration of one part of the problem which the health authorities have confronting them. I might go into the different districts and tell the great number of deaths. I might call the attention of the House to the fact that distinguished clergymen of Philadelphia have been working side by side with the day laborers in cemeteries digging graves in order that those who die may receive prompt burial.

We have a total number of physicians in Philadelphia of 3,400; number absent in military service of the United States, 900; number of physicians remaining in city, 2,500.

In normal times one physician cares for 600 persons. At present time one physician cares for 800 persons. In normal times population sick at one time, 4 per cent. At present time population afflicted, 10 per cent to 15 per cent.

Philadelphia is a medical center for training doctors and nurses, and has contributed for Government service a percentage equal to, if not greater than, any city of its type in the United States.

It is at present affected by the worst epidemic in history. The death rate for the week ending October 11 is 95.74 per thousand population per year. Normal death rate for this time of the year is 15 per thousand population per year, an increase of over 600 per cent.

Our city has also given five of its hospital buildings at Byberry for Government use, and in many of its larger hospitals has turned over its wards for the treatment of Army and Navy men, thus decreasing the facilities of the civilian population. A great demand for hospital facilities in Philadelphia has been created by reason of the prevailing epidemic. Doctors and nurses who have remained faithfully behind to treat the civilian population have not only been overburdened, but many of them are ill and unable to perform services. It has been necessary to place medical students in the field to take the places of doctors.

Philadelphia has contributed to the Army and Navy and Red Cross 865 nurses; number of men in military service from Philadelphia, 51,000; number of men employed in shipyards and other war industries, 250,000.

The city of Philadelphia has cared for 7,000 soldiers passing through the city en route to other points since February, 1918. It has also cared for 1,300 families of soldiers in the service, paying $22.50 to $40 per month for the relief of each family. Medical

attention and supplies are given to the families of those absent in military service. Free burial is also granted to their relatives.

Surely, Philadelphia is giving her all as a patriotic duty to the Government. The city, however, is now in need of aid and calls upon the Government to assist it by sending to the city as many physicians as is consistent with the situation.

We in Philadelphia need this help. We need it now; not next week, not a month from now, but we need it now. I appeal to the Members of this House to pass this bill with proper amendments and pass it at the earliest possible date in order that relief may be given to the people who are in such great distress.

Mr. ROSE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VARE. I will.

Mr. ROSE. Is not the bill badly needed through many sections of the State of Pennsylvania, in the coal regions where physicians have left and they are now unable to get physicians to cope with the disease?

Mr. VARE. Yes; and I will recall the statement of Dr. Royer, the acting health commissioner, in which he says that the situation in the anthracite coal regions is desperate, and unless the epidemic is abated the coal supply so necessary for the completion of the war program will be jeopardized.

Mr. GORDON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VARE. Yes.

Mr. GORDON. Is this limited to the present emergency?

Mr. VARE. My understanding is——

Mr. GORDON. It says in a national emergency. Is it proposed to commission a lot of people with high salaries for the purpose of going out and performing medical service that usually devolves upon the local authorities of the State?

Mr. VARE. My information is that the gentleman in charge of the bill [Mr. DOREMUS] will offer amendments in order to perfect the bill.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN] three minutes.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, ordinarily I would not be in favor of this bill, but with the emergency that is upon us at this time I see no other way to control it.

The epidemic that is spreading over the country threatens now not only to paralyze business in certain communities but to strangle military preparations. In certain quarters it is on the increase. I know of no method which has been advanced and no proposal which has been made which will get control of this epidemic better than the one offered in this bill. If I knew of a better one, I would be in favor of it.

Mr. GORDON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. GORDON. Does not the gentleman think that it ought to be limited to the present emergency?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I agree with the gentleman that there ought to be certain limitations put on it.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. Do we get any more service from physicians by passing this bill and giving rank to medical men?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I think I can explain that by alluding to a situation of which I have personal knowledge. I know of physicians of high rank who would not by reason of age be permitted to go into the military service. They are anxious to do something, to feel that they are doing something in the crisis of the country, something directly affecting the whole Nation, and participating in the war work. I am satisfied that they are ready to go forward and offer their services, and will offer their services, in case the bill is passed, although they may know nothing of the bill at this time and perhaps have not even heard of it. I know physicians to whom I believe the provisions of the bill will appeal; it will appeal to their patriotism; it will appeal to their desire to serve their country, to their desire to be of use at this time. I believe they will come forward, and that the Government can marshal them together and put them where they are needed to carry on the work which will be effective. That, as I understand, is the great object and purpose of the bill.

The epidemic is serious in parts of my State, and in other parts it is hardly felt at all. At Camp Dodge, according to the letter I received the other day, there were 1,300 cases in a single day, 900 cases the day before, and 600 cases the day after. Deaths in that camp are now somewhere from 70 to 80 each day as a result of this epidemic, and yet there is nothing like the number of soldiers in that camp which it is able to accommodate, and not the number that there ought to be there and would be there were it not for this epidemic keeping them away.

Mr. MONDELL. Of course, this resolution would not furnish any additional physicians for that kind of work.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The gentleman is in error, for, if I understand the bill properly, these surgeons assembled under this can be sent anywhere; but even admitting that is the case, this camp is spreading influenza over my State and other States, because soldiers come there from all States.

Mr. MONDELL. There is no limit to the funds of the War Department to handle cases of that kind.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. There is no limit to the funds, but there is a limit to the physicians that can be obtained where they are needed most. I think this bill ought to pass.

Mr. Chairman, I have been surprised to-day to hear gentlemen contend that the only purpose of this bill was to give a number of doctors uniforms, and that those whose services could be obtained under the bill were not men of high standing. This attack on the physicians and intimations that the profession is back of the bill, and that some members of it are animated by a desire to get into a uniform, is entirely unwarranted. The bill will give a uniform to no one, although it does provide for the granting of uniforms.

It is not unlikely that a doctor who gives up his business to take up the Government service at a long distance from his home and with small pay would at least desire that he possess some evidence of the character of his service. For this reason the commissions ought to be granted to many standing to those who receive them and the honor of serving their country in this time of war and disease will be the main reward which the doctors will receive.

Let me say also, in this connection, since these uncomplimentary intimations have been made, that I know of no profession which gives so much to the world in general, without war, as that of the physician and surgeon. In my State at least there is no one so poor that he can not obtain a doctor in case of sickness, and nearly every physician has treated hundreds of cases for which he never could expect to receive any pay.

The doctor also often runs great risk, especially in treating contagious diseases like the one which causes the present epidemic and others even more infectious. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER] has referred to the case of the doctors who volunteered for experiments in order to discover the cause of infectious yellow fever and met their death thereby. These men were as truly heroic as any who lose their lives on the field of battle, and the pension which was subsequently awarded to their families was small indeed for the great service rendered mankind by their sacrifice.

This bill is a somewhat inadequate acknowledgment of the value of a profession which stands, to say the least, as high as any.

I trust the bill will pass and soon become a law.

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON].

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I do not care to discuss the terms of the bill itself. This House has twice passed, by unanimous consent, a bill on rural sanitation. Sanitation of the cities has been looked after and rural sanitation has been neglected. The rural sanitation done now by the Federal Government is in cooperation with the State and county health authorities. The Federal Government is committed to this work by virtue of the fact that we are appropriating $150,000 a year for the purpose of cooperating with the States, but the trouble is that there is no fixed or definite policy by reason of the fact that the appropriation has been made without being authorized by law. The bill to which I refer has been discussed repeatedly upon the floor of the House and has passed by unanimous consent. It was killed in the Senate by virtue of one Senator who happened to be upon the committee who had no objection to the terms of the bill but who by reason of the fact that he did not believe in the practice of medicine objected to the bill becoming a law. I want to say that this bill I have introduced, and it is now pending before the committee, is the same bill that has been several times reported from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, except that the principal objection to the bill was a tuberculosis department, creating two bureaus. I want the RECORD to show that at the proper time I shall offer this bill as an amendment to the pending resolution. I would have no objection if I could get recognition to move to discharge the committee from further consideration of the bill and to take it up without putting it as an amendment upon this resolution, but the same committee and the same members of the committee who have been upon that committee before have repeatedly reported the bill. The chairman of the committee has not given the bill a place as yet, and I have asked him once or twice to let me take it up, but in view of the fact that it has unanimously passed the House on two occasions I want to offer it as an amendment to this resolution at the proper

time. I hope it may be in order. Omitting the formal part of the bill—it is short—it is as follows:

That hereafter there shall be in the Bureau of United States Public Health Service an additional division known and designated as the division of rural sanitation, and said division shall be under the charge of a commissioned medical officer of the United States Public Health Service, detailed by the Surgeon General, which officer, while thus serving, shall be an assistant surgeon general within the meaning of section 3 of the act approved July 1, 1902, entitled "An act to increase the efficiency and change the name of the United States Marine Hospital Service."

My reason for asking the committee to adopt this amendment is this: There are five diseases that constitute about 85 per cent of the death rate in the United States, according to the statistics. All of these diseases are preventable diseases. This rural sanitation has nothing to do with the practice of medicine but simply teaches the people the sanitary laws. For example, typhoid fever is now known to be due to infection.

The sources of infection can be discovered and eradicated, and homes that are properly looked after in a sanitary way are never visited with typhoid fever unless the infection comes from some other source. One of the chief sources of infection is milk and another is water. It does not make any difference how sanitary you may make the great cities. Take, for instance, the city of my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE], the city of Philadelphia. If you have the vegetables and milk coming from the country and they are infected because of careless sanitary arrangements in the country, you will have typhoid in Philadelphia. Therefore, as a protection to the city as well as to the country we should increase the knowledge in respect to sanitary laws. Malaria, which kills so many people in the United States, is absolutely preventable solely by observance of proper sanitary measures.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I will ask the gentleman to grant me two or three minutes more.

Mr. DOREMUS. I yield three minutes more to the gentleman.

Mr. SISSON. My reason for insisting upon this measure passing at this time is that if this becomes a part of this bill, by cooperation with every county in the United States we can get in touch with the proper authorities and with the expenditure of very little money on the part of the Federal Government, because the States and counties will have to contribute 50 per cent either in service or money of the amount spent by the Health Department of the Government that makes us capable of preventing these diseases. I know of nothing more costly to the human family than ignorance. If you will give this information and convince every farmer in the country that by the use of proper sanitary methods he can eliminate these five communicable diseases in the United States it will save millions of dollars in doctors' bills and a great deal of suffering; but if it is not done by somebody having charge of the work, somebody with authority, strange as it may seem, the county and State health authorities are not capable of impressing the people at home as they are if they have cooperation with the Federal Government.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. I do.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman is very much in favor of his bill, which is a very different measure than the measure before us?

Mr. SISSON. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. Is the gentleman in favor of issuing these commissions at this time, as provided for in this bill?

Mr. SISSON. I must say to my friend that in the past I have not looked with much favor upon this proposition that is now before the House. I have not given the bill the study, perhaps, I ought to have given to it; but if the bill becomes the law, since this House has by unanimous consent twice passed this bill before, I see no reason why it should not become the law with this bill at this time. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL].

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, the country is passing through a fearful epidemic and there is not a Member of Congress who would withhold the moneys and the authority necessary to deal with that epidemic. As a matter of fact the Congress has appropriated $1,000,000 and placed it in the hands of the Public Health Service for the purpose of meeting this emergency. Those moneys are now being expended. Congress would gladly appropriate more if necessary, but that more is not considered necessary is evidenced by the fact that those who are presenting the resolution propose to strike out the appropriation which it carries. Now, the question is, in view of the situation, What is the necessity for this legislation? What we need is more doctors. What we need is doctors where they are needed. Will we secure them through this resolution? We will not secure one more than we now have or can get unless there be somewhere a physician who refuses to render the aid and services which he can render unless he receives a commission and epaulets. That is the proposition. This bill does not furnish any money to the Public Health Service; it does not give any authority they do not now have. This bill can not increase the number of doctors. This bill will not necessarily bring any more physicians into the Public Health Service unless there are physicians so dead to the ethics of their profession that they refuse to do what they can to relieve the situation. I do not believe there are many physicians who can be dragooned into the Public Health Service by putting a major's shoulder straps on them; if there be such they will be of very little use when they do get them. I am not certain we should not create a reserve in the Public Health Service of men commissioned in various parts of the country who would respond whenever called upon, but this bill does not as it is now presented make such provision. The caption of the bill refers to a reserve, but as a matter of fact the measure as the committee is prepared to present it creates a permanent force of men who are to be commissioned and paid for five years unless their commissions are sooner taken from them.

Mr. DOREMUS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. So it does not create a reserve corps which can be useful in case of emergency. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DOREMUS. I know my friend from Wyoming does not want to make any misstatement.

Mr. MONDELL. No.

Mr. DOREMUS There is nothing in the resolution which requires or provides that these men shall be paid for the period of five years. They will only be paid——

Mr. MONDELL. Oh, there is nothing in the resolution as your committee now proposes to present and support it that authorizes anyone to commission a man without paying him, and in the absence of any provision in the resolution to the effect that the reserve corps may be called upon when needed and be paid only when in active service, those men would be commissioned, would draw their pay, and would not be a temporary force but a permanent force.

Mr. DOREMUS. Let me call the attention of the gentleman to the fact that under existing law none of the men in the Public Health Service get any pay at all except while on active duty, so the gentleman is clearly in error.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman is not speaking accurately. If the gentleman will stop to think for a moment he will realize how inaccurate he is when he makes the statement that no one in the Public Health Service receives any pay unless on so-called active service. They are all on active service the moment they are commissioned, and they continue on active service while they hold their commission. This bill purports to create a reserve but it creates an additional active service. If it would give or add a single additional man, or would in any way help in getting physicians we do not now have, we would all of us be favorable to it, but I can see nothing in it but an attempt to create a permanent body of commissioned men under the pretense of being of some assistance in the present emergency. Not a man can be secured, employed, or paid under it who can not now be employed and paid unless, as I said, there are men who refuse to do their duty unless commissioned. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO].

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Chairman, when I came into the Hall a few moments ago I heard the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN] discussing this bill, and I sought to get information in reference to it, and I find in talking to the gentlemen who have charge of the bill that the object of the bill is not to do what I feared and what the gentleman from Wyoming seems to fear; that is, put a major's shoulder straps on a lot of doctors. That is not the object of the bill at all. If it were the purpose of the bill, to offer an incentive to the doctors of this country to do their duty by giving them a commission in the United States Army, of course I would not be for it. I do not believe you have to offer an incentive to physicians. I do not believe the physicians are moved by the spirit which the gentleman from Wyoming seems to think they are moved by. My observation has been that the doctors of this country give more of their time and attention to real public service than possibly any other class of professional men that we have. They are the only professional men who are constantly giving their time and their attention to bring about conditions which will be a detriment to them financially.

Every time the physicians of this country—and there are a lot of them anxious to do it—give their time and attention to improve the public health, we all know they reduce their incomes. And yet that is the condition that we know exists with reference to the medical profession of this country. We know what they have done since this war started. We know that the most of the physicians who have gone into the Army, and are to-day in France, have given up practices that in a great many instances amount to a great deal more than they receive in pay as officers. They have felt the call of patriotic duty and have responded to it. And I believe that in this epidemic the physicians of this country are working night and day doing everything they can.

Now, you ask what is the benefit of this. From what I gather, the benefit of this will be that it will give an organization that will make it possible for the Public Health Service to more fully utilize the services of people who can be used by creating a public health reserve in this country, just like you have other reserves connected with other branches of the Government. And now, if it does that, why not do it? The gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] is mistaken as to pay, because the bill provides that they are paid only when on active duty. And I do not think you want to ask a doctor to give services to the public unless you give him pay for that service in keeping with the pay given for other services of the same grade.

Mr. REED. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WINGO. I will.

Mr. REED. Am I to understand that this bill is a permanent bill or an emergency war measure?

Mr. WINGO. As I understand, the committee proposes to offer an amendment which will restore the language on page 1, does it not?

Mr. DOREMUS. Yes.

Mr. WINGO. Then, if it does, commissions will be for a term of five years unless sooner terminated.

Mr. REED. It says "during the war in which the United States is now engaged." That is why I asked the question. My colleague was talking as if he thought this should be a permanent institution of our Government.

Mr. WINGO. I will pay very little attention as to whether or not it will be a permanent institution. My idea is this: That if we provided for this during this epidemic and it proved of great value, the Public Health Service would show us it was a good thing and therefore it ought to be a permanent institution. Frankly, I can not see any reason why, if it is good in emergency, we should not have an organization that will be ready whenever another emergency arises and one which we can immediately use, instead of having to constitute new machinery each time.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Especially when they are only paid while on active duty.

Mr. WINGO. Only paid while on active duty. And even if I did not have that notion, I will close with this suggestion: There is not any more efficient organization in this Government than the medical organizations, the health organizations. We are proud of the record that the Public Health Service has made in this country, the splendid service that it has been to the country both in times of epidemic and in their customary routine service. We are all proud of the showing that the medical divisions of our Army and our Navy have made. The reports from the camps of this country are something that we ought to be proud of, and I know we are. And I am willing to give what the Public Health Service and the medical divisions of our Army and Navy say is necessary to serve the public at this time. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE].

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, this measure would not come in at this time except for the accident of the epidemic which now afflicts the country. It seems to me it is rather unfair for the proponents of the bill, which contemplates the organization of a permanent institution, to take advantage of the existing crisis and, because of that crisis, use this opportunity to pass this measure which they have long had in mind and which hitherto has been subject to many objections.

I have read the bill, that portion which was stricken out, and I have read the amendment, or substitute therefor, and have failed to find in either the bill or the amendment any reference to the existing emergency, that emergency which my colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. VARE], referred to, and referred to very appropriately, because he comes from a district where the people have been dying during the past week by the hundreds and where they are still dying, due to an epidemic that has been passed down to us from New England. I happened to be in Boston two weeks ago when this epidemic was at its height there, and have observed its progress and have felt its effects in my own family. It is a terrible scourge. It has come on to Washington. It is now passing west. But will this bill relieve the situation? Is this bill intended to relieve the situation? Gentlemen have said that an emergency exists and that this bill, of long standing in the House, should be passed because of that emergency. Our crying need in the section from which I come is for doctors, nurses, and undertakers. We need the doctors now. Those that we have are overworked. We want the doctors to come into our homes and take care of our families, our children, our men, and women, who are dying for the want of medical care. Why? Because we do not have enough physicians. As they did not have enough of them in Boston, we did not have enough of them in Philadelphia, and you do not have enough of them in Washington; and if this scourge passes west or south you will not have enough of them left to take care of the wants of your families. A gentleman told me, coming down in the train yesterday, that outside of one of the munition plants there was one undertaker who had in his establishment now 168 bodies that he could not move for 10 days because it was impossible to get coffins and grave diggers to decently put those bodies away.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will yield in a moment. Where were many of our physicians? They were in the Army, or they had been engaged in other war activities. What do you propose to do by this bill? You propose to create a permanent organization to do what? To take physicians who may be in attendance upon my child now and who may be in attendance on your child to-morrow to put on shoulder straps and go into the Government service.

That is what this bill does. There is not one thing in it to relieve the present crisis; it creates a permanent organization to run four years in one instance and five years in another. It relieves the man who is doing a needed domestic service and puts him in the official service.

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. DOREMUS. Does not the gentleman know that the men in this service do not wear shoulder straps?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That is what is proposed to be done when you commission them. You propose to grade them and take them from private service and put them into the public service. You propose to take them from the homes and put them into political places. You are not meeeting the present emergency; you are looking forward to a five-year tenure of office, and you are taking the physicians away from the homes where they are so badly needed at the present time.

It is unfortunate; it is not fair for the committee to bring in a bill of this kind under the guise of the present emergency.

No one appreciates the Public Health Service more than I do. No one values more than I do the trials and sacrifices and services of the heroic men, past and present, in that organization who have studied science and medicine and devoted their attention to the public good and the general welfare. But you do not intend to help the individual family by this change. Under this bill you do not propose to send our domestic physicians to war; you propose to send them to the ports and put them around industrial establishments and take them away from the points where they are useful and absolutely necessary to protect life.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. MOORE of Pensylvania. The bill has been brought in as an emergency bill, but it covers no immediate emergency. It provides for a five-year tenure of office for physicians who are sadly needed now in the afflicted districts.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, has the gentleman from Michigan any other speaker?

Mr. DOREMUS. Yes. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SLAYDEN].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, this resolution was introduced on June 26, 1917; apparently, if one would give full credit to the argument that has been made here, to provide for the emergency of the epidemic which came to us in the autumn of 1918. It seems to have been a wonderful forecast of events. But it is like a good many of the so-called "war measures." I am coming to believe that the phrase "war measures" covers

a multitude of sins—anything that anyone wants, from the establishment of an organization to conduct a series of pink teas to this resolution, which masquerades as "a war measure."

Mr. Chairman, I have not yet been able to become convinced of the necessity of this legislation, although I have listened carefully to the arguments of gentlemen while I have been in the House, and I have great respect for them, and usually for the soundness of their arguments and their logic, but I have not yet been convinced that by simply giving men commissions in the Federal service you are thereby adding to the number of doctors in the country and thus relieve the community distress that my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] speaks about, or that it will increase their skill. It is notorious, Mr. Chairman, that the great doctors, the men whose skill has brought them to the top of their profession, the men who have done wonderful things in the way of healing, in discoveries in the field of medical science, are not the men who go into the military or naval service or other public organizations. The reward for such a man in private life far surpasses anything that can be given him officially. This resolution proposes to invade the States and municipalities and, out of hand, take them all, all of their officials, and convert them into a part of a Federal machine.

I ask my friends who represent States and parts of States and municipalities to consider for a moment the effect of such legislation. It is a further centralization of power at Washington. As a Democrat, as an American citizen who believes in the institutions of his country as they were founded and in those divisions of power that were made in its beginning, I am opposed to such a measure as this.

No doubt the framers of this measure considered carefully and made an accurate estimate of the temptation which was to be offered, which is a title and rank and uniform. I suppose that the certain pay of a commissioned officer of the United States Army, plus allowances that are provided for, which, perhaps, some physicians do not earn at home, are relied on to produce plenty of applications and thus build up the bureau.

Again, my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] said very pertinently and strongly that already the demands of the military and naval organizations of this country have drained the communities of their medical men.

Within the last year I personally have known communities in the district in which I reside to be left absolutely without doctors. They were mostly country doctors, but country people get sick. Country people have the same "hands, organs, dimensions, senses, and affections" as other people. They have the same weaknesses. If you prick them they bleed. They suffer as other men suffer, and they require the treatment of physicians when they are ill. But those communities have been drained, and they will be further drained by this measure. Rank and certain pay and the distinction of holding a Federal office will take them from the hardships and meager pay of country practice.

Mr. LAZARO. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SLAYDEN. I had only five minutes, and I dare say I have only a minute left.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has one minute remaining.

Mr. SLAYDEN. I would like very much to yield to my distinguished friend, but I had it in mind—I certainly will not now have the time—to go over this bill by paragraphs and indicate my opposition to it.

Mr. LAZARO. I would like to ask a very brief question.

Mr. SLAYDEN. I am afraid I will not have time to answer it, but I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. LAZARO. Merely for information. For instance, in a community where as the result of the war there is now no doctor, and in a town a few miles away there are too many doctors, would it not be possible to get a doctor from the town where there are too many and send him to the place where there are none?

Mr. SLAYDEN. When the doctors where there are too many find out that there is a locality in which there are too few you can not keep them away.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. DOREMUS. I yield to the gentleman another minute.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Answering the question of my esteemed friend, whom I love and admire, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LAZARO], I will say that the law of supply and demand that ordinarily governs business, except when there is a war measure on, will apply in the case to which he refers, and that young physicians and old physicians who have an unremunerative practice will eagerly hasten to the community in which there are too few physicians.

Mr. BLACK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SLAYDEN. I can not better finish my speech than by yielding to my colleague.

Mr. BLACK. Even if that situation arose it would not be corrected by this legislation, because the Public Health Service would not have any right to station a practicing physician in such a community unless possibly temporarily.

Mr. SLAYDEN. I hope the reply of my colleague [Mr. BLACK] is satisfactory to my friend from Louisiana [Mr. LAZARO].

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. DOREMUS. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER].

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Chairman, gentlemen seem to get an idea that under this joint resolution the Government is going to commission a lot of doctors, put uniforms on them, and send them out through the country. Gentlemen were never more mistaken in their lives. Public Health officials do not wear uniforms, never have, and I hope they never will. They belong to the civilian population and to that portion of our people who are not expected to wear uniforms any more than anybody else.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will my colleague yield?

Mr. FOSTER. I have only five minutes.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have been informed by a representative of the Public Health Service that under the present regulations these men are privileged to wear the uniform with the one bar of a first lieutenant on the epaulets, and that the purpose of this bill is to allow them to wear uniforms indicating higher rank.

Mr. FOSTER. Anybody who knows anything about the Public Health Service knows that they do not wear uniforms. I do not know whether they can or not.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Even Dr. Blue, the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, does not wear a uniform, does he?

Mr. FOSTER. No; or any of the others. When we look back upon the history of the country, and of disease, and of the epidemics that the country has gone through, I am sorry anyone from the former yellow-fever section or any other part of the country, where epidemics occur, should stand on the floor opposing such a bill for the Public Health Service in time of need. Why, every man who lives in this country ought to call to mind what these men have done for the health of the people. When epidemics of yellow fever swept over the South and when whole communities and cities were driven from their homes through fear, hundreds and thousands of people lost their lives. To-day it is possible to prevent it. Typhoid, typhus, and many other diseases are preventable.

Mr. GORDON. They did it without commissions, too.

Mr. FOSTER. No; most of them were commissioned. Yet to-day we have men standing upon the floor of this House opposing this bill.

Mr. LAZARO. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. LAZARO. Is it not a fact that in the histories which the children study in school credit is given to Gen. Goethals for the building of the Panama Canal, but not a word is said in those histories about the great scientists, Reed, Lazarre, and Carroll, who went to Cuba, the home of yellow fever, and submitted to inoculation to establish the fact that yellow fever and malaria were transmitted in a certain way, and blazed the way for Dr. Gorgas to go to Panama and make a sanitary zone, and make it possible for this country of ours to build the Panama Canal?

Mr. FOSTER. Certainly. There is no question about that. My colleague states it correctly.

Mr. LAZARO. And they did it without uniforms and without commissions.

Mr. FOSTER. They did it without uniforms. Now comes the Public Health Service that desires to commission these men, believing, as they do, that they may help them, that they may send them out to other parts of the country, giving them some reward for going from their homes, and they ought to have the right to do it. I do not know whether it will help this epidemic or not, but I am not one of those who will stand upon the floor of this House and oppose any bill that looks to the saving of human life and the mitigation of the distress and suffering of our people.

My friends, we paid the widows of the yellow-fever commission each $125 a month. I remember that Mrs. Lazarre came to my office before the law was passed and told me of the distress and the difficulty she had to live. She had no money, and we finally got through the House a bill paying these widows $125 a month, and one of the men who permitted himself to be experimented upon came from the district of my friend, the gentlemen from Indiana [Mr. BARNHART], and we gave him $85 a month. When we think of what they did and what those who led the armies through the field of battle, when we think of these in the civilian service of the country who have done so much to save human life—when we think of that, and then the Public Health Service

asking us to give them this additional legislation, it seems to me that men ought not to stand on the floor of this House and talk about these men trying to get in here because they want a commission, when it is only a temporary measure at best and expires by limitation. Ah, my friends, I hope I may never be one of those who will stand in the way of a measure to save the health of the people of my country by men who will do what they can to save human life and prevent disease.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. No; I can not; my time is so short. I have no more interest in this than you have. Your people suffer as much as mine, but I am willing, if it costs a few thousand dollars, to vote for it when we expend hundreds of thousands of dollars for other purposes of possibly less importance—for hog cholera, cattle tick, and those things. I would not stand here and endeavor to quibble about a little matter that affects the public health of the people of this country. [Applause.]

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, this bill was introduced long before the present epidemic came to this country. It was not introduced in anticipation that this country would be afflicted by such a scourge. It had been in contemplation even before it was introduced in June of last year. It seeks the creation of a reserve to serve in a national emergency whenever that national emergency might arise, and therefore not necessarily during a period of war.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ESCH. Yes; if the gentleman will make it brief.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman does not agree with the gentleman from Illinois that this is only a temporary matter. The gentleman's view is the correct view—that it is a permanent reserve.

Mr. FOSTER. There are limitations in the bill.

Mr. MONDELL. I do not desire any limitations. If we are going to create a reserve corps make it permanent.

Mr. ESCH. It says "in a time of national emergency." This emergency may recur; we can not tell but that five years hence the country may again be scourged by some such affliction as we are going through now. But the men who are appointed under these provisions to serve as a part of this reserve corps will serve but a temporary period under a commission which will terminate by its own terms. Therefore I do not fear that there will be created under this resolution a great permanent force.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ESCH. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. In the administration of the million and three hundred thousand dollar fund, how does the Public Health Service employ physicians and control the sanitary conditions about the country?

Mr. ESCH. I suppose they use the money to the best advantage.

Mr. STAFFORD. In the employment of physicians?

Mr. ESCH. I suppose they do employ sanitarians. This is largely for the purpose of employing sanitarians, because their duty really precedes the duty of the physician. If the sanitarian does his work well, there may be but little need of a physician. But gentlemen seem to think that the purpose of the bill is to create a lot of positions to satisfy the ambition of men who wish to wear shoulder straps. I suppose every one of you has gone down to the Quartermaster General's Department, The Adjutant General's Department, the Surgeon General's Department of both the Army and the Navy, and pleaded for the appointment and commissioning of some good constituent, because, forsooth, he was specially equipped in a certain line. Of course you did, and I do not blame you for doing it, but these men who want to get into this Public Health Service have the same right to aspire to a position as these constituents of yours have to aspire to a position in the Quartermaster General Reserve Corps, in the Ordnance Reserve Corps, in the Medical Reserve Corps of the Navy, and the Medical Reserve Corps of the Army.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ESCH. Yes; for a question.

Mr. LAZARO. Members speak of medical men wishing to wear uniforms and straps. Is it not a fact that all of the great scientists and medical men who have worked in laboratories where there was danger, who exposed their lives in order to establish certain facts, have done so in the calm of the night and the day without uniforms and without noise?

Mr. ESCH. The gentleman is right about that.

Mr. GORDON. And without commissions, too.

Mr. LAZARO. And without commissions.

Mr. ESCH. They have, and they have done noble work. There is heroism in the laboratory of a physician that deserves recognition fully as much as does the heroism of the battle field, and these men, physicians and sanitarians, who will get these temporary commissions in this Public Health reserve can be just as brave, and doubtless will be just as brave, as men who have to fight the physical battles, because they will be subject to orders and they will be compelled to go where there is need, and that will be, in many cases, a place of danger, because these diseases which they will have to combat are dangerous and contagious diseases.

The records of the Public Health Service are filled with instances where men have given up their lives for the public good. Let me recount that up to 1912 there were 8 officers in the Public Health Service who contracted tuberculosis—8 commissioned officers out of a total force at that time of only 133. Eight of them contracted tuberculosis and three of them died. Fourteen contracted yellow fever, and six of them died. Four contracted typhoid, and two of them died, and one of them had the cholera. That is the record of the Public Health Service, with 133 commissioned officers. The Surgeon General is going to place these men in the Public Health reserve created by this resolution in places of like danger, and if they are so placed I am not one to deny them the simple requital of a commission. [Applause.] It is too small an argument to combat this bill because, forsooth, these men desire some recognition of their ability and of their patriotism. The least that we can do is to give these men in the Public Health reserve a commission commensurate with their ability and their service. Under the law as it is now, under the act of 1902, no man can enter the Public Health Service with a rank higher than that of an assistant surgeon. This bill would give the health authorities the right to grant rank higher than that—of past assistant surgeon, of surgeon, and Assistant Surgeon General. That is the line of promotion in the service, being assimilated with the service of the Medical Corps of the Navy, with which it has been related more or less since 1798. These men ask nothing unreasonable. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] said this bill would simply draw away physicians from places where they are now needed. The purpose of the bill is to send men to places where they will be needed, and if it passes, by creating a personnel of two or three hundred of these men who pass examinations, who are skilled, and who have aptitude for these positions, will save many sections of the country from many a death, and the fears of the gentleman I know will not be realized.

It is unfortunate that just at this time, with this great disease spreading over this country, we are also at war. We are short of physicians and 50 per cent of our trained nurses are in the Army service, many of them across the sea. It is unfortunate that this disease should be coincident with the war, but these national emergencies are not always going to occur when we are at war. We want this reserve created to meet these national emergencies.

Mr. LAZARO. Is it not a well-known fact that Japan's success in fighting Russia was due to the fact that Japan recognized the importance of efficient medical service and of giving the medical men rank in order to cope with that situation?

Mr. ESCH. I think the gentleman states that correctly.

Mr. LAZARO. Did they not blaze the way?

Mr. ESCH. It was due to that wonderful system established by the Japanese that the Japanese mortality rate was the least of any army in recent years.

Mr. LAZARO. She made the greatest progress ever known to mankind.

Mr. ESCH. Yes; and it was due to the sanitarians connected with the Japanese Army that there were so few cases of typhoid, whereas typhoid has been the army plague from the beginning. I think we ought to vote for this resolution, and I shall move to amend to make the limitation of time one year. I believe we can well afford also to put in a limitation that the pay shall be confined to the period of the active duty of the man.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ESCH. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Would the gentleman agree to a limitation as to the number of men to be appointed?

Mr. ESCH. I doubt whether that would be wise. The thing to do is to have it flexible.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Suppose there should be a heavy draft on overworked physicians in my district for this service and we should be left without physicians, as we are at present, does not the gentleman think there should be some restraint upon the appointing power, that there should be a distribution of these appointments?

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I have not the floor.

Mr. ESCH. I yield.

Mr. LAZARO. Does not the gentleman think that the department here realizes the importance of taking care of the civil population, so that the civil population will produce what is necessary for the men on the firing line?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will say that not one of these physicians in the Public Health Service will be available to go into the homes to relieve the distress there.

Mr. LAZARO. How can they take care of the civil population——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Let us have a fair supply of physicians for domestic purposes.

Mr. LAZARO. Oh, they will see to that.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the time of debate be extended for five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The time for debate is fixed by the rule.

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Chairman, how much time have I remaining upon this side?

The CHAIRMAN. Five minutes.

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Chairman, I will try to get through in less than five minutes. I think every member of the committee must have been impressed by the striking want of harmony of the arguments of those who have opposed this resolution. One Member vociferously proclaimed that this is a scheme to create political jobs. Another opponent of the resolution made the declaration that if this should become the law there would be no addition to the Public Health Service. Of course, the question that naturally presents itself to the ordinary individual is, How, if the resolution will not increase the number of men in the service, can it add to the number of political jobs?

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOREMUS. I can not yield just now. I have only five minutes.

Mr. MONDELL. I have not heard anyone here opposed to this resolution say that it would not lead to appointments. The statement was made that it would not give us any more doctors.

Mr. DOREMUS. I will say to my friend from Wyoming that the statement has been repeatedly made on this floor that this resolution will be entirely inefficient to add to the present organization of the Public Health Service, and yet other gentlemen opposing the measure have said it is a scheme to create political jobs, and it reminds one of the statement that is often heard that if one is determined not to do a thing, why one excuse is just as good as another. Now, Mr. Chairman, I desire to quote very briefly from a memorandum prepared by the Public Health Service:

"Senate joint resolution No. 63 was passed by the Senate June 18, 1917, and favorably reported with amendments by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in the House of Representatives August 30, 1917.

"The purpose of this resolution is to establish a reserve corps in the United States Public Health Service. At present the service is operating under the act of 1889, which authorized a commissioned personnel but limited the appointments in this corps to the lowest grade, and further provided that medical officers should serve four years in this lowest grade prior to promotion. In view of the fact that the Army and Navy have practically taken into service all of the younger medical men it has been impossible for the Public Health Service to secure physicians for its regular commissioned corps. The resolution as proposed will authorize the commissioning of medical and sanitary personnel in the higher grades with commensurate rank.

"At the outbreak of the war there were about 140,000 doctors in the United States. Of this number somewhat less than 130,000 are in active practice. Up to the present time the Army has enrolled about 30,000 doctors for military duty, and the Navy several thousand. Further, the draft boards' examination requires practically all of the time of 15,000 to 20,000 physicians. In order to meet the needs of an army of 5,000,000 men it will be necessary for the Army to enroll 20,000 more physicians, provided the proportion of 10 doctors per thousand is maintained. At present, then, the available supply of doctors for the civil population is estimated at about 75,000 to 80,000. This number is being rapidly reduced by the daily enrollments of medical men in the Army Medical Corps.

"It will be seen that when the present epidemic of influenza began in the United States there was a serious shortage of doctors for the ordinary needs of the civil population. There was also a proportionate shortage in the nursing personnel of the country. Epidemic influenza was first reported along the Atlantic seaboard and has spread to practically every State in the Union. It has reached very serious proportions in many places, so that to meet the situation the Public Health Service, through the Volunteer Medical Service Corps of the Medical Section of the Council of National Defense, sent out a call to more than 1,000 doctors, and has succeeded in enrolling in epidemic service something more than 200 doctors. The reason why the proportion of acceptance in this service was so low is due to the fact that a large number of the doctors were seriously needed in their home towns and could not be spared, and a large number were already stricken with influenza. The Public Health Service wishes it clearly understood that it does not believe that the doctors of the country are refusing to accept epidemic service because they are not offered a commission, but it does believe that when these doctors leave their homes and enter a serious epidemic, such as influenza has proven to be, such service should be recognized and rewarded with a commission. The epidemic of influenza which has now spread through the country is without a parallel in the history of the United States. The most widespread epidemics of yellow fever which have swept over the Southern States have on no occasion equaled the number of deaths which have already occurred from influenza in this country. In 1878 the epidemic of yellow fever caused about 4,000 deaths in the city of New Orleans. Up to the present time there have been more than 2,000 deaths from influenza in Boston; New York reports about 400 deaths a day from influenza and pneumonia; Washington City, 74 deaths per day. In the Army the death rate has jumped from 4 per thousand per year to more than 81 per thousand per year on account of influenza; this means about 2,000 deaths in the Army from influenza for the week ended October 1, 1918.

"When the number of deaths from influenza are summed up they will undoubtedly be many thousand more than that of any other epidemic in the history of the country. The crying necessity of the hour is a mobile corps of physicians, nurses, and sanitarians who can be shifted from place to place to cope with this and similar national emergencies as they arise. There can be no doubt that by the time that winter comes the impress of this present epidemic upon national vitality will have become so deep that we may confidently expect its aftermath in the form of epidemics of cerebrospinal meningitis, pneumonia, and the like. For this reason it is all the more urgent to prepare for this situation while there is still time, and that in the future similar national disasters may not find us unprepared to meet them as fully as our resources will permit."

In that I heartily concur. Now, in answer to the question, how you are going to increase the number of men in the Public Health Service by this resolution, I say we propose to increase them in the same way we increase the surgeons and physicians in the Army and Navy to-day and in no other way. This is not a war measure. It is not put forth here as a war measure. There is no question that the necessity for its enactment has been emphasized by the prevailing epidemic, but, as pointed out by my friend from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH], we not only desire this legislation to cope with the present epidemic but we want to create a permanent force that will be prepared to meet the next epidemic, and no man in the world knows when that will come. Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the committee I will ask at the proper time to strike out all of the resolution as reported by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce after section 1, it having been agreed by practically all who are interested in the subject that by reason of legislation already enacted these additional sections will be unnecessary, and then I will ask to amend section 1 by inserting a proviso which will preserve the same proportion of rank as now exists and will limit the pay and allowances of these men to the time they are on active duty.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired; all time has expired, and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, etc., That for the purpose of securing a reserve for duty in the Public Health Service in time of national emergency there shall be organized, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, under such rules and regulations as the President shall prescribe, a reserve of the Public Health Service. The President alone shall be authorized to appoint and commission as officers in the said reserve such citizens as, upon examination prescribed by the President, shall be found physically, mentally, and morally qualified to hold such commissions, and said commissions shall be in force for a period of five years, unless sooner terminated in the discretion of the President, but commission in said reserve shall not exempt the holder from military or naval service. Said officers shall consist of sanitarians, senior assistant sanitarians, and assistant sanitarians, and when ordered to active duty in the service of the United States shall receive the rank, pay, allowances, and leaves of absence of surgeons, passed assistant surgeons, and assistant surgeons, respectively.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry. Would it not be proper at this time now to move to strike out all——

Mr. DOREMUS. I would be very glad to offer that amendment if it is in order at this time.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, there is a committee amendment pending which has not been disposed of.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will not the gentleman from Michigan ask unanimous consent that the House consider only section 1 of the Senate resolution and not consider section 2 of the Senate resolution, or the substitute reported by the committee?

Mr. DOREMUS. If it is in order I will be very glad to move to strike out all of the resolution after section 2 providing it does not foreclose my right to offer an amendment to section 1.

Mr. STAFFORD. The regular procedure would be for the committee first to consider the substitute recommended by the committee and to consider amendments to the substitute, and then after it has been amended either to reject or accept it, and the House is not disposed to act upon the committee substitute.

Mr. DOREMUS. I shall move to strike out of the resolution all after section 2.

Mr. STAFFORD. Ask unanimous consent.

The CHAIRMAN. Section 2 has not been read yet.

Mr. DOREMUS. I ask unanimous consent to strike out of the resolution all after section 2.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out, on page 2——

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman should now ask unanimous consent to consider section 1 of the Senate resolution, because the committee has recommended to strike it out.

Mr. DOREMUS. To strike out everything after section 1.

Mr. STAFFORD. The committee has recommended the striking out of section 1 of the Senate resolution.

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out of section 1, on page 2, everything after and including line 3, page 2, and insert the following.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, there is a committee amendment pending to the Senate joint resolution which is to strike out section 1. Action has to be taken upon that first, and we can readily take action by voting it down and then amendments will be in order.

Mr. DOREMUS. I ask for a vote on the motion.

Mr. ROBBINS. State what the committee amendment is.

Mr. DOREMUS. To strike out section 1 of the Senate bill.

Mr. ROBBINS. Section 1 and part of section 2?

Mr. DOREMUS. Strike out the italicized matter of section 1.

Mr. ROBBINS. Section 1 and part of section 2?

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Chairman, by unanimous consent, we have already stricken out all after section 2. Now, the question is to vote on the committee amendment striking out section 1 of the Senate amendment. So the question would be on that amendment.

Mr. MONDELL. The recommendation of the committee must be disposed of, and the recommendation of the committee is to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert certain other matter.

Mr. DOREMUS. We want to vote down the committee amendment.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SLAYDEN. I confess I am a little confused about this, there being so many counselors. I do not yet understand, I will say to the chairman, precisely what we are to vote on.

Mr. DOREMUS. We are to vote on, as I understand it, I will say to the gentleman from Texas, to strike out the committee amendment to section 1. We want that amendment sricken out so that it will leave the Senate resolution as it passed that body.

Mr. STAFFORD. You want the recommendation of the amendment of the committee disagreed to.

Mr. SLAYDEN. The language in the italics is the amendment?

Mr. FOSTER. That is the House amendment.

Mr. SLAYDEN. That has been stricken out?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; by unanimous consent. Now, the question is on voting on the committee amendment striking out section 1, and that we will vote down.

Mr. SLAYDEN. The only thing you have left in this whole resolution is section 2?

Mr. FOSTER. Section 1.

Mr. SLAYDEN. You might strike that out, too.

Mr. FOSTER. We may. We will try it, however.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. NORTON. I note from the report that the committee amendment here proposes that all after the enacting clause be stricken out and that the substitute be adopted. Is not that the committee amendment? Is not that the amendment that should be voted down, and then the Senate resolution will be before the House?

Mr. DOREMUS. I will say to my friend that the committee has already by unanimous consent stricken out everything that is in the resolution after section 1.

Mr. MONDELL. Which was immaterial, I will suggest to my friend, because there was nothing in the resolution after section 2 until the House adopted it. There was simply a recommendation of the committee. But that does not matter. The motion now before the House is the recommendation of the committee. If that is voted down, then the Senate bill will remain as it passed the Senate.

Mr. DOREMUS. That is the proposition exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

Mr. DOREMUS. I have an amendment pending, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. DOREMUS: Page 2, after line 2, strike out the remainder of the paragraph, which reads as follows:

"Said officers shall consist of sanitarians, senior assistant sanitarians, and assistant sanitarians, and when ordered to active duty in the service of the United States shall receive the rank, pay, allowances, and leaves of absence of surgeons, passed assistant surgeons, and assistant surgeons, respectively."

And insert in lieu thereof the following:

"*Provided*, That the officers commissioned under this act, none of whom shall have rank above that of Assistant Surgeon General, shall be distributed in the several grades in the same proportion as now obtains among the commissioned medical officers of the United States Public Health Service, and shall receive the same pay and allowances while on active duty as are now provided by law and regulation for the commissioned medical officers in the said regular commissioned Medical Corps."

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wyoming offers an amendment to the amendment, which the Clerk will report.

Mr. MONDELL. I move to strike out the words in the amendment "while on active duty," and to insert in lieu thereof after the word "and" and before the word "shall," on page 2, line 5, the following.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MONDELL moves to amend the amendment by inserting in line 5 of the amendment, after the word "and" and before the word "shall," the words "shall at all times be subject to call to active duty by the Surgeon General, and when on such active duty," and strike out the words "while on active duty," on line 6, so that as amended the amendment shall read:

"*Provided*, That the officers commissioned under this act, none of whom shall have rank above that of Assistant Surgeon General, shall be distributed in the several grades in the same proportion as now obtains among the commissioned medical officers of the United States Public Health Service, and shall at all times be subject to call to active duty by the Surgeon General, and when on such active duty shall receive the same pay and allowances as are now provided by law and regulation for the commissioned medical officers of the said regular commissioned Medical Corps."

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Chairman, I do not think we have any objection to that amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment to the amendment, offered by the gentleman from Wyoming.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

I notice that the amendment proposed by the committee is broader than the original Senate resolution in that it permits the Surgeon General to create two additional grades above the grade of surgeon, namely, Senior Surgeon and Assistant Surgeons General. I wish to inquire of the gentleman having the bill in charge what is the need of creating these two additional senior ranks? As originally passed by the Senate, the limit of grade that could be conferred on these temporary officers was that of surgeon, and now you provide that the highest rank shall be that of Assistant Surgeon General. I am informed that the Assistant Surgeon General receives $4,000, and the senior surgeon $3,500 per annum, and the surgeon $3,000. What is the necessity of going above the grade of surgeon? Why not provide in the gentleman's amendment that they shall not have any rank above that of surgeon?

Mr. DOREMUS. The gentleman from Wisconsin will observe that the amendment provides for preserving the same proportion in all these ranks that now exists in the present organization.

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, yes; and if you are going to extend the Public Health Service and multiply them by the needs of the occasion to the extent of the appropriation that has been

voted of a million dollars, instead of to-day having four Assistant Surgeons General receiving a salary of $4,000 each and six assistant senior surgeons at $3,500 you are going to have many more than that number. It was originally understood, as I take it, that this bill was for the sole purpose of meeting conditions that might arise in this war, and now my colleague, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ESCH], says that it is to be a permanent force to meet future emergencies. The original resolution provided for a reserve "in time of national emergency." That has a well-accepted meaning. The War Department and the Committee on Military Affairs use the words "existing national emergency" as being that of the war. Now, what is the need of creating these additional grades of Assistant Surgeon General and senior surgeon? We are going pretty far when we are establishing the high rank of surgeon.

I ask unanimous consent to withdraw the pro forma amendment and amend the amendment of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DOREMUS], in line 2 of the amendment, by striking out "Assistant Surgeon General" and inserting the word "surgeon."

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the gentleman withdraws his pro forma amendment and offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. STAFFORD moves to amend the Doremus amendment by striking out, in line 2, the words "Assistant Surgeon General" and inserting in lieu thereof the word "surgeon."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, just a word. That amendment conforms to the original resolution as passed by the Senate, and I believe as requested by the Public Health Service. What is the use in creating these very high ranks, entailing additional expense on the National Government?

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, just a moment. I doubt whether the amendment of my colleague is really of sufficient importance to justify us in adopting it. In view of the fact that under the amendment as suggested by the gentleman from Michigan these officers are to be appointed in the certain proportion that now obtains in the Public Health Service, that proportion having heretofore been four assistant surgeons to the hundred appointees, and six senior surgeons to the hundred, the amendment of the gentleman from Michigan is for the purpose of preserving that proportion. Now, if you drop down to surgeon, as suggested by my colleague [Mr. STAFFORD], you would have to have a vastly greater number of surgeons to maintain the proportion that exists under the existing law, so that there would really be no saving in expenditure. In fact there would be a greater charge on the Treasury.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will my colleague yield?

Mr. ESCH. Yes; I yield.

Mr. STAFFORD. The letter prepared by the Bureau of Public Health and read by the gentleman from Michigan stated that the purpose of this bill was to create commissions. Now, we have an organized force here in the Bureau of Public Health rated according to the gentleman's statement.

These physicians that are going to be employed for temporary service are in the field. There is no necessity of having that same force organized according to the same proportion. The only idea is what grade shall be given in commissioning these doctors to perform this temporary emergency service? I say it is high enough to go to the grade of surgeon, instead of the grade of Assistant Surgeon General and Senior Surgeon. We are not going to create divisions throughout the country with the same number in each respective grade.

Mr. ESCH. I simply wish to say in reply, Mr. Chairman, that to place a surgeon in charge of the field work, which may cover the whole Pacific slope, the man being paid $3,000, is not in my judgment the proper thing to do, and therefore an Assistant Surgeon General should be in charge of a whole region, having surgeons under him and passed assistant surgeons under him and assistant surgeons.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DOREMUS].

The question was taken, and the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the gentleman from Michigan as amended.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment to section 2.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SISSON: Page 2, following the Doremus amendment, insert as a new section the following:

"SEC. 2. That hereafter there shall be in the Bureau of United States Public Health Service an additional division known and designated as the Division of Rural Sanitation, and said division shall be under the charge of a commissioned medical officer of the United States Public Health Service detailed by the Surgeon General, which officer while thus serving shall be an assistant surgeon general within the meaning of section 3 of the act approved July 1, 1902, entitled 'An act to increase the efficiency and change the name of the United States Marine-Hospital Service.'"

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I reserve or make a point of order, according to the wish of the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. SISSON. I hope the gentleman will reserve it.

Mr. STAFFORD. I will be glad to accommodate the gentleman from Mississippi by a reservation of the point of order.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, when I took the floor a little while ago I called the attention of the gentlemen then present to the purpose of this amendment. I will state to my friend who reserved the point of order that this proposition has twice passed the House by unanimous consent. It has twice been discussed fully, and there has been no objection to it in the House. Now, if there is any emergency that justifies the passage of this bill at this time, there is just as much emergency that this amendment shall pass. The health of this country can not be segregated into the health of the city and the health of the rural districts. The health of the people of the country as a whole should be looked after. This amendment which I offer will not cost the Government a penny, unless an appropriation shall be made in some future bill. It simply gives to rural sanitation a position in the Government, where from time to time such appropriation as Congress may see fit and proper to make can be made to provide correct sanitation in the country.

All of the medical profession, whatever may be the school of medicine to which they belong, agree that there are certain communicable diseases which can be absolutely eradicated by sanitation. If there ever was a time in the history of the country when we might commit ourselves to this proposition it is now, because under the pressure of the epidemic of influenza the medical authorities of the Government are insisting upon the immediate passage of this bill. Why should we not make a complete bill of it? Why should we not carry into effect the work which the Government is attempting to do, and to give the Surgeon General the right to cooperate with all the State authorities and the county authorities and assist those gentlemen in carrying into effect proper sanitation throughout the rural districts? It is utterly impossible to make the cities healthy and to keep the country healthy throughout unless you have wholesome food and pure milk. The sanitation must not simply be confined to the cities, but it must go into the rural districts.

It is known that typhoid fever may become epidemic through milk. Some years ago in a town in Pennsylvania nearly everybody died of typhoid. The physicians of the city and the health authorities were utterly amazed and at a loss to account for it; but a bacteriologist made a search and found a little mountain stream which he followed up to its source. He found that a family several miles up the stream had had some deaths from typhoid fever. From the open privy of the home the infection got into the water, and so was carried into the city, and it was agreed that that was the source of the infection. So I might continue to enumerate hundreds of instances where such things have happened.

Now, since the House has twice passed this bill by unanimous consent after discussion, I see no reason why the point of order should be interposed by my friend to prevent this very much-needed legislation. I hope that my friend will withdraw the point of order and permit this to become a law. I do not concede that the point of order is good, because the amendment which I offer is germane to this bill, in my judgment. The purpose of this bill is to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service. If you take the whole scope of the bill, it deals with the health of the country generally. This is a proposition to enlarge the Public Health Service. I am offering an amendment to enlarge the Public Health Service so that a department that is now being operated without authority of law, solely because it is carried in appropriation bills, and has been so carried for three years, may become a part of this law. This creates a reserve corps of the United States Pubic Health Service, to be composed of officers of State, county, and municipal health organizations and other persons skilled in sanitary science. The amendment which I offer simply proposes that a department of rural sanitation shall be added as one of the various health agencies in addition to those herein enumerated. Therefore, in my judgment, it is not subject to a point of order because it is germane to this bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi is not germane to the subject matter of the bill under consid-

eration. If the Chair has any doubt about it, I should like to be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will be glad to hear the gentleman.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, the bill that we are now considering by unanimous consent is section 1.

Mr. SISSON. We are not considering it by unanimous consent. We are considering it under the rule.

Mr. STAFFORD. The bill that is now being considered in the committee is section 1. Everything else in the bill has been eliminated. Under the motion agreed to by unanimous consent, eliminating all of the resolution save section 1 the gentleman would have no right to offer amendments to fix the amount of an appropriation, because that has been eliminated from consideration. What, then, is before the committee for consideration? Only section 1. What does section 1 relate to? It provides for a reserve corps in the Public Health Service, an emergency creation. It is of a general character. Now, the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi is not a matter strange to me, because we have had it up in the Committee on Appropriations for many years past. I know how earnest and insistent the gentleman has been on this matter. There have been some who have opposed it in the committee who have not insisted on their opposition when the matter has come up in the House. So I am acquainted with the purpose of the amendment. His amendment provides for something relating to an organization in the Public Health Service, a permanent matter for all time, namely, a division of rural sanitation. This bill does not provide for any organization of a permanent character. It provides for a reserve corps during an emergency. You can not amend a bill providing for an organization only when an emergency exists by an amendment that provides for an organization always to be in existence. You can not amend a general bill of a temporary character by an amendment unless it is kindred and germane. Such is not the provision of the gentleman from Mississippi. Supposing a bill had been introduced creating one bureau. You could not offer an amendment creating another bureau, because the precedents are many that where a bill relates to one subject matter you can not amend it by another subject matter.

The prime purpose of the bill under consideration is to create an emergency, temporary, public-health reserve corps. This provides for a permanent division relating to the organization for all time of the Public Health Service. If the amendment is in order you could offer amendments reorganizing the entire Public Health Service. I could offer an amendment for a division relating to city sanitation, an amendment for a division for sanitation relating to the Army or to Army camps, or to the Isthmus of Panama. The fundamental purpose of the rule of germaneness is to permit the offering of only those amendments which have been considered by the committee or naturally arise from the consideration of the subject matter, so that Members can not offer amendments that have never been considered by the committee, so that only those amendments will be considered that are the result of matters that have received attention. This amendment has never received consideration of this body, certainly not in connection with this bill, and I insist that the point of order should be sustained.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I do not think that the gentleman's statement in stating that this amendment is not germane in that it only deals with temporary matters is valid. Look at the very language of this bill—

That there is hereby established a reserve corps of the United States Public Health Service to be composed of officers of State, county, and municipal health organizations and other persons skilled in sanitary science.

Mr. STAFFORD. But, if the gentleman will permit, that has been eliminated by unanimous consent of the House. I grant that if we were considering the original bill it might be different, but that has been eliminated.

Mr. SISSON. I was not in the Chamber when that portion was eliminated from the bill.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. SISSON. I yield.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I do not know that I am in sympathy with the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi, but I am not prepared to subscribe to the parliamentary doctrine that has been laid down by the gentleman from Wisconsin, that because a certain part of the bill which is being considered under a special rule has been eliminated that therefore an amendment that would have been in order had it not been eliminated is not now in order.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman permit?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is an important question. I grant the gentleman, but the committee by unanimous consent eliminated everything after section 1 to the original Senate joint resolution from the consideration of the committee and made it the rule of the committee only to consider section 1.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I beg the gentleman's pardon; I do not agree to that parliamentary construction. The bill is being considered under a special rule which made it in order—every part and phase of it was in order—and any amendment that would be germane to any part of the original bill could not now be out of order simply because by unanimous consent a part has been eliminated.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Suppose we had considered the bill originally under the rule of the House whereby the amendment offered by the committee had been considered and it had been rejected, then we would return to the original Senate resolution. I wish to ask if after the committee amendment had been rejected by vote to which the gentleman's amendment might have been in order, whether it would then be in order to offer the amendment that would have only been germane before the amendment was rejected or the matter stricken out.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The gentleman is offering his amendment as a new section.

Mr. STAFFORD. He is trying to make it in order to that part which by action of the committee has already been stricken out.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I do not think that would affect the parliamentary situation.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield? It is not necessary to sustain the contention of the gentleman from Wisconsin in order to sustain the point of order which he makes to the amendment. The question is whether it is germane to the bill at this particular point. It is neither germane to the bill as it passed the Senate or as reported in the House, nor to any part of it.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. If it is not germane to the bill, the original act before the House for consideration under the rule, then, of course, it will not be in order. But I understood it to be conceded by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. STAFFORD. I made no admissions at all.

Mr. SISSON. Oh, yes; the gentleman did.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman from Wisconsin did make a suggestion that might modify the situation; but, as a matter of fact, it does not modify the situation at all. Now, if he Chair will allow me——

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I will yield the floor to the gentleman.

Mr. MONDELL. I thought the gentleman had concluded.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I will yield the floor.

Mr. MONDELL. The amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi is not germane to the bill, nor germane to the section of the bill where it was offered. Both points are good. This bill proposes the establishment of a reserve corps in the Public Health Service. That is its object and purpose. I do not agree with the gentleman from Wisconsin that it is temporary, because at least as amended by the House it becomes a permanent reserve corps. But that does not alter the situation at all. To a bill proposing to create a reserve corps in the Public Health Service it is not germane to offer an amendment proposing an altogether different service, proposing to make provision whereby appropriation can be made for purpose for which appropriations could not be made under this bill.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I am mainly interested in the perliamentary question.

Mr. MONDELL. That is my only interest.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I am not wildly enthusiastic about the bill, but I would like to call the attention of the gentleman to section 6. Section 6 is as follows:

SEC. 6. That it shall be the duty of the United States Public Health Service to cooperate with State, county, and municipal health organizations and with officials in charge of industrial establishments, with a view to coordinating the activities and making effective the work of the health organizations of the United States.

Does the gentleman mean to say that does not go beyond the mere matter of creating a reserve corps in the Health Department?

Mr. MONDELL. That portion of the bill, if we were ever to reach that for consideration, which we can not do under the action of the House, for it has been eliminated from the bill, is the portion of the bill to which the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON] would be most nearly

germane, but his amendment would not be germane to that section, and that section is not in the bill.

As a matter of fact, it never was in the bill. That section was proposed by the committee, but by action of the House the committee's proposition was not agreed to, so that the provision is not in the bill and can not now be considered by the committee. The gentleman's amendment is not offered to that provision, because it is not now in the bill. He offered it as an amendment to section 1.

Mr. SISSON. I offered it as a new section.

Mr. MONDELL. As a new section following section 1; but had section 6 become a part of the bill and were it now before the committee, that would not justify the offering of an amendment providing for an entirely new class of work, activities not now authorized by law. Section 6 is a section relating only to cooperation.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. SISSON. The committee does not fix the rule. The House fixed the rule.

Mr. MONDELL. I do not quite understand what the gentleman means.

Mr. SISSON. This committee by its action can not change the rule made by the House. The House made the rule for the consideration of this bill in Committee of the Whole and you can not change it in the committee.

Mr. MONDELL. My contention is that if the bill had been amended as proposed by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and section 6 were in the bill, and the gentleman's amendment had been offered to section 6 or following section 6, it would not have been germane, because section 6 is simply a direction relative to cooperation. It is a suggestion and direction of cooperation between the Public Health Service and the local authorities in matters now within the jurisdiction of the Public Health Service, whereas the gentleman's amendment provides for a new type of activity under the Public Health Service and would lead to an organization to carry on those activities, something not contemplated by this bill, or any part of it, except as those activities might be undertaken if authorized by law by the reserve corps which the bill creates.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Chairman, may I say just a word, unless the Chair is ready to rule? The Chair must remember this, it seems to me, that all after section 1 is out of the bill. The rule provided for the consideration of this bill as amended by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, but the committee has removed all from the bill except the first section, and we are now considering the first section, and that is all we are considering. Whatever may follow the section can not be taken into consideration as to whether this is germane. This is being considered under the rules of the House governing the Committee of the Whole, and the special rule providing for the consideration of this bill does not give it any more privilege than it would have under the rules of the House governing the committee if there was no rule. It seems to me plain that the Chair should take into consideration just section 1. What does section 1 do—and I am not arguing this because I am opposed to rural sanitation, because I am for it—but section 1, which we are considering, and the only thing we are considering, creates a reserve in the Public Health Service; having that in view—the creation of a medical reserve in the Public Health Service—is an amendment creating a division of rural sanitation in order? It is a well-known fact, laid down by decision after decision, that if you report a bill for one public building you can not add another public building to that, for it is not germane, it is not within the rules of the House. This provides for the creation of a medical reserve corps, and now it is proposed to add an amendment creating a division on sanitation. That is not germane to the matter of creating a medical reserve corps, and it occurred to me that that is not germane to the first section of the bill. All after the first section is out of the bill and not to be taken into consideration by the Chair in making a ruling on this proposition.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I do not think these gentlemen are going to be serious in contending that the action of this committee can possibly change the rule under which this bill was made in order.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. Will the gentleman point out the one thing in the rule which said more than this should be considered—that immediately after the adoption of the resolution the House should resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of Senate joint resolution 63?

Mr. SISSON. I am not going to contend anything except what this rule says. Here is what the rule provides:

That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of Senate joint resolution 63, entitled "Joint resolution to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service."

The gentleman brings into the House this whole resolution, Senate joint resolution 63.

Mr. FOSTER. But the gentleman did not read all of the resolution.

Mr. SISSON. That is all I want to read.

Mr. FOSTER. I know; but the gentleman ought to read the balance of it.

Mr. SISSON. I will read it all, then, Mr. Chairman, and I hope the gentleman will not interrupt me, for I do not think the gentleman can be serious in the contention he is now making.

Mr. FOSTER. I never was more serious in my life.

Mr. SISSON. Let me read the rest of the rule, and then I shall not yield any more at this time—

that there shall be not to exceed one hour of general debate. At the conclusion of such general debate the resolution shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. After the resolution shall have been perfected in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union the same shall be reported to the House with such recommendation as the committee may make, whereupon the previous question shall be considered as ordered upon the resolution and all amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit.

It is here for amendment under the five-minute rule.

Mr. FOSTER. Have we not adopted an amendment?

Mr. SISSON. It does not make any difference.

Mr. FOSTER. That is one of the amendments that the committee has made.

Mr. SISSON. I decline to yield any more, and the gentleman himself is not at all serious.

Mr. FOSTER. I was never more serious in my life.

Mr. SISSON. The gentleman is not serious, and he knows he is out of order, although he is on the Rules Committee. I want to call attention, if the gentleman will be in order, to this bill.

It is Senate joint resolution No. 63. Now, all of that was made in order by this special rule of the House. Now, it is admitted and contended by those gentlemen that if all of this bill is before this House this amendment which I offer is in order. I offered it under the special rule of the House which gave this committee the right to consider this bill at all and under that rule it made Senate joint resolution No. 63 in order, and no action of this commitee by striking out a clause or putting in a clause can change a rule of the House. There is one way by which you could have disposed of this bill, and that is by striking out the enacting clause, and then there would have been nothing left of it.

Mr. WALSH. You can not do that under this rule.

Mr. SISSON. But that not being done, going into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union under this special rule, then if the bill would have been in order to any portion of this joint resolution, then the amendment which I offer now is in order and these gentlemen will not seriously consider that the action of the committee in adopting section 1 thereby prevented this being in order. If so, then the committee becomes superior to the House and can change and amend the rule of the House whereby you are now considering this bill, and I do not believe the Chair will hold that. And if there is a section of this Senate joint resolution 63 that makes this resolution in order then it is in order as a new section, although they may have stricken out the balance of it in the committee, because if we should take it into the House the Chair can not presume that the House will not restore every section of this bill. You can not say the House is going to adopt your recommendation. The House being the master and the committee being the servant, it obeys the rule of the House. If you take line 13, page 2, which broadens the Senate resolution beyond that of section 1—

That there is hereby established a reserve corps of the United States Public Health Service, to be composed of officers of State, county, and municipal health organizations and other persons skilled in sanitary science.

Why, it puts within the jurisdiction of this committee by the rule of the House all of your health organizations throughout the United States as may cooperate in the health of the country. Then, as suggested by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT], section 6—and I invite your attention to it in this bill—specifically says:

SEC. 6. That it shall be the duty of the United States Public Health Service to cooperate with State, county, and municipal health organizations and with officials in charge of industrial establishments, with a view to coordinating the activities and making effective the work of the health organizations of the United States.

Now, this amendment which I offer is solely for the purpose of enabling the Federal Government to do that very thing. It enables them to cooperate with the health authorities, and

whatever may be the action of the committee this bill did not contemplate simply an emergency measure.

This bill contemplated that which should become permanent law creating a reserve corps which whenever an emergency in the future might arise might be called into service. It is always in existence. This idea of saying that solely because they strike out all of this bill except section 1 that is the action of the committee, but in view of the fact that the whole matter is before the committee I have the right to say this particular amendment to this bill comes under the rule, because I am offering it as an amendment to Senate joint resolution No. 63 and not to that matter which the committee has specifically retained in the bill. Now, if the Chair should hold that solely because the committee adopts one amendment that everything that is offered shall be germane to that one amendment, then, indeed, you have repealed the rule under which we are considering this bill, and I do not believe the Chair will hold that.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman's argument is predicated on the alleged fact that it has been admitted that if the entire subject matter of the bill as it passed the Senate and was reported to the House were before the House his amendment would be germane. That is not true. The gentleman from Wisconsin did suggest that it would qualify the situation, but I take the position that it matters not whether we hold that the Senate bill alone is before the House or the Senate bill with the committee amendment. In either case the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi is not germane to the bill or any part or section and is not in order, and I call the Chair's attention to some cases under Rule XVI relative to amendments, particularly to those cited under paragraph 778, page 344:

One individual proposition may not be amended by another individual proposition even though the two belong to the same class.

That is exactly what we have before us here. We have two propositions. They are scarcely in the same class, but admitting they were in the same class a new proposition can not be added to a proposition even though it may be of the same class.

Thus the following are not germane: To a bill proposing the admission of one Territory into the Union, an amendment for admission of another Territory.

Territories are in the same class. A bill for the admission of a Territory under the argument made by the gentleman from Mississippi might be indefinitely amended by adding Territories thereto. The Chair has held otherwise.

To a bill for the relief of one individual, an amendment proposing similar relief for another; to a resolution providing a special order for one bill, an amendment to include another bill; to a provision for extermination of the cotton boll weevil, an amendment including the gypsy moth.

There are two separate propositions. They are closely related but not in order under the rule as has been laid down.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman permit me to suggest a thought to him?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Does the gentleman think that the House substitute would have been subject to the point of order had it reached that point where it had been offered?

Mr. MONDELL. I have not evidently made myself clear. I am insisting that, admitting for the sake of argument, there was now before the House the original Senate bill and the amendment proposed by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the amendment would not be germane, and not in order because not germane.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Well, I understood that to be the gentleman's insistence, but what I was anxious to get at was the gentleman's viewpoint as to whether the committee amendment had it reached that point and been offered would have been germane to the Senate bill. I speak now of the matter in italics.

Mr. MONDELL. Well, as that matter is not before us, I would not want to offer an opinion.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I should say if——

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman is a much better parliamentarian than I have ever claimed or assumed to be——

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Not at all.

Mr. MONDELL. And I would be inclined to accept his judgment on that point. But assuming everything that is favorable to the contention of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON], so far as the bill and amendments to it are concerned, assuming that the proposal of the committee were germane, and part of it had been accepted—which is not the fact; it has all been stricken out—but assuming all that, still the amendment of the gentleman from Mississippi would not be in order, because it is not germane. It proposes a new, novel, and separate line of action. It is scarcely in the same class with the provisions in the bill. And under all the rulings, even if it were in the same class—it is in fact a separate proposition not closely related or essential to the original provisions of the bill—it goes out.

There is not so very much difference between the cotton boll weevil and the gypsy moth. They are both insects that destroy agricultural crops, and yet in providing for the destruction of the boll weevil you can not give the very same bureau of the Government that is handling the boll weevil authority by amendment to experiment on the gypsy moth. The rule of the House in these cases has been close, and for a most excellent reason.

I do not know that I object to the gentleman's provision in the proper time and proper place. As a member of the Committee on Appropriations I voted, with some mental reservation—considerable mental reservation—an appropriation for the work his amendment contemplates in an experimental way. But what I am interested in, and what the House is interested in, is to preserve the logical procedure of the House, so that a decision now made may not rise to plague us later. It is necessary if we legislate that we hold these bills to the proposition proposed by the committees that reported them. Otherwise we go far afield in every direction, and we never get anywhere, because there is no end to the amendments that may be offered and discussed and voted upon.

The Chair has those rulings in paragraph 778 before him, and I do not care to take up his time and the time of the committee further in regard to them, except to say that a number of the cases cited were related to amendments much more nearly related to the original subject matter than the amendment of the gentleman from Mississippi is to the subject matter contained in this bill at any time.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, if you will just hear me a moment I wish to say that the authorities cited by my friend were, as I recall them, authorities where amendments were offered to appropriation bills upon which you could not legislate. If an appropriation carried in the bill by authority of law makes a provision or appropriation in reference to the cotton boll weevil, you could not amend that item of appropriation and make an appropriation for the gypsy moth unless it was authorized by law. But that is not the case here. This is a legislative bill itself. This bill is being considered under the rules of the House for the purpose of making legislation. Therefore the items he cites to the Chair are not on all fours with the question here, because this is itself an original bill. Now, if a legislative bill were up, reported from the proper committee, in reference to destroying insects that might destroy crops, and you had enumerated the cotton boll weevil and other insects, and some gentleman should offer an amendment to also include in another section the gypsy moth, that legislation would be in order on a legislative bill; whereas if the legislation had been made and the Appropriations Committee should report a bill without legislation authorizing an appropriation for the gypsy moth, and the gentleman should offer an amendment to appropriate money on an appropriation bill for that purpose, the Chair would very properly sustain the point of order against it. But this is a legislative bill, considered under this rule, and the gentleman says that nobody has contended the amendment I offered would not have been in order to this whole bill. But the gentleman from Illinois——

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman is mistaken about that.

Mr. STAFFORD. I make that argument, and sincerely, that it is not germane to the House amendment.

Mr. SISSON. I understood the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] to say——

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. I do; because I do not want to misquote the gentleman.

Mr. STAFFORD. I publicly stated I made no such admission. There is nothing in the committee amendment which can be used as a handle to create a division by permanent law as the gentleman is attempting.

Mr. SISSON. The gentleman from Illinois and all the other gentlemen prided themselves, when they first commenced the argument, on the reason that it was not in order because all of the bill had been stricken out except section 1. Now, they come back here asking for a rehearing, because they find they were in error about that matter.

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, no.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I ask for order. If these gentlemen here want to interrupt me, I will always yield.

Mr. FOSTER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. STAFFORD. I did not make any such concession by any means. I maintain the gentleman's amendment is not germane

to the committee amendment that is stricken out, and I make the further argument, which I sincerely believe in, that the amendment can not be considered, even if it were germane, because the committee has taken action upon those very sections and have eliminated them from further consideration.

Mr. SISSON. Now, if the gentleman wants to have a new hearing on this bill, I will be glad to hear from him.

Mr. STAFFORD. I do not want any new hearing, and I am willing for the gentleman to have several hearings.

Mr. SISSON. I am endeavoring to present the argument to the committee that presented itself to me at the very beginning, that here was a rule making in order this reorganization, as it were, of the Public Health Service of the United States, to cooperate with the county and State authorities, and being made in order by special rule of this House, and I have a right to offer this as an amendment to this bill.

When I was first arguing the question I was called down upon the idea that all of this bill was stricken out except the first section, and upon that theory I understood they were proceeding. Now, Mr. Chairman, my contention is that it is in order, under this rule, because it presented for the consideration of this committee everything in Senate resolution 63. That being true, my amendment is in order, because here they specifically deal with State officers, county and municipal health organizations in the caption of the amendment of the House.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield now?

Mr. SISSON. In one moment. And section 6 specifically provides for a cooperation between all the officers created here and the health authorities throughout the United States. That being true, this amendment becomes in order under the language of the resolution from line 13, on page 2, down to line 16, inclusive, and under section 6 of this bill.

Now I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FOSTER. Does the gentleman contend that the committee is now considering anything but section 1?

Mr. SISSON. I am contending that you are now considering section 2, which I have offered. The fact that the committee struck out all the balance of the Senate resolution does not change the rule of the House. You can not change what it is provided the committee shall consider.

Mr. FOSTER. Does the gentleman claim that we are considering anything except this bill under the rules of the House?

Mr. SISSON. We are considering it under a special rule.

Mr. FOSTER. I will take back all I have said if you will say that.

Mr. SISSON. I call your attention to the House Rule 140. What did you bring that in for?

Mr. FOSTER. For the consideration of the bill.

Mr. SISSON. When you do that you take into consideration every clause in the bill, and you take in all these matters in section 3 which are before the House. Simply because the committee strikes out a section is no reason why you can not amend this bill except where it suits the committee itself.

Mr. FOSTER. Why do you not offer it where it is germane?

Mr. SISSON. I am offering it where it is germane.

Mr. FOSTER. All these other sections are out.

Mr. SISSON. I can give the gentleman my reasons, but I can not give him the power to see them.

Mr. FOSTER. Anybody can see them but the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. SISSON. The gentleman is now becoming rather personal.

Mr. FOSTER. No; I will take back anything that is unpleasant to my friend.

Mr. SISSON. The gentleman argues that solely because the committee has seen fit to strike out all of section 1 this amendment can not be offered. The House might at the very moment of its meeting put all back into the bill. Therefore the gentleman's contention is bound to be unsound.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. Yes.

Mr DUPRÉ. If I were opposed to a bill, could the gentleman see any better way to enable me to defeat it than to have a gentleman from the Committee on Rules come in and propose to emasculate the bill?

Mr. SISSON. I do not know any better way by which that can be done. But, Mr. Chairman, I insist that in view of the fact that all of Senate joint resolution 63 was presented under this rule by the House for consideration under the rule, and the House by its direction directed the committee to consider that whole joint resolution, we make all that joint resolution in order, make every section in order, and it does not lie in the mouth of any man in this committee to say that because the committee sees fit to strike out one section and two sections that thereby you change the rule. I offered this as a new section because it would have been in order and is in order, under the rule, if all these sections remain in the bill, even in the House, as provided by the rule.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Does the gentleman contend that if the committee struck out all after the enacting clause and then moved to rise and report its recommendations to the House, that before that motion was carried the gentleman's amendment would be in order? Would your motion then be in order?

Mr. SISSON. If you were to strike out the enacting clause and make a motion to rise, my amendment certainly would not be in order then, because the committee decides to rise.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman is dodging again.

Mr. SISSON. I am not dodging at all.

Mr. WALSH. Then why not answer my question?

Mr. SISSON. I am answering it.

Mr. WALSH. You did not answer the question that I asked.

Mr. SISSON. I did the best I could to answer your question. Let me ask the wise gentleman from Massachusetts once more, then: Was not your question this, That if the committee should strike out the enacting clause and move to rise——

Mr. WALSH. No. Leave out the motion to rise. I knew the gentleman either did not understand the question or was attempting to evade answering.

Mr. SISSON. I do not attempt to evade anything. I never did that in my life.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman allow me to state the question?

Mr. SISSON. I will.

Mr. WALSH. Would the gentleman contend that if the committee struck out all after the enacting clause his motion would then be in order in the committee?

Mr. SISSON. Is that the gentleman's question?

Mr. WALSH. That was the question I asked.

Mr. SISSON. I thought the gentleman before said "and made a motion to rise."

Mr. WALSH. Yes; but I eliminated that.

Mr. SISSON. I did not catch the elimination. I do not think if you struck out the enacting clause——

Mr. WALSH. I did not say "strike out the enacting clause," and the gentleman knows it.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana. I had yielded to the gentleman from Massachusetts——

Mr. WALSH. Without answering my question.

Mr. DUPRÉ. I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that a substantive provision has been left in this bill. No enacting clause has been stricken out, no motion to rise has been made. Therefore, can not the gentleman from Mississippi seek to perfect the bill, following what is contained in the committee's proposition as embodied in section 1?

Mr. SISSON. Yes. That is my contention.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I will answer the question of the gentleman from Massachusetts. If you make a motion to strike out the enacting clause——

Mr. WALSH. That is not my question. It has nothing to do with it.

Mr. SISSON. Well, all after the enacting clause. If you do that and stop there, under this special rule if I offered this amendment it would certainly be in order.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman has answered my question, and I thank him exceedingly.

Mr. SISSON. It was my intention to answer it all the while, notwithstanding the fact that the gentleman mildly insinuated that I was trying to dodge.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to thank the Chair for his indulgence. I am sincere and earnest in my belief that the matter is in order.

Mr. MONDELL. One word more, Mr. Chairman. I have not argued the angles of this question that the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON] has emphasized so much, because I have not felt it necessary to do so. I think it is true that the Chair must consider the question of germaneness from the standpoint of what is in the bill. The amendment proposed by the committee, having been adversely acted on by the House, it is not a part of the bill. If the gentleman had offered his amendment at the point at which he is now offering it, with the committee amendment standing unacted upon, he could not have claimed the provision was germane because it would be germane to some committee recommendation that had not been acted upon. The amendment must be germane to the bill. What is the bill? Why, the Senate bill. Every-

thing else is a recommendation, and assuming that the House had not acted upon the committee recommendation one way or the other, the gentleman could not contend that this amendment was germane because, forsooth an amendment had been proposed which if adopted might have made his amendment germane.

Now, just one word more. The gentleman from Mississippi laid great emphasis upon the statement that one of the cases I referred to was an amendment to an appropriation bill. I do not know whether it was an amendment to an appropriation bill or not. But practically all the other cases cited were amendments to legislative bills. For instance:

To a bill prohibiting importation of goods "made in whole or in part by convict, pauper, or detained labor, or made in whole or in part from materials which have been made in whole or in part or in any manner manipulated by convict or prison labor," an amendment prohibiting importation of goods made by child labor was held not germane on the ground that labor described in bill constituted a distinct class of labor.

Either way the Chair holds, whether that it is a question of germaneness to the amendments to the Senate bill proposed by the committee or to the first section of the Senate bill, or to both the Senate bill and committee amendments, the amendment is not germane.

Mr. WALSH. If the Chair is ready to rule, I do not care to say anything.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will ask pardon for hastening the decision. [Laughter.] The Chair perhaps erred in hearing both sides and has become somewhat confused. [Laughter.] In whatever decision the Chair shall make he will not err more, he confidently believes, than some gentlemen must have erred in argument. [Laughter.] The Chair is of the opinion that the special rule was operative only for the purpose of bringing the resolution before the House and putting the House into Committee of the Whole for its consideration. The ordinary rules of the House, as applied to proceedings in the Committee of the Whole, must still be regarded as controlling. The special rule did not, and could not, limit what the committee would do with the resolution. The committee early in the consideration of the proposed resolution eliminated by unanimous consent everything after section 1. The Chair is of opinion that the committee could do that, and having done so all the portions of the resolution which were eliminated became inoperative for any purpose. Clearly the eliminated portion of the resolution could not be referred to, as the Chair believes, to make proposed amendments germane when otherwise such amendments would not be in order. The Chair, without citing the authorities, although many are at hand, is of the opinion that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi is not germane to the resolution as it now stands before the Committee of the Whole, and sustains the point of order.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I offer the amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

At the end of the bill insert a new section as section 2:
"Officers of State, county, and municipal health organizations shall not be commissioned in said reserve corps without the assent of the proper executive officers of their respective States, counties, or municipalities."

Mr. DOREMUS. To that I reserve a point of order.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Chairman, I want to offer an amendment to section 1, and this is to section 2.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. There is no section 2.

Mr. GORDON. My amendment is to perfect the section.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Michigan makes or reserves the point of order against the amendment.

Mr. DOREMUS. I make the point of order.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I suppose the ruling of the Chair has some bearing on this proposed amendment. If the Chair will examine the bill, he will find that the amendment embodies the language in the amendment in section 3, page 3, and is entirely germane to the subject matter of the bill as it now stands. It contemplates a limitation upon the power of appointment and is intended to preserve the rights of the States, counties, and municipalities where epidemics may prevail and where it may be necessary to hold a certain number of physicians to meet the distressing needs of the people.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Michigan desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman from Pennsylvania yield?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Does the gentleman's amendment simply contain the language found on page 3, lines 12 to 16?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes; literally, as to so much of it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I think the gentleman's amendment is in order.

Mr. WALSH. It has been eliminated from the bill once.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the point advanced or the argument advanced that matters that were contained in the original committee amendment have been acted upon and therefore that amendments germane at that time were eliminated from consideration, then the logic of the Chair's ruling would compel the Chair to hold that the amendment was out of order, but otherwise it is certainly germane if it had not been for the action of the committee.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I understand the gentleman from Pennsylvania to concede that this is precisely the same language that was in the committee amendment.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It is a part of that language.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. In the same words.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. In so far as it goes it is literally the same.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I submit to the Chair that that has been voted on—that is, it went out by unanimous consent—and that this, in the very same language, is merely a repetition.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It is not the whole matter which went out of the bill.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. No; but then it is included in it and is a substantive part of it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It is included in that which was stricken out, but it is not the whole of that which was stricken out. However, the language I have used is literally the same so far as it goes.

The CHAIRMAN. But for the fact that the language had been stricken out, the Chair would be of the opinion that this amendment would be germane. It is simply a limitation on the first section. But since it is the exact language which has been stricken out by the committee, the Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I offer the amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

Mr. GORDON. I renew my parliamentary inquiry. This amendment relates to the creation of a new section. I have an amendment which I wish to offer to perfect section 1 before that section is left.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio will be recognized to submit his amendment.

Mr. GORDON. I move——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I have offered an amendment, which has not yet been read.

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps it had better be read. It may be an amendment to perfect the section.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania: Insert at the end of the bill a new section——

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will hear the gentleman from Ohio first.

Mr. GORDON. I move to amend the bill in line 4 by striking out the words "in time of national emergency" and inserting in lieu thereof "during the present emergency."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GORDON: Page 1, line 4, strike out the words "in time of national emergency" and insert in lieu thereof "during the present emergency."

Mr. GORDON. And at the bottom of page 1, in lines 12 and 13, strike out "for the period of five years" and insert in lieu thereof "during the present emergency."

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GORDON: Page 1, line 12, after the word "force," strike out the words "for a period of five years" and insert in lieu thereof "during the present emergency."

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Chairman, we have heard a great deal about this bill that did not really go to the merits of it. In fact, we have heard very little in excuse or justification or explanation of the really vital thing in the bill. What does it propose to do? It starts in to create a civil list of commissioned officers. That is what it does. You may camouflage it all you please, but that is what it means. It proposes a law issuing commissions all over the country to a lot of men in civil life; it may be to a lot of young squirts just out of medical college, or a lot of old, superannuated physicians who want to get on the pay roll will try to come down here and get commissions in the Public Health Service. Of course, the issuance of the commissions

creates the national emergency. There you have it. Oh, but they say, this will never be done except in times of national emergency. Well, who determines the national emergency? Whenever the President passes out these commissions that is a determination by him that there is a national emergency. There has been a protest against the idea that they were going to wear uniforms. If they are going to be commissioned and put on the pay roll, with salaries up to $4,000 a year, they ought to wear uniforms. They ought to be identified in the community. [Laughter.] I do not believe you ought to commission people in private life without letting everyone know that they are on the pay rolls drawing these salaries even when doing nothing. Now, of course, Dr. Foster made a speech here that almost made us weep when he told about the great sacrifices that have been made by men in the medical profession in the past, but that had absolutely nothing to do with this bill, because those sacrifices were made by men who were not commissioned, by men who were in private life. It had absolutely nothing to do with this emergency. He did not approach the terms of the bill itself. I do not know whether the House will adopt this amendment or not. They have called this a war measure, and the minds and ears and eyes of everybody are closed to any discussion of the real merits or demerits of a measure so designated. Now, why not limit it to the present emergency? Of course, we have an emergency existing at this time; an epidemic of Spanish influenza is raging; and if in the judgment of the Public Health Service and of the President, in the absence of a great number of physicians who are in the military service, there is a consequent shortage of physicians, all of those reasons apply only to this emergency and probably would not apply again in the history of the country. If that is the purpose of this bill why not limit it to the present emergency. That is all I have to say upon the subject. It seems to me if the Members of this House would use just a little common sense and reason they would appreciate the fact that they are authorizing the President of the United States to issue commissions ad libitum all over the United States either now or at any other time that they may be able to convince him that an emergency has arisen or is about to arise. It seems to me the amendment ought to be agreed to by the committee.

Mr. MONDELL. I rise in opposition to the amendment of the gentleman from Ohio. Mr. Chairman, this is not wholly an emergency measure—that is, it is not a measure applying only to the particular present emergency. It has been urged on the claim that it is going to be very helpful in this present emergency, but I doubt if anyone really believes that the legislation will be especially and particularly helpful in the emergency now upon us. On the other hand, since I spoke earlier in the day, the bill has been amended, and is now in the form in which it should be if it is wise to establish a permanent reserve in the Public Health Service to meet emergencies as they come along.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. BLACK. If I understand this bill, the President will not commission these officials except in time of national emergency.

Mr. MONDELL. If that is the view the President takes of it, the President will make a great mistake, and the President will not be accomplishing the good which could be accomplished under the bill.

Mr. BLACK. What does the bill mean if that is not what it says?

Mr. MONDELL. This is what it means: It means that we are to establish a permanent Public Health Service reserve of men scattered about the country who are willing to accept commissions in this reserve, holding themselves in readiness to serve when an emergency arises, to be paid when called into active service by the Surgeon General, in such an emergency. In my opinion there is much merit in such a proposition. I did not see much merit in the bill as presented, on the theory that it was intended to meet this emergency of influenza, because this emergency is well under way and in hand, and I take it that every surgeon in the country is doing his duty, and he is doing his duty as well as he could under this bill. It may, of course, be possible to do some good in the present influenza emergency under the bill. Under the amendments that have been adopted we are proposing a permanent Public Health Service reserve. The men commissioned are not, it is true, commissioned permanently. They are commissioned for five years, but they could be recommissioned immediately if it was deemed wise to do so. What ought to be done is to make these appointments without regard to emergency, to fill up this reserve in time when there is no emergency, and to have these men commissioned in various sections of the country, subject to call when emergency arises.

That was the original theory of the legislation. That was modified some by the recommendation of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in its report. It was still further modified by the amendment which the committee first proposed to the last part of section 2, but as section 2 has now been adopted these commissions will in normal times be granted from time to time without regard to an emergency at the time the commission is issued, and men will receive no pay until they are ordered into active service at the call of the Surgeon General when an emergency arises.

Mr. GORDON. That is true; but the bill recites in section 1 that these men are to be employed in the present emergency or in some other national emergency.

Mr. MONDELL. I think the gentleman is not quoting the provisions with his usual accuracy, because what the bill provides is, "That for the purpose of securing a reserve for duty in the Public Health Service in time of national emergency," and so forth.

Mr. GORDON. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wyoming has expired.

Mr. MONDELL. In other words, to build up a reserve in normal times that may be used in time of emergency. Of course, any commissions issued during this present emergency would be for services for the emergency, but when the emergency was over the officers commissioned would go on the inactive list ready to be called when the next emergency arose.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendments offered by the gentleman from Ohio. The Chair understands that without objection both amendments will be voted upon at once.

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. DOREMUS) there were—ayes 23, noes 9.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wyoming demands tellers. Those in favor of ordering tellers will rise and stand until counted. [After counting.] Six Members; not a sufficient number, and tellers are refused.

So the amendments were agreed to.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I now offer the amendment which is at the Clerk's desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The Clerk read as follows:

At the end of the bill insert the following as a new section:
"SEC. 2. During the prevalence of an epidemic no practicing physician shall be appointed to the reserve corps without the consent of the State, county, or municipal authorities in which he resides."

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is offered with the expectation that the committee will sympathize with it because of the present emergency. The amendments offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON] have been adopted, limiting the operation of this bill to the present epidemic. I voted for those amendments, because I believed that we need relief, and we need relief now, not after our people have died and after we find that we have no physicians to treat them and no nurses to care for them and no undertakers to bury them. The emergency is here, and if this bill is to be effective it should be effective while the emergency is on.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. Is it logical to commission men for five years only to serve in the present emergency, which may last three weeks?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I opposed the five years' tenure, because I believe that matter should be left to other times.

This bill would not have been brought in had it not been for the present emergency. It came in under cover of the public excitement and distress which now prevails. Otherwise it would not have been here at all.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Does the gentleman think if it had come in under the auspices of its friends he would have favored it?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I question whether I would if it came under the auspices of any party.

Mr. DUPRÉ. I ask if the supposed champions of this bill are really in favor of it——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I think the champions——

Mr. DUPRÉ. I said supposed champions.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Oh, the gentleman is putting an interpretation upon the motives of the gentlemen who brought

in the bill that I shall not indorse, but the distinguished gentleman from Indiana, the one great physician in this House, although there are others——

Mr. DUPRÉ. Indiana?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Illinois—laid considerable stress upon the fact that in times gone by some physicians had risen to heroic proportions and had had monuments erected in their memory, and, therefore, that this bill creating a lot of new offices should be passed. I was not in favor of that kind of a program at this time because men and women are now dying in my city for want of physicians' care, and this bill proposes to draw upon these physicians, take them away from the homes, and put them in this special service, where they may not be so much needed as they are in their districts at the present time.

Mr. DUPRÉ. If the gentleman will yield further, can the gentleman conceive under the terms of this bill how anyone can be commissioned without his consent to serve?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. He would first have to apply for a commission.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Therefore how can this physician be taken away from the gentleman's city, where the gentleman says he is so much needed?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman does not want a discussion of politics, but there are ways of picking particular men when you have the power to pick them. If the gentleman wants any further information on that, since this bill has come in under cover of an epidemic, I will refer him to the manner in which appointments are made in several of the war services just now, where it appears "the general rule" is applied to everybody, but somebody's particular friend gets in notwithstanding, and it may happen again.

Mr. DUPRÉ. If the gentleman wants to smear the medical profession in that way——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The medical profession should have all the honor which either the gentleman or any other Member of the House would bestow upon it. I will carry to the monuments erected over the graves of these heroic physicians as many wreaths as will the gentleman from Illinois, but I will not carry them into this House every time I want to get a bill through creating a lot of new offices and requiring an increased taxation of the people to bear the burden, and I will not do it particularly at a time when a crisis exists in my community and in other communities, because we do not have physicians to attend to the sick.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Will the gentleman yield for another question?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. No; I can not because my five minutes are nearly up. If the gentleman will give me five more I will be glad——

Mr. DUPRÉ. I would be glad to ask it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. If the gentleman will ask for it——

Mr. DUPRÉ. I want to suggest to the gentleman he might not be able to carry any wreaths to the graves of these heroic physicians unless he allows the physician to attend him and others who are ill.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. If I am sick in my city or in Washington, as many people are in my city now, and I send for my family physician and he is gone, or I send for a physician around the corner or down the road and he is in the Government service, and I send for the last man I know who is capable of ministering to me and I find he has just got a commission in the Public Health Service to wear a uniform, then I am not in favor——

Mr. DUPRÉ. Then I would repeat what I suggested, that the gentleman is smearing the medical profession and instead of serving humanity——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I am trying to serve humanity by keeping the physician where persons are ill and need care. I would not have physicians leave sick-bed sides to go put on a uniform at the port of New York, for instance, in a crisis like this.

Mr. DUPRÉ. I do not think the gentleman from Pennsylvania will stop a physician from doing that who is a reputable physician.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. He is registered under the laws of the State, and I imagine the home authorities can tell whether they have enough physicians to attend the sick——

Mr. LAZARO. If the gentleman will permit, the gentleman does not mean to create the impression by this that the Public Health Service will bring about a condition that will deprive the civilian population of medical attention in this crisis?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will take the gentleman's own district. The gentleman is a physician and an eminent one. Suppose what has happened in my district is happening in the gentleman's district, that hundreds and thousands of people are lying sick and helpless, as some of them are to-day, and they are sending for nurses and can not find any nurses, because they are overworked in the hospitals or in the service of the Army, and they send for physicians and can find none, because the physicians are overworked or in the Army. In such a crisis would not the gentleman, as the representative of his district, say, "Stop these physicians we have from going away to wear shoulder straps; we have particular need of their medical services; or, at least, let them remain here until the epidemic is over"?

Mr. LAZARO. I hope the gentleman will understand that physicians are not looking for shoulder straps. They want to render efficient service.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Oh, they want some authority; they want a little more recognition than they are getting now. They want to be known when they go into the community on Government business as being Government officials. That is what they want. They do not want to wear shoulder straps when they enter my house when my child is sick, and they are not likely to come into my house when they have got shoulder straps on——

Mr. LAZARO. That is not the point.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I think that is the point. You take my physician and put him in the Army service.

Mr. LAZARO. It makes no difference what law we enact to-day to relieve the situation, we can not increase the number of doctors.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. But you can reduce the number available for an epidemic, and that is what I am complaining of.

Mr. LAZARO. You can not increase or reduce the number of doctors. It is a question of where the doctor can render the most efficient service. That is all there is to it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Then would the gentleman say——

Mr. LAZARO. The gentleman must understand that the doctors are not looking for uniforms or shoulder straps. They merely want to render efficient service.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes; and I want them to render efficient service. I agree with the gentleman as to that. But I will state the case on this proposition: Would the gentleman think as a physician that he was rendering the most efficient service at the bedside of a dying friend who had no one in the world to call on but him, or by taking a Government commission to inspect certain institutions out in the State of Indiana, for instance? Which would be the most efficient service in the name of humanity?

Mr. LAZARO. I take it that this Government is big enough, and that the medical service is big enough, to look into this situation thoroughly and to see that every physician, whether he is relieving the situation among the civilian population or anywhere else, can render the best service where he is needed.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman is too good a friend for me to insist on a categorical answer as to the ethics, but I will ask the gentleman, when we take a man out of private practice in an emergency like that which prevails and put him into public life, if we do not take him away from the bedside where he is needed and really give him a political job?

Mr. LAZARO. I take it that the Government and the medical service is too big a proposition to consider this from a political standpoint, and that the Government understands——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman accept my statement as to the fact that we do not have enough physicians in Philadelphia to meet the demand, and the poor people are going about crying, as they did in the days of old, for some one to come and relieve them in their distress?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Chairman, I ask for one minute in order to ask the gentleman a question.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Louisiana asks unanimous consent for one minute. Is there objection?

Mr. FOSTER. That does not interfere with my recognition?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair hears no objection.

Mr. LAZARO. Does not the gentleman think that the Government understands the importance of conserving the health of the civil population engaged in the industries necessary to furnish the things essential for the men on the firing line? And does not the gentleman think the Government understands the seriousness and importance of conserving their health and will look into that?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I hope so; but I am saying to the gentleman that the Government has not met the situation in my city, did not meet it in Boston, did not meet the situation in New York, and is not meeting the situation in Washington. It

depends upon the local authorities, who find themselves very short-handed in the emergency.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from Massachusetts rise?

Mr. WALSH. I am seeking recognition.

Mr. FOSTER. I already have it.

Mr. Chairman, I do not believe there are physicians anywhere who would leave their homes when they are badly needed to accept a commission in the Public Health Service. He would consider his first duty to his community; but if he could be spared with safety, he would go to some other community where they could not get medical help. That he should do. I do not believe every man in the medical profession is a saint, by any means, but I believe there are many honest and conscientious physicians.

A man that is not conscientious ought not to be a physician. He is dealing with human life. He is dealing with flesh and blood. He is not dealing with a few thousand dollars that may be made or lost to-day or to-morrow. The medical profession is a great profession, and any man who goes into that profession with any other idea than that he is to do noble service to everybody is unfit to remain in it. He does not enter it only because he is to get $100 or $1,000 as a fee, but he goes into it because he can do some good to the people with whom he comes in contact in their distress.

Now, these physicians who are in the Public Health Service are expected to go where there is an epidemic. They are expected to go wherever there is suffering. A doctor as such only goes where there is suffering.

People do not call a doctor when they are well. They have no use for him then as a doctor. They need him only when they are in distress, and the man who is practicing medicine in any place in this Union that is not conscientious enough to realize that the life of the person he is attending is in his hands is unfit to be a doctor.

Mr. VESTAL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. I do.

Mr. VESTAL. Is it not the purpose of this bill, if it becomes a law, not to take doctors away from such a district as that represented by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE], but if there happens to be a district that is affected with some disease to send doctors into that district instead of taking doctors away?

Mr. FOSTER. Certainly.

Mr. VESTAL. And would it not operate in this case, in the district represented by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, that there would be more physicians there than there are at this time?

Mr. FOSTER. Certainly. The gentleman is entirely right about it.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania spoke of the city of Boston. I happen to know a little about that. They have had an awful epidemic there, and hundreds of people have lost their lives. The Public Health Service did send men to Boston and help in that epidemic. Take the city of Oswego, N. Y. The Public Health Service sent doctors that they could spare to that city in order that they might help. I do not know to what city it will come next, or where they will next be needed; but we do know this, that if the epidemic has passed Boston and it becomes practically normal again, if there are places in the State of Illinois affected by it I hope that we may avail ourselves of the physicians of Boston who might come out there and help our people. That is what I hope may be done.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. If this epidemic should, unfortunately, strike Illinois——

Mr. FOSTER. It is there now——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I hope the physicians of Illinois will labor as industriously, faithfully, and devotedly as have the physicians who have remained in the city of Philadelphia.

Mr. FOSTER. I have no doubt they will.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. No more devoted body of men exists in the country than those that remain in the city of Philadelphia. They are among the noblest men on earth, and in this emergency are doing heroic work.

Mr. FOSTER. I have no doubt there are many good, conscientious doctors in that city.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I still adhere to the contention that to take them away at this particular time would be very unfortunate.

Mr. FOSTER. The gentleman spoke of taking away from Philadelphia physicians to another part of the country and leaving that city without sufficient help. This bill does not contemplate such a thing and it would not be done.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. LAZARO. Suppose the epidemic is over in the city of the gentleman from Pennsylvania before it is over in the city represented by the gentleman from Illinois. I will ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania whether it would not be reasonable as a war measure to ask physicians in the city represented by the gentleman from Pennsylvania to relieve the situation in other cities?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It would be a splendid thing to do, and it ought to be done. But my point was that the gentlemen who go into this Medical Reserve Corps now will not be the men who will go into the homes to relieve that particular situation. They will rather investigate and advise together to see that the epidemic does not spread.

Mr. FOSTER. They have done it and they are doing it now in some cities when the doctors are gone.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say a word about the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE]. I think, Mr. Chairman, that the effect of the gentlemen's amendment would simply be to take the power of commissioning these physicians out of the hands of the President and invest it in the hands of the State, county, or municipal authorities, because if we say to the President, "You may commission these physicians in the Public Health Service provided the governor gives his consent," it puts it into the hands of the governor to say what physician shall receive this commission, and it is rather an unusual power, or rather an unusual condition, to attach to this executive function which we are about to impose upon the President.

I noticed that it was contained in the House substitute for the Senate resolution, but I do not think, in view of the action of the committee which reported the measure and the action of the committee this afternoon which has treated that substitute by kicking it downstairs—I do not think that the fact that that language is in there would be considered persuasive.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. LONDON. I believe the House substitute provided that no officer of a State should be used without State authority.

Mr. WALSH. I believe that was the limitation there. But for us to say to the President of the United States, "You can commission this physician in the city of Philadelphia provided the mayor gives his permission," seems to me to be verging upon the border of unconstitutionality, and certainly is unwise. And I do not think, while I have not been overenthusiastic for this legislation, that we ought to encumber it with any such amendment as that.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE].

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise and report the joint resolution to the House with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the joint resolution as amended do pass.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan moves that the committee rise and report the joint resolution to the House with the amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the joint resolution do pass.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, Mr. HILLIARD, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 63) to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service, and had directed him to report the same back to the House with sundry amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the joint resolution as amended do pass.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not the Chair will put them in gross.

The amendments were agreed to.

The joint resolution as amended was ordered to a third reading, and was accordingly read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. DOREMUS, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] is recognized for 40 minutes under a prior order of the House.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts makes the point of order that there is no quorum present. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Forty-six Members present, not a quorum.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Speaker, if the point of order is insisted on I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has announced that there is no quorum present.

Mr. SEARS. May I propound an inquiry?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The point of no quorum having been made and sustained, the Chair does not think it is in order. The gentleman from Michigan moves that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, October 16, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting estimates of appropriations for improvement of marine hospitals at Baltimore, Md.; Boston, Mass.; New Orleans, La.; New York (Stapleton), N. Y.; San Francisco, Cal.; and Savannah, Ga. (H. Doc. No. 1329), was taken from the Speaker's table, referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BLANTON: A bill (H. R. 13077) providing for the completion of the construction of a bridge across the San Juan River at Shiprock, N. Mex., on the Navajo Indian Reservation; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. MORIN: A bill (H. R. 13078) providing a working fund for the treasurer of the United States Military Academy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. VARE: A bill (H. R. 13079) to provide for the construction of a bridge over the Delaware River between the States of Pennsylvania and New Jersey; to the Committtee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SCULLY: Resolution (H. Res. 444) for the appointment of a committee to investigate the causes and ascertain the losses sustained by the recent explosion at Morgan, N. J.; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CROSSER: A bill (H. R. 13080) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Charles V. Wells; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FIELDS: A bill (H. R. 13081) granting an increase of pension to William M. Nourse; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FOSTER: A bill (H. R. 13082) granting an increase of pension to William Oakley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13083) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of Hiram C. Hall; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KIESS of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 13084) granting a pension to Mary Marley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MOORES of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 13085) granting a pension to Emily F. Washburn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. DALE of New York: Petition of Springport Grange, No. 1184, of Cayuga County, N. Y., protesting against the zone postal rate on second-class mail matter; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of the board of directors of the Albany Chamber of Commerce, favoring widening and deepening the channel of the upper Hudson River in the interest of the development of inland waterways; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, urging Congress to evolve a well-balanced and financially sound revenue bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, *October 16, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

We thank Thee, our Father in heaven, for the sublime faith in Thee, which manifests itself in a thousand deeds of heroism on the field of carnage and in the sacrifices exhibited by all classes, especially the physicians and nurses who are devoting themselves to the preservation of life, the alleviation of suffering, in the terrible scourge which has come upon the people.

Give wisdom to those in authority, courage to those who are battling for the right, that the Christ spirit may be victorious over the foes of liberty and over the terrible scourge which is robbing homes of their dear ones and making desolate the hearts of thousands. Comfort them in the blessed hope of the immortality of the soul and the eternal goodness of God; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, the House was kind enough yesterday to give me 40 minutes in which to address the House. If I may get unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I do not care to take up that time, and I make that request.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the subject of the Postmaster General and strictures made upon him. Is there objection?

Mr. MONDELL. Reserving the right to object, in view of the character of the address I do not feel that consent should be given——

Mr. BLANTON. I will state that there is nothing personal in my address.

Mr. MONDELL. And therefore I object.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. TAGUE, indefinitely, as he is contesting his nomination before the Ballot Law Commission of Massachusetts; and

To Mr. LUNN, indefinitely, on account of illness.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. SHERLEY, chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, reported the bill (H. R. 13086; H. Rept. 830) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, which was ordered printed and referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. STAFFORD reserved all points of order.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask unanimous consent of the House to take up the bill just reported, notwithstanding the rule.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is the gentleman certain that there is any rule that prohibits the gentleman from taking it up immediately?

Mr. SHERLEY. I am not; but it has been a rule of custom, and I would not want to do it over the protest of the membership of the House. But if the House desires, I am prepared to present the bill to the House to-day for consideration.

Mr. NORTON. Has the bill been printed, and is it available for Members?

Mr. SHERLEY. The bill has been printed, and I understand copies will be available for the Members of the House. The hearings are also available.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman from Kentucky serving notice or asking unanimous consent?

Mr. SHERLEY. I make that request, but the gentleman from Florida desires to present a matter, and I am willing to wait a minute or two for that purpose.

INFLUENZA IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for not exceeding five minutes, and I ask to have two letters read, which I send to the desk in further support of the remarks I made the other day.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Florida asks unanimous consent to proceed for not exceeding five minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. CANNON. Pending that, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for a minute about a matter of health.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks to proceed for one minute. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, the fresh air abounds in the Hall of the House. In the street cars, the passenger cars, the hotels generally, the windows are open to admit the fresh air. My observation has been, and my experience is, that with an epidemic of this kind raging, after you get the fresh air you are more subject to the epidemic by the cold draft coming into your face or striking you in the back than you would be without the fresh air. I want to draw the attention of the Members of the House to it in the hope that if the House agrees to it the windows may be closed except when it is necessary to have additional fresh air.

The SPEAKER. The Chair wishes to make a statement. The other morning the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAINEY] asked unanimous consent that the galleries be closed and that the Speaker be directed to have them closed. Unanimous consent was granted, and the Speaker had them closed. Yesterday several Members came to the Speaker, protesting that by having the windows and doors shut up it made an intolerable condition in the House. So the Speaker, with the Doorkeeper, devised a scheme to obviate that condition. That was to put guards at the foot of the stairs so that persons could not get up to the galleries, and open the doors to admit the fresh air. Where doctors disagree, the Chair does not know what to do.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for two minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Louisiana asks unanimous consent to address the House for two minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I spoke of the importance of keeping calm and avoiding hysteria and cooperating with the health authorities in order to control this epidemic. In this epidemic, as in everything else, the middle ground is the safe course. To give you an idea of mistakes that can be made when we are trying to do the right thing, let me say that on a street car the other day it began to rain. It was raining hard and the wind was blowing. They said they could not put the windows down because they had been ordered up. I said: "Well, choose between the two evils. The people were getting wet. Close some windows. Do not let these women and children get wet to the skin, for it may be an hour or two before they get home." It shows that in an epidemic of this kind people are liable to lose their heads and do the wrong thing. The safe thing is to keep the middle ground and avoid extremes.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAZARO. Yes.

Mr. EMERSON. What is the gentleman's advice? He is a physician.

Mr. LAZARO. I would advise that we have air in here all of the time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Florida [Mr. SEARS] is recognized.

Mr. SEARS rose.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I do not want to be placed in the attitude of waiving the time which has been allotted me by not objecting. I presume that time is not waived by not objecting.

The SPEAKER. This has nothing to do with the gentleman's time. Is there objection to the gentleman from Florida proceeding for not to exceed five minutes? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago, as the Members will recall, I took up the question of additional help being brought to Washington. I did this because, as I stated then, I felt I would be guilty of criminal negligence unless I did all in my power to prevent further congestion. I believe the Members of the House agree with my statement that conditions demand prompt action. I want to commend the newspapers of the city of Washington for the stand they have taken in urging the departments not to bring additional help here. At the time I made the statement before the House I said unless some relief was given I would introduce a resolution, but desiring to be absolutely fair I first wrote the Civil Service Commission and will read the two letters which they sent me, one of them being a copy of a letter which was sent to the heads of the several departments:

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., October 14, 1918.

Hon. WM. J. SEARS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SEARS: In reply to your suggestion of October 12 that the commission issue an order restricting appointments of employees for service in Washington on account of the prevailing epidemic, your attention is invited to the inclosed identical letter addressed to heads of departments and appointing officers generally.

Very truly, yours,

J. A. MCILHENNY, *President.*

—

OCTOBER 14, 1918.

The honorable the SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE.

SIR: Upon the request of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the Public Health Service, and the District Health Service that appointments of Government employees be restricted in view of the prevailing epidemic of influenza, the commission has the honor to suggest that the department make requisition upon the commission only for those clerks and other employees absolutely necessary at this time for the maintenance of the war program.

By direction of the commission.

Very respectfully, J. A. MCILHENNY, *President.*

Mr. Speaker, this does not reach the end that I had in view. If it is left to the heads of the departments to make requests for additional employees, I fear employees will continue to be brought to the District. Not naming the department, while visiting some of the departments yesterday I heard the chief of one of them talking about the additional help they expected to bring in at once or in the near future. Certainly they do not understand conditions prevailing here and the already overcrowded condition which exists. I absolutely agree with the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LAZARO] that we should not let hysteria carry us off our feet, and that the best way to fight disease is not to become frightened. Perhaps fright causes more deaths than anything else. Since making my remarks on the floor of this House I had occasion to go out and look up a young lady from my home town, having been informed that she was suffering from the disease. I went to the house at which she was stopping and was informed that they had four cases there, Government workers, one of them very low and not expected to live until night. Everywhere we turned on the streets we met funeral processions. I really believe it will be criminal for the Members of Congress to permit additional help to come to Washington until the epidemic is over and adequate accommodations can be secured. Some weeks ago my wife spent the entire afternoon going over the city in our automobile in an effort to secure comfortable rooms for some young ladies from my district but was not successful. Since then, however, they have secured nice rooms.

In view of the above, to permit other girls to come here, with no home to go to, with no heat in the homes which they finally secure rooms in, with no medical attention if they should get sick, is certainly not fair to them. I sincerely trust the heads of the departments will take into consideration the almost impossible task of securing rooms, the appalling death rate, the overcrowded conditions now existing, and that they will not ask for any additional help. If they persist in it, which I am positive they will not do, I shall introduce a resolution. In fact, I shall take the question up with the President to-day and urge him to issue a proclamation stopping further importation of clerical help to the city until the epidemic is passed and the crowded condition is relieved.

I was told yesterday by a reliable citizen that one day this week a father had to build the coffin for his own child; that two brothers had to dig the grave and bury their brother. If that does not show conditions in the District deserve and should receive at our hands some radical action I am greatly mistaken. I do not care to take up more of the time of the House. I sincerely trust the papers will continue their present fight and that the Members, as I shall do, will urge upon the boys and girls in their districts not to be persuaded entirely through patriotism to come here until they can at least be assured they will be properly cared for. I desire also to commend the Civil Service Commission for the stand taken by them, and also their prompt action.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. RAKER rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from California rise?

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two minutes on the aircraft production and in regard to producing spruce timber which is absolutely needed by the Government at the present time.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, there will probably be an opportunity when we reach some item in the urgent deficiency appropriation bill to speak on anything that is germane to the aircraft production.

Mr. RAKER. Will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. SHERLEY. I shall not yield right now. I believe that the House desires to take up this urgent deficiency appropriation bill right now. [Applause.] I have, as the servant of the House, in order to bring it forward, worked every night for the past two weeks until midnight, Sunday included. I am prepared to go forward with the bill if the House is [applause], and now move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the urgent deficiency appropriation bill.

Mr. BLANTON rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise? [Cries of "Regular order!"]

Mr. BLANTON. To either insist upon my time or, first, to prefer a request for unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. BLANTON. Then I ask for my time.

Mr. RAKER rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to cooperate with the wishes of the House, but this is what the Aircraft Board desires——

The SPEAKER. There is a motion pending.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, the day before yesterday I was granted time by the House. Yesterday it was agreed by the House that immediately after the termination of the bill then under consideration I should be granted 40 minutes. I ask if it is not in order at this time that the 40 minutes allotted me be granted under the order of the House?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, was not that order predicated upon the idea that it was the order of the day?

Mr. BLANTON. Not at all.

Mr. STAFFORD. And not the order of a subsequent day—the order for Monday, the calendar day?

Mr. BLANTON. No; the RECORD will show that it was to follow immediately at the conclusion of the bill then under consideration.

The SPEAKER. Yesterday the House made a special order modifying the old order that when the bill that was under consideration yesterday was concluded the gentleman from Texas should have 40 minutes in which to address the House.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Massachusetts rise?

Mr. WALSH. Will the Chair permit an observation?

The SPEAKER. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Yesterday the gentleman from Texas had the privilege of addressing the House for 40 minutes after the reading of the Journal. A question arose after the Journal was read as to whether or not the gentleman from Texas should immediately proceed, the previous question having been ordered on the Public Health Service reserve measure, and then the gentleman from Texas asked that instead of proceeding, in the absence of any decision by the Chair upon the question which arose, that he might proceed following the disposition of the Public Health Service bill. The original order was for yesterday, and the transfer of his time simply from after the approval of the Journal to after the disposition of the Public Health Service bill, I submit, would not carry the time over to a subsequent day.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, whatever the thought may have been the order is this:

The SPEAKER——

The SPEAKER. Where is the gentleman reading?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Page 11267 of the RECORD of yesterday, October 15:

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] asks unanimous consent to proceed for 40 minutes after the matter which the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER] has in charge is disposed of. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The last item of business yesterday afternoon was the passage of the bill which the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER] had charge of, and I submit that that having been the last business conducted the gentleman is entitled to his 40 minutes, and he was recognized on yesterday and only prevented from proceeding by the absence of a quorum. I ask, Mr. Speaker, again that the gentleman from Texas may be permitted to extend his remarks in the RECORD upon the subject he has indicated.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] be permitted to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the subject of the Postmaster General and the strictures which have been made upon him. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, in spite of the statement of the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee I still have doubt as to whether the gentleman is entitled to time at this time. The gentleman from Texas has had permission before upon two occasions to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Upon one of those occasions it gave rise to serious controversy with his own colleague. Upon the other occasion he peculiarly used the privilege by inserting matters which had nothing to do with the subject for which permission was granted to extend his remarks, and I do not think, in view of that and upon this particular partisan matter which has arisen and which has subsided as far as the House is concerned, that the House ought to permit him to extend his remarks. The House is responsible for this situation, and the House knew when it gave him permission yesterday to transfer the time that this peculiar complication might arise.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALSH. I will.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The gentleman stated just now, as I understood, that the matter had subsided——

Mr. WALSH. As far as he knew, as far as the House was concerned.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Has the gentleman any information as to whether the assault upon the Postmaster General made by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] is being officially circulated?

Mr. WALSH. In reply to the gentleman, I would say I have no information whether the speech of the gentleman from Minnesota attacking certain happenings in which the Postmaster General seemed to have been implicated has been circulated, nor do I know whether either the reply made by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MOON], the gentleman's colleague, or the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BUCHANAN], has been circulated. I have no information upon the subject, but I do submit that the incident, as far as the House is concerned, is closed. We had that dispute the other day. The charges were made, and they were replied to, and it seems to me that this attempt now for an insertion in the RECORD of a supplemental defense by the gentleman from Texas ought not to be approved by the House, and therefore I object.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman object?

Mr. WALSH. I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 40 minutes.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to be heard on the question of order.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will hear the gentleman.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the plain language of the order that was read indicates that it should follow the business that day then before the House. It does not make it a continuing order of the House. There is not a word said that makes it a continuing order of the House. I have no desire to interfere with the gentleman from Texas, but I think it is due the House that we proceed with a matter of such great importance as this deficiency bill as early as possible.

The SPEAKER. Now, the Chair thoroughly sympathizes with the gentleman from Kentucky in his position and in his statement, but the House is entirely too loose about making these special orders and unanimous consents. Now, when the gentleman from Texas asked the last time yesterday the Chair was very slow in putting the request, because he wanted to give everybody plenty of chance to object, but nobody objected. It is a unanimous-consent order that when we got through with the bill which the gentleman from Illinois had in charge that the gentleman from Texas should have 40 minutes. Now, there were a hundred men here, and any one of them could have objected, but they all held their peace. The gentleman from Texas.

THE ATTACK AGAINST THE POSTMASTER GENERAL.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, on September 12 the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER], in a prepared typewritten speech read on the floor of this House, made against the Postmaster General very grave charges, which, if true, convicted the Postmaster General of being a heartless, cruel, selfish, inefficient, dishonest wretch, and warranted his expulsion from public office for all time to come. By reason of his being an important member of our war Cabinet, and a personal friend and close confidential adviser of the President of the United States, I do

not believe that such charges should remain unanswered in every detail.

Notwithstanding his speech was carefully prepared, typewritten, and by him read from manuscript, and he refused all requests to yield to questions seeking at the time to correct his statements, the gentleman before beginning his speech asked for and obtained consent to revise his remarks, which privilege he exercised, by revising his speech before publishing same in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD two days later.

The gentleman began by saying:

To win this war completely and speedily should be the sole purpose and the sole endeavor of every American citizen—

Leading us to expect at least that the words he was about to utter would give some inspiration to our armies abroad. But continuing, he said:

At this time—at any time—criticism of a public official is justified only when the public welfare requires it. Especially is this true respecting one who has attained great heights of power The condition to which our Postal Service has been brought—forced there by the unrelenting and oppressive hand of Albert S. Burleson, the Postmaster General (changed in the revision to read: As it appears by an unrelenting and oppressive system inaugurated by the present Postmaster General)—has become a menace to the Nation's business, to the well-being of our people, and to the welfare of the several hundred thousand employees in his charge.

The occasion of his speech and real purpose of his criticism were gradually unfolded and made manifest as he proceeded, but not until he reached the final paragraph did it appear conclusively that he was merely indulging in cheap politics. I quote it from his original manuscript as read by him, procured from the Public Printer, as follows:

Such is the Burleson attitude toward those who are so unfortunate as to have to work. There has now been placed in his hands the fortunes of 400,000 workers of the telephone and telegraph systems of the country. What is to be their fate? I for one am ready to resolve that the backs of these workers shall never be bared to receive the lash of this modern Simon Legree. There is but one way to stay the hand of this tyrant. Elect this fall a Republican Congress, and that Congress will change the Burleson system, or at least check its further extension. I know of no other way that efficiency may be restored to the great Post Office Department, the well-being of our people served, and three-quarters of a million workers saved from industrial bondage.

Let me read you the following additional excerpts of his speech, from his original manuscript:

From almost the beginning of the Burleson administration we have known something was wrong in the Post Office Department. Recent evidence discloses that conditions there have become critical. The mail system that serves every business, every humble fireside, every brave soldier boy at the front has steadily declined in efficiency, and further demoralization is in progress. Letters sent either fail to arrive or arrive after exasperating delay. It is an everyday, a common occurrence, for letters once posted never to be heard of again. * * * And yet on every hand I find business men complaining of the mail service; families have tried in vain to communicate with absent members; and many a soldier boy in the land "over there" has gone to battle, into that hell of bursting shell, exploding bomb, and deadly machine gun; into that inferno of where the earth beneath him heaves and crumbles, death falls in the track of a thousand volcanoes, and the very air he breathes is poison; gone into battle and died "somewhere in France," and never received the message of love from a praying mother way back home, a message that her old hand penned and tremblingly placed in the mail with a prayer—one Mr. Burleson's system failed to deliver. * * * Investigation discloses that the mail service is demoralized, a demoralization that results from a tyrannical, even brutal, treatment of 300,000 postal employees by the Postmaster General, and from certain policies adopted that seem to ignore all consideration of efficiency. We who knew Mr. Burleson before he became Postmaster General expected that he would administer the office along the narrowest and most bitterly partisan lines. We were in no sense disappointed. He is the arch politician of the time. He can see no proposition except in a bitterly partisan way.

Thus ignoring the fact that we are in war, with our 2,000,000 brave soldiers fighting over scattered battle fronts 3,000 miles away, many of whom scarcely wrote or received letters before the war began but all of whom now write, and have written to them, many letters from relatives and friends, thus increasing the volume of our mails to enormous and unprecedented proportions, and after saddling upon the Postmaster General the responsibilitiy for all delays, without crediting him with any extenuating circumstances whatever, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] presented against the Postmaster General the following 18 additional indictments:

(1) That Mr. Burleson immediately after assuming office falsely asserted through the press that there was a deficit of $732,301.90 left by Mr. Hitchcock, when in fact there was a surplus of $219,118.12, being the first time in the history of the country that the Postal Service was self-supporting.

(2) That Mr. Burleson removed all Republican postmasters from office, and then falsely asserted that the department would be conducted on a purely business and nonpartisan basis.

(3) That the President's order which went into effect on April 1, 1917, taking all postmasters out of politics and placing them upon the merit system based upon competitive civil-service examinations, was a mere pretense and make-believe.

(4) That Burleson's system required the Civil Service Commission to place a representative of Burleson on the examining board of three to dominate the board, and that Burleson prescribed the method of marking the percentage to be given for this, that, and the other, enabling the Postmaster General to keep the appointments well in hand.

(5) That the Civil Service Commission has been made an agency of the Postmaster General, its freedom destroyed, and its capacity to act justly and fairly taken away.

(6) That the greatest cause of inefficiency in the Postal Service is Burleson's treatment of his employees. The Burleson mind is the tyrant's mind; the Burleson system the tyrant's system. Almost at once Burleson attacked the workers under him with the fury of a tyrant. Apparently to see workers well paid, contented, and in high spirit, doing their best, drives him to frenzy. There is no length he will not go to prevent it, no height he will not climb, no depth he will not descend.

(7) That Burleson contemptuously ignores acts of Congress; that a few years ago he robbed the rural mail carriers out of the $100 increase given them by Congress, amounting to $3,000,000.

(8) That Burleson arbitrarily reduced the salaries of collectors in the City Delivery Service from $1,200 to $1,000, and continued the practice even after ordered by Congress to restore it.

(9) That Burleson took from the boys delivering special-delivery letters the 8 cents remuneration they had been in the habit of receiving and put the boys on a miserly salary, or one of his favorite contract systems, as he couldn't endure seeing a boy earn the whole 8 cents the patron had placed on the letter for that purpose.

(10) That substitutes for carriers, who had been hanging between life and starvation, getting 30 cents an hour when they worked, were shoved a little nearer starvation by Burleson, who cut their scanty wages to 27½ cents per hour.

(11) That a cheap labor contract system, without regard to efficiency, always looks good to Burleson, and he has tried his best to have established such a system in the place of the present rural carrier system.

(12) That repressive measures of all kinds have been put into effect; privileges enjoyed by employees, making their work more agreeable and life more pleasant, have all been taken away, and now men are chained to their work, cowed and browbeaten.

(13) That when the National Guard were sent to the border in 1916, Burleson required the many members in the Postal Service to resign their places, depriving their families of means of subsistence.

(14) That Burleson refused to permit a letter carrier to attend his father's funeral.

(15) That Burleson has made it almost a capital offense for a postmaster to be on good terms with the employees of his office, and showers smiling favor upon them for harsh and exacting treatment of employees.

(16) That Burleson hates labor unions, and during five years has not permitted much to remain of the organizations of his employees; that he refused to permit Mr. E. J. Gainor, president of an organization, to attend a convention, and his attitude is important because he is the political dictator of this administration, directing the administration's policies in this regard, and thus likely to affect millions of workers in the land.

(17) That Mr. Burleson is a man of great wealth—perhaps the wealthiest man in this Cabinet—inheriting a large quantity of land in Texas.

(18) That Burleson, with his brother-in-law, operated a farm of several thousand acres in Texas with convict labor hired from the State, and conditions became so unspeakable and, in a legislative investigation, were found to be so monstrous on the Burleson and other farms that all Texas was horrified and the legislature forever prohibited such practice in the future; that the poor wretches who were to toil and suffer to enrich the great Burleson were the young lads whose feet had strayed for the first time and the old men whose faltering steps would soon lead them to the grave, and to these were added those suffering from sickness or bodily infirmity, and the treatment of whom [for which Mr. Burleson was held responsible by the gentleman from Minnesota] was the following: Convicts worked in the morning as early as the guard could see, and returned to buildings between sundown and dark; excessive work and general bad treatment, making wrecks of many strong men; requiring men to run to and from their work from 1 to 3 miles, and while worked pushed excessively; convicts often whipped, using a short handle of wood to which were fastened several straps 5 feet long, each above an inch wide, under which cruel lash the naked flesh was cut and torn, and in many instances the poor sufferer died; B. F. Luce punished 18 licks for laziness, and Joe Oliver 17 licks. Picture, if you can, these tender youths in their teens, these tottering old men, these sick and infirm, with bared backs, receiving the lash for laziness. Little wonder they sank and died. J. C. Zachery forced to wade the river in cold weather of all kinds; P. Hubbard afraid to tell of bad treatment because the punishment would be more severe than he could stand. J. B. Maurice heard the inspector tell the men, "I have turned you all over to Capt. Brooks, and if 20 licks won't do I'll give orders for 120; and if that don't do, by the eternal gods, I will give 1,020. J. S. Lowery knew of guards whipping Foster four or five times a day, and they beat him up until they saw he was going to die, and placed him in a tree infested with ants, which got on him. Behold that picture, if you can. This man, with naked body, torn by lash and bleeding from a score of wounds, compelled to stand on an old stump while ants swarmed over him, crawled into his wounds, and stung his quivering flesh into a frenzy of pain. Three other men murdered there, one that couldn't keep up with the squad, and the guard tied a rope around his neck and tied it to the horn of his saddle. He lived three days. Another, named Dunn, was beaten to death. A Mexican, whipped with Dunn, died this same night. The guard whipped them till they gave out and then tied them down in the field with their faces up to the sun. Mr. Chairman, hell can have no terrors for convicts that toiled and suffered on the Burleson farm. Such is the Burleson attitude toward those who are so unfortunate as to have to work. There has now been placed in his hands the fortunes of 400,000 workers of the telephone and telegraph systems of the country. What is to be their fate? I, for one, am ready to resolve that the backs of these workers shall never be bared to receive the lash of this modern Simon Legree.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I have quoted the foregoing excerpts from the gentleman's speech as actually made here on the floor, copying same from his manuscript, because his revision published two days later was materially changed.

Who is this Postmaster General whom the gentleman has so viciously condemned? A member of a family in Texas honorable for generations. He was the assistant city attorney of Austin, the capital of Texas, from 1885 to 1890; was attorney of the twenty-sixth judicial district of Texas from 1891 to

1896; each time without any opposition in his own party he was elected to the Fifty-sixth, Fifty-seventh, Fifty-eighth, Fifty-ninth, Sixtieth, Sixty-first, Sixty-second, and Sixty-third Congresses, and while serving in such honored capacity he became the Postmaster General of the United States.

CONVICT LABOR ON BURLESON FARM.

In what manner was Mr. Burleson connected with or responsible for the unpardonable cruelties alleged against him? In what manner did he sin? To utilize its convicts, the State of Texas leased from owners a number of farms, among which was one owned partly by Mr. Burleson. While reciting his condemnation, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] had in his pocket a copy of this lease contract—now printed on pages 10256, 10257, and 11120, of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—which, by its specific recitations, proves conclusively that the States of Texas had absolute custody, control, and management of its convicts, worked them under its own guards, fed them, clothed them, disciplined them, and had exclusive operation and care of them, and that neither Mr. Burleson nor any other owner of the land had anything whatever to do with such convicts. No matter how deservedly certain State officials may have merited censure, why should Mr. Burleson be condemned, when he had no knowledge of or connection with the matter, and was wholly innocent of any wrongdoing? He, with another, merely leased their farm to the State of Texas. Mr. Burleson in Washington attending to his official duties had nothing whatever to do with the method the State of Texas used in working its leased land with its convicts.

During his speech, when the gentleman refused to yield to a question seeking to correct his unwarranted accusations against the Postmaster General, I caused a quorum of the House ordered to hear his assertions, because I knew the facts would not support them. Since then I have gone to the trouble to procure from the chief clerk of the Post Office Department the following facts connected with each criticism in detail, and in presenting same, furnished me upon request by the chief clerk of the Post Office Department, I can assure you that said chief clerk vouches for the correctness of each statement made.

TRANSMISSION OF DOMESTIC MAILS.

Reports of the daily operations of the Postal Service show that the mail, though presented in greater volume than ever before in the history of the country, is being handled much more expeditiously than in previous years.

That there has been delay, sometimes quite serious, in the transmission of the mails is a matter of public knowledge, and while it is regretted that there are such delays the public generally thoroughly understands that they are for the most part unavoidable because of conditions growing out of the war and are not due to inefficiency, as some would have the public believe. All of us have experienced some inconvenience. Letters have been delayed and have even miscarried altogether. Who has not expected it, with 2,000,000 soldiers scattered abroad and millions of men and women in America away from their homes laboring in strange places, daily striving to help win the war. With an ordinary laborer earning several times as much as Congress pays to postal employees, almost every department of the Postal Service has had its working force depleted. Many experienced employees have been sent abroad. We should all be patriotic enough to adapt ourselves to war-time conditions and be able to comprehend the difficulties under which every branch of the Government service and every line of business is working, giving all the strength that is in them toward the successful prosecution of the war. The great majority of you patriotic Republicans will not contend that the Postal Service is "inefficient." In order to gain political office and win back the control of this House is it necessary for you Republicans to publicly proclaim to our deadly enemies in Germany and Austria, to our battling allies, and to our brave soldiers in France that a leading Member of the Cabinet of the United States, selected by the great President of this Nation, the confidential adviser of the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy, is a heartless, cruel, selfish, inefficient, unreliable, deceitful, dishonest, oppressive, murderous tyrant? Will the loyal, patriotic Republicans of this Nation who are standing behind the President to win this war, approve of such action in this critical emergency by rewarding you with their vote? It can not be expected that the Postal Service will be as perfect or as highly efficient during war times, with all the obstacles and handicaps growing out of the war, as it is under normal conditions.

In spite of the efficient administration of the Government service at this time, or how much money may be expended, it is utterly impracticable to entirely eliminate such delays, whether they may affect the Postal Establishment or some other branch of the Government service, and it is the part of all loyal Americans to adapt themselves to war conditions and cooperate with the Government and to frown upon the faultfinders.

The people have the right to criticize any branch of the Government, but in war time especially such criticisms to be justified should not only be required by the public welfare, as the gentleman stated, but should be made in good faith, and should be intelligent, honest, reasonable, and just.

SOLDIERS' MAIL.

No responsibility rests, or has rested, with the Post Office Department for delays in soldiers' mail. The Post Office Department established a postal service in France to facilitate the delivery of mail for our Expeditionary Forces. On account of objection on the part of military authorities information as to the location of troops and facilities for the transmission of mail were withheld from the civil postal officials to such an extent as to cause delays in the mail. To overcome this all responsibility for the delivery of mail to the Expeditionary Force in France after leaving the American port was transferred to the Army. The delays that occurred in delivering soldiers' mail when the Post Office Department had charge of it in France was due to the fact that the military authorities felt that the civilian postal employees should not be given military information as to the location of troops, and so forth. In justice to the Post Office Department it must be stated that the War Department, when it did take over the delivery of soldiers' mail in France, had to give to the people who handled the mail identically the same information that they had theretofore declined to give to the Post Office Department. This fact is not to be taken as any criticism of the War Department or the Post Office Department, but simply to explain a condition, namely, that it was finally determined that it was absolutely necessary for the people handling the mail to have this information before it could be delivered promptly. All of this is explained fully in the statement of Capt. Frank E. Frazier, United States Army, which following my remarks I would like to insert in the RECORD as Exhibit A.

POSTAL REVENUES.

Under the administration of Postmaster General Hitchcock—Republican—there was an audited postal deficit of $1,785,523.10 for the year ending June 30, 1912, the year next preceding that in which Mr. Burleson assumed charge of the Post Office Department.

The audited postal surplus June 30, 1913, during the first year of Mr. Burleson's administration, was $4,510,650.91; in 1914 the surplus was $4,376,463.05.

For the fiscal year 1915 postal receipts remained practically stationary, due largely to war conditions, whereas normally the increase of receipts each year is about 7.21 per cent. The normal increase would have added about $21,000,000 to the receipts of the department. In the absence of any increase in the receipts normally to be counted upon naturally there was a deficit that year of $1,133,308.97.

For the fiscal year 1916 there was an audited surplus of $5,829,236.07. For the year 1917 Postmaster General Burleson showed there was an audited surplus of $9,836,211.90.

From 1883, when Postmaster General Gresham—a Democrat under Cleveland's administration—reported an audited surplus of $2,181,352.57, until 1911 there was a deficit every year during Republican administrations, the smallest deficit being $2,961,169.91, and ranging from that to a deficit of $16,910,278.99 in 1908 and a deficit of $17,479,770.47 in 1909.

For the year 1911 Postmaster General Hitchcock—Republican—reported an apparent—not real—surplus of $219,118.12. This was a small saving compared with the surpluses of 1882 and 1883, when Postmaster General Gresham—Democrat—reported surpluses of $1,253,923.57 and $2,181,352.57, respectively. Since these surpluses, accomplished under a Democratic administration in the years 1882 and 1883, there has been a deficit every year since 1865 until the advent of the Democratic administration of Woodrow Wilson and Postmaster General Burleson, when the several large surpluses hereinbefore specified have been brought about, and at the same time when the Postal Service of the United States is recognized perhaps as the finest of any country in the world.

ONE REASON FOR BURLESON'S UNPOPULARITY—POSTAGE RATES ON SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

The estimated loss to the Government in the difference between the revenue and the cost for transportation for carrying second-class matter was, in round numbers, $77,000,000 in 1913, $79,000,000 in 1914, $81,000,000 in 1915, and $88,000,000 in 1916, which large sums of money represented a virtual subsidy to publishers. Under the law advocated by Mr. Burleson which became effective July 1, 1918, known as the postal-zone law,

the rate of postage on second-class matter was increased, thereby reducing to a considerable extent the tremendous loss of revenue which had been sustained by the Government, to the benefit of rich publishers, so many years through the handling of this heavy mail matter. If publishers were required to pay the whole cost of handling their publications through the mail, it would easily permit us to adopt a 1-cent basis for letter postage.

REAPPOINTED REPUBLICAN POSTMASTER.

It so happens that in my old home town of Albany, Tex., four years ago Postmaster General Burleson reappointed as postmaster Frank K. Sterrett, a lifelong Republican, who within the last 60 days has been reappointed the second time.

CIVIL SERVICE.

Neither the Postmaster General nor what the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER], in his revised speech, has termed the Post Office Department "system" intrudes upon nor seeks to destroy the freedom of action of the Civil Service Commission. The Civil Service Commission for its own convenience and to facilitate the determination of efficiency selects from branches of the Government service for which examinations are to be held one examiner from that branch of the service having special knowledge of the requirements of the service. This selection is by the Civil Service Commission and is entirely a matter of their system of efficiency and is their usual custom and rule. From a full explanation of the matter, which following my remarks I would like to insert in the RECORD as "Exhibit B," I quote the following:

The post-office inspector is an examiner designated by the Civil Service Commission, and in that capacity he acts solely under the commission's direction and control. He does not take part in any way in marking. The inspector makes no report to the Post Office Department. The only report made is a joint report by the representative of the commission and the inspector to the commission. This report is a mere report of facts and contains no recommendations.

The marking is made by the commission at Washington, just as is done in other nonassembled examinations, and is based upon the facts set forth by the applicants in statements of their careers, and the supplemental report of facts set forth in the report by the representative of the commission and the inspector.

There are nearly 3,000 of these boards of examiners required by law, composed of persons already in the service of the United States.

PAY OF RURAL CARRIERS.

Postmaster General Burleson did not ignore or disregard a law with reference to an increase of rural carriers' pay from $1,100 to $1,200. On the contrary he has always insisted that Government employees should be justly compensated and the Government should be a model employer. This applies to rural carriers as it does to all other postal employees. The act of March 9, 1914, provided "that on and after July 1, 1914, letter carriers of Rural Delivery Service shall receive a salary not to exceed $1,200 per annum." The Post Office Department made an adjustment of salaries under this law on the basis of service rendered, which included no reductions in compensation and which made increases based on service rendered as measured by distance of the route, the number of pieces of mail handled, and the number of pounds of matter carried. The increases on this basis, which is believed to be a fair and equitable basis of pay, ranged from $100 to $452, as measured by service. Following my remarks I would like to insert in the RECORD as "Exhibit C" an illustration of how this worked out.

While the Postmaster General felt that arbitrary horizontal increases of pay to rural carriers based on mileage alone, without taking into account the nature and amount of service rendered by such rural carriers, was not equitable or fair to the Government, he did not oppose temporary war-time increases.

PAY OF COLLECTORS—CITY DELIVERY SERVICE.

The Post Office Department at no time reduced letter carriers from $1,200 to $1,000 for the reason that they were performing collection service only. Letter carriers were reduced from $1,200 to $1,100 on account of their inability to perform a reasonable day's work as delivery carriers. In nearly every case in which reduction was made the carrier voluntarily consented to this reduction. In nearly all cases of reduction, it was a question of either reducing and paying a salary commensurate to the work performed or removing the carrier from the service on account of inefficiency. Following my remarks I would like to insert into the RECORD as Exhibits "D," "E," and "F" documents verifying the above.

SPECIAL DELIVERY MESSENGERS.

Special delivery messengers receive 8 cents for each piece of mail so delivered. Experiments were made at several post offices to determine whether or not better service could be given and at the same time easier and better working conditions obtained for the messengers by placing them on a per diem basis rather than on a piece basis, but this did not work out satisfactorily. A few days after hearing the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] assert "that the Postmaster General could not endure seeing a boy earn the whole 8 cents, hence took from the boys delivering special delivery letters the 8 cents and put them on a miserly salary," a messenger came in my office to deliver a letter, and upon request, he gave me the following statement of facts as they exist, to wit:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September 17, 1918.*

I, Harry Perskin, state that I am 16 years of age, and reside at 508 Virginia Avenue SE., Washington, D. C., where I have lived during the past three years, having lived in Washington practically all of my life. I am employed by the Post Office Department to deliver special delivery letters in Washington, D. C. During the whole time I have been so employed I have received as remuneration 8 cents for each and every letter I deliver. I work eight hours a day, and am allowed to work overtime if I want to do so to earn extra compensation, but that is left optional with me. I make on an average of $5 per day. I have always been treated courteously by department officials, and am perfectly satisfied with my job.

HARRY PERSKIN.

SUBSTITUTE CARRIERS' PAY.

The law in effect prior to July 1, 1918, fixed the compensation of substitute carriers at 35 cents and 40 cents per hour. The 35-cent rate was paid to carriers performing auxiliary service—that is, service in addition to that performed by regular carriers. The 40-cent rate was paid for substitute service where the carrier for whom substitution was made was absent without pay. The department at no time during the years that law was in effect paid a rate less than 35 and 40 cents an hour for the respective service. Therefore, any statement that the pay of substitute carriers was cut down from 30 cents to 27½ cents per hour is incorrect and without foundation in fact.

WORKING CONDITIONS FOR EMPLOYEES.

No special privileges for enjoying and making agreeable the work of employees were taken from them, nor has there been any browbeating, chaining, or cowing of employees. Any statement that the department has permitted or condoned such practices is without foundation.

MILITARY LEAVE.

No record was kept of the number of employees who resigned in 1916 to do service in the National Guard on the Mexican border, but all who did so were reinstated upon request after their return. These men were dropped from the rolls temporarily in order that the department might be able to appoint some person to take their places during their absence, thereby preventing the Postal Service from suffering due to the lack of men.

No person has suffered any injustice or unfair treatment by reason of the action taken in this matter. It is not only the desire but the firm purpose of the department to recognize in the most substantial and practical way possible the loyalty and unselfishness of everyone of its employees who offered his services to his country in active military duty as some of those men did on the Mexican border, and as other of our brave sons are doing at the front in France.

LEAVE FOR EMPLOYEES.

The department has no record of refusing to grant a letter carrier leave of absence to attend his father's funeral, and the statement to that effect is unwarranted. The order of the Postmaster General mentioned in No. 13, while denying absence without pay to employees, the practice of the department has been to grant such leave in exceptionally meritorious cases, such as sickness or death in the immediate family. This practice has been followed by the department in every instance, and the department's records show many cases where leave has been granted not only to allow employees to attend a relative's funeral but in instances where it was necessary for a carrier to take his wife or relative to a sanatorium or to a State remote. The department is following this practice at the present time.

TREATMENT OF EMPLOYEES.

Postmasters have never been influenced to mistreat their employees. On the contrary, as stated in No. 15, every possible effort has been made, and will continue to be made by the department, to accord to the employees the fairest and most considerate treatment that is possible. Any statement to the contrary is unwarranted.

POSTAL ORGANIZATIONS.

The department has never at any time opposed organizations of postal employees where their aims have been unselfish and for the improvement and betterment of the Postal Service, but in a few instances where certain organizations, and especially their leaders, misguided, or actuated by selfish motives, have sought to interfere with the proper discipline and administration in the Government service, the department has expressed its disapproval of their conduct. "They should," the Postmaster General has said, "be permitted to form organizations for their social and moral welfare, appear before committees

in Congress, when requested, and give any information concerning the Postal Service of which they may have knowledge." Following my remarks, I would like to insert in the RECORD as "Exhibit G" such recommendations on pages 31 to 35 of the Annual Report of the Postmaster General for 1917. In a few minutes I hope to revert to this subject and show that the Postmaster General's prophecy was well founded.

LEAVE CASE OF E. J. GAINOR.

No discrimination was made against Mr. E. J. Gainor in refusing him leave of absence. His case came within the general order previously issued which was essential to the efficiency of the Postal Service and which order, in fairness and justice, had to be applied alike without fear or favoritism to all employees. The order of the Postmaster General dated April 6, 1917, reads:

Owing to the many unusual duties which of necessity will be imposed on the Postal Service because of the existence of a state of war with Germany, it is imperative that the department utilize to the fullest extent the services of its experienced employees. It has heretofore been the practice not only to grant employees leave of absence with pay, as authorized by law, but leave of absence without pay when the service would not be seriously impaired. However, owing to the emergency which now confronts us it becomes necessary to cancel all leaves of absence except those granted to employees with pay, those to employees on military duty, and those to employees absent on account of sickness. All other employees on leave without pay are hereby directed to report to their respective posts of duty immediately.

Hereafter leaves of absence will not be granted except for the purposes mentioned above, and all regulations in conflict with this order are hereby rescinded until further notice.

BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS AND SALARIES.

As a matter of fact, postal employees get just whatever salaries Congress provides for them, and the Post Office Department is compelled, under the law, to pay the salaries appropriated by Congress.

In this connection it is proper to emphasize the fact that postal employees are receiving much larger salaries and are enjoying much better working conditions than was ever true under any Republican administration. In addition to the regular and automatic increases in salaries that have come to employees in the Government service under the Democratic administration, Congress has generously appropriated money for horizontal increases. Many instances could be cited where the Democratic administration has provided material benefits for Government employees, among which may be mentioned the employees' compensation act. This does not take into account the very general policy throughout every branch of the service, including the Post Office Department, to improve and make easier the conditions under which the employees work; looking to cleaner and better sanitary conditions, the safeguarding of their health, the protection of their lives, and to making their hours of work easier, more equitable, and just. Never in the history of the department has there been such generous and sympathetic consideration of the employees in the Postal Service as has been brought about under the administration of Woodrow Wilson and Postmaster General Burleson.

HOURS OF WORK, SALARIES, ETC.

The employees of the Postal Service divided into groups, showing the number in each group and the salaries and the number of hours they work, are as follows:

CITY LETTER CARRIERS AND POST-OFFICE CLERKS.

City letter carriers and collectors. Not subdivided: 34,543.

[NOTE.—All salaries of post-office employees, during the fiscal year, of $2,200 and less are increased $200, and above that 5 per cent.]

Post-office clerks and supervisory officers.

New grades:	Number of employees.
$1,000	8,112
$1,100	2,398
$1,200	2,310
$1,300	5,203
$1,400	16,474
$1,500	5,180
$1,600	1,692
$1,700	876
$1,800	287
$1,900	176
$2,000	156
$2,200	173
$2,400	33
$2,400	55
$2,500	33
$2,600	27
$2,700	21
$3,000	14
$3,200	10

In regard to the hours worked by city carriers, postmasters in all cases have been directed to schedule these employees on an 8 in 10 hour schedule. That schedule applies to delivery carriers, collectors, and clerks. In some instances postmasters have exercised their right under the law and with the sanction of this bureau to work clerks and carriers overtime in cases of emergency. That law did not permit, however, to schedule these employees for a day in excess of 8 in 10 hours, and where it is necessary to work a carrier a greater number of hours, the employee is paid for such overtime at a rate proportioned to his salary.

Emergencies have always arisen wherein it was necessary to employ carriers and clerks more than eight hours a day, and such emergencies will continue so long as the service continues. In most cases clerks and carriers have asked for the privilege of making overtime, but unless it can be shown that this overtime is absolutely necessary and can not be performed by substitutes the requests have been denied.

RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE.

Number of employees and salaries.

Division superintendent ($3,250, plus 5 per cent), $3,412.50	15
Assistant division superintendents ($2,250, plus 5 per cent), $2,362.50	15
Assistant superintendents ($2,350, plus 5 per cent), $2,467.50	2
Chief clerks, $2,300	112
Grade 10, $2,000	379
Grade 9, $1,900	1,840
Grade 8, $1,800	446
Grade 7, $1,700	7,184
Grade 6, $1,600	739
Grade 5, $1,500	1,983
Grade 4, $1,400	3,000
Grade 3, $1,300	96
Grade 2, $1,200	34
Grade 1, $1,100	1,907
Laborers ($780, plus 20 per cent), $936	109
Joint employees, $300 or less	15

HOURS OF DUTY.

The terminal railway post offices and transfer offices in railroad stations are organized on the basis of eight hours a day six days a week.

The railway post-office trains are classified into three classes with reference to the work performed, responsibility, and so forth, viz, class 1, light; class 2, medium; class 3, heavy. In many cases, owing to the varying conditions of train service the needs of the service require that clerks on the trains shall work more than eight hours on the days when they are on duty, and they are therefore given compensatory time off duty. In organizing the clerical force in the railway post-office trains the department endeavors to approximate a daily average of hours of work on the basis of figures six days a week of seven and one-half hours for class A, light; seven hours for class B, medium; six and one-half hours for class C, heavy.

RURAL DELIVERY AND STAR ROUTE SERVICE.

There were 43,335 rural carriers in the service on July 1, 1918, receiving the following salaries:

Number of employees.	
7	$576.00
32	633.60
126	691.20
297	748.80
166	806.40
90	818.40
87	830.40
85	842.40
25	954.40
203	864.00
49	912.00
56	924.00
77	936.00
49	948.00
5	960.00
395	1,008.00
39	1,104.00
27	1,116.00
20	1,128.00
17	1,140.00
925	1,152.00
2,211	1,296.00
4,616	1,382.40
4,148	1,440.00
6,525	1,464.00
5,490	1,488.00
4,665	1,512.00
4,316	1,536.00
3,494	1,560.00
2,677	1,584.00
831	1,608.00
379	1,632.00
149	1,656.00
109	1,680.00
74	1,704.00
46	1,728.00
1	1,752.00
97	2,044.80
730	2,160.00

It is impossible to determine exactly the time each one of these carriers is employed, as a schedule is fixed for each route varying from 3 to 9 hours.

On the same date there were 10,910 star-route contractors being paid in accordance with contracts and schedule fixed for each route.

THE GENTLEMAN FROM MINNESOTA NOT WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

On June 29, 1918, the President of the United States vetoed the Post Office bill because it contained the retention of the pneumatic-tube system, stating in his veto message:

I am convinced that there is no moral or legal obligation resting on the Government to continue the use of these tubes by rental. * * * There are many reasons why the present pneumatic-tube systems are not efficient devices for the transmission of mail. Among these reasons is their limited capacity, which makes it impossible to use them to meet conditions of emergency. Furthermore, experience has demonstrated that the tubes are unreliable, because of breakdowns and stoppages. During such breakdowns they cease operation for hours, and even for days together, and it is often necessary to dig up the streets to obtain the mail clogged in the tubes. When these breakdowns occur it is necessary immediately to substitute vehicular service, which results in a confusion of schedules and disorganization of the transportation and delivery service and the delay in the forwarding of large numbers of letters. Not only are letters delayed in this way but because of defects in tubes, carelessness on the part of the operators, and accidents of various sorts the tubes soil or damage many thousand letters and in some instances destroy them.

Against the big lobby maintained and pneumatic-tube propaganda circulated here the Postmaster General had dared to recommend the discontinuance of tubes, which immediately made him unpopular with all parties interested in same. On final vote the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER], together with many other prominent Republicans, voted to override the President's veto and to continue to expend millions of dollars of the people's money for these inefficient and expensive tubes. Thus in this instance we find the gentleman lined up against the President.

Again, when the President vetoed the Agricultural appropriation bill, because in same the price of wheat had been increased above the sum the President had fixed, on July 13, 1918, we find the gentleman from Minnesota, together with other prominent Republicans, lining up against the President and voting to override him by passing the wheat raise over his veto.

Again, when the President sent his message to Congress on July 1, 1918, stating that he had felt constrained to veto the legislative appropriation bill because it increased the hours of work for Government employees from seven to eight hours, we find the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER], who has expressed so much apprehension about this administration not giving the laboring man a square deal, lining up against the President and against organized labor by voting to override the President and to pass the increase of hours' provision over the President's veto. Yet he condemns Mr. Burleson simply because he recommended a policy that would prevent Government employees from striking against the Government. When Congress passed this Borland amendment, requiring the 240,000 Government employees to work eight instead of seven hours, Mr. Gompers and other labor leaders demanded its repeal, and demand was made upon the President to veto the provision, and through the press the employees in war time threatened to walk out and resign their jobs, leaving their Government helpless, just what Mr. Burleson had prophesied against. Though he himself was lined up against organized labor when the crucial test vote came on this proposition, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] found the Democratic President of the United States standing firmly behind the laboring man.

In the Federal Employee, the official magazine of the National Federation of Federal Employees, for June, 1918, the vote cast by each Congressman on the Borland amendment, requiring the 240,000 Government employees to work eight instead of only seven hours per day, is given, with the following comment:

If a Congressman's votes and policies have been against the interests of employees this fact should be made known throughout his district, and if he has shown an attitude offensive toward organized labor every voter in his district should know it.

And this red-flag admonition to all organized labor voters was sent broadcast into the districts of the various Congressmen who had dared to vote to require employees to work eight hours a day during war times.

Again, from the September issue of the Federal Employee I quote:

THE DEFEAT OF REPRESENTATIVE BORLAND, AS TOLD BY ONE OF OUR BRETHREN WHO WAS IN THE FRAY—A REMARKBLE DEMONSTRATION OF THE VALUE OF UNION SOLIDARITY AND AFFILIATION.

[By Gilbert E. Hyatt, president of National Federation of Postal Employees.]

Those ultraconservative members of the civil service who have not realized the value of organization, particularly in its inevitable and most beneficial aspect, that of affiliation with the other great organized agencies under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, have been given a demonstration so plain that he who runs may read of what these things mean and of the real spirit of unionism.

No Federal employee is ignorant of the constant persecution of his brothers in the District of Columbia under the guise of establishing what Mr. BORLAND was pleased to name an eight-hour day. The single-minded persistence of the advocate of this measure, culminating in the veto by President Wilson of the appropriation bill carrying the amendment in question, is too well known in all details to need repetition, but the story of BORLAND'S rebuke and defeat by organized labor simply on this ground is a lesson that every member of the civil service should ponder on, for in it is contained the secret of any future defense that they will make and of any future gains for their cause. * * *

An appeal was made to organized labor and every legislative agent in Washington responded. President Gompers sent a scathing telegram to the Central Labor Union of Kansas City (BORLAND'S home), and the legislative agents of the railroad brotherhoods went on record in the plainest language. The writer of this article had the honor, as a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, of bearing their personal message to the railroad men of Kansas City. As a result the Kansas City central body passed a resolution without a dissenting word or vote at a crowded meeting condemning BORLAND and instructing their legislative committee to organize the campaign for his defeat. A joint committee of railroad men was formed to do a like service for their members, and the outcome was the overwhelming defeat now passed into history. * * *

It should be fully appreciated by the civil-service employees that these men had not one iota of personal interest in the point at issue, and that they had no personal contact with the class of workers attacked. * * * Mr. BORLAND had done many favors of a personal nature for members of organized labor in his district, and many of the men who worked for his defeat expressed friendship for him, but factional alignments, craft divisions, and personal friendships were thrown aside to fight for a basic standard of their doctrine.

I quote the concluding paragraph of the said telegram sent by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, also published in this magazine, which is as follows:

Let the inspiring word go forth, "We stand by our friends," and administer a stinging rebuke to men of any party who are either indifferent or hostile.

What was Congressman BORLAND'S crime committed for which his office was taken away from him as a punishment? He merely asked that Government employees in war times work eight instead of seven hours per day. He conscientiously believed that when we required our soldier boys to work sometimes 24 hours out of the 24, sometimes in trenches drenched and knee deep in mud, on $33 per month, who, if he momentarily slept from exhaustion or should demand a single dollar more pay, would be stood up against a wall and shot in eternal dishonor, that it was not unreasonable to demand of Government employees, many of whom were filling the jobs vacated by these soldier boys, and who were working under pleasant surroundings and safe environments, that in war times especially they should work eight instead of seven hours. By a roll-call vote the House of Representatives twice went on record supporting Mr. BORLAND in his contention.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. WALSH. I rise to a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman is discussing a matter wholly irrelevant to the subject for which he got permission to address the House. He is talking about the defeat of one of his Democratic colleagues from the great State of Missouri, and is not discussing the attack made by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] upon the Post Office Department and the Postmaster General.

The SPEAKER. Has what the gentleman is saying anything to do with the Postmaster General?

Mr. BLANTON. In this way, that the gentleman who wrote this article is the president of the National Federation of Postal Employees, and the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] stated in his denunciation of the Postmaster General that the Postmaster General was the enemy of all such organizations, and I am showing that the gentleman from Minnesota himself voted this very same vote against these postal employees which was denounced by the president of this organization.

The SPEAKER. I know; but what the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] quoted had nothing to do with the subject matter——

Mr. BLANTON. But it has this connection, Mr. Speaker: The gentleman from Minnesota stated that the Postmaster General was an enemy to all organizations of labor for several reasons, and mentioned them. One of those reasons——

The SPEAKER. But what has Mr. BORLAND'S defeat to do with the Postmaster General or with the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER]?

Mr. BLANTON. One of the reasons given by the Postmaster General in his annual report—I do not presume this is being taken out of my time, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER. No.

Mr. BLANTON. One of the reasons intimated by the Postmaster General in his annual report, and as condemned by the gentleman from Minnesota, why a postal clerk should not be permitted to join labor unions or federated unions in any way, was that they would attack Members of Congress for their vote on the floor of the House; that they were engaged in political activities here and in the districts of the Congress-

men; that they would attempt to defeat Members of Congress and Senators who were against their demands.

The SPEAKER. Granting all that, what has the race that Mr. BORLAND made, ending in his defeat, to do with the Postmaster General?

Mr. BLANTON. It shows that the Postmaster General was correct, because the president of the Federation of Postal Employees states that he went into the district of Mr. BORLAND himself; that he gloated over the fact that not only he did it, but the president of the American Federation of Labor sent a denunciatory telegram into that district that caused the defeat of the Member of Congress.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman is getting farther into the forest, Mr. Speaker; and I submit that the gentleman ought not, when he gets permission to address the House and reply to the attack made by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER], to then take opportunity to gloat or to comment upon the felicitory articles and telegrams upon the defeat of one of his Democratic colleagues.

Mr. BLANTON. I approve of the action of Mr. BORLAND. I am not gloating over his defeat. I do not think he should have been defeated on that ground.

The SPEAKER. I know; but what happened to Mr. BORLAND or did not happen to him had nothing to do with the controversy that was precipitated by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] touching the Postmaster General.

Mr. BLANTON. The point I was trying to make, Mr. Speaker, was that the prediction and prophecy of the Postmaster General came true, in that the heads of these organizations did violate the law concerning political activity by civil-service employees and did go into congressional districts.

The SPEAKER. I know; but that leads up to an entirely different subject, and one that has no limits to it.

Mr. BLANTON. That was a subject matter that was discussed on the floor of the House by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER]—the action of the Postmaster General, specifically—and it was claimed in his speech that he was an enemy to organized labor.

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not think that the campaign in the Jackson County district in Missouri has anything to do on earth with this controversy.

Mr. BLANTON. I was through with that subject, anyway.

The SPEAKER. Well, leave that out and proceed.

Mr. BLANTON. Does the Speaker hold that as far as I have gone is——

The SPEAKER. Whatever you read goes into the RECORD, unless somebody moves to strike it out to-morrow.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike it out in so far as the gentleman's remarks pertain to my colleague from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER].

The SPEAKER. The very thing he is doing is answering the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER]. That is what he got permission for.

Mr. BLANTON. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER], with other leading Members on the Republican side, supported this amendment. Coupled with it in the same bill was a provision granting an increase in salary of $120 to each and every one of the 240,000 Government employees, and of course organized labor made no objection to the increase in salary, and it remained in the bill. Yet, notwithstanding that the law prohibits civil-service employees from engaging in political activity, we find Mr. Hyatt, the president of the National Federation of Postal Employees, in the official magazine of the National Federation of Federal Employees, gloating over his successful political campaign.

Has it been this warning given Congressmen by organized labor which has so suddenly caused the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] to repent of having voted against organized labor, even to the extent of attempting to override the President's veto, and to attempt to make proper atonement to their wrath by heaping infamy upon the Postmaster General of the United States? Are they after the gentleman in his Minnesota district? If they are, this appeal for an armistice will not avail him; he will have to make an unconditional surrender to organized labor.

Was the Postmaster General's warning against political and legislative activity untimely?

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Texas yield to the gentleman from Minnesota?

Mr. BLANTON. When I get through I will, gladly. I have had a hard time getting this time.

Since war was declared on April 6, 1917, there have been 2,700 strikes in the United States by organized labor.

THE MAIN REASON OF HIS UNPOPULARITY.

On April 1, 1917, the President's order taking postmasters out of politics and placing them upon the merit system, giving to the applicant making the highest grade on competitive civil-service examination the appointment, was put into effect, which was a recommendation made by the Postmaster General. This order has taken our political patronage away from us, and some of us feel chagrined. While such a merit plan was a plank in my platform, still it is a little inconvenient when made an ironclad rule. Since coming here I have asked of the Postmaster General only two favors, both of which were denied. I requested that my particular friend, Mr. W. E. Olive, be appointed postmaster at Slaton, and that my particular friend, Mr. W. B. Martin, be appointed postmaster at Fort Stockton. Both requests were turned down, because the Postmaster General said he must adhere to the rule of giving the appointment to the first eligible certified to by the civil service. [Applause.]

During this war I am for the Postmaster General and every other United States official in whom our President has sufficient confidence to retain in his war Cabinet, whether he does exactly like I want him to do or not, and I am going to try to be patriotic enough myself, and to ask my constituents to be patriotic enough, patiently and uncomplainingly to stand delays and to bear inconveniences, and not to find fault, until we have everlastingly whipped the very "stuffin" out of Germany and her allied military autocracies. [Applause.]

DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 13086.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky moves that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union to consider the deficiency bill. The question is on agreeing to that motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] will take the chair.

Thereupon the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 13086, the war deficiency appropriation bill, with Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the deficiency appropriation bill, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

A bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the first reading of the bill be dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent that the first reading of the bill be dispensed with. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky is recognized for an hour.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, this bill is a war bill. It is presented to the House in order that the Government of the United States may continue to prosecute with the utmost vigor and dispatch the present war in which it is now engaged. In its consideration the committee has taken no thought of recent events, important and momentous though they be. We have prepared the bill with the idea of furnishing the Government the funds for the continuous prosecution of this war with its utmost vigor, and while I shall undertake to explain to the committee cuts that have been made that are large in magnitude, I desire to emphasize the fact that there has not been a denial of moneys anywhere that it was believed were necessary for the prosecution of the war. The committee will be prepared to present reasons justifying every cut that has been made in connection with the estimates that have been submitted to the House. If we have erred at all, we have erred on the side of safety of appropriation, because where there has been a question as to the advisability of voting moneys we have voted them rather than in any way interfere with the continued prosecution of the war.

The estimates that were submitted to the committee total $8,886,131,651.49. The amounts recommended in the bill total $6,345,755,666.04, or a total reduction in estimates of $2,540,375,985.45. These reductions are distributed as follows:

In the Military Establishment and War Department, $2,447,826,894.86.

In the Naval Establishment and Navy Department, $17,846,823.

In the civil services, including $64,000,000 for payment of military and naval family allowances, $74,702,267.50.

Before undertaking to explain just the nature of these various reductions, it may be well to give to the House a brief summary as to the basis that was used by the departments in submitting these estimates. As the committee is aware, estimates were submitted to the Committee on Military Affairs and to the Committee on Appropriations, looking to the supplying of three armies, roughly spoken of as armies of a million men each; more accurately, perhaps, armies of 1,200,000 men each. The present deficiency estimates were to provide for a fourth army, and contemplate in the service of the United States a total force of 4,850,000 men by June 30, 1919.

It is the present known program of the War Department to have in France by July 1 of next year 80 divisions, and to have in the United States 18 divisions, and there will be called also from time to time such additional men as may be necessary to maintain at their full strength those 80 divisions abroad and the 18 divisions at home, and the estimates are predicated upon that general program.

In order properly to consider these estimates it was necessary to review in large measure some of the appropriations made by the Congress heretofore for the fiscal year 1919, because many of those appropriations were granted after a very brief—necessarily brief—hearing touching the estimates that were submitted. As I shall have occasion later to call attention to a number of overestimates and overappropriations carried in the Army act for 1919, I desire to say now that in making reference to those cases I do not mean in any way to reflect upon the judgment or the industry with which the Committee on Military Affairs performed its work in making the appropriations for the Army. I have had too much experience with the difficulty of the task involved in connection with estimates to be prone to criticize any other committee, and the House will recall that just about the time the Committee on Military Affairs were prepared to report the Army bill there came to them new estimates for the very greatly enlarged program of the War Department, and it was therefore necessary for that committee, within a very few days, to report a bill very much in excess of the detailed estimates that had been presented in the first instance and considered by it; and as a result of that, of necessity they had to accept at their face value many estimates that were submitted and that upon more time for examination it has been determined were in excess of the requirements of the Army.

The quartermaster's estimates as submitted totaled $2,825,000,000. There has been a reduction made in the quartermaster's estimates of $1,189,674,774. That reduction is so very large that I feel that the House is entitled to know the reasons why it was made.

Under the head of "Pay of the Army and Commutation of Quarters" there was a reduction of $18,879,446.80, part of which was made voluntarily by the Quartermaster Department and part as a result of the hearings. Under the law the department has the right to incur deficiencies to any extent necessary to meet the pay of the Army in accordance with its authorized strength and rates of pay. That also applies to subsistence, clothing, and transportation for the Army. The estimates which they submitted for pay of the Army, in connection with what they had heretofore received, have now been revised, with a reduction of nearly $19,000,000. That reduction results from the following facts: One million five hundred thousand dollars of it is represented by the discontinuance after December 31, 1918, of all extra pay for qualification in marksmanship; $12,890,760 is a reduction in the item for the pay of nurses, due to the fact that they will not have in the schools for the training of nurses during the entire year the total number that they estimated would be there and for which they computed the pay. Provision was made in the estimates as submitted for one year's pay for 43,000 nurses, the maximum number required, instead of making it for the average number throughout the year. The House will readily understand—and it is worth bearing in mind, because it has a marked relationship to other items that I will speak of later—that in estimating maintenance—whether in pay or in subsistence or in other things—in order to be accurate a weighted average of the number of people that are to be in the service for the time for which you are providing should be taken, rather than the maximum that may be in the service at any one time in the year. Take, for instance, the case which is at hand. Forty-three thousand nurses might be in the service at the end of July, but manifestly it does not follow that you need to ask and receive pay for 43,000 nurses for 12 months, because at the beginning of July, 1918, the Nurses' Corps consisted of only 12,384, and it will only grow up to the maximum during the course of the year. So that a weighted average of the number of nurses that will probably be in the service has been estimated at 27,692, and it is that number of nurses for which you need to figure pay for 12 months rather than the 43,000 that will represent the maximum number that will be in the service. It results from this that there has been a reduction, as I have stated, of very nearly $13,000,000 in this item.

There were various other small miscellaneous items in connection with the pay of the Army that upon an agreement with the Quartermaster Corps resulted in bringing the total reduction up to the amount I have stated of $18,879,446.80.

Now, in subsistence of the Army there has been a cut of $108,107,935.50, and the explanation of that cut is found in the following facts: There is a reduction of $15,870,496.50 largely due to the fact that the Navy now has in its charge the vessels used in the transportation of the Army overseas. The estimate was predicated upon the assumption that the Army would have to subsist the masters, officers, crews, and other employees of transports. Inasmuch as that will be paid for out of the Navy funds, it ought to be and is subtracted from the estimates for subsistence of the Army. Then it was estimated by Gen. Lord that $91,987,439 would not be drawn from the Treasury during the fiscal year 1919; and inasmuch as this bill is, touching the Quartermaster's estimates, predicated upon furnishing only the moneys that are necessary to meet bills payable during the fiscal year, that agreed reduction could be had.

In addition to that there is a small cut of $250,000 made from an estimate of $500,000 submitted for the purpose of using the available land at camps and cantonments for the raising of forage and other crops. There is considerable land that the Government now leases or owns in connection with the various camps and cantonments that it is believed can be used in the production of hay and other crops to the great benefit of the country. The labor for this will come, in a large measure, from conscientious objectors who are in the service and can be put at such work, from German prisoners that may be here, from men in the service who have violated some military order or rule and are subject to punishment for a brief period of time, and from men who are at various camps pending the period when it is determined whether they will or will not be made into soldiers and used as men in the service, who can be employed in such work.

The committee felt, however, as this was more or less a matter that could be abused, that instead of voting $500,000 for that purpose we would vote $250,000. We carry a provision in the bill suspending during the fiscal year the law passed by Congress July 16, 1892, prohibiting gardens at Army posts. In years past abuses grew up in connection with gardens that were at posts, and largely in connection with officers' quarters. Congress saw fit to prohibit such gardens. In view of the changed situation and that we now have acres of land running up into the hundreds of thousands that can be cultivated, it was felt that we could afford to suspend the law for the present fiscal year and see what results will follow from the use of the land, some of which is of high character and capable of extensive cultivation.

In the item "Regular supplies, Quartermaster Corps," the department asked for $69,914,105.34. The hearings have developed the fact that they not only do not need that $69,000,000, but that they have obtained from the Army act $108,376,182.81 more than then they need for regular supplies. We therefore eliminate from the estimates that $69,000,000, and we take as a credit the $108,000,000 and apply it to the item of clothing, that I will reach later.

That means that the estimates as they were submitted to the Committee on Appropriations, in connection with the estimates that were submitted to the Military Committee and the moneys voted, were in excess of the actual needs in regard to the regular supplies by $178,290,288.

It may be interesting to the House if I point out some of the items that go to make up this huge difference between what the Army estimated it needed and what it now admits it needs. In the matter of field ranges there was an overestimate of about $2,000,000. In the matter of repair of heating stoves, $945,000. In regard to matches, there was an estimate of $9,000,000. They got from the Army act $6,691,384. They now revise it to a need of $2,000,000. So that there is a total saving on that item of $7,000,000. Of that $7,000,000 a credit of $4,691,384 comes from the fund carried in the Army act. The estimate of $9,000,000 was based on four-fifths of a box for each man a day at three-quarters of a cent a box, which would have made 1,200,000,000 boxes of matches.

There is a revision in fuel that effects a saving of $33,008,000. In forage, they estimate a need of $214,806,648. They actually receive from the Army act $224,820,760. Their revised estimate on forage is $103,405,428. So there is thus obtained a credit on the estimates of $121,415,347.

This was brought about by this fact, which bears upon what I said a while ago touching the weighted averages: The esti-

mate was predicated upon there being in the service some 1,200,000 animals, including horses, for the entire fiscal year. The testimony shows that, due to changes in connection with the number of animals required, the motorization of a good many vehicles formerly estimated to be horse drawn, and the added needs of conserving supplies aboard transports that there will be in the service 827,500 animals. That will be the peak, and the average number of such animals will be 626,000. So instead of providing forage for 1,200,000 animals for the year, what should be provided is forage for 626,000 animals for the year.

This same erroneous calculation runs not only through the matter of forage, but it runs through items of bedding, horseshoes, transportation of animals, purchase of animals, harness and its parts, and the care of the animals.

A rough calculation indicates that this erroneous basis of computation made $220,000,000 of excess with reference to animals, their subsistence, transportation, and so forth.

In bedding, the difference is shown in the fact that they estimated a need of $14,516,832, and their revised estimates show that they need $3,663,936. They obtained from the Army act $3,122,424. So that they have now need of a deficiency of $541,512, in place of $11,394,408 that they submitted.

In straw for soldiers' bedding they estimated a total requirement for the year of $13,511,998. Their revised estimates show that they now consider they need $7,431,589. They obtained from the Army act $9,139,600, so that instead of there being a deficiency of $4,382,389, there is an actual credit of $1,698,011.

In stationery they estimated they needed $16,687,878, and they obtained that sum from the Army act. They now estimate that they will need about $10,000,000 for stationery, so that there is a credit of $6,687,878.

In typewriters they obtained from the Army act $6,556,651, and they now say they need $1,280,694, so that there is a credit on typewriters of $5,275,957.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Chairman, does the gentleman care to be interrupted now or would he prefer to proceed until he is through?

Mr. SHERLEY. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DENISON. I would like to have the gentleman explain to the House why they make a difference of over $5,000,000 in typewriters in their estimates, if he knows and can give it briefly.

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not know that I can explain that particular item now, but most of these errors have come about through taking an arbitrary table of organization and figuring so many of various kinds of materials for a certain organization and then using a multiple and arriving at the total number, which, multiplied by the cost, reaches the total amount asked. Revision of those figures frequently shows the original basis was a basis that had no real facts to stand upon, and reorganizations and rearrangements of the Army result in changes. In these instances about the only answer I can give is that somebody made the estimate who did not have all the facts necessary to make an accurate estimate.

Mr. DENISON. The gentleman speaks of revisions. Have those revisions been made by the Committee on Appropriations?

Mr. SHERLEY. Some of them have and some of them have been done by the Quartermaster Department. I am glad the gentleman has asked that question, because it enables me to say two things that ought to be said in view of the facts that I am developing. One is that fortunately purchases are not being made on the basis of estimates made. In other words, purchases are bearing very much closer relationship to the actual requirements from week to week and month to month than the estimates do. Second, the Quartermaster Department now has at the head of the division of finance, appropriations, and of estimates Gen. Lord. Gen. Lord years ago was the clerk of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House. He was clerk of that committee at the time, as I recall, that the Dingley bill was reported. He was commissioned an officer in the Army by President McKinley and has brought order out of a good deal of chaos in connection with the quartermaster estimates. It is due to his work and the organization that he has instituted that the committee was able to obtain the information that enabled the cuts to be made. Many of them he brought to the attention of the committee himself, saying that the estimates submitted would not stand analysis, and that upon examination he had determined that reductions ought to be made. Some of them were developed by bringing to the attention of himself and his associates changed factors in connection with the Army program that very largely affected the basis for calculation, and that only illustrates the proposition which I have urged a number of times upon this floor, that it is of the highest importance that there be one central agency in the War Department that shall have the supervision and preparation of all estimates for all branches of the War Department. At the table of the Committee on Appropriations only comes information touching every angle of the war program, and only there is brought together every angle of the war that enables men somewhat loosely of necessity to see the bearing that one particular estimate or activity of one department may have upon another and how a change in one regard affects very materially changes somewhere else. The illustration I used in regard to animals is a pertinent one. The change there came about for very good reasons. It came about because of the need to conserve tonnage space in transportation. It came about further by the fact that we were going to purchase certain animals abroad, and it came about further by the motorization of many vehicles that were formerly known as horse-drawn vehicles. Those things necessarily affect many, many items and I have mentioned a number here, such as bedding, forage, horseshoes, and things of that kind, and unless there is this broad survey and a constant daily matching up of changes in program in one particular to see how it affects another, there will inevitably follow an inaccurate estimate following such change. But I desire to emphasize again that the purchasing that is being done is not being done upon the basis of estimates submitted, but there is an effort to match the purchases with the weekly and monthly requirements that come from overseas, together with the program for the building up of reserves abroad.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. The gentleman from Kentucky has given us very interesting information as to how some of these items came to be scaled down into practical figures for appropriations. I think his always characteristic modesty, however, has prevented his suggesting to the committee what some of us know, that a very large, a very serious, and a very important part of the scrutiny of this bill which has resulted in those savings for the Government was performed by the chairman of the committee, Mr. SHERLEY, personally, through long and wearisome labor and application. [Applause.]

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I am very much obliged to the gentleman.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. As the gentleman has reviewed the items, it occurred to me that in nearly every item the cut that has been made in the estimate is from 50 to 75 per cent. I was impressed with the idea that a large estimate might be submitted to the committee, with the expectation that it would be reduced to a certain amount. I was wondering if that impression was in any way made upon the chairman of the committee.

Mr. SHERLEY. In regard to the War and the Navy Departments I think that is not true. Every now and then we find some small civil service which undertakes to pad an estimate upon the supposition that they are going to get a certain cut, and that thereby they will get what they want. After we find that happens once it rarely happens again in the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. There has been some pretty good cutting made in the estimates I should say.

Mr. SHERLEY. In regard to incidental expenses, Quartermaster Corps, there is a cut of $6,498,570.92. Some of that is represented by a reduction of $102,200 in postage. They admit that the estimate they made for postage and which they had obtained money for was probably excessive to the extent I have indicated. In regard to office furniture, they received from the Army act $2,883,978, and they estimate now they will need but a million dollars, so there is a credit of $1,883,978. In the recruiting service they received from the Army act $280,620, and their needs for the year as figured indicate $46,770, a saving of $233,850. In the apprehension of deserters they estimated the requirements for the year of $2,400,000. They received in the Army act $1,253,903, and they asked a deficiency of $1,146,000, which they now abandon as unnecessary, so there is a saving of that sum. In horseshoes the estimated requirement for the year was $8,129,425. They received in the Army act $4,736,790, and they asked for the difference between this amount as a deficiency of $3,292,635, which they now abandon, stating that the amount they received in the Army act would be sufficient.

In transportation of the Army there is a cut of $835,907,988, and that resulted from the following facts: First, they had an estimate for $53,430,000 for boats to be built as transports for the Army and as harbor craft of various kinds. We have voted nearly three billion dollars to the Emergency Fleet Corporation for the construction of a great many boats, both transport, cargo carriers, and various subsidiary craft. We appropriated

that money in the past with the understood supposition that it was to take care of Army needs, but whether it be sufficient to take care of Army needs or not it represents a sum of money that practically uses the entire facilities of the country in shipbuilding. Now, if this additional money were to be now voted for construction it would either have to displace to that extent the program now under way by the Shipping Board for the construction of ships, or it would have to await the completion of the program or part of it before it can be spent, and inasmuch as the Shipping Board advises us that they are using the facilities of the country in their program and are building these ships and turning them over for the use of the Army and Navy as fast as it is possible to provide them, we felt there was no necessity for voting $53,430,000 for a shipbuilding program for the Army Transport Service in order that they might have as a part of their service, with the title in the Army Transport Service, that number of ships. When this war is over we will have one of the great merchant marines of the world, and we will have been using during the prosecution of the war these various ships for the very purposes for which this money was asked. For that reason the committee felt that it would be unjustified in undertaking to vote that amount of money.

Now, in connection with charter hire this situation exists. The Emergency Fleet Corporation charters boats from many sources. It has chartered all of the vessels, sea-going vessels, which were obtainable. Some of them, as the House is aware, have come from our ally, the British Government. Some have been boats owned by citizens of Holland; some have been boats owned by citizens of other countries, and some of them have been boats owned by citizens of America. Some of them are the boats that we took and now own which were interned vessels originally belonging to Germany and Austria. Some are boats we have constructed. As to the vessels we do not own the Emergency Fleet Corporation pays the charter hire necessary for their use. They are then put to the use of the Army, and the Army is charged by the Shipping Board with the charter hire that they have to pay out plus the necessary cost of administration which the Army pays for out of funds appropriated under the item of transportation for the Army. But, in making their estimate for transportation of the Army, they estimate not only for the charter hire of such boats but they estimate for the charter hire of the boats that the Government already owns on the basis of paying to the United States Shipping Corporation for those vessels.

The United States Shipping Board was anxious that that might be done as well as the Army, in order that they might keep their fund as big as their original appropriation and not have it reduced by virtue of the use of these ships, but it occurred to the committee that there was no reason why the Government of the United States should be appropriating moneys to one department to be paid to another department, and there were a great many reasons why it should not, as these things, while they make no difference in actual expenditure, make it very great in the total of appropriations and of moneys that are spent by different departments and makes considerable additional to be paid in connection with bookkeeping and adjustment of accounts. We also believed that inasmuch as the Shipping Board furnished these chartered ships that they had to pay money for that they were in a better position to estimate just what the charter hire for the next fiscal year would amount to than the Army, and we therefore asked them to get in consultation with the Army Transport Service and estimate exactly how much money was necessary for charter hire for vessels, excluding any money for Government-owned ships. They accordingly did so, and as a result of that they revised the estimate from $342,432,000 to $153,174,840, or a reduction of $189,257,160. Similarly, we asked the Shipping Board to figure on the Army estimate for maintenance of the vessels that they would use in the transportation of troops and supplies. The result of revising these figures for maintenance and operation of ships which the Government owns is to reduce the estimate from $400,890,400 to $357,588,000, or a reduction of $43,302,400.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. I will.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Has the gentleman concluded as to the Shipping Board? I wanted to inquire about section K, on page 4, before the gentleman leaves that subject. That subparagraph, which in giving the additional power to the Shipping Board——

Mr. SHERLEY. I will be glad to discuss that later, but it bears no relationship to this. The items I am speaking of now are not Shipping Board items at all. They are items for the transportation of the Army—for moneys paid to the Shipping Board for expenditures made by it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I only called it up because I thought the gentleman was leaving the subject.

Mr. SHERLEY. Now, in addition to what I have enumerated, there were some cuts made in transportation of signal stores. They received out of the Army act $12,800,400 for the transportation of signal stores. They estimate now for only $9,000,000, which makes a saving of $3,800,400. In Engineering stores, similarly, they reduce the money for that by $849,500. In packing and crating supplies of packages there is a saving on the revision of estimates of $858,000. The estimate was $1,980,000, and the amount received in the former act was $1,122,000, which is now estimated to be sufficient. So there are a number of smaller items in connection with this. For travel allowance to enlisted men on discharge they estimated and received in the Army act $9,000,000. They say they now need only $3,000,000, which makes a saving of $6,000,000. I have already alluded to the fact that in regard to the transportation of animals, due to an estimate upon the number of animals that will not be the property of the Government, and that makes a saving of $11,400,000. For miscellaneous Quartermaster stores they estimated for the year, $180,040,000. They now estimate $115,787,417, which makes the need of a deficiency of $79,807,417 as against a submitted estimate of deficiency of $144,060,000, or a saving of $64,252,583.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. DENISON. Do the estimates the committee considered include the increased use of cavalry in France?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; and as a result of that the estimates in regard to horses, as originally made, on an examination of the program are found to be $5,948,742 short, and so we increased it by that amount. The estimate on pack animals was about $46,000,000 too big, so that there is a net saving of $40,000,000 on animals of all kinds.

For the purchase of harness and parts of harness the needs for the entire year were stated as $42,859,796. There was given in the Army act $33,084,770, and a deficiency was requested therefor of $9,775,026. The revised estimate for the year is $18,709,057. This results in an abandonment of the deficiency of $9,775,026 and a saving on the amount heretofore appropriated of $14,375,713, or a total of $24,150,739.

For supplies for the care of animals the requirements for the year were fixed at $15,105,406 and that sum was granted in the Army act. The recent revision reduces that need to $5,035,150 and a consequent reduction in the amount previously given of $10,070,256.

Now, in the estimates for the purchase of motor trucks there is a reduction of $381,597,504, and that is due to the fact that the Quartermaster submitted an estimate for motor trucks for the Engineer Corps, the Signal Corps, the Medical Department, and the Division of Military Aeronautics, and each of these corps had also submitted their estimates. The result was that there was a duplication, which the Quartermaster's Department called to the attention of the committee, and it resulted in the reduction that I have noted.

Mr. HICKS. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. HICKS. I understood when abroad that we had something like 60,000 motor trucks over there. Is the gentleman at liberty to state if that number is anywhere near the correct one?

Mr. SHERLEY. I will give in a moment the number of trucks we have provided and have over there. And in that connection I want to say this to the House: It was physically impossible to go into the question of production, except to a limited degree, and I have available here tables touching the Quartermaster's Department as to most of the things they have on hand or, at least, that they have received money for, and which, from a legislative standpoint, presumably exist or the money to get them is available. But the committee did not undertake to go into all the details of production. It would have been physically impossible to have done it, and to have gotten information of value short of two or three months of additional work, and the need of reporting this bill preventing our doing more than undertaking to dig into the financial phase of it, except as incidentally there came out matters touching production. And the hearings will throw a good deal of light on that. I want to say this in connection with the estimates not only for motors but the estimates for motorcycles and bicycles: They are very large, not so large in money, though the money is considerable, but large in numbers. They are so large in numbers that figuring the motorcycles that they have as an initial issue, and for maintenance, and the bicycles, and so forth, it would seem as if 1 man in every 40 could be either mounted on a motorcycle or in a side car in the entire Army of the United States. And

if you include bicycles the number would be considerably less than that. I have stated it very liberally.

The American Army will have overseas, counting those overseas as of July 1, those in factories, depots, and ports, and ordered with 1918 appropriations, 7,216 ambulances, 10,542 bicycles, 12,065 motorcycles, 5,255 motor cars, and 72,379 trucks.

The Quartermaster's Department called our attention to a very great overestimate in connection with gasoline, oils, and lubricants for aeroplanes. They received in the Army act $70,785,000. Their revised estimate of requirements is $20,532,973, a saving of $50,252,027.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. DENISON. The gentleman has already shown that he has cut the estimates on horse-drawn vehicles, and so forth, by motorization. I can not understand why the estimate for gasoline should be so decreased also.

Mr. SHERLEY. Gasoline was for aeroplanes.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. SLOAN. How does the gentleman account for such a discrepancy between that which the committee found was actually needed and the enormous estimate made by the department?

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not know. The Quartermaster, Gen. Lord, very frankly said that he did not know how they came to submit such an estimate as $70,000,000 for the need of gasoline; that that figure had been furnished, as I recall the testimony, to the Quartermaster Department by the Aircraft Division; that their estimate now of what they would need, after an examination into the matter, was $20,500,000, or a difference of fifty-odd millions that I have spoken of.

Mr. SLOAN. The reduction was 250 per cent of the base.

Mr. SHERLEY. The reduction is what the figures indicate.

In clothing and camp equipment there is an apparent reduction of $119,564,398, but there is an actual reduction in their estimate of $11,188,216.35, the difference being accounted for by the $108,376,182.81 which we picked up from regular supplies, that being an excess that they had under that total and carried over to clothing, as I explained a while ago.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. I noticed in the hearings that the committee considered an estimate of $9,000,000 for matches.

Mr. SHERLEY. We heard it; we did not consider it.

Mr. WALSH. You heard an estimate, and the statement was made that the subsistence could get along with the amount already appropriated. Would the gentleman state what that amount is?

Mr. SHERLEY. I did state it a while ago.

Mr. WALSH. I regret I did not hear it. I was probably at lunch at that time.

Mr. SHERLEY. Two million dollars they now think they need.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kentucky has expired.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may have such further time as he desires to complete his remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kentucky may have such further time as he desires to complete his remarks. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman state whether there are shown in the hearings somewhere the amounts appropriated as contrasted with the amounts estimated? Is there such a table?

Mr. SHERLEY. It is shown generally. In the hearings in most instances are tables of revised estimates, and against those are the amounts of money that were appropriated in the Army act, and the differences represent either the deficiencies asked or a surplus which is available for other purposes. In other words, the first column of the table would show the amount of the estimated total requirements for the year. As a credit to that is the amount appropriated. But I am sorry to say there is not in the hearings the original detail of the estimates submitted, although the differences appear as you read and as I have undertaken to explain. But I will say to the gentleman in passing that he will find that it would take quite a bit of time if he undertakes to check up what I have tried to give to the House in a summary which is the result of a great many days' work on the part of myself and the clerk of the committee. I think these figures are all accurate. They have been checked back, and we are prepared to defend the accuracy of them. When we come to the individual items I shall be glad, if anybody desires, to turn to the basis of calculation and explain why the change was made if the hearings have developed the reasons.

I have already spoken of the fact that in the estimates for horses for cavalry it was found necessary to revise that up by $5,948,742 over the estimate that they submitted, due to the fact that there were a number of cavalry organizations and other needs for horses that had not been figured in the original estimate.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, I understood at one time that they used hardly any cavalry over there, and that later they changed their policy.

Mr. SHERLEY. I think that in a measure is true. Reverting for a moment to the item for Incidental Expenses. The sum of $54,000,000 is carried there for the expense and tuition of students who, under the new draft law, are to be educated and trained at the various colleges of the country. That includes their expenses other than subsistence, which is carried under the head of subsistence, and as I recall the figures, they estimate that there will be a cost of about $1.52 a day for these students at the various colleges. Of that sum $1 per day for 200,000 men for nine months makes the $54,000,000, and the 52 cents per day is for rations and comes from subsistence. There is a statement, as full as we were able to get it, touching the entire program, which the Members will find in the hearings.

We come now to the item for Hospital Construction. The bed capacity for taking care of troops returning from overseas is figured on 3½ per cent of the total strength that is overseas for a year, or as they usually speak of it, 7 per cent, on the theory that the individual soldier who comes to the hospital will not average over six months' use of a bed, and therefore for the entire year it makes a 3½ per cent provision. This is entirely apart from the hospital and bed capacity that is to be provided and has been provided in America in connection with our troops here, and relates only to what is now spoken of as general hospitals, and is also in addition to such field hospitals as may be abroad. They figure that for an Army of 80 divisions that are to be abroad there should be provision made for 135,000 beds. They have already obtained the money for 20,000 beds, leaving 115,000 beds to be provided for. They estimate that 15,000 of these 115,000 beds will not be established and not be paid for until after the 1st day of July, so that we have carried in this act moneys to furnish 100,000 beds and contract authorization for 15,000 additional beds, which, with the 20,000 already provided for will make their complete total of 135,000 beds. The committee have not wanted in any way to deny any moneys that were needed by the Medical Department in any regard. There have been estimates submitted that if they related to matters other than the care of the sick and wounded might not have met with the acquiescence of the committee, but inasmuch as they did relate to the sick and wounded, we have given in each instance every dollar that they have said they wanted and needed.

There have been some reductions in hospital construction estimates, because they themselves figured a reduction in cost for procurement of some of these beds, and because it developed in the hearing that they had not charged themselves with the $12,970,000 carried in the Army act and with $4,460,000 available for hospitals at various Army posts, and at camps that were intended for the use of over-seas troops returning from abroad.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Did not your appropriations provide for the building of the hospitals as well as for their equipment?

Mr. SHERLEY. I assumed that gentlemen were familiar with the fact that in speaking of hospital construction we speak in terms of bed capacity, and when I speak of the money which we are carrying to supply a given number of beds, I mean the hospitals with that bed capacity.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. There is a bill now pending before the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds asking for a large appropriation to construct hospitals.

Mr. SHERLEY. I suspect that that bill bears relationship to a program looking to the care of soldiers after their discharge from the service, or that it bears relationship to some civilian needs, because the provisions for the hospitals for the Army are not made by the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, but are carried as a regular estimate submitted by the Quartermaster General touching hospital construction, and by the Medical Department touching medical and other things needed.

In hospital construction we find an estimate of $5,500,000 for veterinary hospitals. It is estimated that 15 per cent of the animals that are bought by the Army are not available for service, due to sickness and defects that develop, and that there is a loss of 15 per cent. That does not necessarily mean a loss of

the entire cost of the animal, but it does mean that that animal is not fit for the purpose for which it was obtained. I made a rough estimate that, figuring the number of animals we will have in the service this year and their value, of the number we would buy there would be somewhere about $17,000,000 worth that would be declared unfit for service. The committee did not feel warranted in spending $5,500,000 for hospital construction for undertaking to cure $17,000,000 worth of animals, in view of the fact that there are some facilities existing now and that others could be supplied to the extent needed for less sums of money. The committee therefore reduced that estimate of $5,500,000 to $1,000,000, which makes a reduction in hospital construction of $4,500,000. Then there was an error in estimate of $3,633,612, a mathematical error, and a reduction that I spoke of in cost of beds of $2,030,000, which together with the credit from the Army appropriation explains the cut of $27,613,612.

I have been dealing with the Quartermaster estimates and trying in a very rough way to explain to you the reasons for a cut of $1,189,674,774.66 made in them. I believe that no cut was made that was not justifiable with the light that was before us, and I repeat that touching pay, subsistence, transportation, there exists under law power in the War Department to incur deficiencies to the extent of the needs so that there can be no harm resulting from that cut. Most of the other cuts are cuts which are acquiesced in by the Quartermaster Department as a result of their own revision and hearings that were developed at the table of the Committee on Appropriations.

The form in which these estimates were finally brought to us was one that is very commendable. It should be followed by a great many other departments, because there was an effort in each instance to show the total requirement for the year, the total stock on hand, the unit cost of the article, the basis on which the estimate had been made, and then explanatory notes, and it is desirable that similar information be brought here from the other departments.

In the estimates of the Medical Department itself, they submitted a deficiency estimate of $95,000,000, and we have allowed it all; but I think I should call the attention of the committee to the basis on which the estimate was originally made, and the basis on which it is now revised and made. In submitting their estimates they figured that there would be a total need for the fiscal year in the way of medical supplies and equipment, under the head of medical and hospital department, of $363,037,531. They obtained through the Army bill $267,408,948, leaving the deficiency which they estimated, and which as I have stated we allowed. But in making that deficiency it develops that they had obtained from the Army act for 1919 for veterinary supplies $42,068,000. They now estimate that they will need for veterinary supplies $4,225,000; so that they overestimated at the time they went before the Military Affairs Committee, and have obtained for the items of veterinary equipment and supplies, an overappropriation of nearly $38,000,000. They estimated in the Army act that they needed for surgical dressings $26,416,000, and that amount they got. They now come in and say that they need $92,988,621 for surgical dressings. In other words, when it develops that their allotment of the moneys that they got from the military appropriation act produced such glaring inconsistencies as $42,000,000 for veterinary supplies and $26,000,000 for surgical dressings, they revised their allotments, but without changing the total, and in revising their allotments they figured as I stated for surgical dressings $92,988,621. I want to read to the committee some of the details of the estimate that goes to make up that $92,000,000 for surgical dressings. This is the total requirement for 1919:

Surgical dressings.

	Total required through 1919.	Purchased 1917-18.	To be procured.	Cost.	Amount.
Bandages, gauze, composition.....gross..	5,431,200	348,050	5,083,150	$9.6000	$48,798,240.00
Bandages, gauze, roller.....boxes..	1,980,552	871,474	1,109,078	11.8000	6,543,360.20
Bandages, plaster of Paris.....dozens..	1,650,460	600,240	1,050,220	1.7500	1,837,885.00
Cotton absorbent, rolls.....pounds..	6,344,688	1,197,692	5,146,996	.4500	2,316,148.20
Cotton bats.....do....	4,847,080	183,225	4,663,855	.4040	1,884,197.42
First-aid packets.....	17,532,300	7,500,000	10,032,300	.3100	3,110,013.00
First-aid packets, shell wounds.....	17,858,000	1,160,000	16,698,000	.2100	3,506,580.00
Cotton, absorbent.....1-ounce packets..	33,898,500	15,000,000	18,898,500	.0490	926,026.50
Gauze, plain, rolls.....yards..	156,870,000	25,682,545	131,187,455	.0500	6,559,372.75
Gauze, plain, sterilized.....1-yard packets..	11,362,400	1,400,250	9,962,150	.0950	946,404.25
Gauze, sublimated.....do....	51,598,980	34,000,000	17,598,980	.1000	1,759,898.00
Individual dressing packets.....	33,398,980	10,000,270	23,398,710	.2200	5,147,716.20
Muslin, unbleached.....yards..	2,242,298	371,000	1,871,298	.2000	374,259.20
Plaster, adhesive, 5 yards by 2½ inches.....spools..	11,002,180	1,097,296	9,904,884	.2400	2,377,172.16
Plaster, adhesive, 5 yards by 1 inch.....do....	21,688,920	1,200,520	20,488,400	.1250	2,561,050.00
Sutures, catgut, chrome.....tubes..	24,518,375	15,769,365	9,749,000	.0600	584,940.60
Sutures, catgut, plain.....do....	39,229,400	22,941,361	16,288,039	.0600	977,282.34
Sutures, silk, 3 sizes in packets.....	13,492,920	754,758	12,738,162	.0625	796,135.13
Sutures, silkworm gut.....coils..	2,377,332	633,630	1,743,702	1.0000	1,743,702.00
Bandages, rubber, Martin.....	130,685	41,720	88,965	.5800	51,599.70
Bandages, suspensory.....dozens..	129,794	53,396	76,398	1.9000	145,156.20
Splint, Hodgens.....	56,656	36,637	20,019	.8600	17,216.34
Sutures, kangaroo tendon (1 in tube).....	756,350	609,427	146,923	.0800	11,753.84
Sutures, silver wire.....yards..	112,371	86,753	25,618	.1300	3,330.34
Tourniquet and bandage, rubber.....	39,752	28,035	11,717	.7700	9,022.09
Total.....					92,988,621.47

The committee will find in the hearings the tables I have read from, setting it out in detail. The Medical Department stated that they wanted this amount of money, and they stated that some of the estimates might seem excessive, but the committee gave them the amount of money they asked for.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Was any statement made by those who appeared before the committee from the War Department as to what had been done with the bandages and other materials prepared by the women workers all over the country for the Red Cross?

Mr. SHERLEY. Largely they have gone for use in our own hospitals. The amount while it is large and speaks splendidly for the work and activity of the women of America, is relatively small in comparison with the figures I have read.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. It struck me that the amount called for would supply the needs of the Army without using any of the material prepared by the women of the Red Cross. I do not understand that their work is for naught, because it has been done in strict conformity with the military requirements.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am sure their work has been of value and has gone to Red Cross hospitals and been used there. Of course, this is true, that there are certain character of wounds, particularly where there is not an immediate healing, where the quantity of bandages mounts into tremendous figures. The Medical Department seems to think that this amount is large, but they do not feel that they had the right to reduce it. Of course, the committee will understand that the moneys which are voted do not have to be spent in the quantity that is indicated for various substances. They are for medical supplies, and if there is less needed for surgical dressings and more needed for some of the other supplies, they will correspondingly buy more of one and less of the other. I want to repeat again that purchases are not being made simply on the basis of estimates, but I thought it was of interest to the House to see the estimates that were submitted and which as I say, in connection with the Medical Department, have been allowed in their entirety.

For textiles, under hospital supplies, the table shows that they now figure for the entire year an expenditure of $70,682,673.73. They figure for 6,000,000 blankets, 1,062,899 mattresses, 2,810,840 pillows, 14,319,140 pillowcases, 17,584,200 sheets, 5,808,620 pajama suits, bath and hand towels, 2,534,904, and so on.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman kindly give the figures in relation to the supply of catgut for the surgeon's office? I was wondering whether I misunderstood the gentleman, or whether he gave the correct figures.

Mr. SHERLEY. I read that a moment ago. Catgut tubes 24,518,375 of one kind, and plain, 39,229,400. Then there are silk in three sizes of packages, 13,492,920.

Mr. DENISON. Was the committee furnished any information as to how that amount of money, $29,000,000 and $24,000,000, could be expended——

Mr. SHERLEY. That is not money, that is quantity—the number of them.

Mr. DENISON. I thought it was the amount of money the gentleman was giving.

Mr. SHERLEY. No; the money is carried out in a table on the side. The amount of money is very much less. I started out by a statement that I would give the quantity. All the figures I have read of surgical dressings have been figures of quantity, and the total is $92,000,000.

Mr. EMERSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. I will.

Mr. EMERSON. Has any money been appropriated for the purpose of marking the graves of soldiers over the seas, and the transportation of their bodies home?

Mr. SHERLEY. The graves are marked wherever the circumstances make it possible.

Mr. EMERSON. Is anything being done so that bodies can be returned to the United States, supposing the war continues for two or three years?

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not know as I can answer the gentleman whether anything is being done. The facts submitted show that when the soldier dies abroad, if circumstances permit, his grave is marked. Necessarily and unfortunately many boys give their lives under circumstances which make it impossible to give them a burial in a separately marked grave.

Mr. HICKS. If the gentleman will permit, the gentleman has seen himself on the other side graves marked by a cross and a little label consisting of an American flag and a wreath around a tinfoil tablet.

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; I saw many of them; that is done whenever the surrounding circumstances of the death make it possible.

Mr. SLOAN. As I understand, up to this time there has been no appropriation for the transportation of bodies across the seas.

Mr. SHERLEY. Not for those who die and are buried abroad. There is a provision carried in the sundry civil bill and a provision here for the transportation of the remains of officers and enlisted men.

Mr. EMERSON. I take it that the soldiers are not buried in coffins or caskets.

Mr. SHERLEY. I think in most of the instances where the death occurs it is with such circumstances surrounding it as make it impossible for a burial such as would take place if the soldier died here or back of the line.

In connection with the engineer operations in the field, there was a cut made of $8,750,000, due to an estimate of 25 seagoing tugs made by the Engineer Department which can and will be furnished by the Emergency Fleet Corporation out of the tugs that it is building. The rest of the estimate was given. Gen. Black, in his testimony, and Mr. Felton very frankly stated that it was impossible to give figures in any true sense of the word for much of what they were estimating for. Touching the amount of railroad equipment, locomotives, cars, rails, ties, and building and appliances in connection with the movement of men and supplies, the estimate was worked out upon the basis of railroad facilities necessary to move a given ton of freight, and as far as one not versed technically in the matter could judge, had been well worked out. I think Mr. Felton, who is a distinguished railroad man, has performed very valuable work, in that he knows pretty accurately what he needs and why he needs it. Touching a great deal of the rest of the estimate of the engineers, it is impossible to come to a conclusion. So much of what happens abroad determines the matter from day to day as to make any estimate more or less a guess, and particularly is it likely as we continue to drive the German Army back and our lines of communication and support are lengthened, that there will be heavier and heavier demands in connection with the Engineer Department.

I might mention a little instance that happened at the front some time ago, which shows the drain which may come at any time upon the supplies of a department like this. There was a certain area in a forest that was very swampy, where it was practically impossible for troops to march through without great delay and struggle, because of the character of the ground. It was necessary, however, that they go through. One of the engineer officers had the initiative, the wisdom practically to make a wire netting, spliced with sapplings and sticks, which was placed upon the underbrush and the dirt and mire of the swamp, which made a roadway over which an American division marched to one of their very recent victories. [Applause.] He used up a great deal of material, but it was material well spent, and it is because of those things that it is not fair for us to always be a bit sensitive and disturbed over the inability of the department to make accurate estimates. War is itself an agency of destruction, and the prosecution of it means a constant wastage and destruction of property of high value and cost, and we have to have a leeway and have amounts of material and supplies on hand that would not be necessary or tolerated in the prosecution of any peaceful pursuit. So, as I say, we have given the engineers the amount they have asked less the amount for these 25 tugs.

In connection with the Signal Corps we had an exceedingly difficult problem. They have estimated upon the basis of 105 divisions, with an initial equipment of 400 per cent for wastage, and 200 per cent of the 400 per cent for a three months' supply over in France, and a three months' supply in America, or, including the initial equipment, a 700 per cent basis for each division. They estimated on a basis of 105 divisions. They very frankly stated on the record, and informally off it, that it was difficult to say whether that estimate was all required, but that six months had to elapse between the date of an order and the procurement of much of the material; that when it was needed it was very badly needed; that they were buying only as requisitions abroad made it necessary, plus the reserve they must build up, and the committee, considering the whole of it, believed that as the program called for 98 divisions the seven-division equipment was not necessary to appropriate for at this time, in view of the fact that the whole 98 divisions would not have the wastage upon which the tables were predicated, and that there could easily be a safe reduction. We felt warranted in doing that, knowing that the Congress would at any time, as the need might develop, vote additional moneys for this purpose, and we submit what we have done touching the Signal Service as being sound judgment in view of the light given us. In speaking of the Signal Service, the committee will understand that it is now entirely separate and apart from the Aeronautic Service and that this material is material the Signal Corps use in the field in keeping up communications between the bases in the rear and the army at the front, and it is for that class of material.

In connection with the Chemical Warfare Service, the committee also had considerable difficulty in coming to a clear determination. That service has been conducted until very recently from funds that were carried with the Medical Corps funds and with the ordnance funds, and there were allotments made out of the medical fund and the ordnance funds for the maintenance of this Chemical Warfare Service. By Executive order of the President made recently, there was created a separate corps to be known as the Chemical Warfare Service, and Gen. Sibert, who was one of the men to assist Gen. Goethals in building the Panama Canal, was put at the head of that corps. We thought that in view of the fact that this corps had been created as a separate department, it was desirable, instead of having allotments of funds to be made from the Medical and Ordnance Departments, that the funds should be made directly to them. We have accordingly carried in the bill a provision appropriating directly to them the funds they estimate they need. They asked for $294,484,301. That included the moneys that they thought were necessary for both the defensive and offensive side of this Chemical Warfare Service. Of course, the defensive side, as you all know, is in the way of providing masks and other clothing—protective things—against the gas of the enemy.

The offensive side is in the preparation of shells and other material for firing gas and sending gas over into the enemy's ranks. Their estimates contained a number of items both on the offensive and defensive side looking to experimentation and to the development of new methods of warfare. They were frank in saying that much of this was so new they could not estimate the cost of it, and that a good deal of it represented what they hoped they might be able to do in development. The committee, all things considered, having in mind what they had already gotten out of the previous appropriation, what they were asking represented a sum considerably in excess of what it cost to build the Panama Canal and that the sum was to be expended during this fiscal year, thought that a reduction could be made, and accordingly it was reduced from the estimates by $44,484,301. I believe that this is not an extreme cut. Considerably more than that is represented under moneys that they may need in the event they make various developments both on the offensive and defensive sides, and we believe that certainly, with four months of the fiscal year gone, that there was not much leeway required in their estimate and that if upon a plain showing moneys were needed they would be promptly voted in the future. In their estimate there are cer-

tain increases in connection with the purchase of the American University property out here——

Mr. SLOAN. Before leaving the matter of gas, will the gentleman state how many gas masks were asked for; that is, if it is a matter of record? I ask this on account of my attention having been called to that particular thing, and I was interested to know in reference to the number of men we had in our Army.

Mr. SHERLEY. I have not available the exact number just now, but the testimony shows it. In money they ask for $175,000,000 for respirators and $20,000,000 for more extra canisters. Two and a half millions miscellaneous extra parts for respirators. I think, if the gentleman will turn to page 1160, or a little ahead of that, in the hearings that he will find the statement—I can not just for the moment put my hand on it—as to the initial equipment and maintenance.

Mr. SLOAN. I do not desire the gentleman to spend any time on it. I will look the matter up myself.

Mr. SHERLEY. Of course provision is made for every man who goes overseas having a gas mask and a certain amount for maintenance of those who are overseas, and then there is furnished to the men here for training purposes a gas mask each.

Mr. CANNON. There is 17 per cent wastage per month.

Mr. SHERLEY. The granting of a separate appropriation to this service has brought reductions in the estimates of the Ordnance Department, which had been submitted in the belief that they were to continue to furnish funds for the procurement of materials and the labor for filling shells for the Chemical Warfare Service during the remainder of the year. Such reductions were as follows: "Ordnance stores, ammunition," $6,903,750; "Ordnance stores and supplies," $3,000,000; and "field-artillery ammunition," $161,890,589; a total reduction of $171,794,339.

Mr. DENISON. Is the Government buying this American University property?

Mr. SHERLEY. I was about to speak of that. There is an estimate here looking to the purchase of the American University, and to the expenditure of a considerable amount of money out there. They were to furnish some information for the record touching the exact terms under which they have been occupying the property. At the time they were before the committee nobody seemed to be fully advised as to just what the conditions were. They seemed to have had maybe a written agreement or probably a verbal agreement with the bishop of the Methodist Church, I think it is, who is resident at the American University, touching the use of the property free, and then the right of the university to certain improvements that we were to make there. That was at a time when the activities there were not anything like they are now. They have now in here an estimate touching the purchase of the land, erection of various buildings in connection with the university there. Now, gentlemen, in connection with field artillery——

Mr. SLOAN. If the gentleman will yield right there, in the matter of the purchase of this university, is that purchase or lease or looking toward the continued ownership and control by this Government of that university and all the buildings, grounds, and so forth?

Mr. SHERLEY. There are not many buildings there, at least that the university ever had, but there is some ground there.

Mr. DENISON. There are three or four stone buildings there.

Mr. SHERLEY. There are two large buildings as I recall the testimony, stone buildings.

Touching the ordnance the estimates which were submitted to Congress by the Ordnance Department contemplated the providing of money necessary, in addition to what had previously been voted, for 120 divisions. The testimony of the Chief of Staff showed that the program called for 80 divisions abroad and 18 at home and of necessity the ordnance in estimating has to estimate beyond just the fiscal year due to the very great length of time in procurement, and they have figured that with the replacement of troops which would go to maintain the strength of the 80 abroad and 18 here, there should be provision for 120 divisions. In cross-examination it developed that they were only warranted in estimating for 112 divisions, and when it was suggested that a revision should be made in the estimates to the extent of the difference represented between the additional moneys needed for the total of 112 divisions and the total of 120 divisions, they stated that they had just learned that there had come over from France a new requirement as to artillery and ammunition for each division that would probably more than absorb the leeway which was represented by those additional 8 divisions, it being perfectly evident that the old estimates had been submitted simply on the basis that had been submitted in the first instance for an Army of a million men, and that they had only estimated for their fourth army with some additions.

So the committee suggested to the Ordnance Department that they take their estimates and rearrange them both as to guns and as to ammunition. They did rearrange them, and they brought back a table based upon an equipment for 112 divisions of the new strength of the artillery per division. That new strength is so much greater than the old program called for that, although the Congress voted moneys that it was believed were necessary for the equipment of 90 divisions of three armies in the previous fortification bills, under the new table of organization that would be sufficient for the equipment of, roughly speaking, about 69 divisions, and so instead of having need for 22 divisions additional on the old program over what they had received they actually had a need on the new program of the difference between 69 divisions and 112, or 43 divisions, roughly speaking.

The result was that they increased their estimates and sent in new estimates for field artillery and the ammunition therefor to the extent of over $1,155,000,000. Their old estimates were totally inadequate in view of the new requirements as to artillery strength and the ammunition for the guns.

Now, we have in connection with the field artillery proper allowed in contract authorization all that they have asked for except $114,375,000. We have allowed it because the need of continuing the supply of guns and ammunition is so great that we did not feel warranted in curtailing the amount, though personally I believe that it will require the utmost effort of this country to produce within the time figured the amount that we are providing for here. I question whether it is possible to do it; but in view of the fact that certain parts of it can and will be obtained in even larger measure than was originally provided for, by the help of England and France it is possible that the country may be able to produce the quantities estimated for. We cut, though, as I said, $114,375,000 out of the field artillery, and we cut that amount out because of the Neville Island project. The Neville Island project was undertaken some time ago, and was originally figured to be an expenditure in plant of about $40,000,000; and they obtained $40,000,000 for that purpose in the fortifications act, they having already undertaken it prior to the passage of that act or the submission of the estimate; and they also obtained for similar enlargement at Midvale $15,000,000. They have transferred $5,000,000 of the $15,000,000 that was intended for Midvale to Neville Island, so that they have now for that purpose $45,000,000. In point of fact, they have given commitments and undertaken work that represents about $46,000,000. They are asking an additional amount of $93,000,000 in order to very greatly enlarge this plant and give it a capacity to manufacture 14, 16, and 18 inch guns.

The testimony went to show that deliveries of these 14-inch guns, which they have planned to make there, the capacity of the plant for the 16 and 18 inch guns being intended to take care of future fortifications and Navy needs, was, for the first guns, probably the spring of 1920. Certain shell capacity would be produced in the winter of 1919. If this plant upon its now enlarged scale is to be undertaken, it will probably mean an expenditure of $29,000,000 for housing of employees in connection with the plant. So that there will be a total expenditure in connection with the plant of probably $167,000,000.

Mr. DENISON. Does the gentleman think or understand that the Government is going ahead with this program regardless of the outcome of the war?

Mr. SHERLEY. The Government has urged this program upon the committee as desirable in connection with some of its big-gun program relative to the war, and, as an additional reason, the creation of a plant there with such capacity as would enable the Government to supply 16 and 18 inch guns, there being no capacity in America now equal to that purpose.

Mr. DENISON. Now, in that connection, the general talk is, if the gentleman will permit an interruption, that one of the conditions of this peace when it is secured will be the reduction of all military armament to a point where it is simply necessary for preserving peace at home.

Mr. SHERLEY. My answer to that is simply this: This bill is not predicated on what may happen at a peace table. It is predicated on what the war needs from now on may be, and the Subcommittee on Appropriations did not recommend to the full committee an additional expenditure of $93,000,000 simply because, in its judgment, it did not bear that relationship to the prosecution of this war that would justify the expenditure under all circumstances. And the reason for that was this, that we have now undertaken a program that, in my judgment, is going to test the capacity of the country in steel and other materials, and in labor, in order to turn out the field guns and the ammunition that are necessary.

To superimpose upon that program this additional program of the enlargement of this plant for the purpose of getting guns as far in the future as I have indicated, meant, in my judgment,

necessarily a slowing down of some of the other program to an extent that more than offsets the gain of having a plant at that time capable of producing the guns that this would be able to produce in the spring of 1920, and for that reason we eliminated it.

Now, so far as the "after the war" end of it, which was urged by them, is concerned, I think it is true that we will have need to make big guns for our coast fortifications, and we will have need to make guns for the Navy. It may be possible that the world in its wisdom will come to the point where armament by nations will either be done away with or greatly curtailed, but we have not reached that point yet, and no man that I know is wise enough to prophesy whether we ever will reach it. The probability in my judgment is that if we come to a league of nations there will be, as an incident of that league of nations to keep the peace of the world, a necessary armed force that will belong to the league and will be furnished in proportionate parts by the various nations, somewhat dependent upon their strength and importance in the world. If that should come to pass America will have her part to furnish, and I would not refuse this appropriation, because I thought we were going to do away with guns and ammunition and wars in the future. But the subcommittee has refused to recommend it to the full committee because it did not believe that, taken in connection with the existing program, it represented a wise expenditure at this time, and because we believed it might result more in slowing up than in enhancing the military program.

In that particular we have taken issue with the Chief of Staff and the War Department; the only instance in this bill in which we have taken issue with them. I personally would be very glad if some Member of the House, when we reached that paragraph, if he desires to test the opinion of the House, would offer an amendment to increase by $114,375,000 the amount that we carry in connection with guns. Then the House can go on record. The committee has no dogmatic view about the matter. It has tried to come to a judgment involving a very difficult thing and involving a very large expenditure of money. If the committee has erred the House can correct that error, and if the House errs the Senate can correct the action of the House.

That is the situation. In cutting out this $93,000,000 we also cut out certain estimates for guns predicated upon this large plant which amounted to $21,375,000, making a total of $114,375,000, and consequently there would go with it the elimination of a large sum of money which the Department of Labor will probably ask in connection with the housing of employees.

With respect to field-artillery ammunition, we insisted that the Ordnance Department should examine its estimates on a basis that would more clearly represent the needs than the rough estimates which they had originally submitted, and that method of estimate was to figure exactly the number of guns that were to be abroad at a given time and to divide the amount of ammunition that would be needed by those guns according to the active and inactive months; and on that calculation, which they agreed was a more scientific and better method of doing it, and on the calculation as to the movement of troops and guns abroad, they have presented their estimates not only for their requirements up to July but after that, and the committee has allowed them in the form of contract authorizations, which are satisfactory to the Ordnance Department, they not desiring cash except in one instance, in which we have given them $280,000,000 to meet contracts authorized in the last fortifications act which will become payable prior to March 31 in connection with field-artillery ammunition.

There was also an estimate for a nitrate plant, or a series of nitrate plants, amounting to $103,500,000, but the Ordnance Department did not press it, and stated that they had no desire to undertake the building of those nitrate plants at this time. The condition in regard to nitrates is better than it was some months ago. The supplies on hand of nitrates are greater than they were, and the ammonia nitrate plant at Muscle Shoals is just coming into production, and it is hoped and believed that in a few weeks the production from that source will be very greatly enlarged. There is also a reduction of $161,890,589 under field-artillery ammunition, due, as I have stated, to giving a separate fund to the Chemical Warfare Service.

We cut out by the voluntary statement of the Ordnance people considerable sums that were carried for the purpose of maintenance of ammunition for this fourth army and for practice ammunition; not that we wanted to slow down—and we do not slow down at all on practice ammunition—but because there will not be this fourth army in the field using this material during the whole fiscal year on the basis on which the original estimate was made. When these items are reached I shall be glad to go further into detail in connection with any of them that the committee may wish.

The committee hearings cover 1,380 pages, and we hope they give to the House as much information as was practicable to obtain and permissible to print. Of necessity there was certain information touching the movement of troops and touching organization that it was not desired should be made a matter of public record. But what could be printed has been, and the estimates in connection with the ordnance, I believe, represent a sum very much in excess of what can possibly be expended. But we felt that we were not warranted in slowing down their movement. They have practically authorized expenditures that wipe out all of the moneys and all of the contract authorizations that have been made heretofore, and it was necessary to give them this additional leeway if we were not to slow down this vastly complicated machinery for the production of these guns and ammunition. We were not willing to take the responsibility of slowing down. This is not a time for the Congress of the United States to slow down in connection with the preparation or the continuation of this war. [Applause.] There is no man in America who wants the Government of the United States to slow down its actual operations in the field or its operations here and elsewhere in supplying that Army in the field. Every man who has a heart wants peace to come again to the world, but every man who has a head wants that peace so to come that it will be a real and a lasting peace. [Applause.] Every sacrifice that has been made has been made in vain unless this war is so prosecuted as to bring about a real peace, a peace that shall come only as a result of a real whipping of our enemies, a peace that comes as a sincere realization on the part of Germany and the nations that have been allied with her that militarism does not pay and that her dream of world rule can not, will not, and shall not come true. [Applause.] It is for that reason that this Government has appropriated in the past sums without parallel. It is for that reason that we have sent the best of our blood abroad to be shed upon the battle fields of France. It is for that reason that we passed the new draft law. It is for that reason that this bill is now pending before this House. It is for that reason that we go forward with the enlargement of plants, with the enlargement of programs; and for my part I am not willing, and I do not believe the Congress is going to be willing by its action to slow by one hour the continuation of this war.

When peace does come, upon terms that make for real, final, lasting peace, a peace of justice and of righteousness, we as a peace-loving Nation will welcome it and rejoice in it; but we will not endanger it by halting in the ways half won. We will not endanger it by slowing our activities now. We will not endanger it by any deceptive pleas that may be made by the enemy because they are beginning to feel the force of the righteous indignation and might of the world. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, there is much in connection with this bill that ought to be stated, and yet I have now talked for some two hours, and I am feeling the fatigue of the work so much that I believe I can not perhaps with profit to the committee deal further with the matter in a general statement. The responsibility of preparing a bill of this kind is very great. In order that we may prosecute the war as I have expressed the belief that we should prosecute it, we must carefully husband our resources. We must see to it that expenditures are not made unnecessarily. Every dollar expended by the Government or by the citizens of America for purposes not necessary is just that much slowing down of the war program; and therefore the man best helps that program who tries to vote moneys intelligently for needs that are real, and prevents money being wasted, and—what is even more important—material and labor being wasted in the creation of things that are not necessary. Therefore it has been that the committee has worked day and night to try and sift much of these estimates, so as to eliminate some of the things that were not necessary and that the zeal or the ignorance of individual men had occasioned to be brought before the Congress.

The estimates submitted by the Navy Department for maintenance and operation of that department and for the Naval Establishment aggregated $125,064,601.26. The amount carried in the bill for the naval service is $107,217,778.26, a reduction under the estimates of $17,846,823. The largest single reduction is the sum of $14,891,000 in the item of ammunition for vessels, and represents practice ammunition which, in the judgment of Admiral Earle, safely could be eliminated. The sums of $1,793,000 for improvements at ordnance stations and $165,000 for fuel storage at Pearl Harbor were omitted on the statement that their consideration might be postponed until the regular naval bill for 1920.

The amount given the Navy is composed chiefly of four items in addition to the item of ammunition just mentioned. Fifteen million dollars is recommended for outfits on first enlist-

ment, $11,185,301 for ordnance and ordnance stores, $26,529,464 for new batteries for ships of the Navy, and $2,856,080.61 for construction and equipment of training camps. The latter sum is a deficiency actually incurred and obligated without previous authorization of Congress, and there remains only the function of paying the bill.

There were submitted also in connection with this bill estimates from the various departments here in Washington for over $3,000,000 in salaries and increases in pay for clerks, and not a dollar of it has been recommended by the committee. [Applause.] It has not been recommended because we did not believe it was desirable in the interest of the prosecution of this war to add to the clerks that are here in Washington. The remedy for a shortage of clerks in any department is a readjustment of the allotment of clerks to the various departments. [Applause.] There are some departments that are short. There are a great many departments that have clerks who are in the way of one another, and, I repeat, the remedy is a rearrangement of those clerks. We have carried moneys here to take care of existing pay rolls. In some instances those pay rolls represent perhaps more than what they should; but we have denied requests for increases of clerks here, and particularly at this time we think that action is wise and justifiable.

We have also eliminated a great deal in the way of odds and ends that would be desirable in peace times, but are not desirable now. The Government of the United States is asking every day, and it is going to continue if this war goes on to ask more and more of the citizenship of America that they forego the doing of things that would be desirable in peace times, but that are not permissible now. We have stopped much of the building of the country by private interests. We ought to see to it that we do not do any building of our own that is unnecessary; and civil departments of the Government, instead of using the war as an excuse for asking additional moneys, ought to realize that they can best show their patriotism by curtailing their activities during these times. [Applause.] For my part I have reached the point where it is going to require a good deal of showing to warrant the undertaking of civil activities in the future, and I think it would be well if before an estimate is permitted to come to Congress there should be received from the War Industries Board a clearance for the material and the labor necessary to carry out the project that is asked. Unless these things are to be done we are going to have confusion worse confounded as the strain goes on and on.

This bill carries an affirmative proposal which I drafted and the committee were good enough to accept. It is a proposal for the creation of a salvage commission to study the problem of the disposition of war material after the war. A good many bills have been introduced in this body and in the Senate dealing with this subject. My friend, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GOOD], a member of the committee, introduced one bill which looked to the creation of a commission with power to dispose of governmental property.

The proposal that I have carried in this bill is built on a different line. It is a proposal for the creation of a commission that shall have no power except that of recommendation at this time. Personally I believe that Congress would not and should not give to any commission the power to dispose of Governmental property at this time or after the war until we have had some opportunity for an inventory of such property and a consideration of its uses. So the provision is written in simple language, with broad power of inquiry and of report, but with no power of final action. The President is authorized to appoint seven Members whose duty it shall be to make a survey of the property of the United States and particularly that acquired since the beginning of the war, and in order that they may better perform their functions it is made the duty of the various departments to make an inquiry and study of the property under their control, and what use can be made of that property or other Government property, and the departments or agents of the Government are required to furnish to the commission such information as the commission may from time to time require. The commission is to report to Congress at the first and each subsequent session of the next Congress, and is required to furnish to the President or to the Congress any other information that may be asked from time to time.

The idea is simply this, that we may get a body of men put to the task of surveying this vast accumulation of property. No matter whether the war ends in the immediate future or next year or two years from now there is bound to be a tremendous amount of property of great value if it is put to a right use, but which will be worthless beyond its value as junk unless there is a prevision, study, and understanding of uses to which it can be put. England has for a number of years had a number of commissions engaged in this study and so have the other nations at war. It is time we were taking some thought of those days that are to follow after the war; take thought of it, not with the idea of slowing the war activities but coincident with them, giving study to it, and, indeed, much of the study ought to have been at the time the investments were made in connection with the war in order that there might be provision made looking to the subsequent phase of the peace use of this property. Some departments have done that. I think the engineer department of the Army for one, in regard to terminal facilities, railways, and equipments had in mind the subsequent possible need, and in some instances have had contracts incident to the creation of facilities looking to their taking over by private interests.

But, anyway, we need this study. This is presented not as a final word on the subject, but as a method to an end. I believe that no one of us is wise enough now to write into rigid law just what power and duties shall pertain to any agency of the Government touching this property. I do not want to see any rigid law passed now touching the disposition of this property. I want a survey first as the basis of action afterwards. If men of the right caliber—and they ought to be big men, very big men; not necessarily men of great wealth, but big men in the true sense of bigness, whose vision reaches beyond the horizon and who would not permit things immediately in front of them to blot out that vision—are chosen, if we get a commission of that kind, we will get from them information that will be of value to the country, and I trust that this provision may prevail in the Committee of the Whole.

As I stated, when we come to the details of the bill I will be glad to call the attention to many items contained in it.

Mr. SLOAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. I will.

Mr. SLOAN. As the gentleman knows, we have had no opportunity to read the bill, as it has just been reported, and it prompts Members to ask more questions than perhaps they otherwise would. I am pleased with the admirable statement made by the chairman of the committee and impressed with its force, and impressed with the work that has been done in connection with the prominent features of the bill just mentioned. I would like to ask if the committee in the bill has done anything toward organizing or providing for a committee with power to look over or look after the economies in the expenditures of these vast sums through the various departments during the period of the war?

Mr. SHERLEY. The committee has made no recommendation. As the gentleman knows, I have been one of the men who have believed for many years past that the Congress and the Government in its internal organization represented what in many ways was an archaic system. I still think it. I believe that we ought to have an independent audit that should be responsible to the Congress of the United States and not to the administrative body. We ought to have that irrespective of war or peace. I believe that the organization of committees in this House ought fundamentally and radically to be changed. This House will never have that voice in matters of first moment that it should have unless it ceases to waste its time in the consideration of little details. [Applause.] If we undertake always to curtail departmental activities simply by division and subdivision of items, we will simply spend in the future, as we so frequently have in the past, our time in debating matters that are relatively trivial. We frequently accomplish only the result of tying the hands of the conscientious and efficient administrator and give to the efficient one a new reason for exercising his ingenuity to avoid complying with the will of Congress.

We must have a system of bookkeeping that will give to an auditing organization knowledge of expenditures, and then we can hold rigidly accountable those who are responsible for extravagant expenditures.

Why do I not propose something of that kind now? First, because I have not the time—and those who know something of the labors of the committee can appreciate that that is a true statement—to work out a program that would be efficient, even if I had the ability; second, because you can not do it now in war times. I know that does not meet the concurrence of a great many men, but believe me when I say to you that the situation touching all the Governments at war is more or less the same.

The great contribution that Gladstone made to the parliamentary procedure when he brought about the reformation in the English Parliament was in the creation of an independent audit. But if anybody thinks that over in England to-day Parliament is undertaking to know and pass upon the expenditures that are being made by the British Government they are mistaken. Parliament can not do it in a time of war. The

Admiralty comes to the ministry and says, "We want so many million pounds." The ministry says, "We think you ought not to have it. The condition is such that we do not feel like making that expenditure." "All right," says the Admiralty, "we say it is necessary in order that the fleet shall continue to do certain things. You take the responsibility, if you want to, of denying to the fleet the necessary money." And no ministry ever does that or ever will do it. The same is necessarily true of other countries. War is a game in which time is of the most importance, and you can not undertake to determine expenditures in the same way that you can in time of peace. That does not mean that there are not plenty of improvements that can be made in connection with the prosecution of the war. It does not mean that there are not plenty that have been made. I have stood here for some time talking about the estimates that came from the Quartermaster's Department. I would give a totally false picture if I did not again emphasize the fact that I believe Gen. Lord has brought into that organization now a method of estimate and procurement that will eliminate most of these erroneous, and in some instances absurd, estimates of the past, and it was because he has the matter in hand that my colleagues and I were able to dig out this information and present it to the House. If there had been nothing but confusion up there, we could have found some of it, but no committee operating simply through the process of examination of witnesses could have dug out this information to present to this Committee of the Whole if it had not been that there had already come into the conduct of estimate and procurement of the Quartermaster's Department order out of a great deal of disorder. The same thing is happening in a number of other departments.

I do not hold a brief for Army or Navy officers, and I do not hold a brief for administrative officers generally. The very position I hold makes me more or less the critic of administrative officers. A man fit to be chairman of the Committee on Appropriations must occupy the attitude of the critic more or less of the administrative departments, and yet there is a great deal of criticism of individual men that is born of the ignorance of the problem those men are confronted with. It is usually the man who knows least about the difficulty of the problem who is most apt to be dogmatic about it, and to be dead sure as to how the thing should be remedied and just what he would be able to do if he had charge of the work. Take a matter like the estimate I spoke of for the Signal Corps, and suppose that upon you rests the responsibility now for having equipment in hand from time to time to go overseas, in order that the intelligence may be maintained between the men at the front and the men behind at either advance headquarters or general headquarters. The war shifts from day to day. There is a battle line that runs for a hundred or more miles, with every modern method of communication in vogue, and you have to plan for six weeks, six months, or a year ahead. You will not be upon that work many days before you will lose your dogmatism and get humble in the face of the difficulties of the problem.

Mistakes have been made, and they will continue to be made, but it has been a very wonderful achievement that this country has produced in the prosecution of this war. [Applause.] The time will come when we who are now actors upon the scene have passed away, when men will look from a sufficient distance to get some view of the whole scene, when it will be called the marvel of the world that a Nation should have put across the water in the time that we have done it the troops we have, equipped as they have been, fed as they have been, trained as they have been, and with the glorious courage and bravery and heroism that they have exhibited, whenever called into action. [Applause.]

I stand here before the committee to bring out the things that I think are wrong, because that is my duty, and I owe a duty to the House and to the country that is beyond any duty that may belong to a party, but I do not bring these things out, bad as some of them may be, and corrected as they should and will be, with the idea of belittling the achievements that have taken place upon the part of the people of America under the leadership of the President of the United States. It has been a glorious achievement. Its fruits are being seen every hour. News can not travel fast enough to carry the happenings of each moment that serve to add additional glory and luster to America and American soldiers and sailors. There were dark days in March, in April, in May, and in June even. Nobody can know who has not talked with some who were there how dark the days were in the spring and early summer in France. It was America that saved the civilization of the world, and she saved it within almost an hour of time. She saved it because there had been enough organization and enough work and enough preparation back here to make it possible to have there at that crucial hour the men who were there wearing the uniform of the United States prepared to give their splendid youth in order that civilization might not die. [Applause.] No one need apologize for the achievements of America in this war. No one need go out to the people anywhere and say to them that things have gone wrong and are awry. They are not. They are going forward, and every day is an advance, every day is an improvement. If I point out to you the things that are wrong it shows not that we are failing, but to the thoughtful, thinking man it shows the magnitude of the task that we have undertaken, and the wonder is not that mistakes have been made, but the wonder is that a people should suddenly turn from peaceful pursuits overnight and become the most formidable, powerful, military nation in the world, and that we are to-day. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, after the lengthy and exceedingly able explanation of this large deficiency appropriation bill by the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations [Mr. SHERLEY] I do not desire to take up much of the time of the committee. All that he has said about the labor connected with the preparation of the bill is true, and the half has not been told. While he sits on one side of the aisle and I sit on the other I feel that I would not perform my duty to the House and to the country if I did not say that under his leadership and the cooperation of all his colleagues in the preparation of the bill there has been but one motive in the committee, composed as it is of Members from different party organizations, and that is to present a bill under the operation of which, supplementing appropriations that have been made, peace will be brought to this country and to our allies. [Applause.] There has been no question of partisanship in the consideration of the bill. There has been no desire upon the part of any member of the committee other than to recommend all that is necessary to be given at this time for the successful prosecution of the war. There were many things to consider in the preparation of the bill. Gentlemen should stop to think a minute of what confronted us—the money that has been gathered by taxation up to this time, the money that is to be gathered by taxation under the pending revenue bill, the large amount used in financing our allies, the calling into existence and training of our Army and the furnishing it with arms, the building of ships to transport our products and Army, the building of destroyers, the construction of a larger and I might say a new Navy, and it is because of these things that we have been called upon to make these extraordinary appropriations and expenditures.

And I take pleasure here and now in saying that during my service of over 40 years in the National House of Representatives, so far as the Committee on Appropriations is concerned, it has never had a chairman to lead it and to inform the House superior to the one it has to-day. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, we did not become a participant in this world war until Germany, while we were exercising our rights as a neutral, destroyed our ships on the high seas—the world's great highways.

Then we declared war. Since that time our people of both great parties have been a unit, cooperating with our allies to win the war and secure a victory that will prevent Germany from dominating the world.

Until victory is had questions of peace policies to be determined by majorities can not arise for the United States. In our country we are all for a successful winning of the war, whether we call ourselves Republicans, Democrats, or Independents. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes of my time to my colleague on the Committee on Appropriations, Representative MONDELL.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, I feel like apologizing to the committee for taking even a brief time in the discussion of this bill after the very clear, lucid, informing, eminently fair, and accurate statement that has been made by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY]. As one member of the minority, and expressing, I believe, the view of the entire minority of the committee, I can say that we approve the view and the attitude expressed by the gentleman from Kentucky touching this bill and indorse his statement of the views and policies that were adopted and carried out by the committee in the formulation of the bill. Personally I came into the preparation of this bill rather late in the game. I am not a member of the subcommittee having it originally in charge, but owing to illness in the families of other members, after hearings were well along I was asked to assist somewhat in the hearings and in the final preparation of the bill. So I speak, therefore, from the standpoint of one who has not as full and complete information with regard to the items of the bill as the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. VARE], who gave very much time and attention to the bill

from the very beginning. I want at the outset to express my appreciation of the work of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] in connection with this bill. He is an exceedingly modest man, and he gave in his statement much credit to others for the work of the committee which resulted in the very great reduction in the appropriations below the estimates, with the complete acquiescence of the representatives of the departments; but the fact is that all of this was very largely due to the work of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY], who brought his keen, analytical mind, his wide knowledge, and his mature judgment to bear in the investigation of all the questions that came before the committee in the preparation of the bill. [Applause.] He was very ably aided and assisted by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], who has had knowledge of these matters time out of mind, and to whom the problems that are presented in connection with the consideration of an appropriation or a deficiency bill are very familiar.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. VARE], with his wide business experience and his keen mind, was exceedingly useful and helpful in the preparation of the bill, as were the majority members, Messrs. BYRNS of Tennessee, SISSON, and EAGAN, all of whom gave a great deal of time and very close attention to the hearings and rendered valuable aid in the final make-up of the legislation. I desire in the few moments I shall consume to emphasize a few points touched on by the gentleman from Kentucky. In these days of war and when our victorious troops and those of our allies are constantly pressing the enemy backward all along that shifting, bloody battle line in France it is tremendously important that nowhere, either at home or abroad, shall there be anything said or done to create the impression that we are letting up in the least in the force, volume, or efficiency of our military preparations. One viewing the very great reductions made in the bill below the estimates, reductions amounting to $2,540,375,985, might receive the impression that the mind of the committee had to a degree been affected in arriving at its decisions by recent suggestions of a possible early peace. I want to emphasize the declaration of the gentleman from Kentucky that the committee passed upon these items as though there had been no talk of peace, and with the view that there could be no peace except the peace of absolute and conclusive victory. All the reductions in the estimates, save possibly the reduction in the Neville Island estimate and a very few others of a minor character, were made with the full acquiescence of the heads of the departments making the estimates. The members of the committee did not feel that they would be justified in asserting that it would be fair to the House for them to assert their own judgment against the final and conclusive judgment, after full consideration and discussion, of the men who are responsible for the estimates and for the expenditure of the moneys that are appropriated. The gentleman from Kentucky has called attention to the very marked and extraordinary reductions that were made below the estimates in a very considerable number of items, particularly those of certain branches of the War Department, and the gentleman has been good enough to absolve from the responsibility that one might reasonably insist rested upon the men making those estimates, a portion at least of that responsibility, by giving reasons or excuses for estimates made largely in excess of the sum finally determined to be necessary. I grant you it is true that in making up estimates hurriedly, making up estimates having to do with troops in the field engaged in war operations on an unprecedented scale, those who are responsible for making up those estimates should not be expected to trim them too closely.

It is their duty to estimate liberally. And yet, after all is said in excuse and extenuation, it does seem a little extraordinary that after several guesses the War Department should conclude it needed not $11,000,000 for matches, but $2,000,000. It does seem extraordinary that, after having twice estimated in the matter of veterinary supplies, the department should not have known that it needed only about $4,000,000 for these purposes and not $40,000,000. It does seem extraordinary and difficult to explain that the officials of the department should have overestimated, not once, but twice, their needs for forage for animals to the extent of $121,000,000. And it does seem extraordinary and almost beyond comprehension that men whose duty it was to know the needs of the service should have had so little information with regard to the necessities of the air service as to have estimated $70,000,000 for gasoline for airplanes and then have concluded that they only needed $20,000,000. I mention a few out of many glaring and very extraordinary evidences of either gross carelessness and indifference or very loose methods of calculation.

I hope it is true that we now have an organization in the War Department under which we shall not in the future have these extraordinary and grotesque estimates. I think, however, it is well to recall and remember the fact that if it were not for the labors of a committee of this House in the careful consideration of estimates this bill would have carried two and a half billion dollars more than it does carry, a sum sufficient to conduct the entire Government for two years prior to the war. It may be said thoughtlessly that even though the additional sums were appropriated no particular harm would be done, because they would not be expended. That is not a true or accurate statement of the situation; for while it is probably true that the War Department has not been contracting as wildly as it has estimated, it is true that the War Department or any other department, or any other aggregation of men anywhere, are to a certain extent governed in their expenditures by the money at their command and disposal.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield there for a question?

Mr. MONDELL. In just a moment.

And in these times it is not only the question of the useless expenditure of the public money; it is the question of the expenditure of the public money for purposes and uses that are unnecessary, resulting in the checking of enterprises that are essential to the winning of the war. The Nation is strained to the utmost to carry out the enormous military program provided for in this and former bills, and not a dollar and not a unit of man power should be diverted from the carrying out of the necessary and essential program.

Now I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. This bill is purely a military bill and providing for war necessities. I see there is an appropriation of over $16,000,000 here for civil services. Would not that more properly come under a civil deficiency bill?

Mr. MONDELL. This is a general deficiency bill that includes deficiencies from all of the departments. The major part of the bill, the bulk of it, relates clearly and definitely to the Military Establishment. Of course there are some deficiencies in the other establishments of the Government, most of which, however, have some relation to the war.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. How does the Civil Service department connect this activity with the War Department?

Mr. MONDELL. The Civil Service Commission, if that is one of the items the gentleman has in mind, requires additional help above what was appropriated for, necessary for the holding of civil-service examinations of war workers throughout the country.

Mr. SLOAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. SLOAN. I note the gentleman's suggestion that there might be about the same flexibility and elasticity of expenditures in the War Department as there was in estimates. If that is true, or measurably true, would it not be wise policy to have a supervising or auditing committee to look after that expenditure?

Mr. MONDELL. Well, I think it might be very well to do that, but up to this time the administration has not been in favor of such an audit, and the Congress has followed the view of the administration in that matter.

Mr. Chairman, how much of my time has expired?

The CHAIRMAN. Twenty minutes.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, for just a moment I want to discuss the Neville Island project, and before I go to it I want to say this, that being called in rather late in the hearings on the bill I had considerable difficulty in making up my mind with regard to a number of items. Eventually there was complete agreement among the members of the committee, so that the bill as reported represents a unanimous decision. One of the very considerable items that we had to pass upon was that of a $93,000,000 increase in the plant at Neville Island, upon the top of which would be another item of $29,000,000 for housing. As I said a moment ago, that was the only item not appropriated for in favor of which there was insistence upon the part of the War Department. But let it be understood that that insistence upon the part of the War Department relative to Neville Island was not an insistence based wholly or principally upon war needs. It was an insistence upon the plant as a great gun-making concern, as Gen. March said, for all time, and without regard to the present emergency. The funds available, amounting to $45,000,000, will build a plant capable of manufacturing guns up to 18-inch, although the capacity was predicated on 14-inch guns. But a part of its productive capacity will be for 16 and 18 inch guns, even though we do not increase the capacity of the plant. So that, with the $45,000,000 now available we will have facilities for large guns of all classes and calibers up to the largest gun now made or proposed by anyone. To at this time add to that plant $93,000,000 of expenditure, and later on top of that $29,000,000 of

expenditure for housing, was to strain to the breaking point the productive capacity of the country in steel, and in other materials of various kinds, and in man power.

At this time, when the War Industries Board is refusing authority to erect buildings and plants all over the country, when we are curtailing construction everywhere, it did not appear to the committee we were justified in going on with this great work, which under no circumstances can produce guns until well into the year 1920, and which can produce guns just as quickly but not as many of them with the smaller as under the larger program. Furthermore the Congress has never affirmatively given its assent to this great gun enterprise. We did appropriate in the fortification bill $40,000,000 for the original scheme, because the work was under way; but other than that the Congress has never authorized this great construction. The committee was therefore not only called upon to determine as to whether we should recommend $93,000,000 more for this plant, but whether the committee should take the responsibility on behalf of the House of now accepting as settled and determined upon the construction of the greatest gun plant in the world. If that were done the $29,000,000 housing plan would, of course, follow. If it seems wise to enlarge this plant later on, that can be done then at a very much less expense than at this time.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman permit an interruption there?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes, briefly.

Mr. DENISON. I was going to ask the gentleman if one of the peace terms proposed by the President, which he said was essential, was not the reduction by international agreement of all military armament to the point necessary for domestic peace only?

Mr. MONDELL. That is true.

Mr. DENISON. Now, then, if we are going to insist upon that as a peace term, and Germany has agreed to it, are we not a little bit inconsistent in going ahead and making preparation here at home at the same time for a plant of that kind which will be of no benefit to us in this war?

Mr. MONDELL. I believe we would be very inconsistent if we adopted at this time the larger program. As to whether we are inconsistent in going on with the present program I am not prepared to say. Contracts are made and the work is under way, and that plant will produce some ammunition early in 1920, and some guns a little later in 1920, and it will be a great plant at that.

Mr. DENISON. I would not, of course, question anything that may be necessary to aid us to complete this war, but I am talking about the construction of this great plant for the future when we are at the same time saying to Germany, and presumably our allies agree with us in that, that one of the points we are going to insist on in the final peace arrangement is the disarmament of all nations by international agreement down to the point where it is necessary only to preserve domestic peace.

Mr. MONDELL. Well, we all hope that much of that may be accomplished, although as one of the individuals who has dreamed dreams of world-wide peace more or less for a long time I am not so certain in regard to it now, I regret to say, as I once was. I am afraid we will always have to make some guns and probably some very big ones [applause], and we ought to have some preparation for making such guns. The committee declined to approve this larger program, as was clearly indicated by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY], purely on the ground that it would not, in our opinion, furnish material for this war unless the war should last longer than anyone estimates, and the meantime the carrying on of the enlarged program would shorten and interfere with the necessary and essential present program in the manufacture and production of those things that we must have.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. It seems to me, in view of the statement that the gentleman has made in regard to this large appropriation, which was not approved, or this large estimate, that it is not a deficiency matter at all. The gentleman seemed to think that they might properly have put it in their bill if they had thought best. Does that mean that this bill, called a deficiency bill, provides for a large number of new projects and propositions and therefore is not really a deficiency bill?

Mr. MONDELL. This bill provides only for war necessities, and the statement the gentleman has made in a way emphasizes the wisdom of the committee in not approving the estimate for this enlargement at Neville Island.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. If it is strictly a deficiency bill, is it not to make up some shortage, something that should have been appropriated in larger amounts before?

Mr. MONDELL. The argument might be made that this plant having been started without any definite limit of cost, there was a deficiency, because they did not have money enough available to build it as large as the War Department thought best. At any rate, the item is out of the bill for the present, and I hope it will not be placed in the bill by the House.

Now, Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, the presentation of this bill by a committee united as to all of its items again emphasizes the unity of the American people and the Congress of the United States behind the President of the United States and his administration in the prosecution of this war to a final and conclusive victory. [Applause.]

This bill is brought in on the theory that we do not propose in the slightest degree to let up in our preparation for the continuation of the conflict until we have been victorious all along the line; that it is the will and judgment of the American people, as represented in this House, that there shall be no parley, that there shall be no armistice, that will give the enemy an opportunity to withdraw in force behind stronger lines in order that in a future day he may confront us with all of his forces augmented and defiant. It is presented on the theory that the western battle front, that fateful battle line on which hangs the hope of freedom and ordered liberty, shall continue to be a fighting line provided with every needed facility in abundance until we have driven the enemy back to his own territory, captured or destroyed his armies, and brought him to unconditional surrender. [Applause.]

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by incorporating a resolution dealing with the reconstruction problem.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by incorporating a resolution dealing with reconstruction work. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, is this a resolution that is pending before the House?

Mr. LONDON. A very brief resolution that I introduced some two weeks ago.

Mr. WALSH. There is no need of printing in the RECORD resolutions that are introduced. That is not customary. The resolution is printed in resolution form. I shall object to printing it in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE MEEKER.

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Speaker, it is with great regret that I rise to announce the death of our colleague, Hon. JACOB EDWIN MEEKER, of Missouri, who died early this morning at St. Louis. At some future time I shall ask the House to set aside a day upon which his colleagues may address the House upon his life and character. I now offer the following resolution.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 445.

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. JACOB EDWIN MEEKER, a Representative from the State of Missouri.

Resolved, That a committee of 20 Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions, and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

The resolution was agreed to; and the Speaker announced as the committee on the part of the House Mr. RUCKER, Mr. SHACKLEFORD, Mr. RUSSELL, Mr. BORLAND, Mr. BOOHER, Mr. ALEXANDER, Mr. HAMLIN, Mr. DICKINSON, Mr. RUBEY, Mr. HENSLEY, Mr. IGOE, Mr. DECKER, Mr. ROMJUE, Mr. CLARK of Missouri, Mr. DYER, Mr. RODENBERG, Mr. KNUTSON, Mr. WALSH, Mr. PURNELL, and Mr. MILLER of Washington.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect this House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, October 17, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. SHERLEY: A bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes; to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

By Mr. GARD: A bill (H. R. 13087) providing for the taxation of articles of commerce in the production of which child labor is employed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LONDON: Concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 55) defining the meaning of victory; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CARY: A bill (H. R. 13088) granting an increase of pension to Augustus G. Weissert; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ESCH: A bill (H. R. 13089) granting an increase of pension to William McFarlin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GARD: A bill (H. R. 13090) granting a pension to Julia M. Little; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13091) granting an increase of pension to Oscar Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. IGOE: A bill (H. R. 13092) granting a pension to Margaret E. Leonard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. OSBORNE: A bill (H. R. 13093) granting a pension to Samuel R. Hall; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WALSH: A bill (H. R. 13094) granting a pension to Annie Casey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. CARY: Petition of the Catholic Young Men's Literary Society, protesting against the zone system as applied to periodical postage rates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CURRY of California: Petition of George W. Ashley and certain other farmers of Lodi, San Joaquin County, Cal., against extending the time for setting the clock ahead one hour beyond October 27, and stating reasons therefor; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee: Petition of citizens of Tennessee urging better care of our soldiers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania: Resolution of the Philadelphia Bourse, protesting against any change in the present daylight-saving law; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *October 17, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we pray Thee to write Thy law upon our hearts and in our minds. Do Thou place in us Thine own thought, Thine own will, that we may render Thee loving obedience, that we may be glad to do Thy will. Let Thy loving favor rest upon us this day. Grant, we pray, that we may see and feel the onward spirit of the mighty God of righteousness and of truth, and that we may feel the inspiration of having a part with God in the establishment of the high ideals of a Christian civilization in the earth. We pray Thee to stay the ravages of this dread disease that has spread itself over all our land. Hasten the day, we pray Thee, for deliverance by the care and confidence of those who put their trust in Thee, that there may be an end of the disease, and out of it we may have learned that obedience and that trust which make us perfect. For Christ's sake. Amen.

NAMING A PRESIDING OFFICER.

The Secretary (James M. Baker) read the following communication:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C., October 17, 1918.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. JOHN HOLLIS BANKHEAD, a Senator from the State of Alabama, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

WILLARD SAULSBURY,
President pro tempore.

Mr. BANKHEAD thereupon took the chair as Presiding Officer.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of Monday last, when, on request of Mr. KENYON and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

DISASTER AT MORGAN MUNITION PLANT.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, out of order I offer a resolution and ask that it be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 317) was read, as follows:

Whereas the recent disaster at the Morgan munitions plant, near Perth Amboy, N. J., October 4 and 5, resulted in the loss of scores of lives, the destruction of millions of dollars' worth of property belonging to the United States and to private owners, and the rendering homeless of thousands of citizens: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate be, and it is hereby, instructed to make an inquiry into the causes which brought about said catastrophe, whether by accident or work of alien enemies or agents thereof; what precautions had been taken to prevent such an accident; what plans have been adopted, if any, with a view to the rebuilding of the plant upon a safer basis; what measures have been determined upon, if any, toward the protection of similar munition plants elsewhere.

Resolved further, That said Committee on Military Affairs be authorized and directed to subpœna witnesses and compel their attendance, to send for persons and papers, and to do such further acts as may be necessary to secure any and all information desired in the furtherance of this inquiry, and that a report of the finding of such committee shall, upon its conclusion, be made to the Senate not later than December 6, 1918.

Resolved further, That the sum of $5,000 be appropriated from the contingent fund of the Senate to cover the expenses incident to this inquiry.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, I simply wish to state that while under the rules the resolution will have to go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, but such a very serious situation exists in the area around these munitions plants at the present time that no delay should exist in passing this resolution. The explosion killed over 150 people and damaged property within an area of 50 or 60 miles. It rendered homeless about 10,000 people, who for several days were refugees along the road. The explosion continued for about two days. Seventy-five hundred pounds of trinitrolithuol were blown up. Before the explosion the mayor of New York City ordered the subways closed, fearful of the result. The effect of the explosion was seen in New York City, nearly 40 miles away.

At the present time there are several other magazines at this plant containing 150,000 pounds and one containing 600,000 pounds of trinitrolithuol. Should an accident occur with the existing amount of explosives, it would not only mean the destruction of property within an area of 50 miles but within an area of 100 miles, and undoubtedly would seriously affect New York City as well.

The people there are in a state of terror. They are living outside of their homes. Two or three days ago there were 60 bodies in the morgue unburied because they had not coffins and the facilities for burying them. The situation at the present time should be investigated, and if this large amount of explosives is not properly safeguarded, if it is not properly distributed, and should another explosion occur, it would mean more destruction of life and property.

The object of the resolution is simply to have the subcommittee of the Committee on Military Affairs make an inquiry to ascertain what the War Department is going to do. The Gillespie Co., who are running this plant, seem to ignore the fear and the protest of the people in that locality.

I hope the Committee on Contingent Expenses will make a prompt report in order that the resolution may go to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be so referred.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Under the circumstances I think I will ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the rule the resolution must be referred. That is required by statute.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 63) to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bill and joint resolution, and they were thereupon signed by the Presiding Officer:

H. R. 10609. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to exchange the present Federal building site at Eatonton, Ga., for another site on the public square in said city; and

H. J. Res. 331. Joint resolution authorizing the readmission to the United States of certain aliens who have been conscripted or have volunteered for service with the military forces of the United States or cobelligerent forces.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. WARREN. I present a communication from Hon. John W. Lacey, of Cheyenne, Wyo., expressing views relative to Germany's peace proposals, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

There being no objection, the communication was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHEYENNE, WYO., *October 10, 1918.*

Hon. F. E. WARREN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: It has occurred to me that the increasing victories of the allied armies may cause Germany to offer to retire within her own borders if permitted to do so peacefully, with a view to asking for an armistice under the President's answer to Germany's recent proposition.

Under the President's statement, coupled with what was said in his former statement as to Alsace-Lorraine, I think it within the suggestions of his recent answer that Alsace-Lorraine shall be considered a part of the invaded territory, and that the condition upon which the President will discuss an armistice requires retirement from Alsace-Lorraine the same as all other invaded territory. Any other construction than this would enable Germany to put us in an embarrassing position by the offer to retire within her own territories.

Yours, very truly, JOHN W. LACEY.

Mr. WARREN. I present a telegram from Hon. N. H. Loomis, general council, Union Pacific Railroad Co., of Omaha, Nebr., expressing views regarding Germany's peace proposals, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

There being no objection, the telegram was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OMAHA, NEBR., *October 14, 1918.*

Hon. FRANCIS E. WARREN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Nothing less than unconditional surrender will satisfy loyal people of this part of the country.

N. H. LOOMIS.

Mr. WARREN presented a memorial of the Johnson County Chapter of the American Defense Society, of Buffalo, Wyo., and a telegram in the nature of a memorial from sundry citizens of Riverton, Wyo., remonstrating against the negotiation of peace with the German Government, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOHNSON COUNTY CHAPTER OF THE
AMERICAN DEFENSE SOCIETY (INC.),
Buffalo, Wyo., October 9, 1918.

Hon. FRANCIS E. WARREN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The following resolution has been adopted by the Johnson County Chapter, American Defense Society, and I have been instructed to forward a copy to you that you may know the sentiment of the members of our chapter:

Whereas Germany and her allies have recently made peace proposals; and

Whereas it is the unanimous opinion of the members of the Johnson County Chapter, American Defense Society, that said peace proposals are not sincere, but for the purpose of slowing up the military effort at the front and at home, and for the further purpose of hindering the fourth liberty loan and decreasing subscriptions: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we are unalterably opposed to considering Germany's present peace proposals or any other except unconditional surrender.

Very respectfully, WILSON MCBRIDE, *President.*
R. O. WATKINS, *Secretary.*

—

RIVERTON, WYO., *October 13, 1918.*

Hon. FRANCIS E. WARREN,
Washington, D. C.:

In behalf of our entire community, which is 100 per cent patriotic, we extend congratulations upon war successes to date. We respectfully urge that no peace negotiations be considered until absolutely unconditional surrender of the enemy armies is accomplished and our victorious troops enter Berlin.

J. S. Delfelder, mayor; W. Nicholson, vice chairman Council of Defense; George F. Dobler, president American Red Cross; Mrs. Ray McLaughlin, president Women's Patriotic League; C. Wimpenny, president One Hundred Per Cent American Club; John T. Botsford, secretary Commercial Club.

Mr. TOWNSEND presented a petition of Local Grange No. 280, Patrons of Husbandry, of Morenci, Mich., praying for the repeal of the present zone system of postage rates, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

Mr. MYERS presented a petition of the Vigilance Corps of the American Defense Society (Inc.), of Hamilton, Mont., praying for the suppression of newspapers printed in the German language, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. ASHURST (for Mr. THOMPSON) presented a telegram in the nature of a petition from the president of the Kansas City Branch of the Railway Mail Association of Kansas, praying for the passage of the McKellar retirement bill for aged Government employees, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also (for Mr. THOMPSON) presented a memorial from the Woman's Club of Seneca, Kans., praying for the adoption of an amendment to the census bill for the protection of civil-service appointments, which was referred to the Committee on the Census.

Mr. NELSON presented the memorial of William Danforth, of St. Paul, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed tax on municipal, State, and county bonds, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the memorial of William A. Anderson, of Minneapolis, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed tax on oil, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a memorial of the Moline Plow Co., of St. Louis Park, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed increased tax on automobiles, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 4857) authorizing an Army account of advances for Army appropriations, and other purposes, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 592) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 13037) to amend the fiftieth article of war, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 593) thereon.

Mr. WALSH, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 12998) to amend section 3528 of the Revised Statutes, asked to be discharged from the further consideration of the bill, and that it be referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, which was agreed to.

CORINNE LOWE.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred Senate resolution 313, submitted by himself on the 10th instant, reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay, from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate, to Corinne Lowe, sister of James W. Lowe, late a carpenter in the employ of the United States Senate under the Sergeant at Arms, a sum equal to six months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 4992) granting rations to Army field clerks and field clerks, Quartermaster Corps; and

A bill (S. 4993) to provide for the taking over, improvement, relocation, construction, and maintenance of a system of National highways and State highways, designed to facilitate the movement of troops, equipment, munitions, and supplies, and to promote the general welfare of the people of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LEWIS:

A bill (S. 4994) granting an increase of pension to John J. Cassin; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SMOOT:

A bill (S. 4995) to amend section 2 of an act entitled "An act to pension the survivors of certain Indian wars from January 1, 1859, to January, 1891, inclusive, and for other purposes," approved March 4, 1917; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 4996) granting an increase of pension to Joseph L. Williams (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

AMENDMENTS TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year

ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, which was ordered to be printed and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. JONES of Washington submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

Mr. LEWIS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

Mr. FLETCHER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENTS TO REVENUE BILL.

Mr. POMERENE. I submit three several amendments intended to be proposed by me to the pending revenue bill (H. R. 12863), which I ask may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendments are as follows:

On page —, line —, insert the following:

"*Provided*, That for income-tax purposes, in so far as the assessments of normal tax and surtax are concerned, a husband and wife shall be regarded as 'one person,' and their 'combined' income shall be reported on one income-tax return, and that the surtax shall be collected on the combined income of both."

On page —, line —, insert the following:

"*Provided further*, That the foregoing provision relating to the compensation of officials and individuals employed by a corporation shall be retroactive for the calendar year of 1917 in every case where the Secretary of the Treasury finds that the official or individual has been paid an unreasonably high compensation during the said year for the purpose of evading the payment of the revenue tax provided for by law."

On page —, line —, insert the following:

"*Provided further*, That for the purpose of determining the taxable income of a corporation the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to fix a reasonable compensation for officials and individuals employed by said corporation, which in no event shall be more than 50 per cent in excess of the average compensation paid to each of them severally during the years 1914, 1915, and 1916."

APPROVAL OF THE PRESIDENT'S WAR POLICIES.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I tender a resolution, which I ask to have read, and, for reasons, I ask that it may lie on the table at this particular time rather than go to any committee.

The resolution (S. Res. 318) was read and ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

Resolved, That the United States Senate approves whatever course may be taken by the President of the United States in the matter of his replies and in his dealings with the German Imperial Government and the Austrian Imperial Government and the allies of either, or both, in response to the demand of either for peace or armistice: And be it further

Resolved, That the Senate, having complete and full confidence in the discretion, judgment, and patriotism of the President, indorses and approves whatever methods he may employ to achieve the result of victorious peace and the establishment of the principles for which the United States of America entered the war, and indorses such determination as he shall reach as to the manner best calculated to preserve the dignity of the Nation and its complete vindication in the contest between the United States and its associates in the war between these and the Imperial German Empire and its allies.

PRODUCTION AND IMPORTATION OF POTASH.

Mr. WALSH. I offer the following resolution and ask for its present consideration.

The resolution (S. Res. 319) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the United States Tariff Commission be, and it hereby is, directed to transmit to the United States Senate any information it may have concerning the present and the prospective production of potash within the United States or any place subject to its jurisdiction, the present sources of supply, and the importations thereof; also the present consumption of potash in the United States, itemizing the commodities into which it enters and the prospective demand for it upon the conclusion of the war.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. SMOOT. I wish to ask the Senator from Montana why he asks the Tariff Commission to furnish the information?

Mr. WALSH. I ask the Tariff Commission to furnish it because my information is that it has made a special investigation of the particular subject.

Mr. SMOOT. The Bureau of Mines has made a thorough investigation of the subject, and I think has already made a report upon it. I believe the Interior Department, outside of the Bureau of Mines, has made a thorough investigation of it. I do not know whether that report has been prepared or not. It seems to me it is entirely outside of the functions of the Tariff Commission to find out where potash is located in the United States.

Mr. WALSH. I can not see how the Senator can take that view of it. The Tariff Commission is obliged to inquire into all these matters and collect information concerning them. At some time or other we are going to deal with this matter, and possibly consider the question of a duty upon the importations of potash or the removal of the duty upon the importations of potash, and unquestionably the Tariff Commission is investigating the subject. I understand it has been doing so. I do not see why we should not have the information from any source from which the information is available.

Mr. SMOOT. The Tariff Commission certainly have no appropriation made to investigate where potash is located, and whatever information they will give I take it for granted will come from the Geological Survey.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Or the Agricultural Department. We made an appropriation some 12 months ago to enable the Agricultural Department to put up a plant and test out the practicability of bringing to a commercial basis the potash contained in certain plants on the Pacific coast. We also authorized the testing out of potash in quite a large body of water not far from the Pacific Ocean.

Mr. SMOOT. That report has been presented to the Senate and states exactly what, in the opinion of the Agricultural Department, can be the production of potash in this country.

Mr. President, it seems to me that this is virtually a duplication, and I can not see why this information should be asked of the Tariff Commission. The only report that they could give would be figures furnished by the Geological Survey or the Agricultural Department or the Bureau of Mines. They certainly have no power to make the investigation themselves.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I can not see why the Senator should object to the resolution, or even offer any opposition to it. I do not think that all the information asked for by the resolution is available either in the Agricultural Department or the Geological Survey. I am asking particularly in the resolution for the commercial aspect of potash. I want to know how much of this commodity is utilized by this country, what the consumption is, what the demand is, and what are the sources of supply.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia rose.

Mr. WALSH. I yield to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do not want the Senator to understand that I am objecting to the resolution or to any information which may be obtained. I was just wondering whether he knew that the Tariff Commission has any information, and I meant to call attention to a certain line of work we had done in the Committee of Agriculture of the Senate, together with the Agricultural Department. I feel a deep interest in the subject, and I would be delighted to get information from any source. Can the Senator indicate to us that he has reason to believe the Tariff Commission have some information on the subject? I take it that he has or he would not have introduced the resolution.

Mr. WALSH. I have information. As a matter of course, they have been interested in this subject in its every aspect, and particularly in reference to the commercial feature. The Agricultural Department, as a matter of course, has in mind the sources of supply; but in all probability it has not in mind the prospective sources of supply. The Geological Survey has; but the Geological Survey has no particular information obtainable from its own sources concerning importations, concerning the possibilities of sources of supplies abroad other than the German sources of supply.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I shall vote for the resolution.

Mr. SMOOT. I ask that the resolution may go over for a day. I want to see what information there is on the subject already available.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will go over under the rule.

PROPOSAL OF PEACE WITH THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

Mr. GORE. I submit a resolution and ask that it be read and lie on the table.

The resolution (S. Res. 320) was read, as follows:

Whereas the President in his latest note to the German Government stated that it is within the choice of the German nation to place itself in a situation to negotiate peace "if peace is to come by the action of the German people themselves": Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Senate advise the President as to its readiness to consent to a treaty concluding a just and acceptable peace made with "the German people themselves" in accordance with the methods proposed by the President.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I will not discuss the resolution at this time, but will merely have printed in the RECORD certain statements which I have previously made on the subject. I may explain that I offer the resolution to follow up the one which I offered on Monday last, on account of the change in the situation which has occurred in the meantime. That resolution was designed to advise the President that it was the sense of the Senate that the treaty concluding the present war should be made with the peoples of Germany and Austria-Hungary through representatives chosen by the people for that purpose and not through representatives of the present autocracy. It was intended to apply to Germany the precedent which Germany established in 1871, when the conquering German Army required the French people to elect a national assembly for the purpose of negotiating peace. The President, however, in his note to the German Government on Monday last stated that it was "within the choice of the German nation" to render possible "a peace made by the action of the German people themselves."

The resolution I now offer is designed to advise the President of the Senate's readiness to ratify a treaty made with the German people themselves in accordance with the terms and methods which he proposed. In this instance the method is vital, is fundamental. I ask that the resolution lie on the table for the present, and that the statements referred to by me be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[From Washington Herald, Wednesday, Oct. 16, 1918.]

GORE RESOLUTION AID TO WILSON—PROVIDES WAYS AND MEANS TO PEACE ASKED BY HIM.

The National Capital awoke to-day to a realization of the certainty and nearness of the end of the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg dynasties, as a result of the masterly moves of the United States in concert with the allies.

The impression has deepened among observers both in and out of Congress that the German and Austrian people are on the verge of seizing the opportunity of extricating themselves from the position to which their imperial rulers have brought them by utterly destroying the powers responsible for their plight.

In harmony with the President's attitude of helping the German people to realize their aspirations of democracy, Senator GORE, of Oklahoma, has introduced a resolution definitely pointing the way.

Senator GORE'S resolution provides the method and the machinery for carrying out the plain and unmistakable intimation of the President conveyed in his message intended for the ears of the German people. The resolution, in part, provides:

"*Resolved*, That the Senate respectfully advise the President that it is the sense of the Senate that the treaty concluding the present war, and requiring the consent of the Senate, should be made with the peoples concerned, through representatives duly elected for that purpose and empowered to conduct such negotiations by them in the name and by the authority of the peoples of Germany and Austria-Hungary."

It further advocates the vigorous and uninterrupted prosecution of the war until such a democratic peace is made certain. The Oklahoma Senator intends to press his resolution and suggests that it should be Germany's first lesson in democracy.

Said Senator GORE:

"In 1871, the conquering Germans required the French people to elect a national assembly for the purpose of negotiating peace. This German precedent could be commended to-day by even-handed justice to German observance. I introduced my resolution in accordance with this precedent.

"It provides the method and machinery for carrying out the President's intimation. I am glad the President laid the ax at the root of the tree that bears such evil fruit. I am glad he touched with the spear of Arthurial, the head of the squatting toad that was whispering foul suggestions in the ear of democracy."

—

VIEWS OF SENATOR GORE ON THE PRESIDENT'S ANSWER TO THE GERMAN PEACE NOTE—FULL TEXT OF INTERVIEW.

The President cleft the heart of autocracy when he said, "This it is within the choice of the German nation to do." This means the substitution of democracy for autocracy. This means the passing of the Hohenzollerns. I concluded long ago that the coming of peace should be marked by the passing of the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns. These houses are the survivals of a dead past. Like slavery, autocracy has outlived its time and its expectancy. It has survived the environment that made it possible, that made it inevitable. Shall we now let autocracy follow that environment to the grave or shall we recreate that environment in order to perpetuate autocracy? The world is now casting the wrinkled skin of despotism. These dynasties should take their place in the mausoleum of tyrannies alongside the Bourbons, the Stewarts, and the Romanoffs. This should happen not as a mere matter of revenge, not as a mere matter of retribution, but it should happen as a pledge of the world's peace and to rid men's minds of the hideous nightmare of war. Germany has been like one possessed of a demon. The casting of this evil spirit will be of service to all peoples everywhere, and not least to the people of Germany themselves.

The Hohenzollerns have deified force and might well become the victim of their infuriate deity. The extinction of these houses would mark the passing of the despot's dogma that kings rule by a right divine, would mark the passing of the deadly doctrine that might makes right, would mark the passing of that perverse, that frightful philosophy that the moral law is not binding upon states and nations. In creed this is moral nihilism; in deed this is international anarchism.

The Kaiser once inscribed in the Visitors' Book of the Town Hall at Munich that "the will of the emperor is the supreme law." We should help the German people to learn the truth that will make them free, that the will of a free, just, and enlightened people ought to be the supreme law of the land. In 1871 the conquering Germans required the French people to elect a national assembly for the purpose of negotiating peace. The German precedent could be commended by even-handed justice to German observance. I introduced a resolution on Monday in accordance with this precedent, declaring it to be the sense of the Senate that the treaty of peace concluding the present war should be made with the peoples of Germany and Austria-Hungary through representatives chosen by the people for the purpose of negotiating such a treaty. This should be the German's first lesson in democracy. It points out the method for carrying out the President's intimation. The President laid the ax at the root of the tree of evil. I am glad that the President touched with the spear of Arthurial the head of the squatting toad that was whispering foul suggestions in the ear of democracy.

—

[Extract from interview by Senator GORE in Daily Oklahoman, Sept. 24, 1918.]

In these times of tragedy personalities are nothing, principles are everything.

While our brave boys are carrying democracy and its blessings to the rest of the world we must conserve democracy and its blessings for them. The right of free thought, free speech, and free conscience is what they are carrying to the oppressed millions of the earth.

There is no room in the Democratic Party for one who is disloyal and who is opposed to winning the war. No man can be a friend of mine who is not loyal and who is not in favor of winning the war. The happiest day in history will be the one that announces that Germany has gone democratic, and that our American heroes have carried the Potsdam precinct.

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[Extract from interview by Senator GORE in the New York American, Oct. 14, 1918.]

Is it a new face that Germany is turning toward the American people, or is it the same old face behind a mask?

I am not certain that the American people under present circumstances would be satisfied with anything less than the passing of the Hohenzollerns. We want a peace, not a truce. If Germany by the manner she pursued of gaining publicity for her peace maneuver sought to weaken the morale of the country, it is merely an added instance of misreading the minds of our people. I think the reaction will be distinctly injurious to Germany. We do not seek the rude justice known as revenge, but we do want to insure the peace of the future.

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Senate resolution 316.

Whereas the Constitution authorizes the President to make "treaties by and with the advice and consent of the Senate"; and

Whereas it is the constitutional function and duty of the Senate to advise with the President in the making of treaties; and

Whereas the victorious Germans in 1871 required the French people to elect a national assembly for the purpose of negotiating peace: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Senate respectfully advise the President that it is the sense of the Senate that the treaty concluding the present war and requiring the consent of the Senate should be made with the peoples concerned through representatives duly elected by them for that purpose and empowered to conduct such negotiations in the name and by the authority of the peoples of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Resolved further, That the Senate favors the vigorous and uninterrupted prosecution of the war until a democratic, just, and acceptable peace is made certain, upon the terms approved by the President and faithful to the cobelligerents of the United States.

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ADDRESS OF SENATOR THOMAS P. GORE AT THE LIBERTY LOAN MASS MEETING AT THE BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC, SUNDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 6, 1918.

Ladies and gentlemen, I trust that you will not permit me to disturb the train of your thoughts. [Laughter.] But for the warning just given this audience would be a splendid victim. President Jonas has already shown that he can work miracles in respect of raising money. He is now ambitious to work even a greater miracle and show that he can prevent a United States Senator from making a speech. [Laughter.] I am on the short shift. I wish to thank Chairman Jonas especially for the pleasure with which I listened to the song by Sergt. Berlin. This is an omen, I trust, that Berlin in Germany will soon be in the hands of the Americans. [Applause.]

I rise this evening not in the rôle of either an interesting or uninteresting speaker but merely as an interested spectator. I appear to testify that I am with you heart and soul. Ladies and gentlemen, before obeying orders I wish to congratulate you upon the mighty change which has come upon the world since I last had the pleasure of addressing you. When I addressed you in April last gloom hung like a mighty pall over the allied armies and over the allied peoples. Anxiety filled the minds of free men everywhere. The German drive was then at the height of its fury. The German hordes were advancing. The German advance seemed all but irresistible. Paris was in peril. Civilization was in danger. The destiny of the human race was then trembling in the balances. My countrymen, how changed is the situation to-day. Gloom has given place to sunshine. Anxiety has given place to high and confident hopes. The German advance has been turned into a German retreat, into a proposal for peace. The tide, the bloody tide, of battle has turned. Let us hope that this is the tide which, taken at the flood, will lead on, not to fortune but to victory and to peace. The future is now secure. Destiny is beckoning free men and free nations everywhere into the rich light of an ampler day. The American Army turned the tide. [Applause.] The American Army converted a retreat into a charge. An American general, ordered to retreat, sent back the heroic message that "The Stars and Stripes never retreat." [Applause.] Eight thousand American Marines saved the day at the Marne. [Applause.] Saved the day? Aye, and saved civilization itself. [Applause.] They saved civilization against a disaster how unspeakable no one can tell. The Athenian Army at Marathon, the Spartan band at Thermopylæ, did not render a greater service to civilization than did these Americans at the Marne.

Men that were girt for the combat,
Men that were grit to the core,
Swift as a panther in triumph,
Fierce as a bear in defeat;
Sired by a bulldog parent,
Steeled in the furnace heat—

and yet the Kaiser said that the American boys could not or would not fight! [Applause.]

That reminds me of an English soldier who fell in with a crowd of American soldiers. He heard them using a phrase, not so elegant but a very common phrase—you will pardon me for repeating it—"Wouldn't that get your goat?" [Laughter.] Wouldn't that get your goat! This struck the English soldier as a very fashionable phrase, and he imagined that in order to show himself abreast of the times he must use this phrase on the first occasion. The next time he fell in with a number of American soldiers one of them, after an American victory, took occasion to remark, "So Kaiser Bill said that the American boys couldn't fight!" The Englishman seized the opportunity. "Ah," he says, "wouldn't that grab your nanny?" [Laughter.]

Ladies and gentlemen, let me say again the happiest day in all human history will be the day which announces that Germany has gone democratic [laughter and applause], and I hope that it may be the proud privilege of the American boys to carry the Potsdam precinct. [Laughter and applause.] But much remains to be conquered still. My friends, we do not want a truce that will break but a peace that will not break, a peace that will last, that will last as long as the grass grows, that will last as long as the water flows, and not a patched-up peace that will prove an incubator of future wars and future woes. Much remains to be conquered still. The winning of the war is still ahead of us; much hard fighting may lie ahead of us; many heavy sacrifices may still be ahead of us. This liberty loan must be a success; it will be a success. [Applause.] Remember, my friends, that when you buy a bond you serve your country, you serve your family, you serve yourself, and you serve the brave boys in the trenches. Remember that you may buy the bond that buys the bomb that beats the enemy. We may have to become more economic and thrifty. The truth is, we may be obliged to emulate the thrift of some of our soldiers in Europe. A colored corporal was standing on a platform one day and saw 40 carloads of watermelons go steaming by to an American camp. Somebody said, "Corporal, what you suppose they are going to do with all those watermelons?" He said, "Well, I guess they gwine to feed the darkies on the meat and they gwine to feed the Germans on the rind." [Laughter.]

A squad of colored soldiers were sitting in a dugout one day and a hurtling bomb came screaming along and crashed into the dugout, killing a number of them and mangling others. One of them crept out to the top to see if the world was still standing. One of his comrades had beaten him to the daylight and was moving around in the most excited state of mind. One who had just crept out said, "Nigger, what are you doing out there?" "Well," he said, "I'm looking for my arm." "Well," he says, "you fool nigger, if you was to find your arm you couldn't put it back again." He said, "I know I couldn't put it back again, but I want to get my wrist watch off of it." My friends, you can trust to men like that to stop the Kaiser's "Watch on the Rhine." [Applause.]

If you ask me when this war is to end I answer, I hope that it will end when America has paid her debt in full to prostrate, bleeding France. [Applause.] I answer, I hope that it will end when the Kaiser has been taught that his place in the sun is a spot in the sun, and when the world has been taught that this sun spot has been a plague spot, breeding wars and pestilence and famine. I answer, I hope this war will end when we have taught Prussian militarism once and for all that he that liveth by the sword shall also perish by the sword. [Applause.] I answer, when we have taught and convinced autocracy, have taught all that might aspire hereafter to autocracy, that they can not with impunity provoke the greatest democracy of the earth to wrath and to arms. Let me repeat: This war will end, I hope, when it has been made manifest that the "earth and everything that's in it" shall be the patrimony of those who exalt right above might and shall not be the prey of those who place their trust in iron shard and reeking tube, shall not become the prey of those who rely upon the mailed fists and upon embattled brutality, when it has been made manifest to all the sons and daughters of men that Christian civilization has been builded upon the eternal rock of justice, and that the gates of hell and the gates of Germany shall never prevail against it.

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you. [Great applause.]

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 63) to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service.

Mr. FLETCHER. I move that the Senate disagree to the amendments of the House and request a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, the conferees on the part of the Senate to be appointed by the Chair.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. FLETCHER, Mr. OWEN, and Mr. TOWNSEND conferees on the part of the Senate.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had, on October 16, approved and signed the act (S. 3438) to prevent corrupt practices in the election of Senators, Representatives, or Delegates in Congress.

EDWARD STEWART.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (S. 1104) for the relief of Edward Stewart. It is a bill of about half a dozen lines. The beneficiary is 84 or 85 years old. There is a very strong report of the committee in favor of the passage of the bill, and if any relief is to be given he ought to get it soon.

Mr. SMOOT. From what committee was the bill reported?

Mr. JONES of Washington. From the Committee on Military Affairs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the bill.

The bill was read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of the pension laws and the laws governing the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, or any branch thereof, Edward Stewart shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a private of Company C, Second Regiment Michigan Volunteer Infantry, on the 31st day of March, 1863: *Provided*, That no pension shall accrue prior to the passage of this act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

HEIRS OF W. H. SNEED, DECEASED.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask for the present consideration of the bill (S. 469) for the relief of the heirs of W. H. Sneed, deceased.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It proposes to pay to the heirs of W. H. Sneed, deceased, the sum of $1,366.67, being for the use or rent of a building in Knoxville, Tenn., during the War of the Rebellion, and for which vouchers were given in lieu of payment by the United States quartermasters.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

CHANGES WROUGHT BY THE GREAT WAR.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, it is plain that we are now living in a world different from that in which we lived before the European war began. True, indeed, the same oceans break upon the same coasts, we tread the same soil, and the same unquenchable stars shed their blended radiance upon our pathway. Under the genial rays of the same sun, the warm seasons come, and summer is, as usual, supplanted by the less pleasing dress of winter; but the world is, nevertheless, altered; its problems are different; they are more complex, more difficult.

Economic and social questions that we once deemed settled, and things we once believed to be permanent, have either been burned away by the flash of gunfire or have suffered a severe shifting in the glacial grinding of the mighty forces unloosed four years ago. Gigantic events of world-wide importance now tread upon one another's heels, so fast do they follow.

When the eruptions of the great war poured their scorching scoria upon the United States, we beheld a sudden transformation of values here; we saw people who were traveling unobstructed roads suddenly halted; we saw others who were engrossed in safe ambitions and comfortable successes interrupted; and, in the very midst of their laughter and pleasure, we saw the mysterious finger of duty here and there touch the young men of our land and mark them for stern and mighty tasks. These young men uncomplainingly laid aside their gainful occupations, their comforts of home, their diversions and amusements, and with a heroism and an energy worthy of the best days of the Republic they bounded forward to defend liberty and civilization. We saw these same young men on land, on sea, and in the sky visualize and conceive so complete a realization of the justice and grandeur of the American cause that their patriotic enthusiasm is the admiration of all civilized men. I do not hesitate to assert that never before was there a war where the patriotism, valor, idealism, and sacrifice of the soldier mounted higher or shone with a purer and whiter flame than that which beams from America's heroic sons now on the red line of battle, fighting not only that we of to-day but that our remote posterity as well may live the lives of free people.

For a considerable period of time before the shuttle of flying shells wove that metal fabric now suspended between the contending armies in Europe, there was a widespread belief that the American, as a rule, had become soft and flabby. Reflecting for a moment upon prewar conditions, we recall that in material resources we were the richest of all the nations; we enjoyed guaranteed personal liberties and rights not possessed by any other people; we held traditions of state building, romance of origin, wealth of fields, forests, and mines unknown elsewhere; we possessed unexcelled opportunities and a population unsurpassed in versatility and optimism.

During the three decades immediatley preceding the war we had enjoyed the greatest era of prosperity ever vouchsafed to any people. Life was made easy for multitudes of persons. Automobiles whirred across the land, and the joyrider, with senile grin, looked out upon the workman delving in the earth. Places of amusement, always open, entertained millions of young men and women whose forbears usually spent evenings in cottage industry or in burning the midnight oil exploring

histories and philosophies for truths that make peoples just and nations strong.

The past four years have been years of storm, of "climbing fire and quartering steel," and only the unpretending simpleton now fails to perceive that the American people will not and can not return to prewar conditions when our task on the field of honor shall have been fully performed; for it is a sacred duty we owe not only to our honored dead now sleeping on foreign battle fields but to the entire Nation as well to see to it that the ideals of justice, patriotism, sacrifice, humanity, and liberty, to which this great war remanded us, shall remain as monuments to those who sacrificed themselves in the war and as heralds of eternity for the life of the Republic.

When the European war flamed forth we were fast reaching a posture where self-denial was no longer one of our national virtues, and we lived in a fool's paradise, smug and conceited.

There was in the blood but little of the spirit of the great days of the past—the great days when Washington surveyed a wilderness; Decatur thrashed the Barbary States; Perry sent his famous "We-have-met-the-enemy" message; Lincoln mauled rails; and Crockett, Travis, and Bowie went their way of duty, death, and glory. What we dreaded most was poverty. As a people, we had grown soft handed and refused to seize the nettles of life and boldly crush them. Instead of acknowledging with gratitude the immense obligations we Americans owed to our ancestors for the blessings of the beneficent laws, political polity, and institutions they bequeathed to us, we stridently called for more help and sustenance from the Government, and we believed the Government should earn a living for us. Those persons whose lives were cast in easy and comfortable places, who spread tables to Lucullus and spent in a single evening, for highly seasoned foods and wines, sums of money sufficient to ransom a king, were utterly unable to comprehend why the hungry ones should be so unreasonable as to complain when the gormandized ones had just put a square meal into well-groomed paunches. In prewar times we did not know, or had forgotten rather, that preparedness for peace and preparedness for war meant, amongst other things, an equitable distribution of that upon which people must subsist; meant a fair field to all and no favors to any. As we drifted along, now and then premonitory signals and warnings were flashed upon us, but we were too busy erecting shrines in Mammon's temple and having a good time to give more than intermittent and casual attention to the red-lantern danger signals.

In 1912 a leader appeared in America, and he so clearly demonstrated his ability to recognize and interpret facts and symptomatic events that he was elected President of the United States; and on March 4, 1913, there commenced under his leadership a stupendous effort to remand us to the forum of duty and of sacrifices that make a nation great. How well this leader, Woodrow Wilson, has succeeded, let the world testify!

He has taught our youth fine scruples, noble impulses, and the stern virtues of obedience. He has taught the individual citizen that the United States is a Nation, and he has endowed us with a reservoir of faith in the future of our country, which thus enables us to look hopefully toward the days to come. He has not sought applause, but has searched diligently for the truths that lead a nation to eternal life. This great American leader has been able to perceive this war not only with the remote view of a historian, but has been able also to discover what anterior facts caused a particular event, and able to foresee what events, in turn, it will bring forth. He possesses, like the eye of the airplane, the power visually to assemble detached units in our national life into a complemented and interrelated whole; he then deploys the units where they must serve the common good. His is the great intellect and courage that has been able to puncture the fortified sophistries of special privileges to a favored few. He sees a duty and performs it. He will not be swerved nor turned aside by oratory, threats, sarcasm, or dread of failure.

Under Wilson's leadership our country has resumed her historic position as the beautiful exemplar and noble pioneer in the vanguard of human liberty, for we are now living over again the sublime days of John Hancock, Ben Franklin, Hamilton, and Jefferson; the days of "Hickory" Jackson, of Lincoln, Grant, and Lee. Wilson has shown the world that it is better to pour forth one's long-enduring strength for the vindication of human justice than to keep a full pocketbook; and he convinced the Sixty-fifth Congress of the necessity of extirpating, root and branch, the German military autocracy which gambled away its plighted faith with other nations, and then sprang with tiger-like ferocity upon an unsuspecting and unoffending world, from motives of fancied revenge and for the lust of gain. And shall the American people now in this crisis be found shackling, burdening, and harassing this leader with a divided Congress, or a Congress dominated by bitter partisans? No; the people will sustain him by choosing a Congress that will assist him in his vast labors. When the stupendous drama of war shall have passed—aye, even before it passes—there will be before us tasks of reconstruction—I have already pointed out we can not return to the prewar days—tasks of settling, and correctly settling, the imminent questions of armament, land distribution, taxation, transportation, reclamation of lands, improvement of highways, foreign trade, manufacturing, and the complex and ever-present problem of seeing to it that those who toil shall have an opportunity for the enjoyment of the fruits of their labor. For example, Mr. President, to show the complexity and character of the problems that will follow the war, there are to-day in the Army and Navy 3,000,000 men, with the prospect of twice that number within six months. They are the best of the Nation's man power. Will positions and employment be found for them when they come back? If so, how and where? These are vital questions that can not be hurdled by an epigram. They must be met.

Consider that at the end of the war the United States will have the largest merchant marine of all the nations. Shall these ships be sold or kept? Shall the Government continue to own and operate them? Are they to compete for the markets of the world? For whose benefit shall this vast merchant fleet cleave the tumbling billows?

Again, for example, for years the railway commissioners of the various States and the Interstate Commerce Commission tried to fix rates in the interest of the shipper and consumer, giving consideration to the rights of the investor by a "fair return on replacement value." Under Government control, higher rates have been fixed. A return on investment has been guaranteed. If the railroads are to be returned to private management, will these higher rates be carried over? Will the original owners get the benefit of money saved through the elimination of competition under Government management? Will the money revert to the Government or to the shippers? On the other hand, is a reversion to prewar conditions desirable? Were the present centralization to be continued, should the Government buy, lease, or merely manage the properties? It would be impossible to magnify the importance of these questions. They are problems running to the very roots of our national life.

Wisdom, experience, and tested ability must be called to Congress to reach a correct solution.

A dozen or more equally as important problems could easily be mentioned, but these I have mentioned will serve as illustrations of the magnitude of the task of reconstruction that will be faced by the next Congress. Shall we assist or shall we obstruct President Wilson in these duties of setting matters aright? No; we will not obstruct, for the American people well remember that President Wilson is the wisest statesman of his day; the American people well remember that where President Wilson, with clear lenses, horoscoped and interpreted events, his partisan critics confusedly recognized the event only long after it happened, and even then the partisan critics of the President saw the event, not clearly but through blurred and indistinct lenses. Where President Wilson acted with precision and correctly pointed the way his partisan critics stood like large locomotives on a sidetrack, without driving rods, and wasted their steam in vociferous and futile sibilation.

With our ships we have sent food and clothes for our soldiers' bodies, weapons for their hands, and medicines and bandages for their wounds; but we must continue to do that which is equally as important—we must sustain their high spirits by constant assurances of our solidarity here at home. The election of a Congress out of harmony with the President would be serving notice upon Germany that we were divided at home.

American soldiers are valorously driving back the German dragon. Let us, therefore, not be found refusing to give these soldiers the full strength of our support; let us not be found giving aid and comfort to the enemy by shackling their American Commander in Chief with a Congress upon which he can not depend or which is not in harmony with his efforts.

Upon this question we may all rest content. The Nation is aroused as to the necessity of supporting the President, and the people will see to it that Wilson shall not be handicapped, as was Washington by the Tories and by Gates and Conway, as was Madison by the "Blue Lighters," as was Polk by the Little Americans, and as was Lincoln by the Copperheads.

NATIONAL BUDGET SYSTEM.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I intend at the conclusion of the consideration of the present unfinished business to ask to call up the Senate joint resolution (S. J. Res. 121) now on the calendar with reference to the establishment of a commission to report to Congress on a budget system. I wish to take this op-

portunity to present a few remarks on that question; and preliminary thereto, I ask to have an editorial from the Saturday Evening Post read at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

[From the Saturday Evening Post.]

THE NEXT CONGRESS.

This war will end, but these war taxes will not. They will be reduced, but will never get back to within hailing distance of the prewar figure. Besides the war debt, a heavy increase in Federal taxation will be a permanent legacy. That is certain. No American Congress will ever again deal with an annual budget under a billion.

This Congress in two years has appropriated more than forty billions on an archaic scheme. It has shown no interest in supplanting that scheme by a rational and comprehensive plan for dealing with national finances.

Candidates for the next Congress will talk about a good many issues. They can be made to talk and think about that issue by demonstrations of public concern over it—but not otherwise.

A few energetic men in every congressional district can get a pledge that the subject of a national budget system—with what that term rationally implies—shall be given honest, serious consideration by the next Congress. A demonstration of public concern would force the present Congress to treat the subject seriously.

At present, in view of the wasteful methods at the Capitol, Congress is in the position of a crossroads grocer who stands in his doorway exhorting a crowd to practice economy while the vinegar barrel is leaking all over the floor and mice are eating the cheese in plain sight of the audience.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. KENYON. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, I merely want to ask a question of the Senator from Iowa. I have heard the Senator from Iowa discuss this budget question a number of times, but I am not certain whether or not he has ever made a statement to the Senate of his idea of the exact executive and legislative procedure that would be necessary under that system. If the Senator has done so, of course I would not want him to repeat; but if not, I think it would be very enlightening to the Senate if he would describe in plain terms exactly what legislative changes in the matter of appropriations would be produced and the methods of operation of the system.

Mr. KENYON. I will say to the Senator that I had intended to do that very thing at this moment. That is why I secured the floor.

Mr. President, there is a demand practically everywhere but in Congress for a change in the present method of appropriations.

The lack of any plan in Congress in the making of appropriations has led to inefficiency, extravagance, and waste.

Now of all times, should we take steps to formulate some method whereby there may be economy in appropriations and expenditure thereof without lessening efficiency. It is time to conserve the money of the Nation; to make every dollar do a dollar's worth of work.

Business organizations, economists, thoughtful men throughout the United States, have been insisting for many years that there should be a change in our system and that we should adopt some form of a budget.

For this fiscal year the appropriations of the Government will be the most enormous of any nation in the world.

No one in this country is objecting to the expenditure of every dollar necessary to win the war.

The people willingly and cheerfully back every effort of the Government and will continue to do so. They have a right to demand that this money be appropriated, be spent, and be accounted for in some systematic, intelligent business way—that a public dollar shall do as much work as a private dollar.

Chairman SHERLEY in the House on July 15 placed the total of appropriations made by the second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress at $29,791,241,773.67. To this must be added the following:

Urgent deficiency	$100,200,000
Agricultural stimulation	11,212,283
Mineral bill	10,500,000
New deficiency Army bill estimated at	7,000,000,000
Total	7,121,912,283

This would bring the total up to about $36,000,000,000.

No one doubts that there will likely be a deficiency during the year, and it is altogether probable that the appropriations, including contract authorizations and loans to the allies, will be around $40,000,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919.

The results of this war will be worth all that it will cost. But it is folly in national life, as in private life, to waste; and no one can deny that there is tremendous waste in the way Government finances are handled.

I speak in no spirit of criticism of the administration. It is not to blame because some different system has not been established. The blame is squarely on Congress. It can not shift or deny responsibility.

ATTEMPTS FOR BUDGET REFORM.

The Democratic platform of 1916, with reference to economy and the budget, is as follows:

We demand careful economy in all expenditures for the support of the Government, and to that end favor a return by the House of Representatives to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee chosen from its membership in order that responsibility may be centered, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication in the public service as much as possible avoided. We favor this as a practicable first step toward a budget system.

The Republican platform condemned the wasteful appropriations of the Democratic administration and the Democratic opposition to and rejection of President Taft's offer to secure a businesslike budget system for the Government, "to which," says the Republican platform, "we pledge our support and which we hold to be necessary to affect any real reform in the administration of national finance."

Mr. Hughes in his speech of acceptance declared for the same thing.

The Progressive platform of 1916 also declared for it.

President Taft made an earnest effort to secure a change in the manner of carrying on Government finances. An inquiry was made under an appropriation from Congress into the operation of the various departments for the purpose of affecting changes.

A commission on economy and efficiency was organized. This commission performed splendid service.

President Taft on January 17, 1912, sent a message to Congress with relation to this subject, part of which is as follows:

The United States is the only great Nation whose Government is operated without a budget. This fact seems to be more striking when it is considered that budgets and budget procedures are the outgrowth of democratic doctrines and have had an important part in the development of modern constitutional rights. The American Commonwealth has suffered much from irresponsibility on the part of its governing agencies. The constitutional purpose of a budget is to make Government responsive to public opinion and responsible for its acts. A budget should be the means of getting before the legislative branch, before the press, and before the people a definite annual program of business to be financed; it should be in the nature of a prospectus, both of revenues and expenditures; it should comprehend every relation of the Government to the people, whether with reference to the raising of revenues or the rendering of service.

In February, 1913, President Taft's plan for a national budget was sent to Congress and has rested in the embalming vaults of Congress ever since. I have it here, but will not take time to read from it.

The President tried to proceed according to a plan providing for cooperation between the executive and legislative branches with reference to finance. No action was ever taken. Both Houses were hostile to the President. He went out of office a few days later and there was no chance for any action.

With the advent of President Wilson's administration it was hoped that there might be some reform along this line. World problems, however, came so quickly to the administration, and it has been so absorbed in these matters that probably no blame can be attached to it. President Wilson is known from his writings and from a letter, which I will refer to later, to favor some form of budget reform.

Mr. Fitzgerald, for many years chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, made a speech on June 24, 1913, on the floor of the House relative to the need for fiscal reform. I place in the RECORD extracts from his speech:

If the principle enunciated by Mr. Gladstone be accepted as sound, that the constitutional duty of a legislative chamber is not to augment but to decrease expenditure, the solution of all problems confronting us may be readily solved. A few simple changes in our system will completely establish the system of responsible executive control of our budget, while retaining complete control of the Treasury in the representatives of the people.

Again on February 6, 1915, when this question was being discussed in the House, Mr. Fitzgerald said:

One thing that is essential to accomplish in this body—and it will be done some day—is to deprive the individual Member of Congress of the right to initiate expenditures. * * * Take away from Members of this House the right to initiate expenditures, and they will examine and scrutinize and take care that no unsound or improper estimate originating in a department is rewarded by an appropriation.

President Wilson wrote to Senator Tillman on this subject January 30, 1913, as follows:

Ever since I was a youngster I have been deeply interested in our methods of financial legislation. Ever since then I have insisted upon the absolute necessity of a carefully considered and wisely planned budget, and one of the objects I shall have most in mind when I get to Washington will be conferences with my legislative colleagues there with a view to bringing some budget system into existence. This business of building up the expense of the Nation piece by piece will certainly lead us to error and perhaps embarrassment.

The President, in his annual message, delivered before a joint session of the House and Senate December 4, 1917, referred to this subject, and without reading it I ask that it may be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[Quoted from the President's annual address delivered at a joint session of the House and Senate, Dec. 4, 1917. In the Official Bulletin, Dec. 4, 1917, p. 3.]

And I beg that the Members of the House of Representatives will permit me to express the opinion that it will be impossible to deal in any but a very wasteful and extravagant fashion with the enormous appropriations of the public moneys which must continue to be made, if the war is to be properly sustained, unless the House will consent to return to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee, in order that responsibility may be centered, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication as much as possible avoided.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I have here statements along this line from business men, leaders in industry, in finance, in our economic life, writers, presidents of chambers of commerce, presidents of railroads, and former Cabinet officers, insisting that Congress should adopt some form of budget. I will not take time to read them, but I will ask that I may insert certain brief ones in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, they may be inserted in the RECORD.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[From The West at Work. Paul W. Brown, editor. St. Louis, June 21, 1917.]

SHALL WE CONSERVE REVENUE?

The Government is very properly conserving man power, food, ships, iron, and steel. Why not conserve revenue as well? The need of the hour is for a national budget system. Every successful private business cuts its coat according to its cloth and proportions its expenditures to each other, in full view of both its means and its needs. For 50 years our Government has had no machinery to do this. Now is the time to supply it. It is easier than food conservation, and just as needful.

—

NEVER NEEDED AS SORELY AS NOW.

[By John F. Shepley, president St. Louis Union Trust Co.]

* * * I consider this an opportune time for the adoption by the Federal Government of the budget system; I have no hesitation in saying that I do. * * * Our Government is making and contemplating the expenditure of sums of enormous size for purposes extraordinarily diverse and has never needed as sorely as now the aid of this system, without which the economical and judicious use of these funds is practically impossible. It is curious that a people so progressive and enlightened as our own should suffer its affairs to be administered in so haphazard and unscientific a manner.

—

HAPHAZARD METHODS INTOLERABLE.

[By J. F. Downing, president New England National Bank, Kansas City.]

I think it is high time that the people of the United States were demanding a budget system for the business of our Government. The haphazard methods now employed in making appropriations would not be tolerated in any well-organized business house in the United States. * * *

This plan will never be adopted unless the people demand it insistently, and I am sure every business man in the country feels that the time has arrived when there should be economy in the expenditures of the Government, and business methods employed the same as for individuals and corporations.

—

THE MINIMUM OF INEFFICIENCY.

[By C. E. Schaff, receiver M., K. & T. Ry.]

Aside from the business considerations which have always suggested a budget system for the Federal Government, special conditions urge the adoption of such a system now that we are engaged in a war which imposes heavy burdens. Government expenditures are certain to be tremendous during the war, and the load of taxation will be correspondingly heavy. The public is prepared to bear whatever burdens national necessities impose, but there is a special reason now that every department of Government be so organized as to discharge its functions with a minimum waste and inefficiency. A heavy burden of taxation speedily becomes irksome if public funds are not expended with practical economy. It therefore seems to me that the time is opportune for the establishment of a Federal budget system.

—

THE MOST EXTRAVAGANT GOVERNMENT.

[By S. E. Ragland, president Central-State National Bank, Memphis, Tenn.]

* * * This Government is in no way responsible for the holocaust that is bleeding Europe white, but since it has been forced to take a hand it has pledged its entire resources to an enterprise the proportions of which are staggering to contemplate. The ultimate end of this enterprise is a democracy in which men, women, and little children may be free in the pursuit of happiness; but let no man deceive himself about the burdens of taxation that he will have to shoulder in the future. It, therefore, is imperative that every citizen demand that his Representative in Congress immediately start the machinery for retrenchment in the expenses of the Government. Congress should at once provide for a Government budget.

We are ready and willing to be taxed to attain our great aims, but there must from now on be no lost motion in the application of these funds. Let us immediately adopt the budget system.

Mr. KENYON. Senator Aldrich some years ago startled the country by an announcement that the Government could be conducted for three hundred million a year less than it was being conducted. That was at a time when our appropriations ran at about one and one-half billions. In other words, there was one-fifth of waste, a loss due to inefficiency. No one doubted that statement.

If our expenditures for this fiscal year, outside of loans to the allies, should amount to twenty billion, at the same ratio as suggested by Senator Aldrich there could be a saving of some four billion dollars this year. That figure seems rather large, but certainly no one will doubt that there could be a saving of at least two billions of dollars. That means a per capita saving in the United States of at least $20. In other words, it is undoubtedly costing the people of the country to maintain the Government this year with the slipshod methods and lack of any financial policy at least $20 per capita more than it would under some businesslike method of affairs. Does anyone doubt this to be true? That is based upon present rate of expenditure. Of course after the war the figures of necessity would be different, the waste and extravagance being in proportion to amount spent.

II.

OUR SYSTEM.

There are 29 different committees in Congress which report bills affecting the finances of the Government. I ask to be permitted to insert the list at this point, without reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The list referred to is as follows:

COMMITTEES IN CONGRESS WHICH REPORT BILLS AFFECTING THE FINANCES OF THE GOVERNMENT.

In the House:

1. Ways and Means.
2. Appropriations.
3. Agriculture.
4. Foreign Affairs.
5. Military Affairs.
6. Naval Affairs.
7. Post Office.
8. Indian Affairs.
9. Rivers and Harbors.
10. Invalid Pensions—Civil War.
11. Pensions—other wars.
12. District of Columbia.
13. Public Buildings and Grounds.
14. Claims—Private.
15. Claims—War.

In the Senate:

16. Finance.
17. Appropriations.
18. Commerce.
19. Agriculture and Forestry.
20. Military Affairs.
21. Pensions.
22. Indian Affairs.
23. Naval Affairs.
24. Post Office.
25. District of Columbia.
26. Public Buildings and Grounds.
27. Coast Defenses.
28. Claims.
29. Private Land Claims.

Mr. KENYON. The Secretary of the Treasury now is a mere clerk sending over from the various departments their estimates.

The Cabinet has nothing to do with the proceeding; no power to pass on the estimates.

There is no executive responsibility upon the President; the legislative branch prepares in detail the financial measures. What do they know as to the intricacies of the various departments? Bills are amended on the floor and changed in conference.

None of the committees consult with other committees as to the expenditures.

It is true auditors are appointed; but what reports does Congress ever have and what consideration does it ever give to the spending of the money? The whole thing is a financial farce. There is absolutely no financial policy. Our financial methods are no better than the methods used in running a peanut stand on the corner. We appropriate money as if there were no end to national resources. In time the steady pressure of the people who must pay the cost of government will force the American Congress to a change in its present system.

There is no coordination or cooperation. The auditing is done by the same department that spends the money.

III.

ADVANTAGES OF A BUDGET SYSTEM.

I shall refer in a moment or two to the budget system of England, which seems to be the best in the nature of a model for the rest of the world; but I want briefly to set forth some of the general advantages of a budget system.

(a) The finances of the Nation are considered as a unit. There is a constant picture showing the expenditures and revenues. There is a financial program. It produces equilibrium in that the expenditures of all the departments are considered with relation to each other and with the national income. It places responsibility upon the executive branch of the Government for initiating the budget. It places responsibility upon the legislative branch for the carrying out of the budget.

(b) It nationalizes public finance. That is the main advantage in it. The appropriations will be made for national purposes and not for local. The appropriations for creeks with practically no water and public buildings in little towns can not be made without the sanction of the respective departments.

An attempt to appropriate for a public building at Podunk must have the sanction of the Post Office Department. After that there would have to be the assent of the Treasury before the item would be put in the estimate. And it would be considered from the standpoint of the Nation and not how the appropriation might affect some votes. Members can not offer amendments increasing appropriations. We would be spared the ridiculous spectacle at the close of most appropriation bills of Members on their feet offering every kind of an amendment that may aid in local matters.

(c) It is a business program for the year. Everyone then can know the condition of the Nation's finances. Everything is in the open. There is no mystery about it. The public will take more interest in the finances of the Nation. The budget system makes for economy. Experts will have passed upon the items. Oratorical efforts in Congress can not raise them. The sums can not be increased.

In short, the budget system enables the Government to have a definite financial policy.

(d) Cabinet officials under the system must have a place upon the floor so they may be questioned as to the estimates for their respective departments.

We have seen within the last few weeks a bill before the Senate where questions regarding items were asked in vain. There was no one to reply. The Secretary of Agriculture should have been here, and would be under a budget system, to answer the questions.

Cabinet officers would not need to be Members of Congress, but it is essential that some provisions be made for the questioning of them upon the floor. Why should it not be? They already have the right to be upon the floor.

(e) Every budget system provides for a method of acccounting. This should be done by officers not connected with the departments spending the money—by officers appointed, as in England, at high salaries and absolutely free of politics and removable only by impeachment. The fact that Congress will criticize the estimates has a healthy effect upon their preparation. Departments have a wholesome respect for congressional criticism and investigation.

IV.

BRITISH SYSTEM.

The workings of the budget system in England are generally pointed to as the most successful method of handling national finances. Britain has a responsible ministry, which makes easier the working out of the budget. That is one of the difficulties of our system, in that we have no responsible ministry.

The cabinet there settles the financial policy covering both expenditures and the method of raising the money. The cabinet receives estimates from the chancellor of the exchequer for the civil departments, and from the first lord of the admiralty for the navy, and from the secretary of state for war for the army.

The responsibility for the preparation of the estimates, except for the army and navy, rests upon the treasury. The treasury consists of the chancellor of the exchequer, first lord of the treasury, and a number of minor lords. The chancellor of the exchequer, chief official of the treasury, presents the budget at the demand of the Crown. This is done as soon after the close of the fiscal year as possible.

Over 200 years ago the House of Commons adopted a rule that it would consider no motion putting a charge upon public revenue unless recommended by the executive. Items in the budget can not be increased. They may be diminished, but if a substantial item were diminished it would be a challenge to the Government and might result in the resignation of the cabinet or a going to the country for a vote of confidence.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. KENYON. Certainly.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Would it not require an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to require a recommendation of the executive department before appropriations could be made?

Mr. KENYON. I am going to refer to that under the next heading.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I shall be pleased to hear the Senator discuss it.

Mr. KENYON. When the budget is up for discussion the opposition can select the items they desire to discuss.

Heads of departments are on the floor to answer questions.

A certain number of days are allowed for debate.

The vote is taken on the whole item for the particular service under consideration.

In 1909 two budgets were refused and Parliament was dissolved twice in rapid succession. The budgets were not satisfactory to the House of Lords. In 1911 the House of Lords were absolutely stripped of their power as to the budget, and all they can do now is to give their formal assent. If that is not forthcoming, the budget becomes a law in any event, and there is no power to veto.

When the estimates of the budget are approved the appropriation bill is introduced covering the expenditures.

The next step is the execution of the budget and the auditing and controlling.

The auditing and controlling is perhaps the most important part of the budget system.

Questions of waste, inefficiency, and economy enter at this stage of the budget.

Accounting officers account to Parliament for the proper expenditure of the budget.

The comptroller and auditor general is an independent officer controlling the exchequer and audit department.

The public accounts committee is formed by statute as a standing committee of 15 members, the chairman of which comes from the opposition.

The comptroller and auditor general reports to this committee the result of his audit.

This committee is perhaps the most important instrumentality of the budget. It may investigate any question. The committee meets frequently. It investigates any irregularities. It may call witnesses.

Its reports are submitted to Parliament. Everything relating to the audit must be explained to the satisfaction of the committee.

The existence of this public accounts committee keeps the officials of the Government in a state of mind where they are very careful as to expenditures, as they are very desirous of not bringing about criticism.

The report of this committee goes not only to Parliament but to the treasury, and these reports are printed.

Perhaps the strongest feature of parliamentary control is the audit of the comptroller and auditor general hereinbefore referred to. He is an officer independent of the treasury and independent of the executive branch of the Government. He receives a very high salary and is appointed for life. He is supposedly beyond the reach of every influence.

Under the French budget system the estimates are submitted to the Chamber of Deputies, who in turn refer the same to the budget committee. This committee may write a new bill or refer it back to the minister of finance.

The French system is much more complicated than the British. The budget can be changed under the French system on the floor of the assembly in either house, but in England it is considered only by the Commons sitting as a committee of the whole house, and it is necessary that there be executive consent in order to make changes.

Under the Japanese system the Diet can not increase any item of expenditure.

In Switzerland the National Assembly can change the budget, but it is seldom done. In case of disagreement with the executive the attempt is made to smooth out the differences.

I do not care to discuss the workings of the budget system in Germany. Nothing done by Germany is pleasant to discuss. Suffice it to say that a "budget" has been successful in the most autocratic form of government—Germany—and in the most democratic—Switzerland.

The control of the treasury in Britain over the budget does not injure the public service. It makes it essential for a department desiring increased expenditures to show the reason why. In that way the treasury stands between the spending department and the taxpayer; between waste and economy.

The House of Commons holding the purse strings has really given over the initiative to the executive branch of the Government. But the house has given up no right of criticism and it is not compelled to accept the policy of the ministry in power. It can force resignation of the ministry or dissolution of Parliament.

Under the British system the cabinet has complete control as to initiating the budget.

In our Nation there is no control of expenditures; no system; absolutely nothing but chaos.

I now refer to the question asked by the Senator from Washington [Mr. POINDEXTER]. I realize that it is an important constitutional question.

V.

Would the adoption of the budget system require a constitutional amendment?

What provisions of the Constitution will be violated?

Nothing is found in the Constitution with reference to the President's duty as to public finance, unless it be the general statement that the President "shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; * * * he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

Further, Article I, section 9, provides:

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public moneys shall be published from time to time.

This makes it essential that Congress appropriate for the expenditures. As to the raising of revenue, the Constitution provides, Article I, section 7:

All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

The inquiry may well arise, as suggested by the Senator from Washington, whether a budget prepared by the Treasury and ratified by the Cabinet, which covered the raising of revenue as well as the appropriation of money, could originate in that way or must originate in the House of Representatives. If the revenue measure were introduced in the House that would cover the purpose of the constitutional provision. The bill then would have originated there in the constitutional sense. That would not be very different from many of the bills now that are prepared and sent here and introduced.

Now, the Senate may substitute an entire revenue bill for the House bill, and in that way violate the spirit, though not the letter, of the Constitution.

The Constitution provides, Article I, section 5: "Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings." This provision would be ample to sustain the budget, as the budget can be made almost entirely a matter of procedure. There is no constitutional provision for committees or for the privileges of the floor. These are matters of rules, and a budget system could be put into force and effect by changing some rules of both Houses and adopting new ones.

If all financial matters, all appropriations, were taken away from the large number of committees now dealing with these subjects and placed in one committee, it would go a long way toward solving the difficulties. So there could be a rule permitting the Executive, through a Member, to introduce the budget into the House; a rule giving seats to members of the Cabinet, and the right to question them concerning items in the budget. That question might raise serious debate. They now have the privileges of the floor. Of course, no one would expect them to have a vote or be in any sense considered Members of Congress. That would require a constitutional amendment, but it is entirely unnecessary to have such procedure.

There could be another rule adopted preventing any motion or amendment to change the budget except with the approval of the executive department.

Mr. POINDEXTER rose.

Mr. KENYON. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. POINDEXTER. What hope would the Senator from Iowa have that a transfer of the power of making appropriations to the executive department would reduce expenditures, in view of the fact that it is the almost universal experience of the Government that under our present system the estimates, which are carefully made every year by the executive department, always exceed the appropriations made by Congress?

Mr. KENYON. I think that is one of the faults that has grown up under our system. The executive department realizes that the committees will cut down its estimates, and so it makes its estimates too high. If they felt that the committees would not simply cut down without knowing anything about it they would, I believe, give more careful attention to it. Besides that, the Senator will bear in mind that under the budget system there will have to be a ratification, so to speak, or a concurrence by the Cabinet. The auditing must come in there, in answer to the Senator's question, too. A separate and distinct board of auditing, separate from the power spending the money, will be a constant restraint, and the criticism of Congress will likewise be a restraining influence.

Mr. VARDAMAN. May I ask the Senator if his plan provides for giving the Cabinet and the board which makes up the budget the authority to fix the amount to be appropriated and deny to Congress the right to increase or reduce it?

Mr. KENYON. I wish to say, Mr. President, that I have not suggested any plan. My resolution is for the appointment of a commission consisting of three Members of the Senate, three Members of the House, and three economists to be appointed by the President to consider the general subject of a budget and report to Congress. There is nothing in it that binds Congress. My own idea, which the Senator asks me about, is that the estimates should come with the approval of the Cabinet in the form of a budget to Congress. They are then before Congress for discussion, and Congress to have no right to raise any appropriation without the approval of the executive branch of the Government.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Does not the Senator think that is a long step toward the concentration of all power in the Executive?

Mr. KENYON. Not at all. I am not in favor of the concentration of power in the Executive any more than is the Senator, but Congress would have, of course, the absolute power of criticism and the power to reduce appropriations. Congress could go to the departments. For instance, if the Senator desired an appropriation for a public building he would take it up with the Post Office Department and show the necessity of the building. After the Post Office Department had passed on it it would go to the Treasury Department. The condition of the Treasury would be taken into consideration. The question would be, Is this a national proposition, or is it just a little local proposition somewhere? It would then pass to the Cabinet for ratification in the general budget estimates to be submitted to Congress.

Mr. VARDAMAN. But the power of the Executive to appoint the commission is absolute, and Congress is only advisory. The Representatives of the people who pay the taxes would act only in an advisory capacity under that plan.

Mr. KENYON. Congress could defeat the entire budget, of course. I will state to the Senator very frankly that it does shift the responsibility for initiating expenditures from Congress to the executive branch of the Government.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. KENYON. Certainly.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I have always been intensely interested in this subject; it was discussed in the New York constitutional convention; and I wish to observe, connected with the remark of the Senator from Mississippi, that I believe it would result in increasing the power of Congress.

Mr. KENYON. I should think that to be true.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Particularly the enforcement of the mandate of Congress that the head of the department must appear before it and answer questions could never do any harm.

Mr. KENYON. I thank the Senator for that suggestion. The head of the department, knowing he might come before Congress to be interrogated about his estimates, would be very careful.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. KENYON. I yield.

Mr. LEWIS. If the Senator will allow me to interject an interrogation, in view of the expression of the Senator as to what he feels should be the duty of the Cabinet members, if Cabinet members are to continue to initiate measures and exercise the authority we have seen in later years they have exercised, does not the Senator think the Cabinet members before they are vested with the power to which the Senator alludes should be elected by the people and be made responsible to the people rather than to be constituted as they now are if they are to exercise authority such as the eminent Senator feels should be given them on the floor of the Senate?

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I will very frankly say to the Senator from Illinois that it does not seem to me a feasible proposition at all to elect members of the Cabinet. I think the Senator will observe that in many States now there is a very considerable agitation for a short ballot. I know there is a movement in many of the States that the governors shall appoint treasurers and auditors, and for myself I favor it very much. I should dislike, however, to see the Cabinet elected by the people. I do not think it would be possible.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I fear I may not have made myself clear to the Senator. Does the Senator feel that a Cabinet member should be allowed to be on the floor of either House; that he should be held responsible and be given authority to initiate these questions without having come from the people?

Mr. KENYON. Cabinet members would be on the floor of either House only for the purpose of inquiry, to answer as to their estimates. Was the Senator from Illinois present when we had the Agricultural bill under consideration? Senator after Senator arose and asked questions about the Agricultural bill, but there was no information forthcoming. If we had had the responsible head of the department here and had asked those questions, we could have known what we were doing.

Mr. LEWIS. I was getting at this point: I am sensitive, I confess, to either Chamber being occupied by anyone who is not elected to it or having a right to participate in debate; and since one begins inquiry, the other person would have a right to respond, and if issue was taken with Cabinet members they would have a right to argue. Therefore they would be practically debating on the floor and presenting viewpoints when they represent no constituency and come from no authority. I had assumed that the information which the eminent Senator desired is furnished by the heads of these different departments before committees. Am I wrong?

Mr. KENYON. I desire to know what is the Senator's question? I did not understand it.

Mr. LEWIS. I had assumed that the heads of the various departments did have the information to which the Senator referred and conveyed it to committees.

Mr. KENYON. They convey their estimates to the Secretary of the Treasury, and he, in turn, sends to Congress this large Book of Estimates. The Senator from Illinois has seen estimates for the year. The heads of departments, it is true, or any other witnesses may appear before the committees in reference to bills if the committee request it.

Mr. LEWIS. Does not the Senator assume that these different committees when informed by heads of departments are able, then, to furnish the Senate the information such as he states was sought in vain to be had on the Agricultural bill?

Mr. KENYON. But the Senator knows they do not keep the Senate very well informed.

Mr. LEWIS. No; I will admit they do not keep it well informed, but I thought the Senator might assume that in the way I have suggested it could be done. I must, however, close. I will not interrupt the Senator further.

Mr. KENYON. I am very glad to yield to the Senator.

Mr. LEWIS. I only have this point in my mind: How far does the Senator feel we could adopt the plan of allowing a member of the Cabinet, appointed by the Executive, to come before us and participate in the discussions——

Mr. KENYON. I do not go that far——

Mr. LEWIS. And in the deliberation by their replies and responses in the positions they would assume on financial questions?

Mr. KENYON. I do not go to the extent the Senator does at all, but that they should come before Congress merely for the purpose of answering inquiries concerning the estimates which they have presented; that is all; not for discussion.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Would the Senator from Iowa permit an interruption?

Mr. KENYON. Yes.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I want to ask the Senator whether he contemplates that a Cabinet officer might bring to the Senate floor any of his subordinates whom he might desire?

Mr. KENYON. No; unless the Senate should especially ask for the presence of the head of some bureau. I do not think, for instance, we should assemble the whole Agricultural Department in the Chamber to answer questions.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Well, does not the Senator know, as a matter of fact, with the duties that we have imposed upon various Cabinet officers, that they know practically nothing about the details of, for instance, an Agricultural bill?

Mr. KENYON. No; I do not. We have had the Secretary of Agriculture before our committee, and he seemed to know very thoroughly about all of the details of his department. I think it is the duty of the Cabinet officer to know about the details.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I think a Cabinet officer ought to know them, if he can; but I think, for instance, as to the Secretary of the Interior, with the duties of various kinds which we have imposed on him—not against his will, either, for that matter—it would be impossible for him to be acquainted with the details of the various administrative features that he must handle. He has the Geological Survey; he has the Bureau of Mines; he has public lands; he has pensions; he has the Census Bureau, and all those various activities, and it would be impossible for him to know the details of the bills concerning those various matters without consulting the heads of his different bureaus.

Mr. KENYON. I notice—and I say it in no disrespectful way at all—that members of the Cabinet seem to have plenty of time to travel around the country and to make speeches, and I think they have time to come prepared on any subject that Congress desires to question them about. They could be informed as to the particular matter, if necessary, and be able to come in and inform the Senate as to it.

As I was proceeding to say, Mr. President, the foundation of the British budget has been a standing order of the House of Commons, before referred to, adopted over 200 years ago, providing that the House would proceed to no measure where there was any demand made upon the treasury unless the executive branch of the Government should recommend it.

It has been said by many authorities that this order may be considered a fundamental part of the British constitution and the corner stone of the budget system in England.

Article 1, section 8, of the Constitution provides: Congress shall have power—

> To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all the powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States or any department or officer thereof.

This would seem to give complete power to pass any legislation needed for the budget system.

I have not proposed any plan for a budget but have called attention to the necessity for some change. Congress is not informed—and this whole discussion we have here this morning shows it—and very few Members have given any study to the question.

My joint resolution does not provide for any plan, but simply provides for a commission which shall consist of three Members of the Senate, three Members of the House, and three economists to be appointed by the President.

What opposition can there be to an investigation of this subject and the presenting of a plan to Congress? Congress is not compelled to adopt it. It may change or reject it. It will at least be the basis on which to build a better structure of financial policy for the Government.

In 1915 the committee on State finance of the New York State constitutional convention held hearings on the budget provisions of the new constitution. Many eminent men discussed this question. Among them President Lowell, of Harvard University; President Goodnow, of Johns Hopkins; ex-President Taft; Chairman Fitzgerald, of the House committee, and others. This commission should have upon it men of this character. No better selection could be made than ex-President Taft or Mr. Fitzgerald, formerly of the House committee. I am not concerned with who is on the commission, and it may be wise to have more economists and fewer Members of Congress. I apprehend, however, that Members of Congress will desire to have considerable to say about any change in plans. Personally I had rather have the information come from a commission that had upon it no Member of Congress, but I realize that such a thing is impossible.

Many of the States have abandoned the obsolete method of finance and have adopted budgets. Maryland has adopted a constitutional amendment on the subject. Wisconsin has what is known as the "Tanner System." The States are awake to the situation. The business men of the Nation are awake. The only Rip Van Winkle on the subject is Congress. It is time for Congress to wake up and give to the Nation a sound method of finance instead of the present farcical method of dealing with governmental expenditure.

I do not pretend, Mr. President, to suggest just what plan should be adopted. A budget system, as I have suggested to the Senator from Mississippi, necessarily shifts responibility for initiating appropriation from the legislative to the executive branch. I do not know that Congress will ever be willing to do that; I do not know that Congress will be willing to take any action limiting its power to increase items in appropriation bills. If it will not, it can not adopt a system that will amount to anything as a budget plan. I am merely urging this proposition out of an earnestness that I feel. These tremendous expenditures of public money are now reaching beyond what our most vivid imagination could ever conceive of, and the people of the country, paying these taxes, are going to scan very closely appropriations made by Congress, and Congress is going to be forced by the exigencies of the situation, if this war goes on for many years, to do its level best to try to see that public money is spent and accounted for with the same fidelity that the private money of a ward would be spent and accounted for by a guardian.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. KENYON. Certainly.

Mr. FLETCHER. It would seem that some improvement might be made in the present system, but I am not clear that we could derive very much advantage by authorizing the heads of the departments to appear before the Houses of Congress. They now appear before the various committees in regard to various subjects in connection with which appropriations are asked. I am afraid that if we authorized the heads of the departments to appear here in the Senate we would not have more than a committee meeting to ask questions. However, I ask the Senator if he does not think that perhaps his plan or the adoption of some wise budget system would help to some extent to do away with duplication of work? I think many, if I may say so, of our unnecessary expenditures arise by reason of overlapping and duplication of work of employees and endeavor in the various departments and in divisions of departments. If the budget system or plan which the Senator has in mind could help accomplish the abolition of that duplication, I have no doubt there would be a great deal saved in that way.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I suggest to the Senator that the very inquiry shows the necessity of some commission to study the question as provided in the resolution. The commission would take up subjects of that kind. The Senator probably knows vastly more about that than I do, but I know that there is a waste in the duplication referred to; and every Member of Congress knows that there is duplication of work. Those are questions to be considered by the proposed commission.

Mr. FLETCHER. And perhaps, in adjusting the budget plan, that would all be gone over and considered, and a system finally reached that would abolish that duplication to some extent.

Mr. KENYON. Yes.

Mr. FLETCHER. It seems to me that might be a very important feature.

Mr. KENYON. Even if this commission did not report in favor of any budget plan, they could report on matters of that kind, I assume,

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President——

Mr. KENYON. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, while I can see difficulties in the way, yet I do think that the proposal of the Senator for a commission to study and investigate the matter is a very good thing, and I can not see any very valid objection to it. What I rose, however, to suggest was this: The Senator suggested that the Senate might hesitate about adopting a proposition that would permit them to refuse to consider any proposed expenditure that was not recommended by a department. I do not think a proposition like that ought to shock the Senate very much, because we have gone to a certain extent along that very line. We have a rule that in the consideration of appropriation bills amendments of a certain character providing appropriations are not in order unless estimated for by a department or unless they conform to certain other conditions that allow them to be considered without such an estimate. We have in that very rule ourselves recognized the importance of having the recommendation of a department.

Then, in connection with river and harbor appropriation bills, the Commerce Committee, as the Senator knows, has a sort of rule that no item shall be put on a bill unless recommended by the department; and while that rule has not always been followed——

Mr. KENYON. They never observed that rule while I was a member of the committee, but usually everything was put on the bill that was recommended by a particular member of the committee who lived in the State where the improvement was contemplated.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I think the Senator is hardly correct in that. I know of some instances where items were put on that did not have the recommendation of the department, but there were very few of them.

Mr. KENYON. Yes; that is true; but I know that during the short time I served on that committee some items were put on that had no recommendation.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I know there were one or two, but not very many, and I know that there was quite a contest at the time in the Senate upon the proposition that the department had not recommended items. I do not believe, however, that there would be very substantial opposition in the Senate to a general proposition along the line I have indicated.

Mr. KENYON. All I have to say, in closing, Mr. President, is that I have submitted these remarks in order that the Senate may, if they will, think about the proposition. I shall move to take up the resolution to which I have referred at the conclusion of the consideration of the bill which is now the unfinished business.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that when the Senate adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Monday next at 12 o'clock meridian.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Just a moment. Before the question is put, I will ask the Senator if he does not hope that before Monday the Senate will have the deficiency appropriation bill now being considered in the House?

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. If so, the Committee on Appropriations can proceed with its consideration. I do not believe we will have the bill before that time; but if we should, it will not interfere with the work on the bill, for the committee can consider it; in fact, the committee will go to work to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock, and the absence of a technical reference of the bill by the Senate to the committee will not interfere with the progress of our work. I will say that I am induced to make this motion because members of the Finance Committee tell me the work of that committee can not go along uninterruptedly and efficiently with the Senate in session, and they are very anxious for the short adjournment in order that the work on the revenue bill may be facilitated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Virginia.

The motion was agreed to.

CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENT.

Mr. McKELLAR. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 4637) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I move that the Senate adjourn.

Mr. McKELLAR. I thought I had the floor, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair doubts whether the Senator from Mississippi can take the Senator off his feet to make a motion to adjourn.

Mr. VARDAMAN. What was the observation of the Chair? I did not catch it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is in doubt whether the Senator can move to adjourn when the Senator from Tennessee has the floor and is addressing the Chair.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I thought the Senator from Tennessee made his motion and yielded the floor.

Mr. McKELLAR. I made the motion to be put to the Senate.

Mr. VARDAMAN. When the motion was made the Senator did yield the floor.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, even though a motion was made by the Senator from Tennessee, it is open to the Senator from Mississippi to make a motion to adjourn.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee made a motion to proceed to the consideration of the bill named by him. The Chair had not put that question to the Senate, and, therefore, the Chair thinks that the Senator from Mississippi, perhaps, is in order, and can make the motion to adjourn. The Senator from Mississippi will withhold his motion so that the Senate may receive a message from the House of Representatives.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Certainly.

DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE MEEKER.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. JACOB EDWIN MEEKER, late a Representative from the State of Missouri, and transmitted resolutions of the House thereon.

Mr. WILFLEY. I ask that the resolutions of the House be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate resolutions of the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES,

October 16, 1918.

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. JACOB EDWIN MEEKER, a Representative from the State of Missouri.

Resolved, That a committee of 20 Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions, and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That, as a further mark of respect, this House do now adjourn.

Mr. WILFLEY. Mr. President, I send to the desk resolutions, which I ask to have read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the resolutions.

The Secretary read the resolutions (S. Res. 321), as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. JACOB EDWIN MEEKER, late a Representative from the State of Missouri.

Resolved, That a committee of 10 Senators be appointed by the Vice President, to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives, to attend the funeral of the deceased.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the adoption of the resolutions.

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Under the second resolution the Presiding Officer appointed as the committee on the part of the Senate Mr. REED, Mr. WILFLEY, Mr. WATSON, Mr. SUTHERLAND, Mr. NEW, Mr. KENYON, Mr. HARDING, Mr. BECKHAM, Mr. KIRBY, and Mr. CURTIS.

Mr. WILFLEY. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative, I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, October 21, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *October 17, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, whom we have been taught to worship as Father, we bless Thee for the rich and varied endowments of mind and soul which constitute us progressive beings, lifting us to clearer visions of Thee and the laws which environ us and hast made character the supreme test.

Make us strong in our convictions, pure in our desires, and thus lead us onward and upward to a closer relationship with Thee.

Again, O God, our Heavenly Father, are we reminded of the brief tenure of this life by the sudden and unexpected death of a Member of this legislative body. Strengthen our faith and that of his friends and admirers, especially those to whom he was nearest and dearest, in the larger life to which he has been called and to which we are all rapidly tending and fit us for the inevitable change.

"It lies around us like a cloud,
A world we do not see;
Yet the sweet closing of an eye
May bring us there to be.

"Sweet hearts around us throb and beat,
Sweet helping hands are stirred,
And palpitates the veil between
With breathings almost heard."

Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS IN THE RECORD.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Upon what subject?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. To include an address made by me on waterways.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on waterways. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 13086, the first deficiency bill.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, pending that motion I ask unanimous consent that general debate be limited to 10 minutes.

Mr. CANNON. Let me say to the gentleman that I have applications for time by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL] for 10 minutes and the gentleman from New York [Mr. MAGEE] for 15 minutes, and for safety I think the gentleman had better make the request for 30 minutes, and the last 5 perhaps will not be used.

Mr. SHERLEY. Then, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that general debate be limited to 45 minutes, reserving 15 minutes for myself.

The SPEAKER. Pending the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee, the gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent that general debate be limited to 45 minutes.

Mr. SHERLEY. Thirty minutes to be controlled by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] and 15 minutes by myself.

Mr. HEFLIN. Reserving the right to object, I may want 10 minutes' time myself.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman knows how to get it, does he not?

Mr. HEFLIN. I understand the five-minute rule.

The SPEAKER. That general debate be limited to 45 minutes, 30 minutes to be controlled by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] and 15 minutes by the gentleman from Kentucky. Is there objection?

Mr. HEFLIN. Reserving the right to object, I will ask the gentleman from Kentucky if there will be any chance for my getting 10 minutes? I do not know that I want to speak, but I would like to have it reserved if necessary.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am simply following the evident wish of the House in trying to expedite the consideration of the bill. I yesterday took considerable time myself, but I took it for the purpose of the explanation of the bill, and only that, without in any sense diverging from that purpose. I had hoped that we might go on with the reading of the bill this morning, and that such debate as might be necessary might develop under the five-minute rule. I think I may be able to give the gentleman from Alabama 5 or 10 minutes out of the 15 I have reserved if he thinks that he needs it. But unless he now knows that he wants it, I suggest that we go along under the request that I have made.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, I will not object, and leave it to the gentleman from Kentucky to give me the time if I want it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

The motion of Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee was then agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 13086, with Mr. GARRETT of Tennesse in the chair.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. MAGEE].

Mr. MAGEE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend and revise my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. MAGEE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I appreciate that the chairman is anxious to get along with this bill, and I will not take up any more time of the House than I absolutely have to.

Mr. Chairman, the pending bill authorizes appropriations aggregating $6,345,755,666.04. When we consider that the bonded indebtedness of the United States on October 31, 1865, was only $1,163,769,611.89 (Spaulding's Financial History of the War, p. 201), and that our governmental expenditures from January 1, 1791, to January 1, 1914, only totaled approximately $28,000,000,000 (Dewey's Financial History of the United States), and that this bill is merely a deficiency measure, it is apparent that our present rate of public expenditures is quite beyond human conception. The aggregate expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, under existing estimates, will probably exceed $35,000,000,000, of which amount the War Department will undoubtedly get at least $25,000,000,000. An annual expenditure of $35,000,000,000 means in round figures $96,000,000 per day, $4,000,000 per hour, $66,000 per minute, and $1,100 every second.

I do not speak in any spirit of criticism, but from a sense of duty and responsibility as a Member of the House. I speak as a Member who has supported every war measure demanded by the Executive for the vigorous and successful prosecution of the war. The President says that we must win the war. I stand upon that platform with all my heart and soul. It is our duty, in time of war in the prosecution thereof, to sustain and hold up the hands of the President of the United States, as Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy, whoever he may be. It is the imperative duty of all loyal American citizens in this great crisis to concentrate all their thoughts, all their energies, and all their resources into an irresistible unit for the sole purpose of bringing the war to a speedy conclusion by victory.

We must not forget, however, that in the minds of the American people exists this question: "Are public funds being wisely, economically, and lawfully expended?" You on the other side of the aisle will soon find out that you are making a great mistake in getting so absorbed in your greed for a continuance in power that you will not see what even the blind can feel. Public sentiment is rapidly crystallizing upon this

question, and demands not only that the Congress adopt the budget system, but that the Congress exercise careful supervision over the expenditure of public moneys, and take reasonable precautions against waste, extravagance, and unlawfulness.

The Syracuse Post-Standard on September 24, 1918, contained the following editorial:

A COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES.

The committee of the House of Representatives which ranks first in importance is Ways and Means; it determines how the money necessary for the support of government shall be raised. Next in importance is the Committee on Appropriations; it determines generally where the money shall go. There is no committee on expenditures to see that the money is honestly and wisely spent.

The proposition that the House shall have a committee on expenditures with the broadest powers of audit, completing with the Ways and Means and Appropriations Committees the circle of legislative control of the Nation's purse, has come before the present Congress as usual. Our own Congressman, Mr. MAGEE, we are glad to say, made a convincing plea for it. The House rejected the proposal as usual. That the United States Government should have the essentials of a budget system necessary for the conduct of all corporate business is apparently not to be considered.

There are committees on expenditures to be sure. Their number is their condemnation, one for each of the 10 departments whose heads are in the Cabinet, one for public buildings, none for any of the multitude of other agencies for the spending of money. The chairmen of the 11 committees, working independently, do not take their duties very seriously, but they all have fine committee rooms.

To do away with all these committees and substitute a committee on expenditures, with power to hold every department of Government to strict accountability for its expenditures, would be statesmanship.

The New York Tribune on September 23, 1918, contained the following editorial:

DODGING THE INEVITABLE.

The House of Representatives has once more refused to create a committee on war expenditures. The House usually shrinks from modernizing its procedure and conforming its methods of doing business to new requirements. A committee on expenditures would be a radical innovation. Therefore the majority in the present House will have none of it. This fear is unreasoning. It obstructs a recasting of the relations of the legislative branch to appropriations and expenditures which our war experience has made inevitable. We could blunder along without a budget system and without a rational apportionment of responsibility for our national outlay while we were spending only $1,000,000,000 to $1,500,000,000 a year. But it is preposterous to go ahead spending $20,000,000,000 or $25,000,000,000 a year without the safeguards of administrative accountability and legislative audit and control.

We have been proceeding on the mistaken theory that Congress is competent to originate and determine down to the last detail the expenditures of the executive branch, and that it is a normal function of the executive to audit its own expense accounts. Chaos naturally results from such a confusion of duties. It is only a form of words to say that the House and Senate appropriation committees any longer decide what the executive departments are to spend. More than ever before the legislative committees merely register the decisions of executive officials. It could not be otherwise. Secretary McAdoo has even intervened to control the details of taxation and of other revenue legislation. And he has a logical right to do so. Under any well-considered fiscal scheme the executive ought to accept full responsibility for the outlay necessary to carry out its plans. Congress really takes over a routine administrative function when it decides of its own motion what ought to be spent by each department, bureau, commission, and so on down to the pettiest agency of government.

Under an intelligent budget system Congress would merely vote appropriations in the mass. That would end forever the dangerous fiction which permits the administration to wash its hands of all accountability for the sum total of appropriations. But having fixed that responsibility where it belongs, Congress would be entitled to assume the broadest possible powers of audit. Having voted the money, it would see to it that that money was wisely and profitably spent. Congress can not function efficiently until it creates a real committee on expenditures, supplanting the various make-believe committees on expenditures in the various departments carried for window-dressing purposes, in its present organization.

The House and the Senate should actually "hold the purse" through a strict auditing of accounts. Congress is the natural forum in which to discuss and settle all questions as to the wisdom and usefulness of national outlay.

Think of the enormous gain in economy and in public morale which would result if Congressmen were limited to the rôle of critics of expenditure and were effectually barred from acting as promoters of public building, river and harbor, and other "pork-barrel" extravagances for the benefit of local interests. This Congress is too deep in the ruts of the past to feel the need of new methods and a new outlook. If the Republicans carry the next House they can do nothing more timely and constructive than to create that vital auditing committee at which the torpor and timidity of the present Congress balk.

Under date of September 14, 1918, the committee on State and municipal taxation of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, in its report on the pending revenue bill, said, in part:

Any tax system, especially in times of stress, which has a recognized tendency to produce profligacy and corruption, should be supplemented by measures to check these evils. Your committee believes that the House of Representatives should establish a vigorous auditing committee, amply provided with assistance and authority and under the chairmanship of a member of the minority party.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAGEE. I have only a little time, and will be glad to yield if the gentleman can get me more time.

Mr. HASTINGS. I was just going to ask why you did not adopt the budget system when the Republican Party was in power? [Applause and laughter on the Democratic side.]

Mr. MAGEE. Under the Republican Party there was a commission on Economy and Efficiency appointed, and President Taft sent a message to the Congress approving the report of that commission.

Mr. HASTINGS. You were in power for 40 years and you never attempted it.

Mr. MAGEE. When public sentiment began to crystallize a Republican administration created a Commission on Economy and Efficiency on "the need for a national budget." On June 27, 1912, President Taft sent a message to the Congress approving the recommendations of the commission and recommended to the Congress the enactment of the legislation necessary to put into effect such recommendations. A Democratic administration starved to death the commission.

My contention is that it is as necessary to conserve our financial resources as our food products. Our people give without stint, but we can retain their absolute confidence only by showing them that the funds given have been wisely and lawfully expended. They are at least entitled to that, and we shirk our responsibility when we persistently refuse to render any accounting of public expenditures.

The administration has obtained the services of a former justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, one of the great lawyers of the country, to determine where a few financial drops have gone. I am unwilling to concede that we have not sufficient ability and intelligence in the membership of the House to investigate and make an efficient report upon public expenditures. My observation is that the membership of the House contains its fair share of the best business ability and best legal talent in the country.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Does not the gentleman think also that the House would know best where to go to get that information?

Mr. MAGEE. Yes. I appreciate that the Committee on Appropriations in the preparation of this bill has been painstaking, conscientious, and performed excellent service. But that does not meet the situation. We have no authoritative body to investigate public expenditures and furnish any information to the House. We simply have to shut our eyes and vote.

We must sustain and back up our incomparable soldiers overseas to the utmost limit of the Nation's resources. I feel that it was at Chateau-Thierry, the gateway to Paris, where through the heroism of American soldiers the German offensive ended and the Foch offensive began. We all must feel that the soldiers of America fighting under the Stars and Stripes alongside of the union jack of sturdy England and the tricolor of glorious France will prove the determining factor in this war; and all must rejoice to see that the spirit of '76 still exists in the youth of America.

This is what a young French woman, Miss Vromet, now taking special courses at Syracuse University, says of our boys:

At the Battle of Chateau-Thierry my brother fought beside American soldiers for the first time, and he told us that the Americans fight like lions.

[Applause.]

Our soldiers and sailors overseas and at home must be supplied with the best of everything. Consequently it behooves us to economize in the expenditure of public funds and to make it our particular business to stop profiteering everywhere. We can not do this unless we adopt efficient means therefor. In a speech in the House on April 6, 1918, I pointed out how the great committee on public accounts in the House of Commons had been an absolute check on waste, extravagance, and unlawful expenditures. We imperatively need such a committee here. Your refusal, gentlemen across the aisle, to take some means to supervise public expenditures will prove your undoing. You have seen the lightning flash in the recent elections in Maine, and you will hear the thunder roar in New York in November next. If we vote throughout the State by ballot, it may take until near Christmas to count the Republican vote. [Applause on the Republican side.]

As was stated by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], the American people are amazingly unified in their determination to push the war to a speedy and successful conclusion. This is due in a large part, I think, to the fact that war was made upon us. When the Congress on April 6, 1917, declared that a state of war existed between the United States and the Imperial German Government, we all had vividly in mind the ruthless attacks without warning by Germany upon our unarmed merchant ships, flying the Stars and Stripes and peacefully sailing upon the high seas where they had the lawful right to be. That was the great mistake of Germany that doomed her to defeat. She ought to have known that every loyal American citizen would spend the last dollar and sacrifice the last man, if need be, to protect Old Glory wherever it might float upon any land or upon any sea. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL].

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, it is doubtful if at any time in the experience of people with self-government their representatives have so united for a single purpose as have the representatives of the American people for the successful conduct of this war. To accomplish that purpose partisanship and personal ambitions have been set aside. Marvelous things have been done since this Congress convened on the 2d of April, 1917. It is almost inconceivable that the amount of work that has been done could have been accomplished. We have raised and authorized appropriations or appropriated well onto $50,000,000,000. We have provided for the raising of the greatest Army ever marshaled in so short a time. We have increased our Navy and perfected our fighting organizations on land and sea. Our armies are in action. Our Navy has accomplished what Germany thought was impossible. We have taken an army overseas in safety. All these great things have been authorized and provided for by work done on this floor. And there has been no party distinction. Unlike any other war, in the history of this or perhaps any other country, there has been no minority party. The party in power has had the cooperation of the minority party in the enactment of every measure essential in the conduct of the war. The President has been ungrudgingly granted every war power he has asked that was essential. I am sure every other Member of the House has felt as I have felt and worked and voted as I have voted for every war measure as a solemn duty to meet a grave responsibility. One seated in the galleries would not know the leader of the majority from the leader of the minority or the members of the majority from the members of the minority by what has been said and done. On war matters amendments offered or voted for, all votes cast have been without party distinction. And yet, while Members are here aiding in this way in the conduct of the war, some persons are campaigning against them upon the ground that their defeat is necessary to aid in the conduct of the war. Votes cast for or against amendments in the great mass of legislation that has been enacted, amendments inconsequential in their general effect as war measures, are cited as reasons why this should be done. Votes to recommit bills for amendment are falsely stated to be votes against the bills. To illustrate: A short time ago we passed what is known as the man-power bill. Many Members had serious doubts as to the wisdom of including the 18-year old boys among those first to be sent to the trenches.

The Secretary of War and the President had said it was not the intention of the administration to send the 18-year-old boys until the others in the call had been exhausted. In order to make assurances doubly sure that this intent of the administration should be carried out, an amendment was provided for in a motion to recommit calling the 18-year-old boys last. Many of us voted for this motion. The amendment was not carried, but the President within 24 hours after the man-power bill was passed, did what he had said had been the purpose of the War Department and what Members voted for—gave the 18-year-old boys deferred classification. And yet there are men going about in congressional districts to-day saying that this or that Member voted against the man-power bill, voted against raising the necessary men to carry on the war. Of course, the men or set of men, or the newspapers that state or publish such things know they are making a bold attempt to deceive the people by grossly misrepresenting the facts.

Mr. Chairman, whatever the result of this election may be, as to the control of this House, whether the majority shall move from one side of this aisle to the other, the conduct of the war, if it has not been concluded, will go on. I am confident, however, that a Republican House and a Republican Senate will give confidence to the country and impetus to the conduct of the war. We will look into the expenditures of the money that has already been appropriated and that shall be appropriated in the future. I have believed from the beginning that committees of Congress should have made the closest inquiry into the manner in which money has been expended. The Committee on Expenditures in the War Department should have kept the closest watch on the expenditure of money by the War Department. We should have stricken with terror those who contemplated graft or were misapplying funds. It is doubtful if there would have been the waste or worse than waste of $640,000,000 for airplanes if those who had the responsibility for expending the money knew that every step they were taking was being followed up by committees of Congress, the body that appropriated the money. I believe that in the next Congress, with the majority upon this side and such expenditures being carefully watched, not to embarrass, not to hinder, but to insure economy and honesty in the expenditure of public funds we shall save money and expose graft wherever it exists.

Great things are to be done in the future. The greatest problems that have ever confronted mankind will follow upon peace, the dawn of which is reddening in the East. I confidently believe that the constructive forces of this Nation, those with a legislative vision and purpose to maintain a high plane of living and wages and prosperous conditions for the laborers and industries of the country when the country is on a peace basis, are on this side of the House.

For this reason alone, if for no other, the American people will act wisely if they change the leadership from one side of this aisle to the other—from you to us. I do not say this to you in a bitter partisan way. I believe the constructive legislation of the Republican Party in the past half century amply justifies the statement I have made. Nothing has demonstrated itself more forcefully than this: This Nation and the world are getting the benefit of the results of the constructive legislation of the last half century. Civilization has been benefited by the billions of money that have been created by the inspiration of that legislation under the leadership of the Republican Party. The great wealth that has been accumulated, the great resources that have been developed as the result of wise laws have made it possible for our Government to expend billions on our own account, to lend other billions to our allies, and to send materials and food to all the world, and in this way to make possible the triumphant victory the allied armies are now approaching. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield seven minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN].

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the first speaker on the Republican side this morning [Mr. MAGEE] has the best record of any Republican in the House for loyal and whole-hearted support of the administration. If his Republican colleagues had his record, they could go with better grace to their constituents and ask for reelection. But the gentleman from New York allowed his partisan zeal to lead him, even in the face of his party's record in this House, to urge that the next House should be Republican. Although he has voted with the Democrats nearly all the time, he now invites the country to return to "the good old days of Republican control."

The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL] makes a like appeal. He reminds us that constructive statesmanship is on the Republican side, and that the country should return to those glorious old days of Republican rule. These suggestions brought vividly back to me the recollections of the days of "Aldrichism" and "Cannonism," when Aldrich, the king of the Rubber Trust, the leader of the Republican Party in the Senate, laid a tariff tax on rubber goods and taxed the American people to put money in his own pockets. I recalled the time when Ballinger, a member of the Republican Cabinet, was bartering the public domain of the West to Guggenheim and his kind. I recalled the time in those glorious old days when Lorimer had bought a seat in the Senate from the State of Illinois and was impeached by the Senate of the United States. These happy recollections of Republican misrule came trooping in upon my mind as these Republican gentlemen invited us to return to those old days.

In those old days waste and extravagance were rampant in Republican circles. The Republican President, Mr. Taft, said that you were wasting or squandering annually at least $100,000,000. But Mr. Aldrich said that it was $300,000,000—and you gentlemen have the gall to invite us to swap off this Democratic administration for that old Republican machine. Why, the power-hungry bosses of the Republican Party are doing everything in their power to get control of the Government. They are absolutely trying to buy seats in the House and Senate. Go to Michigan, Illinois, and Colorado, where your millionaire candidates are relying for election not upon the patriotism of the people but upon their power to buy the elections. In the State of Michigan the patriots who believe in clean elections were unable to get Republican officials to investigate the corrupt use of money in the recent Republican senatorial primary and the Federal court in New York summoned witnesses there. They have brought them into court, and when the constituted authority of the country said, "Gentleman, where did you get this money and how was it used?" they said, "We decline to tell you." "Take them to jail," said the judge. "All right, we will go to jail, but we will not tell who furnished the money." Three of them were sent to jail by the judge in New York yesterday. Buying and selling seats in the United States Senate and then defying the constituted authorities of the country.

When our boys are fighting and dying in France for our country, for God's sake let us refuse to sell or surrender the country to these profiteers and corruptionists here at home! [Applause.]

Do you know what you would do if you got control of this House and the Senate? I will tell you what would happen. You would begin at once your presidential campaign and for two years you would hamper and hamstring the great President

and defeat his great measures while you played your game of 1920 politics.

Is the country ready for such a miserable performance? It is suggested that if you get control of the House and Senate that one of your candidates for President will come to Washington and dictate your policies—one of which will be to tie the hands of the President of the United States.

President Wilson has not had the loyal support of the Republican side. There is no use of trying to deceive yourselves or the country. Why, one of your number [Mr. MASON of Illinois] offered a bill to tie the President's hands and stop the Army at the ocean's side, and no Republican in either branch of Congress ever condemned that act. One of you Republicans [Mr. BRITTEN of Illinois] offered a bill to exempt American boys of German and Austrian blood from service to that flag on a foreign field, and no one of you on that side, or in the other branch, ever condemned that act. One hundred and eighty-six of you voted to exempt excessive profits from the provisions of the war-tax bill. Many of you supported the Cooper resolution. Many of you supported the McLemore resolution, and many of you voted against measures that the President wanted passed to aid him in the conduct of the war.

Gentlemen, let us be fair with ourselves and with the country. It would be nothing short of a national calamity, and an international disaster, for the Republican Party to get control of this House and the Senate at this critical time. Let President Wilson have both branches of Congress until this war is over. Lincoln had them, McKinley had them, and Wilson has them, and he is going to have them after the next election. [Applause on the Democratic side.] There is no doubt about that. I make you the prediction here to-day that we will have this House by over 50 majority. A good many of you will not, and should not, come back. You place partisan success above the welfare of your country. Gentlemen, the country is aroused from one end to the other. The patriotism of the people is stirred as never before, and they do not propose that this House shall be turned over now to the money-grabbing, profiteering element of this country.

Why is it that these men are putting up millions back of you? Because they have been required to pay large sums of war taxes. They want to get control of the taxing power. They want to exempt themselves and put the burden upon the other fellow. The voter who sits in the audiences in this fall campaign and listens to the talk of turning this Government over to the constructive statesmen referred to by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL] will say, "God of our fathers, deliver me from such a fate!" No; gentlemen; let us stand by this great Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy. Let us give him whole-hearted support. Let us keep the party in power that was in power when the war commenced, that was in power when we entered the war, and that is now conducting the war successfully. Let us stand by that party until the war is won. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Chairman, under leave just granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to submit the following:

"The issue in 1918 is, Are we going to stand by the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy? His party was in power when the war came on; his party was in power when our country entered the war; and his party should remain in power until the war is won.

"The Republican Party leaders, in their efforts to defeat and turn out the party now in control, are responsible for the injection of partisan politics into this campaign.

"Suppose the Republicans had been in power when the war commenced and were in power now, and the Democrats should now be engaged in a campaign to drive them from power, what do you suppose these Republican leaders would say? Why, they would accuse us of being disloyal and they would stoutly contend that to elect a Democratic House and Senate under the circumstances would be doing precisely what Germany wanted done. I want to say, as an American to Americans, that to defeat the President's party in the coming election would be nothing short of a public calamity, and it would be seized upon and exploited by Germany as a repudiation of the President and his war program, and the country would be injured by such a course. I submit to the intelligent and patriotic people of the United States that it is right and proper that the party in power charged directly with the responsibility for the conduct of the war, and especially when the war is being successfully carried on, should be kept in power by the American people. One thing is certain, and that is, that every half-hearted American and every German sympathizer in the United States is going to vote the Republican ticket in the coming election. German spies and agents are hoping to be able to tell the allies of Germany that President Wilson and his party, the party in power, have been repudiated by the American people.

"Democrats can truthfully say that under our control the war is being carried on in a wonderfully successful manner, and therefore with perfect propriety we can ask the American people to indorse the work and leadership that have brought success to our arms, but when the Republicans under the circumstances ask to have the party in power repudiated they are guilty of injecting partisan politics into the very issues of the life and death of the Republic. Democrats simply ask for an indorsement of service, which has been indorsed and warmly praised by the allies and which has resulted in victory for our flag, but Republican politicians, when they ask for a repudiation of the party in power, show a disposition to place partisan success above the welfare of the country, and if Republicans were in power at this time and Democrats sought to do such a thing they would be guilty of the same great evil. I want to say again that President McKinley, Col. Roosevelt, and ex-President Harrison, during the Spanish-American War, appealed to the American people to give President McKinley a Republican House and Senate and the people did so by an overwhelming vote. Then we were at war with Spain, a small power. If it were necessary then to support and keep in power the Republican Party, the party in power when the war came on, how much more important now when the very life of our Nation is at stake and the civilization of the world is threatened to stand by Woodrow Wilson and retain his party in power. In many important instances Republican leaders and Members have opposed the President's program just as far as they dared to go, and after trying to defeat many of his measures as we considered the bills section by section and seeing that they had failed, in order to save themselves at home they have voted for some of them on the final roll call. From another viewpoint it would be nothing short of a national calamity to turn over the taxing power to the men who want to get rich and enormously rich out of this war, and the fact that they are supporting the Republican bosses now is proof enough that they have been assured that the war-tax burden will be shifted from the shoulders of those most able to pay to the shoulders of those least able to pay and that instead of being required to pay a considerable portion of their immense profits they will be relieved of that burden almost entirely while Republicans unload it upon the backs of the American masses.

"This is a question—a very important question—that should and will be seriously considered by the voter in the coming election. Surely the men who are making tremendous profits and stupendous fortunes because of the war should be willing—and if not willing, should be required—to contribute a fair and just portion to the Government and its soldiers who are carrying on the war. This the Democratic Party has insisted should be done, and this the Democratic Party has succeeded in doing, and that is why some of these big greedy fellows, making millions in war profits, and who are required to pay to the Government a fair portion of what they get, are now secretly contributing thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars to the campaign funds of the Republican Party. They had rather give to the Republican campaign fund a hundred thousand dollars for sordid purposes than to pay to the Government a million dollars in taxes to support the cause involving the very life of the Nation. It is whispered around in many quarters that the Republicans have the largest campaign fund that they have ever had. No one who has been about the Capitol in recent months doubts that. The pompous profiteer, sore because the law requires him to turn over to the Government a considerable portion of his profit in taxes, is now seeking relief at the hands of the hungry bosses of the Republican Party, and they, without a moment's hesitation, these power-hungry bosses, are ready to agree to use the taxing power of the Republic to enable a favored few to escape their fair share of the Nation's war burden, and this is to be done, we are told, at the expense and great injury of the American masses whose boys are fighting and dying for our country. While our boys on a foreign field are fighting and dying for our country God forbid that we shall sell it or surrender it to plutocracy and predatory interests at home. The ghouls and vultures and vampires that always appear at a time like this are not only taking advantage of a condition produced by war while they fatten upon the distress and misfortune of their country, but they are now seeking to get control of the Government itself, so that they can suck and drain its lifeblood to feed their putrid veins."

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I have five minutes, and I will ask the Chair to call me down at the expiration of one. I desire to yield four minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT].

In that one minute I wish to say this: I think the President of the United States can survive, notwithstanding his self-con-

stituted chief defender, in season and out of season, rushes in and performs and appeals to "the God of our fathers." And we on this side can survive, notwithstanding his attack. [Applause on the Republican side.]

I yield four minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT].

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Chairman, I do not suppose that what I am going to say will do any good, any more than what I have already said on the same subject has accomplished anything, but inasmuch as I once started out to give the details of this little transaction, I want to conclude it. I described some time ago on the floor of the House a case where a soldier had made a certain allotment to his wife. The wife, not knowing it, after he had gone also applied for the allotment, giving her first name a little different in spelling, though not in sound, and a little different address from the one that her soldier husband had given, though in the same town. Month after month she has been receiving two checks, one check to her under the first name, which she had given, and the other check with the first name which her husband had destined for her, but both on the face as wife of the same soldier. Being an honest woman, she wrote back monthly, telling the circumstances and returning one of the checks. But it made no difference. Both monthly checks continued to come to her. Finally she wrote to her Congressman, and I thought it well to bring before the House the circumstances and also in that way to make it public, and I thought it might call the attention of the Treasury Department to the matter. And I thought also, perhaps, returning the check by her Congressman might have a little more effect than returning it by herself. But apparently there is no means of stopping this generosity of the United States Government, because I have just heard that again has come to her the two checks. [Laughter.]

I do not remember the exact amount, and I will not attempt to give it, but they were two sizeable checks; and again, this honest, self-sacrificing woman sends back the duplicate, which she thinks does not belong to her, because she thinks the Government might make use of it otherwise. I call attention to the matter again, hoping that it will reach the Treasury Department and be remedied. I appreciate their difficulties, but I do hope that it may reach them and that this particular case may be remedied.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILLETT. Certainly.

Mr. SHERLEY. It is just possible that the gentleman's constituent herself may be mistaken. I know nothing about the facts; but, as the gentleman knows, there are certain allotments that are known as compulsory allotments, in the case of dependents, which are paid through the medium of the War Risk Bureau, and then there are certain volunteer allotments which are paid through the medium of the War Department, and it is possible that the lady may be entitled under the law to both checks.

Mr. GILLETT. I do not think it is possible in this case, but I will look into that particular phase of it, and if I find it so, I will be very glad to report so. But I fear very much that this is not the only case of that kind. The lady is certainly entitled to great commendation for her persistent industry in trying to put back into the Treasury the money she thinks belongs there. I can not help having an unpleasant misgiving as to how many other checks are going out to people who are not as honest as she is.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

For temporary employees for the Civil Service Commission, $150,000: *Provided*, That not more than four persons shall be employed hereunder at a rate of compensation exceeding $1,400 per annum.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, this item and other items relating to the increase of clerical force in the departments in Washington are worthy of some consideration, and I rise to make an inquiry, because the matter was not referred to in the Committee on Appropriations inasmuch as it was regarded as a matter of incidental importance. And yet, I think the members of the legislative subcommittee will be interested in knowing what was the policy of the subcommittee on deficiencies in granting this large amount of $150,000 for the Civil Service Commission. I believe there is another instance where the committee voted to the Department of State $136,000 as additional deficiency appropriations for clerical services.

Mr. SHERLEY. There is no appropriation carried in this bill looking to the employment of additional employees in Washington. If the gentleman from Wisconsin will give me his attention——

Mr. STAFFORD. I am giving the gentleman my attention. I heard the gentleman——

Mr. SHERLEY. The reason for these deficiency appropriations is simply to maintain existing organizations, and this particular one is not for the purpose of increasing the number of clerks that the Civil Service Commission may have. A number of departments asked for such increases. They totaled something over $3,000,000, and the committee refused to grant them.

Mr. STAFFORD. Can the gentleman advise the committee whether there was an exception in the present legislative bill about allowing four persons to be employed at a rate of compensation in excess of $1,400? If my recollection serves me right, two salaries in excess of $1,400 were allowed, not four.

Mr. SHERLEY. The committee permitted four as seeming to be warranted in view of the enlargement of their force and their work.

Mr. STAFFORD. The reason why I made this inquiry, particularly as to the Civil Service Commission, is that in the bill reported from the legislative subcommittee we granted the Civil Service Commission a lump-sum amount, if I remember correctly, for additional clerical services, recognizing that there were additional burdens placed upon the Civil Service Commission in providing examinations for the large corps of clerks that would be employed in the department service here.

Mr. GORDON. Is it the understanding of the Committee on Appropriations that under the Overman Act the executive departments of the Government are authorized, or, rather, the President is authorized, to transfer employees from one department in which they have nothing to do to another department of the Government? Is that comprehended in the Overman Act in the judgment of the Committee on Appropriations?

Mr. STAFFORD. Well, I may say that that is a new suggestion to me, but prior to the promulgation of the Executive proclamation forbidding the transfers of clerks from one department to another, without the express sanction of the heads of the departments concerned, they were privileged on their own initiative to make such a transfer upon the request of another department, but an abuse arose that required the Executive proclamation, because departments were vying with each other and bidding for the services of superior clerks, and the President, I believe, last December, issued a proclamation that forbade that practice.

But under the Overman law, as I recall it, the President would have authority to transfer clerks. Certainly for a long time the department heads have been authorized to detail clerks from one bureau to another. We have had instances of that called to our attention from time to time, where clerks in the Pension Bureau have been detailed to the office of the Secretary. In the consideration of the legislative bill many instances have been called to our attention where clerks were detailed from one bureau to another, permanently, for a year or more, to perform work in bureaus where their services were urgently needed.

I think under the scope of the Overman Act the President would have that authority. If he has authority to rearrange the bureaus and consolidate them——

Mr. GORDON. And transfer functions.

Mr. STAFFORD. And transfer functions, as suggested by the gentleman from Ohio, he would certainly have the power to transfer an incident of those functions, namely, the clerks to perform the work.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Referring to the suggestion of the gentleman with reference to this particular appropriation for the Civil Service Commission, the gentleman will doubtless recall that when the Civil Service Commission appeared before the legislative subcommittee asking a lump-sum appropriation for additional clerks their estimate, if I mistake not, was for $300,000. The legislative subcommittee denied that estimate and gave them $150,000, for the reason that it was impossible at that time to determine just how many clerks they might possibly need to take care of this additional work, and with the idea at the time that if the Civil Service Commission found it necessary to have a larger appropriation they could come back and ask for a deficiency. Now, as the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] has stated, this particular appropriation, as I understand it, does not involve the employment of a single clerk in addition to those now employed in the Civil Service Commission. As I understand it, the Civil Service Commission will have exhausted the $150,000 by January 1, and this appropriation is simply made to enable that commission to carry on its work for the balance of the fiscal year. The gentleman knows that the Civil Service Commission has had an enormous amount of work thrust upon it by reason of the thousands and thousands of employees who have been

made necessary on account of the war, which has increased the examinations by many, many thousands.

Mr. STAFFORD. I quite agree with the statement of the chairman of the legislative subcommittee [Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee], but I can not agree with the logic or approve of the position as stated by him when he approved of the action of the Civil Service Commission in allotting for the period of six months the $150,000 which we allowed them for the entire year, and that that should be a warrant for them to come to Congress for a deficiency appropriation. I certainly must object to that course because there is a legislative mandate, a statutory law that forbids any department or bureau from allotting for any period less than a year the total appropriation that has been authorized for the entire year.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. The gentleman will recall that prior to July 1, the Civil Service Commission had employed a large force out of an allotment of funds made to the commission by the President. Now, I do not understand that the Civil Service Commission have employed any additional clerks, but they have been carrying on the force that they had prior to July 1 in order to take care of this enormously increased work, and this appropriation is merely to enable them to continue that work. Otherwise I suggest to the gentleman that the Civil Service Commission, in which he so earnestly believes and for which he stands, would become inoperative, because it will be necessary to fill these various places outside of the civil service if we do not furnish the machinery for the Civil Service Commission.

Mr. STAFFORD. May I ask the gentleman a question? Our committee was, as I considered, quite liberal in voting clerks to the Civil Service Commission. The president of the commission came before our subcommittee and stated that they had received an allotment from the President's emergency fund. Our subcommittee declined to reimburse them for the money so used. Now, when our subcommittee voted the Civil Service Commission $150,000 for clerical service, was it not with the intention of providing for the clerical force over the 12-months' period.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Of course, the legislative bill undertook to provide an appropriation for the entire fiscal year; but, I repeat, the gentleman will recall that they asked double the amount that the committee allowed them. The committee, in other words, reduced their estimate to $150,000, hoping that they would be able to get along with that sum, and for the reason that no one could tell at that time as to whether or not the present conditions would continue to prevail throughout the year. Now, the committee, as I say, reduced the estimates which the commission then thought they would need for this fiscal year, and they find now that they do need the full sum that was asked, and this appropriation is simply made to enable them to carry on their present work and not to increase their force.

Mr. STAFFORD. I certainly do not wish to deprive the Civil Service Commission of any clerical force that is necessary to carry on their work. Our subcommittee was reminded of the necessity of increasing their force temporarily to meet the exigent conditions occasioned by the war, in examining the papers of the thousands upon thousands of clerks who are needed during the war period. I merely rose to obtain some information from the chairman of the committee, so that I could have that information when preparing the next legislative bill. I withdraw the proforma amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The pro forma amendment is withdrawn. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

The increases in statutory salaries, contained in the District of Columbia appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, shall be allowed and paid from July 1, 1918, if the employees otherwise are entitled to receive them: *Provided*, That this paragraph shall not be applicable to any employee who left the service prior to September 1, 1918.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on this paragraph. I do not recall any prior bill, where an appropriation bill carrying salaries has failed to be enacted before the close of the fiscal year, which has contained subsequent authorization carrying back the increased salaries to the beginning of the fiscal year. I may be in error in my recollection, but I would like to have some explanation of this exceptional practice of granting increased salaries for a period of three months when they were not voted by Congress.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will permit an interruption, this matter was not at issue between the two Houses. The gentleman will recall that the District of Columbia appropriation bill was held up on three items. Both Houses agreed to these increases, notably in the police force. They were losing the policemen with great rapidity, and we granted them an increase—not a radical increase, but one which would hold members of the board. Under a promise or agreement, both Houses having agreed that the salaries should be the figures named in the bill, they were able to keep the employees. Now, we are carrying out in good faith the promise which was really made to the employees who were thereby held. But for that increase at that time we would have lost a great number of the best employees in the District of Columbia. I gave assurance to the District Commissioners that in my opinion both Houses of Congress would be very glad to put into effect what was their will expressed in the bill, which ought to have become a law before the 1st of July. The difference between the two Houses on the matter, to wit, the half-and-half plan, the McKellar item, and another small item, were the only items in difference. Therefore, feeling that the House had committed itself to that, I told the commissioners that they were warranted in saying that the very day the bill became a law they would get their salaries fixed in the bill and Congress would without hesitation give them up from the first of the fiscal year.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman was assuming quite a responsibility.

Mr. SISSON. I know I did.

Mr. STAFFORD. The House has great confidence in the ability of the gentleman, and knows his acquaintance with the needs of the District, especially since he has been charged with the responsibility of reporting the appropriations necessary for the District of Columbia.

Mr. SISSON. Let me say to the gentleman that I did not do it without the absolute sanction of both Houses of Congress, in that they had agreed to the bill in all the other items except the three items I have mentioned.

Mr. STAFFORD. I do not recall that the Congress had ever sanctioned any private understanding of the gentleman.

Mr. SISSON. Oh, no.

Mr. STAFFORD. I do not know that any such statement was ever made on the floor of the House.

Mr. SHERLEY. There was no private understanding, there was an actual concrete situation that confronted the District of Columbia. They had to hold their forces, and that was one of the reasons why Congress passed the increased salary in order to hold many employees. That particularly pertained to some employees—I think the police and other employees. The Congress agreed to the increase, and the bill, as the gentleman recalls, was held up by a fight over the half-and-half principle. In the meanwhile the Commissioners of the District of Columbia were confronted with the fact that their employees would not remain at the old salary and they were held under the statement that the bill carried an increase and as soon as it passed they would receive the increase as of the 1st of July. There was a general acquiescence on the part of everybody as to that situation.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman means by "everybody"—whom? Does the gentleman include others than the subcommittee that had charge of the bill?

Mr. SHERLEY. The situation was known in the House generally, and for my part I am perfectly willing to assume my part of the responsibility.

Mr. STAFFORD. I will accept the statement of the gentleman from Mississippi that there was such an understanding had with the District Commissioners, but I think it would have been better form to have provided in the resolution continuing the appropriations of the last appropriation bill an item that the salaries carried in the pending bill should be continued during the next fiscal year, as we did some years ago in continuing the appropriations of the Post Office appropriation bill, by providing an increase of salary for the rural mail carriers when that bill failed of passage. I called attention to this matter because I think it is exceptional practice to go back and vote salaries as of the first of the year. I was not acquainted with the fact that there was any private understanding——

Mr. SHERLEY. It was not a private understanding; there is no private understanding ever made by me as chairman of the Appropriations Committee with any department of the Government.

Mr. STAFFORD. Has there been any statement on the floor of the House in relation to this understanding? If so, I do not recall it.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am not positive of that fact, but it was understood as a matter of general knowledge.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am pretty well versed in the affairs which go on, and if it had been stated on the floor of the House I would not have arisen and called attention to the matter.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am willing to exempt the gentleman from any understanding of it—he may not have understood so—but I repeat that it was a matter of general understanding. I am quite sure that there was some newspaper comment in connec-

tion with it. It was simply the practical way of dealing with a concrete situation that had arisen; and if there had been no understanding, I still think it ought to be done.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am rising to make an inquiry as to the situation in good faith.

Mr. SHERLEY. And I am not objecting to the gentleman's inquiry.

Mr. STAFFORD. I had no knowledge of any understanding, private or otherwise, never heard of it in the Committee on Appropriations or on the floor, in connection with the various resolutions which have been presented by the gentleman from Mississippi extending the effect of the last District appropriation bill by reason of the snarl that the committee got into with reference to three items. If there had been any mention of it on the floor of the House, there would have been no necessity for my taking the floor.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am not objecting to the gentleman's inquiry.

Mr. STAFFORD. I want to say that, if there was any such understanding, I think it would have been better to have had some reference made to it on the floor of the House.

Mr. SHERLEY. Perhaps that is true; but if there was none made it was because of the belief that the situation was well understood.

Mr. STAFFORD. The District bill was under consideration several times, and no mention was made that the increase of salaries was going to be carried into effect as of the first of the year.

Mr. SISSON. Let me say to the gentleman that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS], the ranking Republican member of the committee, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MCANDREWS], the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GALLIVAN], and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. WOOD], all understood that we were going to ask that salaries should take effect from the 1st of July.

Mr. STAFFORD. Does not the gentleman think that when he presented the various resolutions, extending the appropriations of the prior fiscal year, he should have made some reference in the House to the fact that that was to be the policy?

Mr. SISSON. I want to state to the gentleman that there was a very good reason in our minds why we did not do that. We thought we would get a better opportunity to get an agreement out of the Senate on the disagreeing items by not agreeing to this and letting pressure be brought upon the Senate.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman's expectation failed upon that.

Mr. SISSON. It did not fail altogether.

Mr. STAFFORD. Upon the main item of the half-and-half principle, in which I was in entire sympathy with the gentleman, I withdraw the pro forma amendment.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word for the purpose of asking that the telegram which I send to the desk be read in my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

HOLYOKE, MASS., *October 16.*

Hon. ALLEN T. TREADWAY,
Washington, D. C.:

Please inform President Wilson that Deane Works, of Worthington Pump & Machinery Corporation, after going the limit and subscribing 100 per cent strong for $175,000, an average of $135 per employee, have enrolled an unconditional-surrender club of 71 members, each subscribing for one more bond. Above figures show how we feel about backing the boys to a victorious finish.

CHARLES L. NEWCOMB,
Manager Deane Works, Holyoke, Mass.

The Clerk read as follows:

1. The emergency shipping fund provision of the urgent deficiency appropriation act of June 15, 1917, as amended by the act of April 22, 1918 (Public Act, No. 138 of the 65th Cong.), is hereby amended, as follows.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I desire to submit a parliamentary inquiry, with the reservation of a point of order. The inquiry goes to the paragraphs, the first one of which has been read. Will we consider the item by paragraphs or by Titles I and II? We have just read lines 13 to 16 on page 3. Will that be considered a paragraph under the rule applying to appropriation bills? If so, I rise to make inquiries as to the purpose of this change in the law.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I suggest to the gentleman that as a matter of convenience each of the divisions can be considered separately. I shall undertake to explain the purpose of them, if the gentleman will permit the reading down to line 22, which will embrace the first paragraph.

Mr. STAFFORD. I should be very glad to do that, subject, of course, to the reservation of the point of order.

Mr. SHERLEY. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair thinks that each subdivision should be considered as a separate paragraph, and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

(I) In subdivision (d) of paragraph 1, to begin said subdivision and to precede the words "to requisition," are now inserted the words: "To acquire, construct, establish, or extend any plant, and in pursuance thereof to purchase, requisition, or otherwise acquire title to or use of land, improved or unimproved, or interests therein; and".

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the point of order on the two paragraphs which have just been read.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlemen withhold that for a moment so that I may be permitted to obtain some information in respect to this particular subdivision?

Mr. STAFFORD. Certainly.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I want to inquire wherein this increases the power of the Shipping Board?

Mr. SHERLEY. The language of the act creating the President's emergency shipping fund, in the opinion of the lawyers of the Shipping Board, seemed perhaps to be deficient in the power for the establishment of a plant and to be deficient in the power "to acquire title to the use of land improved or unimproved or interest therein," and inasmuch as we have been establishing plants, and inasmuch as we have been and it was desirable to acquire land, both improved and unimproved, it was felt that any legal question as to the power of the agents designated by the President under the act should be removed by this extension of language.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. There has been some doubt, then, as to the legality of their acquiring certain ground?

Mr. SHERLEY. There is a question as to whether any power existed for the acquiring of unimproved land or improved land that was not taken over directly as a shipbuilding plant. Personally, I have felt that the language which is in the existing law was broader than the doubt touching it seemed to imply, but it is a matter about which there ought not to be any doubt. For that reason, upon the representation of Mr. Whipple and Mr. Wehle, attorneys for the Shipping Board, this amendment is submitted to the House.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. My recollection is that the powers heretofore conferred were very comprehensive.

Mr. SHERLEY. They were. As to paragraph (d) the act now reads as follows:

To requisition and take over for use or operation by the United States any plant or any part thereof without taking possession of the entire plant, whether the United States has or has not any contract or agreement with the owner or occupier of such plant.

Subsequently there was legislation increasing the appropriation to the President, and in making that appropriation language was used that clearly indicates to my mind the intention of Congress that the President, through such agencies as he might employ, should have the power to establish plants; so that I think that the only question that is really involved in the way of the extension of power is the question of making clear the power to acquire title or use of land improved or unimproved. Then there was some question which the lawyers raised as to whether taking over for use or occupation by the United States meant taking over simply for use and occupation or taking over the title. In some instances they have needed to do one, and in some instances they have needed to do the other. They simply wanted to make clear the power beyond peradventure of acquiring these plants and establishing plants and extending them and acquiring land in connection with them.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is the gentleman satisfied in view of these increased or stronger powers, a tightening up of the situation, that owners of property and property rights are adequately protected in the matter of compensation?

Mr. SHERLEY. There is provision in the law as originally drawn, and it was afterwards unnecessarily reput in as an amendment to the law that was reported by the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, which carries the well-known provision about the fixing of a price, and if it be not agreeable to the owner of the property, the payment of 75 per cent of the price, leaving the owner to sue in the court for what additional sum he thought necessary.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. All those safeguards are maintained?

Mr. SHERLEY. Unquestionably. There is no intention in any way, of course, to take property without making provision for compensation.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

Mr. STAFFORD. I do not know whether the gentleman's especial attention has been called to the form of amendment adopted here, which follows in subsequent sections, but it is

rather new in amendatory language. Lines 17 to 19, page 3, read as follows:

(I) In subdivision (d) of paragraph 1, to begin said subdivision and to precede the words "to requisition," are now inserted the words—

And so forth.

That is rather novel. May I inquire who prepared this?

Mr. SHERLEY. It was prepared by the attorneys of the Shipping Board. I undertook to rephrase it, and to set out just the way the whole paragraph would read, but it meant to carry into the bill a page or two of language, and I felt that it would be clearer to the House if they understood just what language was being inserted, and then have such explanation made as might be desirable. I had printed just for my own information a sheet here that undertook to show the way this law will read as amended, and I will be glad if the gentleman is not clear about any paragraph to explain it. For instance, I will state now for the RECORD that this paragraph which is now proposed to be amended if amended in this form would read as follows:

To acquire, construct, establish, or extend any plant and any appurtenances thereof, to purchase, requisition, or otherwise acquire title to or use of land improved or unimproved or interest therein, and to requisition and take over for use or operation by the United States any plant or any part thereof without taking possession of the entire plant, whether the United States has or has not any contract or agreement with the owner or occupier of such plant.

Mr. STAFFORD. I quite agree with the construction placed by the learned attorney and chairman of the committee that it was hardly necessary to amplify the existing language, but of course we wish to make certain the powers to be conferred on this board, and if the attorneys for the board have any question, of course, perhaps, it would be better to amplify it in plainer language.

Mr. SHERLEY. The gentleman will appreciate that we have appropriated something like $4,000,000,000 to the President to be expended in the creation of a merchant marine. Now, with such huge sums involved and with very large expenditures running into the millions of dollars, I did not feel like I ought to leave any question as to these necessary powers, even though my own judgment might be that the language heretofore used was sufficient. We do not want unnecessary lawsuits. We are going to have enough as a result of the war without unnecessarily having them if we can clarify and make plain what is intended by everybody.

Mr. STAFFORD. I withdraw the reservation of the point of order.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

The committee informally rose; and Mr. LINTHICUM having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, a message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had disagreed to the amendments of the House of Representatives to the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 63) to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service, had asked a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. FLETCHER, Mr. OWEN, and Mr. TOWNSEND conferees on the part of the Senate.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

The committee resumed its session.

The Clerk read as follows:

(II) In subdivision (f) of said paragraph 1, after the words "or assume control of," are now inserted the words "or to extend, improve, or increase, or cause to be extended, improved, or increased."

Mr. SHERLEY. The purpose of that is this: It is to make valid beyond any question what has been the practice of the Shipping Board for some time past in connection with the problem of housing incident to these shipping plants. It has been found that relief could be had frequently by improving the transportation to the plant from homes where the workmen were, and that by increasing street railway and steam railway facilities the necessity for building additional houses was eliminated. Now, that improvement can take place, and it has usually taken place, by extensions of existing facilities—where the track is a single track frequently the doubling of it, putting in switches and increasing the number of cars and the schedules by which many men can be accommodated at points some distance from the plant who otherwise could not be accommodated—and if it were not done the Government would be called upon either to get along with less labor or else greatly increase the houses for the workers at these plants.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. There is nothing in the report about this subdivision, and that is the reason I asked the gentleman whether this subdivision (f) pertained only to transportation.

Mr. SHERLEY. Subdivision (f) reads as follows without the amendment. (f) was an amendment that was placed on the original act by a special bill reported from the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Relating to transportation?

Mr. SHERLEY. I am going to read it:

(f) To take possession of, lease, or assume control of any street railway, interurban railroad, or part thereof wherever operated, and all cars, appurtenances, and franchises or parts thereof commonly used in connection with the operation thereof necessary for the transfer and transportation of employees of shipyards or plants engaged or that may hereafter be engaged in the construction of ships or equipment therefor for the United States.

Now, that is the existing law. That as amended would read as follows:

To take possession of, lease, or assume control of.

Now comes the new language:

Or to extend, improve, or increase or cause to be extended, improved, or increased.

And then follows the language of the existing law.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That would mean if it was found necessary in order to move these workmen expeditiously to extend a road or put in a siding or make certain additions or increase of the service, the board would have power to do it?

Mr. SHERLEY. It means that, and, further, they have been doing just that thing. In order that there might be no question whether the language, "to take possession of, lease, or assume control of," permitted the right of extension of, they have asked this amendment.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. This is another case of having the law made plain?

Mr. SHERLEY. Made perfectly clear that the powers they have been exercising and that are necessary to be exercised shall be warranted by the letter of the law.

Mr. ANDERSON. The literal interpretation of this language would seem to give the Shipping Board the power to extend the franchise. Of course, that is not intended?

Mr. SHERLEY. The language as it fits into the existing law would not make that possible. I will read the whole language——

Mr. ANDERSON. I have it here.

Mr. SHERLEY. The way it will read now is this:

(f) To take possession of, lease, or assume control of or extend, improve, or increase, or cause to be extended, improved, or increased, any street railroad, interurban railroad, or part thereof wherever operated, and all cars, appurtenances, and franchises or parts thereof commonly used in connection with the operation thereof—

And so forth.

Now, the word "franchise" there applies to the case of taking possession of and using powers under existing franchises. Manifestly, Congress could not confer upon this or any other body the right to extend franchises of street railways within the States, and, in point of fact, there is no intention so to do. And this language could not be used to confer such a power. I am glad the gentleman speaks of the matter, in order that there may be this expression on the floor of the House.

Mr. ANDERSON. I think it ought to be perfectly clear.

Mr. SHERLEY. No such practice is being undertaken. In point of fact, they are not taking over the street railways at all. What they are doing is to help finance extensions and improvements in order to get the additional transportation.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is this amendment which the committee seeks to report mainly intended to authorize the Shipping Board to equip the existing street railways with additional facilities, rolling stock, and the like, so as to make them more serviceable in the transportation of men from the plants to their homes and from their homes to the plants?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; and sometimes the situation is brought about by the building of a switch and additional trackage, so as not to have cars delayed in passing.

Mr. STAFFORD. I do not believe that there is any authority in the Shipping Board at present to further increase their facilities in the purchase of cars, unless it was granted under the authority for the Shipping Board to finance these interurban corporations.

Mr. SHERLEY. Well, the gentleman will find there is a subsequent amendment looking to taking care of advances and loans in order to accomplish these purposes. In other words, instead of compelling the Government to build them or take them over and requisition them, what they have done—which is much more economical and satisfactory—is to loan the money or to finance things that they approve as necessary in order to increase their facilities.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have thought that instances would arise where they would be compelled to increase the rolling stock to such an extent to meet the exigent conditions of war time, and which would not be existent during peace times. I have in mind conditions in the great industrial territory south of Philadelphia. There is no question but what additional rolling

stock, more than necessary in peace times, is required in these abnormal war times, and I think this provision is partly for the purpose of authorizing the Shipping Board to provide additional rolling stock.

Mr. SHERLEY. That is true, except the way they have been providing, it has been to make loans to these corporations with the idea of enabling them thereby to improve their transportation systems.

The Clerk read as follows:

(III) After said subdivision (f) in said paragraph 1, a new subdivision is now inserted as follows:
"(g) In pursuance of the foregoing powers, or any of them, to make advance payments or loans of such amounts and upon such terms as the President may deem necessary and proper."

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the paragraph.

Mr. SHERLEY. That is what I alluded to a moment ago.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Pardon me a moment, if the gentleman pleases, but does this pertain to the same matter as the last subdivision?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; it not only pertains to that, but it pertains to all the powers that have been given to the President in connection with the expenditure of the shipping fund. And it provides they can obtain extensions to plants or in the way of railway systems or other facilities, by making loans as against the Government making the actual expenditures. Now, the result of that is very greatly to reduce the amount of moneys that the Government has to spend, and these loans are made upon securities sufficient to guarantee their repayment. They already have, under express provision, authority in regard to housing.

Mr. ANDERSON. Does this provision legalize the right to concur in many of these contracts in which loans are made or advances are made?

Mr. SHERLEY. It would legalize this: If the President saw fit to permit moneys to be loaned with provision for only their partial payment, this would authorize it. But it is not my understanding that any such practice is being indulged in by the Shipping Board in connection with these extensions. But that is simply my impression, and I would not like to state it as a fact.

Mr. ANDERSON. It is being done by several other bureaus of the Government.

Mr. SHERLEY. Not only is, but ought to be, and must be if you get things done. It is perfectly patent you can not get men to-day to undertake extensions of any plants at their own expense, with the superwar cost and with the risk of no continuing need after the war, unless the Government undertakes to bear part of the burden.

Mr. ANDERSON. I quite agree with the gentleman; but it does seem to me that a provision of this kind ought to be safeguarded a good deal more than I think this will be. It ought to come from the committee to whom legislation of this character ought to be referred.

Mr. SHERLEY. I will say to the gentleman that I will be delighted beyond expression if all the various legislative committees of the House will take care of all the matters that are brought to the Committee on Appropriations. I send them there repeatedly, and that is the end of them. Now, when matters of real emergency for the prosecution of the war are necessary the committee must act, and, in point of fact, this power originated in the Committee on Appropriations.

The power under which they are spending this money was power which was carried in a deficiency act passed in June, 1917, and it had nothing to do with the shipping act, which came from the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Personally I have no interest in the matter except to serve the Government, and if the gentleman thinks it ought to be delayed by going through the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, I shall not object.

Mr. ANDERSON. I do not think the gentleman should take that attitude. He ought to be here to give information, and be willing to give it.

Mr. SHERLEY. I have given it.

Mr. ANDERSON. I do not think he ought to criticize people who are asking for information.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am not. I am simply saying we are carrying it in this bill because of the circumstances. I tried to explain just what is involved. Now, the gentleman thinks it is not sufficiently circumscribed, and that it ought to be sent to another committee. If the House sees fit to do that, all right. I am not seeking to take power to the Committee on Appropriations in legislative matters.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I will withdraw the reservation of the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is withdrawn. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

(IV) In paragraph 8 of said provisions, after the word "shipyard," are now inserted the words "dry-dock, marine railway, pier." In said paragraph the words "or other facilities connected therewith" are stricken out and there are now inserted, after the word "terminal," the following words: "and any facilities or improvements connected with any of the foregoing descriptions of property."

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on that for the purpose of getting information.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois reserves a point of order.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, the reason for this was again an opinion of the lawyers, which I did not share, but which they urged with a good deal of insistence. The language now reads, in connection with the word "plant," as follows:

The word "plant" shall include any factory, workshop, warehouse, engine works, buildings used for manufacture, assembling, construction, or any process in shipyard, dry dock, marine railway, pier, or dockyard and discharging terminal, or other facilities connected therewith.

Now, the lawyers made two criticisms of that. One was that they had a question as to whether the word "shipyard" or "dockyard" embraced such things as dry dock, marine railway, or pier. To my mind they clearly do. The act, I think, was wisely drawn in generic terms, but they wanted to be sure, inasmuch as they are building dry docks and marine railways and piers, so that they made the insertion of the words after the word "shipyard."

Then, they had some question as to whether the words "other facilities connected therewith" qualified simply the language "discharging terminal" or whether they related to the shipyards or dockyards, and, not wanting to have any question about that, they suggested the striking out of the words "or other facilities connected therewith" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "or other facilities or improvements connected with any of the foregoing descriptions of property." The purpose of the amendment was to clarify the existing statute. I again say that in my judgment the amendment was not necessary.

Mr. MADDEN. Does the gentleman think it does clarify it?

Mr. SHERLEY. Well, I worked over it with these distinguished lawyers, and they seemed to think it made more clear the situation.

Mr. MADDEN. My thought was that it made it more complex, because it seems to me you eliminate the facilities that are connected with the dry dock or the railway or the pier or the terminal; and, eliminating that, of course you do not in my judgment include the facilities to which the term applied.

Mr. SHERLEY. Perhaps if I read the language as amended it would help to clarify it. The language would read as follows:

The word "plant" shall include any factory, workshop, warehouse, engine works, buildings used for manufacture, assembling or construction or any process in shipyard, dry dock, marine railway, pier, or dockyard and discharging terminal, or any facilities or improvements connected with any of the foregoing descriptions of property.

Mr. MADDEN. I think that covers the thing, and I suppose it would be considered that "other facilities connected therewith" would be surplusage.

Mr. SHERLEY. They thought that the words "other facilities connected therewith" now qualified simply a discharging terminal. What they wanted to do was to embrace facilities that pertain to shipyards or dry docks or dockyards or piers, or any of these other matters——

Mr. MADDEN. Or railroads——

Mr. SHERLEY. Or railroads; and for that reason they asked for the enlargement of power.

Mr. MADDEN. It ought to be. I thought at first it was rather restrictive, but after the reading of the language by the gentleman I think that covers it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I have read that the Shipping Board proposes to build certain dry docks. There is no doubt that they have started work on some piers. They have built piers. They have built marine railways. Does the gentleman know whether dry-dock work has actually been started in any instance?

Mr. SHERLEY. I think it has. The gentleman will note that immediately following this in the next section is a provision authorizing the acquisition or establishment of plants such as marine railways, dry docks, and so forth, to the extent of $34,662,500, and the hearings state very fully the places, the amounts, and what is contemplated to be done. On page 1335 of the hearings the gentleman will find a statement.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. What is the page, please?

Mr. SHERLEY. Page 1335.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Well, as a matter of fact, the board has been going ahead, doing work on dry docks, marine railways, and piers.

Mr. SHERLEY. Unquestionably.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Which will now be included in the law, so that there will be no question as to their authority to do this work?

Mr. SHERLEY. That is true. The gentleman will find lists set out as to executed dry-dock contracts, covering three pages.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The purpose, then, is not only to facilitate the work but to leave no question about the authority of the board to do it?

Mr. SHERLEY. It is to make it perfectly plain that the powers they are exercising were powers that were conferred.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. And warranted by law?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. I think possibly this matter has been brought to the gentleman's attention, but I wanted to ask him with reference to the unusual phraseology of these amendments. It seemed to me that it would be better if these amendments might be made in the manner in which it has been the custom to amend existing legislation. It says the words are stricken out and they are now inserted, and so forth.

Mr. SHERLEY. I explained a few moments ago——

Mr. WALSH. I am sorry I was not here.

Mr. SHERLEY. I undertook to present it so that the law would appear as it is proposed to be amended; but in order to do that it would have been necessary to print a couple of pages of the old law as revised, and I thought that the changes were sufficiently plain so that I could indicate, as I have endeavored to, just what the meaning was. In each instance I have undertaken to set out in the RECORD exactly the way the law would read as amended. I have here a print giving the law as it would be as amended.

Mr. WALSH. I came in just as the gentleman was reading that, and I did not know what question brought out his response. But may I direct the gentleman's attention to this? In line 10, page 4, if you strike out the words "are now inserted" and insert in place thereof the word "insert," so that it will read—

> In paragraph 8 of said provisions, after the word "shipyards," insert the words "dry-dock, marine railway, pier"—

That would make it perfectly clear. The point I make is that I am afraid to use the phraseology "are now inserted" might lead to some doubt in case of interpretation of the legislation by the courts. I just wanted to get the gentleman's idea.

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not think there would be any question about it. If you do that, you have got to rearrange the paragraph. For instance, following that you will come to the language:

> In said paragraph the words "or other facilities connected therewith" are stricken out and there are now inserted, after the word "terminal," the following words: "and any facilities or improvements connected with any of the foregoing descriptions of property."

You would have to rearrange it so that it would read:

> In said paragraph strike out the words "or other facilities connected therewith" and insert, after the word "terminal," the words "and any facilities or improvements connected with any of the foregoing descriptions of property."

Mr. WALSH. I know the gentleman has given careful consideration to the matter, and I just wanted to be sure that it would not lead to any doubt as to the meaning of the language.

Mr. SHERLEY. I think not; and in order to safeguard it I have read into the RECORD the way the provision that is being amended will read as amended.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] withdraw his point of order?

Mr. MADDEN. I withdraw it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is withdrawn, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY], chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, answering a question a few minutes ago, called attention to a list of dry-dock contracts to be found on page 1337 of the hearings. As it is not likely that these hearings will be read outside of Congress, I think it is rather important to put in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a brief summary of the contracts as they are set forth in this statement. Mr. Piez, of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, was on the stand, and in response to the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY], he put in the following data as to executed dry-dock contracts. I shall read only the names of the companies, the location of the dock, and the estimated cost of the dock. That will be sufficient information for the present.

Mr. SHERLEY. I suggest that the gentleman simply put into the RECORD the entire table not only as to dry docks but the one that follows, as to marine railway contracts.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I shall be glad to do that. I ask permission to have that done, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by inserting the table referred to. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The table referred to is as follows:

Data as to executed dry-dock contracts.

No. of contracts.	Name of company and location of dock.	Work to be done.	Estimated cost.	Investment of contractor.	Amount of loan.	Final payment when due.	Security.		Write off.
							Bond and mortgage.	Other security.	
1	Alabama Dry Dock & Shipbuilding Co., Mobile, Ala.	Wooden floating dock of 10,000 tons.	$500,000	Contractor furnishes site.	Actual cost.....	4 years after maturity date.	Bond of company and first mortgage on dry dock and on substantial portion of adjacent site.	Docking charges against vessels owned by the United States credited upon payment of loan.	Absolute write off of from 33⅓ to 38⅓ per cent, according to when maturity date occurs.
2	(Superseded by contract No. 6.)								
3	Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation (Ltd.), Sparrows Point, Md.	Completion of 20,000-ton floating dock steel wings, wooden pontoons.	2,300,000	Site and cost in excess of sums loaned.	Cost up to $1,250,000.	Note.—This loan repayable in five equal annual installments, commencing Dec. 31, 1918.	Bond of company and first mortgage on floating dry dock.	Guaranty of Bethlehem Steel Corporation.	None.
4	Beaumont Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co., Beaumont, Tex.	Wooden floating dock capacity, 8,000 tons.	450,000	Contractor furnishes site and cost in excess of amount loaned.	75 per cent of cost up to but not exceeding $350,000.	4 years after maturity date.	Bond of company and first mortgage on floating dry dock and site.	Docking charges against vessels owned by the United States credited upon payment of loan.	Absolute write off of 25½ to 33⅓ per cent, depending upon date of final payment.
5	Galveston Dry Dock & Construction Co., Galveston, Tex.	Wood and steel floating dock, 10,000 tons.	761,319	Site furnished by contractor and cost in excess of amount loaned.	80 per cent of cost not to exceed $675,000.	.....do.....	Bond of company and first mortgage on lease hold interest and on dry-dock building and improvements.	.....do.....	Absolute write off of 40 per cent.
6	(Superseded by contracts Nos. 8 and 9.)								
7	Jahncke Shipbuilding Co. (Inc.), New Orleans, La.	Wood and steel floating dock, 10,000 tons.	770,000	Repair plant, site, and cost in excess of loan.	Cost up to $700,000.	5 years after maturity date.	Bond of borrower and first mortgage on site, on dry dock, and on repair plant.	75 per cent net earnings of dry dock and repair plant applied against payment of loan.	Contingent allowance not to exceed 30 per cent cost floating portion dry dock nor in any event $210,000.

Data as to executed dry-dock contracts—Continued.

No. of contracts.	Name of company and location of dock.	Work to be done.	Estimated cost.	Investment of contractor.	Amount of loan.	Final payment when due.	Security.		Write off.
							Bond and mortgage.	Other security.	
8	Terry & Brittain, Jacksonville, Fla.	Construction of dry dock 6,000 tons, marine railway 2,500 tons, and repair plant.	$775,000	Site and cost in excess of amount loaned.	Cost not exceeding $672,000.	10 years after maturity date.	Bond executed by both Terry & Brittain first mortgage upon dry dock, repair plant, and leasehold.	50 per cent of net earnings of dry dock, marine railway, and repair plant.	Contingent allowance not to exceed 30 per cent cost floating portion dry dock not exceeding $123,000.
9	Terry & Brittain, Savannah, Ga.	Wooden floating dry dock 8,000 tons and repair plant.	589,000	Contractor furnished site and cost in excess of amount loaned.	Cost not exceeding $577,000.	.....do.....	Bond executed by both Terry & Brittain mortgage on dry dock, repair plant, and site.	50 per cent of net earnings of dry dock and repair plant applied to repayment of loan.	Absolute allowance of 40 per cent of cost of floating portion of dock not exceeding $209,000.

Data as to executed marine railway contracts.

No. of contract.	Name of company and location of railway.	Work to be done.	Investment of contractor.	Amount of loan.	Final payment when due.	Security.	
						Bond and mortage.	Other security.
1	Henderson Shipbuilding Co. (Inc.), Mobile, Ala.	2,500-ton wooden marine railway.	Contractor furnishes site and steam power and defrays cost in excess of amount loaned.	Cost up to $100,000.	3 years after maturity date.	Bond of company and first mortgage on railway and site.	Docking charges against vessels owned by United States may be credited on repayment of loan.
2	Newcomb Lifeboat Co., Hampton, Va.	2,500-ton marine railway.	Contractor defrays cost in excess of amount loaned, and furnishes all necessary lumber and piling.	.....do.....	2 years after maturity date.	Bond of contractor and first mortgage upon railway and site.	Do.
3	Crowninshield Shipbuilding Co., Somerset, Mass.	.....do.....	Contractor furnishes site and defrays cost of excavating and dredging and cost in excess of amount loaned.	.....do.....	3 years after maturity date. (Note.—$10,000 is to be paid 6 months after completion of dock.)	Note of contractor and first mortgage upon railway and substantial part of contractor's plant.	Do.
4	Beaumont Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co., Beaumont, Tex.	.....do.....	.....	.....	No money loaned.....	.....	
5	Cumberland Shipbuilding Co., Portland, Me.	.....do.....	Contractor furnishes site and defrays cost in excess of amount loaned and cost of dredging and grading.	.....do.....	5 years after maturity date.	Bond of contractor and first mortgage on railway site and substantial portion of contractor's plant.	Do.
6	Tampa Dock Co., Tampa, Fla.	.....do.....	Contractor furnishes site and agrees to build a machine shop at its own expense and bears at its own expense cost of dredging and piling and any other cost in excess of amount loaned.	.....do.....	3 years after maturity date.	Bond of contractor and first mortgage upon railway, machine shop, and site.	
7	Federal Marine Ry. Co., Savannah, Ga.	.....do.....	Contractor furnishes site, complete siding, and defrays cost in excess of amount loaned.	.....do.....	.....do.....	Bond of company secured by first mortgage on railway, site, and substantial portions of adjacent land.	Guarantee of R. S. Salas; also docking charges against vessels owned by United States may be credited upon repayment of loan.
8	Terry & Brittain, Jacksonville, Fla.	.....do.....	(See dry-dock contract No. 8.)	.....	.....	.....	
0 9, 1	Barnes & Tibbetts Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co., Alameda, Cal.	Complete one 4,000-ton railway; construct one 2,500-ton railway.	Contractor furnishes site and defrays cost in excess of the moneys loaned by the Fleet Corporation; amount invested by contractor exclusive of site to be not less than $25,000.	Cost up to $110,000.	3 years after maturity date.	Bond of contractor and mortgage on shipyard and railway subject only to prior mortgage of $35,000; equity of contractor, not including new construction work, estimated to be at least $500,000.	50 per cent of net earnings of railway and repair plant.
1	None.....						
12 1	American Dredging Co., Camden, N. J.	2,000-ton marine railway.	.....	.....	No money loaned.....	.....	

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Meanwhile, and not necessarily because the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] made a political speech a while ago in which he referred to "the millions and millions" that "somebody" was pouring into certain political campaigns but because I think it would be interesting information to him as a student of these financial questions, I shall read off hurriedly this list of Government contracts that have been going into certain sections of the country. While they are not in the nature of slush funds, of course, and are only for patriotic purposes, they are highly important locally.

Mr. HEFLIN. Does the gentleman propose to read a lesson of instruction to the gentleman from Alabama? Is it something that the gentleman is going to give out himself?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. No; I was going to put it into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, because I thought it might be highly beneficial to the gentleman in his study of these political and financial questions.

Contract No. 1, Alabama Dry Dock & Shipbuilding Co., Mobile, Ala., estimated cost $560,000.

Contract No. 2 (superseded by contract No. 6).

Contract No. 3, Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation (Ltd.), Sparrows Point, Md., estimated cost $2,300,000.

Contract No. 4, Beaumont Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co., Beaumont, Tex., estimated cost $450,000.

Contract No. 5, Galveston Dry Dock & Construction Co., Galveston, Tex., estimated cost $761,319.

Contract No. 6 (superseded by contracts Nos. 8 and 9).

Contract No. 7, Jahncke Shipbuilding Co. (Inc.), New Orleans, La., estimated cost $770,000.

Contract No. 8, Terry & Brittain, Jacksonville, Fla., estimated cost $775,000.

Contract No. 9, Terry & Brittain, Savannah, Ga., estimated cost $589,000.

Now, as to the marine railway contracts, perhaps I ought to put them in just here.

Mr. HEFLIN. Will the gentleman from Pennsylvania yield?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HEFLIN. I will ask the gentleman if he does not know that more money is expended in his district for war purposes than all the items that he has read for these southern States?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. No; I do not know that, and I question very much if that is the fact.

Mr. HEFLIN. I will furnish the information to the gentleman.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. If the gentleman, in his study of financial subjects, will put these figures in the RECORD, I will circulate them in my district, because it would be very interesting to the people there to know it.

Mr. HEFLIN. I will give the gentleman the statistics for all the States in a few days, which will show that ten, fifteen, and twenty times more money is being spent in each northern State than in any southern State, and more in the gentleman's own State than in all the southern States.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That would be very complimentary to "the gentleman from Pennsylvania," but I question whether the compliment the gentleman from Alabama pays to "the gentleman from Pennsylvania" is well bestowed.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. But it is complimentary to the gentleman from Alabama to have it known that while he makes beautiful speeches here reflecting on the Republican Party and charging enormous slush funds, and things of that kind, from the days of Ballinger down, the gentleman himself has had his hands in the trough and yanked a few contracts down to Alabama. It is one of those peculiar political phenomena worth considering when the gentleman gets on his feet and makes speeches in defense of the administration. I hope the gentleman will listen, because this is interesting to him, and it ought to be interesting to his people. It is sort of an answer to the charges the gentleman has made:

Henderson Shipbuilding Co., Mobile, Ala., cost $100,000.

Newcomb Lifeboat Co., Hampton, Va., estimated cost $100,000.

Crowninshield Shipbuilding Co., Somerset, Mass., estimated cost $100,000.

Beaumont Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co., Beaumont, Tex.

Cumberland Shipbuilding Co., Portland, Me., a similar estimate.

Tampa Dock Co., Tampa, Fla., a similar estimate.

Federal Marine Railway Co., Savannah, Ga., a similar estimate.

Terry & Brittain, Jackson, Fla., a similar estimate.

Barnes & Tibbetts Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co., Alameda, Cal., estimated cost $110,000.

American Dredging Co., Camden, N. J., which is opposite the district of "the gentleman from Pennsylvania," no money loaned.

So, for the purpose of the record, it is well to have people understand that while we are all intensely patriotic, the gentleman from Alabama simply topping the climax when it comes to intensive and vociferous patriotism, the gentleman is still reaching down into the trough for the benefit of his own State and getting something out of it. Perhaps it is not well for gentlemen who live in glass houses to throw stones, but whether this advice will be followed by the gentleman from Alabama I do not know. Let him have the credit and glory of getting something for his district, now that he is in power and stands pat at the White House gate. [Laughter on the Republican side.]

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas asks unanimous consent to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I do not care either to invoke or take part in the controversy between Members of the House, but I think we ought to keep the record straight as we go along. Now, the trouble with my genial friend from Pennsylvania is that he looked at only one table in connection with the contracts that are executed. If he will turn to pages 1331 and 1332 of the hearings he will find a statement of the proposed contracts which totals $34,662,500, and they are divided as follows:

Proposed construction.

One 10,000-ton dry dock at Portland, Me	$2,100,000
One dry dock at Portsmouth, N. H.	900,000
(Boston, Mass.), bonus for the completion of the Commonwealth dock	250,000
Three 10,000-ton floating dry docks	6,500,000
Three 3,200-ton marine railways to be located at Providence, R. I.; Seattle, Wash.; and Astoria, Oreg.	760,000
One 10,000-ton dry dock at Fall River, New London, or Providence	2,100,000
Ten dry docks—New York Harbor, 10,000 to 20,000 ton capacities	25,000,000
Three 10,000-ton floating dry docks at Philadelphia	10,000,000

[Applause and laughter on the Democratic side.]

One 10,000-ton dry dock at Baltimore, Md.	2,100,000
One 10,000-ton floating dry dock, Norfolk Harbor	2,100,000
Financial assistance for completion of 7,500-ton dock, Charleston, S. C.	300,000
One 5,000-ton floating dry dock, Pensacola, Fla.	350,000

That makes a total of $52,460,000, and less the available balance of $17,797,500 leaves $34,662,500 that is being carried in this bill.

Then as to the actual or estimated commitments for marine railways the gentleman will find a list totaling $878,500, and they are at various places along the coast.

I want to say this seriously, aside from the pleasantries exchanged which take place from time to time on the floor, that the dry docks are being located at these places where the shipping warrants their being placed. They are not being placed either North or South because it is North or South, and no appropriation has ever been made by the Committee on Appropriations while I have been a member of the committee that have been predicated upon geographical considerations from a political sense. The committee does not consider these matters, and the departments, in spending these huge sums of money, do not consider it. It so happens that a very large proportion of the money is spent north of Mason and Dixon's line, and that follows simply because of the fact that a great portion of the commercial industrial development of the country is now north of Mason and Dixon's line, and it has not been to play politics one way or the other. I think the country ought to understand and appreciate that while we occasionally have a little fun with each other, the Congress of the United States and the departments have forgotten geographical positions in the political sense of the term. [Applause.]

The Clerk read as follows:

3. The United States Shipping Board shall not require payment from the War Department for the charter hire of vessels furnished or to be furnished from July 1, 1918, to June 30, 1919, inclusive, for the use of that department when such vessels are owned by the United States Government.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the point of order on that. I would like very much to have the chairman of the committee explain why it was thought wise to forego the charge by the Shipping Board to the War Department. Of course, I realize that it all comes out of the Treasury of the United States.

Mr. SHERLEY. That was the major reason. There were submitted as estimates in connection with the transportation of the Army an estimate for the pay of charter hire for all the vessels that would be used by the Army in connection with the transportation of troops and supplies. As to those vessels which the Government does not own, of course, we must repay the United States Shipping Board for the charter hire that it has to pay, but it did not seem to the committee wise in this day of tremendous appropriations to have to appropriate for the Army to pay to the Shipping Board, and it simply involved unnecessary bookkeeping and unnecessary appropriations, and as a result of that and a revision of the whole cost of charter hire there has been a reduction of about 189 million and odd dollars made in the estimates under the head of transportation of the Army.

Mr. MADDEN. I was not here yesterday when the gentleman explained the bill, and I see that his remarks are not yet printed.

Mr. SHERLEY. The gentleman will appreciate that I have not had a chance to revise my figures, and I wanted to be absolutely accurate.

Mr. MADDEN. If it is not inconsistent with the public policy to answer this, if the gentleman can tell, I would like to know what the cost per capita of this transport is where our men sail on foreign-owned ships.

Mr. SHERLEY. The charter hire, where we charter a ship, averages about $9.20 a dead-weight ton. That includes the ship

with its crew and officers. The allied steamers chartered average about $11 a ton, and the American steamships, which were requisitioned and which includes the naked ship without a crew and officers, is $5.64 a dead-weight ton.

Mr. MADDEN. What does that make the individual passenger cost?

Mr. SHERLEY. I have no computation on that. I doubt if it could be obtained without a pretty elaborate calculation, because many ships have a dead-weight ton capacity and a passenger-carrying capacity very much different from what another ship of the same dead-weight ton capacity would have, due somewhat to construction.

Mr. MADDEN. I think it would be interesting if these figures could be compiled, because I know there is a feeling in many quarters throughout the country that we are paying a good deal more for the transportation of our troops to the allied nations who are furnishing ships than they are justified in charging. I would not undertake to say that that is true, but there is a general feeling that it is true.

Mr. SHERLEY. This is true. The impression which existed in some quarters that we were getting ships furnished free by some of our allies for the movement of our troops or supplies is not warranted. I think there was one ship from a South American nation that was furnished to the United States Government for one or more trips free of charge, but with that exception we are paying for all of the tonnage that we use.

Mr. MADDEN. Of course we could not expect to get it free, and ought not to.

Mr. SHERLEY. I understand we could not; but I simply wanted to make that statement in view of the impression that was in the minds of some that our allies were bearing the burden of transporting our troops. They have been very generous in the giving over to us ships for that use, and of course that has meant, necessarily, the curtailment of ships used in their commercial trade on routes that have been long established. It was only what was to be expected, however, from allies who were cooperating with us in using the united forces of all nations in the prosecution of the war.

Mr. MADDEN. I heard it said—whether there is any truth in it or not, and whether it is proper for me to make the statement for the RECORD I would not undertake to say; and if it is not true I would not want it to go into the RECORD—that the charge made by Great Britain for the transportation of our soldiers averages $150 per man for carrying them across. I do not know a thing about the truth of that, but those who told me claimed they have knowledge of the facts. If any such charge is being made, I think it is excessive and our Government ought not to permit it.

Mr. SHERLEY. If the gentleman will permit, I have no knowledge whatever about that; but I question whether anyone is in a position to make a statement of that kind upon anything other than wild speculation, because the ships are not used on the basis of per capita cost of transportation.

Mr. MADDEN. No; but it would figure up.

Mr. SHERLEY. But there are so many varying factors in regard to each ship that I question very much whether anybody has figured it out.

Mr. MADDEN. I think it would be an interesting tabulation and ought to be figured up.

Mr. SHERLEY. I have no information about it. It did not occur to me to make that particular inquiry at the time the matter was under consideration.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the point of order.

The Clerk read as follows:

WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD.

For expenses of the War Industries Board, including personal and other services in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, rent of offices and grounds, traveling expenses, per diem in lieu of subsistence not exceeding $4, supplies and equipment, law books, books of reference, periodicals, newspapers, repair and upkeep of buildings, and printing and binding, $2,000,000.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania and Mr. WALSH rose.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania is recognized.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Will the gentleman from Kentucky make a statement as to the personal services provided for in this item, which includes traveling expenses, rent, etc., running up to $2,000,000. This is the board of which Mr. Baruch is chairman?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It is what has resulted from the old Council of National Defense?

Mr. SHERLEY. No; it is simply what was a part of the Council of National Defense. It was carved out of it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It grows out of the Council of National Defense?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The head of it is Mr. Baruch?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It is the real center of the entire system with regard to distribution of supplies, labor, and so forth. May I ask whether the members of the War Industries Board are paid a salary?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; I think a few of them are, but I can not give the gentleman that exact fact. They asked for a total sum of $3,765,825, and they had divided it under various heads in connection with the salaries of the employees attendant upon the members of the board, on the price-fixing committee, on the administration, and the various committees that are operating under this War Industries Board.

There is no possible way by which we could determine absolutely just what moneys were needed. All of this money is practically for the payment of salaries of employees, with the exception of that which goes to a limited extent for printing, stationery, furniture, and other equipment.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The board is divided up into departments according to the business, occupations, or industries, and very many men who are prominent in those industries are here in Washington a great deal of their time in conjunction with the board. They are given credit for patriotic and self-sacrificing work.

Mr. SHERLEY. There are 243 of those men who draw $1 a year.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. This has come now to be a permanent institution. They started out as $1 a year men on patriotic lines and they were enthusiastic in offering their services to the Government. I want to know whether we continue to pay them only $1 a year or whether now, by reason of the War Industries Board having come to be a permanent institution, those men are still devoting their services to the Government and the War Industries Board substantially without compensation?

Mr. SHERLEY. Two hundred and forty-three of them are. If the gentleman will turn to page 1097 of the hearings, he will find the number of employees and the salaries that are being paid. On page 1098 he will find the salaries according to the character of occupation of the employees.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Let me ask the gentleman a plain question. Does Mr. Baruch derive any compensation from the Government?

Mr. SHERLEY. I think not. I have no doubt Mr. Baruch actually spends considerable money out of his own pocket and he himself gets no salary or compensation of any kind.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. He is here necessarily most of his time, and probably has given up all other business. Mr. Baruch is a very wealthy man, because it was reported only recently that he very patriotically subscribed for $1,000,000 worth of the fourth liberty loan, a very creditable thing for him to do. I would like to know whether such men are expected to stay here in Washington throughout the year, as Mr. Baruch is doing, without receiving any compensation whatever?

Mr. SHERLEY. I doubt if Mr. Baruch would accept any compensation, and I suspect that is true as to a considerable number of these other 243 men. There are a number of experts who are being paid salaries somewhat commensurate with their value, not what they would get commercially but a living value, and the gentlemen will find that set out. I want to say this touching the general work of the War Industries Board. The wisdom or lack of wisdom with which that board performs its functions will have more to do with the real production of this country in the way of war material than any other single agency in the Government. Its work is of the very first magnitude and can not be exaggerated in its importance. It is a great work. To-day they are being required to say to private industry, "You shall curtail your industry to a certain extent." They are also saying to private industry, "You shall stabilize your prices and ask only a certain maximum price." They have done that recently in regard to shoes by the elimination of many unnecessary styles and the standardizing of the different prices of shoes and fixing the price, and they have made it possible for the shoe industry to continue to manufacture at a reasonable profit and yet supply to the country shoes at very much less retail than under the old competitive condition in which each manufacturer had to make many more different styles than there was any real need for and which if he did not make he would suffer by virtue of the competition of other manufacturers who did. Now, that is a fair sample of much of the work that has come more and more within the domain of the War Industries Board. Then, as the gentleman well knows, all priorities in connection with Government work must be cleared through the

War Industries Board, both as to raw material and many finished articles which go to make the raw material of some other article.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr Chairman, I appreciate the force of what the gentleman says. I think he has made a correct analysis of the work of this board and of its usefulness, but my inquiry was directed with a view of ascertaining how many men still devote their services to the Government for nothing, and he has answered by giving the figures——

Mr. SHERLEY. Two hundred and forty-three.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. These men are more or less interested, many of them, in the particular lines of industry they are called to sit in judgment upon as representatives of the War Industries Board. Complaints have come to me from many people who are interested in one line of business or another with respect to the manner in which they are obliged to go to their competitors to obtain a judgment from the War Industries Board. That is to say, a man who may be an importer in a certain line of business——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. A man who may be an importer and who desires certain information with regard to his particular line of business finds upon inquiry of the War Industries Board that the whole matter, which is vital to him and may also be vital to the Nation, is intrusted to his chief competitor, and that if he has any business secrets he must reveal them to his competitor who holds this position with the Government at a nominal consideration. It has occurred to me that it might be well for this Nation to pay its officers, even on the War Industries Board, so that it could have a check upon them and might at least know that the industry was getting a fair deal. I assume we do not want to crush business competition.

Mr. SHERLEY. In answer to that, I will say to the gentleman this, expressing simply my own thoughts, that I do not believe that the paying of any salaries to these men of high place is going to insure in any degree their honor. Unless a man is a man of honesty in the first instance, the paying to him of $15,000 salary or $25,000 salary is not going to have any effect. The only other remedy to prevent the situation that he complains of—and I am not admitting it is not the usual situation, but I think it will be found the exception rather than the rule—would be to obtain men who had the requisite information and were not engaged in any way in commercial life, and that is very much easier proposed than done. You are more or less bound to take men who are leaders in the trades that they are dealing with if you are to get that information which is a necessary predicate for action and judgment.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Inasmuch as I think there is still time, let me ask the gentleman this: The last provision in this bill contemplates the appointment of a "war salvage commission" of seven men, to be appointed by the President, whose salaries are not to exceed $10,000 per annum. If we can get 234 patriotic men who are willing to serve in the War Industries Board for nothing—although many people suggest that their interest in their particular lines of business may be of some concern to them—why can not we get seven men to serve on this war salvage commission who are equally patriotic with the men in the War Insdustries Board?

Mr. SHERLEY. We could, and for that reason, when I read that, I avoided the payment of $10,000 salary.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I would not want them to serve for a dollar a year.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am not going to admit, myself, that I can make a man honest, whom I entrust with responsibilities that run into the millions and maybe the billions, by paying him $10,000 a year. He is going to be honest because he is honest, or he is going to be dishonest because he is dishonest, and not because of the $10,000. It is too small to count as a factor, but the reason that I provided for a compensation of $10,000, if necessary, is this: There are men in the country who are men of high intelligence and ability and who have the means to serve for nothing, and I did not want to exclude such men.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

I think I might perform some services to my Government that are of value. I trust I am doing it now, but it so happens that I would not be able to do it unless I received some compensation.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. SHERLEY. And that is true of a good many of us.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will place the gentleman's ability, his integrity, and his patriotism against that of any man in the War Industries Board who is serving for a dollar a year. For that reason I would not prejudice the right of such gentlemen as he to serve on that board. We would do so if we permitted to serve only those who are willing to serve for nothing.

Mr. SHERLEY. Nobody is prohibited from paying salaries to members on the War Industries Board, and, in point of fact, they are paying salaries to some men whose circumstances make it necessary.

Mr. KREIDER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. KREIDER. Will the gentleman explain how these dollar-a-year men came to serve on this board?

Mr. STAFFORD. Before the gentleman answers that question, will he permit me to ask——

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman from Kentucky yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman permit me to ask the chairman of the committee a question?

Mr. SHERLEY. I will yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin in a moment.

I will answer the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KREIDER] by saying they are appointed by the President. Mr. Baruch was appointed by the President under the act, as I recall it. I have not gone into the matter for some months, but at the time the Council for National Defense was formed it was provided it should consist of certain Cabinet officers, and that then under them there might be such subsidiary committees and commissions as were thought desirable. I say "appointed by the President." I do not think that he undertakes in each instance to pick out the individual man, but men in whom he has confidence in working out the constantly changing and growing problems suggest men for that particular work. The committee did not go into the matter at this time because we could not go into it.

Mr. KREIDER. I am not criticizing——

Mr. SHERLEY. I understand.

Mr. KREIDER. I am simply asking for information.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am explaining why I can not give the gentleman quite the information I would like to give. My impression is that the men who are engaged in this work are men who have all met with the approval of the President or those gentlemen in his counsel whom he trusts.

Mr. KREIDER. I wish to say that I have been approached by at least one man, and he asked me this question that I have propounded to the gentleman from Kentucky, and I was unable to answer him. That is the reason why I wanted to know.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman from Kentucky yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

Mr. STAFFORD. Before the question was propounded by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, the chairman of the committee was discussing the question of the salary of the members of the salvage commission. I wish to direct an inquiry to the gentelman as to whether he has considered fixing the salaries of the members of this commission on a per diem basis for the days they serve in doing this work?

Mr. SHERLEY. I did not; and for this reason: I believe that any man who is put on that commission ought to be prepared to give all his time to it. It is a big enough job to engage the entire attention of the ablest men that exist to-day anywhere.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman will permit, the thought occurred to me that the character of men we should have should be men of great business ability, heads of great manufacturing establishments, who are to-day receiving, maybe, $100,000 a year as salary, and who would be only too glad, like these dollar-a-year men are, to give sufficient time to the great problems connected with the salvage of Government establishments, and yet would not be willing to and could not give their entire time to that work; and to award them a compensation as we do in other instances of $25 a day would tend to make them perfectly willing to do this service.

For instance, Mr. John Dodge, of Dodge Bros., is recognized everywhere as one of the great industrial leaders of the country. He might be only too glad to serve and give his best thought and study to the great problems that will come before the salvage commission, and yet, if he were paid a year's

salary, it might preclude him from serving, as an annual salary presupposes that he was to give all of his time to the work, and he could not give all of his time to it by reason of his present responsible business engagements.

Mr. SHERLEY. The provision does not require the payment of $10,000. It does not even require the payment of the same amount to different individuals. It simply provides that they shall not be paid more than $10,000 a year.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman realizes that under the form of the phraseology all these civilian commissioners will get the same salary?

Mr. SHERLEY. I hope not, because I think some of them ought not to receive the same salary as others.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin moves to strike out the last two words.

Mr. STAFFORD. While the subject is under consideration I merely wish to advance this thought: I know the gentleman from Kentucky has given it much more thought than I have, although since it was proposed before the general committee I have been revolving it in my mind. I think this work will require the very highest order of business ability, and the men you wish to obtain are men who are now engaged in the management of large industrial enterprises; not the cast-offs and the business scraps of industry, but big men receiving $50,000 and $100,000 a year salary. They are perfectly willing to serve and study at night, and make examination of these sites, and make hurried trips, at whatever compensation the Government sees fit to pay. If you make the maximum salary $10,000 you are not going to get, in my opinion, that character of men, and that is the character of men we should obtain. By paying them a per diem salary you do not foreclose them from accepting, but fix a yearly salary and they are precluded because these other engagements prevent them from giving all their time to this work.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

For employees in the Department of State, $136,000: *Provided*, That not more than six persons shall be employed hereunder at a rate of compensation exceeding $1,800 per annum.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. STAFFORD. In the legislative appropriation bill for the present fiscal year we granted to the Secretary of State a considerably increased amount for clerical services which he had not been previously authorized to have, namely, $200,000. Now, we have here an additional appropriation. That $200,000 was in addition to the appropriations to his regular statutory force and temporary employees, the latter carrying, respectively, $54,000 and $73,000, which have been carried the last several years.

I wish to inquire what is the special need of giving him an additional appropriation of $136,000 so shortly after the Secretary of State came before the committee in the preparation of the legislative appropriation bill? When we prepared the legislative appropriation bill the war was at its peak. We granted to him all, or nearly all, I believe, that he asked for additional clerical services. We have been voting to this department thousands and thousands of dollars right along for additional clerical services. What is the occasion now of voting $136,000 more for the remainder of the fiscal year?

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. I will say to the gentleman that this appropriation does not contemplate increasing the force now employed in the Department of State. In other words, it does not provide for any additional clerks, but it simply is to enable the State Department to take care of the force that it now has employed. The gentleman will notice that it does not provide for an increase of pay of any clerks, and the same limitation is put upon this appropriation as was carried on the original appropriation.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman will permit, in that particular I make a different construction of the present provision from that which the gentleman has just made. Under the existing legislative bill there is a limitation that out of the $200,000 not more than six persons shall be employed at a rate of compensation exceeding $1,800 a year. Now, you make an appropriation of $136,000 and enact the same provision. I take it that under this appropriation of $136,000 he could employ six additional persons at salaries above $1,800 per annum.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. No. This provision here is simply intended to carry along the six persons who were employed on the original appropriation at salaries exceeding $1,800, and it is not contemplated by the State Department to pay anyone out of this sum, or the original sum, more than $1,800, with the exception of the six persons.

Mr. STAFFORD. I notice, in just glancing over the hearings, that the gentleman was present when this item was under consideration before the subcommittee, and I wish to inquire for what purposes are these large sums to be used? I have glanced over it, not reading it as carefully as I should, but it gives the impression that the State Department wants this additional amount for the employment of economists and other expert employees to study conditions leading up to the preparation of peace terms.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. No; I will say to the gentleman that this particular appropriation, as explained by the State Department, is not to be used for the employment of experts such as economists.

Mr. STAFFORD. On page 832 I find this colloquy:

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Just what will you need men of these qualifications for—

Referring to the question answered previously as to there being economists and men of that type.

Mr. Carr says:

Because in the work of preparing for the peace conference, post-war commerce, treaty revision, and examination of claims there must be made a number of studies of economic conditions, political conditions, and legal questions that can not be made by the ordinary clerk. We have to have men of more ability for that kind of work; also men who can take charge of the handling of correspondence, and the direction of action upon it, and so on.

Mr. MONDELL. Has the gentleman noted on page 836, beginning near the top of the page, the questions that I asked Mr. Carr? I think my questions and Mr. Carr's answers make it very clear that the amount which we have granted to the department simply provides for the force they now have; but it will give them authority to grant larger salaries to some six clerks.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then the gentleman from Wyoming takes a different position, in construing this paragraph, to that of the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. I do not so understand.

Mr. MONDELL. My understanding is that we provide for the force that is now in the department.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. That is exactly what I said.

Mr. MONDELL. But that we do provide for six new salaries in excess of $1,800.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. They are not new salaries. They are simply to carry six employees who are now employed in the State Department at salaries exceeding $1,800. I am quite sure that it is not the purpose of the State Department to employ out of this sum more than six people at salaries exceeding $1,800. Now, I will say to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] that the original estimate submitted by the State Department calls for $250,000. It appeared in the hearings that it was the purpose of the State Department to use $50,000 of that sum for the employment of experts—economists and others of expert ability and qualifications. It further appeared in the hearings that they are employing quite a number of men of expert ability and paying them out of the $700,000 appropriated in the Diplomatic and Consular appropriation bill, with which the gentleman is familiar.

Mr. STAFFORD. Quite familiar.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. The committee felt that since they were using the $700,000 fund, or a portion of it, for the employment of experts who are economists, and so forth, it would hardly be wise to make an appropriation here of $50,000 and give them two funds for the same purpose. And hence the committee cut out the $50,000, and also reduced the estimate to $136,000, so as not to provide for the employment of a clerical force in addition to the force now employed.

Mr. STAFFORD. I do not understand the viewpoint of the State Department. They came before the legislative subcommittee in January of this year and asked for an appropriation of $264,000. The original appropriation that they asked for was $120,000. After careful consideration we voted them $200,000, and that is in the existing law. Now, the gentleman from Tennessee states that this $136,000 is not for the employment of any additional employees, but merely for those employees now in the department. There must be a conflict there, because the State Department is subject to the same law as other departments that does not permit them to employ any additional employees except those for which appropriations are carried in the appropriation bill. There is an inconsistency in the gentle-

men's position. He says it is not for the employment of any more employees, and yet the department has no authority to employ any greater number of employees than those covered in the $200,000 that the Congress voted them in the legislative bill. I think some explanation should be made of that position on the part of the State Department.

Mr. MONDELL. The State Department estimated that the sum of $250,000 was needed for additional employees, and they stated very clearly the purposes for which these people were to be employed. They asked that out of that additional appropriation for employees they might pay 25 a sum in excess of $1,800. They clearly indicated the character of the employment proposed. It developed in the hearings that, under the appropriation of $200,000 which was granted in the legislative bill, the State Department had employed a sufficient number of people to amount to a pay roll of $336,000 for the year. In other words, their present pay roll is $136,000 for the year in excess of the appropriation.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. How is the State Department authorized to employ a clerical force that requires the payment of $336,000 when the legislative appropriation bill, which was the basis for their employment of their clerical force, only authorized them to employ at the annual rate of $200,000?

Mr. MONDELL. I do not recall at this moment just the exact language of the provision in the legislative bill. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] may have it before him, but I have assumed, from the statement of the State Department, that that appropriation of $200,000 was so worded that the State Department could use their discretion to a certain extent in the employment of people under it.

Mr. STAFFORD. The language is very general. It says:

For additional employees in the Department of State, $200,000.

That does not mean $200,000 for one month. It means $200,000 for the entire year.

Mr. MONDELL. Not necessarily. Under general language of that sort the State Department would be fully justified in increasing its employees above a force that could be maintained for $200,000 for the entire year.

They might need all the services in 30 or 60 days, and then the work would be completed. The Congress very clearly did not intend to give them the sum of $200,000 to be distributed through 12 months, divided into 12 sums. The department, acting within its discretion, has increased its pay roll so that it will amount to $336,000 for the year.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman permit?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do I understand that it is the gentleman's construction of the law that the heads of departments, when we have voted a lump sum for employees during the entire year, can utilize the lump sum in any one month, and then come to Congress for additional appropriation? Is not the gentleman aware of the provision of the law carried in the sundry civil act which requires the heads of departments to allot appropriations to the respective quarters throughout the year and not exceed them?

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman from Wyoming does not pretend to know so much about the fine points of legislative limitation in regard to employments as the gentleman from Wisconsin, who is an expert in that particular line. My opinion is that the appropriation granted in the form in which this was need not be allotted by months.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. DEWALT). The time of the gentleman from Wyoming has expired.

Mr. MONDELL. I ask for one minute more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONDELL. The department must necessarily exercise its good judgment and discretion in making up its force under that kind of an appropriation. Congress may decide when the sum is used up to make no further appropriation for that purpose. The State Department made so good a showing that the committee was of the opinion that we should grant them a sum sufficient to keep a force of the present size, not necessarily the same force, but a force of the present size continually employed. As one member of the committee, my further understanding is that they can increase the salaries of six of these additional employees above $1,800, but in that event it might be necessary for them to somewhat limit their present force. At any rate, we do not grant them any new employees.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word, and ask the indulgence of the gentleman from Kentucky a moment. I had marked an inquiry on the War Trade Board paragraph, and while it is going back the gentleman can explain the matter in a moment or two. The transfer to its own use of the amounts collected by a bureau is rather an unusual proceeding, and I want to ask the gentleman why it was permitted in this case.

Mr. SHERLEY. Some time ago, when the sundry civil bill was up, the War Trade Board called the attention of the committee to the fact that they were required to expend a considerable amount of money in cable charges at the instance of the exporters; that it was subsequently repaid, and that if they were required to cover it into the Treasury they would have to ask in the appropriations for a larger sum of money in order to take care of this expense. We therefore carried a provision that the sums collected from the exporters for telegraph tolls should be usable by the department, they having paid the money out in the first instance. At that time they neglected to call attention to the fact that the same thing occurred as to importers and others who did not come within the technical term of exporters. As the gentleman knows, the War Trade Board has absolute control over imports and exports, and necessarily matters affecting exporters and importers, frequently urgent, are brought to their attention, and at the instance of these people they expend large sums in cables to find out facts upon which action may be predicated.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I should think it a dangerous practice to allow moneys to remain in the hands of a bureau in this way.

Mr. SHERLEY. But the only money they get is the money to reimburse them for money paid out of an appropriation that Congress has made, and Congress has the control of it because it only gives certain moneys for the War Trade Board during the year.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Money collected by a department ought to go into the Treasury.

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes, ordinarily; but you could not estimate how much money would be needed for cables and telegraph tolls; it would require $300,000 or $400,000 more appropriation for the War Trade Board.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Did it appear that the cable charges amounted to a considerable sum in 1918?

Mr. SHERLEY. In three months it amounted to $115,506.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That money actually remains in the custody of the War Trade Board.

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; it was in the custody of the War Trade Board in the first instance, and they paid the bills amounting to that much and then collected them.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. But did not turn them into the Treasury when collected?

Mr. SHERLEY. No.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. And in that they deviated from the ordinary rule.

Mr. SHERLEY. We gave them that permission in regard to exporters.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. And the idea is to sanction that practice hereafter?

Mr. SHERLEY. We carried a provision in the sundry civil bill in regard to the exporters. We now add "importers and all other sources." It is for cable charges that the War Trade Board has paid out. I sympathize with what I know is in the gentleman's mind—that we ought not to have a department get funds from outside sources and have them reexpended, but here is a matter that is limited to the cable charges, and it did not seem that there could be any abuse of it. They pay out the cable costs in the first instance, and they have to because the private people are not permitted to use the cable.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. These private parties could not use the cable except through the Government, practically, because the Government absorbs the use of the cable. Now, the individual exporter or importer needs to ascertain certain data in connection with his license that the War Trade Board issues to him. They come, and the War Trade Board incurs the expense of the cable, and after they ascertain what the expense is it is paid by the importer or exporter when it is a charge that properly belongs to him. Then that money simply goes to reimburse the fund they have had.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. But it is not entered up in any way to appear to be a part of the Treasury of the United States. That is the point I am making. I think that is rather a dangerous proposition. I know how careful the gentleman is, but I want to make this brief statement in his time. Some years ago a situation just like this existed in the Treasury Department with regard to passports, affidavits, and small fees collected, with the result that there was a defalcation. It happened that the defaulter was bonded to the Government, and

the Government in course of time was protected, but it was a condition that ought not to have existed. That money should have been accounted for as it came in. This may be such a condition as would make it difficult to make these returns to the Treasury, but it seems to me that the Treasury ought to receive such moneys as come into a bureau of this kind.

Mr. SHERLEY. Speaking by and large, that is very true; but the committee only made this exception because of the circumstances surrounding it, and would not think of doing it in normal times.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I am not picking out this particular board, but can the gentleman state whether the particular officials who have charge of this fund, rising in three months to as much as $115,000, as indicated by the gentlemen, are bonded?

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not know about that. All of the disbursing officers in all of the departments are bonded. The head of the War Trade Board is Mr. Vance McCormick, a man of very high standing.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It is money that comes in in relatively small amounts?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; five and ten and fifteen dollars at a time.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The danger is in having that money around, and it is just a question whether it ought not to be reported to the Treasury. My judgment is that it should be.

Mr. SHERLEY. Of course it is reported to the Treasury, and is simply credited to their appropriation. The money is not paid out without its going into the Treasury. When they get it they turn it over to the Treasury, but they turn it over to their account instead of turning it over as miscellaneous receipts, so that there is a Treasury auditing.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. This relieves them to a certain extent from going to the gentleman's Committee on Appropriations and asking for money; and my opinion, as a Member of Congress, is that we ought to permit no department, no bureau that is regularly in business now as this one is, to escape that responsibility. They should go before the gentleman's committee.

Mr. SHERLEY. They do.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. And tell his committee what they want.

Mr. SHERLEY. They do come every year.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. So that the gentleman has some check upon them.

Mr. SHERLEY. They do come every year.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment is withdrawn, and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Transportation of diplomatic and consular officers: For the transportation of diplomatic and consular officers in going to and returning from their posts, including the same objects specified under this head in the Diplomatic and Consular appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, $20,000.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word for the purpose of asking the gentleman a question. Is it the purpose to make a number of new appointments of clerks in embassies and legations?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes. The department asked for additional moneys on account of the increasing burden that exists in the legations and embassies abroad. The committee did not give the amount they asked. I did not personally conduct this hearing, so that I am not familiar with the details of the figures; but my impression is that they asked for $200,000, and we allowed them $125,000.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman permit me to make an inquiry with reference to the $2,000,000 appropriation for the War Industries Board?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman yesterday stated that the committee did not favor increasing the number of employees here in Washington—that is, clerks and stenographers. Will the $2,000,000 enable the War Industries Board to employ a large number of additional clerks?

Mr. SHERLEY. I think not. Some part of their expense was for expense away from Washington and part of it was to take care of an existing force. They asked actually for $3,750,000. We gave them $2,000,000; and we gave them that not with the idea of increasing the existing force, but maintaining it through the year, with perhaps some expense outside of Washington that is not now being incurred.

Mr. WALSH. My question was prompted by the language "including personal and other services in the District of Columbia and elsewhere."

Mr. SHERLEY. That is just the usual language; but, of course, some of this money goes into the District, but it goes for the rest of the months of this fiscal year and for existing pay rolls. It is just the same language that was used before.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment will be withdrawn and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

American citizens and prisoners of war in Germany: For relief of American citizens in Germany or in German-occupied territory, and American prisoners of war who may be taken by German forces, $200,000.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Referring to this item of $200,000 for American citizens and prisoners of war in Germany, may I ask why that is in this bill?

Mr. SHERLEY. Because they are short of money. They had about $80,000 and they figured that there are some 2,000 people they need to make provisions for, and they need this additional money. They can not tell just what the expenses are. Those expenses are incurred by the Spanish Government through the Spanish ambassador and, of course, the Federal Government reimburses any expenditure the Spanish Government may make.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is this deficiency appropriation to make up for the pay of such Americans as may be prisoners in Germany?

Mr. SHERLEY. To make up the expense of looking after those prisoners.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It is not for salaries or compensation?

Mr. SHERLEY. No.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. For relief of American citizens in Germany—just what kind of relief is that?

Mr. SHERLEY. I will quote from the testimony of Mr. Carr:

Under a provisional reciprocal arrangement with the German Government, pending a definite determination of the questions at the conference now in session at Berne, American officers who are prisoners of war in Germany are paid salaries by the German Government to be eventually reimbursed by the United States at approximately the rate of $80 per month up to and including the grade of captain and $90 per month for higher grades. Privates are, however, paid no salaries. The latter class in particular are dependent upon the clothing and food furnished by the German Government, and that has been found to be so inadequate that the soldiers look largely to the packages of food they receive through the Red Cross. It is practically imperative, therefore, that our soldiers be given small amounts of money immediately after capture to meet immediate needs, this amount to be returned by them if reciprocal arrangements can be made on the part of Germany as to the payment of salaries to prisoners of war. At present officers are paid an initial sum of $50 and noncommissioned officers and privates $15 to meet their first expenses after capture, such as extra clothing, etc. It is obvious that their welfare demands these payments as well as others with which they may procure from time to time through the American prisoners' central committee in Berne certain articles necessary to their comfort and welfare, such as surgical appliances, artificial limbs, books, musical instruments, etc. It is for this kind of relief of prisoners that this appropriation is requested, and as has been explained the initial payments specified are to be reimbursed to the Government eventually.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Did I understand in the earlier part of the reading that American prisoners are paid something by Germany?

Mr. SHERLEY. They are being paid something now provisionally, just as we are paying to German officers who are prisoners of the United States certain money, and there is at the present time a conference at Berne, of which Mr. John Davis, the present Solicitor General and who has been designated as the coming ambassador to England, is a member, for the purpose of adjusting with the German Government this whole matter of care and treatment of prisoners of war.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Apparently the main question is largely a diplomatic one. I have some inquiry concerning one particular prisoner of war. His pay allotment is not coming along. The question has arisen whether by reason of his being a prisoner of war his pay stops. If, being a prisoner of war, he is made some allowance by Germany, this appropriation apparently is to make good ultimately the difference between his salary and that which Germany allows him. It is a matter I should like to have more fully explained if the gentleman is familiar with it.

Mr. SHERLEY. What the gentleman is confusing is that this particular provision is a question whether men who have been captured as prisoners of war shall be continued to be paid by this Government and draw salaries, and the comptroller held that the payment ceases. There has just been passed through the House, at the instance of the Committee on Military Affairs, a bill to take care of that situation, and I have no doubt it will speedily be enacted in the Senate, to permit the payment of men who are reported lost or missing or who are prisoners of war.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I am obliged to the gentleman for the information.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Will the gentleman from Kentucky permit a question?

Mr. SHERLEY. I will.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Considering the very great losses which are taking place in the present battles, does not the gentleman think that the situation has changed since the hearings and that this sum might very well be made considerably larger to provide for all contingencies?

Mr. SHERLEY. I think it is larger than any need to make it, but the State Department very recently, within a week or 10 days, made this estimate. They do not know what funds they need, and the amount that is appropriated here will not be the determining factor. Moneys will be paid to the extent that is necessary, and whatever difference there may be the Congress will willingly appropriate.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I have no doubt of that.

Mr. TILSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. I will.

Mr. TILSON. There is no part of this that goes to the pay of the enlisted man?

Mr. SHERLEY. No.

Mr. TILSON. This is entirely to take care of their interests while they are there?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes. This money is to pay advances made to the soldiers to supply them with funds that they may need when captured and during their captivity, and then subsequently they may or may not be reimbursed.

Mr. TILSON. It appeared there was considerable hardship upon the families of certain soldiers who were captured in Germany that came before the committee of which I am a member.

Mr. SHERLEY. That came before the Committee on Appropriations, and they asked legislation be carried in the bill. I suggested to them that we would do it if necessary, but I was sure the Committee on Military Affairs would gladly consider and report a bill, and I thought that was the better procedure, and accordingly the matter came before the gentleman's committee, and they did report it immediately.

Mr. TILSON. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment will be withdrawn.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

International Trade-Mark Registration Bureau: For the annual share of the United States for the expenses of the maintenance of the International Trade-Mark Registration Bureau at Habana, including salaries of the director, and counselor, assistant director and counselor, clerks, translators, secretary to the director, stenographers, and typewriters, messenger, watchmen, and laborers, rent of quarters, stationery, and supplies, including the purchase of books, postage, traveling expenses, and the cost of printing the bulletin, $56,450.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, reserving the point of order, I desire to ask the chairman if this is not anticipating a pending bill now before the Committee on Patents or the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce?

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not understand so. This is under an existing agreement as to our part of the expenditures of this bureau. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS] can perhaps give the gentleman even more detailed information.

Mr. WALSH. I am under the impression that there is a sort of tentative agreement in reference to this International Trade-Mark Bureau and that it is legislation to put an agreement into binding force and effect and that the legislation is now pending before one or two committees of the House, and I think this appropriation is practically the legislation that is desired.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. I will say to the gentleman this is to carry out an agreement made by this Nation with the Central and South American Republics and also with the island of Cuba which was made August 20, 1910, at Buenos Aires. Under that convention and agreement there were to be two bureaus established, one at Habana, and in that organization to be the United States, Cuba, and the Central American Republics.

Mr. WALSH. What year did the gentleman state?

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. August 20, 1910.

Mr. WALSH. Why was it not carried in the diplomatic and consular appropriation bill?

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Because it is only just recently that the agreement has been signed and entered into by all the countries involved.

Mr. WALSH. That is just the point I am making, that the legislation to permit the agreement did not permit the appropriation of this sum and the authorization of the employment of all these officials.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. I will say to the gentleman that Mr. Carr, of the State Department, stated that—

On August 20, 1910, the Fourth National Conference of the American States of Buenos Aires formally adopted a convention for the protection of trade-marks. The convention was ratified by the United States on the 21st of March, 1911, and proclaimed by the President on September 16, 1916. It has also been ratified by Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, and Costa Rica. The convention provides for two registration bureaus, one at Habana and one at Rio de Janeiro, and that at Rio de Janeiro was intended to deal with applications for the 10 Republics of South America, while that at Habana was intended to serve North and Central America and the West Indian Republics. Each bureau was to be established as soon as two-thirds of the countries comprising the group which it was to serve should have ratified the convention. The requirements as to the ratification having been met in the northern group, the Cuban Government, charged with the administrative execution of the convention, was able in the winter of 1917 to initiate the bureau at Habana. On July 16, 1918, the President of Cuba promulgated a law for the initial expenses of the bureau, and in August of the present year a director of the bureau visited Washington and conferred with the appropriate officials of this Government concerning the regulations to carry the convention into effect. The convention provides that the expenses shall be defrayed by the signatory States in the same proportions as that established for the International Bureau of American Republics, namely, all contributions being in proportion to population.

That places upon us the obligation to pay our quota of the expenses in accordance with the treaty or convention. That quota is determined in exactly the same way as that of the International Bureau of American Republics is determined and amounts to this amount that we have here, $56,450.

This sum is simply appropriated to carry into effect the treaty and agreement made by this country with the other countries named.

Mr. WALSH. This convention provides that the expenses shall be defrayed. Now, this paragraph provides not for defraying the expenses but for paying salaries of a director, a counselor, assistants, stenographers, secretaries, rent of quarters, and in fact the establishment of a new bureau.

It is legislation in the nature of an authorization. If this item read for the payment of expenses incurred under a convention entered into between these Governments there could be no exception taken to the item. I think clearly this establishes a bureau.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Undoubtedly it establishes a bureau, and that is exactly what was established by the convention and treaty to which I referred, and that necessarily carries with it a director and the employment of the necessary force in order to conduct the business of the bureau. The gentleman will notice that this provision simply provides for the annual share of the United States for the expenses of the maintenance of the International Trade-mark Registration Bureau at Habana, and so forth.

Mr. MONDELL. Let me suggest to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS] that if the item stopped right there after the word "Habana," on line 18, and then carried the appropriation, it would do all we seek to do.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Absolutely.

Mr. MONDELL. The balance is simply detail with regard to the character of the expense.

Mr. WALSH. Well, Mr. Chairman, I can not quite agree with the interpretation that has been placed upon this, and I think the paragraph is subject to a point of order. This convention was ratified on the 21st of March, 1911.

Mr. MONDELL. If the gentleman will yield, it was ratified by the United States——

Mr. WALSH. On the 21st of March, 1911.

Mr. MONDELL. That is right. And proclaimed on September 16, 1916.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts make the point of order?

Mr. WALSH. If the Chair will permit me just a moment further to get some additional information, I wish to say that it was proclaimed by the President on September 16, 1916.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. The gentleman is correct, so far as the proclamation of the President of the United States is concerned, but if the gentleman will look further in the hearings——

Mr. WALSH. That is the President of Cuba.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. The President of Cuba promulgated the law for the initial expense of the bureau on July 16, 1918.

Mr. WALSH. That is the point I make, the initial expenses of the bureau; but this is the annual share of the United States. And we have not enacted any legislation as the result of that convention, which was agreed to and proclaimed, and authorized the establishment of this bureau.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. The treaty in itself, I will say to the gentleman, has all the authority of law in the matter.

Mr. WALSH. We have not the treaty before us. We have the statement of Mr. Carr that this convention was ratified and provides for two registration bureaus. We do not know whether

it provides for directors or assistant directors, watchmen or laborers. It is clearly legislation.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. If the gentleman desires it, so far as I am concerned I am perfectly willing to see that language stricken out, and stop at the word "Habana," and simply provide for the annual share of the expenses of the United States. But I really believe it is best to leave the language in there, for the simple reason that Congress will know exactly for what purpose this money is being appropriated and used from time to time. But if the gentleman wishes the language stricken out, for one I have no objection.

Mr. WALSH. We do not know. We know we have a lot of directors and stenographers and typewriters, and that they are buying a lot of books and postage. We do not know what the director gets, or what they are spending for stenographers and typewriters. And this is clearly legislation. And I should be inclined to make a point of order against the paragraph, although, if the gentleman——

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. I will say to the gentleman I do not think it is subject to a point of order, because it is provided for under a treaty made by this country with Cuba and certain Central American Republics, which is the supreme law of the land.

Mr. WALSH. I do not think the Appropriations Committee——

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. It is authorized under the law.

Mr. WALSH (continuing). Has acquired jurisdiction to bring in legislation on an appropriation bill simply because some treaty has been entered into providing for us to pay a portion of the expenses of an international trade-mark bureau.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. It is not legislation. It is merely an appropriation.

Mr. WALSH. My contention is that it certainly is legislation when it provides for salaries of directors, counselors, and so forth, that have never heretofore been provided for. There is no law on the statute books authorizing their appointment, and I doubt very much if this treaty goes into such details as that. And I make the point of order that the paragraph is not in order.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. As I understand, the language to which the gentleman objects is contained on line 18 after the word "Habana" down to and including line 22.

Mr. WALSH. No; I object to the paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts makes the point, and it seems to be somewhat of an important question. The Chair will ask the gentleman from Massachusetts if he is willing to permit the point of order to go over so as to give the Chair opportunity to look into the matter?

Mr. WALSH. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] willing to let the paragraph go over?

Mr. SHERLEY. I have no objection. I am satisfied, however, it is not subject to a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Chair understand the gentleman from Kentucky to say that it is subject to a point of order?

Mr. SHERLEY. That it is not subject to a point of order. But if the Chair desires to obtain further information I am perfectly willing to let it go over. As a matter of fact, the question is immaterial as compared to other sections in the bill, and I am anxious to expedite the passage of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that there seems to be this question involved, namely, as to whether a treaty, without previous legislation having been had, gives authority to make an appropriation. That is the thing that is in the Chair's mind at this time. That is the thing that is in the mind of the Chair at the time.

Mr. SHERLEY. I think a treaty the moment it becomes approved by the ratification of the Senate becomes the law of the land just as much as any act of Congress, and I think there are any number of precedents to that effect; and it being the law, this is simply an appropriation to carry out the terms of it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the impression that the Chair has.

Mr. WALSH. Will the Chair permit me to make an inquiry of the gentleman from Kentucky?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Does it appear anywhere in the hearing that the treaty provides that this bureau shall have a director, counselor, translators, and these various other officials?

Mr. SHERLEY. No; but the treaty provides for the expenses of this registration bureau, and that would include legitimate expenses, such as the salary of director, counselor, and so forth.

Mr. WALSH. It would include the expenses that the Congress authorized in the way of providing for officials.

Mr. SHERLEY. Well, I differ with the gentleman, but I would rather not take the time of the committee now. The Chair has suggested that he would like to look into the matter further, and I suggest that it go over and we continue with the reading of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair does not desire to delay. If a conclusion is reached before the adjournment this afternoon, the Chair will have passed upon the matter. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

For salaries of officers and employees in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, $6,000,000; stationery and minor office supplies, $300,000; furniture, equipment, and supplies, including existing deficiency of $313,874 for addressograph equipment, file cabinets, typewriters, etc., for immediate needs, $750,000; field investigation and branch offices, $500,000; miscellaneous expenses, including telephones, telegrams, freight, express, car tickets in the District of Columbia, law books, books of reference, and periodicals, $30,000; in all, $7,580,000.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, this is a very large appropriation, and so far as the salaries of officers and employees in the District of Columbia and elsewhere are concerned they amount to $6,000,000. I do not know just what check the committee has on the distribution of that large sum for salaries. Apparently no effort has been made to itemize them, although I presume the committee has a report on that subject.

Mr. SHERLEY. The salaries they pay are the usual statutory salaries, and the estimate that was submitted to the committee showed the salaries that were being paid. There are 1 or 2 people who will draw $5,000 each, 1 who draws $4,832, 1 who draws $4,000, 6 who draw $3,500 each, 23 who draw $3,000 each, 26 who draw $2,500 each, 50 who draw $2,000 each, 1 who draws $1,890, 158 who draw $1,800 each, 7 who draw $1,700 each, 9 who draw $1,680 each, 55 at $1,600 each, and so on down to the lowest salaries of $240.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. What is the salary of the chief of the bureau now?

Mr. SHERLEY. Five thousand dollars.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. An effort was made some time ago to increase that, and if my recollection is not awry it failed. There has been a change in the head of the bureau recently, has there not?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes. Mr. De Lanoy has resigned, I understand.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It is a very important bureau of the Government, and its importance is increasing every day, as every Member of Congress can very readily attest. But this being a deficiency appropriation, and a very large one at that, I would like to know whether by virtue of this appropriation we may expect that the work of the bureau may be accelerated?

Mr. SHERLEY. I would not say by virtue of this appropriation. I hope that as the bureau becomes better and better organized we will get better service. I have at times been somewhat critical of the bureau, and yet it is only fair to say that it has probably had the biggest task of any single bureau of the Government, outside of a department like the War Department. The amount of insurance, for instance, that this bureau is carrying exceeds manyfold all of the insurance of all of the private insurance companies in America and elsewhere. There is something like $34,000,000,000 worth of insurance that this bureau is now supervising and carrying for the Government, and the task is really a hurculean one.

I know that Members of Congress have and continue to have cause for complaint, due to mistakes in allotments or failure to make allotments, and so forth, and there have been in the past a good many things that have been the proper subject of complaint. But alongside of that there must be borne in mind the tremendous magnitude of the task that has been imposed on this bureau.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I concede the magnitude of the work, and I would like to help those in charge to advance it. It seems to me the pay of the chief of the bureau is not what it ought to be, considering the responsibility he has.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am inclined to agree with the gentleman, but the committee did not feel warranted, particularly at the time this hearing was had, to increase the pay of the head of the bureau.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. But this much I wanted to say in the presence of the gentleman and his committee, that for a long time, having due regard to the difficulties confronting this bureau, the correspondence with my office was generally very satisfactory. I had no fault to find with it. But I have observed recently that it has fallen back considerably, and that some letters are much delayed, which, I assume, may be due

to the fact that they have not sufficient force, or they have not got their machinery together, as they would like to have it; for that reason I inquired if this appropriation meant that the work may be hastened so that complaints may be lessened.

Mr. SHERLEY. It does not represent all they asked, but it does represent what the committee thought was sufficient, in view of the fact that considerable machinery has been purchased and is being installed for expediting work in addressing letters and in making out checks, and so forth, and the bureau will this winter get installed in the Arlington Building, instead of being scattered in some 13 buildings all over the town, and that again ought to expedite the work. I really think that this is one of those problems that are not solved simply by piling in money for additional clerks. It is solved by the gradual settling down of an organization along lines of efficiency.

It was to be expected that with work of this magnitude there would be much of confusion and of trouble.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. If they could get this work all under one roof, probably it would be much better all around.

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman thinks that is likely to eventuate this winter?

Mr. SHERLEY. They are to have six or seven floors of the Arlington, and while they will still have certain work outside it will be work that is not of a permanent nature. My own judgment of this bureau is this, and I think the House ought to have it in mind: I believe that the time is rapidly coming when we ought to consolidate payments, both the voluntary and the compulsory one, in one bureau instead of having them divided as they now are. I think further that there will come a consolidation of the Pension Bureau with this bureau. There ought not to be two bureaus dealing with that subject. My own judgment is that the proper committee ought to consider very carefully and prepare a bill undertaking to determine all of these factors and to provide for one organization, and that then we will have need to erect a building somewhat similar, I hope, to the new buildings for the Army and Navy in Potomac Park in which this bureau can be housed. It is destined to be the largest bureau in the Government for many years to come.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Are we using the Arlington Building now?

Mr. SHERLEY. No; but within a few weeks they hope to move into some floors.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I assume the appropriation just passed contemplates that?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman from Kentucky yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. DENISON. Does the gentleman know positively that the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance is going into the Arlington Building?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; I know it from the statements made before the committee, and I know it from the personal statement of the Secretary of the Treasury to me.

Mr. DENISON. Does the gentleman know what else is going into that building?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; the Railway Administration is going into that building.

Mr. DENISON. Will there be room for both bureaus in that building?

Mr. SHERLEY. There will not be all the room that the War-Risk Insurance Bureau ought to have at this time, but there will be six or seven floors given to them, as I recall it.

Mr. DENISON. The gentleman stated awhile ago that he thought at some time the Bureau of Pensions would be consolidated with this bureau. Was it the gentleman's thought that the Bureau of Pensions would be absorbed by this bureau, or that this bureau would be absorbed by the Bureau of Pensions?

Mr. SHERLEY. I hope the Bureau of Pensions will be absorbed by this. In magnitude the Bureau of Pensions does not represent one-twentieth of what the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance represents.

Mr. DENISON. I know; but in efficiency it represents a good deal more.

Mr. SHERLEY. I question even that.

Mr. DENISON. I do not.

Mr. SHERLEY. And I am not prepared to rate this bureau too high.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I want to detain the committee only just a minute for the purpose of enforcing what the chairman of the committee [Mr. SHERLEY] said about the consolidation of this bureau. The work now done in the Quartermaster General's office and the work done in the War-Risk Insurance Bureau have caused quite a good deal of confusion. For example, wherever an allotment is made by law it goes to the Quartermaster General, and where there is an allotment and an allowance it goes to the War-Risk Insurance Bureau. So the War-Risk Insurance Bureau handling one class of cases and the Quartermaster General handling another class of cases, it has caused quite a good deal of confusion throughout the country. When this bureau was first established the allowances were made in every case through the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance; but a provision was put into one of the bills, and the War Department contended that they had all the records and that they ought to handle it. They themselves did not seem to anticipate the enormous amount of trouble that would be entailed on that account. It ought all to be in one bureau, and in my judgment it ought to be put in the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, because the Navy has allowances, the Marine Corps has allowances, and the Lighthouse Service has allowances, as well as the Army. Therefore, it all ought to be at one place. Now, the President has the right under the Overman Act to consolidate all of this activity in one bureau, and, in my judgment, it ought to be done immediately, because they have about cleaned up the back work on the original first draft, and the next lot of soldiers who come in under this new law—ages from 18 to 45—will put in quite as many cases and quite as much labor as the original draft. Therefore, it ought all to be consolidated at this time, in my judgment.

And, in saying this, I agree very heartily with the chairman [Mr. SHERLEY] that something ought to be done at once. If it is not done in the department, the proper committees in the House and Senate ought to take up this matter and work out a very careful plan and consolidate all of this work at one place. It would save every Congressman, every Senator, every soldier, every man who has correspondence a great deal of trouble, and then you would know exactly where to fix the responsibility in the event of carelessness or delay. I believe it is necessary to be done and ought to be done.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. How long does the gentleman think the War-Risk Bureau is going to last?

Mr. SISSON. Of course, nobody can tell exactly. It depends on how many of our boys are injured and how much administration will have to be had to work out the legislation whereby Congress has committed itself to the soldiers in certain lines of help.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The insurance feature will necessarily tend to prolong it.

Mr. SISSON. I think, perhaps, quite a number of years; but I will say that ought to be worked out as soon as the war is over, so that the force could be gotten down to a minimum within a year or two after everything settles down. Then it becomes largely a question simply of paying what is due to the soldiers. Some of them may take it in lump sums, and some may decide to take it monthly or annually, under the other plan.

Mr. ROBBINS. There is one question I would like to ask the gentleman; this item of $70,000,000 appropriated for the payment of the military and naval family allowances. That, I presume, is to make up the allowances made by the soldier to the family, either compulsory or voluntary, under the act. Is that the purpose of it?

Mr. SISSON. It could be used for all the purposes for which allowances are made under that act. In other words, if a man was injured and discharged from the service and wanted to settle, the money could be paid out of that sum.

Mr. ROBBINS. How does it come that it takes such an enormous amount in so short a time after the act went into force?

Mr. SISSON. I doubt very much if anybody knows to any certainty whether $70,000,000 will be enough until the next bill becomes a law.

Mr. ROBBINS. That is the very point I wanted to ask about. The gentleman has gone into this as a member of the subcommittee and taken voluminous testimony, which I have read hastily. Does not the gentleman think the war risk is a problem as to whether we will be able to meet the terrible drain on the Treasury of the United States?

Mr. SISSON. I do not think so; in my judgment it will all be worked out without much trouble. I will state to the gentleman frankly that I am not an insurance expert. We have relied on gentlemen called into the service who are experts and who do have a knowledge of what this present arrangement will finally put upon the Government of the United States.

Mr. ROBBINS. What gives me cause for alarm is that you come in with this deficiency bill and ask for $70,000,000 in so short a time after the act goes into force. It is becoming alarming as to the extent of the burden upon the Treasury of the United States.

Mr. SHERLEY. Let me suggest to the gentleman that the Committee on Appropriations, even if it desired to exercise the option, had none. The Congress of the United States passed a

law making certain fixed allowances for the families of the soldiers and sailors in the service. The department has to carry out that law, and comes to us with an estimate as to the money necessary. We appropriated it; but, aside from that, is the gentleman prepared to say that he does not think we ought to give the allowances that we are giving?

Mr. ROBBINS. Oh, no; not at all; exactly the reverse. I want to give them, but I wanted to know whether we are going to be able to keep faith with the soldiers and sailors.

Mr. SHERLEY. I think we are going to be able to do it; and in order to be able to do it we give them this sum.

Mr. LONDON. If the gentleman will permit, I think the gentleman from Pennsylvania wants to know if we can give this money to the soldiers and let the Government keep the money at the same time. [Laughter.]

Mr. ROBBINS. Oh, no; I do not; the gentleman did not hear my question or did not understand it.

Mr. LONDON. I did not understand it.

Mr. ROBBINS. I think it is a great and beneficent plan; but what caused me some concern is the amount carried here.

Mr. SISSON. I want to say that the committee, in giving $70,000,000, was actuated by the testimony of gentlemen who came before the committee and these gentlemen who made the estimates and who have been paying out to the soldiers this fund for this purpose. Their opinion is that under present conditions and the present number of soldiers this sum ought to carry us up until Congress meets again, and then if they need any more money they can get it.

Mr. ESCH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. Yes.

Mr. ESCH. There was a suggestion—I do not remember who made it—that there could be a consolidation of the War-Risk Bureau and the bureau in the Quartermaster Department.

Mr. SISSON. That was made by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY].

Mr. ESCH. And that the proper committees of the House should have the matter in charge. Would not the President under the Overman Act have the power to do that?

Mr. SISSON. I stated at the outset that the President had that power under the Overman Act, and that if he did not take the matter up and make the consolidation I was in hearty accord with the chairman of the committee that the proper committees should take the matter up and work out a plan where these activities could be consolidated. I think it would be good administration economically and be much more convenient to the country at large.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. Yes.

Mr. DENISON. I was going to ask the gentleman from Mississippi if he was not afraid that if we consolidated the two departments it would be only a short time until the policy that has been pursued in regard to giving pensions will be pursued in regard to soldiers in the present war.

Mr. SISSON. I do not think that the consolidation of the departments would have a tendency to do that.

Mr. DENISON. My own judgment is that we ought to keep the two departments as far apart as we can in operation and in law.

Mr. SISSON. I think it would be good administration to consolidate them; we are incurring a great deal of useless expense in useless correspondence on the part of Members of Congress and men who have business with these bureaus.

Mr. DALLINGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. Yes.

Mr. DALLINGER. Is it not possible for the Committee on Appropriations to give the War-Risk Insurance Bureau enough money so that in some way we could find out how they are spending the money, and so that dependent families could get the allotment provided under that act? I get a dozen letters a day from people in my district, objects of charity, who have not got anything for five or six months, and they can not get any satisfaction from the War-Risk Insurance Bureau.

Mr. SISSON. I think, as a matter of fact, a few isolated cases might be found in all the districts. When the change was made from the Bureau of War Risk to the War Department in reference to the soldiers to whom the Government made no allotment out of the Treasury a great deal of confusion arose. Many soldiers were in France when the War Department undertook a reallotment by the soldiers and have a filing of new papers by the soldiers, and that caused a great deal of delay. But we have the assurance of a very accomplished Army officer, Gen. Lord, who seems to be in sympathy with all the purposes of the bill, anxious that the soldiers' families should get all the allowances intended under the law that they now have, and he says that they have about cleaned all that matter up. Some time you will find that the fault has not altogether been with the Government, but the fault has been with the soldier who neglected to make the allowance to his family.

There are certain allowances under the law which the soldier himself must make. The Government can not compel him to make them. They can not compel a soldier to make an allowance to his father, his mother, his brother, or his sister.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. DALLINGER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that his time be extended for three minutes.

Mr. SISSON. I want only one minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. DALLINGER. I desire to ask the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON] if he will tell us whether these dependents are going to get the money for the months between the time the soldier made his original allotment and the time he starts to make his new allotment?

Mr. SISSON. Yes; if he is entitled to it under the law. This bill will carry an amount of money for the purpose of having these cases investigated. In many instances, unless there are actual dependents, they are not entitled to an allowance out of the Treasury. Therefore to prevent fraud it is necessary that many of the cases be investigated. Those allowances which are allowed by law, except in rare cases, are being paid now. In those cases where the allowance is made to a brother, father, sister, or some one where the soldier himself must make the allotment, frequently delay is caused by the soldier and not by the department.

Mr. DALLINGER. A large number of cases have come to my attention where the soldier made his original allotment on the blanks furnished and then later a ruling was made by which those allotments were canceled, and after a great deal of delay the soldier was located and told that he must make another allotment.

Mr. SISSON. That is true.

Mr. DALLINGER. What is going to become of the money allotted by the soldier between that time and the time of the second allotment? The dependents are not getting that money, and they need the money for their support. They are absolutely dependent and they can not get any satisfaction in regard to it. They have had to borrow money in order to live. Such a condition of affairs is inexcusable and a disgrace to this Government.

Mr. SISSON. If the soldier desired an allotment to be made and signs the allotment blank sent him by the War Department, that allotment will be made in accordance with the soldier's wishes, because in those cases you can not compel an allotment, except one to the wife, or to the children of the soldier in the event that the wife is dead.

Mr. TEMPLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. Yes.

Mr. TEMPLE. There are 5,000 prisoners in Germany. I have presented to the bureau cases of men who have made an allotment through the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance where the allotment has been canceled under this order and the man required to make a new allotment through the quartermaster. The men are in prison in Germany and can not be reached. What has been done in respect to those men?

Mr. SISSON. As a matter of fact, those soldiers do not get paid.

Mr. TEMPLE. Oh, yes; they do.

Mr. SISSON. They do not get it sent to them in Germany.

Mr. TEMPLE. It is credited to them.

Mr. SISSON. That is true, and so will this be credited to the family.

Mr. TEMPLE. But to have the money credited to them does not support the family.

Mr. SISSON. The gentleman is complaining about a matter in respect to which the Appropriation Committee can give him no help. We can not make the law, because, if we did, we would have a great many criticizing us for going outside of our jurisdiction.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. One would naturally think that with 11,000 or more people in the War-Risk Bureau, who are supposed to be there for the purpose of facilitating these payments, the work could be kept current. I undertake to say that I can organize a war-risk bureau, systematize it, and get the work current with 3,500 people. They have 11,000 there.

Mr. SISSON. That will not help the case the gentleman speaks of here; that will not relieve the situation; because where those cases have been left with the War-Risk Bureau the

payments have been continued. No changes were made, but where it was transferred to the War Department is where the trouble is arising. That is a case that this committee has nothing to do with except to appropriate the money.

Mr. TEMPLE. I am very well acquainted with the fact, but the gentleman was discussing the situation, and I thought that point ought to be brought out.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has again expired.

Mr. DALLINGER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I do this for the purpose of trying to clear this matter up. What I want to know from the Committee on Appropriations is whether there is money enough appropriated so that where the soldier made his original allotment, where he had a dependent family, and then went off on the western front, supposing his family to be looked after, the Government having under the law promised to make an allowance in addition to the allotment, and where the War Department canceled the original allotment and after several months located the soldier and got him to make a new allotment—whether under these circumstances there is money enough appropriated to take care of the lapse in payment during the period between the first allotment and the second allotment, where the dependent family under the law was supposed to be entitled to a part of the soldier's pay plus the Government allowance. In other words, is there money enough appropriated so that even after inexcusable delay these dependents can get that money in a lump sum?

Mr. SISSON. That will be left entirely with the soldier. If the soldier wants to make a reaffirmation of the allotment, which he made in the War-Risk Bureau, it will be paid. If not, it will all be paid to the soldier himself. Nothing will be taken from the soldier.

Mr. DALLINGER. What about the allowance, the payment of which by the Government depends upon the allotment made by the soldier?

Mr. SISSON. There is no allowance handled in the War Department. All those allowances are handled in the War-Risk Insurance Bureau. The gentleman is not discussing that which is affected by that order, because the order in the War Department respected only the allowance made by himself. No allowance by the Government, because in every case where the money is paid out of the Treasury it is through the War Department. There has been no change in the War-Risk Insurance Bureau; it is in the War Department. Do I make myself plain?

Mr. DALLINGER. Mr. Chairman, apparently I can not make myself understood by the committee. I took the case of a soldier who originally made his allotment before leaving this country. I have hundreds of those cases in my district where soldiers went to the western front thinking their families were provided for. They had been furnished with a summary of the act which showed that if a soldier made an allotment of his pay direct to his wife or to his father or mother that the Government would add so much more. These men go away thinking that everything is taken care of. Now, there is an order issued which provides that the soldier must make a new allotment. I do not know what the reason was—it may have been a very good reason—but what I am trying to get at is this: After the soldier has made his new allotment, then, as I understand, the War-Risk Insurance Bureau will honor that and the dependent family will get the allotment and the allowance that goes with it; but what is going to happen in regard to the four or five months' pay that the soldier supposed had been given to his dependent family, plus the Government's allowance, and which the family never received?

Mr. SHERLEY. If the gentleman will permit I think I can set him straight. The gentleman is confusing two different classes of payment. There are certain allotments made to dependents which the Government matches with funds of its own. They have always been and are now paid by the War-Risk Insurance Bureau and there has been no requirement for a new allotment on such payments. There are also certain voluntary allotments which the soldier can make and which for a while were paid through the War-Risk Insurance Bureau. Under the law it was found that the War Department should make these payments and it does now make them and it is insisting upon a new allotment, a new designation made by the soldier for the continuation of such allotment. Now, the gentleman asks what happened in the period between the time of the old determination of the soldier and the new. Touching those which are compulsory and which the Government supplements nothing happened. The family is entitled all through to receive that through the War-Risk Insurance Bureau. Touching the voluntary one in reference to the pay of the soldier when he makes his new voluntary allotment, he may make it revert back or make it continue from the date of the new pay, because this allotment comes out of his pay and comes out of his pay only to the extent that he is willing it should come out, and so the matter is entirely in his hands, and it is not a question of the appropriation of moneys in order to take care of that sort of a situation, though it is true there has been, unfortunately, a good deal of delay and confusion in acquainting the soldier with the need of making a new allotment, and the result was that the War Department shut off payments until a new allotment was made and there were a lot of families of soldiers who were denied this allotment that the soldier thought he had made and which he was desirous of making.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SHERLEY. I will.

Mr. SLAYDEN. I have a case which the gentleman has described very accurately. The allowance was cut off, was not paid. Is it now required of that soldier, who claims to have made the request that it be paid to his family, in the event the papers are lost or anything of the kind, to make a new one?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; as I understand it, he has to make a new allotment under the decision that was reached some time ago by the department.

Mr. SLAYDEN. This soldier is in France, and some papers that he wrote me he had sent perhaps were lost, for I have never received them.

Mr. SHERLEY. The order was sent out, as I understand it, to all the commanders everywhere to acquaint the soldiers with the need of their making new allotments if they desired to make them to their families. I am talking about the voluntary allotments.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Or renewing the old?

Mr. SHERLEY. Or a renewal of the old and——

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. In a moment. I understand that the War Department states they have in large measure, they believe, brought that information to all the soldiers over the country.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Will the gentleman yield now?

Mr. SHERLEY. I will yield first to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GREENE] and then I will yield.

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. I have a case of a sailor in the United States Navy who was in my home office last Tuesday. He made an allotment in January, 1918, of $15 a month to his wife. The money has been deducted from his pay each month. His wife has never received a single dollar of that money.

Mr. SHERLEY. Well, of course, there are such cases which are inexcusable.

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. There was an allowance of $10 a month made to the wife by the Government and she never received a dollar from the allowance. Unfortunately the wife died last week. The husband happened to have a little money in the bank and he has used up all of these savings to provide the comforts and maintenance of his wife, and now he must pay the funeral expenses of his wife. His wife never received that $10 per month which was the allowance granted by the Government.

SEVERAL MEMBERS. Fifteen dollars.

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. No; it was $10 allowance made by the Government that she failed to receive, as well as the $15 per month which was deducted monthly from his pay, but never paid to his wife. The husband will undoubtedly receive the amount of the allotment which was deducted from his pay. I think he should be entitled to the money allowed by the Government, as he was compelled to use all the money he had saved before his marriage to maintain his family while in the service of his country. This failure to pay caused a great anxiety to both the sailor and his lamented wife.

Mr. SHERLEY. Well, of course, there is no excuse for a situation of that kind.

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. I want to say further, with regard to the change in the system of allotments and allowances, many of the soldiers are on foreign soil. They are required to make new allotments and ask for allowances and their commanding officers have the blanks the soldiers are required to fill out in the form of a questionnaire. Many of these defenders of the Nation are puzzled with the questions. The questionnaires sent to the families are equally puzzling to them.

The soldier's family are required to make a statement, and then the bureau compares the soldier's statement and the family's statement. If the statements do not agree, the allowance is cut off and the family, who depended upon the allowance because of the breadwinner being drafted into the service, is made to suffer. Besides, the family find that the assured allotment at the time of drafting is denied them.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. DALLINGER] has expired.

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I would like about a minute more.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts desire recognition?

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. Yes; for about two minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GREENE] is recognized.

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. I have employed in my office at home, since this war began, an extra clerk and an extra stenographer to take care of all this work. I was at home from the 21st of September until I came back here yesterday, and I worked all the time I was at home, and my office was full of people who do not know anything about the law and can not understand why they have so much trouble to obtain the money due them. I realize that the business carried on in the Bureau of War Risk Insurance is a very great undertaking—greater than its promoters ever imagined it could be, I presume. It is a serious situation. And I am afraid the $70,000,000 provided in this bill will be insufficient to meet the necessities of the situation. Soldiers and sailors are dying rapidly from influenza and on the field of battle, and we shall have a great demand for money to meet the expenses of this bureau. We must not do any injustice to the soldiers and sailors who are fighting the enemy across the seas, and we must provide for their families in their absence—not in a parsimonious way but with liberality. Let us economize by cutting off useless expenditures elsewhere. Under no circumstances have so many obstacles put in the pathway of the soldiers and sailors and their families.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask for a minute or two.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GREENE] yield the floor?

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky is recognized.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman from Kentucky yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. DENISON. I was wondering if the gentleman from Kentucky did not make a slight error a moment ago. I understand now that the War Department has begun the payment, since the 1st of July, where there was simply an allotment but no allowance from the Government. Is that what the gentleman stated?

Mr. SHERLEY. The War Department pays the voluntary allotment that a soldier may choose to make, and that is altogether irrespective of the compulsory allotment for dependents. The Government undertakes to supplement by payments of its own in accordance with the number of such dependents.

Mr. DENISON. Now, there has been another class of cases, where the soldier has had to sign a new allotment, according to instructions given me. There is where the soldier made an allotment of more than $15 a month. I would like the gentleman to explain that. I have never understood it.

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not know that I clearly understand just the case to which the gentleman refers. We first fixed the compulsory allotment that should be made, dependent upon the amount of money that the soldier received, and as that changed accordingly as he might receive promotion, there came from changes in pay endless confusion as to the amount of compulsory allotment and the amount the Government supplemented it by. We undertook to standardize that by fixing a definite sum, and it is quite possible that it was necessary in a number of cases for additional statements to be made by soldiers touching both characters of payment.

Mr. DENISON. I think that is true.

Mr. SHERLEY. I want to say this further: I am not here to defend in the slightest degree the War-Risk Insurance Bureau for its failure to attend to some of these cases. I thoroughly agree with the statement made by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GREENE] that a situation such as he speaks of ought not to occur. I have personally undertaken—not once, but a great many times; not only in connection with people who are constituents of mine, but in connection with the system itself—to bring to the attention of the War-Risk Insurance Bureau the need of simplifying and arranging this matter so that there would not be delay. I have a good deal of sympathy with the feeling that Members have about this matter. At the same time I try to be fair about it. It must be said in justice to these people that their task is a tremendous one, very much bigger than an ordinary survey of the field would indicate. Now, the remedies I do not know. After all, the remedy is in the efficiency of the men at the head of the bureau. That efficiency can not be determined offhand. The men who are put at the head of the bureau are supposed to be men who have had experience in insurance life that would enable them to accomplish this task. Of course, different men will have different opinions. There has been to my knowledge considerable effort made for a betterment and improvement of conditions, and I think a considerable improvement is taking place. They are still behind in a good many cases. And this is also to be borne in mind: There are a great many cases that really present all the problems of lawsuits. Here is a woman who claims that she is the wife of a man, and entitled to certain compulsory allotment and allowance. The soldier disputes it, and there comes a question of fact. There is, of course, in some cases fraud practiced. There are some cases where actual facts can not immediately be ascertained. But in spite of that I still say there are many cases such as the gentleman has related where there seems to be no possible excuse for the failure of action on the part of the bureau.

Now, the Committee on Appropriations could not deal with the matter. We have no jurisdiction to make law, or to say who shall be at the head of the bureau or who shall not be at its head. All we can do is to vote the money, and we have voted the money, all that they can properly use, and we are prepared to vote it.

Mr. DENISON rose.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DENISON. I was going to say that I think if the Committee on Appropriations did have charge of the matter there would be probably considerable improvement over the present condition.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am obliged to the gentleman for the compliment; but I am not quite sure of that, because the task is really a very difficult one.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. The question I wanted to refer to was this: The gentleman stated that there was a difference between compulsory and voluntary allotments, and he referred to the law requiring the filing of a new application. The question was, Does that apply to the voluntary allotment?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; I think by and large that is true, but not always true.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. EMERSON. On whose initiative is the allotment made?

Mr. SHERLEY. The voluntary allotment must be made on the initiative of the soldier himself. Nobody else could do it.

Mr. EMERSON. And the compulsory allotment can be made on application by the dependent?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes. There was a straightening up required at one time, incident to the fact I have spoken of, where under the law the amount of the allotment was dependent upon the amount of pay that the soldier was getting, and we passed an act through here, I think in June, undertaking to standardize it.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKLEY. You referred a while ago to the voluntary allotment. Did you intend to include in your statement such voluntary allotments as required the Government to make an allowance to supplement them? There are two kinds of voluntary allotments, as the gentleman knows.

Mr. SHERLEY. I meant the allotment altogether aside from that which the Government supplements, and which is now paid through the War Department.

Mr. BARKLEY. Under the law there may be voluntary allotments also?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. EMERSON. Does the allowance come automatically?

Mr. SHERLEY. It comes automatically when there is proof of dependency.

Mr. EMERSON. But it must follow application?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes. An application must be made in every case.

Mr. SISSON. I also think it is fair to say this in defense of the Bureau of War Risk, that all this trouble about correspondence and allotments being stopped was not due to any fault of the Bureau of War Risk. The greater part of it has been due to the change of the law regarding the method, and the fact that a great deal of this work was turned over to the War Department as to the voluntary allotments. For that reason all of the complaint is not against the War-Risk Bureau.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. Yes.

Mr. TREADWAY. Does not the gentleman think that an error was made originally in having any part of the soldier's pay transferred into the hands of the War-Risk Bureau? Is not that the basis of a good deal of the present trouble?

Mr. SISSON. No; I think myself that it all ought to have been handled in the Bureau of War Risk, to start with. If not, it ought to have been put into the War Department and all put in one place.

Mr. TREADWAY. And allowed to stay there?

Mr. SISSON. Yes. Since you have put it under the War-Risk Bureau I think everything that deals with insurance ought to be put with the War-Risk Bureau, and everything that deals with the boy as a soldier should be turned over to the Army.

Mr. TREADWAY. If the gentleman will yield——

Mr. SISSON. I have no further desire to hold the floor. I simply wanted to make the statement that a great deal of the criticism that is being urged against the War-Risk Bureau was not just, because a great deal of it might be lodged against the War Department.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves to strike out the last two words.

Mr. TREADWAY. During the past two weeks I have had opportunity of meeting the families, especially the mothers, of many boys in the service. I have continually been a strong advocate of the war-risk insurance and the manner in which the business of the department has been handled. I think it is a remarkable credit to the department that within a year's time such an enormous amount of work could be taken in charge and handled as well as it has been handled. I want to give it all due credit, but, nevertheless, whoever is responsible for this change that has recently been made, whether by law or regulation or by agreement between the two departments—the War-Risk Bureau and the Quartermaster Department—wherever that change comes from, it has been a source of the greatest discomfort to parents.

Mr. SHERLEY. If the gentleman will yield, I agree with him, and where it comes from is the law that the Congress of the United States enacted.

Mr. TREADWAY. I understand that to be the case, and that is the statement made when the War-Risk Bureau sent out the notices of the cancellation of the allotments. It so states on these cards. I think, however, that the statute to which the gentleman refers was not mandatory. But I want to say this in addition, that the method of notification to parents, and to others who have had the allotments sent them, has been very vague indeed. The notice has not been a plain statement. Perhaps we could understand it, knowing the law, but the average parent can not understand that notice, and out of more than 150 cases that have come to my attention within the past two weeks, I should say nearly half of them have contained that element of complaint, "Why has our allotment stopped?"

In connection with that same matter is the fact that the thousands of men overseas were obliged to receive their notifications from their commanding officer that their original allotment was stopped and that they must sign up a new form. Now, I maintain, Mr. Chairman, that during the period of that change some arrangement should have been made whereby the allotment should not have been stopped. They have been stopped in thousands and thousands of cases, undoubtedly, and it is absolutely impossible for the average person to understand the reason, particularly in view of the fact that it has required a new allotment to be signed by the men in the field, thousands and thousands of them overseas, and those allotments must get back here to the two departments before the change can be made and the new method of procedure put into effect. I think it is gross mismanagement somewhere, to the detriment of the service and to the detriment of the mental feeling, both of the men in the field and the parents or dependents here at home. I feel that it is as aggravating to the men and the families as the gross mismanagement in handling their mail. Coupled with the complaints about stopping allotments was almost an invariable complaint that the letters from home were not reaching the soldiers overseas.

I realize most fully the task of carrying on these departments, but I do think that when that change was required in the law a better system could have been found of putting the law into effect, and I think, as I stated, the men ought to have been allowed a continuance of the allotments in some way or other during the period of the change from the War-Risk Bureau to the quartermaster. I withdraw the pro forma amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment will be withdrawn, and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

For the payment of military and naval family allowances, as authorized by law, $70,000,000.

Mr. STAFFORD. I move to strike out the last word, for the purpose of inquiring of the committee whether the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance has called upon the committee for any funds to pay the insurance occasioned by the mortality of our soldiers abroad, and, if so, how much money has been expended by reason of the insurance taken out by the enlisted men and officers?

Mr. SHERLEY. They have an appropriation now that was made in the war risk act of last fall, I think, and they did not ask for any additional money, and the committee did not inquire as to what moneys had been paid under the insurance in effect.

Mr. STAFFORD. Of course they have the premiums that have been paid by the insured, which they can utilize for payment of the principal amount. The committee made no inquiry as to the total amount that has been imposed upon the Government in the payment of death losses?

Mr. SHERLEY. No; there being no deficiency asked, we did not have occasion to go into that.

Mr. TREADWAY. May I ask the chairman [Mr. SHERLEY] whether any statistics have reached his committee as to the number of allotments that have been reassigned under this change in form from the War-Risk Bureau to the Quartermaster's Department?

Mr. SHERLEY. I think that Gen. Lord, the Quartermaster General, made a statement about it. I do not recall it at the moment, but I will try and ascertain.

Mr. TREADWAY. I was wondering what percentage of the soldiers had failed to reassign, probably some through lack of desire to reassign, but a great many through failure to reach the men in the field.

Mr. SHERLEY. There have been a number of cases where there has been no reassignment, and some of them, as the gentleman suggests, have been the fault of the soldiers themselves.

Mr. TREADWAY. Undoubtedly, but——

Mr. SHERLEY. And some of them probably as the result of their not getting the notice, or not understanding it. I agree with what the gentleman has said, that a good deal of the information sent out has been of a character that was not clear to the ordinary layman. In fact, I have had some difficulty in understanding some of it myself, and I have always gone back to law to find out the rights of people rather than to the data that the bureau has sent out.

Mr. TREADWAY. I understand that the order making the change went by telegraph June 26 to all commanding officers, both in this country and abroad.

Mr. MADDEN. June 24.

Mr. TREADWAY. June 24, both in this country and abroad.

Mr. SHERLEY. Gen. Lord states:

Since these letters were written 247,000 new allotments have been received, and they are being paid as they are received, and I think there will be a cessation of these complaints; but back of it all, the condition of the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, with the extraordinary burden it was carrying and the great problem it faced, was the thought that anything we could take away from it to lighten the load we should do.

That was in explanation of why they took over this part of the work.

Mr. TREADWAY. I think there is some justice in that.

Mr. EAGAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. EAGAN. Why was it necessary to stop payment of the allotments between the original assignments and the reassignments?

Mr. SHERLEY. The change in the law prevented the War-Risk Insurance people from continuing the payments, and the War Department had to have allotments in accordance with the law in order to enable them to begin the payments.

Mr. EAGAN. So that the War-Risk Insurance Bureau had no choice except to stop the payments of the allotments?

Mr. SHERLEY. I think not, after the law was changed.

Mr. TILSON. I was called out of the hall for just a moment, and the gentleman may have made the explanation in my absence. Has he explained what takes place in regard to prisoners of war?

Mr. SHERLEY. There was a discussion earlier in the day——

Mr. TILSON. No; I mean this reallotment, where the soldiers are in German prisons and are therefore unable to be reached to sign the reallotments?

Mr. SHERLEY. No; I have not touched on that. In point of fact that particular situation had not occurred to my mind.

Mr. TILSON. It has occurred in my own experience in trying to straighten out a difficulty of that sort. A number of our first men that we sent over there have been captured and are in German prisons, and they are called upon to make reallotments, and, of course, it is impossible for them to make reallotments. I wondered if that had been brought to the attention of the gentleman and if there had been any provision to take care of such cases?

Mr. SHERLEY. It has not been brought to my attention.

Mr. TREADWAY. May I ask the gentleman further in reference to Gen. Lord's testimony as to the 247,000 reallotment cases, what proportion of them are from overseas? Is there any record of that?

Mr. SHERLEY. The testimony does not show.

Mr. TREADWAY. Of course that is the great difficulty. Undoubtedly of the 247,000 a very large percentage are from men in this country at various cantonments. The men to whose families we ought to endeavor to furnish the allotments with the least possible delay are those overseas, who can not understand why their families are deprived of the allotment, and whose families can not understand it, and we can not explain it to them.

Mr. SHERLEY. I agree with the gentleman, but all I can say is that the testimony was that the War Department was doing everything it could by repeated reminders to bring to the attention of all officers the need of notifying all the soldiers of the necessity of making this reallotment.

Mr. TREADWAY. I think I may state that in my experience, in endeavoring to follow up the soldiers' allotments and allowances, I found but one instance where the allotment continued consecutively in its transfer from the War-Risk Bureau to the Quartermaster. I have but one case where during the change the allotment has not been stopped and more or less details necessary to get it started.

Mr. SHERLEY. Of course, gentlemen realize that we only hear about cases where something is wrong, but where the payments are regular we do not hear of it.

Mr. LAZARO. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. LAZARO. Has anything been done to help out the illiterates across the sea?

Mr. SHERLEY. I can not answer the gentleman. I want to say this for the benefit of the House. Of course, it was perfectly impracticable for the committee to undertake a thorough investigation of the War-Risk Insurance or the War Department in connection with allotments. If we had done that, we would not have been able to report the bill. All that was before the committee was the question of moneys for the payment of salaries, and so forth. We did gather, however, knowing the interest of the House, as incident to the examination of witnesses, some information, but we did not cover the case the gentleman alludes to.

Mr. LAZARO. This question of illiterates merely adds to the difficulties we have to contend with.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. While this may not be within the province of the committee, does not the gentleman think that it is a mistake to split up the duties of these allotments and divide them between two different bureaus?

Mr. SHERLEY. I announced when this discussion started, an hour or more ago, that I thought there ought to be some consolidation and that Congress ought to undertake legislation looking to clarifying the whole situation, but it is a matter that ought not to be done hastily, because it is a difficult problem, and the legislative committee dealing with it ought immediately to go into the whole matter, with a view of clarifying and consolidating the bureaus.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. DENISON. What does the gentleman think of this proposition, that an expert from the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance be detailed to the House Office Building to take up the complaints that come into the offices of Members of Congress, and so help take them off our hands and at the same time help the bureau handle the cases?

Mr. SHERLEY. I am fearful that such a person detailed would not be able really to help, without bringing the files of the office, and that you would not get the relief that the gentleman hopes for.

Mr. DENISON. I thought it might hasten it.

Mr. MADDEN. He would be a good additional clerk for Members of Congress.

Mr. DENISON. They will have to do that or the Committee on Appropriations will have to give us more for clerk hire, because the work is getting to be burdensome, although we are all anxious and willing to do it.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I want to correct a statement I made to the effect that the War-Risk Bureau has 11,000 clerks. I have since ascertained that they have 14,000; that they have increased the number 4,000 in the last few weeks.

Mr. BUTLER. Does the gentleman mean to say that they have 14,000 clerks in that one bureau?

Mr. MADDEN. Fourteen thousand.

Mr. BUTLER. Whew! [Laughter.]

Mr. MADDEN. Fourteen thousand. I have letters in my possession to the effect that there is not a clerk down there who does more than one day's work in a week. I have further information that some clerks supposed to be working at night report for duty at 6 o'clock, immediately after making the report for duty go out to supper, and when the theater is open they go to the theater and never come back. If this kind of a situation exists, it is not to be wondered at that you can not get matters adjusted about which Members are complaining.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. BUTLER. Does the gentleman know what these 14,000 clerks are costing the Government?

Mr. MADDEN. No; but here is an additional appropriation of $7,580,000 in this bill, with $3,591,000 in the regular bill six months ago.

Mr. BUTLER. Does the gentleman know how much the original appropriation was?

Mr. MADDEN. Oh, they did not have 14,000 clerks at first; they keep adding a thousand or two every week, and now I see that somebody has been able to persuade the health officer of the District of Columbia, the District Commissioners, the chairman of the Civil Service Commission, and the Secretary of the Treasury to plead with the bureau not to bring any more clerks into the District until the epidemic is over. But there was no need of waiting until the epidemic is over; they are so crowded with clerks that that is what helps make the epidemic.

Some sleeping rooms are occupied by as many as 12 girls. I know of a case where the whole 12 have been sick with the influenza and not one able to help the other. Some people have asked why the 11, free from influenza, insisted on going into the room and sleeping where 1 girl was sick. The answer to that is that they had no other place to go; they could not sleep on the street, and they could not find a place in the hall of the house in which they had the room to sleep. Aside from all the iniquity of having these girls here under these circumstances, there is still greater iniquity in the determination of the heads of these bureaus to employ people regardless of whether they need them or not. The time has come when somebody, somewhere, must exercise the power that exists in the Government to prevent the extravagant waste of public funds and this criminal employment of unnecessary people. [Applause.]

Mr. BUTLER. Will the gentleman answer a question?

Mr. MADDEN. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BUTLER. I find that this appropriation of $7,580,000 is for officers and employees. Do they have officers in the War-Risk Bureau?

Mr. MADDEN. Not military officers. I suppose it means heads of bureaus.

Mr. BUTLER. Do they have any of these moving figures in uniform?

Mr. MADDEN. I understand not. But I want to relate another little experience that I had. One of the division heads of the War-Risk Insurance, whose name I am not permitted to use, came to see me the other day. He told me that the people in the office over which he presides are so thick, so crowded, that there is not standing space for them, to say nothing about desk space; that they have not any work for them to do; that there is no need for their services; and that there ought to be something done, regardless of the influenza, to stop the situation that exists.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. BUTLER. How many would we have here if we did not have the influenza?

Mr MADDEN. As many as they could get.

Mr. LAZARO. Does not the gentleman think this situation has been a little magnified? For instance, everyone agrees that all of the clerks who are brought here ought to work, ought to do their share.

Mr. MADDEN. But they all admit themselves that they are not doing it.

Mr. LAZARO. And the gentleman would not be in favor of issuing a blanket order to stop the Government from bringing clerks here, if clerks are needed to prosecute this war?

Mr. MADDEN. If clerks are needed?

Mr. LAZARO. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Yes; I admit if clerks are needed or if anyone else is needed, I will go as far as any man in America will go to supply the needs; but when we know they are not needed, and when those in authority know they are not needed, and when they continue to insist upon the employment of those who are not needed and who themselves say they are doing no work, and who laugh on the streets at the ease with which they

can get money out of the Treasury of the United States, then it is time for some one somewhere to say something about it.

Mr. LAZARO. If there is a single clerk in the city of Washington who is not doing his or her duty, that clerk ought not to be employed.

Mr. MADDEN. Of course not.

Mr. LAZARO. But the gentleman understands that in a crisis like this sometimes we are liable to magnify things. The gentleman does not think they are systematically bringing people here who are not needed?

Mr. MADDEN. Absolutely, I do.

Mr. LAZARO. There is room for improvement, I admit; but the gentleman would not issue a blanket order to keep the Government from bringing clerks here who are needed to prosecute this war, because we have grippe here?

Mr. MADDEN. I will tell you what I would do, if I may be allowed to have one minute. I would issue a blanket order to send a committee of experts from either the House and the Senate or from some place in the executive branch of the Government to simplify, systematize, and regulate the conduct of these bureaus, so that no person would be there in any one of them who did not do a day's work.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. SLOAN and Mr. TREADWAY rose.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, can we not reach some agreement touching this debate? I have not wanted to in any way curtail it, but we have been talking for nearly an hour and a half altogether aside from what is really pending, which is the money to be appropriated. I hope the committee may be willing to make some progress on the bill now.

Mr. TREADWAY. Let me have three minutes.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask that all debate upon the pending paragraph end in three minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent that all debate upon the pending paragraph and all of the amendments thereto be concluded in three minutes. Is there objection? (After a pause.) The chair hears none and it is so ordered, and the gentleman from Nebraska is recognized.

Mr. SHERLEY. I understood the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY] was to have the time. The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN] does not desire time now, as I understand.

Mr. SLOAN. I will be satisfied with two minutes.

Mr. SHERLEY. Then, I make the request for five minutes, and I hope the committee will hereafter expedite the progress of the bill. At the present rate, we will not be through for a week.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent to vacate the order by which the debate was limited for three minutes and now asks that debate be concluded at the end of five minutes, two minutes to be controlled by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN] and three minutes by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY]. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, I desire to use these two minutes for the purpose of emphasizing the necessity and the propriety of the organization of a joint committee of the House and Senate to look after the expenditures of these enormous sums of money that we are appropriating. The statement of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] concerning the large number of clerks here at high salaries, standing in each other's way, interfering with the management and control of this prevailing epidemic, ought to be at this time of such force and effect that it would impress itself upon those who are in charge of the legislation of this House so that they would organize such a committee of the best men of each side of this House and Senate to see to it that the money of the people of the country appropriated—not in thousands or millions but in billions of dollars as we are now—is not unwarrantably, lavishly, and extravagantly expended any longer as it is being done now in the manner stated by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN]. [Applause.]

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I have favored constantly the removal of numerous clerks from the city of Washington. There are very many departments that have no bearing whatever in being located here, and no reason therefor. I am on record some months ago of favoring the removal of a number of different bureaus to the centers where they should be for their proper work, but the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, Mr. Chairman, belongs here, and in spite of the criticisms of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] I think that bureau is deserving of the very highest commendation. To think that in one year's time a bureau could be organized capable of writing nearly $35,000,000 of insurance is something perfectly marvelous and almost beyond our comprehension.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. TREADWAY. I am sorry, but my time is very short.

Mr. MADDEN. I would like to ask the gentleman one question——

Mr. TREADWAY. I say this further, Mr. Chairman, that in view of the very large amount of insurance carried and the very quick time in which it has been put into operation, and the fact that no policy can be issued for more than $10,000, the expense of conducting that bureau and the fact that they are asking $7,580,000 all told is not an unreasonable expenditure. I agree with the gentleman from Illinois perfectly that the clerks here ought to be expected to do a full day's work, men and women alike, but I do wish to uphold the manner in which the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance is performing its duty, the service it is rendering to the men in uniform, and the great benefit it is to the families of those men. We are asked to appropriate $7,580,000 to handle that work, and it is none too much. It is carrying nearly twice, Mr. Chairman, the amount of life insurance in effect in this country at the breaking out of the war, and no life insurance companies could ever have written any such aggregate amount of insurance for the amount that has been expended, or is asked for by the Government in this appropriation bill. Naturally, mistakes occur, but I think, considering the enormous task it has, the work is as well done as we could expect.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The Clerk read as follows:

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

Chicago, Ill., post office, courthouse, etc.: For repairing damage done to the Adams Street entrance, $22,000.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Mr. Chairman, I want to say a word or two in reply to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY]. In the first place, the War-Risk Insurance Bureau is not being run efficiently. I make that charge on my responsibility as a Member of the House. I can prove it by 9 out of 10 of the people who are employed in it. I can prove it, further, by the failure of the bureau to accomplish the work for which it was organized within the time in which it should be accomplished. I make the charge that the bureau had $3,591,000 appropriated for its maintenance just six months ago, and that to-day it comes in here for an additional appropriation as a deficiency of $7,580,000.

Mr. WALSH. They asked for $10,000,000.

Mr. MADDEN. They asked for $10,000,000, and the appropriation is for $7,580,000. That makes a total appropriation within the last six months of $11,171,000 to administer an institution that ought to be capable of functioning with 3,500 people. They have 14,000 people employed there now, and if this is an example of the understanding of the gentleman from Massachusetts of efficient administration of public affairs, I have not much respect for his knowledge of efficiency. It is the most inefficient, outrageously extravagant institution that was ever organized under the Government. It is true we are handling big things. We had a large number of cases. I realize the importance of the work, but when everybody in the service will unhesitatingly tell you they are not called upon to work; that the average number of hours they put in a week is one good day's work; that there are thousands of men and women who are supposed to be employed here making no kind of excuse for not performing the duty at all, or if they report, as I said a few moments ago, they leave immediately after reporting and make no pretense of working—now, if that is efficiency, if that is system, if that is commendable, why the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY] can have it so. But I do not believe it is efficiency. I do not believe it is system. I do not believe it is commendable. It is unjustifiable. The American people are entitled to a proper administration of their affairs. This function of administering the War-Risk Bureau is important. The best reason in the world why it should be efficient is the importance of the case, the urgency of the need of the widows of the men who die upon the battle fields, of the mothers, of the wives who are at home and whose soldier husbands are at the front. Can there be any worse failure to realize that patriotic need of public service than the employment of 10 people to do 1 person's work and throw the money of the public into the gutter and at the same time fail to accomplish the need of these deserving people by the payment of their allotments in a systematic, regular, and prompt way?

Efficiency! Oh, it would make a dog laugh to talk about efficiency under such circumstances. It is criminal. And those who are responsible for the criminality involved in such

management ought in a time like this, when everybody is called upon to pay and bleed, to be prosecuted for their failure to observe the obligations which they took when they swore to protect and preserve the Constitution and the laws of the United States, as they must have done when they entered upon the discharge of the duties which devolve upon them by reason of their appointment to this office. Away with defense of the character made by the gentleman from Massachusetts of such an institution. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The Clerk read as follows:

East St. Louis, Ill., $4,000.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, just a moment. I hope the gentlemen will not continue a discussion that leads nowhere and is altogether aside from the bill. I have been generous with the membership of the House, but we can not hope to pass this bill for days if this sort of debate is to continue. Individual Members come to me and urge me to expedite the passage of the bill, and then delay the consideration of it. I hope the gentleman from Massachusetts will not ask for further time.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw my motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

NATIONAL CEMETERIES.

Disposition of remains, etc.: For the disposition of remains of officers, soldiers, civilian employees, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, fiscal years 1918 and 1919, $710,274.52.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. Chairman, let me ask the gentleman a question. I am very sorry indeed that I did not hear the gentleman's statement the other day. I know it was lucidly made. I could not be here at the time. Will the gentleman tell me what is the occasion for this expenditure, which seems to be a large appropriation of money in a deficiency bill?

Mr. SHERLEY. Does the gentleman mean the total bill?

Mr. BUTLER. No; this one item of $710,274.52 for disposition of remains.

Mr. SHERLEY. That is for the purpose indicated, and, of course, the gentleman realizes that unfortunately there have been a number of deaths of men in the service.

Mr. BUTLER. But these are not abroad?

Mr. SHERLEY. This is for men who die while returning from abroad, and for the deaths of men who are in the service here in America.

Mr. BUTLER. I will confess I did not know that the Government paid for the burial of civil employees until I read this.

Mr. SHERLEY. It only pays for civil employees of the War Department, and that provision has existed for 20 or 30 years.

Mr. BUTLER. I presume it has; but it does not extend beyond that, does it?

Mr. SHERLEY. No.

The Clerk read as follows:

Provided, That purchase and exchange of typewriting machines, to be paid for from this appropriation, may be made at the special price allowed to schools teaching stenography and typewriting without obligating typewriter companies to supply these machines to all departments of the Government at the same price.

Mr. DALLINGER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I want to ask the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations if there was anything said to his committee in regard to a new storehouse for the Watertown Arsenal?

Mr. SHERLEY. There were a number of items that were sent in as estimates which the Ordnance Department voluntarily withdrew. There was none submitted for a storehouse.

Mr. DALLINGER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to state that last week I was at the Watertown Arsenal, where more than 12 large new buildings have recently been constructed and an enormous amount of work is being carried on, and the commandant told me that he had repeatedly reported to the authorities here in Washington the imperative need of a new storehouse for the arsenal. There is a lot of nickel and other valuable material used in the foundry in casting guns and in the manufacture of projectiles and there is no place to store it except out of doors. Moreover, there is a lot of machinery and a lot of metal and other material at the arsenal that deteriorates by being left out of doors, and there is also the continual chance of having valuable material, such as nickel, brass, and copper, stolen. It is perfectly evident that material of this kind ought to be kept under lock and key in a storehouse. I felt it my duty to call this matter to the attention of the committee, even if the Bureau of Ordnance did not consider it of sufficient importance to present it to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. SHERLEY. If the gentleman will permit, no estimate was submitted for that object, and the committee therefore could not anticipate that need. In addition to that, there is a general repair fund for the arsenal, and there is an amount carried here for the repair of arsenals. I suspect that the department ought to take care of the need as the gentleman seems to indicate.

Mr. DALLINGER. I would like to ask the chairman of the committee if he thinks an appropriation for repairs could be used for such a purpose?

Mr. SHERLEY. Not for the construction of a new building, but it is frequently used for enlargements.

Mr. ROBBINS. This says "improvements" also in the same item.

Mr. SHERLEY. But the maintenance item is rarely used for new projects of any magnitude. Usually the commandants of these various arsenals are very much more insistent on what they consider the needs of the arsenals than are the men who are at the head of this branch of the Government. Gen. Compton has just recently made a visit to the arsenals, and I think that included the one that the gentleman from Massachusetts referred to. He was present at the hearings and testified within 10 days, and he did not speak of such a need as that at the Watertown Arsenal. He voluntarily withdrew some items.

Mr. DALLINGER. Do I understand that the officers who appeared before the committee did not ask for it?

Mr. SHERLEY. They did not.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Provided, That purchase and exchange of typewriting machines, to be paid for from this appropriation, may be made at the special price allowed to schools teaching stenography and typewriting without obligating typewriter companies to supply these machines to all departments of the Government at the same price.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the paragraph just read. I wish to inquire of the chairman of the committee the reason for this special exemption. I recall that when the representatives of the typewriting companies came before the legislative subcommittee they requested that the law prescribing the low price at which the Government now secures its typewriters should be changed because of the increased cost. What is the purpose of this exempting provision?

Mr. SHERLEY. Just to carry the exact language that has been carried in the Army act for a number of years. It is a special price, lower than the Government price made to schools.

Mr. STAFFORD. What kind of schools, may I inquire of the chairman of the committee?

Mr. SHERLEY. Various schools—Indian schools, District of Columbia schools, and other Government schools.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then I assume that this is for the purpose of qualifying the general law which gives the Government a fixed low price for its typewriters.

Mr. SHERLEY. This was supposed to get them for a fixed price lower than that price. That is the purpose of it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is not that the purpose of this, that the Government is not to get the price at which they are furnished to the schools?

Mr. SHERLEY. No. It says "at the special price allowed to schools teaching stenography and typewriting."

Mr. STAFFORD. Without obligating the typewriter companies to supply these machines to all the departments of the Government at the same price?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; not having to supply all the other departments. This relates to schools.

Mr. STAFFORD. I inquire of the gentleman what schools—whether Government schools or otherwise? I should think it relates to private schools. I would assume from the reading of this provision that the purpose was that the Government was not to get the benefit of the low price at which typewriters were furnished to private commercial colleges.

Mr. SHERLEY. It is my understanding that they get the lowest possible price. This exact language was carried in the Army act touching this purchase.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I read it it excepts the Government from getting that low price.

Mr. TILSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. TILSON. Does not it apply to the coast-artillery school at Fort Monroe entirely, and made so that the school may be able to get these typewriters at a lower rate than the typewriter company furnishes them to all departments?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. That was the understanding I had.

Mr. SHERLEY. It gives the artillery school this special price which is a lower price than the special governmental price.

Mr. WALSH. While the point of order is reserved I would like to ask why the artillery school should be favored in this way.

Mr. SHERLEY. Because it is a school, because the typewriter company makes a special price of typewriters for schools; that is the only reason.

Mr. WALSH. It seems to me that if the typewriter companies can afford to furnish a special rate for schools, in view of the enormous quantities the Government uses in their departments, they might make a similar rate for all of them.

Mr. SHERLEY. The typewriter companies have been complaining for two years past that they are losing money on typewriters furnished the Government. I do not know the ancestry of this provision, but what probably happened years ago was that the typewriter companies, in order to get the use of typewriters more prevalent with the public, gave special prices to schools, and somebody learning of it insisted that the Government school should come in on the same basis. I do not know, but I only know that this is the language carried, and the purpose was to get typewriters at the cheapest possible price.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the reservation of the point of order.

The Clerk read as follows:

For commutation of quarters and of heat and light to commissioned officers, members of the Nurse Corps, and enlisted men on duty at places where no public quarters are available, including enlisted men of the Regular Army Reserves and retired enlisted men when ordered to active duty, and for every commissioned officer of the Army of the United States on duty in the field or on active duty without the territorial jurisdiction of the United States who maintains a place of abode for a wife, child, or dependent parent, for whom no public quarters are available. $75,861,520.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order. Does this enlarge the law we passed some time this spring granting commutation of quarters, light, and heat only to those officers who are married?

Mr. SHERLEY. It is the exact language of the present Army act.

Mr. STAFFORD. I wish to make a further inquiry. The gentleman from Alabama will recall that there was a discussion on the floor of the House as to whether we should extend commutation of quarters to officers who are unmarried, and I wish to inquire whether under this phraseology it would be practicable to extend the commutation to such officers?

Mr. DENT. I think the gentleman from Kentucky has answered the gentleman from Wisconsin. I have not read the language critically. If the gentleman will notice, it says in the latter part officers who maintain a place of abode for a wife, child, or dependent parent for whom no public quarters are available.

Mr. STAFFORD. I wish to inquire further whether this large amount was not occasioned largely by the passage of that law.

Mr. DENT. Unquestionably; that was new legislation, and up to that time officers in the field had no right to commutation of quarters.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the reservation of the point of order.

The Clerk read as follows:

The appropriation for "Pay of the Army" for the fiscal year 1919 shall be available to pay 1,289 field clerks at the rate of $1,200 per annum, the minimum or entrance rate fixed by the Army appropriation act approved July 9, 1918, instead of at $1,000 per annum, the rate appropriated in the said act.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order to the paragraph. What is the reason for raising the pay from $1,000 to $1,200?

Mr. SHERLEY. It does not raise the pay. The Army act of July 8, 1918, provided that hereafter the minimum pay should be $1,200, but the appropriation was made for clerks at $1,000 as a minimum, and it was simply an error in failing to take up one line that had been changed by a subsequent one, and so in order to carry out the law, which says that they shall come in at $1,200, we provide that they shall be paid $1,200 instead of $1,000, which they were appropriated for.

Mr. DENT. The increase of pay from $1,000 to $1,200 was put on in the Senate and was agreed to in conference, and in writing the amount in the bill the conferees did not carry the full amount.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then this is largely to correct the clerical error——

Mr. DENT. It is to carry out the legislation that was put on the bill increasing the minimum pay from $1,000 to $1,200.

Mr. SHERLEY. The paragraph which allowed 1,287 clerks at $1,000 each was not in conference. What was in conference was the provision that the minimum or entrance pay, exclusive of said allowances of said Army clerks, shall be $1,200 per annum. When that was agreed to it necessarily made imperative a change in language that I have previously read so that we make this apply to existing law.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the reservation of the point of order.

The Clerk read as follows:

Clothing and camp and garrison equipage: For clothing and camp and garrison equipage, including the same objects specified under this head in the Army appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, $59,138,433, and in addition thereto the sum of $108,376,182 of the amount appropriated for "Regular supplies, Quartermaster Corps" in the Army appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, is made available for the foregoing purposes.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I see in line 20, page 16, the language "members of the Officers' Reserve Corps." Has not the distinction between members of the Officers' Reserve Corps and the other officers been wiped out?

Mr. SHERLEY. That is possible. We simply followed the exact language that is used, and it is possible that there may be some of these old accounts still to be paid to individuals who at the time the mileage was incurred were members of the Officers' Reserve Corps.

Mr. TILSON. And it would require that language to cover them?

Mr. SHERLEY. So it is highly desirable to continue the language.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman withhold his motion for a moment?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Wyoming yield?

Mr. MONDELL. Certainly.

Mr. CANNON. I would be glad if the gentleman would move now that the committee rise.

Mr. SHERLEY. All right.

Mr. MONDELL. I rose for the purpose of making the same inquiry.

Mr. SHERLEY. Before making that motion may I say to the committee, I hope in perfect good humor, that if we are to pass this bill to-morrow it is necessary that we all try to confine ourselves to the discussion of things directly involved in the bill. I hope the committee will cooperate in that consideration of the measure. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, reported that that committee having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that this day they had presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bills:

H. R. 10609. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to exchange the present Federal building site at Eatonton, Ga., for another site on the public square in said city.

H. J. Res. 331. Joint resolution authorizing the readmission to the United States of certain aliens who have been conscripted or have volunteered for service with the military forces of the United States or cobelligerent forces.

RESERVE OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, in the absence of the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table Senate joint resolution 63, providing for a reserve of the Public Health Service, and that the House insist on its amendment and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the joint resolution.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table Senate joint resolution 63, insist on the House amendment, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate. Is there objection?

There was no objection; and the Speaker announced as the conferees on the part of the House Mr. DOREMUS, Mr. BARKLEY, and Mr. ESCH.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. GALLIVAN, for six days, on account of illness;

To Mr. ZIHLMAN, indefinitely, on account of illness; and

To Mr. MCKEOWN, for 15 days, on account of important business.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has a telegram from the gentleman from Connecticut, Mr. LONERGAN, asking that his leave of absence be extended indefinitely. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. LITTLE. I ask leave to address the House for two minutes.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman kindly withhold that until to-morrow?

Mr. LITTLE. Certainly, if the gentleman wishes it.

DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE STERLING OF ILLINOIS.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, it is with profound regret that I rise to announce the death, at Pontiac, Ill., to-day, in an automobile accident, of our colleague, Hon. JOHN A. STERLING, of Illinois.

At some future time I will ask the House to pause in its ordinary business, in order to pay appropriate tribute to the life, character, and public services of our distinguished friend. I offer the following resolution.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 446.

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. JOHN A. STERLING, a Representative from the State of Illinois.

Resolved, That a committee of 20 Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions, and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will announce the committee in the morning.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect, this House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 11 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, October 18, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation required by the War Industries Board for the remainder of the fiscal year 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1330); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation required by the Chemical Warfare Service of the War Department for the fiscal year 1919, in lieu of the estimate heretofore submitted (H. Doc. No. 1331); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a list of judgments rendered by the Court of Claims which have been presented to this department and require an appropriation for their payment (H. Doc. No. 1332); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

4. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting schedules of claims allowed by the several accounting officers of the Treasury Department under appropriations the balances of which have been exhausted or carried to the surplus fund (H. Doc. No. 1333); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. DENT, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 13015) to amend so much of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919," approved July 9, 1918, as provided for "longevity pay for men other than the Regular Army," reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 831), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII,

Mr. SCULLY introduced a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 337) to enable prompt liquidation of claims for damages to persons and property occasioned by an explosion or explosions at the plant of the T. A. Gillispie Loading Co., at Morgan, N. J., which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BELL: A bill (H. R. 13095) granting an increase of pension to Capt. John T. Morgan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ELLIOTT: A bill (H. R. 13096) granting a pension to Joseph F. Mangold; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: A bill (H. R. 13097) granting an increase of pension to Josiah T. McMillan; to the Committee on Invalid Pension.

By Mr. O'SHAUNESSY: A bill (H. R. 13098) granting an increase of pension to Lewis Holley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WHITE of Maine: A bill (H. R. 13099) granting an increase of pension to Thomas F. Green; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also a bill (H. R. 13100) granting a pension to Rhoda A. Hunnewell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII,

Mr. MAGEE laid on the Clerk's desk a petition of members of Skaneateles Grange, No. 458, Onondaga County, N. Y., against the postal zone rate system, which was referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, *October 18, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Lord God, our heavenly Father, whose ways are past finding out, we come to Thee with bowed heads and sorrowing hearts because of the widespread desolation throughout the land. Thousands are passing to the unseen, leaving homes and hearts desolate.

Again we as a body have been touched with sorrow and grief because of the death of another Member of this House—a real representative of the people, a patriot, a statesman, wise in his counsels, a strong advocate of what he believed to be right.

He is gone. We mourn his going, and by the blessed angel of faith help us, his widow, and all who knew and loved him to look forward to the life eternal, for there is no death.

I long for household voices gone,
For vanished smiles I long;
But God hath led my dear ones on,
And He can do no wrong.

I know not what the future hath
Of marvel or surprise,
Assured alone that life and death
His mercy underlies.

Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. BESHLIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BESHLIN. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, on the 23d day of last month, when the House had under consideration the Senate amendment to House bill 11945, to stimu-

late food production, I offered an amendment as follows: Page 5, lines 18 and 19, after the word "after" in line 18, strike out "June 30, 1919," and insert "December 31, 1918."

My amendment appears in the RECORD on page 10691. If it had been adopted it would have prohibited the sale for beverage purposes of any distilled spirits or their removal from bond after December 31, 1918. Notwithstanding the fact that the RECORD contains a correct statement of the language of my amendment, certain newspaper correspondents, probably unintentionally, incorrectly reported that I endeavored to have the date for the manufacture and sale of wine and beer extended from June 30, 1919, to December 1, 1919, whereas my amendment, if adopted, would have brought about war-time prohibition after December 31, 1918, or six months earlier than provided by the Senate amendment adopted by the House, and 11 months earlier than the newspaper correspondents in reporting my amendment incorrectly stated.

On the front page of a prominent newspaper of my State, in its issue of September 24 last, under the heading, "War-time prohibition approved by House," the following language appeared:

"All efforts otherwise to amend the legislation were defeated. The proposal by Representative KAHN of California, Republican, to extend the effective date for prohibiting the sale of wine and beer to December 31, 1919, was defeated 112 to 52, as was one by Representative BESHLIN of Pennsylvania, Democrat, to change date from next May 1 to December 1, 1919."

When this grossly false and unfair statement was called to my attention, I immediately sent the following telegram to the newspaper in question:

SEPTEMBER 25, 1918.

Yesterday's paper, first page, under "War-time prohibition approved by House," incorrectly states defeat of amendment offered by me to Senate prohibition rider to change date for stopping manufacture of beer and wine from next May 1 to December 1, 1919. My amendment (see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 10691) provided that sale for beverage purposes of any distilled spirits or removal from bond should cease December 31, 1918, not December 1, 1919, as incorrectly published. Request the same publicity of this message as was given the article referred to.

I also called the Washington correspondent of this same paper on the telephone and inquired why an incorrect report was sent out. He said that his assistant wrote the article, and he promised that a full correction would appear in the issue of the following day.

Although the original item was widely published, and my position on a very important piece of legislation was grossly misrepresented, and I was thereby done a great injustice, the paper in question never had the courtesy to acknowledge the receipt of my message, and never took the pains to undo the wrong it did me other than to print on the last page of its issue of September 25, 1918, under title, "Put foreign and home wine trade on same basis," at the end thereof, the following:

Representative BESHLIN of Pennsylvania today called attention to the fact that an amendment which he offered to the prohibition provision of the food-production bill was for the purpose of prohibiting the sale of liquors after December 31 of this year. Misprints in some accounts of the debate, he said, made the impression that he asked for an extension of time to December 31, 1919, which was not so.

Mr. Speaker, not only did the RECORD contain the exact language of my amendment, but the amendment itself was in typewritten form and was in the possession of the Clerk, so any correspondent, had he wished to undo the wrong done me, could easily have done so by referring to the RECORD or the amendment.

The misprint was due entirely to the correspondent's act in reporting the item, not to the language of my amendment or to any misprints of the debate. A spirit of justice and fair play should have prompted those who committed the error to frankly admit it and make earnest effort to undo the injury unjustly done me.

Because of the correspondent's failure to make a proper correction and give it the same publicity as was given in the article referred to, I have asked the indulgence of the House for the purpose of attempting in some measure to counteract the effect of an unjust, untruthful, and grossly unfair statement and misrepresentation of my position on a matter of great importance to the American people.

Since I became a Member of this House I voted for the submission to the several States of the national prohibition amendment to the Federal Constitution, and I have labored earnestly and consistently for war-time prohibition by statute.

Believing that national war-time prohibition would increase our supply of food and coal, improve transportation, increase labor efficiency and prosperity, add to our man power, reduce cost of building, and hasten the winning of the war, and that the only way to obtain it was by an act of Congress, I sought to make the act in question effective December 31, 1918, not December 1, 1919.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 1104. An act for the relief of Edward Stewart; and

S. 469. An act for the relief of the heirs of W. H. Sneed, deceased.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. JACOB EDWIN MEEKER, late a Representative from the State of Missouri.

Resolved, That a committee of 10 Senators be appointed by the Vice President, to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives, to attend the funeral of the deceased.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

And that under the second resolution the Presiding Officer had appointed as the committee on the part of the Senate Mr. REED, Mr. WILFLEY, Mr. WATSON, Mr. SUTHERLAND, Mr. NEW, Mr. KENYON, Mr. HARDING, Mr. BECKHAM, Mr. KIRBY, and Mr. CURTIS.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bill of the following title:

S. 3470. An act to amend section 35 of the Criminal Code of the United States.

SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, Senate bills and joint resolution of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and referred to their appropriate committees, as indicated below:

S. 4787. An act for the relief of Amherst W. Barber; to the Committee on Claims.

S. J. Res. 179. Joint resolution authorizing national banks to subscribe to the united war-work campaign; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 1104. An act for the relief of Edward Stewart; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 469. An act for the relief of the heirs of W. H. Sneed, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. LONDON for 10 days.

URGENT DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the urgent deficiency appropriation bill, with Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee in the chair.

The Clerk reported the title of the bill.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the point of order which I made against the paragraph at the bottom of page 7.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts withdraws the point of order made to the last paragraph on page 7. The Clerk will read.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry. Is it necessary to revert to that paragraph in order to have it considered and adopted in Committee of the Whole?

The CHAIRMAN. The paragraph was read, and the Chair does not think it is necessary to revert to it now, the point of order having been withdrawn. The paragraph will be considered as having been adopted. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Construction and repair of hospitals: For construction and repair of hospitals, including the same objects specified under this head in the Army appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, $86,469,930: *Provided*, That authority is granted to enter into contracts or otherwise to incur obligations for the purposes above mentioned for not to exceed $15,750,000 in addition to the appropriations herein and heretofore made.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. DENT: Page 19, after line 21, insert as a new paragraph the following:

"That the act entitled 'An act to authorize condemnation proceedings of land for military purposes,' approved July 2, 1917, as amended by an act approved April 11, 1918, and by an act approved July 9, 1918,

be, and the same is hereby, amended, and its provisions in all respects, together with all its privileges and benefits, are hereby extended to the right of condemnation of land, with the buildings thereon, and the fixtures, equipment, materials, and supplies thereon and therein, required for hospital facilities or quarters for the personnel thereof, for office buildings and space therein required for war purposes by the Military Establishment, all supplies, equipment, material, machinery, and tools utilized in and on any lands authorized to be taken by the act approved July 2, 1917, above referred to, and its amendments thereto. The jurisdiction of such condemnation proceedings is hereby vested in the district courts of the United States where the property which is sought to be condemned, or any part thereof, is located or situated, regardless of the value of the same.

"Compensation for any property taken under authority of section 120 of the act of June 3, 1916, commonly known as the national-defense act, shall be determined and paid in accordance with the provisions of section 10 of the act of August 10, 1917, commonly known as the food-control act: *Provided* That any right of action or suit against the United States granted by section 10 of the act of August 10, 1917, hereinbefore mentioned, or any other act, by reason of any property or interest therein being taken by the United States other than by condemnation proceedings, or for the recovery of any sums of money awarded for such taking by the United States and not satisfactory to the person or persons entitled to receive the same, shall be brought, within six months after payment of the per centum required by these acts or within six months of the passage of this act in those cases where takings and payments of per centum has already been made under these acts, and upon failure to bring such suit within said period of time, all claims against the United States for any amount in excess of such payment shall be forever barred."

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the amendment.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, this measure is recommended by the War Department and is intended primarily to extend the acts providing for the condemnation for war purposes so as to include hospitals and office space in the different cities of the United States where the Government has to establish offices. The main purpose, however, of the amendment is to extend the provision so as to provide for condemnation for hospital purposes. The Military Committee of the House had a hearing on Wednesday at which there were present a number of representatives of the War Department urging this legislation. I am bound to confess, in order to be fair to the House, that we did not have a quorum of the committee, although both parties were represented, and the committee was unanimous that some sort of legislation of this kind should be enacted as speedily as possible. The only question was what form it should take. The War Department recommended the President be authorized to requisition property anywhere and everywhere as he saw fit, but the committee thought that it ought to take the form of a condemnation proceeding in court.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Does the gentleman find upon investigation that the departments have had any difficulty in getting office space without the condemnation of property?

Mr. DENT. It was so stated before the committee last Wednesday that in some cities they have had considerable trouble in getting office space. I confess to the gentleman there was no specific instance given to the committee, just generally that they had had some difficulty in securing office space in the large cities. I am not wedded to that part of this amendment so far as this is concerned, but I do think the hospital part is a very important matter.

Mr. MADDEN. But the provision is so comprehensive that even with respect to the right to condemn property for a hospital that it authorizes the condemnation of all equipment within the building, of all the paraphernalia, everything in the building.

Mr. DENT. Does not the gentleman think that ought to be done during war times? This is an emergency measure.

Mr. MADDEN. They would have no need for it in most cases.

Mr. DENT. In most cases they would have no need. The very object of the law is to keep one individual who may try to hold up the Government from doing so, and the chances are if this bill is passed condemnation proceedings will rarely be resorted to.

Mr. MADDEN. There is a bill pending on the calendar now, reported from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, that goes somewhat into detail with respect to the question involved in the amendment offered by the gentleman, and I think deals with the question more comprehensively than does the gentleman's amendment.

Mr. DENT. I am not familiar with that bill, but this amendment simply extends the act of July 2, 1917, as amended April 18, and in those two acts Congress provided for the condemnation of land for camp sites, for fortifications, for coast defenses, and for powder purposes. Those are the four purposes that have been provided for during war times, but it does not include hospital purposes. Now, it was stated to the committee by representatives of the War Department that under the present condemnation law the Government can condemn land for hospital purposes in connection with camp sites, but this is intended to cover separate hospitals, hospitals that are proposed to be erected to take care of the wounded soldier as he returns from France, separate and distinct from camp sites.

Mr. GILLETT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will.

Mr. GILLETT. Is the whole of this amendment limited to the duration of the war?

Mr. DENT. Yes. It is an amendment to the original act of July 2, 1917.

Mr. GILLETT. Will the gentleman kindly tell us how many members were present at the committee hearing?

Mr. DENT. Well, I have no objection to stating to the gentleman there were six members present.

Mr. TOWNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will.

Mr. TOWNER. As I understood, the gentleman said he did not care to insist upon the part which authorized the condemnation of office space?

Mr. DENT. No, if there is any question. I do not consider that as important as the hospital feature.

Mr. TOWNER. It occurs to me that if that were eliminated it might prevent the point of order being made. A provision for the condemnation for hospital purposes is almost self-evidently necessary.

Mr. DENT. If there is any objection to that I am willing to strike it out.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, the War Department came before the Committee on Appropriations concerning this and considerable other legislation. The committee has been taken somewhat to task at different times by some Members of the House because we carried legislation upon appropriation bills that seemed to be imperatively needed, so that in order to avoid as far as possible such criticisms, and having no desire to invade jurisdiction causing very much more work than we could hope to fully consider, the committee declined to consider these various proposals, but suggested that they be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and I, as the chairman of the committee, so communicated to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT], the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. Now, the amendment which has been offered by the gentleman, I think, involves two or three problems that it perhaps will be well not to have determined at this time. But the War Department urged the very great need of some power being given to take for immediate use buildings for hospital purposes. There is no question whatever of that need, and it is highly desirable that where buildings can be obtained that are capable of being converted into hospitals at reasonable cost it be done, without the expense of additional construction that would follow if we had to build hospitals from the ground up. So that I think the House, in view of the emergency, is warranted in carrying on this bill legislation that will deal with the hospital situation, and in a few moments I will read a paragraph that was submitted by the War Department that I think fully meets that emergency. It was also urged, as the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT] has stated, that there was considerable need in connection with the office buildings, particularly in New York, where this situation arises: Some department of the Government has office space in one of these buildings. The need of expansion becomes great, and in order to expand they have to take additional space in the buildings then occupied or move out, with the cost incident to moving; that there was difficulty in getting tenants in these office buildings, who happen to be occupying space adjoining the Government, to give up their space in order that the Government might expand, and they urged the need of having the right to take possession of office buildings to the extent that might be necessary. I have no doubt there are such cases, and I have no doubt they present embarrassments to the Government, but such embarrassment is nothing like as acute as the embarrassment that arises in connection with hospital facilities.

Every Member of this House is desirous of facilitating in every way the procurement of proper hospital facilities for our wounded men, and therefore I think we ought to legislate as to that.

There is still another provision in the matter offered by the gentleman from Alabama that raises a question of very serious moment, and that is the attempt to put a statute of limitations upon the presentation of claims by private individuals against the Government. There is a provision that undertakes to limit to six months after requisition proceedings are instituted, and after the sum determined as reasonable is offered and refused, in which a claim may be instituted for additional compensation. I am not sure that that is quite fair to the citizen. I think one

of the yet unsolved problems confronting the Government is the creation of some machinery for the adjustment of claims on the part of citizens against the Government. If we follow the old procedure of trial in the ordinary United States courts or the consideration of matters by the Court of Claims, and the further consideration by the Congress through a Committee on Claims, our great-grandchildren and probably our great-great-grandchildren will be interested in the adjustment of claims growing out of this war. The Anglo-Saxon has always clung very tenaciously to what is called "his day in court," and whether we desired to or not we could not take from a citizen that day in court, and yet I am convinced that one of the constructive acts that must be undertaken by the Congress is the creation of some machinery for quick and prompt adjustment of claims. We probably could not compel the citizen to submit his claim to such a tribunal, but if it was properly arranged I think he would gladly avail himself of such a tribunal in order to shorten time. To-day there are hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of claims settled within an hour or a day by the various boards of trade. The produce exchange in New York has an arbitration method by which they settle claims running into the hundreds of thousands of dollars weekly. The same is true of stock exchanges. And I have no doubt the ingenuity of the Congress will be sufficient to create some machinery for the rapid adjustment of such claims. I doubt the wisdom at this time of fixing a hard-and-fast six-months' limitation, even assuming that the courts would uphold such a limitation, against the presentation of a claim for compensation for property taken.

Reverting to the present need, I desire to read to the House what was suggested before the committee, and which seems to my mind deals with the situation.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman direct the attention of the committee to the page in the hearings where testimony was given on this question? I can not find it in the index.

Mr. SHERLEY. It is on page 583 of the hearings, but this suggestion appears in House Document No. 1312. It is as follows:

That the President is hereby authorized, through the Secretary of War, during the existing emergency, from time to time, to requisition or otherwise take over for the United States any lands, including the buildings thereon, or any temporary use thereof, required for hospital facilities. He shall ascertain and pay, from the proper appropriation, a just compensation therefor. If the compensation so ascertained be not satisfactory to the person entitled to receive the same, such person shall be paid 75 per cent of the amount so determined, and shall be entitled to sue the United States in the United States district court for the judicial district where the property is situated to recover such further sum as, added to the 75 per cent, will make up such amount as will be just compensation.

That follows the language that we employed in a number of instances; for instance, in connection with the requisition powers that were given to the President touching the shipbuilding program, and also in regard to requisition powers given to the Navy Department, and I think fully covers the present need of the situation. I suggest, therefore, to the gentleman from Alabama that he withdraw his amendment and that he offer this in lieu thereof.

Mr. DENT. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Alabama insist on the point of order?

Mr. SHERLEY. I understand that the gentleman withdraws the point of order. I offer the following amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky offers the following amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SHERLEY: Page 19, after line 21, insert the following as a new paragraph:

"The President is authorized, through the Secretary of War, during the existing emergency, from time to time, to requisition or otherwise take over for the United States any lands, including the buildings thereon, or any temporary use thereof, required for hospital facilities. He shall ascertain and pay, from the proper appropriation, a just compensation therefor. If the compensation so ascertained be not satisfactory to the person entitled to receive the same, such person shall be paid 75 per cent of the amount so determined, and shall be entitled to sue the United States in the United States district court for the judicial district where the property is situated to recover such further sum as, added to the 75 per cent, will make up such amount as will be just compensation."

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania reserves a point of order on the amendment.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will permit, I think perhaps the provision ought to be amended by adding, after the word "thereon," the words "and their equipment," so that it will read "including the buildings thereon and their equipment." It is possible that there might be equipment that would be desirable to take as well as the land and the buildings. I offer that as an amendment to the amendment which I have offered. After the word "thereon" insert the words "and their equipment."

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the modification of the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Modification of the amendment: After the word "thereon," in the third line of the amendment, insert the words "and their equipment."

Mr. DENT. A point of order was reserved on it, I believe.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I reserved a point of order.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I ask leave to proceed for five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I did not know exactly what the amendment of the gentleman from Kentucky was until I heard it read from the desk. The very proposition that the Committee on Military Affairs considered on Wednesday, when we had representatives of the War Department before us, was as to the form of this legislation. Everybody agreed that for hospital purposes some legislation ought to be enacted. Whether it should take the form of giving the President the right, through some subordinate, to take charge of the property, or that the right should be by formal proceeding in court were the two methods considered. The committee agreed that it ought to take the form of a court proceeding.

Mr. SHERLEY. Under the very act that the gentleman proposes to amend is it not in the power of the War Department immediately upon the filing of condemnation proceedings to take the property?

Mr. DENT. Unquestionably.

Mr. SHERLEY. Then what difference is there in point of fact between taking the property that way and taking it under the requisition power here granted?

Mr. DENT. The difference is simply this, which I think is a very marked difference: One authorizes the Military Establishment by authority of military law to take the property and then let the individual go into court and assert his rights. Under condemnation proceedings the Government must institute the suit against the defendant, and he then has had his day in court.

Mr. SHERLEY. But if the gentleman will permit, the man has his day in court when the Government has taken the property. Unless that is true you would have months of delay in trying condemnation proceedings, so that in order to avoid it the act provides that on the institution of condemnation proceedings the Government may take possession.

Mr. DENT. Let us see what has happened. On the 2d day of July, 1917, we passed the original amendment to the condemnation law, so as to give the Government the right to take immediate possession upon the filing of a petition by the district attorney in the district where the property is situated. That prevented the Government being delayed in acquiring possession of the property. We also amended, during the present emergency, that portion of the act which requires the Attorney General's office to give a certificate as to the title to the property before the Government could take possession or pay any money for any property acquired for military purposes.

Under that act we have built camp sites, we have erected fortifications, we have constructed coast defenses, we have established power plants for the purpose of acquiring nitrates, and recently by the act of July 9, the Army appropriation bill, we extended the right of condemnation of property, so that the Government might acquire timber anywhere in the country for shipbuilding or for aircraft purposes.

I asked the question, when the representatives of the War Department were before the committee on Wednesday, if they had been embarrassed in any respect in acquiring camp sites, in acquiring lands for fortifications or coast defenses, in acquiring property for nitrate purposes, or in acquiring property for timber in order to carry on the shipbuilding industry and the aircraft program, and they said not, because this law, this condemnation law, gave the Government the right to take immediate possession whenever the district attorney in any particular district where the property was situated filed a petition for condemnation. The proceeding was heard immediately in the court, and the court had the power to assess the damages.

Now, under the Sherley amendment the burden is put upon the defendant to institute his proceeding in court himself after the property has been requisitioned.

Mr. SHERLEY. If the gentleman will yield, I do not care whether it is done one way or the other.

Mr. DENT. I thought the gentleman and I had agreed on that.

Mr. SHERLEY. It is tremendously important that it be done. If the gentleman does not like this provision, if he will reoffer his amendment, eliminating all of the language about limitation of suits, and eliminating all relating to public office buildings, and confine it strictly to the matter of hospitals, I, for my part, shall not object to it, and I believe the House ought to acquiesce in it.

Mr. DENT. I am perfectly willing to eliminate the provision in regard to office buildings, but I would like to make this statement——

Mr. STAFFORD. What is the real objection to the pending amendment recommended by the Secretary of War? I have been following the discussion quite closely. I have not heard any very potent reasons, in my opinion, advanced why the present amendment should not be adopted. It has the recommendation of the Secretary of War. May I inquire of the chairman of the committee, who is sponsor for the amendment that was first offered by the gentleman?

Mr. DENT. I thought I had stated my position as clearly as I knew how. One of the amendments authorized the Military Establishment just bodily to take possession of a man's property and then leave the man to his remedy in court, and the other, providing for condemnation proceedings, is a regular court process. That is the difference.

Mr. STAFFORD. Has the gentleman his amendment framed in accordance with the suggestion just made by the gentleman from Kentucky?

Mr. DENT. The only difference between the amendment of the gentleman from Kentucky and my amendment is this, that the President, through the military authorities, can take possession of your property or my property or the property of anybody else without any court proceeding whatever whenever he sees fit, and then the remedy of the individual whose property is taken is left to the courts thereafter, whereas under my amendment the Government must proceed in an orderly way, by condemnation proceedings in the district court where the property is situated.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman will permit, as was suggested by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY], if we proceed in the customary civil-process way by condemnation, it may be months or years before the Government would acquire the possession of these needed buildings for hospital purposes.

Mr. DENT. The gentleman evidently paid no attention to my statement.

Mr. STAFFORD. I was paying as much attention as I could, but the gentleman was speaking in such a low voice that I could not hear him on this side of the aisle.

Mr. DENT. I stated emphatically that the act of July 2, 1917, which was amended in April, 1918, amended the condemnation law so that immediately upon the filing of a petition in the district where the property was situated by a United States district attorney the Government was authorized to take possession of the property, and then the rights of the individual would be determined in that condemnation proceeding.

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. If the gentleman will allow me, in this court proceedings the title to the property is protected. It was brought out in the hearings before the Military Committee that the title to property in condemnation proceedings, where the Government acquires it, can be investigated, the money can be paid into court, and then the persons who are entitled to the money can litigate their various rights; whereas under this commandeering proceeding the Government has to take possession of the property and then they pay the wrong party the money.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Why embark upon a new method of procedure in the case of hospitals and seek to amend the existing law in the manner in which the gentleman proposes? If the existing law is good enough for acquiring other property, why can we not just make it apply to hospital sites?

Mr. DENT. If I really understand the gentleman's question, he and I are in agreement. I am trying to make the existing law fit hospitals. That is all I am doing. I am extending the existing condemnation law so as to cover the case of hospitals. In other words, I think the existing law is sufficient but for the fact that hospitals were not named in the condemnation act that was passed last July.

Mr. WALSH. Does the gentleman state that in order for the Government to acquire a tract of land on which to erect a fortification or artillery range the Government would have to follow the procedure which the gentleman has outlined by proceeding against the individual, not entering into immediate possession, and leaving the owner to his remedy in court?

Mr. DENT. I certainly do say that under the present law the Government has to institute condemnation proceedings; but immediately upon institution of the proceedings possession of the property is delivered to the Government. If the gentleman will read the act of July 2, 1917, as amended April 18, 1918, he will see that that is the law.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. CANNON. I have just for the first time glanced at the amendment offered by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY]. Now, I want to ask the gentleman: The property is seized; the President ascertains a reasonable price therefor and pays it, provided the owner of the property accepts it. If he does not accept it then he gets three-quarters of it and can go into court and try to recover what he claims is coming to him. Now, the gentleman's position, as I understand it, is that the property can be seized, and by his amendment the United States must file condemnation proceedings, and the owner or owners of the property can not get anything until those condemnation proceedings are concluded.

Mr. DENT. Unless he agrees to accept what the Government offers.

Mr. CANNON. Who makes the offer?

Mr. DENT. The offer is made by the agents of the Government. There are only one or two instances in the country where they have had to resort to any proceedings, because they have agreed.

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman's amendment does not interfere with the law as it now stands—that the President shall ascertain the value of the property, and if the owner thereof receives it that ends the transaction. If not, can the owner thereof, if the gentleman's proposition is adopted, take three-quarters of the amount and go to the court for the balance?

Mr. DENT. He can not, except by agreement.

Mr. CANNON. Who makes the agreement?

Mr. DENT. The representatives of the Government and the owner.

Mr. CANNON. The law does not provide for it? The reason I ask the question is this: Say you take a hospital, with its furnishings, and it is ascertained by the President through the proper authorities——

Mr. DENT. The committee appointed for the purpose——

Mr. CANNON. May ascertain the value, and then the owner thereof can take three-quarters of the value and sue for the balance. That is the present law.

Mr. DENT. There is no law at all on the subject of hospitals. The present law authorizes the taking of possession of property under the food act. But the law so far as the acquisition of land for camp sites, fortifications, coast defenses, and timberland for shipbuilding and aircraft purposes provides for condemnation proceedings.

Mr. CANNON. It ought to be the law for everything taken, because if you have to go through the process of condemnation, the owner of the property will wait, and wait, and wait, under these conditions, and the war may be over and the owner may not get his money until broken up financially.

Mr. DENT. The case, as I understand, is given precedence over all others. I do not see why there should be any delay. In other words, the gentleman from Illinois thinks the power given to the President to requisition property without going into the courts protects the individual better than condemnation proceedings.

Mr. CANNON. Yes; because the owner can take three-quarters and sue for the balance. I want to say that I have no doubt that he will take the amount offered in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, but if he has to go through condemnation proceedings there will be interminable delay when you come to consider that you can go into the higher courts and the present conditions of the country.

Mr. DENT. What would be the situation if the suit is brought by the individual to recover the 25 per cent balance?

Mr. CANNON. He has probably got what it was worth when he took the 75 per cent, and it would not be a confiscation of his entire property. [Laughter.]

Mr. DENT. Well, I have no pride of opinion about this.

Mr. CANNON. I have not, but I would apply the present law where it does not apply to the taking of property.

Mr. DENT. We are applying the present law.

Mr. CANNON. Then what is the use of the amendment?

Mr. DENT. Because it does not apply to hospitals.

Mr. CANNON. I think it should apply to hospitals as to everything else. There are two hospitals in my little city crowded to overflowing.

Mr. SHERLEY. If the gentleman from Illinois will permit, both methods are in use, and that is where the confusion has taken place on the part of the committee. There is a law for requisitioning property and a law for condemning property by the method suggested by the gentleman from Alabama, and

both methods are employed frequently. There is something to be said on behalf of either method. Personally I am not concerned about which method is adopted so that we succeed in getting the hospitals.

Mr. CANNON. If they come to my town and seize the hospitals built by charity, I hope that the owners will get immediate payment.

Mr. VARE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. I will.

Mr. VARE. Have we not already extended the power to the Shipping Board to take over property in a line similar to that which the War Department asked in the gentleman's amendment on this same bill?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; and the Navy Department and the War Department both have the power to requisition.

Mr. VARE. And unless we adopt the amendment that the gentleman has suggested we will have legislation in two different procedures in one bill.

Mr. SHERLEY. That is probably true, but we do that so frequently that it does not worry me. We have legislated in a number of cases for requisitions and also for condemnation proceedings. Some day I hope Congress will follow the suggestion I made a while ago, to provide some method more expeditious than the courts for the final adjustment of these matters.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Where does the gentleman get the language in his amendment?

Mr. SHERLEY. From House Document 1312 as presented in a letter from the Secretary of War relating to the subject.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That pertains to what?

Mr. SHERLEY. To hospitals.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. This pertains to hospitals.

Mr. SHERLEY. So does it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is there not this difference between the condemnation of land for shipyards, and so forth, and the condemnation of land for hospitals, that there should be some stipulation in regard to hospitals that need not apply to other property? For instance, the departments have been insisting upon fireproof buildings for such hospitals as they use. That is not provided for in the amendment.

Mr. SHERLEY. Oh, no; this amendment does not touch that. I do not want to insert a provision to condemn buildings of a certain type because I do not think we are qualified accurately to define what buildings they should take.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I am stating as a fact that the department has insisted upon the use of fireproof buildings.

Mr. SHERLEY. I think they are wise in that. Does not the gentleman?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I do; but this amendment would not cover that.

Mr. SHERLEY. It does not affect it one way or the other.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. They could buy any old ramshackle structure under this amendment, in any section of the country.

Mr. SHERLEY. They can buy it now, if they have the money, and if the owner will sell. There is no law prohibiting that.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does the gentleman think it would be wise to put every hospital that might be needed for the use of soldiers and sailors in one section or in one State?

Mr. SHERLEY. Of course not. Does the gentleman?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. No, I do not; but would not that be permissible under this amendment?

Mr. SHERLEY. But this amendment does not touch that phase of the question. If the gentleman will permit, what we do is to vote moneys for hospital construction and hospital purposes. The department at the present time has the power to spend that money in any locality and for any type of buildings it sees fit. There have been no restrictions placed by Congress, but what has happened is that frequently they find a place that is quite desirable for hospital purposes and the owner asks an exorbitant price or he may refuse to give it up at all. In order to get it other than by negotiation and being frequently sandbagged, you have got to give the power to the Government to take it, but in giving that power we in no wise pass upon the question of whether the hospitals shall be in one locality or in another, of one type or of another. That is altogether foreign to this amendment.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It is possible to insert some limitation.

Mr. SHERLEY. Oh, yes; it is possible; but I submit this to the gentleman: If you undertake to write into the law now restrictions that hospitals of a certain type only shall be taken, and only to a certain extent in certain localities, you undertake in a legislative body to pass upon a matter about which we have not the detailed information to qualify us wisely to pass upon. The gentleman seems to be in fear that the hospitals will be concentrated in certain localities. Personally I hope they will not; but the gentleman should be the last one to complain of putting of many things in one locality, in view of the fact that his locality probably has had put into it more different governmental activities than any other locality in the country.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It may be that we have more industry there, and more population.

Mr. SHERLEY. That may be.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. And it may be that we have more wealth and some natural advantages.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am not complaining.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I do not see why that should always be brought into a discussion of this kind.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am not complaining. The reasons the gentleman stated may have been the reasons to justify it, but the gentleman would have been the first one to complain if we had undertaken to put restrictions around the activities of the Government which would have prevented the doing of some of those things in the Philadelphia district.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I want to say this about the Philadelphia district, which seems to crop up here so often, that if anything is wrong, unjust, or exorbitant there, I would condemn it as quickly as if it were in any other district.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am sure of that.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I would not defend that situation.

Mr. SHERLEY. The gentleman and I are not quarreling about that; I am quite sure of it. I have as high regard for the gentleman and his independence of judgment as any man in the House, and I know that he never would permit a local situation to control his judgment. The reason I call attention to the Philadelphia district is for the purpose of showing the impracticability of men determining upon the floor where things should be placed. There are many things that have been placed in Philadelphia that ought to have been placed there, and yet gentlemen not informed of all the reasons for placing them there might have thought otherwise, and if we undertake here to state just where and how and what kind of a building should be used for hospitals we are not doing equity, but simply embarrassing the obtaining of hospitals for the use of sick soldiers.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman has been very careful as chairman of a very important committee of this House and has done splendid work. I delight in complimenting him, and I am not doing it to flatter him, or in an effusive way at all, but I feel that it is proper for a Representative who observes irregularities of expenditures in any instance to call attention to it. It is rather surprising that in the erection of a hospital as much as $3,000 should be spent for each bed provided for the soldier. Such transactions make one feel that Congress should put a limitation upon that kind of expenditure. I am not going to point out any case or any particular locality. Let us grant that the climate of one section at a certain time of the year may be more favorable to the recovery of patients than the climate of another section, and that we ought to take advantage of it to the full, but if we learn that we have made a lump-sum appropriation for the construction of a hospital, and that the department is paying as much as $3,000 per bed therein, we should call attention to it, whether it be in my section, or in the gentleman's section, or wherever it may be. It does not seem to be a reasonable proposition. We have some responsibility as legislators. The gentleman as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations has a tremendous responsibility. I know he would not want to see the money of the Government wasted nor would he want to see it used for favoritism or sectionalism. That is the reason I raised this question, in order that we might have some light on the subject.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am not quarreling with the gentleman; I just repeat that it does not seem to me practicable that any limitations be put upon this undertaking to determine that question. The remedy is this, that wherever a case occurs that is an abuse of power publicity be given to it, and the real remedy is by the administrative officers seeing to it that they do expend intelligently both as to locality and as to price the moneys that we appropriate for hospitals.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Well, I can say to the gentleman that these questions come up not only because constituents draw them to our attention but because of general correspondence indicating that favoritism has been played or that waste has resulted. I am not bringing this up for political reasons. I believe when we are appropriating money and granting these wide powers we should do what we can to prevent an abuse of them. The administrative officers sometimes are intensely human and inclined to serve their friends.

Mr. SHERLEY. I agree thoroughly with the gentleman, and I have taken occasion on every bill brought in here to call attention to the very solemn responsibilities that rest upon the administrative officers at this time, a responsibility that is beyond that which normally exists. Normally Congress can keep its hands on matters and can supervise and prevent wrongful or extravagant expenditures, but when you get into the expenditure of millions of dollars—for instance, for hospitals we are going to expend nearly $180,000,000—can this House undertake in any reasonable time to make such investigations as to localities and sites as wisely to write a law which shall say that the money shall be only spent in certain sums in certain localities for certain types of buildings. It is not practicable.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Has the gentleman any information as to the necessity for hospital accommodations at this time?

Mr. SHERLEY. Why, I made in my opening statement to the committee a statement touching the hospital situation. The plan is for hospitals representing in bed capacity 3½ per cent of the troops that are overseas on the theory that 7 per cent of those troops will need hospital accommodations in the United States, but they will need them on an average for six months or less and therefore for the year they figure a percentage of 3½ per cent. Now, that made a total requirement of 135,000 beds. Twenty thousand beds have already been provided for by previous appropriations and the additional money was to supply the 100,000 beds with contract authorization for the 15,000 additional that it was not thought would have to be paid for prior to the 1st of July, the total making 115,000, which, with the 20,000 already provided, makes 135,000 beds, which they estimate as needed.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. If it is not improper to state it, have we 20,000 patients in the United States at this time?

Mr. SHERLEY. Oh, no. I do not know exactly how many patients from overseas are here, but moneys have been provided for 20,000 beds. Now, in speaking of that, in order that I may not mislead——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I wanted to get the number anticipated by these provisions.

Mr. SHERLEY. In order that I may not mislead the gentleman, when I have been talking about 135,000 beds I am speaking of what they now designate as general hospitals, which are intended for use for troops overseas who are returned sick or wounded, and it is exclusive of the large number of hospitals we have already provided in connection with the various camps and cantonments for troops here in America.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does this estimate of 120,000 include tubercular patients?

Mr. SHERLEY. It is to take care of all kinds of patients. Now, in addition to that, of course, what the gentleman may have had in mind in connection with his question, there is a plan on foot by the Public Health Service looking to the creation of certain hospital facilities in America to take care of men who have been discharged from the military service and yet need hospital facilities.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

Mr. MADDEN. I have the amendment offered by the gentleman and I will just read it.

That the President is hereby authorized, through the Secretary of War, during the existing emergency, from time to time to requisition or otherwise take over for the United States any land, including the buildings thereon, or any temporary use thereof, required for hospital facilities.

I would like to ask the gentleman if he would accept this amendment after the word "facilities":

Provided, That hospital facilities shall be so situated as to provide for the care of patients as near the place from which they entered the Army or Navy as possible, and that such facilities shall be in every case in keeping with the number of men in the service from the different States.

Mr. SHERLEY. Well, I have only this suggestion to make to the gentleman. It is quite possible that in view of troops returning from overseas you will need near the coast some proportionately larger number of beds than the number of men from that particular area would indicate, because men, when they come off the ships, may not be in condition for transportation to distances. For the gentleman's information I will say to him that the hearings developed the fact that they contemplate quite a number of hospitals in what are called large medical and supply centers, where they could get not only medical supplies but also centers of medical learning, and there have been suggested cities like Detroit, Chicago, Indianapolis, Philadelphia, and others.

Mr. MADDEN. The idea I had in view is not to embarrass the War Department or the Government in any way, but as nearly as possible to have men treated as near their homes as is consistent under the circumstances.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am thoroughly in sympathy with the gentleman's purpose. The only question I had in mind was whether the putting in of a provision might not bring about a maladjustment of beds over the country, due to some of the circumstances I have mentioned. For instance, when troops come into places like Norfolk, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, or Charleston, there is going to be need in those vicinities for hospital accommodations that are greater than the relative number of troops that happen to come from those centers would require, because of the fact that these men may not really be in shape to be transported. But I am in sympathy with the general idea the gentleman has in mind, that as far as possible we ought to return the boys to their localities and their homes for treatment rather than have them in other parts of America.

Mr. MADDEN. Of course, I have no idea that we should take a man who is not able to travel and send him to his home section for treatment until he is able to travel.

Mr. SHERLEY. I am sure of that.

Mr. MADDEN. But after he is able to travel I think we ought to have the facilities as near his home as we are able to get them.

Mr. SHERLEY. I think, in a large measure, that will be the policy of the department. It certainly ought to be.

Mr. MADDEN. This amendment that I suggest would not embarrass the department in any way, it seems to me.

Mr. SHERLEY. I only caught the reading hurriedly.

Mr. MADDEN. May I read it again?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. This is only roughly written. It says:

Provided, Hospital facilities shall be so situated as to provide for the care of patients as near the place where they entered the Army or Navy as possible.

Mr. SHERLEY. I would suggest the word "practicable" instead of "possible."

Mr. MADDEN. That is all right. I will be very glad to put that in.

Mr. SHERLEY. If the gentleman desires to offer that amendment, I shall not object to it.

Mr. MADDEN. I will offer it.

Mr. CANNON. Before the gentleman offers the amendment will he allow me a suggestion? The gentleman has had the experience that many citizens have had, where medical knowledge, as best developed, can be had. The gentleman knows that down, for instance, at most Illinois towns and Indiana towns they go to Chicago or they go to Indianapolis because there they can receive treatment, whereas if the expert has his business, which is a great one on account of his being an expert, in Chicago or New York or Indianapolis or St. Louis, it would be impossible to get him to come down to the hospital, for instance, at Danville or Mattoon. It would be impossible to get him.

Mr. MADDEN. I do not mean to divide it in the towns. I mean the location, and as far as practicable that would leave it entirely in the hands of the executive authorities.

Mr. CANNON. I do not know. I will not vote against the amendment, although I think it might be well left to the administration.

Mr. MADDEN. There is this to be said, that the administration has been given a pretty wide latitude.

Mr. CANNON. I mean the administration of the military department.

Mr. MADDEN. The administration in everything since the war began has been given wide latitude. We have refrained from expressing our opinions in law because we did not want to in anywise embarrass it. And I would not introduce this amendment if I thought it would embarrass the administration, but I really think it would be a suggestion that they can carry out without any embarrassment.

Mr. CANNON. If the gentleman will allow me, it is not a question of benefiting localities.

Mr. MADDEN. Oh, no.

Mr. CANNON. It is for the benefit of the patient.

Mr. MADDEN. That is the point.

Mr. CANNON. And therefore it seems to me that we can trust the medical authorities to properly locate the hospitals.

Mr. MADDEN. There ought to be a little humanitarianism.

Mr. CANNON. It is humanitarian that you get the best possible service for the patient, where one of his sisters or cousins or aunts could run in with a doctor that could treat all diseases efficiently, but perhaps would not have the instru-

ments, perchance, or the expert knowledge that could be found in the great centers of the country.

Mr. MADDEN. We are assuming now that the Government is taking jurisdiction over this treatment, and that they will supply the talent necessary to properly care for the patients.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is the gentleman acquainted with the policy followed by the allied governments in establishing their hospital facilities for the care of the wounded which our Government has been called upon to utilize to provide hospital facilities for those wounded on the western front?

Mr. MADDEN. I regret I have not.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have been informed upon casual inquiry at the Surgeon General's office that our soldier boys are being sent to certain main hospitals in England, in France, on the Riviera, I believe, in Italy, where they receive treatment. I wish to ask the gentleman this question, because he is a practical business man, whether the adoption of his amendment would not lead to the establishment of many, many more hospitals than the exigent conditions might require?

Mr. MADDEN. I do not think so, because there is not anything mandatory about it.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is a legislative suggestion to the Surgeon General's office that the policy should be to establish hospitals all over the country if it is practicable for the welfare of the soldiers.

Our soldiers are going to arrive on the Atlantic coast and the Gulf coast in large numbers. They are not going to be confined there for a long time. It may be the judgment of the medical authorities that they should be given the benefit of the sea breezes along the Jersey coast or the New England coast, or down at Newport News. Why should we by legislative enactment direct the places where the hospitals should be established? I think it would result in establishing more hospitals than are really necessary.

Mr. MADDEN. Let me read from the hearing for the information of the gentleman. Dr. W. G. Stimpson, assistant surgeon general of the Bureau of Public Health, happened to be before the Senate committee, and Senator PHELAN asked this question:

Should not this fact be taken into consideration relative to the number of buildings you have—proximity of the families of inmates or patients?

Mr. STAFFORD. Right there, may I inquire of the gentleman what the Public Health Service has to do in administering the health activities connected with the Army?

Mr. MADDEN. They will have.

Mr. STAFFORD. By no means. That is an entirely different proposal to what is under consideration now.

Mr. MADDEN. Of course the one thing would relate in large measure to the other, and what is given in one case would be given in the other.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman will permit, what the gentleman is referring to is permanent disability, the treatment of soldiers after they have been discharged from the service. What we are now considering is providing quarters for the Army boys immediately on their return. The proposal referred to in the discussion the gentleman cites was a proposal for the establishment of a tubercular hospital in Kentucky. That is for civilians, not for the Army.

Mr. MADDEN. In my conversations out among the people I have been repeatedly asked the question why we did not pay attention to directing the Government authorities as to the facilities which the Government was furnishing for the treatment of our wounded soldiers, and it is in keeping with the opinion of almost everybody I met that I have offered this suggestion. I believe that if the views of the people of the United States were ascertained by Members of the House you would find a unanimity of sentiment throughout the country for the very suggestion I have offered.

Mr. SHERLEY. Does the gentleman offer an amendment?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry. Has the point of order reserved by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] been withdrawn as yet?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I made the reservation of the point of order for the purpose of getting information. We have had a helpful discussion, and unless some one wants to say something more I shall withdraw the point of order, because I do not want to embarrass the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is withdrawn. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN].

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I suggest to the gentleman from Illinois that he offer his amendment to come at the end of the paragraph.

Mr. MADDEN. Very well. Let it come at the end.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

After the word "compensation," line 10 of the amendment, insert: "*Provided*, That hospital facilities shall be so situated as to provide for the care of patients as near the place from which they entered the Army or Navy as practicable, and that the facilities shall be in every case in keeping with the number of men in the service from the different States."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the Chairman announced that the "noes" appeared to have it.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a division.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois asks for a division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 13, noes 6.

So the amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is on agreeing to the amendment as amended.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I would like to ask the chairman of the committee a question.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, this question of the location of hospitals has been very widely discussed. I presume any part of this appropriation can be used for the building of hospitals in France?

Mr. SHERLEY. These particular moneys are not asked for hospitals in France, but moneys have been voted under another head for construction in France, and hospitals are built there. I am reminded that they are paid out of the item in regard to engineer operations in the field. They do not come out of this item.

Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania. Then none of this appropriation will be applied to hospitals in France?

Mr. SHERLEY. No. This is for hospitals at home. Under the head of "Engineer operations in the field" moneys heretofore appropriated have been applied to hospitals abroad, both base and advance hospitals abroad.

Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania. Would a part of this money be rightfuly used in building or enlarging the proposed hospital in Maryland?

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not recall having spoken of a hospital in Maryland.

Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania. I think the gentleman spoke of one in Kentucky.

Mr. SHERLEY. No; I referred to three cities. Some one else may have alluded to the hospital in Maryland. Doubtless there will be some in Maryland. This money could be expended there as well as at other places.

Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania. But this would not be spent for the hospital in Kentucky?

Mr. SHERLEY. The only hospital other than those with existing cantonments that I know of in Kentucky is that one proposed in connection with the bill that is pending in the House in regard to a hospital to be managed by the Public Health Service. I have no knowledge even as to that except what I gained from the reading of the bill. It is in a part of the State quite a distance from my home, and I know nothing about it except what may be disclosed in the hearings and what has been said in the House.

The CHAIRMAN. The pro forma amendment is withdrawn. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

For new permanent buildings and for additions at the United States Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Leavenworth, Kans., including heating, lighting, plumbing, and other necessary facilities, $300,000.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts reserves a point of order.

Mr. WALSH. I want to ask if this is made necessary by the installation of some new Government activity at Fort Leavenworth?

Mr. SHERLEY. That is an existing institution which has been there for some time, and where there are confined men who have been in the military service and who have been sent there as punishment for crimes and offenses that they have committed. There came before the committee a construction

officer from Fort Leavenworth with an estimate that was considerably in excess of this $300,000. He made quite a statement as to the number of prisoners that were there and the amount of accommodations that existed for them. The committee did not feel warranted in undertaking all the program that he outlined, which was not only the enlargement of the existing facilities in the way of cell houses, and so forth, but also involved the building of considerable shops for the manufacture of various goods and articles. I have no doubt that the Congress will eventually feel disposed to undertake some plan for the employment of these people, but we confined the money to a sum that would deal with the immediate necessities of housing these people, and such incidental work as flowed from that, because we did not feel we had the time to get at all the facts in connection with it.

Mr. WALSH. I withdraw the reservation.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts withdraws the point of order. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

For the acquisition of the Ohio State rifle range and property adjacent thereto, $183,186.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the paragraph just read, if no gentleman from the Military Committee desires to reserve it.

Mr. SHERLEY. The fact in regard to the Ohio State rifle range is this: That rifle range was built by the State of Ohio and with contributions by the United States, and it is proposed now to acquire the interest of the State of Ohio at a price which is considerably less than the value the State has in it. In addition to that, there is a house there which was used formerly as a hotel by visiting officers who came there in connection with the rifle contests that were held at that place. It was believed that it ought to be acquired as a place for accommodation of officers stationed there and who otherwise would not have accommodations. The people who own this property wanted $25,000 for it, but the real estate officer of the Army testified that in his judgment it could be bought for $18,000, and we therefore cut the estimate by $7,000 in order to acquire the property at what seemed to be its true value.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, as I understand from reading the hearings on this item the Government to-day has this property under a lease and is in full occupation of it for all the purposes for which it can be used. They have erected no permanent buildings on the property. It is occupied merely with tents and other temporary structures. There are some who believe that the war is coming to a close. We all hope that it is near an end and that a desirable and conclusive peace can be arrived at. I question whether at such a time as this we should purchase land which we have to-day under a lease, that can be used to as serviceable an advantage for the purposes of the war as though we had title to it, when we may not have any need whatsoever for it after the war is brought to a close. I say this even though I agree with the policy of the committee in reporting this bill, and I voted for it that we should prepare in every way as if the war was going to continue.

I have read the hearings, and I can not see where the Government would be put in any better position whatsoever by the purchase of this property. It would be put out considerably by the expenditure of funds which may be needed for other purposes in carrying on the war so long as the war lasts. Under the facts as disclosed in the committee, and as I gleaned them from the hearings I think I am not undertaking any great responsibility in making the point of order.

Mr. SHERLEY. What is the point of order?

Mr. STAFFORD. The point of order is that there is no authorization of law for the purchase of this rifle range, and the further point of order is that it is not a deficiency appropriation. This is a deficiency appropriation bill.

Mr. SHERLEY. The latter point, of course, would not apply in the slightest degree. The Committee on Appropriations might not have the right to have the particular matter referred to it, but it has jurisdiction as to simple deficiencies, and in reporting a deficiency bill it is not limited by the rules of the House to what are mere deficiencies. It has never been so held.

Mr. STAFFORD. The third point is that the Committee on Appropriations has not jurisdiction of this question, but that it is a matter that pertains entirely to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. SHERLEY. Of course, that is too late, because having been reported out, and the matter having been submitted in the form of an estimate, the only point that would apply, if any, would be that it is not a work authorized by law.

Mr. STAFFORD. I wish to take exception to the position of the gentleman just stated, unless the gentleman wishes to make his statement, and then I will reply.

Mr. SHERLEY. No; go ahead.

Mr. STAFFORD. I wish to controvert the position that the gentleman has just taken—that because this bill is reported it forecloses a point of order being made against the authority of the committee to report it. The chairman will notice that this is not a bill that has been referred to the Committee on Appropriations. It was reported originally day before yesterday. All points of order were reserved, and being reserved, that gave any Member the authority to make a point of order to any legislation that was not within the jurisdiction of the committee, but was properly before another committee. I believe I understand the chairman of the committee to contend that this was a matter that should have been reported from the Committee on Military Affairs. There are many precedents to support that position. When, for instance, the Committee on Rivers and Harbors reports a bill as privileged, and it contains matters which are not privileged in their character, even though within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, they are nevertheless subject to the point of order, because they are not privileged. That has been decided several times in the consideration of river and harbor bills during recent sessions. There is no question but what this subject matter was within the authority of the Committee on Military Affairs and not of the Committee on Appropriations. For that reason certainly it is subject to the point of order.

Next, it is not authorized by law. It is a new project, and is not, under the rule, entitled to be considered on an appropriation bill, and especially on an appropriation bill reported from the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. SHERLEY. The situation that confronts the committee, of which the gentleman himself is a member, is this: Here is an important rifle range that is needed now, and will continue to be needed through this war. I am not willing to consider this bill on the theory that the gentleman seems to be willing to, that the war may end to-morrow. I am legislating to aid the Government in prosecuting this war as long as it may continue, whether it is one year or five.

Mr. STAFFORD. I stated that same position a few minutes ago.

Mr. SHERLEY. I submit to the gentleman that his statement that the war may close ought not to have any relationship to this item. The War Department presented this item. I never heard of it until they presented it. The War Department represented it to be an important matter. We are acquiring property of considerably more value than we are asked to pay for it, property that has been created by the State of Ohio. The State to-day is putting through the legislature an enabling act so that the Government may have it, an action on the part of that State of a patriotic character to help forward what they and the War Department considered an important matter in connection with the prosecution of the war. I think it is exceedingly important that we should own this rifle range for the continued instruction of officers. I believe that it means a saving of money to the United States by procuring it on the terms here offered. If the gentleman from Wisconsin, in view of these facts, deems that the committee was wrong in recommending it, and that we ought not to carry it, I can only differ with his judgment.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, if I am not violating any committee confidence, this bill was reported from the subcommittee day before yesterday, presented to the full committee for consideration shortly after 10 o'clock. Because there was urgent need, in my opinion and of all members of the committee, that the bill should be reported that day, this item and the two following items were presented to the attention of the full committee within 10 minutes of 12 o'clock, when the bill was to be reported to the House.

I then stated that I reserved the right to make a point of order on these items. Since that time I have gone over the hearings. The gentleman has not controverted the statement I made originally, and if there is anything in the hearings I wish to be informed of it, because I make the point that the Government to-day is in occupation of the rifle range, and that there is nothing in the testimony to show that the Government would be in any better condition if it owned it. There are no permanent improvements on it. The hearings on pages 602 to 604 do not give any information or reason which should prompt the committee, especially the Committee on Appropriations, which has not the authority to determine the policy of military affairs, to report this item.

Mr. SHERLEY. The gentleman is mistaken as to the jurisdiction of the Appropriations Committee. It has jurisdiction

and conclusive jurisdiction of a great many military matters and matters of far-reaching policy.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am willing to admit that the Committee on Appropriations have jurisdiction of some of those matters referred to by the chairman, but it has not jurisdiction over these rifle ranges. That belongs to the Committee on Military Affairs. I am not advised whether the Committee on Military Affairs has considered this question or not, but it is a question of policy for the Committee on Military Affairs and not for the Committee on Appropriations, and I make the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. REYBURN). The point of order is sustained.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 20, following line 12, insert as a new paragraph the following: "For the acquisition of property for ranges, $183,186."

Mr. STAFFORD. To that I make a point of order; first, that it is legislation on an appropriation bill; second, that the phraseology is of that import which shows the character of the legislation as one that should be reported from the Committee on Military Affairs and not from the Committee on Appropriations. The phraseology of the amendment shows on its face that it is subject to the point of order, and the Chair is obliged to rule that it is out of order. If any part of an amendment is nonprivileged, it destroys the privileged character of the whole amendment. Under the phraseology as presented it shows that this amendment contains matter within the purview alone of the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. Does the gentleman claim that the Committee on Appropriations has not authority to report a deficiency for land necessary for ranges?

Mr. STAFFORD. It has; but this is not a deficiency appropriation. This is an original proposition. It is not framed with that idea. It is an original proposition; and being an original proposition, it should originate from the Committee on Military Affairs.

All points of order were reserved against this bill. It was not a bill introduced in the basket, but was an original privileged bill reported subject to points of order, and the mere changing of phraseology does not make it privileged and not subject to a point of order.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, there is nothing in the language submitted that shows that it is for a purpose other than that stated, the acquisition of ranges. The bill carried hundreds of items in connection with deficiencies that were originally appropriated for by the Committee on Military Affairs. If the gentleman's narrow construction was to prevail, you would strike out four-fifths of what has been carried in this bill, because it relates to matters that heretofore have been appropriated for by the Committee on Military Affairs. The Committee on Military Affairs has appropriated for ranges, and may do so again; but if the House sees fit to increase the moneys for that purpose, it is within the power of the House, in connection with a deficiency bill from the Committee on Appropriations, to do so.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman inform the House wherein the deficiency bill has reported appropriations for ranges?

Mr. SHERLEY. The last Army bill carried money that was expended for ranges. The fortifications bill carried money for ranges. The Aberdeen Proving Ground, which is a rifle range, was initiated in a deficiency bill. There were numerous instances in which bills have carried money for ranges. Every annual appropriation bill carries money for ranges.

Mr. STAFFORD. But never for the range now under consideration.

Mr. SHERLEY. The proposition presented to the Chair is not limited to any particular range or any particular place.

Mr. STAFFORD. The proposition may apply to ranges within the sole jurisdiction of the Committee on Military Affairs, and is subject to the point of order.

Mr. SHERLEY. That is true of money that we voted for hospitals and of a thousand other items in the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. But points of order were not made to those items.

Mr. SHERLEY. No point of order could be made. We passed an item in regard to waters and sewers at military posts, for military-post exchanges, subsistence of the Army, transportation of the Army, and so forth. All of those things are within the original jurisdiction of the Committee on Military Affairs, but come within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Appropriations in connection with deficiencies.

The CHAIRMAN. It would seem to the Chair that the question of the original jurisdiction of committees would not be the real test point in this case. The rule with reference to the jurisdiction of committees is entirely different from that which applies to an appropriation bill. The only question in the mind of the Chair is whether there is authority of law. Does the gentleman from Kentucky think there is authority of law existing for the purchase of ranges?

Mr. SHERLEY. We have been purchasing them right along. So far as I know, the question of authority has never been raised.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is it not a fact that when we have purchased them we have specifically provided for the purchase and made the appropriation for that specific purpose?

Mr. SHERLEY. No. There have been any number of pieces of ground that have been purchased by the Government in connection with the prosecution of the present war under such items as shooting galleries and ranges and other items in connection with the maintenance of the Army. We have bought some ground in connection with cantonments.

Mr. STAFFORD. Because there has been special authority for the condemnation and purchase of property for cantonments. For the acquisition of property for ranges there has been always a special appropriation, which has come from the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. SHERLEY. The gentleman is mistaken about that. The range that was purchased at Aberdeen came in the fortifications bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. And specific mention was made for that purpose.

Mr. SHERLEY. I understand, but even if it had not been, if we had simply carried the language proposed here, it would not have changed the question of power. I was willing to designate this, but the gentleman took exception to that designation, and so I made it just to apply to ranges.

The CHAIRMAN. The only question in the mind of the Chair is whether there is authority of law, whether there is any existing law authorizing the purchase of ranges. Of course, with the matter of policy the Chair has nothing to do. It is the duty of the Chair to pass upon the matter of the rules of the House and the law.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, in time of peace it has been the practice at least to provide specifically for the purchase of ranges. Since the beginning of the war we have legislated very generally upon the subject of the power of the War Department to purchase land for military purposes. That that is true is evidenced by the fact that in addition to the authority to purchase there is a rather elaborate statute with regard to the condemnation of property where purchase can not be made. That statute was discussed this morning, with a view of its extension to include hospitals. It was admitted that it included everything practically—all lands needed for military purposes, except possibly hospitals, and it was sought to extend the authority to hospitals. We extended the authority in the way of authority to requisition rather than authority to condemn. There can be no question about the authority of the War Department to take over land for military purposes. Therefore, there can be no question about the authority to pay for this land as Congress may appropriate. Here is a proposition to appropriate.

Mr. SHERLEY. If the gentleman will permit, in section 113 of the national-defense act is found the following language:

The Secretary of War shall annually submit to Congress recommendations and estimates for the establishment and maintenance of indoor and outdoor rifle ranges under such a comprehensive plan as will ultimately result in providing adequate facilities for rifle practice in all sections of the country.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, that does not add to the strength of the position of the gentleman. The Chair will notice that this provides for the acquisition of land for rifle ranges. It comes within that character of decision which has been made from time to time in the consideration of the naval appropriation bill, as to whether the addition of a new adjunct in a navy yard such as a dry dock, which had not theretofore been authorized by law, would be warranted in the naval appropriation bill. The uniform ruling of the Chair has been that on the naval appropriation bill, though that committee has jurisdiction of the general subject matter, nevertheless it could not report the specific item for the creation of a new dry dock or even the enlargement of an existing dry dock. In this very place on the floor 10 years ago I made the point of order against an increase of the limit of cost of a dry dock at Puget Sound, and the eminent parliamentarian, Mr. JAMES R. MANN, in the chair, sustained that point of order. It is fundamental in

this House that a new proposition can not be authorized on an appropriation bill. That is the wording of this amendment—for the acquisition of sites. It is a new proposition. The citation made by the gentleman from Kentucky that the Secretary of War shall submit estimates does not obviate that rule of the House that requires that no legislation shall be carried on an appropriation bill.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, will the Chair permit an observation?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. WALSH. That the amendment as now offered does not contemplate the payment for property already acquired, but it seeks to authorize further acquisition. There is existing law authorizing them to acquire land for rifle ranges, and the amendment as submitted seeks to authorize further acquisition of property for ranges and appropriates a sum of money. In that respect it would seem to be legislation. If it read "For the payment for property acquired as rifle ranges, $183,186," that would seem to make it a deficiency, but the wording of the amendment would seem to confer power to acquire further property for rifle ranges in that amount and it seems to be legislation.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, if the Chair will permit, there was carried in the Army act, under the head of "Shooting galleries and ranges," this language:

For shelter, grounds, shooting galleries, ranges for small-arm target practice, machine-gun practice, field-artillery practice, repairs and expenses incident thereto, including flour for making paste for marking targets, hiring employees, such ranges and galleries to be open, as far as practical, to the National Guard and organized rifle clubs under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of War, $343,110.

There is language in the Army act expressly for the purpose of expending money for shelter and for grounds.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. Did the gentleman notice the item on page 35 of the current Army appropriation act also—rifle ranges for civilian instruction?

Mr. SHERLEY. I had not; but that simply emphasizes it. It reads:

To establish and maintain indoor and outdoor rifle ranges for the use of all able-bodied males capable of bearing arms, etc., $10,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are matters of appropriation.

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; so is this.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the point of order was not made, the Chair assumes——

Mr. SHERLEY. It could not have been made. That is an item carried every year, and has been.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky will understand the position of the Chair. The rule of the House provides it shall not be in order to legislate on an appropriation bill, except under what is known as the Holman rule. In other words, no appropriation bill, it does not matter what committee it comes from, can carry legislation.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, in order to relieve the Chair of any embarrassment, I withdraw the amendment and offer the following amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment is withdrawn. No objection is heard, and the gentleman from Kentucky offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Shooting galleries and ranges: For shooting galleries and ranges, including similar objects specified under this head in the Army appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1919, $183,186.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order on the amendment.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I submit it is not subject to the point of order. This is the exact language of the Army act relating to matters which the Army act appropriated for and is to supply additional moneys as a deficiency for this purpose.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman may by circumlocution attain indirectly what is not authorized by the rules of the House, and yet the Committee on Appropriations——

Mr. MONDELL. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin claim in legislation you can not do indirectly what you might not be able to do directly in some cases?

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, I do not make that claim; but yet, Mr. Chairman, the purpose is obvious, that while that legislation might have been authorized by the Committee on Military Affairs even then when authorized by the Committee on Military Affairs it might have been subject to the point of order in creating new objects. There is no estimate from the committee before the Committee on Appropriations along the lines submitted in the amendment now proposed, and yet I realize that is not a matter that can be taken cognizance of by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. This amendment seems to conform to the express language of the law, and the Chair overrules the point of order. The question is upon the amendment.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I did not make the point of order without having given careful consideration to the subject under consideration. I realize the responsibility that rests upon a Member in making a point of order to any matter that relates to the military affairs of the Government while the country is at war, and yet the page and a half of hearings before the Committee on Appropriations show how unwise it is for the Committee on Appropriations to take jurisdiction over matters of policy that belong to the Committee on Military Affairs. There was no full consideration given to this matter by the full committee of the Committee on Appropriations. Time was of the essence to report this bill to the House, and we had no time to consider this or the two succeeding items, not even time to present argument in opposition or make full inquiries as to the merits, but we had to go to the hearings to obtain the reason for its being included at all.

The hearings show that this land to-day is in the occupation of the Government under a rental proposal. There is no additional advantage whatsoever that will come to the Government from the absolute purchase of it. The War officials make no such argument. They claim there is a clubhouse there—the land has been in the control of the State of Ohio for these many years and they are willing to sell it; perhaps they are only too willing to load it upon the National Government in these war times. If there had been such a showing made in the hearings that it was necessary for the Government to purchase it I would not have thought of making the point of order or thought of rising in opposition to the amendment, but we know, even in these war times, how prone military officers of the Government are to establish agencies and activities in order to establish perhaps a militaristic policy in this Government. I am opposed to that. I think we should conserve our money where it is necessary. We need money, if the war is to continue, for other activities. I indorse the policy announced by the chairman of the committee, that we should not expend money except where it is absolutely necessary. The hearings show that it is not necessary to purchase this land because the Government to-day has the use of the land under a rental proposal. We could go ahead with much more consistency and purchase land where we have invested hundreds of millions of dollars in our camps and cantonments, where we expended millions upon millions of dollars in hospitals and in other improvements. Here there is only tent equipage in the use of it. I am not surprised the State of Ohio even convening its legislature in special session in order to pass an enabling act so as to permit them to get rid of this property and to get a large sum of money from the National Government. If there is no better showing made from the hearings than this, then I respectfully contend that the amendment should be rejected even though it is being considered through the circumlocution of the distinguished chairman of the committee.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, the testimony shows that a number of years ago the Government put some money into this rifle range. It originally cost $252,000. There is a valuation placed on the interest of the State of Ohio at $165,000. They are willing to sell it at what it cost them and Gov. Cox is endeavoring to put an enabling act through the Ohio Legislature for that purpose. Then follows considerable testimony. There is also a statement in an inventory, page 604 of the hearings, which shows that there was land to the amount of 504 acres which cost $63,000; buildings, $70,073.05; sewerage disposal, latrines, and sewerage system, $25,495.08.

Target butts, targets, and firing line, $25,254.49; water purification and distribution, $10,339.88; telephone and light systems, $9,081.79; power-station equipment, $5,868.61; garbage crematory, $2,760; standpipe, $2,000; roads, walks, concrete retaining wall, and so forth, $40,874.08; or a total of $252,746.98. The United States Government has already invested $103,086.01 in that property; the State of Ohio has invested $149,666.97. I submit, in view of those circumstances, that this House is warranted in making this purchase. The Federal Government has already an investment in there. It will acquire property that is fully worth the amount, and it will make it independent in putting additional moneys in the future in the establishment of a rifle range. The statement of Col. Mumma is to this effect:

Col. MUMMA. The land has appreciated in value. This places a valuation of $125 per acre on the land, but land next to it was purchased at an average price of a little more than $200 per acre. Then there are the range structures, consisting of retaining walls for target butts, a very large concrete mess hall, a concrete storehouse, track facilities, sewers, electric light, water, sewage disposal, and filtration plants, and they were constructed 11 years ago at a price which would mean about one-half of the present cost of construction.

Now, the Committee on Appropriations considered this item as it did all the other items. It came to it because it was brought to it by the War Department, and strongly urged. In view of the testimony shown here, I submit the committee would

have been derelict in its duties if it had not undertaken to carry out what appears to be an economical and wise investment for an unquestioned proper military purpose. On that statement I am willing to submit the matter to the House for its consideration.

Mr. TILSON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

Mr. TILSON. Does the gentleman know why these matters were not submitted to the Committee on Military Affairs when we were considering the regular Army appropriation bill?

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not. And personally I should have been very glad if these items had gone to that committee.

Mr. TILSON. I did not know whether any emergency had arisen, or why it was not presented to us during the time we were considering the Army appropriation bill.

Mr. SHERLEY. I think it might have depended somewhat on the action of the State of Ohio being willing to sell, or negotiations had not been completed. But that is a surmise.

Mr. SEARS. Will the gentleman from Kentucky yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. I will.

Mr. SEARS. There are other State rifle ranges that are being used by the Government, for which I understand no charge is being made. If those States should decide to sell to the Government, will it be the policy of the Committee on Appropriations to also reimburse the States for the amounts of money they have expended on those rifle ranges?

Mr. SHERLEY. Answering the gentleman's question, I would say it would depend a good deal upon two facts: One is, whether the property it was sought to buy was worth the money that was asked for it or worth more or less. And another, whether, having in mind all the ranges we own, we would need additional ranges or not. I can only say to the gentleman that if a matter of that kind came from the State of Florida, I would try to approach it as I have this matter that has come up now, with the idea of doing that which the facts seem to make wise under all the circumstances.

Mr. SEARS. I do not think the State of Florida would want to sell the rifle ranges, because we will want to use them after the war. But I wanted to know what the policy would be.

Mr. SHERLEY. I have tried to tell the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the Chair reported that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Division, Mr. Chairman.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 18, noes 2.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

For the acquisition of land at Fayetteville, N. C., for an artillery range, $1,500,000.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment there to strike that out.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROBBINS] offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. ROBBINS offers the following amendment: Page 20, strike out lines 15 and 16.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Chairman, I would have made a point of order against that item, but it seems that the skill of the chairman of the Committee on appropriations is such that he would steer around any points of order. This little item carries with it, as we learn by referring to the hearings on page 794, $20,000,000 for the improvements and probably some additional expenditures for the hospital. Now, I think it is remarkable, and I think this item is indefensible, that 18 months after we are in the war, after we have the enemy on the retreat—I do not say the war is won, but after, at least, the President has considered that we are far enough along to consider propositions looking to peace settlements—we should take up and expend $20,000,000 to establish another cantonment when we already have established and now have in active operation, I believe, 86 cantonments of various kinds. Now, Mr. Chairman, we have come to a time when I think we ought to see how we can economize in the expenditures for the further prosecution of this war. We are now in the last two days of the sale of this great $6,000,000,000 war loan, and I see, according to the statement made by the Secretary of the Treasury this morning, that we have two days to run and $2,000,000,000 of bonds yet to sell. I think that ought to indicate to this House pretty clearly that the people of the United States are beginning to want to know how their money is being expended. They are not buying these bonds like hot cakes. And it is time for us here in Congress to inquire how we are going to expend this money economically. Here is $20,000,000 of an appropriation for a new camp, and the next item carries $17,000,000 for another camp. How are we going to justify that before the people? Is it because this is a military camp for the purpose of testing cannon? We have at Aberdeen, Md., 50 miles from Washington City, a camp for that purpose. We have Fort D. A. Russell, with a range of 20 miles, as I understand, in Montana——

Mr. MONDELL. In Wyoming.

Mr. ROBBINS. Yes; in Wyoming. I am glad the gentleman corrected me. Why should we not, gentlemen, use these establishments at these places instead of establishing new ones, I do not know. We have in Kansas, at Fort Riley, some 10,000 acres for the purpose of testing cannon. Here is a new expenditure for this same purpose, and if I have read the testimony aright this land is valued at from $1 to $100 per acre. I now read a statement from Maj. James E. Holden, on page 578 of the hearings, and if you take the $1,500,000 that he asks for the acquisition of the ground alone, and divide it by 135,000 acres, which he is seeking to get here, you have about $11 per acre to be paid for this ground all around. Now, how are we to justify such an expenditure as that?

Mr. SHERLEY. If the gentleman will permit, does he mean to divide 135,000 by a million and a half and say it makes $110 an acre? I think the gentleman should do the sum over again.

Mr. ROBBINS. It is over $11 an acre.

Mr. SHERLEY. It is $11 an acre.

Mr. ROBBINS. Well, take $11 an acre. How are we to justify paying $11 an acre?

Mr. SHERLEY. It is because——

Mr. ROBBINS. I ask the gentleman not to interrupt me. He has had opportunity to make his statement. Let me make my statement. Here is a proposition which is presented to Congress. I submit that it should be considered on its merits, and I want the gentlemen of the committee, and especially the distinguished chairman of the committee, to reflect whether these departments are doing wrong or not when they go ahead and contract for an expenditure of one and a half millions without consulting Congress at all and commit us to an expenditure here, as this does ultimately, of $20,000,000. What is Congress permitted to say about that? Have we had any opportunity to consider it?

Mr. SHERLEY. Does the gentleman want an answer?

Mr. ROBBINS. The gentleman can answer when I am through, if he please.

Mr. SHERLEY. I will be glad to.

Mr. ROBBINS. I say the proposition ought to be considered by Congress in this light: When we come to an expenditure of $20,000,000 for any such purpose—because this war has been going on now, so far as we are concerned, for 18 months, and so far as the other belligerents are concerned it has been going on four years—and we are now past the point in this war where we need to acquire any more encampments for the training of troops, and if the department wants a new encampment like this at a stated cost of $20,000,000 it ought to consult the Committee on Military Affairs, which in this case would be the appropriate committee, and have that committee consider it and report it for consideration on the floor of this House on its merits.

What has been done here? When I turn to the hearings and inquire about this item, I find that the chairman of the committee asked this question:

Has this matter of land purchase as against rental been determined by the Staff, or who functioned on it?

And, by the way, I understand they could rent it at $120,000 a year.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Chairman, I ask leave to proceed for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes more. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROBBINS. Here is the answer:

Gen. SNOW. I discussed it personally with Mr. Crowell, the Assistant Secretary of War, who makes the decision.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether it had the consideration of the Staff?

Gen. SNOW. We also put the proposition to the General Staff for their consideration through the Operations Division.

There we have this whole proposition, involving an outlay of $20,000,000, taken up in the War Department and considered there before it is brought here.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman will pardon me, but where does he get the $20,000,000?

Mr. ROBBINS. From the hearings. There is nothing alarming in this apparently innocent item of $1,500,000; but if the gentleman will turn to the hearings, on page 581 he will see that $17,000,000 is asked, exclusive of the land, and the land is

to cost $1,500,000 additional, and then that is followed by this question by the chairman:

The CHAIRMAN. Presumably, if they are to be the same, that would make a total of $20,000,000 you expect to spend at Fayetteville in construction?
Gen. SNOW. Yes, sir.

I accept that statement. That is all that any Member of this House can get in regard to this from the testimony taken by the committee on this item.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That would seem to lead to the impression that this $1,500,000 was simply an entering wedge for the $20,000,000?

Mr. ROBBINS. Yes. I cited that at the beginning of my remarks, that this item of $1,500,000 seemed to be merely the beginning for the expenditure of $20,000,000; and if the hospital is to be included, the cost will be still more, because something is said about $9,000,000 for hospitals at Camp Bragg, Camp Knox, and Camp Jackson.

Now, I contend most seriously that Congress ought to preserve its rights as against these departments that are so insidiously encroaching on us, and that are spending money here by large lump sums. The Congress should consider, in the first place, whether these expenditures are proper and necessary. These departments should be required to send their representatives before the appropriate committees and ask for what they claim they need and give the reasons, and if they desire to acquire a rifle range at Fayetteville, N. C., or at West Point, Ky., adjoining the district of my friend from Kentucky, they should introduce in the hearing the proper facts and let the committee consider them, and then report the matter to the House in due process of legislation.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman has referred several times to this as a range for testing cannon. It is not a range for testing cannon but for the training of troops in the use of cannon. In that respect it differs widely from the Aberdeen Proving Ground, which is a range for the proving of cannon.

Mr. ROBBINS. The chairman says it is a sufficient range for heavy artillery.

Mr. MONDELL. But it is in no sense a range which is to be considered as a proving ground.

Mr. ROBBINS. If it is a testing range merely, why do we not use the vast ranges we have at Fort Riley and Fort D. A. Russell?

Mr. MONDELL. It is a training range, not a testing range.

Mr. ROBBINS. There you want distance in which to prove the long-range guns. At Indianhead we test guns by firing up against a hill. We are amply provided with both ranges and testing grounds now.

I do not see any merit in this proposition at all. I do not want to say that, because these ranges are both located in the South, it shows favoritism toward the South. I do not want to say to my learned friend, the chairman of the committee, that because this item following here is near his home city of Louisville he had something to do with locating it there. But I do want to say this, that we have passed the time in this war when we have any reason to locate any new cantonments any where.

We ought to be conserving the money of the people. The people are not buying liberty bonds as freely as they were expected to, and they are not going to pay these taxes with the hurrah and enthusiasm which they manifested heretofore, and the reason is that they believe there must be unreasonable extravagance somewhere in the expenditure of the public money. I will vote every dollar that is necessary for the prosecution of this war, and that has been my record from the beginning. I will vote for every bill that is necessary to carry the war forward to a quick and victorious conclusion. But I will not vote for any bill that I think is appropriating money recklessly and uselessly. I think this item and the item following it are both subject to that criticism and should be stricken out, as my amendment proposes.

It was stated by the chairman of the committee in his opening remarks on this bill that the original request of the department was for approximately $2,500,000 more than is appropriated. This bill carries $6,345,755,666.04. The reduction made by the committee on the estimate submitted by the War Department amounted to $2,540,375,985.45. This shows conclusively either that the departments are not very accurate in their requests on Congress for money or that the committee has pruned this bill without due regard to the needs of the War Department. If the department is so far wrong as to the amount required, it is fair to assume they are wrong as to these two items also.

Listening to the discussion, however, I am assured that the committee has allowed the War Department all the money that is required to carry the Military Establishment through until the next Congress meets in December and enable our Nation to wage the war against Germany without stint and without abating any, in our present vigor, energy and determination. The American people will indorse liberal and proper appropriations, but they are demanding that care and scrutiny must be used in the expenditure of public money. The cost of this war is so tremendous, and our burden to carry on our military operations and aid our allies has become so great, that it is only reasonable that watchfulness and care must now be used in every item contained in any appropriation bill.

The committee has used this care, but they have not gone far enough. The Fayetteville, N. C., item, carrying one and one-half million for the acquisition of the land, and the West Point, Ky., item, carrying $1,600,000 for the same purpose, and committing the Government to the further expenditure in the construction of the cantonment of twenty million in the Fayetteville item and seventeen million in the West Point item, or an aggregate of approximately $37,000,000, are well worth while saving, especially when it will not interfere in any way with the preparation of our Artillery for usefulness in the present war.

The plain fact about both of these appropriations is that they can not be utilized in the present war to any great extent. That is all the more reason that this money should be saved. Our Artillery is doing most effective work and has been trained in the camps that we now have either in this country or in France. Saving this large sum of money would lessen to that extent the burden we are imposing on the taxpayers of the country.

I do not believe the war is over, but I do believe that it is past its crest; that the Hun is retiring permanently and rapidly toward Berlin; that he will soon cross the Rhine and that our victorious armies and those of our allies will soon compel an "unconditional surrender" not only of all the German troops but of the entire military autocracy against which we battle. This is what the American people demand. This is what I favor, and that is why I believe in aiding to accomplish this in every possible way.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman's speech is predicated upon certain statements that are very foreign to the actual situation. The gentleman denies any imputation, but makes an imputation with his denial, and he assumes that these two items are the entering wedges to the expenditure of $20,000,000 in each instance at these particular points. The fact is just the reverse. He voted for the Army bill, which largely carried the money, some $40,000,000 of which is being spent at these two particular places, which are cantonments similar to the others that he has voted for and similar to those that are scattered all over the country, except in this regard, that these cantonments are intended for Artillery troops. The military officials came to the conclusion that they could not get satisfactory results in the training of Artillery troops by having them in small units at the various cantonments, and they determined, as a matter of military policy, that it was desirable to establish certain cantonments for the training of artillerymen. Accordingly, they established these. They have established four—one at Fort Sill, in the West; one at Fayetteville, N. C.; one at West Point, Ky., and another at Fort Jackson, at Columbia, S. C. Now, there are already being built at these various points cantonments and hospitals for the men and accommodations for the horses and draft animals. The proposition which was brought to the Committee on Appropriations was this: In view of the fact that $20,000,000 was to be expended at each of these places, and in view of the fact that they insisted that the Army would want, as all Members who have been here in Congress know they have wanted for many years past, some ranges for Artillery practice, was it not desirable as a matter of business to expend at Fayetteville $1,500,000 for the acquisition of 135,000 acres of land at an average cost of $11 an acre, instead of paying for the rental of the land and then having to pay damages incident to the destruction of buildings and property and crops, and at the end of a year or two probably have an expenditure that they testified would amount to $500,000, and then have $20,000,000 worth of investment upon property they did not own? They insisted that as a business proposition it was desirable to own this land; that even if it came to a question of salvage the ownership of this land upon which $20,000,000 of investment had been made would enable the Government to obtain more in the way of salvage than if they simply had this land leased and had to pay the incidental damages. The Committee on Appropriations had nothing on earth to do, any more than the distinguished gentleman, Mr. ROBBINS, had, with the selection of these sites. We had nothing to do with it either as a committee or as individuals.

I never knew of the selection of either site until it had taken place, and that applies to the site at West Point, Ky., which is

20 miles from Louisville. I made no recommendation to any individual at any time in regard to it. It happens to be a site that was used some 15 years ago by the Army in connection with Army maneuvers. It was arranged by the officers of the Army stationed at the camp that is in my district because they believed that it was desirable property. When it came to the consideration of the matter in connection with West Point, I asked the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT], and the other Republican members to please go into it and investigate the matter thoroughly, because as chairman of this committee I did not want to be even seemingly put in the position of undertaking to favor some project that happened to be near my district. The gentleman in making a reference to that, even with the denial, does himself an injustice, because he knows that the locality had nothing to do with this committee recommendation upon either of these sites, and I did not, even in the subcommittee, vote upon the matter, in order that I might not in any way undertake to influence the judgment of the members of that committee. That statement will be borne witness to by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] who sits here now. I say that simply in defense of myself. It is entirely immaterial to me what action is taken by the Committee of the Whole upon these two items. They can put them out or put them in as they see fit. These camps are going on. The money is being expended there. At the West Point camp site there are already two brigades of Artillery, and there are to be six all told, as there are to be at the other place. I submit to the gentleman himself, who talks about economy, whether he thinks it is wise to make an expenditure of $20,000,000 upon leased land that can be bought for the price which this can be bought for? I believe the Government would have been better off if it had bought all of the land upon which it made these tremendous outlays of money; that it would be in a better position to get back a return and to protect the Treasury of the United States. Now, if Congress thinks it desirable that we continue to rent, that we continue to be liable for damages, why, then, that is the wisdom of the Congress and I have no exception to take to it; but the proposition that is presented here is not a proposition involving the expenditure of $20,000,000. It is a question whether, having made an expenditure of $20,000,000, you believe it is wise to spend $1,500,000 in one place and $1,600,000 in the other in order to own the land upon which this large investment has been made, rather than to lease it and pay the damages done to property. That is the real question that is brought here by these two items. That was the question that the committee considered. It was explained fully in connection with the hearings before the subcommittee; it was explained by me fully to the full committee.

I spoke for over two hours to the whole Committee on Appropriations. I then came to this floor and spoke nearly three hours. That was five hours altogether, which was no easy task for me. I did it because of the obligation I owe to this House. I have never in any way tried to have any matter put in without the full judgment of the committee. I have begged individual members to help me, as chairman of the committee, in the consideration of matters, and have welcomed consideration on the floor. If we had wanted to put through something here that involved a large expenditure it could have been done, and the gentleman with his diligence would never have known of it. He voted, when he voted for the Army act, for most of the money that was expended at these cantonments. It did not come from the Committee on Appropriations. What is here presented is presented because the War Department did not want to buy the land unless Congress wanted it to buy it, and they believe, in view of the fact that it was wise, that it should be bought.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I am glad to have heard the gentleman, and having interrogated the gentleman from Pennsylvania while on his feet, would like to ask the gentleman from Kentucky this question, Was the $20,000,000 or thereabouts to which reference has been made provided for in a previous appropriation bill?

Mr. SHERLEY. In the Army act in connection with the money for cantonments; and the determination of localities was made by the War Department, as they have made determination of localities touching the cantonments.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That money was to be used for Artillery ranges?

Mr. SHERLEY. In general terms for cantonments, but these are cantonments in connection with Artillery practice in places where they could be trained as artillerymen in the actual maneuvering of guns and firing them.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Let me ask another question, and this will be an answer to the whole question. Is there anything in these two items for Artillery ranges not contemplated in the appropriations hitherto made?

Mr. SHERLEY. Not as far as I know.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The Artillery ranges herein referred to, except as to the acquisition of land, have all been provided for by prior appropriations.

Mr. SHERLEY. The actual building is going on this minute at West Point. There are stationed there a number of thousands of troops, and other troops are being brought in as fast as barracks can be completed to house them. The same work is going on at Fayetteville and Columbia, S. C.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The prior appropriation did not provide for the purchase of land as herein contemplated?

Mr. SHERLEY. It did not; and therefore the War Department, being in the process of expending large sums of money, felt it was a mistaken policy to put money into ranges that would probably be used after the war—because gentlemen will recall that for 15 years past the War Department has insisted on having Artillery ranges for training Artillery, and time after time there have been proposals looking to that end. They felt that inasmuch as the range would be permament, and inasmuch as $20,000,000 was being invested in it, it was the part of wisdom for Congress to authorize the purchase of the land rather than to lease the land.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I think that is the correct policy. Was enough money left out of the $20,000,000 appropriated to provide for the purchase of the land?

Mr. SHERLEY. I have no doubt they have money sufficient to have bought the land and said nothing to Congress about it. If they had done that, some gentlemen would have complained that they were acquiring land in great quantities without Congress being consulted. Evidently the War Department thought that Congress ought to have an opportunity to express its views touching the acquisition of the land. They came with the proposal, and there was testimony by the head of the Artillery Corps and by an officer from the real estate division as to the value of the land. The examination was as full as we felt it could be made to develop the facts.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, I am not a member of the subcommittee on deficiencies, but I was called in, as I stated to the House, in connection with the latter part of the hearings and in the writing up of this bill, and I feel some responsibility in the matter of this item. It is one of the very few items in the bill in regard to which I had some question and some misgiving. It is an item I considered very carefully, and the subcommittee at my suggestion held it up for some 24 hours until I could make up my mind in regard to it.

Let me say at the outset that the subcommittee in formulating this bill did not take into consideration any suggestion that had been made anywhere by anybody with regard to an early peace. As one member of the subcommittee I felt it was my duty to pass on this appropriation bill as though it would be necessary to pursue this enterprise of war that we are in to a final military determination. [Applause.] And if there is any one thing we ought to emphasize in the passage of these bills it is that the American people are prepared to fight the war out to a victorious and successful finish. [Applause.] So much for that.

The question as to whether or not we should buy these lands was to me simply and solely a business question. Personally I have had some doubt about the advisability of establishing enormous Artillery ranges and practice grounds at Fayetteville. I do not know what influences were brought to bear on the War Department to bring them to the conclusion that that was a good thing to do. But they had the authority to do it, and they have under that authority provided for the construction of a great camp there. It is under way. They expect to finish it in January or February. Nothing that we could do now short of absolutely prohibiting further work there would have had any effect on the expenditure of $17,000,000 to $20,000,000 that the department estimates is necessary for buildings and other improvements on these grounds. That money will be spent. The camp is established. We had to accept that fact as settled so far as we were concerned.

Then the question was what was the best business in this situation. We were told that it would cost approximately $500,000 per annum to rent the land at Fayetteville and to pay the damages that would arise from the use of approximately 135,000 acres. On the other hand, it was estimated that we could buy approximately 135,000 acres for a million and a half dollars. In other words, the question was, a camp having been established, a large part of $20,000,000 having been allotted for its construction, the work being under way, was it good business to pay for the rental of the ground per annum one-third

of the sum for which it was estimated the land could be purchased? It did not strike me as being good business. If it were a question of establishing or not establishing this training ground, I for one should have doubted the advisability of doing it. That was not the question. The question was, Which is the best policy to pursue under the circumstances? And it seemed to me there was no question about it. It is much better to pay a million and a half and own the land than to pay $500,000 a year and have no title to it. Following this is the West Point, Ky., item. Personally, I am of opinion, without claiming to have overmuch information with regard to either of them, that the West Point training ground is much the better of the two for the purposes for which it is to be used, and there is in my mind less doubt as to the propriety of establishing a camp at West Point than there is at Fayetteville. The chairman of the committee chances to live not so very far from the West Point training camp, though it is not in his district. The chairman of the committee, as he has already told you, declined to vote on these items or to attempt to influence others.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wyoming has expired.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONDELL. Or to attempt to influence the members of the committee touching either of these two items. He did not vote; I do not believe he attempted to influence anyone in regard to them. He certainly made no attempt to influence me, and was very careful to say that we should settle these matters on our judgment and knowledge of facts.

At West Point the land will cost much more per acre than at Fayetteville, but we need only about one-third as much of it, because the land is of a character better adapted to these uses than at Fayetteville. It does not require so much territory for an adequate Artillery range and maneuver ground. At West Point it would cost about 25 per cent per annum of the estimated cost for rent and for damages. So in the West Point case it was again simply a question of good business; and in view of the fact that in both cases the camps had been established under general authority heretofore granted by Congress, that they are under way, that they will be established and completed in any event unless the Congress is prepared to now prohibit any further construction, it seemed to be much better to acquire the land than to rent it at the lowest rate at which we could secure it.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. TILSON. Is the ground smaller in acreage at West Point?

Mr. MONDELL. There are 40,000 acres at West Point and 135,000 acres at Fayetteville. A smaller acreage is said to be necessary at West Point and probably a smaller acreage available, but a smaller acreage is said to be necessary because the land is more rolling and affords effective backstops for Artillery fire.

Mr. TILSON. Why is it so much higher in price? Is it near any large city?

Mr. MONDELL. The West Point land is, I should judge, with what little knowledge I have of it, better worth $40 an acre on an average than is the Fayetteville land worth $10 an acre. The Fayetteville land is cut-over pine land largely, as I understand it, and the West Point land, while quite rough in the main, is, some of it, it is claimed, very good farming land and worth as high as $100 an acre. Some of it is very rough and not worth much.

Mr. TILSON. As to its fitness for the purpose for which it is being purchased, did the gentleman go into the nature of the soil at all?

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman will understand that I did not attend the hearings, and therefore I had to depend upon what I found in the printed hearings and what I got from my colleagues.

Mr. TILSON. I have read the hearings.

Mr. MONDELL. My opinion is that the West Point lands are better, because I am under the impression they are neither so sandy as the other lands nor likely to become so muddy as the other lands, and therefore they are better lands for Artillery practice.

Mr. TILSON. The trouble with most of the land in that part of North Carolina, as I recall it, is that it is susceptible of being very easily worked up into a mud that is almost impassable, and that does not lend itself to the handling of Artillery.

Mr. MONDELL. I assume that in much of the work that Artillery organizations find to do during war they will encounter muddy and sandy land to traverse. Perhaps the idea in selecting Fayetteville is to give them practice ground that will be as tough as anything they may encounter in war.

Mr. TILSON. I think they do in Flanders.

Mr. MONDELL. Under all of the circumstances I believe the committee did the wise thing, the best and most businesslike thing, in recommending to the House the purchase of these lands.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Chairman, I dislike to delay the House even for a minute, because we have been making very slow progress. I hope that we can get through with this bill to-day. But I wish to say a word upon this subject. I am not a member of this subcommittee, but on account of the magnitude of the bill the chairman courteously asked me to be present when I could. I have been present at a good many of the hearings, when my other work allowed, and it so happened that this was one of the times when I was present and heard the testimony. I do not remember the details very accurately, but I know that I came to the conclusion then, which I hold now, that it is wise for the Government to buy this land, and I concur heartily with the statement about it made by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I am a member of the subcommittee on deficiencies. I listened to the statement of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY], to the statement of the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL], and also to the statement of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT]. Any independent opinion that I might have about almost any military affair would not be very valuable. I am not in any respect an expert. You have got to trust some one, and in these cases we have had to vest some power in the Executive. It goes through the various corps of the Army—the Ordnance Department, for instance. Then they divide it up among experts in almost all of these organizations. Then there are the engineers. Bless my soul, these people give their whole lives, first to an exhaustive education before they are intrusted with the expenditure of large sums of money. All this is under stress. I apprehend that it is true that at Fort D. A. Russell, away out in Wyoming, they have got very good land almost without limit for this kind of practice. I never stopped off there and I can not tell with certainty. I have been at Fort Sill, but it is away out in western Oklahoma, almost out to Texas. I never have been at Fort Riley, but that is pretty well out.

I got the impression from the hearings that in the location of those two camps that the railroad facilities were taken into consideration in their location near the seaport; much of transportation in the future. I think the gentleman from Kentucky and the other gentleman have very fairly stated as to the facts. I was particularly convinced that as those camps had been located under authority of law and largely constructed it was much better to buy than it would be to lease, especially as there was the question of damages where there were farms and little villages, and so forth, which would arise in the future.

Mr. ROBBINS. Will the gentleman yield to me for a question?

Mr. CANNON. I will do so.

Mr. ROBBINS. The gentleman has stated there was authority of law for the locating of these camps. What authority of law is there? That is not clear to me.

Mr. CANNON. The same authority of law under which all the camps were established, as I understand it.

Mr. ROBBINS. You mean the general authority of the war power of the President and through his official agents to select these camps?

Mr. CANNON. Oh, no; the action of Congress in voting the appropriation. I think I am correct in that. Some gentleman of the Committee on Military Affairs will correct me if I am not correct.

Mr. ROBBINS. Then it is the general authority. There is no specific act of Congress for locating any encampments?

Mr. CANNON. Covering this at West Point?

Mr. ROBBINS. Yes.

Mr. CANNON. I think not. That is all I desire to say about the matter. I think it has been said better by gentlemen who have preceded me who are members of the Committee on Appropriations than I am competent of saying. I am only telling you what caused me to approve the recommendation of these items to the full committee and to the House.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the pending amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

For the acquisition of land at West Point, Ky., for an Artillery range, $1,600,000.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I seem to have rather stirred up a hornet's nest when I alluded to these encampments. I wish to say to the gentleman from Kentucky I did not intend nor do I make any reflection on him, but when it comes to looking for a reason why these expenditures should be made, when I look at the testimony—and that is the only source of information I have to guide me—I know nothing about what occurred in the Committee on Appropriations or who took part in this discussion there or who did not—I see it is stated here in a letter dated the 8th of August, 1918, printed in the hearings and signed by Gen. Henry, that this land is under cultivation—at least it says here, "allowing for the buildings and the lands that are under cultivation." I understand from that testimony that this land is still in the occupancy of the owners and has not been acquired by the War Department. I also read with reference to this item that we are now considering—that is, the West Point, Ky., item—on page 592 of the testimony, where it says:

The Louisville people are helping us out, and we sent people there familiar with the land to make an appraisal for us.

Further down on page 592 of the hearings it says:

At West Point, Ky., a Louisville company has agreed to go and make certificates of title on this property—

And so forth.

And also at another place that agents are there acquiring title to this land. There is no evidence here that this land is now clear and occupied by the War Department, as I understand this testimony. Of course, I have no other information about it. Therefore this proposition seems to be to acquire by purchase lands that are now in possession of private owners and being cultivated by them and not in the possession of the Government.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBBINS. In a moment. Moreover, the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL], who now interrupts me. has stated all along that it would cost $120,000 to rent this land.

Mr. MONDELL. No; $500,000.

Mr. ROBBINS. It cost $120,000 rental, and with the damages it would be $500,000. Now, that is the estimate that occurs in the testimony, but when you come to inquire into it——

Mr. MONDELL. Rent and damages I put at $500,000.

Mr. ROBBINS. Let me read from testimony, page 579:

The cost of leasing, according to my report to the General Staff, was about $120,000, and we thought there would probably be about two or three hundred thousand dollars more at least in damages.

Then at another place in the testimony he says that he estimates the damage would be $500,000. Of course the damage would be for the first year only and the cost thereafter would be rental only. Now, Mr. Chairman, the question of where these cantonments have been located has been explained in reports printed broadcast, and from these newspaper reports we are informed that this camp down at Fayetteville has been located there simply for political reasons. Some gentleman has asserted during this argument that no influence was used with the War Department to put the cantonments where they are. If they did the War Department has gotten credit for their action. I will read from a published statement circulated through the country in reference to the Fayetteville encampment:

Senator SIMMONS is given a large share of credit for the camp. His talk with Mr. Baker probably decided the matter. Resolutions from Fayetteville thanking the Senator were presented. Secretary King, of the Fayetteville Chamber of Commerce, brought to Washington to-day resolutions adopted at a recent meeting of that organization, thanking Senator SIMMONS for the part he played in landing an Army camp at Fayetteville.

That was published last August, when that location was made. There is the reason they put this camp down there. That is one of the reasons that puts me against it. If Army camps are being located in districts where Senators and Congressmen are running for reelection for political purposes and not located for the purpose for which the gentleman contends this camp was designated, for the benefit of the war and the training of the Army, but put there for other purposes, then my motion to strike out this item should prevail. I do not know the purpose about the other cantonment at West Point, Ky., but the Louisville Board of Trade has looked it up, and a title company in that city is seeing that the titles are correct. I make no protest against anybody. I am not inclined to do that, but I do say that if this Fayetteville cantonment, located 18 months after war has been declared, 18 months after all the other cantonments have been selected and in due process of construction are completed, was placed there for the reason given in the statement above quoted, it should be prohibited here. Here is one put down there this year; put down there by the influence of a Senator, for political purposes evidently.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBBINS. Now, if that is true—and that is published broadcast, and I am giving it from the papers for what is accepted as published, and I have never seen it denied—then I say this item is not for the purpose of the Army and in good faith, but it is for other and ulterior purposes.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBBINS. Yes.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. The gentleman has referred to a newspaper article giving some one credit for the Fayetteville location. I want to read to the gentleman what Gen. Snow has stated to the committee.

Mr. ROBBINS. I have read all that. I object to your using my time for that.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Gen. Snow suggests that neither one of these propositions was suggested to him by a civilian.

Mr. ROBBINS. We will not argue it out between you and me. I am reading what the Fayetteville Board of Trade did.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. From a newspaper article?

Mr. ROBBINS. Reading a copy of the resolutions. I said if that is the situation, we ought to know it, and it should be aired on the floor of the House, and the American people ought to know that their money, $20,000,000 of it, is being expended for that purpose, and not to establish an Army camp in good faith. I admit if it is established and Artillery practice is installed there, it will be for the benefit of the Army, but I am contending against the location of these camps in that way. I say it is not right.

Mr. CARAWAY. I understand the gentleman makes the assertion that this was not put there for the benefit of the country, but for the benefit of one of the Senators?

Mr. ROBBINS. I say what this resolution says.

Mr. CARAWAY. Is that the gentleman's statement?

Mr. ROBBINS. I have read the resolution.

Mr. CARAWAY. Is that the gentleman's statement?

Mr. ROBBINS. I just read this resolution, and that is what I said about it.

Mr. CARAWAY. Does not the gentleman think he ought to make a charge directly and not make it by insinuation?

Mr. ROBBINS. I do not want to make an insinuation. I say this resolution makes a statement. I read it for just what it is worth.

Mr. CARAWAY. What is it worth? Do you believe it is true?

Mr. ROBBINS. I believe it or I would not have read it.

Mr. CARAWAY. You make the assertion that it is true that it was put there for the benefit of Senator SIMMONS and not for the Army at all?

Mr. ROBBINS. I did not say that.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order. The gentleman is violating the rule.

The CHAIRMAN. Which gentleman?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. CARAWAY], in mentioning the name of a Senator.

Mr. CARAWAY. I presume the gentleman overlooked the fact that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROBBINS] was using the name?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I make the point of order against the gentleman, too, if not too late.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair overrules the point of order. There seems to be some confusion about the rule of the House——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the Chair pardon me just a moment? On several occasions I have noted that the present occupant of the chair, without suggestion from the House, has called attention to this rule. The rule to which he has called attention is rather pointed. There is to be no discussion in the House of the proceedings of the Senate and no naming of a Senator. That is my reason for making the point. The Chairman himself has voluntarily called attention to it on one or two occasions.

The CHAIRMAN. The rule of the House is that there shall be no discussion of proceedings in the Senate. The Senate has a similar rule as to the proceedings in the House. The purpose of the rule is obvious. It is a good rule. It ought to be observed. It is made the duty, apparently, of the presiding officer, whether the Speaker or Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, to direct attention to any violation of the rule upon his own initiative. But the rule does not mean that you can not refer to a Senator in his unofficial capacity. Certainly the

rule was never intended to do that, nor is there anything in the rule that says that. The Chair overrules the point of order.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. FOCHT. I was about to ask for the information of the House that, inasmuch as I was called to order on an occasion for some allusion far removed from directness, would it not be well for us to know just what the rule is?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will endeavor to obtain the rule and read it to the committee, and in the meantime will recognize the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY].

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I do not desire to unduly detain the committee. The chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, by virtue of being chairman, has to deal with matters that relate to the entire country. He can not prevent some matters coming up in localities that may be within his district or near his district, and he would be negligent of his duty if he refused to consider matters simply because they were in his district or near his district. I have already stated that the selection of West Point was made at the instance of the Army officers who were at Camp Taylor, which happens to be in my district. All of the communities over the country have been more or less active when they could, touching the establishment of camps and plants and various other things connected with Government activities.

I believe I can say conscientiously to this House that if I have erred at all, it has been in leaning backward in refusing in any way to represent my constituency touching claims that they thought were well founded in regard to such matters. When the Camp Zachary Taylor site was selected I did, on behalf of the board of trade, present the brief that they filed, and stated the reasons which in my judgment made that a desirable camp site. I think the history of the camp warrants the statements that were then made.

Touching West Point, I did not know of its being taken as a camp until it was taken. There are now stationed there two brigades of Artillery. There is being built there this large cantonment. Part of the land was leased. The land is in the district of my colleague, Mr. BEN JOHNSON, in the fourth congressional district. I represent the fifth congressional district of Kentucky. The people there have, at the request of the Army officers, moved out of their homes. In some instances they moved twice, having moved first out of their houses that they had into other houses near that they could obtain. Most of that land is of a very rugged character. It is broken country. Some of it is land of very little value. Some of it is land of considerable value and is highly cultivated. But the testimony of the officer of the Real Estate Division of the War Department was that he believed it could be bought for an average of $40 an acre. I know nothing about its value. I have no more interest in it than any other man in this House has.

The real question that is involved here is a question altogether aside from the proposition that one of these camps happened to be near my home city. It is whether it is desirable to buy or to continue to lease this land. Now, the statement of the War Department is to the effect that they found it unsatisfactory to endeavor to train artillerymen in small units at the various cantonments; that in order to get the training—and there is nothing more important, because in no war has Artillery played so great and determining a part as in this war—that in order to get the proper training it was necessary to have these men gathered together in large units in areas where they could actually fire the guns and maneuver them, and in pursuance of that policy they had established four Artillery ranges. One is already owned—that at Fort Sill. Three have been leased—one at Columbia, S. C., one at Fayetteville, N. C., and one at West Point Ky. Having established them, they believed it was wise policy to have the Government buy the land rather than continue to lease them.

Personally, just because a man in these days is subject to criticism whenever anything happens to be located near him, I should have been glad if it had not fallen to the lot of the Committee on Appropriations to deal with this matter at all. But these estimates came in the usual form. I did not know they were in the estimates until the estimates were printed and we began the consideration of the bill. I wanted to be fair to myself and to be fair to the House. I particularly asked the Republican members of the committee to thoroughly go into this matter. They have borne witness here to-day touching their judgment about it.

I simply make this statement in justice to myself. The chairman of the Committee on Appropriations has to take great responsibilities. He is unworthy of the confidence of this House if in taking those responsibilities he permits personal considerations to his locality or to himself to sway his judgment. Against any thought of that I put my record here in the Congress for 16 years, and am willing to let the membership of the House who know me determine the facts. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment is withdrawn, and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. WALSH: Page 21, line 13, after the word "department," insert: "The Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, is hereby authorized to enter into agreements with the duly authorized officials of any State or any political subdivision thereof for the payment of such proportion as may mutually be determined to be equitable, not to exceed 50 per cent of the cost of the reconstruction or repair of any public highway, where said reconstruction or repair is made necessary principally by reason of the increased use thereof resulting from the location, construction, or extension of any Government armory, arsenal, fortification, proving ground, or other governmental facility under the supervision of the said Chief of Ordnance, in the locality adjacent to or served by said public highway.

"Appropriations heretofore or hereafter made for repairs or miscellaneous expenses of the Ordnance Department are hereby made available for payment of obligations incurred hereunder."

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky reserves a point of order.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I assume that the paragraph is subject to a point of order, it being clearly legislation conferring additional authority on the Chief of Ordnance, but I desire, with the permission of the chairman of the committee and the indulgence of the committee, to submit briefly the reasons which prompt the offering of this amendment.

The War Department in various sections of the country has established many governmental activities and agencies as a part of the war machinery. Necessarily it has resulted in increased use of highways that were never built or constructed for the character of traffic that had to be utilized in connection with the establishment of these different war activities. I have in mind an instance where a proving ground has been located, and in connection with its establishment and construction a highway in a small community has practically been utterly destroyed and rendered useless, and a parallel way which might have been used by the action of the War Department has been entirely closed on either end, so that it is not open for traffic at all, and the traffic in the community is now compelled to go over a road which can not bear the burden of the heavy trucks, tractors, and the guns which are constantly being carted over them.

I think in connection with the construction of cantonments in the different sections of the country the department has built public highways leading to the cantonments, and I am unofficially advised that in certain instances the department, under the authority given to it to establish these cantonments, has contributed a part of the cost of the construction of these roads. Upon some of these highways they use large tractors, which simply ruin the roadbed and reduce it to a condition of impassability. Of course, a small community, having heretofore been able to maintain a highway with a moderate expenditure of money each year, is suddenly confronted with a condition requiring an enormous expenditure of money and practically the rebuilding of the highway with a concrete foundation. It may be said that if this damage to the highway were done by a private enterprise the community or the State would be obliged to repair it, which is possibly true; but we must remember that in locating these proving grounds or other activities in these localities they take out of the taxable property a large amount of land, and the community is unable to levy any part of the cost upon the owner or occupant of these grounds which are used by the Government. The Government builds houses in which the employees live. They also are free from taxation, and practically the only gain derived by the community is the increased trade which may result to the local tradesmen. It would seem fair to authorize and leave with the Chief of Ordnance the discretion to say that in certain cases he might enter into an agreement to pay 50 per cent of building a concrete road in the immediate vicinity of governmental structures or activities, and that the State or other political subdivision might construct the rest. Conditions result whereby if any injury occurs upon the highway as the result of defective roadbed a suit for damages will lie against the local community, and the highway will soon get into a condition where the Government itself will not be able to use it.

Of course, the Government can call upon the community to repair it, but if a community is heavily burdened with taxes, and if it is obeying the request, official and otherwise, to conserve its resources and not undertake construction work except where absolutely necessary, the Government will find itself seriously hindered in the utilization of the agencies which it has established because of poor roads resulting from governmental traffic. So this amendment of mine seeks to clothe the Chief of Ordnance with the authority and discretion to enter into an agreement with the State officials, so that in cases where in the immediate vicinity of a proving ground or arsenal or other Government facility a highway has become seriously impaired, principally by reason of the increased traffic and use by the Government vehicles, such as tractors, guns, and trucks, he may enter into an agreement with the State authorities or with the county or municipal authorities whereby the road shall be put into a state of good repair, and that the Government shall pay its proportionate part of the cost, which in any event shall not exceed 50 per cent of the cost of construction. As I stated, I am advised that in one or two sections the Government has already done this in connection with cantonment work, but that in connection with proving grounds, arsenals, armories, or rifle and artillery ranges, no such arrangement has as yet been entered into, and it would seem to me that in view of the heavy burden which is cast upon the local communities, counties, and towns by this tremendously destructive use that is being made of the highways, we might confer this authority and discretion upon the Chief of Ordnance. He has funds, of course, appropriated for repair and for contingent expenses, and the share which the Government would bear would come out of that fund, according to the wording of this amendment, and I feel quite sure that these communities have some equitable claim upon the Government. I appreciate the fact that the committee, of course, have not given consideration to this proposition, and that the chairman may not feel at liberty to waive the point of order, although I trust that upon reflection he may consent to have the amendment considered by the committee.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, what the gentleman has said is quite true as to the equity involved in his proposition. I think it is true that there have been instances where the unusual demand placed upon highways by the Government has resulted in a wear and tear that has placed upon localities a burden heavier than they ought to bear. But the committee had before it only one item for the repair of a road that the Government did not own, and it has been the practice of the House for a great many years past to refuse to authorize the expenditure of money for the improvement of roads that are not Government owned.

Mr. DALLINGER. Is the gentleman aware that in some cases Government work is being seriously retarded by the fact that local authorities can not issue bonds in the present state of the money market to repair roads leading to arsenals? Some time ago the town of Watertown, Mass., was asked by the Government authorities repeatedly to reconstruct Arsenal Street, which is a long street leading to the Watertown Arsenal and used principally by traffic going to the arsenal. The town authorities were willing to do it as a patriotic duty, but in order to get the money they had to make a loan and in the state of the money market, with the liberty-loan issues, it was impossible for them to find a market for their notes in order to raise the money to do the work. The highway is in very bad shape, and it seriously retards the work of the arsenal.

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not challenge at all the gentleman's statement; I have no doubt it is true; and if this arose as a proposition by itself in connection with legislation I would vote for it, but I do not feel that I have a right to make an exception and waive the point of order which it is the duty of the chairman to make in connection with legislative matters of this kind.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. BUTLER. I appreciate what the gentleman has said, but will the gentleman consider the desirability of making an appropriation to repair some of these roads and relieve the community in the next appropriation bill?

Mr. SHERLEY. I suggest that the real remedy is this: There ought to be brought out by the Military Committee, which would have jurisdiction, authority, properly safeguarded, for the expenditure of money in connection with these roads. Then if that was done the Committee on Appropriations, in connection with arsenals, would be glad to consider any request for money that the department presented and vote the necessary money.

Mr. BUTLER. Let me call the gentleman's attention to one case that I know very well, and that is the road between here and Baltimore. I am perfectly unselfish in what I say because it is not in any part of the State in which I live, and therefore the burden of improving it would not fall on my constituents. But the Government has ruined the road, made it practically impassible. Maryland is probably one of the best road-building States in the United States; the roads are good and kept in good condition. I know this road is ruined because I go over it. It does seem a pity. I remember of talking with our old and esteemed colleague, Mr. TALBOTT about it. He tried very hard to induce the authorities to give Maryland some money to assist in the repair of the road. He thought it would cost half a million dollars to repair the road injured by the trucks between here and Baltimore, and the Government ought to help Maryland out.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUTLER. I will.

Mr. CANNON. What road does the gentleman travel from here to his place?

Mr. BUTLER. Over this one, between Washington and Baltimore. How would I know about the condition of the road if I did not travel over it?

Mr. CANNON. And that is the road over which when automobiles pass they lie awake nights and are out in the daytime seeking to arrest people? [Laughter.]

Mr. BUTLER. Nobody ever arrested me. I never travel fast enough.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I apreciate the circumstances, and in view of what I have said I feel compelled to insist on the point of order.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman withhold the point of order for a brief period?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. I would like to be recognized, Mr. Chairman. I do not want to delay the committee, but I would not care to have this subject passed and leave the impression that there has been a love feast on this subject and that the House was entirely in accord with the suggestions made by certain gentlemen that the Federal Government, having spent millions in certain localities, should proceed, therefore, to repair the roads of these communities. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] has called attention to the fact that some localities are very greatly embarrassed and inconvenienced from conditions arising out of the use of roads by the Federal Government.

In case there is a township organization, and that township organization is not sufficient to handle the situation, there should be some arrangement whereby a larger local community may help bear the burden. The State should help. If we embark on a plan under which the Government is to build and repair the roads that have been injured during this war by Government use, we shall have opened a very Pandora's box of expenditures. My opinion is that the States that have benefited by the enormous expenditure of Federal money can very well afford to keep their roads in repair. The State of Maryland has done wonderful work in building roads, and it would have been good business if the State had kept the road in repair between Baltimore and Washington while the Government was using it. A concrete road of the best character goes to pieces in a very short time if the surface is not kept in good repair. The Government placed a great camp on this road, which has been of very great value in a business way to Baltimore and Maryland, and the road should have been kept in repair.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. BUTLER. Did the gentleman ever build a road?

Mr. MONDELL. I have helped build them.

Mr. BUTLER. Did they last long after the gentleman built them? [Laughter.] Does the gentleman know how much is necessary to repair a road after these big trucks have traveled over it and torn it all to pieces?

Mr. MONDELL. We have not the time to discuss the matter of road building, but if the gentleman is familiar with the matter he knows that even more important than the building of a road is to keep it in repair, and no matter how much money is spent on a road, it will wear out and go to pieces very rapidly under heavy traffic if it is not constantly attended to. The difficulty with most communities is that they build a good road and then forget about it until the road is in a condition where it practically has to be rebuilt.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] calls attention to the fact that the Government occupies some land which is not taxable. We in the West have been calling attention to the fact that in parts of the western country half or two-thirds of the land is not taxable, and we are called upon to maintain our roads and do maintain them. We have had military posts in the West, and in the past some people have thought that we had

more posts than we ought to have had; but we have never asked the Government to build roads to any of them. In this war it happens that tremendous expenditure of billions of the Government money has mostly been here in the East; a few favored sections have grown almost scandalously rich out of the expenditure of Federal money. Now gentlemen are proposing to ask the people of the United States to pay for the wear and tear of their roads by the Federal Government. When a community secures a great industry and the benefit of great expenditure of money in connection with it, the community expects to keep up the roads in use by that industry. That rule ought to apply in the matter of Government industry the same as it applies in the matter of private industry. I think the section of the country where these vast sums have been expended can very well afford to keep their roads in repair, and if there are small communities in New England where, by reason of township organization, the burden is too heavy, then some action should be taken whereby a larger area of country may contribute to put the roads in good condition.

To start in on Government expenditures for roads hither and yon over the country, roads that it may be claimed have been worn out by the use of the Government, is to start upon an expenditure that would know no end. I have in mind the fact that owing to lack of transportation facilities many heavy trucks were brought under their own power over the roads from Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan to the seaboard. No doubt those trucks did great damage to at least some of the roads they came over. The people of the communities along these roads obtained little, if any, benefit from this traffic. If we were to embark on the plan gentlemen suggest, these communities would be justified in presenting their claims, and there would be no end to the claims and demands. In all probability the communities that would profit the most would be those that have benefited the most from Government expenditures.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Chairman, I do not know how the State of Maryland happened to be drawn into this controversy of good roads, but I do want to say that, as it used to be said of roads, that all roads lead to Rome, so in this country it may be said that all roads lead to Washington, and you can not get to Washington, except when coming from the South, other than by going through Maryland. Maryland has constructed the best system of roads in this country, outside of the State of California. We have expended $25,000,000, but we did not build those roads expecting a world war, and that thousands of trucks would pass over them. We have offered them to the public and to the National Government, and they have made use of them. Contrary to what the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] says about keeping them in repair, we do keep them in repair. We have a patrol system on every mile of State road in Maryland, which patrols the road day after day to make repairs, but when you have a winter like last winter, with these hundreds and hundreds of trucks passing over the roads, carrying 5 tons at a time over roads built for not more than 2 to 3 tons, it is natural that in some places where the drainage was not just what it might have been or where the ground was somewhat soft, as in several places along the Washington road, that it would break through. That has been the result. You can not build a road and have the Government trucks, I am told by the department, go over them for less than $25,000 a mile. Take the road 40 miles long, from here to Baltimore, and that means a million dollars, and when you realize that our State is small in population, though great in might, and has but 1,300,000 people, you can realize what a million dollars means to that many people. A great many Government works have been constructed in Maryland. There is a proving ground at Aberdeen. The roads leading to that were absolutely destroyed last winter, and our people are expending vast sums of money trying to put them in order. I absolutely differ from the gentleman from Wyoming. I think what this country needs is more good roads and more good roads. My experience upon the other side of the water is that if France had not had the good system of roads that she has in the northern part of that country, she never could have fought this war as she has fought it. Every section of that country that you go through they have these magnificent roads, 30 to 40 feet wide, curved on the sides, and consequently these trucks by the thousands can pass over them, and they are now in fine shape. In France they move two divisions between darkness and daylight over those roads. If it had not been for those roads in the last battle of the Marne, they never could have gotten the troops around in time to have driven the Germans back. The gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] is absolutely wrong. This country ought to enter upon a system of highways not only for times of peace, but for times of war. Maryland is willing and anxious and will always do her part, and she keeps her roads in repair as best she can, but the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts is absolutely correct. This Government ought to help people when the roads have been broken up and destroyed by Government trucks.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order. If the committee will indulge the Chair for just a moment, in response to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOCHT], made a few moments ago, that the Chair refer to the rule touching the matter of reference in debate to proceedings in the Senate, the Chair desires to say that in the general rules of the House, Rule XLIII is as follows:

> Rules of parliamentary practice comprised in Jefferson's Manual shall govern the House in all cases to which they are applicable, and in which they are not inconsistent with the standing rules and orders of the House and joint rules of the Senate and House of Representatives.

In Jefferson's Manual, and gentlemen will find this in paragraph 364 of the House constitution, Manual and Digest, it is said:

> It is a breach of order in debate to notice what has been said on the same subject in the other House, or the particular votes or majorities on it there; because the opinion of each House should be left to its own independency, not to be influenced by the proceedings of the other; and the quoting them might beget reflections leading to a misunderstanding between the two Houses.
>
> Neither House can exercise any authority over a Member or officer of the other, but should complain to the House of which he is, and leave the punishment to them. Where the complaint is of words disrespectfully spoken by a Member of another House, it is difficult to obtain a punishment, because of the rules supposed necessary to be observed (as to the immediate noting down of words) for the security of Members. Therefore it is the duty of the House, and more particularly of the Speaker, to interfere immediately and not to permit expressions to go unnoticed which may give a ground of complaint to the other House, and introduce proceedings and mutual accusations between the two Houses, which can hardly be terminated without difficulty and disorder.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Chairman, I see nothing in that that would warrant the Speaker in calling me to order. Inasmuch as the reference I was making to the Senate and the Senators was legislation that had been passed, and inasmuch as I was endeavoring to correct an historical reference made by the Senator from Pennsylvania, and having been called to order by the Speaker under the rulings to which the Chairman has just made reference, the Speaker, therefore, was clearly out of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has a recollection of that incident. The Chair thinks the Speaker was in order. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Automatic machine rifles: The Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, is authorized to enter into contracts or otherwise to incur obligations for the purchase, manufacture, test, repair, and maintenance of automatic machine rifles, or other automatic or semiautomatic guns, including their mounts, sights, and equipments, and the machinery necessary for their manufacture, for not to exceed $104,062,000 in addition to the appropriations and authorizations heretofore granted for this purpose.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word for the purpose of asking the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations a question in respect to the language "for not to exceed $104,062,000 in addition to the appropriations and authorizations heretofore granted for this purpose." Can the chairman give us an idea of how much had heretofore been granted?

Mr. SHERLEY. In the Army act there was carried $237,144,000 in cash and contract authorizations of $337,726,000.

Mr. LITTLE. In the next paragraph there is a similar reference to not to exceed $134,000,000 in addition to appropriations already granted.

Mr. SHERLEY. In armored motor cars, which is the paragraph the gentleman now refers to, there was appropriated in the Army act $75,550,000 in cash, with contract authorizations for $272,422,500.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words for the purpose of asking the gentleman in regard to these automatic rifles. Can the gentleman state whether it was intended to buy more of the Chaucat rifles or is this entirely for the new Browning gun?

Mr. SHERLEY. That was not developed, but my impression from the hearing was that it was for the purchase of the Browning rifle.

Mr. TILSON. Is it the gentleman's impression from the latest evidence before his committee that this light Browning rifle is performing well?

Mr. SHERLEY. Well, we did not go into the question of the character of the gun and its work. I had not heard one way or the other. We went simply into the question of amounts without taking up the question of the character of guns.

There was some question asked as to prices, I think, but I do not recall that anything was asked as to whether the gun was satisfactory. The testimony seems to show that the money

was to be spent for Vickers and the Browning gun. Gen. Horney testified:

All that we are asking for in this appropriation have been figured at the price of the Browning gun. Some of them that we are still getting will be Vickers, of course, in order to get the number, and the cost of them will be probably higher; but I can not tell how much because they are being produced in small numbers and at a less efficient factory.

Mr. TILSON. My question was directed as to whether the money was intended to be spent largely for the light Browning gun because of the fact that there has been some apprehension as to whether such a very light gun would perform up to standard. Of course, if it will, a gun weighing only 15 pounds and 8 ounces would be a very valuable addition to our armament, but there was some question among military men as to whether it would be possible to have a rifle as light as that perform entirely successfully. We have been using a number of the Chaucat rifles in France, and I have not had any direct information as to whether the light Browning has been substituted in actual service for the Chaucat.

Mr. SHERLEY. Well, the details of the estimates showed that for heavy machine guns $20,861,930 was asked, and for light machine guns $58,608,210. Then the balance of the item is made up of antiaircraft machine guns, semiautomatic rifle, and in fire control and equipment, all of which totals $83,125,484, and the maintenance 50 per cent, or half of that, $41,562,742, or a total of $124,685,226. Then there are some motor equipment for motorized machine guns and maintenance figured on that, and some repair trucks and some maintenance figured on that. We cut out, with the acquiescence of the Ordnance Department, all maintenance items and so reduced this item from $156,093,004 to the amount which is carried in the bill of $104,062,000.

Mr. TILSON. The fact that there is $58,000,000 appropriated here for the light gun, if it is the Browning for which this money is to be expended, would indicate that they are confident it is going to perform satisfactorily?

Mr. SHERLEY. Well, I should hope so. I think this is possibly true, that they would ask the money for the light machine gun even if it was not to be the Browning, but probably if it proved unsatisfactory they would undertake to obtain a different type, and in the absence of any testimony except the statement we have I assume they expect to buy the light Browning machine gun and therefore that those guns are satisfactory. At least, I should hope the Ordnance Department would not expend this vast sum of money on guns which were not satisfactory.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment will be withdrawn.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

For the purchase, manufacture, and test of chemical warfare gases or other toxic substances, gas masks, or other offensive and defensive materials or appliances required for gas warfare purposes, including all necessary investigation, experimentation, and operations connected therewith, not to exceed $2,000,000 for the acquisition of land, construction and repair of buildings and equipment and the machinery therefor; expenses incidental to the organization, training, and equipment of gas troops not otherwise provided for, $100,000,000: *Provided*, That authority is granted to enter into contracts or otherwise to incur obligations for the above purposes for not to exceed $150,000,000 in addition to the appropriations herein and heretofore made: *Provided further*, That the appropriations and authorizations above made shall be in addition to all allotments received for these purposes from the Medical Department of the Army and the Ordnance Department of the Army for the fiscal year 1919.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer an amendment to the paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 23, lines 17 and 18, strike out the words "not to exceed $2,000,000 for the acquisition of land;" and on page 24, at the end of line 4, insert the following: "*Provided, further*, That not to exceed $2,000,000 of all amounts available for the chemical-warfare service for the fiscal year 1919 shall be available for the acquisition of land."

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of that amendment is not to increase the amount of money that can be spent for land, but to make it plain that the limitation of $2,000,000 for the purchase of land applies to all moneys heretofore appropriated and those that are now carried in the bill. Heretofore the chemical warfare service obtained its moneys from funds which were paid to the Medical Department and Ordnance Department, and, as I stated when presenting the bill to the committee, under presidential order there was created this new corps in the military service, and it was thought desirable in view of that fact that the money should be paid direct to the service rather than to follow the circumlocution of going to the other two services and then be credited over to the chemical warfare service.

Mr. TILSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. I will.

Mr. TILSON. Has the gentleman any estimate as to what portion of this sum is to be expended for gas masks?

Mr. SHERLEY. I have a table as to the amount of money that they estimated for gas masks, which, as I recall, included the moneys they had received heretofore from the Medical Corps, amounting to $175,000,000 for respirators, and then a sum of $20,000,000 for extra canisters in connection with the respirators.

Mr. TILSON. Does the gentleman know whether there have been any considerable number of the so-called Kops-Tissot masks manufactured or used? It is the latest gas mask, which eliminates the nose clamps so that a man can sleep in it. There has been a mask of that sort developed, which seems to be very satisfactory, and I wish to ask the gentleman if there are going to be a sufficient number of them made to supply the troops?

Mr. SHERLEY. My understanding is that all of the new masks are going to be of that type. I do not know the type by name, but the testimony indicated that they expected to make this modern and improved mask, which I assumed was a mask that slips over the head, and without the requirement of a nose and mouthpiece?

Mr. TILSON. The new mask is called the Kops-Tissot mask, from Waldemar Kops, of New York, and Tissot, the Frenchman. It eliminates the nose clamps, which are largely to blame for making it impossible for a man to sleep in the service mask. Where the gas shells are falling all night it is necessary, if a man sleeps at all, that he sleep with the mask on. I was wondering how extensively those new ones are being made. The masks with which most of our troops are now equipped, I believe, are the ordinary respiratory masks with the nose clamps.

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not think there is any large amount of gas masks on hand. I think the demand for them has been heavy. In making the masks now they will make them of the most improved type and masks that will be issued from now on will be of a type which will in a large measure represent this new type of mask.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY].

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

The Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, is authorized to enter into contracts or otherwise to incur obligations for the purchase, manufacture, and test of mountain, field, and siege cannon, including their carriages, sights, implements, equipments, and the machinery necessary for their manufacture, for not to exceed $1,093,937,897 in addition to the appropriations and authorizations heretofore granted for this purpose.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: On page 24, line 11, strike out the sum "$1,093,937,897" and insert in lieu thereof the sum "$1,086,782,897."

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of that amendment is to make a further reduction in the amount carried, because of the elimination from the bill of the Neville Island project. At the time the committee marked up the bill, as I stated in my opening remarks, there was included under this head all that was asked for by the Ordnance people, except that which pertains to the enlargement of the Neville Island project, which amounted to $93,000,000 in regard to plant, and $21,375,000, which was contingent upon the enlargement of the plant in the way of making guns. Now, the Ordnance people, by a letter of October 14, advise me that in the event the Neville Island plant on its enlarged plan was not carried through there ought to be a reduction, instead of $21,375,000, incident to guns to be made there, of $28,530,000, and it was for the purpose of making that revision that I have just offered the amendment.

Mr. LITTLE. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. Where is this artillery to be used?

Mr. SHERLEY. Presumably this artillery is to be used in France.

Mr. LITTLE. Why is it headed "Fortifications" then?

Mr. SHERLEY. Well, that is an old matter. Formerly the armament of fortifications related not only to seacoast artillery but to field artillery. And when the separation came years ago the jurisdiction whereby the Committee on Military Affairs was given jurisdiction of certain matters relating to the Army and other jurisdictions was left with the Appropriations Committee, and there remained as a part of the appropriation on the fortifications bill those provisions that related to field artillery for the Regular Army, so that they are carried under the general language of fortifications, and so forth.

Mr. LITTLE. That explains it. There is another question I would like to ask. Here I notice there is about $2,500,000,000 appropriated in this clause and the next one for this artillery and ammunition. Has there been some preceding appropriation to which this is to be added?

Mr. SHERLEY. Oh, yes.

Mr. LITTLE. That is still ready to be used?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes. But there is no money or contract authorization that has not been obligated, with perhaps the exception of a few million dollars. They have had appropriated in the fortifications bill heretofore for field artillery and ammunition therefor, in cash and contracts, something over $5,000,000,000. Now, the reason for this additional sum is due to the enlarged military program. As I explained when these matters were up before, we had appropriated in the last fortifications bill for the artillery—for 90 divisions—presumably for three armies of 30 divisions each.

Upon the revision of the quantity of ammunition needed per division, that appropriation, instead of providing for 90 divisions, would really provide for about 69 divisions. The present program contemplates 80 divisions abroad and 18 divisions in America, or a total of 98 divisions, and this appropriation contemplates the equipment, with what has been voted heretofore, of those 98 divisions, and some additional divisions.

Mr. LITTLE. And the additional divisions have not yet been raised?

Mr. SHERLEY. Have not been raised. Now, the reason for that is in order to carry the work along up to January, 1920, because it was testified to the committee that if they did not continue these contract authorizations there would be a slowing up in production that would result in a serious delay in the program.

Speaking my own personal conclusions, I have never felt that it was very likely or possible or probable that the moneys that we have appropriated for field artillery and for the ammunition therefor could be spent within the time. I question very much whether, with the large quantities that we will get from our allies, and that would be paid for out of these funds, as well as what we can build here, we can produce this huge quantity.

But the committee did not feel that it had the right to take the responsibility of lessening the amount recommended to the full committee.

Mr. LITTLE. This is recommended by the General Staff?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; it is recommended not only by the General Staff, but by the Ordnance Department.

It ought to be said in connection with both this appropriation and many others in this bill that the contracts that are made by the Government all contain cancellation clauses, so as to permit of the cancellation of contracts. Now, of course, whenever peace comes there will be certain work under way that perhaps will have advanced to such a stage that it will pay better to complete it than to stop it midway. But there ought to be a very great quantity of contract authorizations in the event that the war should stop in the near future that could be canceled without material loss to the Government.

Mr. LITTLE. That would include this expenditure?

Mr. SHERLEY. That would include particularly expenditures of this kind.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania. Would the gentleman from Kentucky inform me whether, when the Government enters into a contract for the manufacture of cannon, it also supplies the machinery, or is this for machinery to manufacture its own cannon?

Mr. SHERLEY. The language as carried in the old fortification bills was to supply machinery for our own arsenals; but, as the gentleman is doubtless aware, the Government has, in connection with the creation of field artillery and ammunition, financed and built a very large number of the plants that make this material, and it is under this language that they do it. It is under the next item, in regard to ammunition, that a number of nitrate plants have been built in the past and the money here would be available for that purpose.

But it is only proper that I should say to the House that the ordnance people testified that they did not contemplate the building of any additional nitrate plants. They had an estimate in here for $103,500,000 for nitrate plants, which they were not prepared to defend. They also said that there had been under consideration a project looking to the building in Jefferson County, Ky., just outside of Louisville, of a nitrate plant out of moneys that had been previously voted, but that they did not think that would be built, and they questioned somewhat whether plants already under way would be carried to full completion. We have now built or building four nitrate plants—one at Muscle Shoals, the second I forget for the moment the location of, one near Cincinnati, and one near Toledo. But some time back the situation was very acute touching the obtaining of nitrate. Since then we have been able, by obtaining ships for the nitrate trade, to obtain quantities of nitrate that make the situation very much better now.

Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania. Is there any nitrate on the market now that has been manufactured by the Government, from Government plants?

Mr. SHERLEY. There is none on the market, because we are using all the nitrate we can get.

Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania. Are we making nitrate?

Mr. SHERLEY. We are beginning to make ammonia nitrates down at the Muscle Shoals plant, and the testimony was that in a few weeks they expected to begin to get quantity production. The plants out in Ohio that are just in process of erection have developed but a little way. The second nitrate plant is further along but not yet producing.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment is withdrawn, and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

The Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, is authorized to enter into contracts or otherwise to incur obligations for the purchase, manufacture, and test of ammunition for mountain, field, and siege cannon, including the necessary experiments in connection therewith, the machinery necessary for its manufacture, and necessary storage facilities, for not to exceed $1,332,460,445 in addition to the appropriations and authorizations heretofore granted for this purpose.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 24, line 20, strike out the sum "$1,332,460,445" and insert in lieu thereof the sum "$1,325,776,685."

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of that amendment is to reduce the amount carried by $6,683,760, which is the cost of the ammunition which it was expected would be manufactured at the Neville Island plant if the enlarged program was carried through, and which will not be manufactured there if the enlarged program is not carried through. Inasmuch as the House has not carried the $93,000,000 for the enlargement of that plant, it is proper that this item should be reduced by the amount I have indicated.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

PANAMA CANAL.

For the purchase, manufacture, and test of ammunition for seacoast and land defense cannon, including the necessary experiments in connection therewith, and the machinery necessary for its manufacture, $350,000.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. STAFFORD. I do so to acquire information of a general character, to ascertain why the committee segregates the item for the purchase and testing of ammunition for the coast-defense cannon from that of the Panama Canal, and why it is not grouped with the general authorization?

Mr. SHERLEY. The reason for that was the desire to keep track of the Panama Canal fortifications. This is to pay a contract obligation carried in last year's bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the pro forma amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

For the completion of the two temporary office buildings authorized by the deficiency appropriation act, approved March 28, 1918, to be erected in Potomac Park for the use of the War Department and Navy Department, $1,490,000.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman from Kentucky a question. Does this contemplate the completion of the temporary buildings that we are having built all over the city? There seem to be so many of them that every time I go through them there is a new one, and it is difficult

to keep track of them. Is that the end of that program, or what is the real object of it?

Mr. SHERLEY. This relates only to the two buildings, the buildings that are at Seventeenth and B Streets, right opposite the Pan-American Building, which run back from Seventeenth Street to about Twenty-first Street. This represents a deficiency in regard to those buildings, with the exception of $375,000, which is carried for linoleum on the floors of the buildings. These are two of the largest buildings of their kind in the world.

Mr. ROBBINS. Are those the two buildings that the War Department has recently gone into?

Mr. SHERLEY. One of them is a War Department building, and the other is for the Navy Department. The total cost, with this deficiency, will be $3.95 per square foot, approximately.

Mr. STAFFORD. How does that compare with construction of buildings of similar character under private contract?

Mr. SHERLEY. I know of no buildings of similar character that have been built anywhere. They represent a very low cost for the character of building, considering the present labor cost. In other words, the frame buildings that are being built here are costing about $2.50 or better, and these buildings were estimated to cost $3 a square foot at the time that the Committee on Appropriations presented the matter to the House last spring. There is a very full statement submitted by Commander Parsons, who has the supervision of the construction of these buildings, as to the items that went to make the additional cost. Those items relate to several things, speaking largely: First, the necessity for sinking some piling in order to get a stable foundation.

It was found that this land had enough soft material underneath it so that it would not stand the weight of the building, owing to the spreading of the foundation, so there was a piling cost. In addition to that there has been an increased cost in labor and an increased cost in material. I hope that any gentleman who has not done so will take occasion to go into these buildings. I believe that they represent perhaps the best type of modern office building to be found anywhere in the world. If gentlemen will walk through these buildings they will find an absolute absence of any ornamentation. The plain concrete walls as they came from the form are left there, except in the rooms that are intended for the Secretary of the Navy.

Mr. STAFFORD. Why then is the cost greater than the cost of buildings with ornamentation?

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not think that the cost is anything like as much as that of any other buildings that are fireproof that are being built now.

Mr. STAFFORD. If the gentleman will permit, I would not have made that statement were it not that when I mentioned to a prominent manufacturer in my home city that we were constructing these concrete buildings in Potomac Park at an average cost of $3 per square foot he stated that that was a very large price indeed for buildings of that character, and he has had experience.

Mr. SHERLEY. I think the gentleman's manufacturer would find if he undertook to build in the present market that he would not be able to come anywhere near as low a figure as $3 per square foot. I do not say that from my personal knowledge. I never built a building in my life. But the testimony of men who have come before the committee, who, I believe, are qualified to testify, is the warrant for my statement. This is much less per square foot than the Arlington Building is costing, and a lot of the material for the Arlington Building was purchased under contract prices before the market got anything like as high as it is now.

Mr. STAFFORD. Of course there is no comparison between the Arlington Building, which is a structural-steel building, and these buildings, which are nothing more than three-story reinforced concrete.

Mr. SHERLEY. I agree with the gentleman that there is no comparison. These buildings are so much superior to the Arlington Building for their purposes that they are not in the same class at all. I repeat that I wish gentlemen of the House would go through these buildings. I think they would come away satisfied that as buildings for utilitarian purposes they are very admirable.

Mr. STAFFORD. When I say that there is no comparison I mean that obviously a structural-steel building of the Arlington type is much more expensive that mere reinforced concrete.

Mr. SHERLEY. In some particulars that is true; but there is a good part of the Arlington Building that is not structural steel. It has quite a lot of brick walls, just as this building has some.

Mr. STAFFORD. From the sub-basement to the top floor the Arlington Building is all structural steel.

Mr. SHERLEY. That is true; but these building will supply a very great need, and notwithstanding the cost is greater than I had hoped it would be I believe a reading of the testimony will show that a very remarkable achievement has been accomplished in the building of these buildings within the time they have been built for the prices they have been built. The size of these buildings is simply amazing. You could take the Arlington Building and put it into the Navy Building and not know it was there at all, so far as space goes. And when you consider that these are two of the largest office buildings in the world, and consider the time within which they were erected, I think it is quite an achievement. The committee undertook to have very full hearings about it, and I hope Members will read the statements that were made by Commander Parsons in connection with them.

Answering the inquiry a little further, there are a number of buildings that are going up here that Congress has not authorized at all. There is a new building going up to house the War Industries Board that is being put up out of money that the President advanced out of the funds given him. Then there are a number of buildings that are going up here in connection with housing employees which are being paid for from the moneys that were voted in connection with the housing program, which for Washington were limited to $10,000,000.

Mr. STAFFORD. May I inquire whether these buildings have been erected on the cost-plus basis or by direct contract awarded to a private contractor?

Mr. SHERLEY. They were erected on the basis of cost plus a fixed fee. There was a fixed fee for the contractor, and the costs were paid by the Government. The full data of that is given on page 720 of the hearings.

Mr. STAFFORD. I withdraw the pro forma amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Navy yard, Norfolk, Va.: For completion of dry dock and for accessories, $856,508.69.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. A week ago, while the gentleman from Kentucky was busy in the hearings on this bill, there passed the House an appropriation for the purchase of a dry dock from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which the Government of the United States had the privilege of leasing at $50,000 a year. The argument was made that there was no dry dock of sufficient capacity north of League Island to accommodate the larger ships. I wish to inquire of the gentleman as to the dry dock at Norfolk, which has been before Congress in measures for the last 10 years in nearly every naval appropriation bill, what is this appropriation for, and whether it is for a large dry dock?

Mr. SHERLEY. This particular appropriation is to pay an actual incurred deficiency. There is a large dry dock being built in Norfolk, and this is to complete it. Its total cost is to be $4,356,518.69.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will that be one of the largest dry docks on the Atlantic coast?

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not know about that.

Mr. HOLLAND. It will be one of the largest docks; it is 1,000 feet long.

Mr. STAFFORD. When was it authorized first—some years ago?

Mr. HOLLAND. I do not recollect; but it was at the same time that the one at the Philadelphia Navy Yard was authorized; two years ago, I think.

Mr. SHERLEY. This is simply to meet an ascertained deficiency and the committee had nothing to do except to make the appropriation.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the pro forma amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

To pay the Brennan Construction Co. in full settlement of its claim for balance due for furnishing labor and appliances for executing brickwork in the construction of the United States Senate Office Building, under contract dated December 2, 1905, which payment is authorized and directed, $12,990.09.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order for the purpose of asking the gentleman from Kentucky as to the necessity of approving a claim in this deficiency bill which dates back 13 years. Has the matter been adjusted recently, or been in litigation?

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. As the gentleman will observe, this is to settle a claim growing out of the construction of the Senate Office Building. It is a claim that has been pending for possibly 10 years. There was a dispute between the Government and the Brennan Construction Co. as to the amount of the claim.

The Government contended that there was due to the company something over $10,000, and the construction company claimed that there was something over $16,000 due it. A suit was instituted and has been pending during these years. It was over a question of fact as to the manner in which the bricks were to be measured. This represents a compromise entered into by the attorneys representing the Government and the attorneys representing the Brennan Construction Co. Its payment is recommended by Mr. Woods, the Superintendent of the Capitol and of Buildings and Grounds, as being a proper one, and also recommended by the attorneys for the Government. The compromise was entered into on condition that Congress should at this session appropriate the money.

Mr. STAFFORD. The claimant needs the money.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Whether he needs it or not, he wants the money; it is an old claim.

Mr. STAFFORD. And the Government originally admitted that $10,000 was due?

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. The attorney for the Government stated that the company was entitled to something over $10,000 anyway. The whole question arose as to the manner in which the bricks used in the construction of the building should be estimated.

Mr. STAFFORD. When did the claim first become due?

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. About 10 years ago.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then the interest charge alone would amount to considerable?

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. It would amount to much more than the amount given in compromise.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the reservation of the point of order.

The Clerk read as follows:

UNITED STATES COURTS.

The appropriation for "fees of clerks, United States courts," contained in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, shall be available for the payment of fees to the clerk of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia in United States cases from July 1, 1918, notwithstanding the prohibition on the payment of such fees from that fund by the said act.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the paragraph. I wish to inquire of some member of the committee as to the reason for making this exception at this time.

Mr. MONDELL. The prohibitive was contained in the sundry civil act and was placed in the act under a misapprehension. The statement was made to the committee that out of this fund the clerk had drawn large sums, which were used to pay the expenses of moving and fitting up the office, and in view of that fact the committee felt that they ought to restrict the use of the fund in that way. But it developed that the statement was erroneous, and as this fund is drawn on by the clerk from time to time, although not reduced a dollar eventually, the clerk could not carry on his office without repealing the prohibitive.

Mr. STAFFORD. This is for office fees?

Mr. MONDELL. It is a fee office and the fund is drawn on until the end of the year, at which time the fund is reimbursed, so that really it is not reduced at all by reason of the expenditures in this office.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the reservation of the point of order.

The Clerk read as follows:

Atlanta, Ga.: For enlarging the dining room and chapel, $37,000; purchase of machinery and other equipment, $650,000; working capital, $150,000; purchase, equipment, improvement, and operation of additional farm land, $200,000; in all, $1,037,000: *Provided*, That the said working capital fund and the receipts credited thereto may be used as a revolving fund during the fiscal year 1919.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the paragraph. If I remember, a bill passed the House for the establishment of a private manufacturing plant at the Atlanta Penitentiary. Was it enacted into law?

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Yes; it became a law, and this appropriation is in exact accord with the terms of the law which was passed July 10, 1918.

Mr. STAFFORD. I rose to inquire whether it has become a law.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. It has.

Mr. ROBBINS. Was that in connection with the establishment of a convict-labor plant in this penitentiary?

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. It is in connection with the establishment of a cotton-duck factory.

Mr. ROBBINS. For the manufacture of cotton duck?

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Yes.

Mr. ROBBINS. And it is pursuant to that act that this appropriation is made?

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Yes. This carries the exact amount of money authorized by the act.

The Clerk read as follows:

STEAMBOAT-INSPECTION SERVICE.

For amount necessary to increase the compensation of officers and employees of the Steamboat-Inspection Service from November 1, 1918, to June 30, 1919, inclusive, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to amend sections 4402, 4404, and 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States," approved July 2, 1918, as follows: Supervising inspector general from $4,000 to $5,000, deputy supervising inspector general from $2,000 to $3,000, 11 supervising inspectors from $3,000 to $3,450 each, 2 local inspectors from $2,500 to $2,950 each, 14 local inspectors from $2,250 to $2,700 each, 28 local inspectors from $2,000 to $2,500 each, 12 local inspectors from $1,800 to $2,350 each, 40 local inspectors from $1,500 to $2,100 each, 36 assistant inspectors from $2,000 to $2,500 each, 48 assistant inspectors from $1,800 to $2,350 each, 59 assistant inspectors from $1,600 to $2,100 each, 2 traveling inspectors from $2,500 to $3,000 each; in all, $88,766.67.

Mr. ROWE. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 33, line 22, strike out "November" and insert "July."

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, on that I reserve the point of order.

Mr. ROWE. Mr. Chairman, the bill increasing the pay of inspectors of steam vessels was passed in the month of June last and was approved July 2. The bill itself was amended on the floor and contained a clause stating that those receiving the increase of pay under this act should not receive the $120 increase of pay which we gave to all other Federal employees of their grade. Since that time the inspectors and assistant inspectors have not received the $120. I submit that the intention of the act which we passed in June last was that immediately the men should receive the increase of pay carried by that bill; that the increase should begin the 1st of July last. This act came from the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries by unanimous report, because we were losing so many men from that service that the Secretary of Commerce said he could not carry on the service, and the House passed the bill and it was duly approved by the President, and it seems to me that it was the full intention that the men should receive their pay immediately. I can not understand why we should put off these men for four months and begin their increase of pay when all of the other increases made at that time were immediately received.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I am not sure that the matter is subject to a point of order, but I want to state to the House the reason why the committee took the position that it did. It has always been customary in cases where the Congress passes a law changing the rates of compensation for estimates to be submitted subsequently for the increase, and then the Congress carries the increases from the date that the bill carrying the payment became a law, which we figure in this instance would be approximately the 1st of November. The only exception that I know to that is the exception that was called attention to yesterday in connection with the increase of salaries of District of Columbia employees, and the reason for that was that the bill that carried those increases had been passed by both Houses and would have become a law as of the 1st of July, the beginning of the fiscal year, but for the controversy that came up over the half-and-half principle, and in order to hold the force of the District employees there was practically a general acquiescence in the statement made to them that they would get the increased amount as of the 1st of July.

In nearly every other instance that I can recall the increases have gone into effect when the next appropriation bill came in, and frequently that meant the year following. It so happens that in this instance there followed this deficiency appropriation bill and the department submitted the estimate for the full year, but the committee felt that they ought to bring it in, as has been the practice in the past, from the date that the bill would probably become a law.

Mr. ROWE. Did the gentleman realize that these inspectors were not paid the $120 as other employees of the Government were paid?

Mr. SHERLEY. I realize that by virtue of these increases they would not be paid that.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do I understand that these officers were deprived of the increase of a year ago?

Mr. ROWE. No; they got it up to June 30.

Mr. STAFFORD. They are getting a great deal more than $120 under the bill which we passed increasing their salaries.

Mr. ROWE. They are not getting it at all.

Mr. SHERLEY. If the gentleman will permit, if he will look at the increases he will find that they amount to considerably more than $120. The first increase is $4,000 to $5,000, the next from $2,000 to $3,000, and then from $3,000 to $3,450, from $2,500 to $2,950, from $2,250 to $2,700, from $2,000 to $2,500, from $1,800

to $2,350, from $1,500 to $2,100, from $2,000 to $2,500, from $1,800 to $2,350, from $1,600 to $2,100, and from $2,500 to $3,000.

Mr. ROWE. Does the gentleman remember the testimony that was presented on this matter, that for 16 years they had not had a raise?

Mr. SHERLEY. I did not hear that testimony which was given before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. I am not meaning in any way to imply that these employees were not entitled to an increase in pay. The Congress decided that they were, and in pursuance of the order of the Congress we bring in this amount; but it has been the custom of the House and of the committee always to bring it in as of the date that the act that carries the money is to become the law. If the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union thinks it wants to make this provision retroactive and vote this money as of the 1st of July, that is for the committee to do, having in mind the precedent that will be established in similar cases hereafter.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Kentucky insist on his point of order?

Mr. SHERLEY. Well, I do not think, literally, that it is subject to the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would state that he would overrule the point of order. The question would be upon the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Chairman, may we have the amendment again reported?

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment will be again reported.

There was no objection.

The amendment was again reported.

The question was taken, and the Chair announced the ayes seemed to have it.

Upon a division (demanded by Mr. BLANTON and others) there were—ayes 18, noes 21.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY.

The appropriation of $50,000 "for one new vessel, including equipment, to cost not exceeding $354,000," contained in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, shall be covered into the surplus fund, and the authorization for the said vessel is repealed.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I do so for the purpose of asking the chairman of the committee the reason why this vessel was not continued; why the building of that vessel was canceled?

Mr. SHERLEY. The reason was this: We have not been able to obtain this vessel for the moneys that were authorized, and we are building nearly $3,000,000,000 worth of vessels in connection with the Emergency Fleet Corporation, so it seemed to the committee that as this vessel could not be built probably for six months or a year without interfering with some other work now underway, and we would have so many vessels as a result of this new building program, it was not wise now to have this vessel built and that they could get a vessel from those vessels which are being built. That is the sole reason.

Mr. HICKS. Do I understand from the chairman that one vessel to be built by the Emergency Fleet Corporation will be used for this purpose?

Mr. SHERLEY. I think it ought to be whenever they can give it for that purpose without interfering with the more important purpose of carrying our troops and supplies overseas. Here is the idea. I tried to state it to the House in my opening statement. We cut out a number of items in regard to ships, some $53,000,000 for Army transports, on this theory, that we were engaged now in shipbuilding to the practical capacity of the country and that as $4,000,000,000 has been voted for shipbuilding, with that large number of ships coming out, there would be at the termination of this war ships available for these various services, and inasmuch as we could not build a ship now at the figures that have been appropriated, instead of appropriating additional moneys to make good a deficiency, we let the matter wait in abeyance. That is the reason.

Mr. DOWELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. I will.

Mr. DOWELL. Under this legislation will it not compel the taking of this vessel from the emergency-fleet work for the work to be done under this provision?

Mr. SHERLEY. It would if the repeal of this provision meant you lessened by a ship all you were going to get, but inasmuch as we are getting all we can produce the matter of money to be available did not seem to bear any relationship to the number of ships because it was testified to us by the ship experts that they are using all of the yards that they could use in regard to producing ships and, as the gentleman knows, we are straining day and night to get them out.

Mr. DOWELL. My inquiry was merely to ascertain if this would not lessen the emergency-ship provision by taking one vessel for this purpose.

Mr. SHERLEY. Why, yes. After the needs of the Army are over, why then, instead of having a given number of ships for mercantile purposes, there would be one of those ships that would be needed to go into this service.

Mr. DOWELL. That would be perfectly proper. But the inquiry I was making was, would not they really require the turning over of one ship to comply with the provisions of this act? That is the information I wanted.

Mr. SHERLEY. I think not. There is nothing here that requires them to turn over a ship, and, in point of fact, if we did not repeal this it would not mean that the Coast and Geodetic Survey are going to get a ship, because we can not spend the money. And in point of fact, some of their vessels now have been turned over to the use of the Army and Navy for the prosecution of the war, just as the Bureau of Fisheries has turned some of their ships over, and it is just a question of whether we would increase by this amount of money the amount of money we are putting in shipbuilding.

Mr. DOWELL. That is satisfactory.

Mr. EMERSON. Just a word. Have they started on this?

Mr. SHERLEY. They have not. They were unable to get a contract under the price authorized.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Under this item I have in mind they are erecting a very large building across from Congress Hall Hotel. I would like to inquire where the appropriation is made for the construction of that building?

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not recall. I will try to get the information for the gentleman.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I did not know but he had it in mind.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman from Michigan yield?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Did the gentleman say they were proceeding very rapidly on that building?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Well, not so fast but that you can keep track of the construction of the building that is going up.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does the gentleman have an office that fronts on that building?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; but my room at the hotel faces it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Has he noticed the coming and going of the workmen as they take the material out and bring it in?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I have observed them building.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Did he observe the lumber and the way it was unloaded?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Occasionally, as I have been going over to dinner, but not in the morning.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Did the gentleman observe them taking it from the wagon and putting it on the street, and then piling it up on the lot? Did he observe that? Did he observe how the stone came in and was hauled back and forth?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I ask that the gentleman have two minutes more. We are just getting to the gravamen of this thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I saw them starting a building there.

Mr. SHERLEY. If the gentleman will permit, I have just made an inquiry, and I find there were some moneys carried by the Public Health Service, but I know of no moneys that have been voted for buildings for the Coast and Geodetic Survey. Whether the building he refers to is a building in connection with the Public Health Service or some enlargements of their building here or not, I do not know.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. It is almost adjoining the Capitol here.

Mr. SHERLEY. Right across here is the Public Health Service. They have been very much crowded, and they obtained a limited amount of money in the sundry civil bill for enlargements and improvement of their building, but I recall nothing for the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I notice they have a sign over the tool shop, which they have there, reading "Coast and Geodetic Survey," and that indicates that the building is to be used for that. I do not think it is a public-health building. I am a stanch friend of the Public Health Service.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I understand the gentleman is not complaining about the rapidity with which this work is being done? [Laughter.]

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Not at all.
Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That is all.
The Clerk read as follows:

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.

Leaves of absence: To enable the Public Printer to comply with the provisions of law granting leave to employees of the Government Printing Office, fiscal year 1918, $2,694.50.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, while we are on the Government Printing Office, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. MADDEN. There has been a good deal of talk about economy, and I am anxious to help it along. A day or two ago I received a pamphlet which I hold in my hand, the caption of which is "Shipping Facts." To illustrate how they economize in the preparation of pamphlets of this sort—and I may say this is from the Shipping Board—I wish to show to the House that notwithstanding the shortage of paper and the difficulty of getting it for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and for other purposes, this pamphlet is printed on only every other page, showing that they have an utter disregard for the economy which they advise everybody to practice.

It seems to me that in the face of the urgent need of print paper, and the difficulty of getting it, it ought to be conserved with greater care than has been exercised in this instance, and that at least every page of the pamphlet should be used instead of only half the pages.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. MADDEN. Yes.
Mr. CANNON. I want to call the gentleman's attention to the fact that in the multiplicity of public documents touching the public service, printed, some of them, on poor paper and some of them on both sides of the sheet, I am not sure but that it would be a saving of ink and of time and of temper if some of these documents that are published, if you could not dispense with them otherwise, would jump every other page and thus save ink. [Laughter.]

Mr. MADDEN. Of course, there may be something in that. I had not thought about the ink.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. MADDEN. Yes.
Mr. LONDON. Is it not because the pamphlet is so full of thought that they left room in it for the insertion of notes? [Laughter.]

Mr. MADDEN. Well, they left room for reflections and possibly notes. They did not contain enough facts to cover all the pages, and so they gave us the information in blank in some of the pages. Shipping facts are very interesting now.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. MADDEN. Yes.
Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. What are those blank pages put in there for? To present an argument?
Mr. MADDEN. I presume they are to give you room for reflection.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. MADDEN. Yes.
Mr. SLOAN. Why could not the gentleman present that suggestion in a form that would carry information to the public?
Mr. MADDEN. If we had a photographic instrument here I would try to do it, but inasmuch as none of the gentlemen present seem to understand the importance of blank pages on a public document, I would leave that to the gentlemen who have the management of the office from which this comes.

In this connection I wish to say that somebody in the Shipping Board gave another illustration recently of its desire to conserve the public funds. It was only last Sunday when they sent a special train with 26 people on board, containing full crews and two diners and, I think, four sleeping cars, from this city to New York at the expense of the Government, to carry a lot of people—25 or 26 people—over to see a couple of ships launched. That seems to be another species of extravagance that it is just as well to call the attention of the public to.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. MADDEN. In just a moment. Cards were sent to those who were fortunate enough to be invited as guests on that trip, saying that meals would be furnished on the train and entertainment given them in New York—everything free. Now, if we are going to control the railroads, and travel is so dense as it is now, and it is almost impossible for a man to ride on a train when he buys a ticket, it would seem that there would be no necessity for sending four sleepers and two diners from here to New York at the expense of the Government to carry 26 people who want to go on a junket. Now I will yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. SISSON. I wish to inquire what is the pamphlet the gentleman refers to?
Mr. MADDEN. "Shipping Facts," by the Shipping Board.
Mr. SISSON. Does not the gentleman know that that is one of the very few pamphlets that they get out where it is intended to publish the contents in newspapers, and the rule is to print only on one side for the convenience of the newspapers in setting it up?
Mr. MADDEN. I do not know what the reason was, but I assume the blank pages were left for reflections, which would not perhaps have been forthcoming if the pages had all been printed.
Mr. SISSON. Of course only a limited number of those is printed, and copies of that pamphlet were sent only to the newspapers who handle that information.
Mr. MADDEN. I am glad the gentleman has given a scientific explanation of the blank pages. [Laughter.]
Mr. SISSON. There is nothing scientific about it. It is only a matter of knowing that the newspapers do not like to handle matter covering both sides of the paper.
Mr. MADDEN. The fact still remains that this involves a great waste of paper.
Mr. GILLETT. How many pages are there?
Mr. MADDEN. The total number of pages is 16. That is, there are 16 printed pages and 16 blank pages. That would make 32 pages in all.
Mr. GILLETT. How many newspapers will print anything like 16 pages? They would not print a page.
Mr. MADDEN. Not being in the newspaper business, I do not know. It depends on the value of the facts. However, I have said all I care to say about it. I want to impress upon the minds of Members of the House present that the practice of sending trains over to New York with insignificant junketeers, without any reason, at public expense, when there are not seats enough or berths enough for those who want to travel and pay, ought to be called to the attention of the public, and I do it in this very modest way.
The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment will be withdrawn, and the Clerk will read.
Mr. LONDON. Mr. Chairman, I intend to offer a substitute for section 3. Is this the time to offer it?
The CHAIRMAN. That will be in order after section 3 is read. The Clerk will read.
The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 3. (a) That the President is authorized to create a commission consisting of seven members, to be known as the "war salvage commission," whose duty it shall be to make a survey and study of all properties belonging to the United States, and particularly those acquired during the present war, and to recommend to Congress what use or disposition should be made of same in the interest of the Government and people of the United States.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against that paragraph.
The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois makes a point of order against the paragraph. The Chair sustains the point of order.
Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry. Will points of order have to be made against every paragraph of this section?
The CHAIRMAN. This is an appropriation bill, and under the practice of the House appropriation bills are considered by paragraphs.
Mr. MADDEN. So a point of order will have to be made against every paragraph.
Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. So, then, it will be necessary to make a point of order at the conclusion of the reading of each paragraph?
The CHAIRMAN. Yes; each paragraph must be considered by itself.
Mr. SHERLEY. There is no use to take the time of the committee unnecessarily.
Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That is the reason why I asked if it would be necessary to make a point of order against each paragraph.
Mr. SHERLEY. The Committee on Appropriations agreed to this proposal for a commission. I tried to explain to the House the purpose of it. I still think it is exceedingly important that we have a commission to advise us touching the disposition of property, and not a commission now clothed with power which would simply result probably in our hastily doing something unwise that we would not want to do if we got the information in the first instance. But a provision of this kind is necessarily subject to a point of order. That means that it must meet with the approval of everybody, or at least it must meet with enough of approval so that no one will make a point of order against it. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN]

feels that he should make a point, and he has made a point of order to the first paragraph. That having gone out, the rest of it ought to go out. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the remainder of section 3 be stricken out.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent that the several paragraphs, beginning with paragraph (b) to the end of section 3, may be stricken from the bill. Is there objection?

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I do so for the purpose of submitting some remarks that I wanted to make before the conclusion of this bill.

I want to state that I believe a provision of this kind should be carried, either in this bill, or there should be some other provision of like character, because the property involved is so enormous that an inventory of it should be made, so that when the war closes the Federal Government may know where its property is, and what it is, because it will run up into many hundreds of millions, if not into billions, of dollars.

But, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I can not permit this bill to pass without taking this opportunity to say something of the labors of the gentleman from Kentucky, the chairman of this committee. In making up this bill he deserves, at the hands of the subcommittee who labored with him, to be publicly commended. Every item in this bill, some covering only a few lines, involved many days of very patient toil in knowing just exactly how much might be cut out of the item, and how much should be put into it. In other words, these items balance—for example, a certain number of soldiers to be provided for means that there must be a certain amount of clothing, a certain amount of food, a certain amount of ordnance, a certain amount of ammunition—and the gentleman from Kentucky, chairman of the committee, has given it his best effort; and those who have been associated with him on the committee have seen him at work on this bill and know not only the amount of patient toil he has given to the bill, but also the great accomplishments which his great talents are capable of performing when the occasion demands it. They were displayed in a marked way in the preparation of this bill. [Applause.]

When we commenced work on this bill the departments asked, in round numbers, for $8,000,000,000, and while the bill was being considered they sent in additional demands for $1,000,000,000, so that, in round numbers, they asked for about $9,000,000,000. Under the patient, watchful care of our chairman the bill carries now a little over $6,000,000,000, making a total saving of $2,500,000,000, and not a single branch, either of the War or the Navy, will say that they have been injured in the least, because the cuts in this bill have been cuts made with the skill of the surgeon that uses the surgeon's knife on the patient when the operation is a very delicate one. I feel that not only the committee, the Members of this House, but the country, owe to the chairman of this committee their thanks for his patient work and his efficient and magnificent management of the bill from its inception down to the present moment. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, it is gratifying to me that the services of our distinguished chairman [Mr. SHERLEY] are so marked that not only all the Democrats recognize and acknowledge his worth and value to the House and to the country, but all the Republican Members, including their great leaders, openly testify that his services are so valuable at this time that it would be little less than a calamity for the House and country to lose him. [Applause.]

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, as a member of the Committee on Appropriations, I desire to say a word before the consideration of the bill is completed with reference to the splendid service rendered to the House and to the country by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations in the preparation of this bill and in the conduct of the hearings which were held preliminary to its preparation. I would not detract in the slightest from the credit due each member of the committee who had to do with the preparation of this bill; but, as we all know, the responsibility rested upon him, and upon him was imposed by far the greatest burden in its preparation.

After a service of nearly eight years on the Appropriations Committee, I feel that I can say that this bill, notwithstanding its magnitude, is one of the best-considered bills that have been brought into the House of Representatives by the Committee on Appropriations during that time. For more than a month the gentleman from Kentucky has tirelessly and unceasingly worked during the hours of each day and far into the night in an exhaustive examination of those who appeared in behalf of the estimates submitted. I happen to know that he has remained here at his post of duty performing this great public service without a thought of his own personal and private interests. This volume of testimony of more than 1,300 pages attests the extent and value of his work.

This bill, Mr. Chairman, carrying more than $6,000,000,000 in cash and authorizations, is over two and a half billion less than the estimates submitted. This is indeed a remarkable showing, and shows the infinite care which was given in its preparation. As has been stated, not a dollar has been denied to either the military or the naval service that is essential to an earnest and vigorous prosecution of the war to a successful and speedy conclusion.

Notwithstanding the talk of an early peace, notwithstanding the talk of an early ending of the war, neither the Congress nor the country intend that there shall be any slowing up or slackening of our efforts until this result is achieved. Even though by reason of the splendid fighting qualities and the glorious courage of our soldiers and the soldiers of our allies the Germans are being rapidly thrust back to their own borders and are now facing a certain and early disastrous defeat, there must not be, and should not be, any let-up in this country. [Applause.]

There will be none on the part of our brave soldiers who are fighting our battles on the fields of France, and there must be none on the part of those in this country who are charged with the duty and the responsibility of providing all of the supplies and all of the support necessary to enable them to give the finishing blow to Germany and insure the permanent and righteous peace for which our country is fighting. [Applause.]

The gentleman from Kentucky has told you that notwithstanding the fact that this bill makes a reduction of over two and one-half billions of dollars from the estimates submitted, that nevertheless it carries no reduction either for the military or naval service which was not approved and acquiesced in by those who appeared before the committee. But his modesty prevented his telling you that they reached this conclusion around the committee table, and only after their estimates had been subjected to his close scrutiny and keen and intelligent analysis. Though, be it said to their credit, they were ready and anxious to yield to the reduction after discussion.

The gentleman from Kentucky during the years of his service in the House has rendered distinguished and faithful service to the country, but in my judgment he has rendered no more valuable service to the country than that which he has rendered in the preparation of this bill, which not only makes a great saving, without the least injury to any arm of the Government service, but which, I repeat, in my opinion, is one of the best considered bills ever presented to the House by the Appropriations Committee.

I know of no higher tribute, I know of no tribute more truly deserved than that which was paid to the gentleman from Kentucky the other day by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], himself a former chairman of this great committee, who, speaking with the authority of more than 40 years of faithful and most distinguished service to the people of the country in the Halls of Congress, said that during all of that time the Committee on Appropriations had never had a superior leadership to that which it now enjoys. I am sure that the ability and services of the gentleman from Kentucky are appreciated and will be commended by all of his colleagues on both sides of this Chamber, and he is entitled to the approval and support of his constituents and to the thanks of the entire country. [Applause.]

Mr. EAGAN. Mr. Chairman, further reserving the right to object, I want to supplement the splendid and well-deserved compliments which were paid on Wednesday by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], the ranking minority member on the Subcommittee on Deficiencies, the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL], the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON], and the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS], to-day, to the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee, who is also the chairman of the subcommittee in charge of this bill, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY].

It has been my good fortune to serve with the gentleman from Kentucky on the Fortifications Subcommittee in the last Congress, as well as to serve with him in this Congress in the preparation of this bill.

His great service to this House and the country in connection with the fortifications bill needs no commendation from me, but I feel I would be remiss in my duty if I did not indorse the statement of the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] when he said on Wednesday that in a service of upward of 40 years as a Member of this House the Appropriations Committee has never had a chairman who was the superior of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY]. He has proved a worthy successor to the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD], who resigned in December last, to the gentleman from

Illinois [Mr. CANNON], and to their predecessors in the chairmanship of that great committee.

To reduce the original estimates by upward of two and one-half billions of dollars, aggregating thousands of items, many of them technical in the highest degree, and to secure the acquiescence of the heads of the various departments in these reductions—to do all this without slowing up in the slightest degree the vigorous and successful prosecution of the great war in which we are now engaged—was a Herculean task. That the gentleman from Kentucky measured up to the full requirements of this task even a casual perusal of the hearings and his masterly address in presenting the bill to the House on Wednesday will demonstrate.

Day after day, night after night, and Sunday after Sunday for many weeks, without the slightest regard to his health or to any other consideration than patriotic and unselfish devotion to his country in its time of greatest emergency, his keen intellect and great experience extending over a period of 18 years of service in this House and of upward of 10 years on the Appropriations Committee, have been given to the consideration of the mass of estimates that make up this bill. His untiring energy and his great ability are recognized by the membership of this House, but by none are they more fully appreciated than by his colleagues on the Appropriations Committee.

He is entitled to the commendation of the entire membership of this House and to the approval and support of the people of the fifth district of Kentucky, which he has so ably and conscientiously represented in this House for 16 years. [Applause.]

Mr. VARE. Mr. Chairman, recently—within a day or two—I observed in one of the Philadelphia newspapers a statement that it was with regret they noticed that the estimates of the War Department had been reduced by this committee to the extent of approximately two and a half billions of dollars. I desire to emphasize the fact that this committee granted every dollar that the War Department claimed was necessary for the conduct of the war, with one exception, and that was the enlargement of the Neville Island project, amounting to approximately $93,000,000. In connection with the Neville Island project I asked the Army officer who was a witness before the committee whether it would be possible to turn out a gun there within a period of 12 months. He said that it was not possible to turn out a gun within that period. Basing this action upon that, and other admissions, the committee deemed it wise by a majority vote to reduce the appropriation. I was one of the subcommittee who voted to keep it in, but in the general committee I agreed with all of the members of the committee that it was not wise to expend $93,000,000 for this additional enlargement of this project at the expense possibly of some other important war activity.

I have listened with much interest to the various members of the committee in their commendations of the distinguished chairman of this committee, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY]. Virtually every member of that subcommittee has risen in his place and paid his personal tribute of respect not only to his industry, but to his sagacity, his patience, his energy in the conduct of these hearings. I first had an intimate acquaintance with the gentleman as a member of this committee in November, 1912. At that time we visited the Panama Canal, and he then showed a marked familiarity with all of the details in connection with the fortifications there at that time. During the last month or nearly six weeks I have had opportunity to observe him at close range, working with him almost every day and on many occasions until late into the night, until the hour of midnight.

Mr. SHERLEY has given of his time and his valuable experience without stint. He has been exceedingly painstaking in his examinations and cross-examinations. He has been quite severe in his criticisms and his suggestions that there be additional information given the committee. I listened to the eulogy paid by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] the day before yesterday, when he spoke of his 40 years of experience as a Member of this House and his close observation of men who have held the chairmanship of this important committee.

I, during my 25 years of experience of public and private life, have come in contact with many men of industry and ability, and I do not hesitate to say to the Members of this House that never in my life have I seen at close range a public official who has been more conscientious in the performance of his duty and so devoted to his task in order that the interests of the country might be preserved. I am gratified to know that as a result of these few days' deliberations this bill is about to be passed almost in the identical form in which it came from the committee, in so far as the amount of money is appropriated. I would gladly vote a greater amount if the War Department through its officials had made requests, backed up by statements, that they could expend expeditiously and wisely a greater sum. I am in full accord with Gen. March, Chief of Staff, when he says that the passage of this bill is an important step toward impressing upon Germany the fact that this country is united in the prosecution of this war to a finish, and when I leave here to-night I go to Philadelphia with the hope in mind that that great district will be able to put the fourth liberty loan over the top, as it were, as another example of the fact that our country is united in standing behind the President of the United States, in order that this war may be brought to a successful conclusion; not only a successful conclusion, but a conclusion by victory through military forces and an unconditional surrender on the part of Germany. [Applause.]

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the reservation.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, it is, of course, a matter of gratification to me that those who have worked with me through the past few weeks of very hard toil should have seen fit to say the very generous and complimentary things that they have said touching my work. I can only say in response that I have endeavered to perform my duty. These are days when other men are performing theirs by risking and giving their lives. All of us are more than anxious and willing that we should not spare ourselves in making successful their sacrifices and their heroism, and I am sure the House of Representatives generally have realized that while their task was not of the heroic character of the men who bear aloft the colors of America on the fields of France, that it was of an importance that demanded of each of us the best that was in us. That I have tried to give to the House and to the country. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none——

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Chairman, I do not intend to object, but I want to offer a substitute for the section stricken out.

The CHAIRMAN. The section is stricken out.

Mr. LONDON. I desire to offer an amendment as a new section, section 3, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The CHAIRMAN. One moment, before the amendment is presented. Does the gentleman from Wyoming, a member of the Committee on Appropriations, desire recognition?

Mr. MONDELL. I desire to make a motion to strike out the last word, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wyoming.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, we are about to pass, unanimously, a deficiency bill of staggering proportions. There is not another nation engaged in this war which in addition to its expenditures heretofore made and its present obligations could become obligated as we are proposing to obligate the American people for the enormous sum of six and one-quarter billion dollars without serious misgivings as to the ability of the nation to bear the added burden. So great is our wealth, so limitless our resources, so completely are the wealth and the resources of the Nation dedicated to the purpose of the Nation to win this war, that there is no sort of question either as to the ability or the willingness of the American people to assume and to meet these additional tremendous responsibilities. The House of Representatives passes this bill unanimously as another evidence of the fact that as the representatives of the people of this Nation, we know and realize the determination of the American people to continue this war with every necessary force and facility to a final and victorious conclusion. It strikes me that just at this time when it seems very evident that the military autocracy of the central powers is endeavoring to create a situation under which they may escape a part at least of the punishment due them for their crimes against humanity and civilization that we should emphasize, as we propose to do by the passage of this act, the determination of the liberty-loving peoples of this earth that the military autocracies of Germany and Austria, who have violated every international law and trampled ruthlessly on the rights of humanity, shall be crushed and crushed utterly. To the accomplishment of that end we their representatives here and now again dedicate the wealth and resources of the American people. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment is withdrawn.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Chairman, I ask leave to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word in order to explain the amendment which I intended to offer, as it may be subject to a point of order. I would not like to waste the time of the House.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I intended to offer as an amendment a provision for the creation of a commission of reconstruction. We are on the threshold of peace. There is not the slightest doubt of that. We are on the threshold of a victorious peace, victorious in the sense that great moral forces that move the hearts and minds of men, forces heretofore suppressed and derided, are about to prevail. Strange as it may seem, the country is not ready for peace. Its statesmen are not ready. We have made no provision for the great disturbance in business, for the dislocation in industry, which will come with the return of millions of men from the camps and trenches, for the contingency which will arise by reason of the dismantling of munition factories, of which there are about 40,000. We have taken no care of the day when the returning soldier will find himself competing with his own sister and wife in industry. On more than one occasion during this session of Congress have I pleaded that we begin preparing for the reconstruction period. My pleas have been in vain. On the 4th of this month I introduced a resolution which calls for the creation of a joint congressional committee on reconstruction.

In view of the fact that the provision for a "War Salvage Commission," which was to make a survey and study of the properties of the United States, has just been ruled out of order, and as it is more than likely that my proposed amendment will be held to be out of order, I will therefore content myself now with asking leave to revise and extend my remarks and include the amendment which I intended to offer.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD upon the amendment that he proposes to offer. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, it seems to me it is rather unusual.

Mr. LONDON. My time has not expired, and I could read it, but I simply want to save time.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order on the amendment.

Mr. STAFFORD. He has not offered it yet.

Mr. LONDON. I have not offered it. I withdraw it. Is there objection to my request?

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York that he may be permitted to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD on the amendment that he proposes to offer?

Mr. LONDON. That I have proposed to offer.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair hears no objection. Without objection, the pro forma amendment offered by the gentleman from New York is withdrawn.

There was no objection.

Mr. LONDON. I extend my remarks by incorporating my concurrent resolution on reconstruction. The intended amendment was to begin with the words: "That there is hereby created a committee." Here is the resolution:

House concurrent resolution 54.

Whereas the demobilization of the Army and the dislocation of industry which will follow the termination of the war will cause unprecedented distress unless adequate preparation is made for the contingency; and

Whereas the experience of this war has conclusively demonstrated the fact that it is unsafe to leave to private and selfish interests the control of the things essential to the life of the Nation; and

Whereas it is of primary importance that the inevitable transition from private to public control of the Nation's needs should be accomplished with the least possible friction and shall be accompanied by the introduction of the democratic principle in industry: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there is hereby created a committee, to be known as the joint congressional committee on reconstruction, to be composed of six Senators and seven Representatives in Congress. Of the seven Representatives in Congress three shall be Republicans, three Democrats, and one Socialist, all to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Of the six Senators three shall be Republicans and three Democrats, to be nominated by the party organizations of the Senate, service upon such committee to terminate if a member ceases to be a Member of Congress. Vacancies shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointments or selections were made respectively.

It shall be the duty of the committee to prepare and recommend legislation for the securing of employment to all immediately after the termination of the war.

It shall be the duty of the committee to prepare and recommend legislation for the taking over by the Nation of the basic industries; for the democratic control of credit and finance; for the nationalization of the railways, telegraph and telephone lines, waterways and canals, steamships and steamship lines, and all other means of transportation which are public in their character; for the acquisition and retention of agricultural lands which may be needed by the returned soldiers; for the reclamation of arid and swamp lands; for the acquisition, retention, and exploitation of the natural resources; for the encouragement of agricultural cooperation and for collective aid to the farmer; for the establishment of a national system of obligatory education.

It shall be the duty of the committee to make a special study of the extent to which the powers exercised by the Federal Government to promote the national defense may be utilized for the promotion of the national welfare, and to report to Congress its conclusions and recommendations for the promotion by legislation of the Nation's welfare and security.

The committee is authorized to employ such clerical and expert assistance as may be necessary, and may by subcommittee or otherwise send for persons or papers and administer oaths. The committee may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate and House of Representatives; expenses contracted hereunder shall be paid one-half from the contingent fund of the Senate and one-half from the contingent fund of the House upon presentation of vouchers approved by the chairman of said committee until otherwise provided by law.

The committee shall report to Congress not later than January 1, 1919, and from time to time thereafter.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise and report the bill to the House with various amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

The motion was agreed to; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, and had directed him to report the same to the House with sundry amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gross.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken, and the bill was passed.

The SPEAKER. The bill has passed unanimously.

On motion of Mr. SHERLEY, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

COMMITTEE TO ATTEND THE FUNERAL OF LATE REPRESENTATIVE STERLING OF ILLINOIS.

The SPEAKER announced the following committee to attend the funeral of the late Representative STERLING of Illinois:

Mr. MANN, Mr. CANNON, Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY, Mr. FOSTER, Mr. MCCORMICK, Mr. MASON, Mr. WILSON of Illinois, Mr. SABATH, Mr. MCANDREWS, Mr. JUUL, Mr. GALLAGHER, Mr. BRITTEN, Mr. FOSS, Mr. COPLEY, Mr. FULLER of Illinois, Mr. MCKENZIE, Mr. KING, Mr. IRELAND, Mr. WHEELER, Mr. RODENBERG, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. DENISON, Mr. JOHN W. RAINEY, Mr. GREEN of Iowa, Mr. OLDFIELD, Mr. DALLINGER, Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas, and Mr. RAKER.

EARTHQUAKE IN PORTO RICO.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I have received a telegram from the Resident Commissioner of Porto Rico, which I ask to have read.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the Clerk will read it.

The Clerk read as follows:

NEW YORK, N. Y., *October 17, 1918.*

Representative FINIS G. GARRETT,
Committee on Insular Affairs, Washington, D. C.:

Have received the following cable from president of the senate of Porto Rico:

"Just returned from Region Island, mainly stricken by earthquake. Mayaguiz, Anasco, and Aguadilla nearly destroyed. Aguada and Ponce seriously damaged. Losses, 100 dead and $4,000,000. Probable special session of legislature to meet conditions."

Please submit this matter to House, and any action taken to assist the people of Porto Rico in this great distress will be deeply appreciated.

CORDOVA DAVILA.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the relations that exist between the Government of the United States and Porto Rico are very well understood by Members of the House. If that had been a personal telegram I should not have submitted it to the House. But it was an official telegram from the representative of that Territory, or whatever its legal characterization may properly be, and I did not feel, therefore, that I would be justified in withholding the telegram from submission to the House.

It seems to me that perhaps that ought to be referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and I ask for its reference to that committee, if there be no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Chair refers it to the Committee on Appropriations.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. OSBORNE, indefinitely, on account of illness in his family;

To Mr. SMITH of Michigan, for two weeks, on account of important business; and

To Mr. HARDY (at the request of Mr. EAGLE), on account of sickness in his family.

PRODUCTION OF SPRUCE.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Public Lands I ask that Senate bill 4886, a bill providing for the sale of certain lands in the original town site of Port Angeles, Wash., which is clearly a war measure on the production of spruce and which the departments are earnestly urging, may be considered at this time. The bill was reported by the committee by a unanimous vote as a war measure and should be considered without delay.

Mr. MADDEN. I object.

Mr. RAKER. Will not the gentleman allow the gentleman from Washington [Mr. HADLEY] an opportunity to make a statement?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois objects, and that is the end of it.

RESERVE OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Md. DOREMUS, by direction of the Committee on Conference, submitted for printing, under the rule, the conference report and accompanying statement on Senate joint resolution 63.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, October 19, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. HAYDEN, from the Committee on Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (S. 390) to establish the Grand Canyon National Park in the State of Arizona, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 832), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. LOBECK: A bill (H. R. 13101) providing for the promotion of certain officers in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. EMERSON: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 338) requesting the Tariff Commission to report to Congress information concerning potash; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. KRAUS: A bill (H. R. 13102) granting a pension to Julia I. Zedaker; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LANGLEY: A bill (H. R. 13103) for the payment of certain soldiers' claims for back pay growing out of service in the Army of the United States, as reported by the Court of Claims; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. WELTY: A bill (H. R. 13104) for the relief of the Central Building & Loan Co., of Lima, Ohio; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13105) granting a pension to Ella Williamson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. BROWNING: Memorial of Haddon Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, No. 38, Haddonfield, N. J., favoring the repeal of the postal-zone law; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. ESCH: Papers in support of House bill 13089, granting an increase of pension to William McFarlin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LUFKIN: Resolutions from the city government of Gloucester, Mass., relative to the recent proposals of the German Government relative to an armistice; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. RAKER: Resolution by the Toulume County Council of Defense, demanding that we accept nothing except unconditional surrender and immediate evacuation of invaded territories, and that Germany be made to pay damages; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, resolution adopted by the Berkeley Defense Corps, September 23, 1918, relative to permitting the killing of ducks to prevent the destruction of rice in the counties of Glenn, Colusa, and Butte, Cal.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, resolution of the Common Council of San Diego, Cal., offering to the United States a portion of Balboa Park in that city for the establishment of a naval-base hospital; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. STINESS: Petition of Musicians' Protective Association, Local 198, favoring the passage of the bill to increase the efficiency of Navy bands; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, *October 19, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Lord God of Hosts, lest we forget, and relax our vigils, our patriotism, our sacrifices of means and men, remind us of the so-called Kultur and barbarous methods of warfare introduced by the enemies of human rights and human liberty long since enunciated by the Holy One of Israel, until a peace shall come and Thy will be done in earth as in heaven; for Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

LEAVE TO EXTEND REMARKS.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Well, Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I should like to know what the remarks consist of.

Mr. GORDON. The title of my remarks will be "Military necessity and the duty of the American Congress in time of war."

Mr. WALSH. The gentleman's own remarks?

Mr. GORDON. Yes; my own remarks. I expect to insert some quotations.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

ANONYMOUS PROPAGANDA.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, at his request I ask to have read an anonymous post card just received by Rev. Henry N. Couden, Chaplain of the House of Representatives, which was evidently sent out for the purpose of creating dissatisfaction and disorganizing our war forces at this perilous time and which shows that the agents and propagandists of the Kaiser still abide with us. I ask that the Clerk read it.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read it, without objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

WASHINGTON AND CORNWALLIS.

One of them went "over the top" October 19, 1781, and one didn't. But to-day Confederate riders and drivers have put the British ring in our noses "to beat the band." We shriek and scream for liberty and haven't liberty ourselves to even eat unmolested by an alien adventurer.

Pray all you want to, as Elisha urged the prophets of Baal. You will get the same answer they got!

OCTOBER 19, 1918.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. This card, while unsigned, bears a Washington, D. C., postmark.

I call attention to this matter in order that the head of our Secret Service may take notice and that the public may know that Germany still works her propaganda right in the shadow of our Nation's Capitol. Every man with a thimbleful of sense knows that things must be done in time of war that should not be done in time of peace, and that the success of our forces at the front depends primarily on the support given them at home. Therefore the circulation through the mails of such insidious matter as this emphasizes the necessity for the very policy which the card attempts to criticize. I hope the Department of Justice will be able to locate the guilty and deal with him or them summarily. [Applause.]

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. In just a moment. At this time of peril, when we are all doing our best to establish liberty throughout the world, when we are striving our utmost to save civilization for the universe, when our brave boys are baring their breasts to the bullets of a common enemy in the cause of freedom, civilization, and Christian justice, no pains should be

spared to suppress this character of propaganda. This insidious "back firing" on our boys in the trenches must be stopped, even if it takes a firing squad to do it. [Applause.] Now, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

RECESS AGREEMENT.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. LITTLE. Reserving the right to object, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes after the gentleman from Illinois concludes.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will ask the gentleman from Kansas and the gentleman from Illinois to withhold their requests for a moment.

Mr. Speaker, the legislative situation is this: With the exception of the deficiency bill which passed the House yesterday and the agricultural stimulation bill, and Senate joint resolution 63 to form a reserve of the Public Health Service, which we passed the other day, all the administration measures have been passed, and the only thing for the House to do is to wait until the Senate passes the revenue bill. This does not include some unanimous-consent requests for the consideration of bills which we will have all day to-day to consider. The Senate Finance Committee will probably finish the revenue bill and report it out by the 29th. It is then proposed by the Senate to have a concurrent resolution for adjournment of the two Houses from October 29 to November 12; the Senate hopes to pass the revenue bill by the 20th, or not later than the 25th of November. It is then hoped we can have an adjournment sine die, which would be until the regular session meets on the first Monday in December. I am going to ask unanimous consent for a gentlemen's agreement, which I have put in writing and which I ask the Clerk to read.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

It is agreed, by unanimous consent, that when the House adjourns to-day it shall stand adjourned to meet on Monday and Thursday only of each week until the Senate shall have voted on the pending revenue bill, unless sooner reconvened by operation of law, or necessity, of which notice shall be given by the majority and minority leaders. That during this period no business shall be transacted, by unanimous consent or otherwise, except the final disposition of the pending deficiency appropriation bill, the agricultural stimulation bill, Senate joint resolution No. 63, and minor matters on the Speaker's table: *Provided*, That the House may consider and act upon any concurrent resolution proposing a recess for a fixed period.

The SPEAKER. Is that offered as a resolution, or just simply for consideration?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not believe we could offer it as a resolution; but that is the form of the gentleman's agreement that I would suggest to be entered of record if we come to an agreement.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman inform the House what he means by "minor matters on the Speaker's table," and when they are to be considered.

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not know that there are any matters on the Speaker's table.

Mr. STAFFORD. Does that mean to-day, or at any day in the future?

Mr. WALSH. During that period.

Mr. KITCHIN. During this period.

Mr. STAFFORD. There will be objection to that.

Mr. BARNHART. We could not have an agreement unless it embodied something like that. There may be deaths of Members, or something of that kind.

Mr. WALSH. Those are not matters on the Speaker's table.

Mr. KITCHIN. There might be some minor bills to lay before the House.

Mr. STAFFORD. "Minor matters on the Speaker's table" refers to bills coming over from the other body. That should not be included in the agreement.

Mr. TOWNER. As I understood the resolution, it was that this agreement was to last until the Senate had voted on the revenue bill.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. TOWNER. Did the gentleman mean that?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. TOWNER. I understood from the statement that he meant only that it should be extended until the time when the bill was reported to the Senate.

Mr. KITCHIN. No. The Senate Finance Committee will report the bill to the Senate on or before the 29th of October, and then hopes that a concurrent resolution for adjournment from October 29 to November 12 can be passed by both Houses. The Senate on the 12th would reconvene and immediately take up the revenue bill with the hope of passing it by the 25th of November. There would be no use in House Members returning here while the Senate was discussing the bill.

Mr. TOWNER. So far as I am concerned, I have no objection.

Mr. KITCHIN. The agreement provides that if there should arise in the meantime any emergency requiring legislation, then the majority and minority leaders would give notice to the members of their respective parties, and of course in answer to that call they would come in, and this agreement would be null and void. I rather think the gentleman's objection to "minor matters on the Speaker's table" is a proper one, and that it should go out, but with the understanding, as suggested by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BARNHART], that should a Member die the House on one of the meeting days could make proper arrangements and consider proper motions in spite of this agreement.

Mr. STAFFORD. In the form in which the agreement now is, it would involve many unanimous-consent agreements as to bills, and so forth, which I think ought not to be included.

Mr. KITCHIN. Well, I will strike the "minor matters on the Speaker's table" out. I believe this agreement covers exactly what the membership of the House desires. Of course, we have in here the provision that "unless the House is sooner convened by operation of law," and it is barely possible, although I do not think probable, that the Senate might not vote on the revenue bill until the reconvening of Congress.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WALSH. I want to ask the gentleman if under this agreement, with these exceptions noted, it would not be in order when the matters are under consideration for discussion to be had and attempts to recommit or to amend.

Mr. KITCHIN. What matters does the gentleman refer to?

Mr. WALSH. The three matters excepted to in the agreement.

Mr. KITCHIN. That would have to be disposed of; take, for instance, the deficiency bill, if it should come back, no man would make the point of no quorum.

Mr. WALSH. But we do not know in what shape it will come back, nor how many items will be added to it, and to have it unanimously agreed that when the deficiency bill comes back it shall be immediately sent to conference and the conference report agreed upon I do not think is wise.

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, no; whatever Members are here will consider it.

Mr. GILLETT. Nothing is foreclosed.

Mr. KITCHIN. I want to say that it is to be expected that two of these matters that are mentioned in the agreement will be disposed of to-day.

Mr. GILLETT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Certainly.

Mr. GILLETT. It seems to me that the agreement is a fair one, because some Members will stay here, of course. I expect the Committee on Appropriations, which is most interested in the deficiency bill—or at least they have studied it the most—will largely remain here, and if the gentleman from Massachusetts, or anybody else, thinks that something will be in which he does not approve of, all he has to do is to stay here. There will be some Members remain here on both sides of the House, and the only effect of this agreement, as I understand it, is to prevent anything else coming up. These matters will come up anyway if we did not have the agreement.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I yield.

Mr. WALSH. I desire to state, in reply to the suggestion of my colleague from Massachusetts, that I am not afraid of anything being put in the bill that I do not approve of; but we do know that that bill when it comes back from the other body will probably contain items that are not in it now, and may contain other amendments. We spent two days considering the original bill, and if this agreement is entered into, unless some one makes the point of order that there is no quorum present, the consideration of it is practically foreclosed.

Mr. KITCHIN. That, as the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] says, is specially taken care of in this agreement.

Mr. WALSH. I do not think it ought to be considered until after the agreement expires.

Mr. GILLETT. There will probably be as many here as there were present during the last two days of its consideration.

Mr. KITCHIN. I think that is true.

Mr. ANDERSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. ANDERSON. In regard to the measures specifically mentioned in the agreement, does the agreement contemplate that they shall be considered without a quorum and that the Member

who makes a point of no quorum would be violating the gentlemen's agreement?

Mr. GILLETT. Oh, no.

Mr. KITCHIN. No.

Mr. STAFFORD. Can we have the amendment again read?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will read it as modified:

It is agreed, by unanimous consent, that when the House adjourns to-day it shall stand adjourned to meet on Monday and Thursday only of each week until the Senate shall have voted on the pending revenue bill, unless sooner reconvened by operation of law or necessity, of which notice shall be given by the majority and minority leaders. That during this period no business shall be transacted, by unanimous consent or otherwise, except the final disposition of the pending deficiency appropriation bill, the Agricultural stimulation bill, and Senate joint resolution No. 63: *Provided*, That the House may consider and act upon any concurrent resolution proposing a recess for a fixed period.

Mr. ANDERSON. Let me call attention to this situation: Suppose the agricultural stimulation bill does not become a law before the 1st of November. My recollection is that the joint resolution expires at that time and you would have to have a joint resolution continuing it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Let me ask if there is a joint resolution extending the appropriations for the food conservation bill of last year?

Mr. LEVER. Yes; we have that now.

Mr. STAFFORD. I thought it only applied to the agricultural appropriation act.

Mr. LEVER. No.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say that under the circumstance suggested by the gentleman from Minnesota that the majority and minority leaders would give notice to a sufficient number of Members to come here and make a quorum if that had to be done and a quorum was demanded. If such a condition as that should arise, we would have to have an extension of that kind.

Mr. ANDERSON. I am not willing by my silence to give consent that the deficiency bill, or any other bill mentioned in this agreement, shall be considered without a quorum.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I do not understand that there is any such agreement in this.

Mr. KITCHIN. Not a bit.

Mr. GILLETT. This does not state that anything could be considered without a quorum. I do not believe any such agreement could be made.

Mr. KITCHIN. If such a situation arises such as the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] suggests, there would be no trouble to get a quorum if one was necessary or demanded by the gentleman or anyone. The majority and the minority leaders would send notice to the membership of the House.

Mr. CARAWAY assumed the chair as Speaker pro tempore.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask a question for information. Does this agreement say that we are not going to take this recess until the Senate passes the revenue bill or reports it?

Mr. KITCHIN. We would have this gentleman's agreement until then.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Until when?

Mr. KITCHIN. Until the Senate votes on the bill, but in the meantime it is provided here that the House may consider a resolution of adjournment for a fixed period.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Has it not been generally reported that the Senate committee is not going to report this bill until the 25th or 26th of October?

Mr. KITCHIN. They hope to report it by the 29th of October.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. That is, report it to the Senate?

Mr. KITCHIN. Report it to the Senate.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. When are they going to vote on it?

Mr KITCHIN. The Senate's plan is, after it is reported on or before the 29th, to consider a concurrent resolution for adjournment from the 29th of October until the 12th of November. That is to give the Members of the Senate and the House an opportunity to go home to vote and the far western Members time enough in which to get back after they do vote.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Are they going to vote on it in the Senate on the 29th?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; they will report it out of the Finance Committee on or before that date if possible.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. And they are not going to vote on it until after the elections?

Mr. KITCHIN. Not until after the 12th of November. They hope and believe that by returning on the 12th they can consider the bill in the Senate and vote on it by the 20th or 25th of November, and then it is the hope to have a sine die adjournment.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. In other words, when a Member leaves here under this agreement, he shall observe the newspapers, and when he sees that the Senate has voted on the revenue bill that will be notice to him to come to Washington?

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, he will have notice sent to him before that.

Mr. GARRETT of Texas. I mean in the event that he should not get the notice that is sent. That would be his notice?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; but he will receive notice before that.

Mr. HASTINGS. Suppose the Senate does not vote on that before the first Monday in December, does this agreement keep us in recess until after the regular session begins?

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, no; the agreement provides except we be sooner convened by operation of law.

Mr. HASTINGS. Then we do have a clear understanding that if the Senate does not vote on the revenue bill by the first Monday in December, this agreement is off on that date?

Mr. KITCHIN. Of course.

Mr. HASTINGS. But the agreement does not state that.

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, yes; it does. It says "unless sooner reconvened by operation of law."

Mr. HASTINGS. We have a clear understanding about that, as to what that means?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. BARKLEY. If this time is carried out, the effect of it will be, if the Senate voted on the revenue bill on the 25th of November, or at any other time, that all that Members will be called back for would be to vote to adjourn sine die?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; they would be called back to send the bill to conference, and then if we adjourned sine die on the 25th or 26th of November the conferees would still remain in session and hope to be ready to report by the time the regular session meets. As far as the revenue bill is concerned, it would cause absolutely no delay in that at all.

Mr. BARKLEY. Really if that plan is carried out, all that we would be called on to do when we came back would be to vote to send the bill to conference and to adjourn?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; if the plan suggested by the Senate leaders on both sides is carried out, and I see no objection to that plan.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. KINCHELOE. I would like to ask the gentleman a question for information. There is a bill pending here known as the sanatorium bill.

Mr. KITCHIN. That is the Dawson Springs bill?

Mr. KINCHELOE. Yes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Which in the gentleman's opinion is the best place in the United States to locate the sanatorium.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Yes. The information I am seeking is this: This bill has been reported unanimously by the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds and by the Committee on Rules. Consideration of it has been denied by reason of the fact that there is no quorum present. The Bureau of Public Health and the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance are anxious to have it passed because of the fact that there are 14,000 tubercular soldiers that they have no place to send; but by reason of the fact that there is no quorum, consideration of it has been denied. Will that bill have the same status when we convene here in December, with a quorum, as it has now?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; the same status. The Rules Committee can call up the rule for its consideration at any time. The gentleman from Kentucky and those interested will lose nothing. Question, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CARAWAY). Is there objection to the unanimous-consent agreement presented by the gentleman from North Carolina? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER resumed the chair.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes.

Mr. MAYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table and immediately consider Senate bill 4886.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has recognized the gentleman from Illinois to make a request to proceed for 10 minutes.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I renew my request for unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object, as I want to address the House for five minutes.

Mr. MAYS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, there are one or two little emergency matters that ought to be passed.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will recognize the gentleman in order.

Mr. MAYS. I am reserving the right to object to these speeches. It seems to me, while I do not want to object, that we ought to attend to this business first and have the speeches afterwards.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois. [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. LITTLE] asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes when the gentleman from Illinois concludes. Is there objection?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask 10 minutes when the gentleman from Kansas concludes.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I desire to call up the conference report on one of these food bills. I would be very glad to yield the gentleman 10 minutes out of my hour if he will take it.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. That is all right.

Mr. LITTLE. And I will take my five minutes if the gentleman will grant it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas for five minutes?

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Speaker, Mr. LEVER has kindly agreed to yield me five minutes out of his hour.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman withdraws his request. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call the attention of the House to a letter written by Mr. W. D. Jamieson, representing the Democratic committee, asking for campaign contributions and also call attention to the uses to which funds proposed to be collected are to be put. This letter is dated September 18, 1918, and is addressed to Mr. White:

SEPTEMBER 18, 1918.

Mr. JOHN WHITE,
Lexington, Ky.

DEAR MR. WHITE: Didn't the donation you gave the Democratic National Committee two years ago to help reelect President Wilson prove the best political investment you ever made?

All investments, including political ones, have to be protected.

The national committee now needs another donation from you to help safeguard that which we won, thanks to your help and that of others like you, two years ago.

The Republicans are out to win Congress in this fall's elections. What would Berlin think if the administration's party met with national defeat? You and all the balance of us must not permit this to occur.

Won't you at least duplicate your contribution of two years ago? Our records show that you aided to the amount of $25.

Sit right down, Mr. White, and send us your check making the contribution at least as much as you gave before, and as much more as you can afford.

I know there are lots of demands on you, but I also know you want our records here to show you as one of the party's and the administration's exceptional and continuous supporters.

Chairman McCormick and party leaders here in Washington are exceedingly anxious about the situation. I want you to be included among those I can call to their attention as having shown, in a substantial way, that you still have the interest of our party and the administration at heart.

Here is an addressed envelope. We are looking confidently for an immediate reply, for our campaign needs are very urgent and very hard to meet. We must depend on men like you who will make a little extra sacrifice to aid in a difficult situation.

Very sincerely, yours, W. D. JAMIESON.

P. S.—Did you notice the returns from the Maine election? They indicate the hard fight we are up against.

I understand that the plan of expenditure under the contribution requested to be——

Mr. McARTHUR rose.

Mr. MADDEN. I do not want to yield.

Mr. McARTHUR. I wanted to know who wrote the letter.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Jamieson wrote the letter. The plan to be followed is to send posters and paste them on billboards all over the United States with statements of this sort: "Germany will say you repudiated Wilson if you elect a Congress not in sympathy with his policies." I want to ask whether that means that Republicans are not to have any consideration in the election? I want to ask further, Have the Republicans been in sympathy with the policies of the administration? I further want to ask, Is this a Democratic war; are none but Democrats on the battle field; are none but Democrats contributing to the success of the war?

Is patriotism to be capitalized by statements of that sort? Are Republicans to be permitted only to pay and bleed? Every nation in the world except America engaged in the war has formed coalition cabinets. They have requested every party to join in the success of the war. Republicans in America have been quite as loyal as Democrats. We recognize no politics in the war. This is an American war; this is a war in which the American people are interested. We are for the war; we propose that it shall be fought to a successful conclusion. We are for the Commander in Chief of the Army and we have sustained him in every way within our power, and we resent the statements that are being sent out indicating that the Republicans have not been loyal. "Help Wilson win the war" and other placards containing a picture of Wilson will be found on the street cars of the United States. Why, we all want to win the war. Republicans equally with Democrats. There should be no politics in the war, and we, as Americans, repudiate the insinuation that Republicans are not patriotic, which these placards would indicate. Another placard says, "Washington and Lincoln were hampered by critics. Do not hamper Wilson." Have we hampered Wilson? I deny it.

Mr. HEFLIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. We have supported Wilson more loyally than members of his own party. Yes; I yield.

Mr. HEFLIN. I challenge that statement.

Mr. MADDEN. Well, the gentleman is entitled to challenge it, but it is true.

Mr. HEFLIN. The gentleman's colleagues, two of them, have hampered the President in every way they could, and many Members on the gentleman's side——

Mr. MADDEN. I do not yield for a speech, but how many Democrats could he name?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman declines to yield any further.

Mr. MADDEN. "Elect men who will aid him win the war," another placard. Who has aided thus far? Has there been any lack of support on the Republican side? None whatever. Has the administration asked for anything that it has not received? Have the Republicans been disloyal? I deny it; they have been loyal to the core. This is an American war; not a Democratic war; not a Republican war. We are for America and for the Commander in Chief of America's Army and Navy and will sustain him in the most vigorous prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion. [Applause.]

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from North Carolina rise?

Mr. SMALL. To ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to proceed for one minute.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD and to proceed for one minute. Is there objection?

Mr. GILLETT. On what subject?

Mr. SMALL. After my minute, if the gentleman objects, I am perfectly willing——

Mr. GILLETT. I do not expect to object, but I would not like to give unanimous consent until I know what the subject is.

Mr. SMALL. It is an editorial that appeared in the Public Ledger by ex-President Taft on yesterday on the right of Congress to tax salaries of State and city officials and securities of county and State subdivisions.

Mr. GILLETT. If that is the subject, I shall not object.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I object. I do not object to his proceeding for a minute, but I object to the extension by including the editorial.

TOWN SITE OF PORT ANGELES, WASH.

Mr. MAYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent under authority of the Public Lands Committee to call up from the Speaker's table the bill S. 4886, for immediate consideration.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill, which the Clerk will report by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 4886) providing for the sale of certain lands in the original town site of Port Angeles, Wash.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I notice that the House committee has offered several amendments, and I wish to suggest for the consideration of the gentleman having the bill in charge a further amendment. The bill provides that this land now owned by the Government and used by the Public Health Service shall be sold at a price to be agreed upon by the railroad company and the Secretary of the Treasury. To me that seems to be rather unusual in legislative enactment. Why should it not be at such a reasonable price as may be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury? If we pass it in the present form it would suggest to the Secretary of the Treasury that it was to be some compromise agreement for any price he could obtain from this company. Of course, it is not the intendment of the committee that that should be the policy.

I assume this land is to be purchased by this railroad company from the Government at a reasonable price.

Mr. MAYS. I would have no objection at all to that amendment if the gentleman would offer it.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have no objection to the bill being considered, and would not even object if the gentleman would say that the amendment suggested by me was not worthy.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. MAYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill may be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Utah asks unanimous consent that the bill may be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 4886) providing for the sale of certain lands in the original town site of Port Angeles, Wash.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to sell to the Siems, Carey & H. S. Kerbaugh Corporation, a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Washington, that part of United States hospital reserve in the original town site of Port Angeles, lying north of the Northern Pacific Railroad tract, as now located thereon at such a price as may be agreed upon between said company and the Secretary of the Treasury, and that the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to issue patent therefor upon payment of the sum agreed upon.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the committee amendments.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 1, line 4, after the word "Carey," strike out the word "and."

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 1, lines 5 and 6, strike out the word "Washington" and insert the word "Maine."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk reported the next committee amendment, as follows:

Page 1, line 6, after the word "States," insert the word "marine."

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk also reported the following committee amendment:

Page 1, line 7, after the word "reserve," insert the words "suburban lot or block No. 33."

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk also reported the following committee amendment:

Page 1, line 8, after the word "Angeles," insert the words "State of Washington."

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk also reported the following committee amendment:

Page 1, line 9, strike out the words "Northern Pacific Railroad tract" and insert the words "Seattle, Port Angeles & Lake Crescent Railway track."

Mr. HADLEY. Mr. Speaker, I desire, with the permission of the gentleman from Utah——

Mr. MAYS. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. HADLEY. I move to amend that particular amendment by striking out the words "Lake Crescent" in the committee amendment and inserting the word "Western" in lieu thereof, for the reason that since the amendment was made there has been found to be a slight discrepancy in the title of the road.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment to the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. HADLEY moves to amend the committee amendment, page 1, line 10 by striking out the words "Lake Crescent" and inserting in lieu thereof the word "Western," so that the line as amended will read "Seattle, Port Angeles & Western Railway track."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I move the following amendment, namely, to insert the word "reasonable," in line 11, after the article "a," and strike out in line 11, first page, and on line 1, page 2, the clause "agreed upon between said company" and insert in lieu thereof the words "fixed by," so that it will read "as now located thereon at such a reasonable price as may be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury."

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. STAFFORD moves to amend, page 1, line 11, after the word "a" and before the word "price," by inserting the word "reasonable," and after the word "maybe" strike out the words "agreed upon between said company" and insert in lieu thereof "fixed by."

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

There was no objection.

Mr. HADLEY. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HADLEY. Was the amendment which I offered to the committee amendment adopted? There was no expressed passage of the committee amendment. Did that carry with it the adoption of the committee amendment as amended? I offered an amendment to the last committee amendment which was adopted. The other was not put.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment as amended by the amendment of the gentleman from Washington.

The question was taken, and the amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. MAYS, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA NATIONAL GUARD.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (S. 3735) providing for the organization of the National Guard of the District of Columbia.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

A bill (S. 3735) to provide for enlistments in the National Guard of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, this bill is on the Union Calendar. I think we ought to consider it in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. DENT. I ask that it be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that this bill be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That during the present war enlistments in the National Guard of the District of Columbia and appointment of officers in said National Guard shall be made from men who, upon examination, are found to be physically and mentally fit for military service, and within such age limits as may be prescribed by the commanding general of the District of Columbia Militia, with the approval of the President of the United States: *Provided, however*, That the joining of the National Guard of the District of Columbia, under the provisions of this act by anyone either as an officer or an enlisted man, shall not relieve him from liability for any service in the United States military or naval forces to which he would otherwise be subject: *And provided further*, That enlistments under the provisions of this act shall not prevent the continuance of enlistments, during the period of the war, of such men in the National Guard for the District of Columbia who may so elect, under the requirements of six-year contract of enlistment as heretofore prescribed: *And provided further*, That enlistments in the National Guard of the District of Columbia of the special class, and appointments of officers as herein specially provided, shall be for the period of the war and for a period not exceeding three months thereafter, if such additional term of service be required by the President of the United States, and, further, for service within the District of Columbia, or in cases of emergency, in the adjoining States of Maryland and Virginia, and such officers and enlisted men when in service, shall receive the same pay and allowances as are now provided by law for the National Guard of the District of Columbia: *And provided further*, That all officers appointed under the provisions of this act shall be commissioned by the President of the United States, on the recommendation of the commanding general of the District of Columbia Militia, and no officer shall be commissioned without first being subject to an examination to determine his fitness to hold commission: *And provided further*, That during the period of the war retired officers of the National Guard of the District of Columbia may, if they so request, be assigned to duty as officers of the District of Columbia National Guard, in such grades as the President may direct, subject to examination: *And provided further*, That officers who have served in the National Guard and have resigned therefrom and officers and enlisted men who have been honorably discharged shall, during the period of the war, be eligible to reappointment and commission in the National Guard of the District of Columbia in such grades as they may be found qualified by examination to fill.

With a committee amendment as follows:

Page 3, line 12, after the word "fill," insert the following proviso: "*Provided*, That at the expiration of the existing emergency the provisions of this act shall be and become null and void."

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, does not the gentleman believe that the amendment proposed by the committee should be made a little more definite as to the termination of the authority

under this act? It merely provides for termination at the expiration of the existing emergency.

Mr. DENT. That is the language that has been ordinarily used.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is language sometimes used. When it is necessary to prescribe a fixed time it has been the termination of the war at a date to be fixed by proclamation of the President. I am only suggesting that, because this bill, which is temporary in character, should terminate at a fixed time. When you say "at the termination of the present emergency," that is vague and indefinite.

Mr. DENT. What would the gentleman suggest? I have no objection to making an amendment.

Mr. STAFFORD. I would suggest, "*Provided*, That at the termination of the existing war, as determined by proclamation of the President, the provisions of this act shall be and become null and void."

Mr. DENT. I accept that amendment.

Mr. STAFFORD. I offer the following substitute in lieu of the committee amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin withdraws the pro forma amendment, and offers an amendment as a substitute.

Mr. STAFFORD. "That at the termination of the existing war, as determined by proclamation of the President, the provisions of this act shall be and become null and void."

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. STAFFORD: On page 3, line 12, in lieu of the committee amendment insert the following:

"*Provided*, That at the termination of the existing war as determined by the proclamation of the President, the provisions of this act shall be and become null and void."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the substitute.

The substitute was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill as amended.

The Senate bill as amended was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. DENT, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

DAVID E. GRAY.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of a small bill, H. R. 1607.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Colorado asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill, of which the Clerk will report the title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 1607) for the relief of David E. Gray.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Postmaster General be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to credit the accounts of David E. Gray, postmaster at Greeley, Colo., in the sum of $10,088.09, due to the United States on account of postage stamps and other stamped paper on account of losses resulting from burglary of said post office on July 1, 1911.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas objects.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Mr. Speaker, I hope the gentleman will reserve his objection.

Mr. BLANTON. Has this bill come from the Committee on Claims?

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Yes, sir; it has.

Mr. BLANTON. Is there not an adverse report, a minority report, against it?

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. There is not. There is a full and complete report of everything, from the Postmaster General down, and a historical investigation of the robbery at the time, which occurred in 1911. The bill has been on the calendar for a year.

Mr. BLANTON. Well, Mr. Speaker, I object for the present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas objects.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for half a minute.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to proceed for half a minute. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Speaker, I again renew my request for unanimous consent to extend my remarks by incorporating an article by ex-President Taft, in which he makes a very valuable contribution on the subject of the right of Congress to tax State and municipal securities and the salaries of State and municipal officials.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Reserving the right to object, is the gentleman sure that that is not already in the RECORD, printed in the Senate part of the RECORD?

Mr. SMALL. I did not examine the Senate proceedings, but the Senate was not in session yesterday, and this article was published only yesterday morning.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, I assume, of course, that if the gentleman finds upon inspection of the RECORD that it has been inserted he will not have it inserted again?

Mr. SMALL. I will make an examination, and if it has already appeared I will not insert it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

DAVID E. GRAY.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] has withdrawn his objection to the consideration of the bill H. R. 1607.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Texas withdraw his objection?

Mr. BLANTON. I withdraw the objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, this bill is on the Private Calendar. There are many bills equally as meritorious as this bill is. I will have no objection to the consideration of this bill when it is brought up in its regular order, but to single out this bill out of its order is, I think, a bad practice, and I therefore object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin objects.

STIMULATION OF AGRICULTURE.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H. R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products, and for other purposes."

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, before the gentleman calls up his conference report, I would like to submit to the House the situation in which the House is left under this order, adopted this morning. It reads:

It is agreed, by unanimous consent, that when the House adjourns to-day it shall stand adjourned to meet on Monday and Thursday only of each week until the Senate shall have voted on the pending revenue bill, unless sooner reconvened by operation of law or necessity, of which notice shall be given by the majority and minority leaders. That during this period no business shall be transacted, by unanimous consent or otherwise, except the final disposition of the pending deficiency appropriation bill, the agricultural stimulation bill, Senate joint resolution No. 63, and minor matters on the Speaker's table: *Provided*, That the House may consider and act upon any concurrent resolution proposing a recess for a fixed period.

Now, there are two suggestions I want to make to the House. One is that, as nearly as I can learn, it is probable that the Senate will consider and perhaps be able to act upon the deficiency appropriation bill Thursday or Friday of next week, in which event, in case there are amendments made, it ought to be thrown into conference immediately, without waiting until Monday, because the program contemplates a recess of both Houses beginning on the following Tuesday—the next day—and that might not give sufficient time to appoint conferees and agree to a conference report if Monday only were allowed for that purpose. Then, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER] has up this pending matter. If that should fail, it might be necessary for a concurrent resolution to be put through the House for another month in order to deal with that situation.

Mr. LEVER. I think that was understood, I will say to the gentleman, though it was not in the order.

Mr. SHERLEY. I simply feel obligated to call these situations to the attention of the House as they may not have been considered at the time this consent order was entered.

Mr. GILLETT. As I understand, the only inconvenience which could occur to the deficiency bill would be a three days' delay. That might happen or might not.

Mr. SHERLEY. If you did not get that deficiency bill into conference until Monday week, and the recess is to begin Tuesday, it might or might not be possible to bring the Houses into agreement by that time.

Mr. GILLETT. Of course, they would not recess while that was pending. It might delay the recess.

Mr. SHERLEY. I understand; but if the House could meet Friday or Saturday, so as to be able to throw the bill into con-

ference, it would help to shorten the period that Members would be kept here.

Mr. LEVER. Will the gentleman yield for a suggestion?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

Mr. LEVER. What the gentleman states is true as to the situation developing, but let me suggest to the gentleman that if it should happen as he suggests, the conferees might hold informal conferences during that period without having the bill actually in conference. Of course, it would be irregular, but it would probably save the situation.

Mr. SHERLEY. I simply suggest this for the convenience of the House and not necessarily for my own convenience. I shall have to be here for the rest of next week and beyond that time, with perhaps the exception of two or three days. Then it occurred to me that there might be need of a resolution to continue the activities of the Agricultural Department in case the gentleman's bill failed.

Mr. HAUGEN. I trust we may have an agreement, so that there will be no more continuing resolutions. They are unbusinesslike, and we ought not to ask for any more of them for the Agricultural Department. Of course, we ought to pass the bill or dispose of it in some way.

Mr. SHERLEY. Of course, the gentleman will appreciate that as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations I have no control whatever of that. When the House and Senate fail to pass a supply bill, the Committee on Appropriations simply becomes the medium through which funds are voted in order to carry on the activities of a department.

Mr. HAUGEN. But the gentleman knows that bill ought to have been passed before the 1st of July, and it is now nearly the 1st of November.

Mr. SHERLEY. That may be so; but that is a matter over which the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations has no control whatever. But it still remains my duty to call the attention of the House to the need for making provision for the department if the bill should fail.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, let me say that the conferees have reached a complete agreement on this bill that I am proposing to call up now, with the exception of the rent-profiteering act. Of course I can not say what the Senate conferees are going to do with that, or what the House may do with it. My own judgment is that if the House properly insists, the Senate will recede on that and do it very promptly; and the unanimous-consent agreement entered into there would take care of the conference report on this bill.

Mr. SHERLEY. It would not take care of a continuing resolution. It is for the House to determine. I simply bring it to the attention of the House because we may be tying ourselves to a situation that later will prove embarrassing.

Mr. GILLETT. Of course the fact that the House was prevented from passing a joint resolution would be an extra pressure to come to an agreement on this.

Mr. LEVER. That is true. I had that in mind.

Mr. SHERLEY. That may be so, but also the House may find itself in a situation where it can not, without disregarding this order, pass such a resolution.

Mr. LEVER. I appreciate the gentleman's position.

Mr. SHERLEY. I felt that it was proper that I should bring it to the attention of the House. If the House wants to stand by the agreement that it has made, the responsibility is with the House.

AGRICULTURAL STIMULATION.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on H. R. 11945, to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products, and for other purposes," and I ask that the Clerk read the report instead of the statement, because the report is shorter.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the report.

The Clerk read the conference report.

(For conference report and statement, see House proceedings of October 1, 1918, pp. 11011–11013.)

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. LITTLE].

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Speaker, when in the course of parliamentary events it becomes possible, I want to ask consideration by the House of a resolution which I have offered and which I desire to read to-day, merely to make an elementary statement of what it is we are reaching for. I shall not attempt to argue the question to-day nor enter into any discussion of it, but merely to lay the ground for a discussion later if I can get the time. It is a resolution intended to express the views of the Congress of the United States on justice to the Armenian people, and reads as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Armenian people are entitled to be a free and independent nation, with access to the sea and with opportunity to develop all the resources of the region they inhabit and secure all the advantages of that Christian civilization for which they have endured martyrdom for a thousand years, and Republic of Ararat should be given universal recognition as one of the governments of the earth.

Gentlemen of the House, the speech I made last February was with a view to securing some rights for the Armenian people, the only people on earth who have not had any rights for 500 years. For months after that speech was made every mail brought to me some commendation of the plan, and even now every week the United States mail brings me, from some part of this country, similar commendations. The sentiment is widespread through our country that the time has come to do for Armenia what we shall do for Belgium, Servia, Croatia, Bohemia, and the Slovaks. Erivan, their capital, has 30,000 inhabitants. If they had accepted Turkish terms and joined them in 1915 they could have had excellent treatment. But they have fought for our allies for four years.

About 10,000 people in California have signed petitions to this House commending the plan suggested by me, and asking the consideration of Congress for that plan. In view of these facts, I think it is fair to say that I was able to reflect the opinion held somewhere in America quite extensively. At that time I was talking for a supplicating people. I am now talking for a people sword in hand, asking for what they have for themselves partially won by war. Out of the wreck and ruin of the last four years the only nation that has emerged triumphant is the Armenian people. They have lost one-fourth of the 4,000,000 they had in Armenia, but they have fought the Turks to a standstill until the little Republic of Ararat is admitted by the Turks and the Germans and the Russians to be a free and independent republic, with a million inhabitants. They have an army of 30,000 people, and I think the time has come when we must concede that a nation which can fight its own way to partial freedom in such a world cyclone is one worthy of serious consideration from any standpoint.

The territory they occupy is about 100 miles by 150, about one-tenth or one-twelfth of the territory they ought to have. What they seek is independence for all the country they inhabit, so that they may have access to the sea, with the capital wherever it should be.

Long ago they tell us that the ark perched on Ararat. When the first dove flew out with the olive branch the first land visited was the land of Armenia. I hope that when the dove of peace shall light on the earth after all this great struggle, Armenia will not be the only nation entirely forgotten.

The Armenian soldiers from Russia found their way home in large numbers, and have become involved in war under the leadership of Gen. Bagradouni, who was the chief of staff of Kerensky. For months the Armenians held the great oil fields at Baku, on the Caspian. They fought the Tartars and whipped them at Baku. Three thousand English marched from Bagdad across to the Caspian, and the Armenian soldiers beat the Tartars until the Turkish regular army finally got through to them. These men are now in camp at Englesi, in northern Persia, ready again to march into the fight, 10,000 Armenians and 2,500 British.

There are 10,000 of these Armenians in the mountains fighting the Turks; 7,000 from Van fought the Turks for months, and with 40,000 refugees made their way into Persia. All these fighting men will soon be back at the Turks and will surely drive them into Anotolia and unite with the British. Their country has had no government but riot for centuries. The Armenians have won the right to self-government on the battle field, and the sons of Bunker Hill and the Cowpens should say so to a waiting world. Anybody who has been able to fight the Turks to a standstill in that country and to secure independence ought to have the hearty sympathy, commendation, and recognition of a Christian people. The only thing against them is that they are Christians.

I leave this thought to the House, but I will defer extended argument until later. I want the resolution to appear in the RECORD, so that you might see what it is we seek. [Applause.]

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HAUGEN. Under the gentleman's agreement will it be in order to bring in a resolution continuing the appropriations for the Department of Agriculture under the emergency bill?

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks not.

Mr. HAUGEN. I think that should be understood.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is only stating his opinion.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. WILSON].

Mr. WILSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I desire to read briefly from an article appearing in this morning's Washington Post concerning the conduct of two American divisions during the last two days on the western front. It is, in part, as follows:

NEW TROOPS ROUTE FOE—FRENCH PRAISE AMERICANS' WORK UNDER FIRE FOR FIRST TIME—NOT YET FULLY ORGANIZED.

FRENCH GENERAL'S TRIBUTE.

The work of the Americans was thus highly praised by the French Army commander: "On October 4 the Second American Division, having arrived at night in the sector of ——— Army Corps, attacked the fortified crest of Blanc Mont and captured it in a few hours, despite the desperate resistance of the enemy, and in the following days made an extended advance on the slopes to the north for the purpose of consolidating this victory. The ——— American division, a recent formation, as yet incompletely organized, was ordered on the night of October — to relieve under conditions which were particularly delicate and dislodge the enemy from the crests north of St. Etienne-a-Arnes, throw him back on the Aisne. Although under fire for the first time, these young soldiers of Gen. ———, rivaling in combative spirits the old valiant regiment of Gen. ———, accomplished their mission in its entirety. All may be proud of the task accomplished. To all the general commanding the Army corps is happy to address a most cordial expression of his recognition and best wishes for future service. The past is proof of the future.

DIVISIONS THAT WON PRAISE.

[Universal Service.]

WITH THE AMERICAN ARMY, NORTHWEST OF VERDUN, *October 18.*

Two American divisions have been publicly commended by Gen. Maulin, commander of the Twenty-first French Army Corps. They are the Second, which distinguished itself at the Marne, and the Thirty-sixth, made up of Texans. The latter had its baptism of fire in the battle a few days ago. The Second American Division drove a deep salient into the German line east of the mountainous region of the Champagne, and forced a general German retreat.

The Texan division followed up, winning a number of villages, and driving back the Germans near Attigny. The French are deeply impressed, especially by the brilliant showing of the Texan division.

I wish to say in that connection that the credit is given to the Texas division, but it is equally made up of men from Oklahoma. I wish further to suggest that in the fighting of that division is the first time, so far as I am informed, that any full-blooded Indians have been placed against the Boche. There are many full-blooded Indians, some of them Comanches, in that division. Texans are always glad to be associated with Oklahomans, and especially when it comes to fighting across the seas. I wish to call attention to the Second Division, which we all know from its number is one of the Regulars, and in the fighting at Chateau-Thierry was partly composed of the marines. I presume that the marines are still with the Second. I also wish to call attention, which will appear to all from the number, that the Thirty-sixth is a National Guard division. There has been some criticism, some complaint in some parts of the Army respecting the National Guard. Of course we have many Texans in the Rainbow and other divisions that have been in the thick of the fighting, but I was particularly interested in the great reputation made by this Thirty-sixth Division, since they were trained at my home, Fort Worth, Tex., at Camp Bowie.

I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting therein within five days two statements, very brief, which I made and which were published in two Texas papers—the Fort Worth Star-Telegram and Dallas News—concerning my observations while recently in France.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, he does not intend to extend in extenso the newspaper article which he has read, of course?

Mr. WILSON of Texas. No.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN].

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the vile influence of German propaganda which was so manifest in our own land before we entered the war has also been very manifest among neutral countries. Among all the neutral nations Germany not only has its spies, as it had with us, and probably still has, but it has subsidized newspapers, it has maintained its agents at work circulating falsehoods with reference to this country, upholding the cause of Germany, and, above all, endeavoring to persuade them that Germany must in the long run win, and therefore it would be well to cultivate her friendship. Besides this, nearly all the neutral countries have found great profit in the trade with Germany during the war. A considerable portion of this trade, and in many instances the greater portion of it, consisted in selling to Germany provisions or goods that had first been bought from this country. When the imports of this country to neutral countries were restricted in order to prevent this trade, the result was that large numbers of the traders in neutral countries found their profits cut off, which caused ill feeling against this country on their part. Besides this, in nearly all of the countries the restriction of our exports, which became necessary by reason of the necessities of our allies and to prevent neutral countries reexporting provisions and goods to Germany, brought about a serious shortage and scarcity in the neutral countries, whose traders had sold supplies to Germany until there was not enough left to supply the needs of their own countries.

All these things have contributed to a state of public feeling in most of the neutral countries which is favorable to Germany, at least on the part of the majority. It is so in Spain, it is so in Sweden, and probably so in Holland, holding the Dutch ships having been much resented in that country.

There is also a further reason for the attitude of many of the neutral powers. They dread the power of Germany in case the allies should be defeated, and know that Germany would not, if such an event should happen, hesitate to take vengeance upon them for any unfriendly act, and that they would be absolutely within its power. They know that they can expect neither justice nor mercy from Germany, whereas they will receive both from the allies in event of victory. They are therefore trying to play the diplomatic game safe by preserving the friendship of Germany, forgetting that if Germany should conquer it would only be a question of time until they would share the fate of Belgium and Russia.

In one neutral power, however, and that one of the smallest, weakest, and most exposed to attack from Germany, this feeling does not prevail. The sympathies of the people of Denmark, while not openly expressed, are well known to be with the allies. There are two reasons for this. One is that, although Denmark is nominally a monarchy, it is actually one of the freest countries in the world and controlled by its peasant or farmer class. The spirit of liberty runs through their veins, and every instinct tells them what their fate will be in case that Germany triumphs. Besides this, they have not forgotten and can not forget the days when Austria and Prussia made an unprovoked attack on Denmark and took away the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenberg. They know from bitter experience that Germany is the pirate of the nations, that it has no scruples and no conscience, and that it only bides its time to add to its conquests the remaining two-thirds of the little kingdom. They not only sympathize with this country in this war for the world's liberty, but they feel deeply the wrongs inflicted upon their countrymen, who now, under Germany's despotic rule, have been forced into the front ranks of the fighting in a cause which they abhor and for a Government which they hate and despise. They have seen their former citizens forced against their will to come under the yoke of Prussia, subjected to every possible regulation to stamp out their feeling for the country to which they of right belong; but in spite of Prussian laws and regulations thousands of the residents of the conquered territory still use only the Danish language, which, having never given allegiance to Germany, they are entitled to preserve.

Some of the people of this conquered and annexed territory came to America. Still larger numbers from Denmark itself have emigrated to the United States until the Danish have become one of the most prominent groups of what are often spoken of as "foreign-born citizens" or "citizens of foreign descent." As a matter of fact, they are 100 per cent Americans. By temperament, by disposition, by their native ideals they are in accord with the spirit of this country. Denmark is not only free, but highly progressive in every way. There are no illiterates in Denmark, and the ability, energy, and enterprise of its citizens are well known. Indeed, it is a most remarkable country. Its smallness has caused its history to be obscured by that of the great powers of Europe, but the little nation has had many great statesmen, great writers, great poets, and great orators. Surrounded as it is by water, it has developed hardy sailors and had its great admirals, like Peder Tordenskjald and Niels Juel, for the Danish people have always been a nation of courage and spirit, and at one time held Sweden within their dominion. Their courage, spirit, and determination, however, was never better shown than in their fight against the adverse conditions of their soil, climate, and location. Denmark has no supplies of coal or iron and no mineral resources of note. The soil of the country is nowhere rich and a large portion of it very poor. Yet, through the energy, determination, and skill of the Danish people it has become a great agricultural country and is especially noted in the production of butter. A great export demand sprang up for butter made in Denmark by reason of its excellence and the well-known neatness and cleanliness of the Danish people, and Dan-

ish butter makers have served as our instructors in the art of butter makers in this country. The organization and success of the cooperative creameries in my own district are largely owing to them. A considerable portion of the land of Denmark was at one time barren heath. Through the persistence and scientific skill of Enrico Dalgas, sometimes called the "Master of the Heath," and certainly a past master in conservation, a large portion of this waste land has been redeemed and made both productive and profitable. Many of the Danish people who came to my own district settled in a locality where the land had been thought by the Americans to be too hilly for successful farming. Now some of the best farms in the country are found in this same locality and all of it has been made highly productive. Where once was seen only the rolling hills with prairie grass, are now to be found splendid farms, large houses, great barns, and every improvement known to modern residences and modern farms. The same progressive spirit, the same determination, and energy which had been used in redeeming their own country had transformed this region.

We have no better and no more loyal citizens than those of Danish descent. Their whole soul is with us in this war. Indeed, all of them consider it their war and have acted accordingly. They have been foremost not only in subscriptions to liberty bonds but in the support of all war activities, such as the Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., and others. They have a right to be proud of the history of Denmark and its achievements, which naturally they will never forget. Nor will they ever forget that they are now American citizens, and the welfare of this country is uppermost in their minds. Its traditions, its hopes, its future are theirs, and to it they have pledged a whole-hearted and faithful allegiance superior to that of all other ties. [Applause.]

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. OSBORNE].

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Speaker, the subject of the readjustment of industrial and business conditions after the war is one that has attracted the attention of every thoughtful citizen, particularly the employment of our returning soldiers after they shall be finally discharged from military duty, has been given much thought, and it deserves the most sincere and intelligent consideration.

COMMITTEES OR COMMISSIONS.

Bills have been introduced in another branch of Congress providing for the creation of committees or commissions to study the problems involved and to report plans for meeting them.

One of these bills provides for a joint committee of the Senate and House, with a very extended list of subjects to be studied, and another proposes a commission to be appointed by the President for the same purpose, the membership presumably to be outside the Senate and House.

It is not my purpose to discuss the relative merits of these two plans further than to express the opinion that the investigations of a joint committee of Congress are more likely to result in beneficial legal enactments than those of an outside commission. The reason is obvious. It is the duty of Congress to make the enactments after it shall have decided upon their necessity, their practicability, and their wisdom. That condition can not be reached without considerable investigation through its own committee, even though a commission should have made a report of its own researches with recommendations to Congress. Why not make one job of it and have Congress do its own work? It would undoubtedly be done more expeditiously, and would be more likely to result in legislation for the employment of our returned soldiers and sailors, and for the industrial readjustment of the Nation.

It is difficult to recall any substantial result in legislation of any of our investigating commissions. How many read the voluminous reports of the Tariff Commission, the Industrial Relations Commission, of the other Government commissions which largely occupy the bookshelves of Congress, and how often have they ever been the basis for the construction of laws?

The members of these commissions may be and often are able men, and if they had the power it is possible and even probable that they would occasionally enact wise laws; but the law-making power rests somewhere else; that is, with Congress. After convincing themselves as to what ought to be done, the commission must convince Congress; and as they are not in intercourse with the membership of Congress, whose minds are engrossed with important subjects as to which they have informed themselves through their own committees, the matter drops and the net result is a mass of printed volumes very rarely read.

It would seem, therefore, that a joint committee of the two Houses, or separate committees of each House would be more likely to obtain definite and beneficial results.

EMPLOYMENT FOR DISCHARGED SOLDIERS.

I am inclined to the opinion that a too-extended program of investigation is planned. The main thing, or at least the most pressing thing, is that our returning soldiers should be employed in addition to our present working population. At first glance this seems an enormous undertaking, but it must be done. We can not allow any of our brave Army or Navy to suffer for lack of employment. Again, we can not permit those who are at present employed to be thrown out of work. With a proper understanding of the situation, and such a broad preparation as has distinguished our country in its participation in the present war, the United States can take care of its gallant returning veterans and of its loyal working population as well.

We can not do it by buttoning up our pockets as soon as the war is over and saying, "Now that the war is over we are going to shut down on everything and spend no more money." We must treat this reconstructive period as one of the features of the war; as one of the great features that must be handled in the same broad way that we have handled the war itself.

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES SHOULD BE CENTRALIZED.

The probabilities are that the assimilation of our citizen army into civil life will not prove so difficult as many believe.

There is likely to be after the war several years of great industrial and manufacturing activity. If private enterprise is permitted freedom of movement and opportunity to expand, there should be an unprecedented demand for skilled and unskilled labor. Stocks of manufactured goods of all kinds, and of raw materials as well, must be very low in all countries of the world. The rehabilitation of the war-devastated countries of Europe, notably of France and Belgium, will make large demands upon the manufactured materials of the United States. The resumption of building operations in the United States, which have been suspended for most of the time since we entered upon the war, and which are now far behind, will absorb a great number of men.

Still, four or five millions of men are a good many to provide employment for, and the Government should make a virtue of the necessities of the occasion and do some pretty big jobs of work that will employ a great number of men, the completion of which will be of lasting and incalculable advantage to the entire country.

EXAMPLE OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Should there develop such an era of industrial activity in America and throughout the world after the war as I anticipate, the demand for the personal services of men discharged from our Army, unskilled as well as skilled, would be very great, and the dangers of unemployment would not prove as serious as many have anticipated. Fortunately, our country has had some valuable experience along this line. During the great Civil War there was the same anxiety as to the result of the final discharging of soldiers on the field. The most dismal and pessimistic forecasts were indulged in by some, to the effect that the country would not absorb the services of such vast numbers of men; that the men themselves, as a result of years of military life, would have lost their steady habits of industry; that without employment they would form bands of marauders and plunder local communities; and much more of the same extravagant character.

It is to be remembered that the armies of that day comprised as large or even a larger percentage of the entire population as do our armies of the present day. Following the surrender of Gen. Lee at Appomattox, in April, 1865, there were discharged from the Union and Confederate Armies before the close of that year a little less than 2,000,000 men. The entire population of the United States, according to the census of 1860, was about 31,000,000. The United States has now a population of about 110,000,000. To-day it would take an army of 7,000,000 men to equal in percentage of the whole population the army of 2,000,000 in 1865. As a matter of fact, we now have not more than 3,500,000, or about one-half the number in proportion that we had in 1865. At most it is not contemplated to have more than 5,000,000. The difficulty of absorption should be relatively less.

Were the pessimistic anticipations of the sixties realized? To the gratification and even surprise of the patriots of that day they were not in the least. The Government mustered out their regiments with the greatest rapidity possible. The Confederates returned to their homes without much formality. Gens. Grant and Sherman arranged that the cavalrymen and artillerymen should be permitted to take their horses home with them to plant the lands for the season crops. Congress was determined to discharge the Union soldiers with the least possible delay in order to cut down the Army and Navy pay rolls

and expenses of the Government. Not the slightest attempt was made to provide employment for the discharged men. It took nearly all the remainder of the year 1865 to fully muster out the Army, although the greater share of the discharges were effected by the end of September. No soldier thought of such a thing as the Government doing anything for him beyond giving him an honorable discharge, and paying him the $13 per month due him.

The Army melted into civil life without the slightest jar to industrial conditions. The Southern men went to their long-neglected and often battle-torn homes, bravely to enter upon their long struggle for their rehabilitation, under new and trying conditions. The Northern men, on returning home, stepped into their old places which they had left months or years before to offer their lives to their country. There was great expansion and stimulation of business. President Lincoln had, during the war, signed the homestead bill which was open to all American citizens and all who should have formally declared their intention to become such, as well as soldiers, and they thoroughly availed themselves of that great act and splendid instrument for the building up of the great West.

The era of construction of the transcontinental railways commenced. The venturesome and enterprising character of the former soldiers—Northern and Southern—asserted itself by engaging enthusiastically in these pioneer undertakings, and with the result of the creation within the national boundaries of a new and powerful empire. They converted the prairie into cultivated plains; they watered the desert, and planted orchards and vineyards to replace the sage brush and chapparal; the bands of wild buffalo gave place to herds of horses and cattle which ranged upon a thousand hills; they discovered and opened up mines of iron and copper, of zinc and lead, of silver and of gold; they built cities of such beauty and convenience as made them the wonder of the age, with churches, schools, colleges, and universities of high excellence. These discharged soldiers became the leaders, both North and South, in all the essential lines of national progress; in industry, education, and religion; in the learned professions as physicians, as attorneys, as judges upon the bench; as governors of the States, as legislators in the House of Representatives and the Senate; and several attained the exalted distinction of becoming President of the United States.

So far, indeed, from becoming a menace to the welfare of the Nation, the discharge from military service of the soldiers of the Civil War—Union and Confederate—marked the beginning of an era of progress, material and spiritual, to which they were largely, if not the principal, contributors that comprises one of the brightest pages of American history.

LET THE NATION DO ITS DUTY.

Let us not, then, look forward with misgivings to the return to civil life of the soldiers of the great European war. The soldiers of 1861–1865, the Grand Army of the Republic, for a half century kept alive the fires of patriotism in a Nation where great growth of prosperity and wealth threatened the existence of all the noble virtues. The returning veterans of the great European war of 1917 will do the Nation a similar invaluable service during the coming century. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church."

But the Nation should not fail to do its duty to these brave men in no grudging fashion. I do not believe in the Government attempting to provide employment for every man who comes out of the Army. By so doing we would destroy initiative—one of the best and noblest characteristics of our citizenship—a quality that has specially distinguished our Army on the battle fields. It would transform a body of brave and self-reliant soldiers into a mass of weak dependents upon the state. Heaven forbid such a transformation!

TWO KINDS OF MEN TO BE PROVIDED FOR.

The able and far-seeing Secretary of the Interior, and my fellow Californian, Hon. Franklin K. Lane, has devised an admirable plan for providing returning soldiers and sailors who may desire to enter upon agricultural pursuits with an opportunity for so doing. This plan would contemplate the use of millions of acres of land in the great Western and Pacific Coast States, now valueless, but capable of considerable agricultural value by irrigation. Along the Colorado River alone, by the construction of powerful restraining dams above the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, it is estimated that 3,000,000 acres could be brought under intense cultivation. Mr. Lane's plan also includes cut-over lands in the Northwest, the Lake States, and the South. Also swamp lands in the Middle West and South. I shall append to my remarks a letter which I have received from Secretary Lane explaining his interesting and valuable plan more in detail and showing how it can be worked out successfully. Something of this kind should be done so that soldiers who desire to enter agriculture could do so in a way that would enable an industrious man to earn a living and eventually obtain the success of owning his own little farm.

There are many men, however, who have no taste for agricultural work, and they would not make a success of it. They had rather work for wages and use their wages when earned in whatever way may seem best to them. Even though it might be better for them to follow agriculture, if they are indisposed to become farmers or ranchers, there is no help for it, and that is the end of it.

Then we must look out for those who would prefer to work for wages. Can we do that on a sufficiently extensive scale to provide for those who are unable to secure employment in individual or corporate industries and with sufficient return to the public so that the outlay may not be a waste of public funds? I believe that it can be done.

There is nothing that more intimately affects every citizen than transportation and the means of transportation—that embraces transportation of all kinds, whether by railways, steamships, rivers, canals, or by motor trucks on good roads. Our domestic production, industries, and commerce have developed so rapidly that the railways are no longer able to accommodate them. Our mercantile marine, which is now undergoing such a vast expansion, will assist in building up an unprecedented foreign trade after the great war. All this will call for a vast increase in our interior facilities of transportation after the war. By this I mean everything that tends to improve facilities of transportation—deepened rivers, enlarged and improved canals, terminal facilities on rivers, deepened and improved harbors, and last but not least, good roads in all parts of the country. Not all these are proper charges upon the National Government. But I believe that the Government might well enter upon the construction of a very extensive system of good roads throughout the country—confined to trunk lines or those leading to extensive harbors, and exacting from States and local communities the duty of constructing lateral lines.

The improvement of rivers and harbors and the extension of canals should also be prosecuted in an extensive way, and particularly at the time when we are likely to have a plethora of labor largely from the returned armies, combined with a moral obligation to keep that labor employed.

Let us place these two things together and have the one meet the other, viz:

1. The patriotic moral obligation to give employment to all our returned soldiers and sailors who may not find employment with private firms and corporations, and so forth.

2. The necessity of vastly improving and increasing our transportation facilities of all kinds, especially the creation of a national system of good roads.

In addition, let us provide facilities to all who desire to enter agriculture upon such plan as suggested by Secretary Lane.

I believe that these plans are entirely possible and practicable, and that in adopting them the Nation will at once meet its obligation to provide employment to its discharged soldiers and sailors, and at the same time add enormously to the national resources, and particularly to the facilities of transportation.

SECRETARY LANE'S PLAN FOR RETURNING SOLDIERS.

The following letter explains the plan of Hon. Franklin K. Lane for providing farms for returning soldiers and sailors:

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington.

MY DEAR MR. OSBORNE: I believe the time has come when we should give thought to the preparation of plans for providing opportunity for our soldiers returning from the war. Because this department has handled similar problems, I consider it my duty to bring this matter to the attention of yourself and Congress.

Every country has found itself face to face with this situation at the close of a great war. From Rome under Cæsar to France under Napoleon down to our own Civil War the problem arose as to what could be done with the soldiers to be mustered out of military service.

At the close of the Civil War America faced a somewhat similar situation. But fortunately at that time the public domain offered opportunity to the home-returning soldiers. The great part the veterans of that war played in developing the West is one of our epics. The homestead law had been signed by Lincoln in the second year of the war, so that out of our wealth in lands we had farms to offer the million of veterans. It was also the era of transcontinental railway construction. It was likewise the period of rapid, yet broad and full, development of towns and communities and States.

To the great number of returning soldiers land will offer the great and fundamental opportunity. The experience of wars points out the lesson that our service men, because of army life, with its openness and activity, will largely seek out-of-doors vocations and occupations. This fact is accepted by the allied European nations. That is why their programs and policies of relocating and readjustment emphasize the opportunities on the land for the returning soldier. The question, then, is, "What land can be made available for farm homes for our soldiers?"

We do not have the bountiful public domain of the sixties and seventies. In a literal sense, for the use of it on a generous scale for soldier farm homes as in the sixties, "the public domain is gone." The official figures at the end of the fiscal year June 30, 1917, show this: We have unappropriated land in the continental United States to the amount of 230,657,755 acres. It is safe to say that not one-half of this land will ever prove to be cultivable in any sense. So we have no land in any way comparable to that in the public domain when Appomattox came, and men turned westward with army rifle and "roll blanket" to begin life anew.

While we do not have this matchless public domain of '65, we do have millions of acres of undeveloped lands that can be made available for our home-coming soldiers. We have arid lands in the West; cut-over lands in the Northwest, Lake States, and South; and also swamp lands in the Middle West and South, which can be made available through the proper development. Much of this land can be made suitable for farm homes if properly handled. But it will require that each type of land be dealt with in its own particular fashion. The arid land will require water, the cut-over land will require clearing, and the swamp land must be drained. Without any of these aids they remain largely "No man's land." The solution of these problems is no new thing. In the admirable achievement of the Reclamation Service in reclamation and drainage we have abundant proof of what can be done.

Looking toward the construction of additional projects, I am glad to say that plans and investigations have been under way for some time. A survey and study has been in the course of consummation by the Reclamation Service on the Great Colorado Basin. That great project, I believe, will appeal to the new spirit of America. It would seem the conquest of an empire in the Southwest. It is believed that more than 3,000,000 of acres of arid land could be reclaimed by the completion of the upper and lower Colorado Basin projects.

It has been officially estimated that more than 15,000,000 acres of irrigable land now remain in the Government's hands. This is the great remaining storehouse of Government land for reclamation. Under what policy and program millions of these acres could be reclaimed for future farms and homes remains for legislation to determine. The amount of swamp and cut-over lands in the United States that can be made available for farming is extensive. Just how much there is has never been determined with any degree of accuracy. Practically all of it has passed into private ownership. For that reason in considering its use it would be necessary to work out a policy between the private owners and the Government unless the land was purchased. It has been estimated that the total area of swamp and overflowed lands in the United States is between 70,000,000 and 80,000,000 acres. Of this amount, it is stated that about "60,000,000 acres can be reclaimed and made profitable for agriculture." The undeveloped swamp lands lie chiefly in Florida, in the States along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, in the Mississippi Delta, and in Missouri, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and California.

What amount of land in its natural state unfit for farm homes can be made suitable for cultivation by drainage only thorough surveys and studies can develop. We know that authentic figures show that more than 15,000,000 acres have been reclaimed for profitable farming, most of which lies in the Mississippi River Valley.

The amount of cut-over lands in the United States, of course, it is impossible even in approximation to estimate. These lands, however, lie largely in the South Atlantic and Gulf States, the Lake States, and the Northwestern States. A rough estimate of their number is about 200,000,000 acres—that is, of land suitable for agricultural development. Substantially all this cut-over or logged-off land is in private ownership. The failure of this land to be developed is largely due to inaedquate method of approach. Unless a new policy of development is worked out in cooperation between the Federal Government, the States, and the individual owners, a greater part of it will remain unsettled and uncultivated. The undeveloped cut-over lands lie chiefly in the Pacific Northwest (particularly in Washington and Oregon), in the Lake States (Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin), and in the South Atlantic and Gulf coastal States (Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas).

Any plan for the development of land for the returning soldier will come face to face with the fact that a new policy will have to meet the new conditions. The era of free or cheap land in the United States has passed. We must meet the new conditions of developing lands in advance. Security must to a degree displace speculation. Some of the defects in our old system have been described by Dr. Elwood Mead in these words:

"Science [should] have gone hand in hand with the settlement of the arid and semiarid country, and all that science could give would have been utilized, first, in the creation of the conditions of settlement and then in aiding the settler in difficult tasks. Because nothing was done, these heroic but uninformed souls were bedeviled by the winds, cold, drought, and insect pests. They wasted their efforts, lost their hopes and ambitions, and a tragic percentage left, impoverished and embittered. The tragic part of this history is that nearly all this suffering and loss could have been avoided under a carefully thought-out plan of development."

There are certain tendencies which we ought to face frankly in our consideration of a policy for land to the home-coming soldier: First, the drift to farm tenancy. The experience of the world shows without question that the happiest people, the best farms, and the soundest political conditions are found where the farmer owns the home and the farm lands. The growth of tenancy in America shows an increase of 32 per cent for the 20 years between 1890 and 1910. Second, the drift to urban life. In 1880, of the total population of the United States 29.5 per cent of our people resided in cities and 70.5 per cent in the country. At the census of 1910, 46.3 per cent resided in cities and 53.7 per cent remained in the country. It is evident that since the war in Europe there has been a decided increase in the trend toward the city because of industrial conditions. The adoption by the United States of new policies in its land development plans for returning veterans will also contribute to the amelioration of these two dangers to American life.

A plan of land development whereby land is developed in large areas, subdivided into individual farms, then sold to actual, bona fide farmers on a small-payment basis, has been in force not only in the United States under the reclamation act but also in many other countries for several years. It has proved a distinct success. In Denmark, Ireland, New Zealand, and the Australian Commonwealth it has completely changed the land situation. One of the new features of this plan is that holders are aided in improving and cultivating the farm. In a word, there is organized community development. Its beneficial results have been well described by the Canadian commission which was appointed to investigate its results in New Zealand in these words:

"* * * The farmers have built better houses or remodeled their old ones, brought a larger acreage of land under cultivation that would otherwise be lying idle; have bought and kept better live stock; have bought and used more labor-saving machinery on the farms and in the houses. * * * They keep more sheep and pigs and have so largely increased the revenue from their farms that they are able to meet the payments on the mortgages and to adopt a higher standard of living and a better one. Throughout the country a higher and better civilization is gradually being evolved; the young men and women who are growing up are happy and contented to remain at home on the farm and find ample time and opportunity for recreation and entertainment of a kind more wholesome and elevating than can be obtained in the cities."

It may be said that this country, outside of Alaska, has no frontier to-day. Of course, Alaska will still offer opportunity for a pioneer life; and of course Alaska likewise has yet unknown remarkable agricultural possibilities; but unless we make possible the development of this land by the men who desire their life in that field we will lose a great national opportunity.

This is an immediate duty. It will be too late to plan for these things when the war is over. Our thought now should be given to the problem. And I therefore desire to bring to your mind the wisdom of immediately supplying the Interior Department with a sufficient fund with which to make the necessary surveys and studies. We should know by the time the war ends not merely how much arid land can be irrigated, nor how much swamp land reclaimed, nor where the grazing land is and how many cattle it will support, nor how much cut-over land can be cleared, but we should know with definiteness where it is practicable to begin new irrigation projects, what the character of the land is, what the nature of the improvements needed will be, and what the cost will be. We should know also, not in a general way but with particularity, what definite areas of swamp land may be reclaimed, how they can be drained, what the cost of the drainage will be, what crops they will raise. We should have in mind specific areas of grazing lands, with a knowledge of the cattle which are best adapted to them, and the practicability of supporting a family upon them. We should know what it would cost to pull or "blow out" stumps and to put the lands into condition for a farm home.

And all this should be done upon a definite planning basis. We should think as carefully of each one of these projects as George Washington thought of the planning of the city of Washington. We should know what it will cost to buy these lands if they are in private hands. In short, at the conclusion of the war the United States should be able to say to its returned soldiers: "If you wish to go upon a farm, here are a variety of farms of which you may take your pick which the Government has prepared against the time of your returning." I do not mean by this to carry the implication that we should do no other work now than the work of planning. A very small sum of money put into the hands of men of thought, experience, and vision will give us a program which will make us feel entirely confident that we are not to be submerged industrially or otherwise by labor which we will not be able to absorb, or that we would be in a condition where we would show a lack of respect for those who return as heroes, but who will be without means of immediately self-support.

A million or two dollars, if appropriated now, will put this work well under way.

This plan does not contemplate anything like charity to the soldier. He is not to be given a bounty. He is not to be made to feel that he is a dependent. On the contrary, he is to continue in a sense in the service of the Government. Instead of destroying our enemies he is to develop our resources.

The work that is to be done other than the planning should be done by the soldier himself. The dam or the irrigation project should be built by him; the canals, the ditches, the breaking of the land, and the building of the houses should, under proper direction, be his occupation. He should be allowed to make his own home, cared for while he is doing it, and given an interest in the land for which he can pay through a long period of years, perhaps 30 or 40 years. This same policy can be carried out as to the other classes of land. So that the soldier on his return would have an opportunity to make a home for himself, to build a home with money which we would advance and which he would repay, and for the repayment we would have an abundant security. The farms should not be turned over as the prairies were—unbroken, unfenced, without accommodations for men or animals. There should be prepared homes, all of which can be constructed by the men themselves and paid for by them under a system of simple division by which modern methods of finance will be applied to their needs.

As I have indicated, this is not a mere Utopian vision. It is, with slight variations, a policy which other countries are pursuing successfully. The plan is simple. I will undertake to present to the Congress definite projects for the development of this country through the use of the returned soldier by which the United States, lending its credit, may increase its resources and its population and the happiness of its people with a cost to itself of no more than the few hundred thousand dollars that it will take to study this problem through competent men. This work should not be postponed.

Cordially, yours,

FRANKLIN K. LANE.

Hon. HENRY Z. OSBORNE,
House of Representatives.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN].

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, in order that the record may be kept straight, I want to call attention to some of the votes cast by Republican Members upon important war measures. I am willing that every Republican whose record entitles him to it shall receive the credit and benefit of loyal support given to the administration in the time of this terrible war, but I am not willing to have the speech of the Republican gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] go unchallenged——

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the conference report is before the House and discussion of extraneous subjects is not in order. The gentleman from Illi-

nois [Mr. MADDEN] was granted permission through unanimous consent to make the remarks he did. The gentleman from Alabama, of course, could get unanimous consent to reply. I do not think this discussion ought to be thrown in during the consideration of the conference report, which will be disposed of in a few minutes.

Mr. HEFLIN. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], a Republican, has permitted Republicans to discuss other subjects, and I submit that he ought to be willing now that one Democrat should reply to the speeches made by them.

The chairman of the committee in charge of the bill [Mr. LEVER] has yielded me time for the purpose of making a reply to the speech of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN], and I want to call the attention of the country to the record vote of Republicans upon war measures, and if the gentleman doubts the correctness of my statement he can consult the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The Chair knows, but the trouble about that is if the gentleman from Massachusetts makes the point of order it must be held as good.

Mr. HEFLIN. I trust that the gentleman from Massachusetts will permit me to proceed.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, pending the disposition of the point of order, is the gentleman averse to getting 5 or 10 minutes after the disposition of the conference report, or is it of such importance that he feels he must reply to it at this particular time?

Mr. HEFLIN. I wish to reply now. I am sure that from what I have seen that I could not get unanimous consent to reply.

Mr. WALSH. I withdraw the point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman withdraws the point of order.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, I am not willing that the speech of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] shall go unchallenged. The gentleman says that the Republican side has supported and upheld the administration in every way. I challenged that statement while the gentleman was speaking and I challenge it now. I deny the truthfulness of that statement, and I call attention to the facts disclosed by the RECORD. Thirty-two Republican Congressmen voted against the war resolution. A hundred and eleven Republican Congressmen voted against tabling the McLemore resolution. Seventy-six Republican Congressmen voted for the Cooper amendment to the armed neutrality bill, an amendment designed to nullify the measure's entire effectiveness. One hundred and sixty Republican Congressmen voted against the Shipping Board bill, which has given America its great and growing merchant marine——

Mr. WALSH. Well, the gentleman is not reading from the RECORD. He is reading from the Democratic campaign document, and I make the point of order that the gentleman should not be permitted to read without the consent of the House from an extraneous document.

Mr. HEFLIN. I am stating the facts disclosed by the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The point of order is sustained.

Mr. HEFLIN. Then, Mr. Speaker, I will not be permitted to give the truth to the country——

The SPEAKER. The rule is not always invoked, but whenever it is invoked it has to be enforced. It does not permit miscellaneous general debate on a conference report.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, in all fairness I ask the gentleman from Massachusetts to be fair and just and let me give to the country the whole truth about Republican votes on these war measures.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will permit me, I have seen the document from which the gentleman is reading, and if the facts which he is now reading——

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, I call for the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is to vote on this conference report.

Mr. HEFLIN. Well, the gentleman from Massachusetts declines to permit me to proceed——

The question was taken, and the conference report was agreed to.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House further insist on its disagreement to Senate amendment No. 28 and ask for a further conference.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent that the House insist on its disagreement to Senate amendment No. 28 and ask for a further conference.

Mr. ANDERSON. I object, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House further insist on its disagreement to Senate amendment 28 and ask for a further conference.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina moves that the House further insist on its disagreement to Senate amendment 28 and ask for a further conference.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make a preferential motion, to concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. ANDERSON moves to concur in Senate amendment No. 28, with the following amendments:

"(1) On page 14, strike out the proviso beginning with line 24 and ending with line 3 on page 15.

"(2) Strike out all of section 7 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"'SEC. 7. That the rent for real estate within the District of Columbia shall not be in excess of the following rates herein provided for:

"'(a) The rent, whether by the day, week, month, or year, at which such real estate was let on the 30th day of September, 1916, plus 15 per cent of such rent; or

"'(b) If not rented on that date the rent, whether by the day, week, month, or year, at which it was thus last let before that date, plus 15 per cent of such rent; or

"'(c) If such real estate was not rented on or prior to September 30, 1916, or if it has been converted from dwelling, apartment, hotel, or residence uses to business uses since that date, or if it was rented prior to that date upon a term lease of not less than 10 years which expired since the 30th day of September, 1916, then it may be rented for an amount which will allow 7 per cent net on a valuation equal to the assessed valuation of such property for taxation plus 50 per cent thereof. Said rents above prescribed shall be the standard rents for said several classes of property and prima facie shall be reasonable rents therefor. In any case where elevator or other service furnished prior to September 30, 1916, is omitted subsequent to that date reductions proportionate to the value of such service shall be made.

"'In fixing rents of real estate under subsection (c) of this section there shall be taken into account the taxes and assessments thereon, the cost of reasonable repairs and maintenance actually incurred, and of insurance, and of light, heat, water, and elevator, and other service where furnished, as well as a proper allowance for depreciation.

"'In the case of hotels or apartment houses or of rooms or apartments in hotels or apartment houses which were not rented to tenants or to guests on or before September 30, 1916, the rents shall be fixed by the rent administrator at the same prices, as nearly as may be, as were charged in hotels or apartment houses of similar character and location and having similar accommodations on the 30th day of September, 1916, plus 15 per cent of such rent. Apartment houses which have been or may be converted into single rooms or suits, furnish by or for the owner or lessee, and rented for transient occupation, shall be classed as hotels, and shall be subject to all the ordinances, rules, regulations, and laws of the District of Columbia relating to hotels.

"'When real estate is rented furnished, the rent administrator shall authorize a fair and reasonable rental for the furniture in addition to the rental for the real estate, which rental shall not exceed a rate of 30 per cent of the value of the furniture per annum and shall be subject to the approval of the rent administrator.

"'Rents in excess of the rates herein authorized are hereby declared to be against public policy and void, and if accrued or paid after the passage of this act such excess may be recovered by the lessee, his assigns, or legal representatives if action shall be begun therefor within six months after the expiration of his tenure.'

"(3) On page 17, strike out paragraph beginning with line 3 and ending with line 13.

"(4) On pages 19 and 20, strike out all of section 11.

"(5) On page 20, strike out the first paragraph in section 12, beginning with line 11 and ending with line 16.

"(6) On page 21, line 12, strike out the words 'a resident of the District of Columbia and.'

"(7) On page 21, line 21, strike out the words 'including mortgagees.'

"(8) On page 22, strike out the proviso beginning with line 5 down to and including the word 'final' in line 20.

"(9) On page 22, line 22, strike out the words 'board of rent appeals' and insert in lieu thereof 'rent administrator.'

"(10) Strike out section 17 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"'SEC. 17. That any person subject to the provisions of this act, or whenever such person is a corporation, any director or officer thereof or any receiver, trustee, lessee, agent, or person acting for or employed by such corporation, who shall willfully receive rents on real estate in excess of those permitted by the terms of this act, or who shall willfully, by any sale or transfer or by any act or subterfuge, evade or attempt to evade or aid and abet in evading, the provisions of this act shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $5,000 or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both.'"

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. LEVER. How much time would be allowed under the rule on this amendment? Do I have an hour in my own right which I can control?

The SPEAKER. Yes.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, is it possible the gentleman from South Carolina has an hour which he controls on an amendment which was offered, a preferential amendment?

The SPEAKER. Anybody who gets the floor has an hour.

Mr. LEVER. Let me ask the gentleman from Minnesota how much time he desires, to see if we can agree as to time.

Mr. ANDERSON. I imagine I will not want more than 15 or 20 minutes—say 20 minutes.

Mr. LEVER. And the gentleman from Kentucky is interested. How much time would he desire?

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. I can not say, until after I have heard the gentleman from Minnesota, but I suppose I would, in order to be perfectly safe about the matter, like to

have 20 minutes, although I may not use any of it. It depends upon the gentleman's explanation altogether of his amendment.

Mr. LEVER. I think we can save time if we can come to a unanimous-consent agreement. I ask unanimous consent that debate on this amendment be limited to 50 minutes, the gentleman from Minnesota to have 20 and I to have 30.

Mr. RANDALL. Will the gentleman yield me five minutes?

Mr. LEVER. Yes; I will. I will not have any left myself——

Mr. BLANTON. For a preferential matter that may be offered I want five minutes.

Mr. LEVER. I will try to give it to the gentleman.

Mr. RANDALL. Does the gentleman's request involve only time on this amendment or does it involve the time on another amendment which may be offered—a preferential motion?

Mr. LEVER. It involves this amendment.

Mr. RANDALL. It merely involves this?

Mr. LEVER. Yes.

The SPEAKER. Is anybody making any request?

Mr. LEVER. I have already submitted a request, Mr. Speaker, for 50 minutes.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. ANDERSON. I assumed that, having offered this amendment, I was entitled to recognition to argue it. If the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER] is going, after the debate, to permit amendments to be offered, and this thing to go on indefinitely, I am going to insist on what rights I have.

Mr. LEVER. I would say to the gentleman from Minnesota that he has offered a preferential motion, the only motion that can be offered at this time. Unless his motion is voted down there would be no other motion in order. Of course, if the motion is voted down, then there would be other preferential motions, which I could not keep out except by unanimous consent or by moving the previous question. And even that would not keep out the motion. It would only cut off the debate. I ask the Chair to submit the unanimous-consent request that the debate be limited to 50 minutes on this amendment and all amendments thereto, 30 minutes to be controlled by myself and 20 minutes by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON].

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I want to say this about that: Having offered this amendment, it strikes me I am entitled to close the debate and consequently I think I shall object to that sort of an arrangement.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota objects.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman realizes that the gentleman from Minnesota has an hour in his own right?

Mr. LEVER. I submitted that inquiry to the Chair a moment ago, and the Chair held that I controlled one hour on this amendment, rather than the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON].

The SPEAKER. The Chair held that anybody that got the floor on a motion like this had an hour.

Mr. LEVER. I have the right to move the previous question at any time, being in charge of the bill, but I do not desire to do that.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is not passing on that because it has not been asked.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman can not move the previous question while the gentleman from Minnesota has the floor.

Mr. LEVER. The gentleman has not the floor.

Mr. ANDERSON. I was on my feet and asking for recognition and am entitled to the floor.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. I ask for a ruling as to who has the floor; whether it is the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER], or whether the gentleman from Minnesota did not get it when he got the floor to offer his amendment?

Mr. LEVER. The Chair subsequently recognized me.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. There was a demand for the regular order, and therefore the Speaker will have to decide who has the floor.

The SPEAKER. The chairman of the committee has the first hour.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, does not the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON], who was recognized to offer a preferential motion, in offering that motion have the floor for the discussion of that motion?

The SPEAKER. Not to the exclusion of the chairman.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I will say to the gentleman from Minnesota that I am perfectly willing to give him 30 minutes, if that will help, out of my hour.

Mr. ANDERSON. I do not know what the gentlemen are going to say on this proposition. I do not want to make a preliminary statement and then have no opportunity at all to meet any debate that will be made. Why can not the gentleman control one-half the time and I the other half?

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Should not the gentleman from Minnesota explain his amendment and then let it be discussed afterwards?

The SPEAKER. It does not shift from the chairman unless he is upset on the motion for the previous question.

Mr. LEVER. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota 30 minutes, to be disposed of as he sees fit, and will reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The Chair wants to finish that decision. If the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER], who is entitled to make a motion for the previous question, should be defeated on it, the control of the matter swings to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON].

Mr. LEVER. Certainly. That is the established practice here.

The SPEAKER. I remember the first time that was brought to my attention. The Committee on Naval Affairs in the Fifty-third Congress brought in a report relating to something about land at the Naval Observatory, and Mr. CANNON, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and Mr. SHAFROTH, of Colorado, and somebody else, made a vicious fight on it and a successful fight, and upset the Naval Affairs Committee completely and took the charge of the matter away from them. And between two days Amos Cummings, who was a very popular and persuasive kind of a man, went around among his friends and made personal solicitations that they help overthrow Mr. CANNON and Mr. SHAFROTH, and whoever the third man was. And, lo and behold, what happened was that the Committee on Naval Affairs got it back again. Now, once since I have been Speaker the matter has swung backward and forward three times, but the ruling of the Chair has been from time immemorial that the chairman has control.

Mr. LEVER. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] 30 minutes out of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Minnesota is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, the housing and rental conditions in the District of Columbia are appalling. I think it would not be too much to characterize them, in some cases at least, as being horrible. One has only to take a little interest in the situation in this District to become informed of facts which discredit the District as the Capital of the Nation.

Now, I have here a list of more than a hundred places visited by one young lady war worker in the District in search of a room, and at none of them was she able to find a room of any kind at less than $45 a month. She is now living in a little back bedroom off a kitchen, for which she pays $45 a month. Most of these war workers come from very good homes all over the country. They have a desire to perform a real service. Most of them are making a sacrifice, and yet they are asked to live in Washington under conditions that almost equal the conditions in the trenches of Europe. This situation ought not to exist, and these conditions ought not to be permitted to exist. My attention this morning was called to another case, the case of three houses not very far from the Capitol, in which there are housed 100 war workers, and these three little houses yield a monthly rent of more than $2,000. Before the war the three houses could be rented for $225. These are just illustrations, and yet they are more or less typical of conditions that exist all over the District.

Now, the parliamentary situation in which this bill stands is this: The Senate has placed upon the emergency agricultural bill an amendment known as the Pomerene amendment.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. In regard to the conditions which the gentleman has described and with which he is familiar throughout the District, I would like to ask how closely that verges on giving aid and comfort to the enemy and hindrance and discomfort and destruction to our own war machinery?

Mr. ANDERSON. It probably is not possible to say just how close that goes to giving aid and comfort to the enemy; but this is true, that thousands of people who have come to the District desiring to do war work have found it impossible to stay in Washington under the conditions under which they were required to live.

I started to relate what the parliamentary situation was. The Senate has placed on the Agricultural emergency bill an amendment designed to deal with the rental situation in the District, known as the Pomerene amendment. Prior to that the House had passed a bill introduced and sponsored by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON], and to that bill the Senate also adopted an amendment, the so-called Pomerene bill. As I

understand it, on that bill the House and Senate conferees are now in a deadlock, with very little likelihood of an agreement. The only chance, the only practical way, of getting legislation upon this question is through the Senate amendment to the pending bill.

Now, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON], in a speech which he made some time ago, made a number of objections to the Pomerene amendment which in my judgment are valid. It seemed to me that some one ought to try to so amend the Pomerene bill as to put some teeth into it and make it a real antiprofiteering bill. I have tried to do that in the amendment which I have offered.

The first objection to the Pomerene bill is that it fixes the date upon which the basis of the standard rent is determined as the first day of October, 1917. The effect of fixing that date, of course, is this, that all of those who had taken advantage of the war conditions and the great congestion in the District of Columbia to make a new contract at exorbitant rates, effective October 1, 1917, would be confirmed in that contract by the Pomerene bill if it were passed. In order to correct that defect I have fixed as the date for the basis of the Pomerene bill the 30th day of September, 1916, which is the same date fixed by the gentleman from Kentucky in the bill which he offered and which the House passed some time ago.

Another objection to the Pomerene bill was that it exempted entirely from its operations all of those buildings which had been converted from dwelling and residential purposes to business uses. Now, as the gentleman from Kentucky very well suggests, there is no more reason why the people of the District of Columbia should be permitted to profiteer in business property than that they should be permitted to profiteer in residential or dwelling property, and I have offered an amendment which strikes out that proviso and fixes the rent of such property at a rate not in excess of a sum sufficient to yield 7 per cent on the assessed valuation plus 50 per cent.

Another objection to the Pomerene bill urged by the gentleman from Kentucky was directed toward the penalty clause. He urged, and rightly urged, that if the property was rented by a corporation, that corporation could not be sent to jail, and therefore the only penalty which could be visited upon the corporation was the thousand-dollar fine provided in the Pomerene bill. I have undertaken by a new section, 17, to put some teeth into the penalty clause, and I have made the officers and directors and agents of every corporation in the District of Columbia renting real estate and subject to the provisions of this act subject to both fine and imprisonment for its violation.

The rent which was charged under the contract on the 30th day of September, 1916, plus 15 per cent, is the standard rent for all property which was rented on that date and as to property which was not rented on that date, but which was rented previously at an agreed price, the last agreed price plus 15 per cent is the standard rate. The only cases in which that standard rent, as fixed by September 30, 1916, does not apply are, first, those in which the property has been converted from dwelling to business uses since that date; second, those cases where the property has been rented upon a long-term lease which expired subsequent to the 30th day of September, 1916, a class of cases which obviously, it seems to me, ought to constitute an exception, and as to these the 7 per cent provision applies.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. I would like to ask the gentleman there if his amendment in regard to the lease expiring on the 16th day of September is not an error? Should not that be the 30th?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes; it should be the 30th of September and I ask now that the word "sixteenth" which appears in subdivision (c) of my amendment, may be changed to the "30th of September," and wherever it appears.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the change indicated will be made.

There was no objection.

Mr. ANDERSON. Now, the rents which are prescribed in this bill are made the standard rents of the District of Columbia, and any rent in excess or contract which provides for rents in excess of those herein authorized are declared to be void and against public policy.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LEVER. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON] 20 minutes, and reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. In the beginning, Mr. Speaker, I may ask to avail myself of the same privilege that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] has asked—that is, that I be not compelled to use all my time at once, for the very good reason that the gentleman from Minnesota did not take up his amendments one by one and explain them. He made very appropriate comments on the outrageous and distressing conditions that exist in the District of Columbia, which are even far worse than he has put them. I agree with him that there is a crying need for legislation on this subject, but that is not of such recent date. Outrageous profiteering was going on in the District of Columbia in the way of house rents back in December and January. On the 24th of January I introduced a bill to curb it. That bill has gone along until the Members of a body at the other end of the Capitol, in seeking to delay really beneficial legislation upon the subject, now have two sets of conferees upon the same subject. That body, in humoring its conferees in their inaction, are saying to them, in substance, "Stand idly by and do nothing while we try it with another set of conferees." Nobody knows but what they will have another set, or half a dozen sets, of conferees before the matter is disposed of, and I am quite sure it would be to the liking of two or three gentlemen on the committee having jurisdiction of the matter at the other end of the Capitol, who really desire no beneficial legislation. Those men are intelligent, and in their intelligence they know that the measure which they have proposed will not remedy the evil. Knowing that, they persist upon the passage of the Pomerene bill, when, as men of intelligence, they know that it will not bring relief to a single sufferer in the District of Columbia. They know—and I state that deliberately, for they are men of sufficient ability to know what they do—that their measure will not bring relief. They know that when they adopt the plan set out in the Pomerene bill, providing that the landlords shall have "7 per cent net," they thereby limit legalized profiteering only by the blue sky without restricting or hampering in every way the right of the profiteer to impose upon the tenant in the way of overhead charges that which he can not take more directly. The proposition in the Pomerene bill is that the landlord shall have 7 per cent "net," when these gentlemen of ability know that within an hour each and every landlord who desires to profiteer can go down town to the proper official in the District Building and convert his individual ownership of property into corporate ownership. Then he can elect himself president of that corporation, his wife secretary of it, another member of his family manager, and then out of what they have extortionately taken from the tenant they can pay each and every member of that family a big salary. There is no restriction whatever upon overhead charges, and they may take for themselves 7 per cent "net" in addition to the salaries they may allow themselves; so that they can extort God knows what.

The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] in his amendment also adopts that plan. There are other errors in the amendment submitted by the gentleman from Minnesota to which I will refer later, and I wish to compliment him by expressing the opinion that he has not been sufficiently familiar with the situation here, else he would not have offered his amendment. Some gentlemen on the Agricultural Committee who have charge of this bill state frankly that the thousands of complaints which have been made by letter, and thousands more which have been made verbally, have gone to the committee of the House which has jurisdiction of this matter and not to them; that they have not been made acquainted with the tricks of the profiteers in the District of Columbia; and that, therefore, they can not write a bill which will meet those tricks. They also admit that not being sufficiently advised as to the tricks of the profiteers they are not prepared to sit across the table with men who may be prepared upon that subject and work out a bill that will save a war worker from being profiteered upon here in the District of Columbia.

It has appeared in the testimony of two members of the Real Estate Brokers' Association before the Senate committee—and it is in print—that they themselves wrote the bills which were attempted to be made substitutes for the bill that the House adopted. The bill known as the Pomerene amendment is nothing more nor less than a shifting of paragraphs, a change of phraseology of those bills which the Real Estate Brokers' Association say they prepared, except that the Pomerene bill goes further and gives to the landlord more than the representatives of the landlords came to the House and asked. Now, the gentleman from Minnesota in one of his amendments proposes to strike out the provision that the rent administrator provided for in the Pomerene bill shall be a resident of the District of Columbia.

Mr. ANDERSON. I did not hear the gentleman.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. One of your amendments proposes to strike out of the Pomerene bill the provision that the rent administrator shall be a resident of the District of Columbia. But the gentleman leaves in the Pomerene amendment the clause that the Senate shall confirm the nomination made by

the President. I believe that I know sufficiently well the attitude of two or three gentlemen who are really behind what is known as the Pomerene bill to make the statement that when the President sends the nomination to the Senate of the rent administrator and that nomination is referred to the District of Columbia Committee having jurisdiction of it at the other end of the Capitol, that unless the man nominated be a profiteer himself, or in sympathy with the profiteers, the nomination will never see the light of day. That nomination, in my honest opinion, would stay with that committee forever and for eternity, and we would have no rent administrator at all, while the profiteering would go on.

I am not mincing any words, I am justified in saying what I am saying, because these two or three men are men of intelligence, and they know what to do; and, if it had not occurred to them, their attention has been called to the defects of the Pomerene bill over and over again—that a man owning a piece of property here and renting it can extort and profiteer to the full extent of his desire if he only goes down town and incorporate, and that he can do in an hour.

The bill which the House passed imposed an income tax, and the profiteers could not incorporate against that. They could not depend on a fellow profiteer on a jury to return a verdict of not guilty if one should be indicted, nor to hang a jury, as the case no doubt would be.

The gentleman from Minnesota referred to his amendment as putting teeth in this bill. I can not escape the conclusion that whatever teeth are in his amendment are terribly afflicted with pyorrhoea and would come out the first time they were called upon for serviceable use. [Laughter.]

The gentleman from Minnesota spoke about having struck out of the Pomerene bill that clause which permits a piece of property which formerly had been used as a residence to afterwards be converted to business uses and then become the instrument of profiteering. He strikes that out of the Pomerene bill, and then in his amendment, subsection "c" to section 7, he rewrites it. I read from his amendment:

(c) If such real estate was not rented on or prior to September 30, 1916, or if it has been converted from dwelling, apartment, hotel, or residence uses to business uses since that date, or if it was rented prior to that date upon a term lease of not less than 10 years which expired since the 30th day of September, 1916, then it may be rented for an amount which will allow 7 per cent net on a valuation equal to the assessed valuation of such property for taxation plus 50 per cent thereof.

Further down in the third paragraph, subsection "c" of section 7, the gentleman from Minnesota has this language in his proposed amendment

Apartment houses which have been or may be converted into single rooms or suites, furnished by or for the owner and rented for transient occupation shall be classed as hotels and shall be subject to all the ordinances, rules, regulations, and laws of the District of Columbia relating to hotels.

That takes hotels, apartment houses, and rooms out of this bill *entirely*, and puts them under existing hotel laws of the District of Columbia. They no longer would be controlled by this bill if that amendment should be adopted. But that is only one significant part of that language. If the proprietor of the Cairo Apartment House himself had written that paragraph he would, no doubt, have written it just as it is.

I can say without fear of contradiction that the worst profiteer in the District of Columbia is the proprietor of the Cairo Apartment House. His name is Schneider. He has been endeavoring, according to many reports that have come to me, to get everybody out of his apartment house who had apartments there and convert the whole building—about 1,000 rooms, although I will not be accurate about that—into single rooms, or communicating rooms, and then rent them by the day and by the day only. If this language should be adopted he would be permitted to do that very thing.

This week a woman who is working in the War-Risk Insurance Bureau told me that for several years she had had an apartment at the Cairo; that just a day or two before, she had gone to her work in the morning, had locked her room, and that when she returned the door had been cut open with an axe or hatchet, and she found the owner of the apartment house had chucked her furniture out, and had put in furniture of his own, and had a man in her room.

The language just referred to would protect that profiteer, and would convert that apartment house into the biggest profiteering instrument that one could imagine. I asked her why she did not consult a lawyer. She said, "I have consulted a lawyer," and she gave me his name—one of the best lawyers in the District of Columbia. She said the lawyer told her that her landlord was subject to prosecution because of the trespass; that she could institute proceedings against him, oust him from her apartment which she had been holding, under the Saulsbury resolution; and, next, she could sue him for damages. But she said that when she came to investigate she found that she would have to lose so much time away from the department where she was at work to get criminal charges against him and to prosecute the charges afterwards that it would be cheaper for her to leave and go back home.

If that man should get complete possession of that one piece of property under the opportunity afforded by this amendment, what is he going to do with it? I will say flatfootedly, he is going to profiteer with it; and the newspapers tell us the extent to which he is going to profiteer. The newspapers tell us that only two or three days ago this same landlord brought suit against the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GREGG] for $5,000 because Mr. GREGG, under the Saulsbury resolution, has been holding on, since the 1st day of October, to premises which were legally his under the Saulsbury resolution. If this man is to recover what he thinks is right, if he is to recover the amount that he has alleged in his petition to be equitable and right—the amount of $5,000—for the short time for which the gentleman from Texas has held the premises, how many thousands of dollars will the fellow be able to get with these other eight or ten hundred rooms from people who have so held them?

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Yes.

Mr. WINGO. I notice in the so-called Pomerene amendment, section 7, the following provision:

Elevator and other service as furnished on said date shall continue.

I notice in the so-called Anderson amendment the following language:

In any case where elevator or other service furnished prior to September 16, 1916, is omitted subsequent to that date, reductions proportionate to the value of such service shall be made.

I would like to get the gentleman's opinion of this. Under the present law and under the decisions of the courts of the District of Columbia a tenant may not withhold rent even though the landlord may cut off the heat and cut off janitor service. In other words, even though he may cut off everything except the bare room the tenant can not withhold the rent, because there is not any fixed measure of damage which has been determined, and all on earth that he can do is to bring suit to compel the landlord to furnish him with things which the law implies he shall be furnished. If the language in the Pomerene amendment is accepted that does not add to the tenant's present rights at all. It still leaves him with a lawsuit on his hands. Will the Anderson amendment help him any?

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. I do not think the Anderson amendment helps at all. The Pomerene bill seeks to compel the tenant to resort to lawsuits.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Kentucky has expired.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman three minutes more.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I wish I could go more into the features of the bill than I have time to do. Although it is not a pleasant thing to do, yet I do not want to close my remarks without repeating that it is a conclusion from which nobody can escape, that two or three in another body, men having jurisdiction of the rent bill know just as plainly as they can see the sun at noon, that they are purposely and deliberately operating in behalf of the profiteer.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I offer a preferential motion at this time, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, there is an amendment pending, and I suppose it is not in order to offer another amendment.

The SPEAKER. It depends upon what the amendment is.

Mr. LEVER. The gentleman says that it is a preferential motion. I do not see how that could be.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the amendment of the gentleman from California.

The Clerk read as follows:

Motion by Mr. RANDALL: That the House recede from its disagreement to the Senate amendment No. 28, and that the House concur in said amendment.

The SPEAKER. It is a preferential motion over the other at this stage of the proceedings.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON].

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I am heartily in favor of the rent measure of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON], and I favor his position entirely which he takes on that question, but I do not think this bill with war-time prohibition and other important emergency measures in it should be held up any longer on account of the rent proposition alone. This bill passed the House of Representatives May 28 of this year. It passed the Senate on September 6 of this year. It contains

several emergency provisions—war-time emergency provisions. It contains a provision for furnishing seed wheat and beans to the country for planting. Wheat planting time is here and fast approaching for all parts of the United States. It contains, as I said, war-time prohibition, which I deem the most important feature in the bill. If we are going to put it off any longer and let it die here because of this controversy over the rent proposition, I think it will be hurtful to the country. I am heartily in favor of the amendment offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. RANDALL]. I think we could well afford to accept the rent provision contained in this bill as embraced in the Senate amendment, as it will afford some protection at least, and we have none at present. It provides that the rent which shall be permitted to be charged in this District from now on shall be upon the basis of rent charged on October 1, 1917.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Does the gentleman really believe that?

Mr. BLANTON. That is a plain statement in the bill. It says:

That the rent for real estate within the District of Columbia shall not be in excess of the following rates herein provided for:

(a) The rent, whether by the day, week, month, or year, at which real estate was let on October 1, 1917, or (b) if not rented on that date, the rent, whether by the day, week, month, or year, at which it was thus last let before that date, or (c) if real estate was not rented on or prior to October 1, 1917, then it may be rented for an amount equal to 7 per cent net on a valuation equal to the assessed valuation of said property for taxation plus 50 per cent thereof. Said rents above prescribed shall be the standard rents for said several classes of property, and prima facie shall be reasonable rents therefor.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. I call the gentleman's attention to the word "net," leaving the overhead charges, as I said a moment ago, limited only by the size which the landlord wishes to make them.

Mr. BLANTON. But if there were a rent value on October 1, 1917, if a piece of property was rented in the District of Columbia on October 1, 1917, then that is the present charge which it shall be rented at during the continuation of this war. You can not get around that proposition, and with such a rent proposition as that in this bill I for one am willing to accept it in order to let this war-time prohibition go into effect. I think there is a disposition—not on the part of my friend from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON] but I am afraid that there is a disposition on the part of others in this House who are not so favorable to the war-time prohibition—to let this bill die a natural death, with this rent proposition as an excuse.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Does not the gentleman think that there is plenty of time between now and the 4th of March next, which long antedates the 1st of July, when the prohibition amendment goes into effect, to get the prohibition amendment?

Mr. BLANTON. Does the gentleman from Kentucky believe that there is plenty of time between now and the 1st of next March to plant wheat, to raise food for our country and our allies if this war is to continue?

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. What has that got to do with the prohibition question?

Mr. BLANTON. Why, that is one of the emergency features of this bill which we are letting die because of the rent proposition.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent, without the time being taken out of the time on this measure, that the reply of the President to Austria-Hungary in the hands of the Speaker may be read. I understand that the bulletin which the Speaker has has been verified and contains the reply of this Government to the Austro-Hungary Government.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent, the time not to be taken out of this debate, that the bulletin of the United Press, stating the President's reply to the Austro-Hungary proposition for peace, be read. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The matter is as follows:

[Bulletin.]

WASHINGTON, *October 19, 1918.*

President Wilson to-day answered Austria-Hungary's plea for peace with the reply that conditions are so altered since January 8 that he can not accept now their autonomy plan as a basis of peace.

In substance it was a refusal to do any peace business with Austria.

The note, as transmitted from Secretary of State Lansing to the Swedish minister, said:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 7th instant, in which you transmit a communication from the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary to the President. I am now instructed by the President to request you to be good enough through your Government to convey to the Imperial and Royal Government the following reply:

"'The President deems it his duty to say to the Austro-Hungarian Government that he can not entertain the present suggestions of that Government because of certain events of utmost importance which, occurring since the delivery of his address of the 8th of January last, have necessarily altered the attitude and responsibility of the Government of the United States.

"'Among the 14 terms of peace which the President formulated at that time occurred the following:

"'"10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development."

"'Since that sentence was written and uttered to the Congress of the United States the Government of the United States has recognized that a state of belligerency exists between the Czecho-Slovaks and the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires, and that the Czecho-Slovaks' national council is a de facto belligerent government, clothed with proper authority to direct the military and political affairs of the Czecho-Slovaks.

"'It has also recognized in the fullest manner the justice of the nationalistic aspirations of the Jugo-Slavs for freedom.

"'The President is, therefore, no longer at liberty to accept a mere "autonomy" of these peoples as a basis of peace, but is obliged to insist that they, and not he, shall be the judges of what action on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government will satisfy their aspirations and their conception of their rights and destiny as members of the family of nations.'"

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota has 20 minutes.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, may I ask how much time I have?

The SPEAKER. Four minutes.

Mr. LEVER. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] to make a unanimous-consent request.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that it is essentially proper in connection with the message of the President just read to have incorporated in the RECORD at this point the declaration of independence announced from Paris on the 18th of October of the Republic of the Czecho-Slovak nation, and I ask unanimous consent that that declaration of independence be printed in the RECORD to follow the reply of the President.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that the declaration of independence of the Czecho-Slovaks be incorporated in the RECORD immediately to follow the statement by the President. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The matter is as follows:

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAK NATION BY ITS PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

At this grave moment, when the Hohenzollerns are offering peace in order to stop the victorious advance of the allied armies, and to prevent the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and Turkey, and when the Hapsburgs are promising the federalization of the Empire and autonomy to the dissatisfied nationalities committed to their rule, we, the Czecho-Slovak National Council, recognized by the allied and American Governments as the provisional government of the Czecho-Slovak State and nation, in complete accord with the declaration of the Czech deputies made in Prague on January 6, 1918, and realizing that federalization, and, still more, autonomy, mean nothing under a Hapsburg dynasty, do hereby make and declare this our declaration of independence.

FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE.

We do this because of our belief that no people should be forced to live under a sovereignty they do not recognize, and because of our knowledge and firm conviction that our nation can not freely develop in a Hapsburg mock federation, which is only a new form of the denationalizing oppression under which we have suffered for the past 300 years.

We consider freedom to be the first prerequisite for federalization and believe that the free nations of central and eastern Europe may easily federate should they find it necessary.

We make this declaration on the basis of our historic and natural right. We have been an independent State since the seventh century; and, in 1526, as an independent State, consisting of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, we joined with Austria and Hungary in a defensive union against the Turkish danger.

We have never voluntarily surrendered our rights as an independent State in this confederation. The Hapsburgs broke their compact with our nation by illegally transgressing our rights and violating the constitution of our State, which they had pledged themselves to uphold, and we therefore refuse longer to remain a part of Austria-Hungary in any form.

OPPRESSED BY THE MAGYARS.

We claim the right of Bohemia to be reunited with her Slovak brethren of Slovakia, once part of our national State, later torn from our national body, and 50 years ago incorporated in the Hungarian State of the Magyars, who, by their unspeakable violence and ruthless oppression of their subject races, have lost all moral and human right to rule anybody but themselves.

The world knows the history of our struggle against the Hapsburg oppression intensified and systematized by the Austro-Hungarian dualistice compromise of 1867.

This dualism is only a shameless organization of brute force and exploitation of the majority by the minority; it is a political conspiracy of the Germans and Magyars against our own, as well as the other Slav and the Latin nations of the monarchy.

The world knows the justice of our claims, which the Hapsburgs themselves dared not deny. Francis Joseph, in the most solemn manner, repeatedly recognized the sovereign rights of our nation. The Germans and Magyars opposed this recognition, and Austria-Hungary, bowing before the Pan-Germans, became a colony of Germany, and, as her vanguard to the East, provoked the last Balkan conflict as well as the present world war, which was begun by the Hapsburgs alone without the consent of the representatives of the people.

UNSPEAKABLE CRIMES RECALLED.

We can not and will not continue to live under the direct or indirect rule of the violators of Belgium, France, and Serbia, the would-be murderers of Russia and Roumania, the murderers of tens of thousands of civilians and soldiers of our blood, and the accomplices in numberless unspeakable crimes committed in this war against humanity by the two degenerate and irresponsible dynasties.

We will not remain a part of a State which has no justification for existence and which, refusing to accept the fundamental principles of modern world organization, remains only an artificial and immoral polit-

ical structure, hindering every movement toward democratic and social progress. The Hapsburg dynasty, weighed down by a huge inheritance of error and crime, is a perpetual menace to the peace of the world, and we deem it our duty toward humanity and civilization to aid in bringing about its downfall and destruction.

REJECT DIVINE ORIGIN CLAIMS.

We reject the sacreligious assertion that the power of the Hapsburg and Hohenzollern dynasties is of divine origin; we refuse to recognize the divine rights of kings.

Our nation elected the Hapsburgs to the throne of Bohemia of its own free will and by the same right deposes them.

We hereby declare the Hapsburg dynasty unworthy of leading our nation, and deny all of their claims to rule in the Czecho-Slovak land, which we here and now declare shall henceforth be a free and independent people and nation.

We accept and shall adhere to the ideals of modern democracy, as they have been the ideals of our nation for centuries. We accept the American principles as laid down by President Wilson; the principles of liberated mankind—of the actual equality of nations—and of governments deriving all their just power from the consent of the governed.

We, the nation of Comenius, can not but accept these principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, the principles of Lincoln, and of the declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen. For these principles our nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite wars 500 years ago; for these same principles, beside her allies, our nation is shedding its blood to-day in Russia, Italy, and France.

SHALL BE A REPUBLIC.

We shall outline only the main principles of the constitution of the Czecho-Slovak nation; the final decision as to the constitution itself falls to the legally chosen representatives of the liberated and united people.

The Czecho-Slovak State shall be a republic. In constant endeavor for progress it will guarantee complete freedom of conscience, religion and science, literature and art, speech, the press, and the right of assembly and petition.

The church shall be separated from the State. Our democracy shall rest on universal suffrage; women shall be placed on an equal footing with men, politically, socially, and culturally. The rights of the minority shall be safeguarded by proportional representation; national minorities shall enjoy equal rights.

The government shall be parliamentary in form and shall recognize the principles of initiative and referendum. The standing army will be replaced by militia.

The Czecho-Slovak nation will carry out far-reaching social and economic reforms; the large estates will be redeemed for home colonization, patents of nobility will be abolished. Our nation will assume its part of the Austro-Hungarian prewar public debt; the debts for this war we leave to those who incurred them.

DONE WITH SECRET DIPLOMACY.

In its foreign policy the Czecho-Slovak nation will accept its full share of responsibility in the reorganization of eastern Europe. It accepts fully the democratic and social principle of nationality and subscribes to the doctrine that all covenants and treaties shall be entered into openly and frankly without secret diplomacy.

Our constitution shall provide an efficient, rational, and just government, which will exclude all special privileges and prohibit class legislation.

Democracy has defeated theocratic autocracy. Militarism is overcome; democracy is victorious; on the basis of democracy mankind will be reorganized.

The forces of darkness have served the victory of light; the longed-for age of humanity is dawning.

We believe in democracy; we believe in liberty, and liberty evermore.

Given in Paris on the 18th of October, 1918.

PROF. THOMAS G. MASARYK,
Prime Minister and Minister of Finance.
GEN. DR. MILAN R. STEFANIK,
Minister of National Defense.
DR. EDWARD BENES,
Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Interior.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. RANDALL].

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I do not agree with the statements made by my friend from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] that this motion which I have offered ought to be adopted because there is delay to some other provision in the bill by reason of nonaction on profiteering. I offered the motion in order to stop the cut-throat tactics of the landlords in Washington, who for two years have been robbing the people. The gentleman from Kentucky and the gentleman from Minnesota propose in their motions to continue that sort of oppression indefinitely by again sending the bill to conference. Now, I have examined the Johnson bill and the so-called Pomerene bill, and while I am not a lawyer, I should say it would require a microscope to tell the difference between them. The so-called Pomerene bill has twice passed the Senate practically without opposition, and I do not believe the United States Senate is composed entirely of profiteers and rent profiteers. I am in favor of closing this question now by concurring with the Senate for the benefit of the people who are being robbed by the landlords of Washington.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman yields back one minute.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON].

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, the prohibition amendment, as the gentleman from California has just said, is in this same bill. That has been approved by both the House and the Senate, and is no longer an issue anywhere. That prohibition feature is not to become effective until the first day of next July. Its adoption——

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield for a correction?

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. I will.

Mr. BLANTON. There is a provision in the bill which becomes effective May 1 in regard to malt liquor.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. The prohibition amendment, as I was about to say, becomes effective the 1st of next July. It does not make any difference whether the bill which makes it effective the 1st of July passes to-day, to-morrow, next week, or next month, just so it passes before the 1st of July; and everybody in the whole Nation knows that it will become law and be effective the 1st of next July; but everybody does not know that two or three men at the other end of this Capitol have started out to fasten profiteering upon the war workers in the District of Columbia, and have persisted in it; and I do insist to-day that no man has the equitable right, no man has the merciful right to come into this body and say that this bill ought to be passed to-day, imposing wrongs upon the tenant class, in order that somebody may say to the country that the prohibition bill will certainly become effective next July, when everybody between heaven and earth knows it will become effective then. The gentleman from California has just stated that he does not believe a lawyer with a microscope could tell the difference between the bill which the House passed and the Pomerene bill. They are as far apart as the Antipodes. One provides that profiteering shall be stopped by taxing to the extent of 100 per cent of the value of all they take in extortion; and the other provides that it shall be stopped, if at all, by fines which everybody knows will never be imposed; and the fine in a great many instances will not be as much as the extortion taken.

Why not let the responsibility rest where it is, upon the shoulders of those few men at yonder end of the Capitol who are standing between the tenant class and the landlord class? The country knows where this burden is. These two or three men have assumed that grave responsibility, now let them keep it. Everybody knows that this House is on record as having passed a bill which would take from the extortioner all of his extortion; and everybody knows that the other body has come with a substitute which strikes out everything in the House bill after the enacting clause which, on its face, shows that it does not intend to take it all, but only a part; and several times I have cited specific instances. I referred to one piece of property containing 10,500 square feet which was rented to the Government at $10,000 a year, and at the time I first spoke of it I said they were then giving notice to the Government that after the 1st day of July they would charge $3 a square foot, making $31,500 instead of $10,000. If the penalty in the Pomerene bill should become the law, the status of the prohibition bill to the contrary notwithstanding, they would only be compelled to pay $1,000 out of that $21,500 extortion, while if the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] were to become the law then they would be compelled to take only $5,000 out of the $21,500 extortion. Yet we are told that one must use a microscope, and even then can not see the difference between the two.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield right there?

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Kentucky has expired.

Mr. BLANTON. May I ask him a question for one minute?

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I am interested in this matter entirely as a practical legislative problem. Everybody knows that if we are to get any legislation against profiteers of the District of Columbia in time to do any good we have got to get it on this agricultural appropriation bill. Now, if I thought that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] was correct in his assertion that the Pomerene bill fixes the rates absolutely on the basis of the 30th of October, 1917, and that no more than that could be charged, I would be willing to vote for the Pomerene amendment, although I know that the fixing of that date would legalize some profiteering, and very considerable profiteering, that has already occurred.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. ANDERSON. Not right there. But this is the situation: The Pomerene amendment does not fix the rates which were in effect on the 30th of October, 1917, absolutely as the standard rate. There is another provision in the Pomerene amendment the effect of which would permit a review of those rents in every case where the rent on the 30th day of October, 1917, was not sufficient to yield 7 per cent on the assessed valuation plus 50 per cent. Because it would permit that review in every instance, the operation of the law and its effective purpose would be delayed, and the Pomerene amendment have no result whatever.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDERSON. I yield now.

Mr. BLANTON. The provision on page 7, beginning at line 10, provides that immediately after the passage of this bill the President is given authority to make zones around coal mines, munition plants, and so forth.

Mr. ANDERSON. What has that to do with this?

Mr. BLANTON. That is in reply to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON], who said the provision did not come into effect until the 1st of next July.

Mr. ANDERSON. All right.

Now, then, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON] says that my amendment is subject to the same vice. As a matter of fact, it is not. The 7 per cent provision would only apply under my amendment to two cases, those cases in which the property has been converted from apartment, hotel, or residence uses to business uses, and those cases where the property has been leased under a long-term lease which expired subsequent to September 30, 1916. So that the gentleman from Kentucky is in error in that particular.

Now, as I said, I am interested in this proposition from a legislative point of view. The concurring in the Senate amendment with my amendment would not be conclusive at all. The whole matter would have to go into conference. The House conferees could adopt any suggestion made by the gentleman from Kentucky. And the strange thing about all this is that the gentleman from Kentucky comes into the House finding fault with every proposition that has been offered by anybody and making no suggestion at all except one which he knows can not possible be adopted. The result of that is that nobody has contributed more to the profiteers in Washington than the gentleman from Kentucky, because he more than anybody else has helped to delay the passage of legislation against profiteers by his insistence that nothing shall be adopted except the propositions which he has advanced.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDERSON. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. The gentleman from Minnesota undertakes to lay the blame for inaction at my door, while it properly belongs to a few men at the other end of the Capitol, who say that they will not go into conference with me upon so important a measure as this. I would like to ask the gentleman, with that premise laid down, if he would be willing to go home and be a candidate for reelection to Congress and say to his people that if an important piece of legislation came along, and he was compelled to cooperate or to be thrown in contact with somebody whom he disliked, he would not perform a public duty?

Mr. ANDERSON. I have always followed the practice of refraining from advising other people or suggesting to other people what they should do with reference to their own problems, and I must adhere to that rule now. So I can not answer the gentleman's question. But I do want to say that the fact still remains that if we are to have the legislation which is in the emergency agricultural appropriation bill at all, some agreement must be reached upon this Pomerene amendment, and if some agreement is reached on the Pomerene amendment it ought to be an agreement which reflects as clearly as possible the views of the House with respect to this profiteering proposition. Now, I believe that the amendment which I have offered comes nearer to meeting the objections of the gentleman from Kentucky and the objections of other gentlemen of the House than anything that has been offered. I am sure that the Pomerene amendment is better with my amendments than it is without them. I think I could draw a bill which would meet the situation better than the Pomerene amendment does, but we are dealing with the Pomerene amendment as a basis, and we have no other basis on which to deal. And therefore if this House really wants to meet the situation that exists in the District of Columbia it ought to agree to the amendment which I have offered.

I have nothing further to say on the subject.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has one minute.

Mr. LEVER. I desire to say that this bill has been outrageously loaded by the other body, and I am hoping that the Committee on Agriculture shall not be forced to take the jurisdiction of the Committee on the District of Columbia. I hope, therefore, the House will vote down these various motions and let the conferees go back into conference on this rent proposition. I move the previous question.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman moves the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The situation presents a rather unusual case, with three motions dumped on top of each other. The gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER] moves to further insist on amendment 28 and asks for a further conference. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] moves to concur, with an amendment, and the gentleman from California [Mr. RANDALL] makes a flat motion to recede and concur. The question is first on the motion of the gentleman from California, to recede and concur.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr Speaker, I think the Speaker is in error upon that proposition.

The SPEAKER. How could he be in error when it is a preferential motion?

Mr. ANDERSON. It could not be a preferential motion.

The SPEAKER. Of course it is, at this stage of the proceeding.

Mr. ANDERSON. May I ask the Speaker whether the situation is any different in this respect now from what it would be if the question were originally presented?

The SPEAKER. Yes. That is one of the curious kinks in the parliamentary law of this House that I could never find anybody who could explain. When the matter originally was in here the motion of the gentleman from Minnesota would have been preferential over the motion of the gentleman from California; but when it gets back into this stage, with a partial conference report agreed to, then the situation changes, and it makes the motion of the gentleman from California preferential. Now, if anybody wants to work out a puzzle, let him try to find out how that differentiates the game. I have never been able to find out why, but I know it does. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from California [Mr. RANDALL], to recede and concur.

The question was taken, and the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. BLANTON. A division, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas asks for a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 2, noes 25.

So the motion was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The vote recurs on the motion of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] to concur with an amendment.

The question was taken, and the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a division.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks for a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 10, noes 23.

So the motion was rejected.

Mr. LEVER. Just one moment, Mr. Speaker. I desire to call the attention of the House to the fact that the Senate amended the title of this bill by adding the words "and for other purposes." For some reason or other the conferees overlooked that fact, and that amendment is still in disagreement. But I move now, Mr. Speaker, to concur in the Senate amendment amending the title of the bill.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Reserving the right to object, I can not refrain from suggesting that it might be because the title of the original bill was to prevent extortion.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER] moves to recede and concur in the Senate amendment amending the title of the bill.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from South Carolina to further insist on the disagreement of the House to Senate amendment 28, and ask for a further conference.

The question was taken, and the motion was agreed to; and the Speaker announced as the conferees on the part of the House Mr. LEVER, Mr. LEE of Georgia, Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi, Mr. HAUGEN, and Mr. MCLAUGHLIN of Michigan.

RESERVE OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on Senate joint resolution 63.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, before this conference report is called up I would like to ask unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana asks unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. HEFLIN. On what subject?

The SPEAKER. On what subject?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. I want to address the House on what I consider to be an insult to the soldiers of the Civil War, both those who wore the blue and those who wore the gray.

Mr. HEFLIN. Who is the insult offered by?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. It is offered in a publication that has had considerable circulation throughout this country. I do not think the gentleman will object to it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. HEFLIN. Who is the author of this article?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. The author purports to be Dr. Frank Crane.

Mr. HEFLIN. Does the gentleman propose to make a partisan speech of any character?

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. I do not think it is a partisan speech.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. HEFLIN. I shall have to object.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by inserting in the RECORD a letter written by the Minnesota Safety Commission to the Chief of the Bureau of Markets touching the application of United States standards for wheat.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner indicated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Following is the letter referred to:

Copy of a letter to Hon. Charles J. Brand, Chief of Bureau of Markets, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., answering his memoranda to his excellency, Gov. Burnquist, of Minnesota.

ST. PAUL, MINN., *August 20, 1918.*

Hon. CHARLES J. BRAND,
Chief of Bureau of Markets,
United States Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Our attention has been called to certain memoranda addressed by you to his excellency, Gov. Burnquist, purporting to show inaccuracies and misstatements in our letter to you of July 12. We feel constrained to say that many of your statements are inconsistent with the actual facts and figures, and many of your comments upon our letter unwarranted; therefore, with all due respect, we make reply thereto.

You first state that we were not warranted in our statement that the changes in the official grade standards of 1918 from those of 1917 were slight and would not afford substantial relief from the injustices of the 1917 standards. You then submit some figures which are claimed to show that the changes are substantial, and you state: First, that with respect to the single item of the allowance of rye and barley in wheat, 21 per cent of the 1917 crop that was graded No. 2 on arrival would have graded No. 1 under the new standards. You next state that with respect to the single item of the amount of vetch and kinghead allowed, 61 per cent of the 1917 crop containing these seeds which was graded No. 2 on arrival would have graded No. 1 under the new standards. You next state that during the first week of application of the new standards to winter wheat received at Chicago, 66.7 per cent graded No. 1, whereas less than 20 per cent of the 1917 crop graded No. 1 under the 1917 standards. It, of course, follows that, following out the changes in other respects, we would find under each qualification in which change has been made similarly large percentages of wheat grading No. 2 in 1917 that would have graded No. 1 had the standards been the same as 1918. It would appear that you have been generous enough to prove for us our statement that the 1917 standards were unjust and deprived the producer of the difference in price between the grades that he ought to have had and those that he received. You admit that, with respect to the allowance of rye and barley alone, 21 per cent of the 1917 crop that was graded No. 2 and sold for No. 2 price would under 1918 standards have graded No. 1 and sold for 3 cents a bushel more, and that more than 46 per cent of the winter wheat crop received during the first week of application of the 1918 standards at Chicago would have graded No. 2 or less under the 1917 standards. You state that you have not heretofore admitted that the 1917 standards were unjust to the producer. We think you should certainly admit it now.

You next state that the 1918 standards compare very favorably with the old Minnesota standards and that even the 1917 standards worked no injustice over those formerly in use. At the time the Federal standards went into effect, August 1, 1917, the old Minnesota standards were the ones in use; and since you have linked up the old Minnesota standards, the 1917 standards, and the 1918 standards it is fitting that we submit a table showing exactly what these were and comment can then be made more intelligently upon the results of their application. Since we are concerned largely with northern spring wheat we will make the comparison of standards for that class.

Northern spring wheat.

TEST WEIGHT PER BUSHEL (POUNDS).

	Old Minnesota grades.	Federal grades, 1917.	Federal grades, 1918.
No. 1	57	59	58
No. 2	56	57	57
No. 3	54	55	55
No. 4	49	53	53
No. 5	[1]	51	50

PERCENTAGE OF MOISTURE ALLOWED.

No. 1	15	13½	14
No. 2	15	14½	14
No. 3	15	14½	15
No 4	15	15½	16
No. 5	[1]	15½	16

[1] No such grade.

Northern spring wheat—Continued.

PERCENTAGE DURUM, COMMON WHITE, WHITE CLUB, SINGLY OR IN COMBINATION.

	Old Minnesota grades.	Federal grades, 1917.	Federal grades, 1918.
No. 1	4	1	2
No. 2	4	2	5
No. 3	4	3	10
No. 4	4	5	10
No. 5	[1]	5	10

PERCENTAGE RYE AND BARLEY, SINGLY OR IN COMBINATION (PERCENTAGE OF INSEPARABLE CEREAL GRAINS).

No. 1	[2] 3	[2] ½ of 1	[4] 1
No. 2	[2] 4	[3] 1	[4] 2
No. 3	[2] 5	[3] 2	[4] 3
No. 4	[2] 6	[3] 4	[4] 5
No. 5	[1]	[2] 6	[4] 7

PERCENTAGE OF INSEPARABLE FOREIGN MATERIAL OTHER THAN CEREAL GRAIN.

No. 1	1	½ of 1	½ of 1
No. 2	2	½ of 1	1
No. 3	4	1	2
No. 4	[3]	2	3
No. 5	[1]	3	5

TOTAL PERCENTAGE DAMAGED KERNELS.

No. 1	[6] 4	1	2
No. 2	[6] 6	4	4
No. 3	[6] 10	7	7
No. 4	[6] 15	10	10
No. 5	[1]	15	15

PERCENTAGE HEAT-DAMAGED KERNELS ALLOWED IN LAST SPECIFICATIONS.

No. 1	½ of 1	None.	⅒ of 1
No. 2	1	⅒ of 1	½ of 1
No. 3	2	½ of 1	½ of 1
No. 4	3	1	1
No. 5	[1]	3	3

[1] No such grade.
[2] Higher percentage if warranted by quality; did not include other foreign material.
[3] Included other foreign material.
[4] Includes other foreign material.
[5] No limit.
[6] Higher if quality warranted.

Under the Federal standards of both 1917 and 1918 all wheat in grade No. 1 must be bright; there was no such requirement in the old Minnesota grades. Wheat of excellent milling value and possessing all the qualifications of No. 1 should be allowed that grade even if it is not all bright. The importance of this point, when we take into consideration the great amount of rainfall this year during the time wheat remained in shock, will be readily seen. Then, too, farmers throughout the spring-wheat belt have been compelled to leave their wheat in shock much longer than ordinarily on account of the extreme difficulty of getting farm help this year. The requirement that all wheat must be bright in order to get No. 1 grade is unnecessary at this time when the world is asking for bread with little regard to its color or texture.

From the foregoing table it will be seen that it is an indisputable fact that not only all wheat that graded No. 1 northern under the Federal grades of 1917 would have graded No. 1 northern under the Minnesota grades, but that all wheat that graded No. 2 northern in 1917 would have graded No. 1 northern under the Minnesota grades, and that a very large percentage of wheat that graded No. 3 and No. 4 on account of moisture and admixture of durum wheat (the important factor in the spring-wheat belt) would have graded No. 1 northern. It is also apparent that all other wheat which in 1917 graded No. 3, No. 4, and No. 5 under the Federal grades would have graded No. 2, 3, and 4 northern under the Minnesota grades; in other words, all wheat that graded lower than No. 1 northern would have taken at least one grade higher; and in some cases, on account of moisture or other wheats, would have graded two or three grades higher under Minnesota grades. In view of the foregoing comparisons and your own statement, it is clear that our former statement that the farmers of the Northwest lost several million dollars in 1917 on account of Federal grades is absolutely justified. Further, a careful comparison of the old Minnesota grades with the present Federal grades, and particularly taking into consideration admixture of durum wheat, moisture, and brightness, will demonstrate that the producers in the spring-wheat belt will lose millions of dollars this year on account of the stringency of the Federal standards.

You point out that the amount of foreign material permitted to be present before dockage is assessed has been increased from one-half of 1 per cent in 1917 to 1 per cent in 1918; that this is an increase of 100 per cent, and therefore substantial. When figures so low as one-half of 1 per cent are resorted to, we submit that the change is still slight, though there may be an increase of 100 per cent. We speak of a rainfall of a sixteenth of an inch as a slight rainfall. We might compare it with another rainfall of an eighth of an inch; it would be an increase of 100 per cent, but we would still call the latter a slight rainfall. It depends on where you start.

The same is true with respect to the allowance of foreign material other than cereal grain. In grade No. 1 it has been increased from one-fourth of 1 per cent to one-half of 1 per cent; it is true that this is an increase of 100 per cent, but it is still slight and relatively unimportant. The same observations are true as to the allowance of percent-

age of other wheats, which has been increased from 1 per cent to 2 per cent, this applying to durum, common white, and white club, the only classes which are of substantial importance here. The increase of the allowance to 5 per cent of wheats other than durum is of practically no consequence in this market. In the matter of moisture content to which we referred in our former letter, there has been a change in No. 1 from 13½ per cent to 14 per cent, but there has been no change in grade No. 2, and it will be observed that 15 per cent is not allowed until grade 3 is reached. Under the old Minnesota grades 15 per cent of moisture was permitted in all grades. You make the point that if so high a percentage of moisture as 15 per cent is allowed in 1 and 2 the purchaser has to pay for the moisture if this point is tenable, then why does not the farmer who has wheat with as low a percentage as 9 per cent or 10 per cent get a premium? The rule should work both ways. As a matter of fact, wheat containing 15 per cent of moisture has exactly as good milling and bread-producing qualities as wheat with 13½ per cent. Wheat to be properly milled must have 16 per cent of moisture; if it is not there the millers put it there. The allowance of 16 per cent in grades 4 and 5 amounts to practically nothing, as you show by your own figures that the great bulk of spring wheat goes into grades 1 and 2; grade 2 is perhaps the most important, and in that no change has been made. We submit your own comparison as to percentages of the 1917 crop falling into grades 1 and 2 and the lower grades.

Then, too, it is but fair to the producer that if his grain contains an excess of moisture it should nevertheless be graded on all other points, and if the grade is reduced on account of excess moisture the producer as well as the purchaser ought to be advised of it; for this reason it was asked in the resolutions adopted at Helena by representatives of all the great wheat-growing States that the following section be added to the standards:

"Where wheat contains more than 15 per cent of moisture, the inspector shall determine and state the grade which it should receive if it were in condition, following such specification with the words 'excess moisture' and a statement of the percentage of moisture."

This request was ignored, as well as the request that all grades be allowed 15 per cent moisture content.

Adverting again to the injustice of the 1917 grades as compared with the old Minnesota grades, let it be noted that the latter permitted 1 per cent inseparable weed seed, and in addition thereto 3 per cent of other cereal grains. The Federal grades make no such distinction, and in the 1917 grades the one-half of 1 per cent inseparable foreign material included other cereal grains. This has not been remedied in the 1918 grades. It was remedied in the tentative grades sent out as S. and R. A. No. 32, by making the specification as "inseparable foreign material, except rye, 1 per cent." The Helena resolutions asked that to this be added the words "and barley." The request was not only ignored but in the official grades even the qualification "except rye" was omitted, and the total percentage of inseparable foreign material fixed at 1 per cent, of which not more than one-half of 1 per cent can be other than cereal grains.

In the matter of test weight per bushel, it is true that in the northern spring class grade No. 1 is fixed at 58 pounds, which is 1 pound lower than the 1917 grades; but it is still 1 pound higher than the old Minnesota grades. To show further the injustice of the 1917 grades over the old Minnesota grades, let us say that a car of wheat contained 84 per cent of dark, hard vitreous kernels, had a test weight of 58.9 pounds, and possessed all the other qualities in the second column of above table, it would grade neither No. 1 dark northern spring nor No. 1 northern spring on account of falling below in test weight; what is worse, it could not grade even No. 2 dark northern spring because of the failure to have 85 per cent of dark, hard vitreous kernels. Consequently, however choice its milling value, it went into No. 2 northern spring and sold for $2.14 instead of $2.21, and the farmer lost 7 cents per bushel. Under the old Minnesota grades it would have graded No. 1 hard and sold at $2.21. It will be noted, too, that under the old Minnesota grades there was no such class as red spring. The Federal grades made red spring a subclass and it sold at a discount of 2 cents per bushel below the northern whatever its grade. Had the old Minnesota grades been in force all the red spring would have gone into the northern class and the producers would have received 2 cents more per bushel. At the present time this discount is 5 cents per bushel. You make the point that the changes were not made as proposed in the tentative standards sent out as S. and R. A. No. 32, for the reason that the administration now fixes the minimum price instead of the maximum, which allows a competitive market. This is the very reason why the standards should have been more lenient. It is even more important to the producer that his grain gets into the higher grades, if it belongs there, under a competitive market than under fixed prices; competition is more active in the higher grades.

You reiterate your former statement that the Minnesota grades carried only one premium grade over the subclass northern spring. The fact is that all classes of wheat which you claim received a premium under Federal grades would have received a greater premium under the Minnesota grades. For illustration, wheat containing 75 per cent of dark, hard, and vitreous kernels, with test weight of 55 pounds, will now grade No. 3 dark northern, the administration price of which is $2.16½. The same wheat under Minnesota grades would be No. 2 northern and the administration price of which is $2.18½, an increase of 2 cents per bushel. Again, we feel justified in saying that under Federal grades the premium appears to be going to the miller instead of the producer. The Minnesota standards took care of the premium feature by the following provision not found in the Federal standards:

"Hard, flinty wheat of good milling quality and containing no appreciable admixture of soft wheat may be admitted into the grades of No. 2 Northern spring wheat, No. 3 Northern spring and No. 4 Northern spring, provided same is not more than 1 pound less than the minimum test weight required by the existing rules of said grades, and provided further that such wheat is in all other respects qualified for admission into such grades."

As the test weight of No. 2 Northern spring was 56, it will be observed this provision would let into that grade wheat of a test weight of 55, if otherwise qualified. You state that the Food Administration Grain Corporation took into account the specific quality represented by No. 1 Northern of the Federal standards and last year based their price of $2.17 on same. You say that this year the standards have been lowered so that during the first week of their application 46.7 per cent more wheat graded No. 1 at Chicago markets than did so in 1917. If the specific quality has the direct and important effect on the price that you claim it has, it would seem that the administration should have lowered the price in 1918. Instead, the administration raised the price from $2.17 maximum to $2.21½ minimum. The real trouble is that the Federal grades are entirely too technical, unwieldy, and impracticable.

Making a general comparison between the old Minnesota grades and the 1917 Federal, let us take a car of the best Northern spring wheat, having all the qualities mentioned in column 2 of the table, except that it had 14.6 per cent of moisture, it went into No. 4 Northern, thereby reducing the price 10 cents per bushel. Another car of greatly inferior wheat with a test weight of 53 pounds, containing 3½ per cent more of foreign matter, 9 per cent more of damaged kernels, 1 per cent more of heat damaged kernels, 8 per cent more of other wheats (which might include 4 per cent more durum), and containing 15½ per cent moisture, would grade exactly the same and bring the same price. We have seen this shown very graphically by making an actual comparison of the wheat under these two illustrations. It seems almost unbelievable, looking at the two samples, that they could be in the same grade and bring the same price.

We want now to call attention again to what changes were proposed in the tentative grades sent out as S. and R. A. No. 32 on March 5; the changes that were asked for by the producers in the Helena resolutions, and what they got in the 1918 official standards:

Northern spring wheat.

TEST WEIGHT PER BUSHEL (POUNDS).

	Proposed.	Asked.	Got.
No. 1	58	57	58
No. 2	56	55	57
No. 3	53	52	55
No. 4	50	(1)	53
No. 5	(1)	(1)	50

PERCENTAGE OF MOISTURE.

No. 1	15	15	14
No. 2	15	15	14½
No. 3	15	15	15
No. 4	15	(1)	16
No. 5	(1)	(1)	16

PERCENTAGE DURUM, COMMON WHITE, AND WHITE CLUB SINGLY OR IN COMBINATION.

No. 1	4	10	2
No. 2	10	10	5
No. 3	10	10	10
No. 4	10	(1)	10
No. 5	(1)	(1)	10

PERCENTAGE RYE AND BARLEY, SINGLY OR IN COMBINATION.

No. 1	2	3	1
No. 2	3	5	2
No. 3	5	7	3
No. 4	7	(1)	5
No. 5	(1)	(1)	7

PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN MATERIAL OTHER THAN CEREAL GRAIN.

No. 1	1	1	½ of 1
No. 2	2	2	1
No. 3	3	3	2
No. 4	5	(1)	3
No. 5	(1)	(1)	5

TOTAL PERCENTAGE DAMAGED KERNELS.

No. 1	2	4	2
No. 2	5	8	4
No. 3	10	15	7
No. 4	15	(1)	10
No. 5	(1)	(1)	15

PERCENTAGE HEAT DAMAGED KERNELS IN FOREGOING ALLOWANCE.

No. 1	⅛ of 1	¼ of 1	⅛ of 1
No. 2	½ of 1	1	¼ of 1
No. 3	1	2	½ of 1
No. 4	3	(1)	1
No. 5	(1)	(1)	3

[1] Cut out.

It will be observed from this comparison that it was requested that the number of grades be restricted to three, as it was found that five grades made the system too complicated and unwieldy. This seems to have been recognized in the proposed standards which cut out grade No. 5 entirely. In the official standards, however, not only was the request for three grades ignored, but grade No. 5 was retained notwithstanding the apparent intention in the proposed grades to cut it out. Let us see what some of the effects would have been had the proposed standards been adopted instead of a return to substantially the 1917 grades. We confine this to the Northern class, as that is the important one here, taking up the specifications in order.

TEST WEIGHT.

Under proposed standards would grade:
- No. 2 northern.
- No. 3 northern.
- No. 4 northern.

Under official standards now grade:
- No. 3 northern.
- No. 4 northern.
- No. 5 northern.

MOISTURE.

Under proposed standards would grade:
- No. 1 northern.
- No. 2 northern.

Under official standards now grade:
- No. 2 northern.
- No. 3 northern.

ADMIXTURE DURUM, COMMON WHITE AND WHITE CLUB SINGLY OR IN COMBINATION.

Under proposed standards would grade:	Under official standards now grade:
No. 1 northern.	No. 2 northern.
No. 2 northern.	No. 3 northern.

MAXIMUM LIMITS OF RYE.

Under proposed standards would grade:	Under official standards now grade:
No. 1 northern.	No. 2 northern.
No. 2 northern.	No. 3 northern.
No. 3 northern.	No. 4 northern.

FOREIGN MATERIAL.

Under proposed standards would grade:	Under official standards now grade:
No. 1 northern.	No. 2 northern.
No. 2 northern.	No. 3 northern.
No. 3 northern.	No. 4 northern.

PERCENTAGE DAMAGED KERNELS.

Under proposed standards would grade:	Under official standards now grade:
No. 2 northern.	No. 3 northern.
No. 3 northern.	No. 4 northern.

From this it is seen that under practically every qualification the grade will be one less than under the proposed standards. Why the producers have been thus cut down from what they had a right to expect when they put in their wheat does not appear to have been satisfactorily explained.

Very respectfully, yours,

C. H. MARCH.
THOS. E. CASHMAN.

RESERVE OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE—CONFERENCE REPORT (NO. 833).

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call up the conference report on Senate joint resolution 63.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read it.

The Clerk read the conference report, as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT.

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 63) to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House numbered 3, and agreed to the same with an amendment as follows: On page 2, strike out lines 7 to 10, inclusive; and the House agree to the same.

That the House recede from its amendments numbered 1 and 2.

FRANK E. DOREMUS,
ALBEN W. BARKLEY,
JOHN J. ESCH,
Managers on the part of the House.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER,
ROBT. L. OWEN,
CHAS. E. TOWNSEND,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT.

The Senate has receded from its disagreement to the amendment of the House No. 3, which amendment provides the proportion of officers in the various grades of the service existing at the present time shall be maintained. The amendment also provides that officers provided for shall be subject to active duty at all times, and when on such active duty shall receive the same pay and allowances as are now provided by law and regulation for the commissioned medical officers in the regular commissioned Medical Corps.

In concurring in this amendment the Senate concurs with an amendment to strike out lines 7 to 10, inclusive, page 2. These lines were ordered stricken out in the House, but when the joint resolution was enrolled, through error, these lines were permitted to remain. The lines stricken out carry an appropriation of $300,000, which is not now needed on account of former action of the Congress.

The House recedes from its amendments 1 and 2, and the original language of the resolution as passed by the Senate is restored.

FRANK E. DOREMUS,
ALBEN W. BARKLEY,
JOHN J. ESCH,
Managers on the part of the House.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Michigan yield to me to ask a question?

Mr. DOREMUS. Certainly.

Mr. WALSH. As I understand this report from hearing it read, the House has receded from the amendment which it adopted the other day, offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON], confining this measure to the present emergency.

Mr. DOREMUS. That is correct.

Mr. WALSH. And if this conference report is agreed to it will permit the commissioning of these physicians to act during a national emergency for a period not exceeding five years.

Mr. DOREMUS. Yes. Their commissions will expire at the end of five years.

Mr. WALSH. Or such less time—in other words, we accept the original Senate resolution.

Mr. DOREMUS. With House amendment No. 3.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield to me two minutes?

Mr. DOREMUS. I will be glad to.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I am very glad that the House conferees agreed with the Senate conferees to strike out the House amendment which has been referred to. I think there has been quite a considerable amount of misapprehension about this legislation from the time it was taken up the other day. The bill proposes a public health service reserve. It was not, when introduced, intended to apply to this present emergency of influenza or of war, or to any other particular emergency. The intent was to create this reserve that would be available at any time in case of an emergency, a reserve of officers commissioned throughout the country, ready to be called at any time to give their services to the country when needed, but receiving no pay except when called in case of emergency to active duty. As the conferees have now agreed to the bill, it is restored to its original intent, I think a very wise and proper provision of law, under which there will be a reserve of those who are willing to respond at any time to their country's call in case of an epidemic or other emergency, thus forming a nucleus throughout the country around which can gather volunteer forces that will be useful and necessary in case of such emergency.

Mr. SISSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes; if I have the time.

Mr. SISSON. I will see that the gentleman has sufficient time. Has the gentleman considered what authority these officers so appointed would have under the existing law in reference to epidemics within the States, outside of the limits where they endeavor to fix the jurisdiction of the Federal Government in reference to quarantine in case of epidemics?

Mr. MONDELL. Without claiming to have very full and complete knowledge of the authority of the Public Health Service, because I am not an expert on that matter, I assume that when called into active duty they would have the same authority that any other officer of the Public Health Service would have, whatever it may be.

Mr. SISSON. Of course, the authority was not granted in this bill.

Mr. MONDELL. Not at all.

Mr. SISSON. This simply authorizes the commissioning of these officers.

Mr. WALSH. It just enlarges their forces for emergencies.

Mr. SISSON. Now, under the general authority of the Public Health Service of the Federal Government, if one of these officers should go into a State, I presume it is distinctly understood that he would go into the State only to cooperate with the State health authorities.

Mr. MONDELL. These officers would perform whatever duties were assigned to them by the public-health authorities. And let me suggest this to my friend, that these officials in the main, I assume, will be men commissioned throughout the country, not here in Washington.

Mr. SISSON. I know that.

Mr. MONDELL. Men will no doubt be commissioned in the gentleman's own community, following their usual vocations in ordinary times without any reference to the Public Health Service, but when called upon, becoming active officers of the Public Health Service, who would be very useful and very helpful in gathering around them the volunteer forces of the community.

Mr. SISSON. I realize that, but what I fear about the matter is that by the mere appointment of these gentlemen, unless it is thoroughly understood that they shall have no authority in addition to what the present health bureau has, there may be some possible misunderstanding as to what their authority may be within the States.

Mr. MONDELL. It seems to me there can be no question as to that, because the bill does not in any way extend the authority of the Public Health Service or any of its officials. It simply creates an additional force of the Public Health Service, to be called into service only in case of emergency.

Mr. SISSON. I think that is absolutely the proper construction to be placed upon the law, for the creation of these officers of the various grades to be appointed in the event of an emergency.

Mr. MONDELL. No; they are to be appointed at proper and convenient times to serve in an emergency.

Mr. SISSON. But not called into service except in case of an emergency.

Mr. MONDELL. The practice, I assume, to be followed will be to make these appointments from time to time in order to establish this reserve, and of course those appointments would frequently be made in other times than those of emergency, in order to have the force organized.

Mr. SISSON. I understand that. Perhaps the language of my question was unfortunate. What I meant to say was that these men when actually called into service could only perform, in my judgment, the duties that an officer of the health service could perform now—an officer now in existence.

Mr. MONDELL. I assume that the gentleman is eminently right.

Mr. SISSON. Now, there is no limit in this bill, of course, to the number that may be appointed.

Mr. DOREMUS. Yes; there is.

Mr. SISSON. What is the limit?

Mr. DOREMUS. That is taken care of by the amendment.

Mr. ESCH. The proportion is fixed in this pending resolution. It is the same as the existing proportion.

Mr. MONDELL. There is no limit to the number.

Mr. ESCH. The number would be fixed by the Appropriations Committee, I take it.

Mr. SISSON. That is the very thing I am afraid of. Of course, I am not afraid, with the gentleman from Wyoming and myself, as well as the gentleman from Wisconsin, on the committee, that we might be able to hold it down; but it will take very courageous men like we are to hold this thing down. [Laughter.]

Mr. MONDELL. May I suggest to my friend that I know of no reason why there should be any considerable appropriation, if any appropriation at all, ordinarily for this reserve? Because, except in the time of emergency, they will not be called upon, and ordinarily Congress is in session most of the time these days, and the Congress could provide for the emergency by an appropriation. I agree with the gentleman fully that this bill should not be made the excuse or justification for a large appropriation to be used in the event these gentlemen are called into the service.

Mr. SISSON. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. SISSON. I will say that some years ago in my own State, when I was a member of the legislature, we had an appropriation for one of these funds for the purpose of taking care of the yellow-fever epidemic if it should arise. Unfortunately, as long as that appropriation was in existence we had an annual yellow-fever scare. As soon as that appropriation was withdrawn and no $50,000 or $75,000 was placed at the disposal of the health authorities, we had no more yellow-fever epidemics except where they were real and genuine.

That little experience has led me to believe that if you turn our good physicians—and we all have great respect for them—if you turn them loose, frequently they will find reasons sufficient, in their own mind, for calling into existence appropriations; whereas, if there was a limit placed upon it, a limit placed on the number of men that might be appointed, their activities would be very much lessened.

Mr. MONDELL. I doubt if a limitation on the number that might be appointed would have the effect the gentleman has in mind, because a very limited number of men can become very busy in an effort to spend public money, while a larger number of men will not necessarily make any greater demand. But I think we all admit the wisdom of having such a corps as has been suggested, and is now provided for, available in case of an emergency, and, as one member of the Committee on Appropriations, if I should continue in the House and on that committee, I would be glad to join with my friend from Mississippi in the stand that as far as appropriations go there would be very little money appropriated for this reserve. Because, in the first place, the general appropriations of the Health Service could be temporarily drawn upon for the pay of additional officers, and, in addition to that, if Congress continues in session most of the time, as it has in the last few years, Congress is likely to be here when the emergency arises, and can make the necessary appropriation.

Mr. SISSON. Let me say that if you take into consideration the fact that in every county in the United States there is at least one health officer, and in every city and town of any consequence there is a corps of health officers, if you add to that number one in each county commissioned by the Federal Government, in addition to the present Federal appointments, you will have a great number of doctors, not always health officers of the county, perhaps not on the pay roll of the present staff, but ready at any time to be placed on the pay roll. If there should be appointments without pay commissioned all over the United States, one in each county, it would make an enormous number of gentlemen who would have quite a great deal of political influence throughout the country.

Mr. MONDELL. I share the views of the gentleman from Mississippi very largely as to the possibilities of considerable expenditure, but I want to remind the gentleman that he has a health scheme in mind that if carried out would call for appropriations compared with which the largest that this reserve corps might demand would be small. If we were to start out on the plan he proposes of making sanitary surveys of all the rural districts in the country on the basis of about $12,000 to a township, which, I think, has been about the cost up to this time, we would have an annual appropriation bill that would be staggering if we did much along that line.

The SPEAKER. The three minutes of the gentleman from Wyoming have expired. [Laughter.]

Mr. DOREMUS. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON].

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Speaker, the plan I have in mind would not cause any such expenditure of public money because the plan that I have would be an absolute cooperation with the State authorities. All of the expense would not fall on the Federal Government, and in no event could more than 50 per cent fall on the Federal Government. And then we would need only a very limited number of gentlemen who would organize the county, and as soon as organized and proper health regulations adopted that would end the matter as far as that particular county was concerned.

The question of rural sanitation has been gone into quite extensively and would not entail any large pay roll or any large number of gentlemen in the Health Department. It would only require that a man to cooperate with the health authorities, and, by the way, in the bill that passed the Appropriations Committee, the committee provided that only in any event one-half the actual expense should be paid by the Federal Government.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISSON. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Of course, the gentleman is aware that during the present epidemic Congress has made an appropriation of a million dollars. Of course, that does not represent the total expenditure that is being made in order to curb and cure and wipe out this disease. The States are appropriating, and, as I understand it, this reserve will work in connection with the States.

Mr. SISSON. The States are appropriating in this present epidemic. I do not suppose anyone in Congress would have any objection to this corps if we were absolutely sure that they would be called into service when the necessity was great and overshadowing, but I look with some degree of concern upon commissioning men as officers with salaries as high as $5,000 during the time that the epidemic is on. I have great concern about the growth of this department, fixing upon the population in time of no epidemic salaries of these men, the number of which depends absolutely upon the political influence they can wield over Congress. I think it is rather dangerous.

If the bill had in it a cooperating with the State or county authorities, the brake would always be there, because no county would subject itself to any very large taxation, which is a direct taxation, unless there was necessity for its being there, and they then, through their county officials, whether they are called the board of supervisors or the county commissioners, would be themselves subjected to scrutiny in the county itself in which the work is being done. Therefore, there is a safeguard in the rural sanitation that is not in this bill at all.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, did I understand the gentleman to say that somebody might have some political influence over Members of Congress? Did I misunderstand the gentleman?

Mr. SISSON. The gentleman did not misunderstand me, because I take it this is a representative Government, and that if the district that the gentleman represents should be overwhelmingly in favor of some proposition the gentleman would either make up his mind to courageously retire from Congress or he would yield to the demands of his district. He is an entirely different human being from what I am and from what most human beings that I know are if that political influence does not have some effect on his votes here, and that is real representative government. But I do not want people to be able to have their selfish interests involved in a political campaign so that when they are campaigning for the gentleman to get his $7,500 he shall be campaigning to get every man of influence in his county also a $7,500 job.

Mr. DENISON. Speaking for the Members of Congress from the State of Illinois, I think I can say that there is not a great deal of political influence wielded over them. Of course, I can not speak for Mississippi.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman two minutes more.

Mr. SISSON. I want to say that I have made a few speeches up in Illinois. I have talked to a good many people there, and I have found many men who were utterly opposed to woman suffrage who, as soon as the women commenced to vote in Illinois, changed their views, and I never saw such enormous changes of views in my life. I do not believe the gentleman can arrogate to himself and his colleagues a virtue that is not possessed by all of the other people. I think the people of Illinois are like the people in Mississippi. If the gentleman puts his thumb in his vest holes and says that he is not going to be influenced by the wishes of his people back home, then the gentleman puts himself in an attitude where he is willing to say to people here, "I want to tell you that so strong are my convictions that before I yield to political influence from back home I shall go back home and live in private life the rest of my days."

Mr. DENISON. The difficulty is that the gentleman happened to be talking with Democrats while he was in Illinois. If my friend had been talking with Republicans, he would have found them unanimously in favor of woman suffrage.

Mr. SISSON. Well, the Republicans were beginning to be scarce, and I think it would be difficult to get an audience there now that was not an audience of Democrats. I was talking, to be particular, to a reunion of Union veterans up there, all dressed in blue, about two or three thousand of them, and I found a great many of those old Union veterans were voting the Democratic ticket, and no doubt more of them are voting it to-day than did then.

Mr. DENISON. That must have been some time ago.

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON].

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, it was upon my motion that the amendment was adopted by the House to limit the provisions of this bill to the present emergency. I have heard and read all of the arguments available upon this subject, and all of the information I have been able to get confirms the objections which I had to the measure. It is true, as has been pointed out, that this legislation has no reference to the present emergency. It was introduced long before this arose, and, of course, this emergency is being used to rush it through Congress just like much other questionable legislation is being passed under the pressure of war or as an incident of war. The idea of commissioning men with the rank, pay, and allowance as high as colonel throughout the United States, to be called into action and placed upon the pay roll, as the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] says, upon the occasion of an epidemic "or other emergency" is exceedingly questionable to say the least. It is not necessary to impute bad faith to anyone in connection with this legislation, and I do not intend to do so. I say the whole tendency of the legislation is bad, because of the possibilities contained in it. Of course it is said that if an epidemic or other emergency should arise and these fellows were called out and proceeded to mobilize and stirred around for some months, and enormous bills were presented to the Committee on Appropriations for their services no one would be in a position to raise the question of the necessity or the propriety of calling them out, because that has already been vested in the Public Health Service, and the Public Health Service would necessarily be controlled, in its judgment, by the reports which it received from these gentlemen who were waiting to be called out. Let us suppose a local epidemic should break out in some community. There would be a call to arms, I suppose, at least in that State, and there might be in many States. Take the case of a yellow fever epidemic in one of the Southern States. Immediately the news would be flashed all over the country, and it seems to me that you are vesting an exceedingly broad power in an association as irresponsible as the Public Health Service when you authorize them to call out ad libitum physicians in different parts of the United States to cope with that epidemic, without limitation, except the judgment of this Public Health Service.

Personally, I would rather vest this discretion in the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, because they are Cabinet officers responsible to the President of the United States, and my apprehensions may be considered extreme, but to start in the business here with commissioning men in civil life and leaving the question of when they are going on the pay roll and how long they are to stay there, to a great extent to their own apprehensions of an epidemic, it seems to me is very objectionable legislation.

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Speaker, may we have a vote on the conference report?

The question was taken, and the conference report was agreed to.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The gentlemen from Wisconsin makes the point of order that there is no quorum present, and evidently there is not. The gentleman from South Carolina moves that the House adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until Monday, October 21, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GANDY: A bill (H. R. 13106) to establish a national land-settlement commission to provide labor and homes for returning soldiers, sailors, and marines, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. FULLER of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 13107) relative to the pay of regimental sergeant major, battalion sergeants major, and first sergeants, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DENISON: A bill (H. R. 13108) granting a pension to Mary J. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GANDY: A bill (H. R. 13109) for the relief of Clyde M. Giddings; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 13110) granting a pension to Joseph H. Klopp; to the Committee on Pensions.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *October 21, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, by Thy grace we move forward in the path of duty. We face the toil, the danger, the hardships, the sacrifice in Thy name, the name of the humanity that Thou dost love. We pray Thee to equip us for the work that is before us. Give us the spirit of sacrifice and devotion to the great ideals that Thou hast given to us as a Nation. Bring us speedily to victory in Thy name. We ask it in Jesus' name. Amen.

NAMING A PRESIDING OFFICER.

The Secretary (James M. Baker) read the following communication:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D. C., October 21, 1918.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. JOHN HOLLIS BANKHEAD, a Senator from the State of Alabama, to perform the duties of the Chair in my absence.

WILLARD SAULSBURY,
President pro tempore.

Mr. BANKHEAD thereupon took the chair as Presiding Officer.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last was read and approved.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Fletcher	Jones, Wash.	McCumber
Beckham	Frelinghuysen	Kellogg	McKellar
Benet	Gerry	Kendrick	McNary
Brandegee	Gore	King	Martin, Va.
Chamberlain	Guion	Kirby	Myers
Culberson	Hale	Knox	Nelson
Curtis	Harding	La Follette	New
Dillingham	Hitchcock	Lenroot	Overman
Drew	Jones, N. Mex.	Lodge	Page

Penrose	Sheppard	Sutherland	Walsh
Phelan	Smith, Ariz.	Thomas	Warren
Pittman	Smith, Ga.	Townsend	Watson
Poindexter	Smith, Md.	Trammell	Williams
Pomerene	Smoot	Underwood	

Mr. McKELLAR. The senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS] is ill in bed to-day and can not be present. I should like to have this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. CURTIS. I wish to announce the absence of the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. FRANCE] on account of illness.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. My colleague, the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF] is absent owing to illness.

Mr. GERRY. I desire to announce that the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. VARDAMAN] is detained on official business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fifty-five Senators have answered to their names. There is a quorum present.

ESTIMATES OF APPROPRIATION.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Secretary of Labor submitting supplemental estimates of appropriation required by the War Emergency Service and Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, for the fiscal year 1919, in the sum of $1,116,215, etc. (S. Doc. No. 288), which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury transmitting a letter from the Acting Postmaster General, submitting deficiency estimates of appropriation for the Postal Service payable from postal revenues in the sum of $200,957.35 (S. Doc. No. 290), which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Acting Chairman of the United States Shipping Board submitting an additional estimate of appropriation for the construction of ships (S. Doc. No. 291) which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Secretary of War submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation in the sum of $1,650,921.44 required by the War Department for contingent expenses of the war for the fiscal year 1919 (S. Doc. No. 289), which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Secretary of War submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation in the sum of $2,500,000 required by the Ordnance Department of the Army to enable prompt liquidation of claims for damages occasioned by the explosion at the plant of the T. A. Gillespie Loading Co., Morgan, N. J. (S. Doc. No. 292), which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, announced that the House insists upon its amendments to the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 63) to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service; agrees to the conference asked for by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. DOREMUS, Mr. BARKLEY, and Mr. ESCH managers at the conference on the part of the House.

The message also announced that the House agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 63) to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service.

The message further announced that the House agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products."

The message also announced that the House recedes from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate amending the title of the bill (H. R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," and agrees to the same; further insists upon its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 28; requests a further conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. LEVER, Mr. LEE of Georgia, Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi, Mr. HAUGEN, and Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan managers at the conference on the part of the House.

The message further announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 3735) to provide for enlistments in the National Guard of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 4886) providing for the sale of certain lands in the original town site of Port Angeles, Wash., with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (S. 3470) to amend section 35 of the Criminal Code of the United States, and it was thereupon signed by the Presiding Officer.

INCOME-TAX EXEMPTION.

Mr. NELSON presented the memorial of A. C. Andrews, of Minneapolis, Minn., relative to the exemption of charitable contributions from income taxes, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 4523. A bill to transfer the tract of land known as the Lighthouse Reservation, at North Point, Md., from the jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce to the jurisdiction of the War Department (Rept. No. 594); and

S. 4970. A bill to amend the first paragraph of section 302 of the act entitled "An act to extend protection to the civil rights of members of the Military and Naval Establishments of the United States engaged in the present war," approved March 8, 1918 (Rept. No. 595).

Mr. BECKHAM, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which were referred the following bills, reported adversely thereon, and they were postponed indefinitely:

S. 90. A bill for the relief of John H. Kidd;

S. 1925. A bill for the relief of Anna Falls; and

S. 3673. A bill for the relief of Francis J. Mattler.

Mr. FLETCHER, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (S. 4605) to protect the insignia of the Young Men's Christian Association, and for other purposes, reported it with amendments.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED.

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 4997) providing for extra pay for cadet aviators; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 4998) to amend an act entitled "An act to pension the survivors of certain Indian wars from January 1, 1859, to January, 1891, inclusive, and for other purposes," approved March 4, 1917; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 4999) for the relief of Jesse L. Clay; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. TOWNSEND (for Mr. SMITH of Michigan):

A bill (S. 5000) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Capt. Daniel H. Powers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KING:

A bill (S. 5001) to establish in the Department of Labor a Bureau of Citizenship and Americanization, for the Americanization of naturalized citizens, amend section 4 of the act approved June 29, 1906, entitled "An act to establish a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization and to provide a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. POINDEXTER:

A bill (S. 5002) fixing the retired pay of enlisted men; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 5003) authorizing the extension of the Sunnyside Canal of the Yakima basin reclamation system, in the State of Washington, to Kennewick, and making appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Appropriations.

PROHIBITION OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH GERMANY.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I introduce a joint resolution and ask that it be read and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 180) prohibiting peace negotiations with Germany was read the first time by its title, the second time at length, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

Joint resolution (S. J. Res. 180) prohibiting peace negotiations with Germany.

Whereas Congress has the sole and exclusive power to declare war, to make rules concerning captures on land and water, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces, to levy all taxes, to authorize bonds, to make all appropriations for the conduct of the war, and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof; and

Whereas no treaty of peace can be made without the consent and advice of the Senate, with the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senators present: Be it

Resolved, etc., That no officer of the United States shall enter into any discussion with the Government of Germany as to terms of peace; and it is hereby made unlawful for any official of this Government to answer in any way any note, message, or representation from the German Government, or the German people, or from any official representing or purporting to represent them or either of them, on the subject of peace or an armistice between the German Government or the German nation or people and the Governments with which they are now at war, until and before such time as the German armed forces shall have surrendered to the allied nations in the war in which they are now engaged;

That the war against Germany shall be prosecuted by the United States with the utmost vigor and dispatch possible continuously until the armed forces of Germany shall have laid down their arms and surrendered to the commanding general in the field of the allied forces without condition or stipulation;

That German territory shall then be occupied and taken under control by the armed forces of the United States in cooperation with its allies, and that such occupation and control shall be continued until such time as the chosen representatives of the United States and the nations allied with the United States, in a conference appointed for that purpose, shall have formally agreed among themselves upon the specific terms of peace to be imposed by said allies upon Germany, and the practical and concrete application of the same in detail;

That no official of the United States shall agree that any representative of the German Government shall participate in said conference or have a vote therein or be present thereat, except for the purpose of conveying data or information to said conference when called on by the conference therefor.

THE REVENUE.

Mr. SHEPPARD submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 12863) to provide revenue, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. NEW submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

Mr. UNDERWOOD submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

NOTE OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I wish to ask the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK], the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, whether the Austrian peace note of October 8 has been printed in the RECORD.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I notice that the President's reply to it is in the RECORD of the House proceedings.

Mr. FLETCHER. It appears in the RECORD of Saturday.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. On page 11393; and I thought if the note of Austria-Hungary had not been printed it would be well to have that printed in the RECORD also.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I have been informed since the Senator made the interrogatory that the Austrian note was printed in the RECORD upon the request of some Member of the House of Representatives.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. In Saturday's proceedings.

Mr. FLETCHER. In the RECORD of Saturday's proceedings October 19.

Mr. POMERENE. At page 11393.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I observe that the President's reply to the note is printed, but I did not see the Austro-Hungarian note. I thought inasmuch as the President's reply appeared in the RECORD it would be well to have the note to which it is a reply also in the RECORD. I ask if it has not been done that there may be printed both the Austrian note and the President's reply thereto in to-day's proceedings of the Senate.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Printed together.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Yes; that they may be printed together.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The Austro-Hungarian note and the President's reply are as follows:

[Translation.]

LEGATION OF SWEDEN,
Washington, D. C., October 7, 1918.

EXCELLENCY: By order of my Government, I have the honor confidentially to transmit herewith to you the following communication of the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary to the President of the United States of America:

"The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which has waged war always and solely as a defensive war and repeatedly given documentary evidence of its readiness to stop the shedding of blood and to arrive at a just and honorable peace, hereby addresses itself to His Lordship the President of the United States of America and offers to conclude with him and his allies an armistice on every front—on land, at sea, and in the air—and to enter immediately upon negotiations for a peace for which the 14 points in the message of President Wilson to Congress of January 8, 1918, and the four points contained in President Wilson's address of February 12, 1918, should serve as a foundation and in which the viewpoints declared by President Wilson in his address of September 27, 1918, will also be taken into account."

Be pleased to accept, etc.,

W. A. F. EKENGREN.

His Excellency Mr. ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State of the United States, Washington.

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE MINISTER OF SWEDEN.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
October 18, 1918.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 7th instant, in which you transmit a communication of the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary to the President. I am now instructed by the President to request you to be good enough, through your Government, to convey to the Imperial and Royal Government the following reply:

"The President deems it his duty to say to the Austro-Hungarian Government that he can not entertain the present suggestions of that Government because of certain events of utmost importance which, occurring since the delivery of his address of the 8th of January last, have necessarily altered the attitude and responsibility of the Government of the United States. Among the 14 terms of peace which the President formulated at that time occurred the following:

"'X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.'

"Since that sentence was written and uttered to the Congress of the United States the Government of the United States has recognized that a state of belligerency exists between the Czecho-Slovaks and the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires and that the Czecho-Slovak National Council is a de facto belligerent government clothed with proper authority to direct the military and political affairs of the Czecho-Slovaks. It has also recognized in the fullest manner the justice of the nationalistic aspirations of the Jugo-Slavs for freedom.

"The President is, therefore, no longer at liberty to accept the mere 'autonomy' of these peoples as a basis of peace, but is obliged to insist that they, and not he, shall be the judges of what action on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government will satisfy their aspirations and their conception of their rights and destiny as members of the family of nations."

Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

ROBERT LANSING.

LAND AT PORT ANGELES, WASH.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 4886) providing for the sale of certain lands in the original town site of Port Angeles, Wash., which were, on page 1, line 4, to strike out "and" and insert a hyphen; on page 1, lines 5 and 6, to strike out "Washington" and insert "Maine"; on page 1, line 6, after "States," to insert "marine"; on page 1, line 6, after "reserve," to insert "suburban lot or block No. 33"; on page 1, line 7, after "Port Angeles," to insert "State of Washington"; on page 1, lines 7 and 8, to strike out "Northern Pacific Railroad tract" and insert "Seattle, Port Angeles & Western Railway track"; on page 1, line 9, after "a," to insert "reasonable"; on page 1, line 9, to strike out "agreed upon between said company and" and insert "fixed by."

Mr. JONES of Washington. These amendments are of a minor character. They make more certain the description of the land, and so forth. I move that the Senate concur in the amendments made by the House.

The motion was agreed to.

DISTRICT NATIONAL GUARD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 3735) to provide for enlistments in the National Guard of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes, which was, on page 3, line 8, after "fill," to insert: "That at the termination of the

existing war, as determined by the proclamation of the President, the provisions of this act shall become null and void."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

H. R. 13086. An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had approved and signed the following acts:

On October 19, 1918:

S. 4871. An act to authorize the Philadelphia, Harrisburg & Pittsburgh Railroad Co., its lessees, successors, and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Susquehanna River from the city of Harrisburg, Dauphin County, Pa., to the borough of Lemoyne, Cumberland County, Pa.

On October 21, 1918:

S. 933. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent for certain land to school district No. 9, of Sanders County, Mont.; and

S. 3225. An act to reserve as a part of the Oregon National Forest certain lands that were revested in the United States pursuant to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the Oregon & California Railroad Co. against the United States.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. FLETCHER submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 63) to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: On page 2, strike out lines 7 to 10, inclusive; and the House agree to the same.

That the House recede from its amendments numbered 1 and 2.

DUNCAN U. FLETCHER,
ROBT. L. OWEN,
CHAS. E. TOWNSEND,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

FRANK E. DOREMUS,
ALBEN W. BARKLEY,
JOHN J. ESCH,
Managers on the part of the House.

The report was agreed to.

STIMULATION OF AGRICULTURE.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives agreeing to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," and receding from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate to the title of the bill, and agreeing to the same; and further insisting upon its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 28 and requesting a further conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. GORE. I move that the Senate recede from amendment No. 28, being the so-called rent amendment. I wish to say in regard to the request of the House for another conference that I think another conference would be entirely vain and unavailing. I feel certain that the conferees could not agree, and I am not willing to take the responsibility of further delaying final action on the bill. I therefore move this recession in order that the Senate may determine the question itself, and may assume, as it ought to assume, the responsibility of disposing of the question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma moves that the Senate recede from its amendment numbered 28.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I beg the indulgence of the Senate for just a very few minutes. This is the amendment relating to rent profiteering. The bill first had its origin in the House. It came to the Senate. The Senate passed a substitute measure by an almost unanimous vote. The matter was thrown into conference, and because of certain statements which had been made in the House by a member of the committee, the Senate conferees were excused from further work upon the conference report. Later when the pending bill was before the Senate, by I think an almost unanimous vote the rent bill was added as a separate question to the Agricultural deficiency appropriation bill.

Mr. President, I think that any one who is familiar with conditions here in the District must realize the very great necessity for some legislation, and some drastic legislation, upon the subject of rentals here. The District Committee presented what, in its judgment, was the best plan for meeting the situation. There is no such radical difference between the measure as it passed the other House and the measure which passed the Senate as can not be reconciled, if the conferees can get together in the proper spirit and deal with this subject as legislators ought to deal with it.

So far as I am personally concerned, I say to the Senate, and I say to everyone, that it is not a question of pride of opinion with me. What I want is legislation upon this subject which will meet the situation, and my belief was that the conferees upon this bill could take up the two measures as a basis for a conference and, without serious difficulty, come to some agreement. I hope that can yet be done. I do not believe that there has been such an expression of the House as would indicate that the two Houses could not get together.

The action which was taken by the House on Saturday was taken, of course, in harmony with their rules, but by a very small representation of the membership of the House. The RECORD shows that there were three votes taken—one on a motion to concur in the Senate amendment, another on a motion to concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment, and a third to recede. On the first motion the House divided, and the vote was on the motion to concur in the Senate amendment; ayes 2, noes 25. On the second motion, which was a motion to concur, if I recall it properly, in the Senate amendment with an amendment, the ayes were 10 and the noes were 23. On the third, I believe—that is, the motion to recede—the RECORD simply recites the fact that the motion to recede was agreed to, and we are given no light as to the number of Members in the House who participated in the vote.

I want to repeat myself by simply saying to the conferees that I shall be content personally with any report they will agree upon which will meet the situation; I do not care whether it is the Senate amendment or what it is.

I wish that Senators would take the time to read the discussion of this bill on the floor of the other House; I am not going to refer to it myself, for I dislike, above everything, to get into a controversy with some man. I, of course, can not anticipate what action the Senate may take, but I have felt that, if the Senate were to insist upon its amendment, perhaps the conferees could get together and agree upon some report upon this subject.

I realize the very great interest that Senators and Members of the other House have in the remainder of the bill; I have no desire to hold up that legislation for one minute unnecessarily; but, in view of the action taken by the Senate, I have been hoping that the conferees could agree upon some report which would help solve the rent question here in the District.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a minute?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. POMERENE. I do.

Mr. KING. Does not the Senator from Ohio think that, if we accept the motion of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE], it means no legislation during this session upon a subject which is vitally important to the thousands of war workers as well as to other persons who are in the city?

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I am afraid that the Senator from Utah is right.

Mr. KING. And is it not a fact that to-day the profiteering, particularly on the part of those who will not be reached by the Saulsbury resolution, is becoming greater and more of a scandal than ever before?

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I think the Senator is correct in that suggestion also.

Mr. KING. Then, is not the situation such as to call for some legislation, even legislation broader and more comprehen-

sive and more drastic than the legislation suggested by the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. GORE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I will do so if I may first answer the question of the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING]. This situation does need drastic legislation, and if the bill as passed by the Senate has not the necessary teeth in it, they ought to be put in. The conditions here in the District are simply intolerable, and some of the landlords are going from bad to worse all the while.

Now I yield to the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I think the Senate ought to act in the full light of the facts, and I desire to say that I agree with the interpretation placed on the proposed action of the Senate under my motion by the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE]. I think that if the Senate recedes from this amendment it means that there will be no legislation upon this subject at this session of Congress; it probably means that there will be no action upon this subject during the present Congress even at the succeeding session. I think the Senate *ought to* act in the light of that expectation.

I should like to say, however, that in the confidence heretofore held the House conferees took the position that they were not in a situation to consider this amendment or to deal with this subject; that it properly belonged to another committee of the House; and that it ought to go to another committee of the Senate. The Senate conferees answered that argument by saying that the Senate had acted and had committed this question to a conference appointed on behalf of the Senate; that, while there was a District Committee of the Senate, the Senate itself had withdrawn this legislation from that committee and had sent it to the conferees. We were not able, however, to dissuade the House conferees from their persistence in their opposition. The Senate conferees did not feel justified, however, in receding from this amendment; that we refused to do. As the RECORD shows, we brought the amendment back and further insisted upon it in order to give the House itself an opportunity to say whether or not it would justify the position taken by the House conferees. In the present parliamentary situation I do not feel justified in asking another conference. I think I know in advance that it would be entirely unavailing. I want the Senate, however, to act in full light of what will follow the adoption of the motion I have just made.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator yield to me?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Oklahoma yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. GORE. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Does the Senator from Oklahoma believe that it would stop all legislation upon this subject at this session of Congress if his motion should prevail?

Mr. GORE. Well, I think that it will probably stop legislation at this session; yes, sir; because this session will probably adjourn at an early date.

Mr. McKELLAR. If that is true, then ought we not to vote down the Senator's motion?

Mr. GORE. The Senator from Tennessee will appreciate my motive in making the motion. There is other very important legislation involved in this measure—the prohibition amendment. I am not willing to take the responsibility of delaying the final enactment of that particular amendment. I want the Senate to take the responsibility of deciding what shall be done with this legislation. Acting as a servant of the Senate, I do not feel justified in doing that myself.

I might add that, if the Senate refuses to recede, I shall then not ask for a conference; I shall not move to concur in the House request for a conference, but I shall move to adhere to this amendment. If that motion be adopted, it will put it up to the House, where they will have to take the responsibility of either accepting this rent amendment or of entirely defeating this legislation .

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma moves that the Senate recede from amendment numbered 28.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I agree with all that the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] has said and with all of the suggestions implied in the question of the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] with reference to the rent situation in this District. I expressed myself rather emphatically with reference to that condition a few days ago, and I am not going to repeat what I then said. I should like to say that we ought to have some legislation to take care of the situation, but we must recognize what we are confronted with. I heard the debate the other day in the other body in reference to this matter, and I have talked to Members of the House, and I am convinced that it is absolutely useless to send this bill back to conference. I am satisfied that the House conferees will not accept the amendment of the Senate or any modification of it. I am satisfied that they will not consider the rent amendment; and, as has been suggested by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE], they give reasons which are appealing upon general legislative matters.

It is true that this is a matter that has been considered by the District Committees of the House and Senate and that the Agricultural Committees have had nothing to do with it; and so there is very much justification for the attitude that the House conferees take regarding it. I think that they ought, however, try to work out some proposition that will take care of the situation here, but I am satisfied that they will not do so, and that it is really useless to send the bill back to conference.

While it may be that we will not have legislation covering the rent situation, it is also very likely that this entire bill will fail if action is not taken by the Senate. I can not see any justification on my part to kill the entire bill, because I can not get the provision that I think ought to be in the bill with reference to this other matter. Because of this situation, Mr. President, and on account of the importance of getting the other provisions in the bill passed, I feel that I am wholly justified in voting to recede from this amendment, and that I would really not be justified in taking any other action.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I can not agree with the view of the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture that we should recede as to this amendment. Certainly legislation of this character ought to be passed. We are told that, unless we recede, we can expect no legislation. We can at least faithfully try to obtain it; we can at least once more make an effort to induce legislation. We are candidly told that, unless it passes upon this bill, we will have none, and that a condition disreputable in the treatment of those especially needing protection shall continue in this District.

I had brought to my attention a few days ago the case of a landlord who leased an apartment for a reasonable sum. The lessee placed some cheap furniture in the apartment and added about 250 per cent to the rent. Twice the value of the furniture in 12 months' time would be paid for in the rental charge. This condition is outrageous, and it is within the power of Congress to control it. We bring people here to do Government work, and I think it is our duty to see that they have a chance without mistreatment to get places in which they can room.

If the House is not willing to cooperate with us, we can not help it; but at least we can once more ask for a conference and see if some reasonable agreement can not be reached. If it is not, then we shall have done our part. I would be glad to do more than our part if we could obtain results; but we are told frankly that this is the only road to obtain results. We understand perfectly that, unless we obtain legislation in this way, it is almost certain that there will be no legislation. Let us, therefore, once more ask the House for a conference, and let us try to reach a just conclusion. I am not in favor of defeating the remainder of this bill if we can not get through the Pomerene amendment or something along that line. Before the time comes for the remainder of this bill to become operative I am in favor, if necessary, of yielding.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, if the Senator will allow me, there will be no quorum in the House for the consideration of this bill, and the appropriations it contains may therefore fail, although they are necessary to carry out the war emergency agricultural legislation. The House has practically closed the door to any further action on this subject. Therefore, if we do not vote to recede, we may defeat the remainder of the bill.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Well, I do not think so. The remainder of the bill, if necessary, can be taken up the first thing in December and passed. I would rather pass it then than to abandon the provision that is intended to guard, at least to some extent, the right of the people we bring here to work for the Government to have a place in which to sleep.

Mr. SHEPPARD. May I ask the Senator another question?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Is it not a fact that the House passed a bill on this subject of rent profiteering?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The Senator understands the situation with reference to that as well as I do.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Why can not the Senate pass that bill?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. That bill the Senate will not pass. The Senator understands what took place with reference to that matter. I do not desire to go into a discussion of it now, because it carries unpleasant and most offensive features. I would not vote for that bill over the action of the Committee on the District of Columbia of the Senate, and I could not ask them to go into conference on it. I would not do so if I were in

their place, unless the House changed the committee. I hope, Mr. President, that we will try once more to see if something can not be done upon this measure.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I wish to call the attention of the Senate to a statement made by a Member of the House upon this subject on Saturday. I read from pages 11391 and 11392 of the RECORD. Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky, speaking to Mr. ANDERSON, said:

> One of your amendments proposes to strike out of the Pomerene bill the provision that the rent administrator shall be a resident of the District of Columbia. But the gentleman leaves in the Pomerene amendment the clause that the Senate shall confirm the nomination made by the President. I believe that I know sufficiently well the attitude of two or three gentlemen who are really behind what is known as the Pomerene bill to make the statement that when the President sends the nomination to the Senate of the rent administrator and that nomination is referred to the District of Columbia Committee having jurisdiction of it at the other end of the Capitol, that unless the man nominated be a profiteer himself, or in sympathy with the profiteers, the nomination will never see the light of day. That nomination, in my honest opinion, would stay with that committee forever and for eternity, and we would have no rent administrator at all, while the profiteering would go on.
>
> I am not mincing any words, I am justified in saying what I am saying, because these two or three men are men of intelligence, and they know what to do; and, if it had not occurred to them, their attention has been called to the defects of the Pomerene bill over and over again—that a man owning a piece of property here and renting it can extort and profiteer to the full extent of his desire if he only goes down town and incorporate, and that he can do in an hour.

I interpret that statement, Mr. President, as casting a direct reflection upon the integrity of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia. It is a charge, virtually, that unless a profiteer, or some one in the control of the profiteers, should be nominated by the President for the office of rent administrator, he would not be confirmed by this body, because that committee would not make a report upon him.

Mr. President, independently of the merits of this controversy, I do not believe that the Senate can afford, in the face of a statement like that, to recede from its insistence upon this amendment. If it were not for that statement, so made, I might be inclined personally to vote for the motion of the Senator from Oklahoma. But when a Member of the House deliberately charges that the District of Columbia Committee of the Senate is composed of men who are without honor, who are in league with the profiteers of this District, for the Senate to recede from its amendment immediately following such a statement might be construed as an admission to some extent of the opinion expressed by this Member of the House of Representatives.

I for one do not want to do it. I think we should resent that statement. I am pretty well acquainted with every Member of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, and I believe that they are as honorable gentlemen and as conscientiously and thoroughly devoted to the public interest and welfare and as much opposed to the profiteering which the bill proposes to meet as any Member of either House; and, as a consequence, I hope this motion will not at this time be agreed to.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, the importance of passing the measure regulating the rents of buildings in this District has been greatly enhanced by the epidemic which is now prevailing, and which I believe is aggravated very largely by the fact that on account of excessive rents the people are obliged to live and sleep in large numbers in one room, hence facilitating, as it were, the contagion. I therefore am opposed to receding from the amendment. I think it is the duty of the Senate to force action on the subject of profiteering. I can not, however, refrain from observing that the opposition to the profiteering measure is due very largely to the fact that the Sheppard amendment was violently engrafted upon the Agricultural bill, almost in defiance of the rules of the Senate; and if the war-time prohibition measure stood by itself it could have been passed, as I observed at the time, in an orderly manner, if passed at all.

What is the situation with respect to prohibition? The President has power now granted by Congress to act. He has practically prohibited the manufacture of beer. He has thrown zones about the camps. The prohibition measure merely provides for the prevention of the manufacture of wine, beer, and spirits after June 30 next, and at the same time these gentlemen concede that the Federal prohibition amendment will be in force and operation in February of 1920. So by the passage of the war-time prohibition amendment they gain seven months, anticipating the Federal amendment; but during that period of seven months the President has the power so to regulate the traffic, if he sees fit.

It is not an important matter for one or the other side of this question. I submit that the President has the power to regulate these things, and that we should not allow the District of Columbia to suffer from profiteering and from disease and death because certain gentlemen wish to anticipate the Federal amendment by seven months.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, the Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN] has uncovered the real issue presented by the motion of the Senator from Oklahoma, so far as he is concerned. He realizes that if the motion is defeated the war-time prohibition measure may be defeated for this session. I earnestly hope, therefore, that the motion to recede will be agreed to.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I recognize that there must be some kind of legislation against profiteering in the District of Columbia. I can not say what is the best way to arrive at it, but it ought to be reached at the earliest date possible, and when we are reaching that subject I think there are some amendments to the existing law that ought to be attended to at the same time.

A lady called to see me the other day and cited a case under the existing law that seems to me to be almost an outrage. Last spring she and her family desired to lease her home here in the District for a period of six months. The lease expired on the 1st day of September of this year. She leased it to an employee of the Government for that time. She has two sons in the service of the Government. Her only daughter is here in the District working in one of the departments; but because the title is in her name, and because she is not directly employed by the Government of the United States, notwithstanding the fact that every child she has is so employed, this employee of the Government refuses to give up her home, and to-day she and her daughter are sleeping in the hallway of one of the apartment houses of the District of Columbia—not in a room, but they are given cots in the hallway!

I referred her to an attorney in the District. She went to the attorney, presented her case to him, and he said that nothing could be done for her. She has lived in the District here I suppose for more than 20 years. Her home has been in her name ever since it was a home, and last night she told me she would be compelled to leave the District of Columbia and go somewhere else and get a home, and in doing so she would be compelled to take her daughter out of one of the departments here, though they in turn want her services. Why? Because she gave a lease to an employee of the Government six months ago, and when the lease ran out the lessee positively refused to turn over the house to her.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. SMOOT. I do.

Mr. FLETCHER. That is an instance of the beautiful operation of the Saulsbury resolution.

Mr. SMOOT. That is exactly the operation of the Saulsbury resolution as it is being put in force in the District of Columbia to-day.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator let me cite here the case of an old lady 90 years old, the daughter of Admiral Wilkes, who rented her home, where she had been living for years, to an Army officer, a colonel, to the 1st of September, and he will not let the old lady have possession so she can die in her own home. Under the Saulsbury resolution she can not put him out.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. SMOOT. Certainly.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I wish to say, in connection with this matter, that I received not long ago a most touching statement of a case somewhat like the one which the Senator from Utah has just so graphically described, where an employee of the Navy Department had kept possession of premises that were rented for a certain time, when the woman who owned the premises and her daughter did not want them to rerent but wanted them to reoccupy. I took the liberty of sending a statement of the case to the Secretary of the Navy and requested that that man be court-martialed for conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman. Now, whether he could have done what he did under the law I do not know, but I do know that if he did what they said he did, in which he had acted very rudely toward these ladies in addition to keeping their house, he ought to be court-martialed.

Mr. SMOOT. I have not any doubt but that there are hundreds of such cases; and let me tell you, further, what this poor woman offered to do with this Government employee. She said, "I have only my daughter here. I have no particular use for the whole of this house. Let me take the other part of the house, and I will live in it and let you occupy all the balance of the house." The answer was, "I do not want you anywhere around here.

Now, get out. You can not have your house, because I am an employee of the Government."

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator from Utah allow me to interrupt him?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Vermont?

Mr. SMOOT. I do.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I am very much surprised at the statement of the case that the Senator is making. I hold in my hand a copy of the Pomerene resolution, which suspends the right of action against tenants in certain cases. It reads:

No judicial order, decree, or judgment for the recovery of possession of any real estate in the District of Columbia, now or hereafter held or acquired by oral or written agreement of lease for one month or any longer period, or for the ejectment or dispossession of a tenant therefrom, shall be made, and all leases thereof shall continue so long as the tenant continues to pay rent at the agreed rate and performs the other conditions of the tenancy which are not inconsistent herewith, unless the tenant has committed waste, or has been guilty on the premises of conduct which constitutes a nuisance or a breach of the peace, or other misdemeanor or crime, or that the premises are necessarily required by a landlord or bona fide purchaser for occupation either by himself or his wife, children, or dependents.

That seems to answer that case.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is the proposed Pomerene law. We are acting under the Saulsbury law.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is the joint resolution that was passed both by the House and by the Senate. It was taken out of the Pomerene bill and introduced here by the President pro tempore of the Senate and passed; and that is what controls the action of the courts to-day.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, if the Senator from Utah will pardon me, I have my doubts as to whether the lawyer who advised the lady advised her correctly, because under the Saulsbury law—the Senator from Vermont was reading the proposed Pomerene law——

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I inadvertently called it the Pomerene resolution. It was a section taken from the Pomerene bill——

Mr. WILLIAMS. That has not yet become a law.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. But was introduced by the Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY].

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, was the Senator referring to the Saulsbury law?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes; I was referring to the Saulsbury law.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I was about to say that my recollection was that the Saulsbury law provided for cases where the landlord wanted the premises for his own occupancy.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. For his own use, or for his wife or his children, or if he wanted them for a bona fide purchaser.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have my doubts of the accuracy of the legal advice given to this lady; but I took up this matter with the Secretary of the Navy independently of that.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, in the case that I recited the title of the property is in the woman, not in her husband. She holds the title to the property. I want to say, however, that she had been to two or three other attorneys in the District of Columbia, and she told me that they told her that under the law she could not compel the tenant to leave, so I suggested that she go to former Senator George Sutherland. She did go to him, and Senator Sutherland told her that under the law she had no redress, and the tenant had power under the law to keep the premises.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Sutherland is a mighty good lawyer.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. But there is the plain joint resolution.

Mr. SMOOT. Under this joint resolution if the husband had owned the property, or the title of it was in his name, of course he could have gotten it; but the title was in her name.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. What difference does that make, under the language of the joint resolution?

Mr. SMOOT. I think it makes all the difference in the world, and I think the attorneys say so, too.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, the language of the joint resolution shows that, because it uses the words:

Or that the premises are necessarily required by a landlord or bona fide purchaser for occupation either by himself or his wife, children, or dependents.

So that in this case the landlord, the owner of the property, does not want it for himself or for his wife, because the owner of the property is the wife.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I have heard several Senators say that they know of exactly similar cases, and I do know that the law is interpreted in the way I have stated, and I do know that these women can not get their home. I think that whatever law there is that will impose a hardship upon any woman as this joint resolution does it ought to be changed, and changed at the very earliest opportunity.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, if the Senator from Utah will pardon me a moment, I have just been reading the Saulsbury joint resolution, and I want to call the attention of the Senator from Vermont to a curious slip and oversight in it. It says:

Or that the premises are necessarily required by a landlord or bona fide purchaser for occupation either by himself or his wife, children, or dependents—

And then there follows this language:

while he—

That is, the landlord or bona fide purchaser—

is in the employ of or officially connected with any branch of the Government.

So it would seem that Senator SUTHERLAND's advice to this woman was perfectly good law, that unless this woman were an employee of the Government she could not give a home to her own children who were employees of the Government, even though she owned the property and had rented it for a fixed term and the term had expired.

Mr. SMOOT. That is just what I said.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am informed that the author of this joint resolution has told another Senator that that was an oversight that was called to his attention later; but whatever it is it is in that law. I thought it rather curious that a man like SUTHERLAND, who is about the best lawyer I have known in this body since Jim Clarke, of Arkansas, died, should have made a mistake of that kind, so I looked at it thoroughly to see what it contained.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, it seems that both on account of some modification in the present resolution as well as the necessity for legislation we ought to act upon this subject and act at once. I wish to call attention to the fact that only 33 votes were cast in the House when the House declined to accept the Anderson amendment, and then the House proceeded to reappoint conferees and ask for a continuance of the conference. The House rejected the Anderson amendment, 10 for and 23 against, only 33 out of the entire body voting. It then proceeded to again ask for a conference and named the conferees. So instead of declining finally the House invited us to consider the problem of trying to agree upon something along the line of intelligent legislation with reference to rent profiteering in the District of Columbia. It seems to me for us at this time to recede from the Pomerene amendment is to say we decline to go on with the conference with the House. The House offers us a continuation of the conference.

Mr. POMERENE. If I may make a suggestion, I do not think any Member of this body has at any time suggested that this legislation should be finally in the form that it passed the Senate, but every one is willing that there shall be any satisfactory legislation which will meet the situation.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Evidently if we recede at this stage from the Pomerene amendment we will abandon the legislation. The House has not abandoned it, for the House asks another conference.

Mr. WILLIAMS. We not only abandon the legislation but abandon all opportunity to bring about an agreement.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. To modify the legislation, as the Senator from Mississippi says, we are leaving unchanged the Saulsbury resolution, which was hurriedly passed, and intended only as a temporary measure, for permanent and perfected legislation it was hoped would soon be passed. If we recede we decline the invitation of the House to appoint conferees on this subject.

Now, Mr. President, I move as a substitute that the Senate further insist upon its amendment, and that the Chair appoint the conferees.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion of the Senator from Oklahoma has precedence over the motion of the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, it seems to me that we ought not to abandon this legislation. I agree with what the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] said about his amendment just a few moments ago. Being intensely interested in legislation of this kind and desiring to have it passed now, he very generously made the statement that it made no matter with him whether it was his particular amendment, that he is more interested in having the legislation than he is in any particular form of the legislation. Surely if our conferees will meet the House conferees in a spirit of that kind we ought to have legislation. We all know that the conditions are exceedingly bad here in the District, and that they need attention and need it at once.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President——

Mr. McKELLAR. In just one moment. The only way we can get that is to vote down the motion of the Senator from Oklahoma, it seems to me, because it is a matter of vital importance, and the Senator from Oklahoma states himself that if his motion

prevails we will have no legislation of this kind for the District this year. I think that would be a great calamity and a calamity we ought not to be responsible for. I yield to the Senator from Texas.

Mr. SHEPPARD. We have been put upon notice that if the motion of the Senator from Oklahoma is voted down nothing further may be accomplished. The chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture has informed me that in all probability the House will not permit its conferees to consider any proposal relating to rent profiteering in connection with an agricultural appropriation bill.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. THOMAS. If the House has taken that position, then a fortiori we should stand by our guns. It is a threat to this body.

Mr. McKELLAR. Of course, and I want to say as to the House and the House committee that has it in charge I will be more surprised than I ever was in my life at anything if the members of the House committee arbitrarily decline further to confer with the Senate conferees over this matter. I do not believe they are men of that kind.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. This is the only question involved between the Senate and the House. Instead of declining to confer further, the House invites another conference and appoints conferees on this very subject. We can not say that they decline a conference; they invite it.

Mr. McKELLAR. Of course, as I understand the matter, it is purely a question between the House bill and the bill as passed by the Senate. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] who had to do with the drafting of the Senate provision, advises the Senate conferees to accept any kind of a measure that will effect the purpose. Surely with an understanding of that kind, with an agreement of that kind, there is no reason in the world why we should not keep the bill in conference and get a measure that will be of real service.

The truth of the business is, Mr. President, it seems to me that we would be derelict in our duty if we declined a further conference. There is no reason for these conditions about rent profiteering to exist in the District of Columbia. All we have to do is to act with a reasonable amount of sagacity and the matter will be remedied. The conditions are getting worse instead of getting better. They are getting worse every time a train comes in with more Government employees. There is no reason why the conferees should not get together. It does seem to me that we ought to insist upon the conference committee dealing with the matter until an agreement is reached. I am quite sure that by using only a reasonable amount of diplomacy, since the Senate is willing to yield, if necessary, the whole provision and let the House Members bring in their provision, if necessary, we will agree to it. I for one will agree to the House bill just as it was passed, if the conferees report it.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President——

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. LENROOT. I wish to suggest to the Senator that if another conference reports at a later time and the House passes upon this question when there is a quorum present, the action may be very different from that which was taken on Saturday.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator is entirely correct. Of course, that is an additional reason why we should vote down the motion of the Senator from Oklahoma.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Oklahoma to recede from amendment numbered 28.

Mr. McKELLAR. On that motion I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

On a division, the motion was rejected.

Mr. GORE. Now, I move that the Senate adhere to amendment numbered 28.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. And appoint conferees?

Mr. GORE. No.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma moves that the Senate further insist on its amendment.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry: What is the immediate effect of the motion?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I move that the Senate further insist on its amendment, and that the Chair appoint the conferees.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma has been recognized.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I should like to explain why I make the motion. I apprehended that my motion to recede would be defeated, but I felt constrained to present that question to the Senate, because it is a responsibility the Senate ought to take and that ought not to be shifted; and no one would have any disposition to shift it to the conferees. I have moved to adhere. If that motion prevails, I believe this measure will become a law, because I do not believe that the House will take the responsibility of defeating the bill and defeating the prohibition amendment rather than accept the Pomerene amendment. If the motion to adhere prevails that will be the issue.

The House can do one of two things. It can accept the Pomerene rent amendment and pass this legislation into law, or it can defeat both the Pomerene rent amendment and prohibition. By putting this issue up to them I think they will pass this measure without much delay, but if it is sent to conference I believe I know what will happen. We will sit, like graven images, around the table and again report a disagreement.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator a question.

Mr. GORE. I am afraid that that will be the result, and I infer that from a good deal of experience with this conference. I yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. KIRBY. This is the question I desire to ask. If we adhere to this amendment and do not ask for a conference, and the House refuse to recede from its position and adopt the amendment, it never can be enacted.

Mr. GORE. They can pass it at any time they see fit.

Mr. KIRBY. We will have lost all control of it. We will not confer with them, nor will we recede.

Mr. GORE. The Senator is right about it.

Mr. KIRBY. It seems to me it would be much better to agree to a conference on the disagreement.

Mr. GORE. The Senate can agree to another conference and we will disagree and come back and go around and around this interminable meeting again.

Mr. KIRBY. Having defeated the motion to recede from our amendment, as the House desires another conference, let us have another conference, and then report it here. If that can not be done, let us pass the bill and not put ourselves in a position where we can not pass it.

Mr. GORE. I am making the motion which I think is best calculated in the long run to carry out the will of the Senate and to get this legislation. I am fully persuaded that if this measure goes back to conference it will result in another disagreement. The House conferees take the position that they will not even consider it. They do not consider it as an open question, and in such a case you can not make any progress at all. If the Senate takes the other position, of course, I have no objection to its going back to conference; I merely apprehend it will be a miscarriage and that nothing will happen.

Mr. KIRBY. Could not the fact that they refused to do anything further be reported back here and then would we not be in as good a position as we now are?

Mr. GORE. Certainly.

Mr. KIRBY. It seems to me that that would be the better course.

Mr. GORE. It may be.

Mr. KIRBY. I hope the Senator will withdraw his motion.

Mr. GORE. I do not want to be dogmatic about my position, but I apprehend the Senate will see a little later on that we are going through exactly the same discussion. We will report back a disagreement. I think if this measure ever becomes a law with the rent amendment included the Senate has got to adhere to its amendment. I do not believe the House will take the responsibility of defeating the bill and defeating prohibition in order to defeat the amendment. To send it back we go around in a circle; we will then come back. I do not object to it. I think what I propose is the best way out. It is the way out in my judgment. I think sooner or later it will come to this. Of course, if it is the sense of the Senate that there shall be another conference it is entirely agreeable to me.

Mr. FLETCHER. Let me ask the Senator if it would not be entirely in the power of the conferees to agree to this amendment?

Mr. GORE. Entirely; but the House conferees will not go that far. They will not consider it.

Mr. FLETCHER. Could they not agree to an amendment to it?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. There is nothing left in the bill for us to confer about except this one amendment, the House having agreed to everything in the bill as passed by the Senate except this one amendment. With this one amendment alone standing between us they ask for another conference. It must mean that they are ready to agree to our amendment or agree to something on that line. The appointment of conferees by the House is a request to the Senate for further consideration of the Pomerene amendment and invites an effort to get together on the details. We can not reject such an invitation.

Mr. GORE. I have great deference to the judgment of the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I am not expressing a matter of judgment.

Mr. GORE. The Senator sat in the conference.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I am expressing a justifiable conclusion from what the House has done, and I hope the conferees may meet free from all prejudice, seeking to serve the best interest of the war workers we have been forced to crowd into Washington.

Mr. GORE. An inference from their action might, of course, be drawn in accordance with the Senator's conclusion, but I have conferred with one of them since that action was taken. I know what they expect. They expect us to meet in conference and the Senate conferees to recede.

Mr. President, perhaps I am not qualified to sit in conference because I do not intend to recede from this amendment until I am ordered to do so by the Senate, and I do not want to take the responsibility of delaying the amendment. That is the dilemma I am in.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Let me ask the Senator a question. You are, however, prepared to meet in conference and take up the terms of the amendment and modify it and help perfect it and agree to any reasonable amendment the House asks with reference to it?

Mr. GORE. Yes; I think the Pomerene amendment ought to be amended. I think it ought to be amended in conference, because it could be much improved. If the Senator from Georgia has any hope of making any progress in conference it will have a great deal of weight with me.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Will the Senator allow me? My hope is from what the House has done. I can not see why the House should have done what it has done unless it meant in good faith to meet us in conference upon the Pomerene amendment. If they meant absolutely to reject it, they could not logically have appointed conferees.

Mr. GORE. I have had a conference with one of the House conferees, and they expect that the Senate conferees will recede. They do not believe the Senate conferees will take the responsibility of defeating this legislation or of long delaying the legislation in order to put through the Pomerene amendment. As far as I am concerned, they have misjudged me, because if I sit on the next conference I never intend to have the conferees recede from this amendment. I will bring it back and receive instructions. Of course, the Senate will instruct the conferees, and I will comply with that instruction, but voluntarily I do not mean to do it.

Mr. KING. Mr. President——

Mr. GORE. I yield to the Senator from Utah.

Mr. KING. Does the Senator think that a majority of the Members of the House are opposed to any rent legislation?

Mr. GORE. I think if the Senate adheres to its amendment in accordance with my motion a majority of the membership of the House will compel the House to accept the rent amendment before they will take the responsibility of defeating the prohibition legislation. I think sooner or later it will come to that. That is my hope.

Mr. KING. I understand the Senator has conferred with Members of the House, and he thinks they appreciate the gravity of the situation presented as to the necessity of some immediate legislation in the rent problem for the District of Columbia. It seems to me obvious in view of the concession made by the Senate, and it would be the logical one, that we can get no legislation unless we get it on this bill, and that the House conferees will recede from their position, and will join the conferees on the part of the Senate in formulating some measure that is proper and adequate to meet the situation. The Senator can not believe that Members of the House are so lost to all the proprieties of the occasion that they are going to defeat any legislation upon a question of such importance.

Mr. GORE. I do not; but I think the issue will have to be presented in the House, where they will have to defeat the rent amendment and defeat the bill, on the one hand; or, on the other hand, accept the rent amendment in order to get the prohibition amendment enacted. When they are confronted with that issue I have no doubt as to what action they will take. Until that issue is presented I think the matter will ride at anchor in conference and the Senate conferees will come back here in a few days asking for instructions whether or not we shall recede or further insist. That is what is going to happen. I have no objection to a further conference. We will do the best we can, but I do not think it will produce legislation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would like to have the opinion of the Senator from Oklahoma on what the parliamentary status would be if his motion to adhere is adopted without a request for a further conference.

Mr. GORE. I am glad the Chair has asked that question, because I think the Senate should look it squarely in the face. As I understand the parliamentary effect of the adoption of the motion it will be this: When the papers go back to the House the House can do two things. It can concur in amendment No. 28 and let the measure go to the President. It can refuse to concur in amendment No. 28 and that is the end of it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without a further conference?

Mr. GORE. Yes, sir.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Then, the idea of the Senator from Oklahoma is that there should be no further conference on this bill?

Mr. GORE. If a simple motion to adhere were adopted, there would be no further conference.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is the point the Chair wanted to understand.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, we just can not afford to put ourselves in the attitude of turning down an invitation not only to consider this amendment, but it gives the enemies of the amendment in the House a whip handle to resist all efforts at a concession. We must meet them under their invitation and expect them to meet us in good faith and let this proposed legislation be perfected.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, it strikes me that we are changing the responsibility of the defeat of the great temperance measure by simply adhering to our amendment and sending it back to the House, saying that the Senate, as far as it is concerned, does not want any further conference—take the medicine we offer whether you like it or not. In that attitude before the public, the House of Representatives being much larger than the Senate, there will be very little difficulty in the country believing that the responsibility has rested entirely upon the Senate for the defeat of this legislation.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I move a substitute for the motion of the Senator from Oklahoma. I move that the Senate further insist upon its amendment and agree to the request for a conference, and that the Chair appoint the conferees.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion of the Senator from Georgia is that the Senate further insist upon its amendment and agree to the conference asked by the House.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I have no objection to the adoption of that motion, but I wish to say one word with respect to the remarks of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. SMITH]. In my judgment, the House will not defeat the prohibition amendment. I think the rejection of the rent amendment was not due to the fact that a majority of the membership of the House was opposed to legislation upon the subject of rent profiteering. I think a majority of the House is in favor of such legislation. There happens to be involved a sort of point of pride, or the personal factor has gotten into the equation; but when it comes to a collision between principles, the House would accept the rent amendment, which they really favor in some form, together with the prohibition amendment, rather than reject the prohibition amendment, which they favor from principle, and reject the rent amendment, which they favor from principle, merely from personal considerations. That is the situation that influenced me.

I have no disposition to defeat the prohibition amendment. My object was to secure both the rent amendment and the prohibition amendment, since that is the evident sense of the Senate, and I thought the motion I made was the best path leading to that result. I may be in error about it, but I have no objection whatever to a further conference if the Senate shall think that that is the method that promises the greatest results.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] that the Senate further insist upon its amendment and agree to the conference requested by the House.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, merely as a matter of order I suggest that the motion of the Senator from Georgia does not require to be offered as a substitute, but that it takes precedence.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Georgia.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. GORE, Mr. SMITH of South Carolina, Mr. SMITH of Georgia, Mr. KENYON, and Mr. FRANCE conferees on the part of the Senate.

ADJOURNMENT TO THURSDAY.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that when the Senate adjourns to-day it stands adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian on Thursday next.

The motion was agreed to.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, toward the close of the last session of this Congress I made a statement to the

Senate in relation to the achievements of the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress. I was prompted then to make the statement by what I considered to be the enormous responsibility resting on the shoulders of the legislators of this country, incident to the great conflict through which we are passing. I beg now, for the same reason, to call attention, in a very brief way, to some of the most important measures enacted into law at this the second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress. I shall not take the time to read the synopsis of this legislation, but I send it to the Secretary's desk and ask that it may be inserted in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Such will be the order, without objection.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, the statement which the Senator from Virginia has just presented is a very important and useful one, and I for one should be very glad if it could be printed as a Senate document, and I ask that it be so printed. I ask that there be included with it the statement of a year ago, and that they be printed together as a Senate document.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Such will be the order, without objection.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I understood the Senator from Virginia asked that the statements be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. JONES of Washington. And that will be done?

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. That will be done.

The statements referred to are as follows:

[S. Doc. No. 287, 65th Cong., 2d sess.]

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS OF THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.

STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS AND CONTRACT OBLIGATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1918—FIRST SESSION.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I present two statements, which I think will be of interest to the Senate and to the country. The first is a statement of the achievements of the most important session of the American Congress, and the second is a statement of appropriations and contract authorizations for the fiscal year 1918. I ask that the statements be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Achievements of the most important session of the American Congress—Sixty-fifth Congress, first session.

The present extraordinary session of Congress has been marked by a greater volume of legislation and the enactment of measures of more momentous import than have ever been considered in any similar period in the parliamentary history of the country.

Any criticism, therefore, that has been leveled at the Senate and House growing out of the impatience to place the country upon a war basis at the earliest possible moment, in my judgment, is unfair, and indicates a lack of appreciation or knowledge of the enormous amount of work which the two Houses of Congress have performed.

Responsibilities of long duration and momentous in character have been knowingly, carefully, and, I honestly believe, intelligently assumed by the membership of this Congress. The searchlight of industry and wisdom has characterized their work on each measure, be it large or small.

Congress was convened in special session by proclamation of the President April 2, and has been in session, including to-morrow, 188 days, which includes Sundays and holidays.

Its membership has scarcely taken time to eat or sleep because of the responsibilities which the war has imposed upon them.

It must be remembered that it was a new Congress that met in response to the call of the President, and that at the very outset it was confronted with the necessity of organization, a process ordinarily requiring time and involving many contests. In the present instance, however, the committees of both Houses were named on April 3, the work of selecting them having been done during the vacation period.

At the special session of the Senate, immediately preceding the extra session of Congress, there was passed a modified cloture rule under which public business might be expedited. The adoption of such a rule was accomplished within a few days after its introduction, a result that could not have been attained in any other period of our history short of months of debate, if at all.

I beg to call attention briefly to the most important measures enacted into law at this session of Congress, as follows:

1. Public resolution 1, declaring a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same. On April 2 the German war resolution was introduced in the House, and on April 6, or four days after the assembling of Congress, the President attached his signature to that measure. No delay was involved in the passage of this resolution, perhaps the most important ever offered, either in this or any other Congress.

2. Public act 1, appropriating $68,020 for certain expenses incident to the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

3. Public act 1, general deficiency appropriation act, appropriating $163,841,400.52, of which $100,000,000 was for the national security and defense and for each and every purpose connected with the war.

4. Public act 3, authorizes an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense and for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes. This act appropriates $3,007,063,945.46 for establishing credits in the United States for foreign governments by purchase of bonds of our allies and expenses incident to preparation and issue of bonds and certificates; authorizes the issue of bonds amounting to $5,063,945,460, of which $3,000,000,000 is for meeting the loans authorized to foreign Governments, $2,000,000,000 to meet domestic expenditures, and $63,945,460 to redeem the 3 per cent loan of 1908 to 1918, maturing August 1, 1918; and also authorizes $2,000,000,000 of one-year certificates of indebtedness temporarily to provide revenue.

5. Public act 7, authorizing one additional midshipman for each Senator, Representative, and Delegate in Congress.

6. Public act 11, appropriating $273,046,322.50 for the support of the Army for the fiscal year 1918.

7. Public act 12, authorizing the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States. This act authorized a selective draft of 1,000,000 men and contains other important legislative features pertaining to the Army.

8. Public resolution 2, authorizing the President to take over for the United States any vessel owned in whole or in part by any corporation, citizen, or subject of any nation with which the United States may be at war.

9. Public resolution 3, authorizing the American Red Cross to erect certain temporary buildings in Washington, D. C.

10. Public act 17, to temporarily increase the commissioned and warrant and enlisted strength of the Navy and Marine Corps from 87,000 to 150,000 men in the first instance and from 17,400 to 30,000 in the second.

11. Public act 18, appropriating $1,344,896.18 for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year 1918, and for other purposes.

12. Public act 19, amending an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," as amended, in respect of car service, and for other purposes.

13. Public act 20, amending the war-risk insurance act and appropriating $45,150,000 to insure vessels and their cargoes and expenses connected therewith.

14. Public act 21, appropriating $147,363,928.77 for the sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year 1918.

15. Public act 22, authorizing the issue to States and Territories and the District of Columbia of rifles and other property for the equipment of organizations of home guards.

16. Public act 23, appropriates $3,281,094,541.60 for the Military and Naval Establishments on account of war expenses. Up to this time this is the largest appropriation act known to this or any other country. Among other things it appropriates $405,000,000 for an emergency shipping fund, with which to begin construction of the greatest merchant fleet the world has ever known.

17. Public act 24, to punish acts of interference with foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes.

18. Public act 25, amending the Federal reserve act.

19. Public act 26, authorizes condemnation proceedings of lands for military purposes.

20. Public act 29 appropriates $640,000,000 to increase temporarily the Signal Corps of the Army and to purchase, manufacture, maintain, repair, and operate airships.

21. Public act 31 authorizes the United States to take possession of a site for permanent aviation stations of the Army and Navy for school purposes.

22. Public act 37 appropriates $27,826,150 for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors.

23. Public acts 38 and 39 enlarges the membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission and amends the act to regulate commerce by authorizing priority shipments by any common carrier, etc.

24. Public act 40 appropriates $11,346,400 to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products.

25. Public act 41 appropriates $162,500,000 to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.

26. Public act 43 authorizes an additional issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense and for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend additional credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes. This act makes an additional appropriation of $4,021,377,890.92 to extend credit in the United States for foreign governments by purchase of bonds of our allies and expenses incident to preparation of an issue of bonds and certificates; authorizes an additiooal issue of $4,000,000,000 of bonds to meet loans to foreign governments; authorizes an additional issue of one-year certificates of indebtedness amounting to $2,000,000,000 and an issue of five-year war-saving certificates amounting to $2,000,000,000.

27. Public act 45, authorizing the construction of a building for the use of the Treasury Department in Washington, D. C., at a total cost not exceeding $1,250,000.

28. Public act 50, to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes. This measure provides approximately $2,500,000,000 of revenue with which to pay the expenses of the Government.

29. Public act 64, appropriating $5,356,666,016.93 to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year 1918 and prior years on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, and authorizes contract obligations to be met by future Congresses amounting to $2,401,458,393.50. This is the largest appropriation act passed by this or any other country. This act makes further appropriations for the emergency shipping fund of $635,000,000 and raises the limit of cost to carry out the purposes of the shipping act to $1,734,000,000.

30. Public act 90, to provide a military and naval family allowance, compensation, and insurance fund for the benefit of soldiers and sailors and their families, and makes an appropriation therefor of $176,250,000.

31. Public act 91, to define, regulate, and punish trading with the enemy, and for other purposes, and appropriates $450,000 to enforce the provisions thereof.

APPROPRIATIONS AND CONTRACT AUTHORIZATIONS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1918.

Statement showing by acts the appropriations for the fiscal year 1918 made during the Sixty-fourth Congress, second session (including appropriations made by the Army, Military Academy, rivers and harbors, sundry civil, and general deficiency acts passed during the Sixty-fifth Congress, first session).

Agriculture	$25,929,113.00
Army	273,046,322.50
Diplomatic and Consular	5,082,746.66
District of Columbia	14,172,997.85
Fortification	51,396,593.00
Indian	11,589,736.67
Legislative, executive, and judicial	39,894,592.42
Military Academy	1,344,896.18
Naval	517,273,802.08
Pension	160,060,000.00
Post Office	331,851,170.00
River and harbor	27,826,150.00
Sundry civil	147,363,928.77
Total	1,606,832,049.13

General deficiency	$163,841,400.52	
Urgent deficiency	4,578,250.00	
Miscellaneous (this sum includes an appropriation of $10,000,000 for the War-Risk Insurance Bureau, which has been repealed by subsequent legislation)	41,093,670.08	
Permanent annual and indefinite appropriations	145,864,830.32	
Total		$1,962,210,200.05
Increased compensation of 5 and 10 per cent to certain employees (estimated)		15,000,000.00
Total regular appropriations, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session		1,977,210,200.05

Appropriations for the fiscal year 1918, made during the Sixty-fifth Congress, first session (exclusive of Army, Military Academy, river and harbor, sundry civil, and general deficiency acts):

Expenses incident to the Sixty-fifth Congress, first session	$68,020.00
Loans to the allies under act of Apr. 24, 1917 (the $3,000,000,000 and $4,000,000,000, making in all $7,000,000,000, to meet loans to the allies, is reimbursable by the foreign governments to whom the advances are made)	3,000,000,000.00
Expenses of preparation and issue of bonds and certificates of indebtedness under act of Apr. 24, 1917	7,063,945.46
Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, cost of insuring vessels and their cargoes, etc	45,150,000.00
Urgent deficiency act for the Military and Naval Establishments	3,281,094,541.60
Increase of Signal Corps of the Army, including purchase, operation, etc., of airships	640,000,000.00
Expenses under act to encourage production, conserve the supply, and control distribution of food products and fuel	162,500,000.00
Expenses under the act to stimulate agriculture and facilitate the distribution of agricultural products	11,346,400.00
Additional loans to the allies under act of Sept. 24, 1917 (the $3,000,000,000 and $4,000,000,000, making in all $7,000,000,000, to meet loans to the allies, is reimbursable by the foreign governments to whom the advances are made)	4,000,000,000.00
Expenses of preparation and issue of bonds, certificates of indebtedness, and war-saving certificates	21,377,890.92
Expenses under the act to define, regulate, and punish trading with the enemy	450,000.00
Expenses under the act establishing a military and naval family allowance, compensation, and insurance fund for the benefit of soldiers and sailors and their families	176,250,000.00
Urgent deficiency act for the fiscal year 1918 and prior years on account of war expenses	5,356,666,016.93
Interest on bonds and certificates (estimated)	200,000,000.00
Total appropriations, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session	16,901,966,814.91
Total appropriations for the fiscal year 1918	18,879,177,014.96

Contract authorizations, by acts in addition to appropriations heretofore made to be met by future appropriations by Congress, authorized during the fiscal year 1918:

Fortification	$5,250,000.00
Naval	86,145,532.00
Sundry civil	900,000.00
Urgent deficiency appropriation act of June 24, 1917	16,550,000.00
Urgent deficiency appropriation act of Oct. —, 1917	2,401,458,393.50
Act to authorize the construction of a building for the use of the Treasury Department	1,250,000.00
Total contract authorizations	2,511,553,925.50
Total appropriations and contract authorizations, fiscal year 1918	21,390,730,840.46

RECAPITULATION.

Total appropriations, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session	$1,977,210,200.05
Total appropriations, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session	16,901,966,814.91
Total contract authorizations, fiscal year 1918	2,511,553,925.50
Total appropriations and contract authorizations, fiscal year 1918	21,390,730,940.46
Total appropriations, fiscal year 1918, exclusive of $7,000,000,000 for loans to the allies	11,879,177,014.96
Total appropriations and contract authorizations, exclusive of $7,000,000,000 for loans to the allies	14,390,730,940.46

SECOND SESSION.

Toward the close of the last session of this Congress I made a statement to the Senate in relation to the achievements of the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

I was prompted then to make that statement by what I considered to be the enormous responsibilities resting on the shoulders of the legislators of this country incident to the great conflict through which we are passing.

I beg now, for the same reasons, to call attention in a very brief way to some of the most important measures enacted into law at this, the second, session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, as follows:

32. Public resolution 17 declares that a state of war exists between the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government and the Government and the people of the United States, and pledges the resources of our country to bring the conflict to a successful termination.

33. Public act 95, authorizing the purchase of farm-loan bonds to the extent of $200,000,000 during the fiscal years 1918 and 1919. This measure can only result in incalculable good to the great farming class of this country by assuring to them upon their own collateral an adequate supply of money at a fair rate of interest and on reasonable terms.

34. Public act 102 authorizes the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation to acquire accommodations for housing shipyard employees and their families and authorizes an appropriation of $50,000,000 with which to carry out the provisions of the act. This amount is appropriated in the sundry civil act for the fiscal year 1919, together with $25,000,000 additional.

35. Public act 103 extends protection to the civil rights of members of the Military and Naval Establishments of the United States engaged in the present war.

36. Public act 107 provides for the operation of the transportation systems while under Federal control, for the just compensation of their owners, and for other purposes. This gigantic task was undertaken with a view to relieving the menacing congestion in transportation. Under Government operation labor has been better paid and many economies effected. To carry out the purposes of this act the sum of $500,000,000 is appropriated, together with funds available from the operating income, to be used as a revolving fund.

37. Public act 109 makes appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies for the fiscal year 1918 on account of war expenses. This act appropriates $731,901,789.46 outright and authorizes contract obligations, to be met by future appropriations, amounting to $1,250,000,000. It also carries legislation of far-reaching importance by giving authority to the Alien Property Custodian to acquire the title of the German-owned property of the North German Lloyd Dock Co. and the Hamburg-American Line Terminal & Navigation Co., on the Hudson River. Authority is also given to sell all property of this kind so taken and to invest the proceeds in Government bonds. This act also appropriates $100,000,000 for storage and shipping facilities and authorizes contracts for $50,000,000 additional, and the work accomplished under this appropriation, under the supervision of Gen. Goethals, has worked wonders in handling the enormous amount of supplies for our armies.

38. Public acts 120 and 192 are the third and fourth liberty loan acts. No financial legislation of any country ever approached the magnitude of the liberty loan acts. The third and fourth liberty loan acts increase the amount of bonds authorized to be issued from $7,538,945,460, as heretofore fixed, to $20,000,000,000; increase the appropriations to meet loans to our allies from $4,000,000,000, heretofore fixed, to $7,000,000,000; and increase the amount of certificates of indebtedness that can be outstanding at any one time from $4,000,000,000, as heretofore fixed, to $8,000,000,000.

39. Public act 121 provides for the national security and defense and, for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to provide credits for industries and enterprises in the United States necessary or contributory to the prosecution of the war and to supervise the issuance of securities, and for other purposes. This act creates the War Finance Corporation and the Capital Issues Committee and appropriates $500,200,000 to carry out its purposes. This act authorizes the War Finance Corporation to issue and have outstanding, at any one time, its bonds (to be secured by the assets of the corporation) in an amount aggregating not more than six times its paid-in capital.

40. Public act 139 is to conserve the gold supply of the United States, to permit the settlement in silver of trade balances adverse to the United States; provides silver for subsidiary coinage and for commercial use; assists foreign governments at war with the enemies of the United States, and for the above purposes to stabilize the price and encourages the production of silver.

41. Public act 140 authorizes the Secretary of the Navy to increase the facilities for the proof and test of ordnance material, and for other purposes. There is appropriated by this act the sum of $1,000,000 to carry out its purposes.

42. Public act 140 authorizes the President to provide housing for war needs and authorizes appropriations therefor in the sum of $60,000,000, of which sum $10,000,000 shall be available for use in the District of Columbia.

43. Public act 152 authorizes the President to coordinate or consolidate executive bureaus, agencies, and offices, and for other purposes, in the interest of economy and the more efficient concentration of the Government.

44. Public act 164 makes appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies for the fiscal year 1918, on account of war expenses, amounting to $90,700,022.62. This sum includes $60,000,000 to provide housing for war needs heretofore authorized.

45. Public act 178 provides for vocational rehabilitation and return to civil employment of disabled persons discharged from the military or naval forces of the United States and appropriates $2,000,000 for the enforcement thereof. This act extends a helping hand to the disabled defenders of our country.

46. Public act 181 makes appropriations for the sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year 1919 amounting to $2,019,654,470.07, and authorizes contract obligations, to be met by future appropriations, amounting to $945,549,000. This act appropriates $1,807,543,500 for the United States Shipping Board and the emergency shipping fund and increases the amount which is authorized to be expended for the construction of ships from $1,234,000,000 to $2,884,000,000. This act also appropriates $50,000,000, to be expended at the discretion of the President, for the national security and defense, and large sums for the various arsenals and armories. An appropriation of $75,000,000 is also made for the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation for housing its employees and their families.

47. Public act 182 makes appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year 1919 amounting to $1,573,468,415.81 and authorizes contract obligations to be met by future appropriations amounting to $34,000,000.

48. Public act 189 makes appropriations for fortifications and other works of defense, for the armament thereof, for the procurement of heavy ordnance for trial and service, amounting to $2,814,348,267.85, and authorizes contract obligations, to be met by future appropriations, amounting to $2,623,465,845. Comment on the importance of this measure at this time is not necessary.

49. Public act 191 makes appropriations to supply deficiencies for the fiscal year 1918 and prior fiscal years on account of war expenses amounting to $1,015,486,390.74. This act increases the amount authorized to be expended for housing for war needs to $100,000,000 and appropriates therefor $40,000,000, said sum bringing the appropriations up to amount of the total authorizations. An additional appropriation of $50,000,000 is made in this act for storage and shipping facilities.

50. Public act 193 makes appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year 1919 amounting to $10,225,478,312.91 and authorizes contract obligations, to be met by future appropriations, amounting to $1,858,332,801, another evidence of the desire of Congress to furnish ample funds with which to push the war to a successful conclusion. This act extends the authority conferred upon the President in the act to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States by authorizing him during each fiscal year to raise by draft as provided in said act and acts amendatory thereof the maximum number of men which may be organized, equipped, trained, and used during such year until the war shall have been brought to a successful conclusion.

51. Public act 201, provides for the appointment of a commission to standardize screw threads. This act is proving to be of the greatest importance to the industries engaged in war work.

52. Public resolution 38, authorizes the President, in time of war, to supervise or take possession and assume control of any telegraph, telephone, marine cable, or radio system or systems or any part thereof, and to operate the same during the war, and to provide just compensation therefor.

53. Public act 202, confers on the President power to prescribe charter rates and freight rates and to requisition vessels. This act has a far-reaching effect touching our over-seas transportation and merchant marine during the period of the war and for a reasonable time thereafter.

54. Public act 210, amends the act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States." This act provides that all male persons between the ages of 18 and 45, both inclusive, shall be subject to registration and draft for military service.

55. Public act 215, protects the lives, health, and morals of women and minor workers in the District of Columbia and establishes a minimum-wage board, defines its powers and duties and fixes the minimum wages of such workers.

56. Public act 217 supplements the second and third liberty loan acts as amended. This measure increases the amount of war savings certificates authorized to be issued from $2,000,000,000, as heretofore fixed, to $4,000,000,000 and includes legislation of great importance respecting the various liberty loans.

I feel that in all fairness and justice attention should be directed to four great measures now in the various legislative stages, and which, it is entirely safe to assume, will reach the statute books at an early day. The measures above referred to are as follows:

1. The bill to provide revenue, and for other purposes. This bill is framed with the object in view of raising, during a period of 12 months, the sum of $8,000,000,000.

2. The first deficiency appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1919, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes. This bill as reported to the House appropriates $2,487,655,890.04 and authorizes contract obligations, to be met by future appropriations, amounting to $3,858,349,776.

3. The bill to encourage and promote the mining of coal, phosphate, oil, gas, and sodium on the public domain. In this great struggle we are threatened with a shortage of coal and oil, both vitally necessary in furnishing the material necessary with which to win the war. This measure proposes to open up for use 44,000,000 acres of Government-owned coal and oil lands in 14 different States.

4. The bill to regulate the construction of dams across navigable waters, known as the water-power bill. This bill provides for the improvement of navigation in rivers and for the development of water power as a result of dam construction under said improvement. This bill, in its contemplated improvement, invites the investment of private capital, and without which it would not be invested. It also aims to develop by feasible storage projects, over 61,000,000 horsepower of water-power energy in the United States alone, of which only a very small amount is now being utilized. The importance of the application of this vast amount of energy to our industrial uses can not be questioned.

Recapitulation of appropriations.

[Sixty-fifth Congress, Second Session.]

Title of act.	Amount.	Contracts to be met by future appropriations.	Total.
Agriculture	$27,875,353.00		$27,875,353.00
Army	10,225,478,312.91	$1,858,332,801.00	12,083,811,113.91
Diplomatic and Consular	7,937,376.66		7,937,376.66
District of Columbia	15,046,768.66		15,046,768.66
Fortifications	2,814,348,267.85	2,623,465,845.00	5,437,814,112.85
Indian	11,021,910.00		11,021,910.00
Legislative, etc	69,937,863.25		69,937,863.25
Military Academy	2,515,005.01		2,515,005.01
Naval	1,573,468,415.84	34,000,000.00	1,607,468,415.84
Pension	220,050,000.00		220,050,000.00
Post Office	377,573,342.00		377,573,342.00
River and Harbor	23,771,900.00	82,700.00	23,854,600.00
Sundry Civil	2,019,654,470.07	[1] 1,045,549,000.00	3,065,203,470.07
Total regular acts	17,388,678,985.25	5,561,430,346.00	22,950,109,331.25
Urgent deficiency, 1918	731,901,789.46	1,250,000.00	733,151,789.46
Additional urgent deficiency, 1918	90,700,022.62		90,700,022.62
Deficiency, 1918	1,015,406,732.34		1,015,406,732.34
First deficiency, 1919	2,487,655,890.04	3,858,349,776.00	6,346,005,666.04
Total deficiency acts	4,325,664,434.46	3,859,599,776.00	8,185,264,210.46
Loans to our allies by the third and fourth liberty-bond acts	3,000,000,000.00		3,000,000,000.00
War Finance Corporation and Capital Issues Committee	500,200,000.00		500,200,000.00
Federal operation of railroads	500,000,000.00		500,000,000.00
Purchase of Federal land-bank bonds	200,000,000.00		200,000,000.00
Vocational rehabilitation of disabled soldiers and sailors	2,000,000.00		2,000,000.00
Combating Spanish influenza and other communicable diseases	1,000,000.00		1,000,000.00
Encouraging production and regulation of ores, metals, and minerals	50,500,000.00		50,500,000.00
Encouraging production, etc., and distribution of food products	[2] 11,212,283.00		[2] 11,212,283.00
Other miscellaneous appropriations	1,666,000.00		1,666,000.00
Total miscellaneous appropriations	4,266,578,283.00		4,266,578,283.00
Permanent annual and indefinite appropriations, including $588,049,168 interest on the public debt; $153,814,000 for the sinking fund; $30,904,255.36 for the preparation and issuance of loans; and $51,946,030, the necessary approximated amount to pay the increased compensation to Government employees	896,453,398.36		896,453,398.36
Grand total	26,877,375,101.07	9,421,030,122.00	36,298,405,223.07

[1] Includes all authorizations for emergency shipping fund not discharged by appropriations.

[2] Amount as passed the House.

NOMINATION OF OFFICERS OF NATIONAL ARMY.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate bill 4990. I will say in this connection that it is a bill which I asked unanimous consent a few days ago to call up, but the Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] then objected. Since that time we have reached an agreement about the matter. It is a bill reported from the Military Affairs Committee, which, under the suggestion offered by the Senator from New York, is intended to require the consent of the Senate for the appointment of certain officers in the Staff Corps. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I must object to the present consideration of that bill. I am a member of the Military Affairs Committee, but I was not present when the bill was reported out of the committee. I think the suggestion made by the Senator from New York as adverse to the bill presents a situation that is almost unanswerable. If we are to be required to confirm 160.000 officers of all grades, and are to give the subject any attention whatever, the members of the Military Affairs Committee will certainly have time to do nothing else during the remainder of this war.

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator from Colorado will pardon me——

Mr. THOMAS. Just a moment. As it is now, Mr. President, we are confirming officers appointed in the naval and military

departments of the Government en bloc. I know that, while I am no busier than any other Senator, I have no time to devote to the proper consideration of so many names. I want to look into this subject very carefully before I consent to have it placed upon the statute books.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is made to the present consideration of the bill.

STATEMENT OF SWIFT & CO.

Mr. PAGE. Mr. President, I have received a letter from L. F. Swift, president of Swift & Co., which I desire to bring to the attention of the Senate.

I hold no brief for Swift & Co., and they do not ask me to stand sponsor for any statements of L. F. Swift, but it seems to me that no wrong can be done in placing on record the unqualified denial of certain statements to which he refers in his communication, which I send to the desk and which in the absence of any objection I ask may be printed in the RECORD. It is very short, containing but a single page.

I do not ask that the letter be read, though it is only a matter of a page, but I do ask consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Such will be the order, without objection.

The letter referred to is as follows:

SWIFT & CO.,
UNION STOCK YARDS,
Chicago, October 11, 1918.

Hon. CARROLL S. PAGE,
The United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: On September 6, Senator BORAH claimed on the floor of the Senate that there had not been a single refutation of the accusations made with regard to the packing industry, and that the records prove that they hold regular meetings to agree among themselves as to the prices of products which they sell.

On October 3 Senator GRONNA, speaking of the Federal Trade Commission report, said "that at no time have the packers denied the correctness of the report."

Neither of these statements has been answered on the floor of the Senate, and lest other Senators harbor the same impression as to the packers' attitude with respect to the Federal Trade Commission, I wish to make the following brief statement:

Swift & Co. absolutely denies that the packers meet in any way or agree among themselves as to the prices of the products they sell, and has denied from the very first the validity of the conclusions of the Federal Trade Commission that the packers exercise a monopoly in restraint of trade and that they stoop to unfair business practices.

Swift & Co. formally denied the charges of the commission, showed that the investigation was an ex parte one, and showed that the commission had not established its case in the printed statement which was sent to you with a personal letter on August 22, 1918, two weeks before Senator BORAH made the statement referred to above.

An additional copy of our printed statement I am now sending you. The matter under discussion is of such general importance that I am sure you will wish to be fully informed and to understand our position, which the inclosed statement will make clear. I shall gladly give you any additional information that you may desire.

Respectfully, yours, L. F. SWIFT.

LOANS TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, I have here matter in the nature of a memorial from Publication No. 12, "Business Conditions," of September, 1918, a monthly publication being a résumé of the world war, published by Henry Evans, president of the association, at 18 Maiden Lane, N. Y. I desire the consent of the Senate to have it printed in the RECORD, to be preceded by an interview recently given in New York by Hon. George W. Wickersham, Attorney General of the Taft administration. The article seems to answer the interview; and I desire simply to introduce it now, because I believe the suggestion of the former Attorney General will be resented by our allies, in view of the fact that the United States is waging war for altruistic reasons and is imposing a great burden of bonded debt and taxation upon its own people.

The Wickersham interview should not be allowed to go out to the country without the information which I submit and without a protest which I now make.

It is a false sentimentality that humiliates our allies and further embarrasses our financing of the war. The resources of the United States are not inexhaustible, and I would like to hear from the Treasury on this subject in good season.

The matter referred to is as follows:

DROP DEBTS ALLIES OWE US, HE URGES—WICKERSHAM DECLARES WE OWE THEM FOR HOLDING THE HUN.

[Special to the Washington Post.]

NEW YORK, *October 20.*

George W. Wickersham, Attorney General in the Taft administration, aroused his audience to high enthusiasm in the Twenty-third Street Y. M. C. A. this afternoon when he said:

"I would like to see America forgive our allies the debts they owe us. I would like to have our country send a receipted bill to Great Britain, France, and Italy.

"We can afford to do so, for we must remember all they have borne, what they have suffered during the years before we entered this war to hold the line against the Hun and to keep autocracy from crushing democracy.

"When I say we can afford it, I not only refer to what we owe our allies for holding back the Germans, but also to the vast sums we made by supplying them with what they needed before we entered the war. These debts should be forgiven, and they can be if all our people want to do it."

Loans to the allies to Sept. 16, 1918.

Great Britain	$3,745,000,000
France	2,065,000,000
Italy	760,000,000
Russia	325,000,000
Belgium	154,250,000
Greece	15,790,000
Cuba	15,000,000
Serbia	12,000,000
Liberia	5,000,000
Total	7,097,040,000

One of the leading New York papers has drawn attention to the fact that, whereas England is borrowing immense amounts of money in the United States, their money market is easy as compared with money conditions in this country. In this way England is able to build up its industries in preparation for the severe competition which is bound to follow after the war.

An example of this is that the English Parliament recently voted £2,000,000 to advance to dyestuff makers in England, while England is borrowing money here. Another is the fact that the London Water Co. notes, which sold here on about a 7 per cent basis, and are now maturing, have been replaced in London on a 3½ per cent basis, due to the easy money market in England, as compared with the high rates which United States industries must pay in this country.

This is an injustice to United States merchants and is an anomaly in finance, since it is customary for a loaning nation to have the whip hand, whereas now, in spite of the fact that the United States is a creditor nation to the extent of almost $6,000,000,000, where before the war we were a debtor nation to the extent of $6,000,000,000, and that at this time our loans to England amount to $3,745,000,000, money conditions are far tighter here than in Britain, a debtor nation.

A leading New York banker and financier, in a recent interview, said:

"At present, owing to our favorable trade balance during the last three years or more, we are in absolute control of the international exchange situation Our excess of exports over imports during that period has added immensely to our gold holdings. After the war exports may and probably will fall off considerably, and it is not unlikely that our imports will increase heavily. This might result in huge gold shipments from here. If the amounts due from other governments to the Government of the United States for advances made to the allies are in the form of long-term obligations on which only interest and sinking fund would have to be paid, it might be that such interest and sinking fund would not be sufficient to offset the amount of gold which foreign countries could draw from us should the balance of trade then be very much against us. Naturally, the longer the war lasts the larger will be the amount due this Government annually for interest and sinking fund. It is assumed that present arrangements with the allies provide at least for annual payments of interest and sinking fund. If such provision does not exist, it certainly ought to be arranged for.

"If, on the other hand the amounts due from allied countries to our Government were, instead of being in the form of long-time bonds, to take the form of short-time obligations, perhaps maturing serially, then there could be no question about our being able to tender, in lieu of gold that might be demanded, obligations of any country desiring to withdraw gold from us. In other words, there could then be no question that the control of gold movements would be in our hands. The control of gold naturally carries with it, so long as the gold standard is maintained the world over, very largely the control of commerce. Of course, it may be said that out of gratitude none of the allies would press their advantage; but can it not with equal truth be said that similarly the United States would not press its advantage, and is it not better that if the advantage must rest with some one it should rest with us?

"The relation of exports to imports will unquestionably be affected by the relative rates of wages that will be paid after the war in the various countries now at war. It is reasonable to assume that the laboring man in America will, as heretofore, fare better than the laboring man in European countries. This may mean for some time a very large decrease in exports of merchandise and a very large increase in the importation of merchandise. If, in order to avoid trade rivalries that have heretofore been believed to be a cause of war, protective tariffs should largely be done away with, the United States would probably find it more difficult than other countries to readjust the scale of money wages in this country. We ought at such a time to have the power to protect ourselves against the inconvenient export of gold."

Mr. PHELAN. I hereby submit the most recent Treasury statement of loans to foreign governments under the acts of April 24, 1917; September 24, 1917; April 4, 1918; and July 9, 1918, for the information of the Senate:

	Credits established.	Cash advances.	Other charges against credits.	Balances under established credits.
Belgium	$171,020,000	$156,980,000		$14,040,000
Cuba	15,000,000	5,000,000		10,000,000
France	2,165,000,000	1,865,000,000	$200,000,000	100,000,000
Great Britain	3,745,000,000	3,652,000,000		93,000,000
Greece	15,790,000		15,790,000	
Italy	1,060,000,000	840,000,000		220,000,000
Liberia	5,000,000			5,000,000
Roumania	6,666,666		5,000,000	1,666,666
Russia	325,000,000	187,729,750		137,270,250
Serbia	12,000,000	10,205,000		1,795,000
Total	7,520,476,666	6,716,914,750	220,790,000	582,771,916

ABSENT KENTUCKY VOTERS AT NAVAL STATION.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, I present as a memorial from the State of Kentucky the telegram which I send to the desk, with the request that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read the telegram, as follows:

LOUISVILLE, KY., *October 20, 1918.*

Hon. HARRY S. NEW,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We desire to bring to you attention the following matter: Duly accredited representatives of the Kentucky Republican State campaign committee have been denied by the authorities in charge of United States naval training station at Great Lakes, Ill., facilities for getting into touch with and rendering to Kentucky Republican voters in the service there who may wish it assistance in preparing necessary papers entitling them to cast their ballots at the approaching November election in Kentucky agreeably to the "absent-voters" law of Kentucky, giving as a reason that a nonpartisan representative of Gov. Stanley, of Kentucky, had already been there, and had secured the promulgation of a general order in said station directing all Kentucky voters there who desired to vote at the approaching election in Kentucky to appear at a designated place in said station on October 11 for that purpose, and stating that no other opportunity would be accorded them to vote, and that said representative of Gov. Stanley had on said date, in pursuance of said order, met Kentucky voters there and had secured the execution of the necessary papers enabling them to vote. It has been pointed out to said authorities that the person who had gone to said station carrying a letter of introduction and credit from Gov. Stanley was not a nonpartisan official or agent, but was the representative of the Democratic organization in Kentucky and of the candidacy of Gov. Stanley, the Democratic nominee for United States Senator from Kentucky, and was in no sense the representative of the Kentucky Republican organization; that he went there as a partisan, whatever his representations may have been to said authorities; and that investigation in the offices of the county clerks in Kentucky, where applications from absent voters for ballots must be filed showed so small a number of applications for ballots from Kentucky Republicans at said naval station that the Republican candidates and organization in Kentucky can not accept as a fair or nonpartisan result the action of said Democratic representative in assuming or undertaking to poll the Republican vote there; that said representative went there without the knowledge or consent of any Republican organization or candidate, but only at the instance and direction of Democratic organizations and candidates, including Gov. Stanley; that there is no provision of the Kentucky law authorizing the appointment of any commission, partisan or otherwise, to take the poll of absent voters or to assist such voters in the preparation of the necessary papers for voting; and that the aforesaid representative, acting for the partisan purposes aforesaid, sought Democratic votes rather than Republican votes, because he was and is working earnestly for the success of Democratic candidates and for the defeat of Republican candidates. Notwithstanding which, said authorities yet decline to permit the representatives of this committee to have any facilities for securing the applications of Kentucky Republican voters there who may not have taken any steps to secure their ballots for voting and who might desire to do so. It is but natural that absent voters should desire to receive assistance in the preparation of papers for voting under Kentucky's new and rather complicated law permitting absent voters to vote by mail at the hands of representatives of their own party bearing proper evidence of authority and good faith from their party organization; and we have every reason to believe that many Kentucky Republicans at said station who desire to vote will altogether fail of the opportunity of doing so unless duly accredited representatives of their party are permitted to meet, instruct, and help them. We do not question the good faith of the authorities at said station in their action taken at the instance of said Democratic representative, but we fail to understand why now, with facts explained to them, they decline to give to Republican representatives the same opportunity they accorded said Democratic representative. That any of these voters should be precluded from exercising the highest privilege of citizenship when at their country's call they have placed themselves in position whereby they may have to make the supreme sacrifice of citizenship is so grave a wrong against them and is so antagonistic to the very things for which we are waging this great war that we are sure that if the higher governmental authorities are advised thereof they will immediately give the necessary direction granting the courtesy we are asking. This committee appeals to you to exercise your good offices and influence to secure permission for its representatives to immediately reach in an adequate way the Kentucky Republican voters in said station and to give all of them who may desire it the information and assistance necessary to enable them to vote at the approaching election in Kentucky. The time is short and quick action is necessary. The order promulgated at said naval station at the instance of the aforesaid representative of the Kentucky Democratic organization and the candidacy of Gov. Stanley follows:

[Copy.]

OFFICE OF THE COMMANDANT,
UNITED STATES NAVAL TRAINING STATION,
GREAT LAKES, ILL.

NOTICE.

1. All men on this station qualified voters of the State of Kentucky who desire to vote in the coming fall election in the State of Kentucky are directed to report Friday October 11, between the hours of 9.30 a. m. and 12 noon, and 1 p. m. and 4.30 p. m., in the pool and bowling alley room in the basement of the Instruction Building, main station.

2. Special arrangements have been made by the governor of Kentucky to give the Kentucky boys of this station this opportunity to vote; this is the only opportunity that will be given to voters in the fall election.

3. Heads of departments and regimental commanders are directed to issue the necessary pass to all Kentucky boys desiring to take advantage of this opportunity.

W. E. CLOW, Jr.,
Ensign, U. S. N. R. F., by direction.

The above notice was published in the Friday, October 11, 1918, issue of the Great Lakes Bulletin.

W. E. CLOW, Jr.,
Ensign, U. S. N R. F., Aid to Commandant.

Kindly wire me at my expense of what you may be able to do.

M. H. THATCHER,
Vice Chairman Republican State Campaign Committee of Kentucky, 810 Republic Building.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, the memorial which I have sent to the desk, and which has just been read by the Secretary, speaks for itself. It requires very little in the way of explanation or expatiation on my part. The facts are pretty plainly set forth. It appears from this memorial that without further notice to the men at the Great Lakes station than was published in a little local paper on the same day on which the election under the absent voters' law was to be held, they were called upon to cast their votes; that is, such of them as were meant to be notified were voted, while the others were not.

Mr. President, I have sent this to the desk because I think we are all interested in knowing if the Army and Navy of the United States are to be used for carrying on that kind of political outrage. I think that if the boys who are there at that station, and who have staked their lives in defense of the honor of their country, are to be made the victims of that kind of political machination and outrage, not only the Senate, but the public is interested in knowing it.

GERMAN ATROCITIES.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask to have read a short letter from Dr. P. H. Howard, of St. Louis, Mo.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will read the letter.

The Secretary read as follows:

ST. LOUIS, MO., *September 19, 1918.*

Hon. MILES POINDEXTER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of September 11 at hand. In regard to atrocities reported by me, I reported to the headquarters of New York of having met A. C. Cole, 49 Prospect Street, East Liverpool, Ohio, at the Hotel D'Strassberg, and he told me of finding his brother, Sergt. A. B. Cole, crucified by the Uhlans July 21, 1915, at the Battle of Ypres.

A. C. Cole is a member of the First Canadian Tunneling Company and was on furlough in Paris at the time. I have his signed statement of the above act as well as that of Fred A. Robinson, Cayuga, Ind., of the Fifty-eighth Infantry, Canada, who was a personal witness to the above. I also interviewed five different members of the First Canadian Tunneling Company in Paris, who testified to the above atrocity.

A personal feeling that any well-authenticated atrocity should be known by the American people was my reason for mentioning them on my return to America.

Yours, very truly,
P. H. HOWARD.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, the street number and post-office address of this writer are given. My purpose in presenting the letter was because of the fact that a short time ago the Committee on Public Information, which states that it dispenses all news items that are given out from the War Department, gave out to the press and had printed in certain papers a categorical denial of this statement which has been made by Dr. Howard, that Sergt. Cole had been found by his brother crucified. He states in this letter that he has the written statement of A. C. Cole and of Fred A. Robinson, of the Fifty-eighth Canadian Infantry, corroborated by interviews with a number of other soldiers who personally observed the crucified corpse of Sergt. Cole.

I have in my hand, Mr. President, a sheet of printed matter given out by the Committee on Public Information, sent to me with a letter, I suppose because I had called up the Committee on Public Information and inquired of them whether or not they were responsible for the denial of this German atrocity. I find in this sheet of printed matter, which is evidently prepared for the press, a lengthy propaganda attacking various reports as to acts of German cruelty and German atrocity. The Committee on Public Information make the very peculiar argument in this propaganda which they are giving out to the newspapers and paying for out of the Public Treasury, the appropriations that Congress has made for them, that while it is to the advantage of the United States that the Germans should understand that the American Army does not torture its prisoners, but treats them well, in order to encourage German soldiers to surrender, at the same time, for some different reason not explained by the committee, the German Army authorities give out false reports of German atrocities, whether for the purpose of inducing American soldiers to surrender or not is not made plain, but that they are given out for the purpose of having them contradicted and their falsity exposed, in order to discredit the reports of atrocities that had actually been committed. So the committee proceeds to aid the Germans to accomplish this object by attacking reports of atrocities, even where proved by incontrovertible evidence.

I am not able to follow this peculiarly meticulous argument of the Committee on Public Information, whereby they apply one rule to the German authorities and another to the American authorities as to the policy which would affect the morale of the soldiers of their respective armies; but I am concerned with the persistent and continued effort on the part of the

Committee on Public Information to create the impression that the Germans have abandoned the practice of cruelty to prisoners and to civilians in the occupied territory, and I am at a loss to understand the purpose of the Committee on Public Information in adopting this attitude. It is a matter which I think should be called to public attention, and some inquiry should be made as to the motive which is back of this propaganda, so seduously cultivated by the Committee on Public Information at the expense of the United States and in favor of the Germans.

The instance to which I have just called attention is only one of a number; and in that connection I will state that even after the attention of the Committee on Public Information had been called to the proof which Dr. Howard had of the assertion which he makes, on the 17th day of this month they sent me this curious statement in regard to it, a part of the matter which they are issuing for publication:

In this connection, it is well to note that there has been an error made in the published story of the crucifixion by Germans of an American soldier named Sergt. A. B. Cole, of East Liverpool, Ohio. A circumstantial account of the atrocity has been printed by the Salvation Army, as related by Dr. P. H. Howard, a member of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, who visited France to gather first-hand information about the war. Dr Howard was quoted as giving the story on the authority of Pvt. A. C. Cole, a brother of the victim, who found the crucified soldier pinned with bayonets to a door.

They still persist, notwithstanding their attention has been called to the proof which Dr. Howard had of this atrocity, in attempting to cast discredit upon the authenticity of the report, and refer to Sergt. Cole as an American soldier, whereas Dr. Howard stated in his original statement and in the letter which the Secretary has read that he was a Canadian soldier, and the Committee on Public Information gave out a denial of this atrocity from the War Department under the name of Gen. March. I notice that on a previous occasion Gen. March felt called upon to issue a statement repudiating news items which had been given out by this committee in his name, and the present instance may be equally unauthorized so far as Gen. March is concerned; but there was given out in his name by this committee a denial that Sergt. Cole had been crucified.

Now, I fail to understand how Gen. March could tell whether or not a sergeant in the Canadian Army had been crucified. He did not purport, in his statement which this Committee on Public Information gave out, to have any special means of information on the subject.

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] has just handed me, in the New York Times of to-day, a report of what he designates as a horrible atrocity, newly reported, which has been committed by the Germans, which I ask to have printed as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the absence of objection, it will be so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

BUTCHERED BY RETREATING FOE.

One of the largest successes has been darkened by a tragedy almost unique even in the records of German cruelty. When the order was given to all the inhabitants to move away to the interior before the advancing allies the farmer with his wife and three children stayed instead of obeying. The Germans found them and shot them there in their own farmyard as an example to the rest of the population. The French cavalry advance guard was horrified by the sight of their bodies not yet cold.

Mr. POINDEXTER. It is not my purpose, however, to collect here the innumerable instances of unspeakable cruelties and inhumane practices of which the Germans are guilty. The world is aware of their conduct in this regard. It has already been proved. My purpose in presenting this letter is to show that a committee that are expending millions of dollars annually, appropriated out of the Public Treasury for the purpose of issuing propaganda favorable to the United States, for some reason, on the basis of the argument which I have referred to, which no sane person can understand, are devoting these funds to a defense of Germany against the charges of atrocity; and they use the expression in the report which they have just issued, and which they sent to me under the signature of the Director of the Service Bureau of this committee, as he is officially called, that the discrediting of these reports tends to cast discredit upon the reports of "atrocities committed on Belgian girls during the early days of the war."

There is a very clear disclosure of the attitude of this committee. Their attitude is that while there were atrocities committed in the early days of the war, they take the position and clearly imply by this statement which they have issued that the practice of atrocities has been abandoned by the Germans, notwithstanding the instance to which the Senator from Colorado has just called attention and the instance which is contained in a report from Montreal of August 19 of Germans turning liquid fire upon helpless prisoners in their possession in groups, and which I ask to have printed as a part of my remarks, and innumerable other instances which are proved by the testimony of eyewitnesses. These practices are certified to by the President of the United States in the official communication which he has issued in the last few days to the German Government, in which he refers to the practice of the Germans of carrying off into slavery the civil inhabitants of occupied territory, in which the President refers to the inhuman, unlawful, barbarous practice of the Germans of sinking lifeboats in which the passengers upon vessels torpedoed in the first place, against the rules of international law, were seeking to save their lives, the practices of the Germans in firing upon the lifeboats and upon the helpless people occupying them. In the face of that, and persistently after their attention had been called to the peculiarity of their course, this Committee on Public Information are attempting to create the impression in the world, for some purpose which seems to me rather sinister, that the Germans have abandoned these practices.

I ask, Mr. President, that the Montreal item to which I have just referred may be printed as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the absence of objection, it will be so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[By the Associated Press.]

GERMANS TURN LIQUID FIRE ON CAPTURED AND WOUNDED.

LONDON, *August 18, via Montreal.*

Details have been officially published for the first time of gross outrages on British prisoners and wounded men committed by the Germans last March. Affidavits of Scotch soldiers testify to the authenticity of the charges.

A private of the Royal Highlanders tells how he and a number of comrades, consisting of 1 officer and 15 men, 10 of whom were wounded, were compelled to surrender near Monchy, March 28. They were lined up in the original front line trench, and after some time a German officer and two men appeared. One of the men under orders of the officer turned a stream of liquid fire straight down the trench in which the Britishers were standing and, notwithstanding the fact that they were unarmed, continued to spray them for six or seven minutes. The private testified that he and a few of his companions who were able to move scrambled down to a communication trench and got over the top and back into the British lines.

Another private testified that he and other prisoners were marched down a trench to an emplacement about 6 feet deep, 9 feet wide, and from 9 to 12 feet long, and while tightly packed in the inclosure two Germans, one of whom carried a revolver and seemed to be an officer, appeared. The other man had a cylinder on his back and attached to it was a flexible pipe.

"Just as he reached the entrance to the inclosure," said the soldier, referring to the man with the cylinder on his back, "a flame spurted out in a stream from the pipe and caught the men who were nearest to the entrance. The other men lay in heaps around and partly on me. I heard a hissing sound for a short while. Then it stopped but started again. During this time the men were shrieking and writhing. The flame reached right back to where I was. My overcoat and tunic caught fire. By this time all the men were on the ground."

The soldier added that he managed to crawl up the slope and get away.

Another soldier related how an officer, wounded in the head and foot, and four other wounded and three unwounded men, including himself, were in an old trench when two Germans appeared and used liquid fire. One of the Germans, revolver in hand, ordered the Britishers to get back to the German line. The narrator said his hands and right ear were burned. Three of the party managed to escape and reach the British line, but the Germans either must have suffocated or burned all the five wounded men, as nothing further had been heard from them.

The British Government has protested to the German Government against those outrages.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, before the Senator sits down, let me ask him if it is not true that within two or three days it has been stated in all the dispatches that before leaving Lille the Germans took away a large number of young women and girls?

Mr. POINDEXTER. Why, it is stated from so many sources that it is beyond question that witnesses of indubitable veracity, officials of the city of Lille, stated to the French and British Army authorities when they entered the city that the Germans had carried away 15,000 civilians; and they gave an account in the most specific way of an order issued by the German general in command of the city of Lille for the inhabitants of that city to assemble in their respective homes at a certain hour on a certain night, and that they remained so assembled until 10 o'clock on the following morning, when representatives of the German Army appeared at each door, examined the family, and, after scrutinizing them and determining which ones of the family would be useful to them for such purposes as they chose to make of them, sorted out the several members of the family, and carried them off with them.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President——

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. LODGE. Just to make a further point: Of course, the Bureau of Public Information are so renowned for accuracy that I suppose they felt that the statement of Sergt. Cole's brother was not good evidence of the identity of the body—that one brother could not recognize the other.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Very likely. That is not sufficient evidence for the punctilious Committee on Public Information.

In this connection I refer again to something that I called attention to some time ago, in a report from the Committee on Public Information citing Gen. Pershing as authority for the denial of a report that a sergeant had made. I can very well imagine that a sergeant might see certain things that occurred to an American soldier at the battle front that Gen. Pershing did not see and would not know anything about and would have no means of knowing. I called attention to it at that time, and the doubt that existed in my mind whether Gen. Pershing had ever made any such statement. I am rather confirmed in that suspicion by subsequent developments, as Gen. March, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, has been compelled over his own name to issue a denial to certain statements made by the committee in his name.

CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENT.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which is Senate bill 4637.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 4637) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.

DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE STERLING.

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. JOHN A. STERLING, late a Representative from the State of Illinois, and transmitted resolutions of the House thereon.

Mr. LODGE. I ask that the resolutions of the House be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate resolutions from the House, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
October 17, 1918.

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. JOHN A. STERLING, a Representative from the State of Illinois.

Resolved, That a committee of 20 members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions, and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I send to the desk the following resolutions and ask for their adoption.

The resolutions (S. Res. 322) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. JOHN A. STERLING, late a Representative from the State of Illinois.

Resolved, That a committee of six Senators be appointed by the Presiding Officer to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the deceased.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Under the second resolution the Presiding Officer appointed as the committee on the part of the Senate Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. LEWIS, Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota, Mr. FERNALD, Mr. WATSON, and Mr. VARDAMAN.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Thursday, October 24, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *October 21, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father in heaven, we thank Thee that Thy brooding wings are over us, Thy loving arms about us, Thy spirit within us, to guide us through the voyage of life; that our physicians have in hand the terrible scourge which has been visited upon our people. May they continue their skill until it shall be removed from the world. We thank Thee that Field Marshal Foch, by his skill, energy, and courage, has in hand the destruction of militarism and autocracy; that all the world may rejoice in peace and happiness; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday, October 19, was read and approved.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, according to the agreement we had the other day, I move that the House adjourn to meet on next Thursday.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 6 minutes p. m.) the House, under its previous agreement, adjourned until Thursday, October 24, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. PADGETT: A bill (H. R. 13111) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to acquire additional lands for the naval training station, naval operating base, Hampton Roads, Va.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13112) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to acquire additional lands for the Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WALSH: A bill (H. R. 13113) to authorize the Chief of Ordnance to enter into agreements relative to repairs to public highways and the cost thereof; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CARY: A bill (H. R. 13114) granting a pension to Paulina Zabel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LINTHICUM: Resolution (H. Res. 447) to pay Benjamin C. Green for one month's services; to the Committee on Accounts.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII,

Mr. WALSH laid on the Clerk's desk a petition of the City Council of Worcester, Mass., protesting against proposed tax on income from municipal bonds, which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *October 24, 1918.*

Rev. A. T. Guttery, of Liverpool, England, president elect of the National Free Church Council of England and Wales, offered the following prayer:

O Lord, our God, we thank Thee for the mercies of this day. Its tidings of valor and victory assure us of Thy constant governance in the affairs of men. Save us from pride in the hour of triumph as Thou did save us from despair in the day of trial. Thy call to us is great beyond our merits; we pray Thee to give us grace and power that Thy will may be done on earth as it is in heaven.

Bless, we pray Thee, the President of this Nation and his counselors, and also the allied rulers, statesmen, commanders, and peoples who share our task in these days of war. Let Thy favor abide with our sons, who contend for us on land and sea and above the clouds, and give mercy to our daughters, who must serve and suffer at home.

Remove, O Lord, the illness that afflicts the homes of this land and give wisdom to those who battle with the pestilence that threatens us.

We pray Thee to give victory to our arms, not that we may boast in might, but that through triumph there may come to our troubled world an abiding peace, in which Christ, Thine Eternal Son, shall reign forever.

These blessings we pray in the name of the beloved Lord. Amen.

NAMING A PRESIDING OFFICER.

The Secretary (James M. Baker) read the following communication:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D. C., October 24, 1918.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. JOE T. ROBINSON, a Senator from the State of Arkansas, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

WILLARD SAULSBURY,
President pro tempore.

Mr. ROBINSON thereupon took the chair as Presiding Officer.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of Monday last, when, on request of Mr. CHAMBERLAIN and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

ESTIMATES OF APPROPRIATIONS.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation in the sum of $12,800 required by the District of Columbia for purchases of fire apparatus urgently needed, etc. (S. Doc. No. 293), which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Acting Secretary of Labor submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation in the sum of $195,000,000 required for the Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation, etc. (S. Doc. No. 294), which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Secretary of War submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation in the sum of $12,000 required by the Medical Department of the Army for the Army Medical Museum, fiscal year 1919 (S. Doc. No. 295), which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bill and joint resolution, and they were thereupon signed by the Presiding Officer:

S. 3735. An act to provide for enlistments in the National Guard of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; and

S. J. Res. 63. Joint resolution to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. NELSON presented a petition of the Drake Bullard Co., of Minneapolis, Minn., relative to the tax on farm-loan bonds, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a telegram in the nature of a memorial from the Minnesota Pharmaceutical Association, of Minneapolis, Minn., and a telegram in the nature of a memorial from the Koch Vegetable Tea Co., of Winona, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed tax on nonbeverage alcohol, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented petitions of Horace Lowry, of Minneapolis; John R. Mitchell, of St. Paul; Charles W. Gordon, of St. Paul; George H. Prince, of St. Paul; and Eli S. Warner, of St. Paul, all in the State of Minnesota, praying for the classification of public utility corporations for taxation by themselves in the pending revenue bill, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

ABSENT KENTUCKY VOTERS AT NAVAL STATION.

Mr. BECKHAM. Mr. President, on last Monday the Senator from Indiana [Mr. NEW] had read a telegram from the vice chairman of the Republican State campaign committee of Kentucky complaining about some action of the commandant at the Great Lakes Training Station, near Chicago. In that telegram the vice chairman complains that a political preference was shown. I have here a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, inclosing one from the commandant of the station in reference to this matter, and I ask that they may be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears no objection, and the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
Washington, October 24, 1918.

Hon. J. C. W. BECKHAM,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR BECKHAM: I am sending you herewith a copy of a telegram from Capt. W. A. Moffett, commandant of the Great Lakes Naval Training Station, giving the facts with reference to the statement contained in a telegram which Senator NEW put in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I explained the matter to Senator NEW that Capt. Moffett did exactly right, and has given permission alike to Democrats and Republicans who wish to give opportunity to men to vote who are in the naval service on duty at Great Lakes.

Sincerely, yours, JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

(Inclosure.)

Dictated by the Secretary and signed in his absence.

[Copy of telegram.]

GREAT LAKES, ILL., *October 22, 1918—9.45 a. m.*

Hon. JOSEPHUS DANIELS,
Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D. C.:

With reference my telegram in regard to Senator NEW, the following telegram just received from Mr. Thatcher, vice chairman Kentucky Republican State committee:

"Your wire to-day. Will send representatives to Great Lakes in accordance therewith. As there is no provision of law in Kentucky for any commission to be appointed to arrange for absent votes, and as party who was there on the 11th instant came as the partisan representative of his party and of Gov. Stanley, who is himself a candidate for office, this committee very naturally was unwilling to accept the result of that party in the matter, especially so as the applications for ballots received through said party's effort were so much larger for the Democrats than for the Republicans, we felt, and feel, that the Republican organization should have the same facilities exactly as accorded to the Democratic organization, and we appreciate the fact that the like courtesy has been accorded us."

As stated before, both parties have been treated exactly alike in all election activities at Great Lakes, and every effort has been made to keep these activities strictly nonpartisan.

W. A. MOFFETT.

[Copy of telegram.]

GREAT LAKES, ILL., *October 21, 1918—7.30 p. m.*

Hon. JOSEPHUS DANIELS,
Secretary of the Navy,
Navy Department, Washington:

Associated Press reports that Senator NEW, of Indiana, read in the Senate a telegram from the chairman of the Kentucky Republican State Central Committee that his committee had been denied privilege granted the Kentucky Democratic State Central Committee to get in touch with the Kentucky voters in this station. Our understanding of the law and of Navy regulations is that in the matter of affording opportunity to voters in the service to vote by mail no political party is to be permitted to canvass the voters or to electioneer on this station. Certain gentlemen from Kentucky, with a letter from the governor, arrived here requesting that arrangements be made so that the voters of Kentucky might be permitted to vote by mail. A notice was therefore inserted in the Bulletin, the station daily paper, directing all Kentucky voters desiring to vote to present themselves at the Athletic Building on the morning of October 11, where the facilities would be afforded them. No mention of party was made in this notice. In fact the same nonpartisan procedure was followed with Kentucky as with all other States, the men simply being advised of time and place to assemble.

Later two gentlemen claiming to represent the Kentucky Republican State Central Committee arrived here and said the committee had been told that members of the Kentucky Democratic State Central Committee had been afforded opportunity to canvass the Kentucky voters on this station and asked for similar privileges. When informed of what had been done, and after being shown the printed notice and their attention called to the fact that it was addressed to all Kentucky voters, without reference to party, they apparently were satisfied and left here taking a copy of the notice with them.

This morning a telegram was received from Mr. Thatcher, vice chairman Kentucky Republican State Committee, claiming the authorities here had been deceived as to the character of the first delegation, and that in truth and in fact it had been a delegation of Kentucky Democrats who had canvassed the Kentucky Democrat voters, and that as a result Kentucky Republican boys had been denied the right of franchise.

Early this morning a telegram was sent to Mr. Thatcher informing him that while we would refuse to mention political parties, a notice would be published arranging for another meeting of all Kentucky voters at Great Lakes, and that his committee would be welcome at that meeting. No discrimination whatever has been shown in this case, and the procedure has been identical in every respect with all other elections conducted here. I consider Senator's NEW's criticism of me in the Senate, while doubtless based on misinformation, entirely unjust, and request, if you approve, that you take steps to have the facts stated where this injustice can be corrected.

W. A. MOFFETT.

Mr. BECKHAM. I have a letter here from Mr. L. D. Greene, who was the representative sent to the Great Lakes Naval Training Station, giving an account of his visit there and what he did. This letter, together with those that have been read, I think show absolutely the injustice done by the telegram which was read in the Senate last Monday. I send this letter to the desk and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears no objection, and the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

FRANKFORT, KY., *October 20, 1918.*

Hon. J. C. W. BECKHAM,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Under a law as enacted by the 1918 session of the Kentucky Legislature providing in substance that voters who are absent from the State of Kentucky, either in the military or naval service, under certain provisions be given the right to register and vote, I was asked by the State committee to proceed to the Great Lakes Naval Training Station to procure affidavits under this law from all Kentucky boys now stationed at the Great Lakes. I requested and received from Gov. Stanley a letter of introduction, which letter in substance stated that I was to afford the Kentucky boys an opportunity to vote, and I presented this letter to the commandant at the Great Lakes Station and received most courteous treatment and consideration. The commandant at the Great Lakes directed or had published in the Official Bulletin a notice directing the attention of the Kentucky boys to the fact that I was there and in the interest of the absent voter, and that they would be given an opportunity at a certain time and place to register for the purpose of voting, and a certain building was set apart for this purpose. As I have just indicated above, all Kentucky boys who requested were given passes for the purpose of voting. I took the affidavits of all Kentucky boys who pre-

sented themselves in this building at the time set apart, both Democratic and Republican, and never at any time made any distinction between the two.

The Republican ballots, which numbered more than 50, upon my return, were delivered personally to the local Republican leaders who assured me that these ballots would be mailed to the county court clerks of their respective counties and that ballots would be sent forthwith to these boys at the Great Lakes Training Station. I never, at any time during the three or four days I was in the naval training station, made mention of the fact that I was a member of any nonpartisan commission as our Kentucky law does not provide for a nonpartisan commission. I was the only man sent to the Great Lakes and registered all voters who presented themselves for registration, and delivered their ballots to the proper authorities irrespective of whether they were Republicans or Democrats.

Very respectfully, L. D. GREENE.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, I first desire to say that in looking over the RECORD of last Monday I discover that through pure inadvertence I referred to this incident at Great Lakes in the sense that the men had voted, when I meant, of course, that they were registered, not voted. I knew very well, of course, that they had not reached the voting stage and that they were called upon to register and not to vote. With that explanation I will proceed.

Mr. President, it was not my purpose or desire, and I do not think what I said warranted the inference, that I meant what I said on Monday as a criticism of the officers in command of the Great Lakes station or of the Navy Department here. It was a perfectly natural and a perfectly proper thing for the commandant of the Great Lakes Naval Station to accept the representations of a man who presented himself there bearing credentials from the Governor of the State of Kentucky and to permit him as that representative to see the Kentucky voters and to register them, all of which he did.

But, Mr. President, the facts are exactly as I stated them, and the criticism that I made of the Governor of Kentucky I repeat, renew, and emphasize. The fact is, Mr. President, that what was done was to appoint a representative of one party to act in the registering of these votes, whereas I think the spirit of the election laws of this country, if not the strict letter of them, requires that both parties shall be represented in all matters of that kind. For instance, in the State of Indiana a Republican governor appointed representatives of the Republican and Democratic Parties, and those representatives went together to the various cantonments, to the Great Lakes station, and to all places where there are soldiers and sailors voting. They took Republican and Democratic clerks to register them, and the whole matter was done exactly as it would have been done at a regularly constituted election booth at the time of an election. That is the manner in which I think it should have been conducted in this instance, and it is because it was not so conducted that the Republicans of the State of Kentucky entered what I think was a perfectly proper protest; and that is what I put into the RECORD.

I have a further telegram from them since that time, in which they say:

LOUISVILLE, KY., *October 23, 1918.*

Hon. HARRY S. NEW,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Facts are exactly as stated in my former wire. One L. D. Greene, personally a clever gentleman but an active, skillful, prominent Democratic politician of Louisville, was the representative of Kentucky Democratic organization and of Gov. Stanley, candidate for United States Senator; and he went to Great Lakes, as detailed heretofore, to get Democratic and not Republican votes. He went without knowledge, advice, or consent of any Republican organization or candidate. As his credentials from Gov. Stanley were apparently couched in official and nonpartisan terms, and as doubtless the authorities at Great Lakes did not know of Gov. Stanley's candidacy and apparently were not advised thereof, it seems that they were lead to believe that Greene came there purely as the legally authorized nonpartisan representative from Kentucky to arrange for and supervise the preparation and mailing of applications for ballots of all Kentucky voters there, and in consequences accorded to Greene ample opportunity to reach voters there. However, applications for such ballots filed in Kentucky county clerks' offices show twice as many Democratic as Republican applicants for ballots from Great Lakes, although we have every reason to believe that there are as many or more Kentucky Republican voters there as there are Kentucky Democratic voters there. We believe that Kentucky Republican voters there may have better understood the fact that Greene was at the station as the partisan representative of his party than did the station authorities, and doubtless a majority of Kentucky Republican voters there were unwilling to turn in to him or through him applications for ballots. We submit that Greene should have frankly avowed that he visited Great Lakes as the representative of his party and of Gov. Stanley's candidacy, so that authorities there might have provided that representatives of the Kentucky Republican organization might have been present at the time the polling of applications of Kentucky voters was had under Greene's supervision. As stated in my former wire, where a nonpartisan commission is provided by law, as is the case in Kentucky, camp authorities should admit representatives to their camps to assist absent voters in voting exactly on the same terms, and the best plan is to fix the same day or days for this purpose, just as is now being done at Camp Zachary Taylor. The authorities at Great Lakes have wired me that representatives of this committee could now come to Great Lakes and meet voters there as we had asked, and our representatives have gone there for that purpose. Thus our position in this matter has been recognized and justified. Many Kentucky voters there whose legal residences are in towns and cities requiring registration of voters can not be reached now in time to permit them to take necessary steps enabling them to register and vote, and the Republicans will doubtless lose many votes there on this account; but we hope to yet reach voters there whose residences are in rural districts where no registration is required and to render them necessary information and assistance enabling them to vote. Many thanks for your efforts and courtesy in this matter. All we ask is a square deal, and no fair-minded Democrat would wish to deny this.

M. H. THATCHER,
Vice Chairman Republican State Campaign Committee.

LOUISVILLE, KY., *October 23, 1918.*

Hon. HARRY S. NEW,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Our contention has been upheld, and we have received advice from Great Lakes authorities that our representatives may now come there and reach Kentucky voters, as desired by us, and our representatives have gone there, although it is now too late to enable Kentucky voters there living in cities requiring registration of voters to complete in time their papers enabling them to vote. L. D. Greene, the representative of Kentucky Democratic organization and of Gov. Stanley's candidacy for United States Senate, according to his own statement, turned in to county clerks in Kentucky twice as many Democratic as Republican applications for ballots from Great Lakes, whereas there are certainly as many Kentucky Republican voters there as there are Democratic voters there, and as we have every reason to believe there should be more Kentucky Republicans there than Kentucky Democrats. Greene was in no wise the representative of any Republican organization or candidate. No Republican organization or candidate would select a Democratic worker to poll Republican votes, and no Democratic organization or candidate would select a Republican worker to poll Democratic votes. No doubt majority of Kentucky Republican voters at Great Lakes sensed the situation and declined to give their applications for ballots to Greene, the Democratic representative.

M. H. THATCHER,
Vice Chairman Kentucky State Republican Committee.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. NEW. I do, for a question.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I wish to ask the Senator a question. I understood the Senator to say that the Democratic applications to vote were about double the Republican applications to vote?

Mr. NEW. The telegram so states.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I understood the Senator to be reading from a telegram. Does he dispute that as a fact?

Mr. NEW. No. I am simply reading a telegram that has been sent to me.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And the telegram states that there were twice as many Democrats as Republicans applying to vote?

Mr. NEW. The telegram states, as I read, "that out of the applicants for such ballots filed in the Kentucky county clerk's office there were twice as many Democratic as Republican applicants for ballots. But the telegram also says there are as many as or more Republican voters there than there are Kentucky Democratic voters there.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That involves one assertion of fact and another assertion of opinion. The assertion of fact is that there were twice as many Democrats; the assertion of opinion is that this particular gentleman thinks that there might have been as many Republicans as Democrats.

Now, has the Senator any information that this man Greene—I understand his name to be Greene—committed any fraud or did anything dishonest or was crooked at all in any respect about either receiving votes or applications? And has that man Greene had any control over these original applications of voters in Kentucky to vote? Could he have controlled it in any way in the world? Did not these applications come even before he went to camp?

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, as to what Mr. Greene might, could, or should have done I do not know.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I did not ask that question of the Senator from Indiana. I asked the question what he had done, not what he might, could, should, or would have done.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, in answer to the Senator from Mississippi, I desire to say that I am not making any personal attack on Mr. Greene. I am simply saying that to have sent the representative of one party there without consultation with or the knowledge of the other party was contrary to the spirit, at least, if not to the letter of the election laws of this country, and if not contrary to the letter of them, it should be contrary to it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I understood that. Now, I understand that the Senator makes no charge of any description, because he dares not, in his regard——

Mr. NEW. It is not necessary for me to make any charge.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I mean, in your regard for truthfulness you dare not—otherwise, of course, you dare anything, and so do I; but I mean that you dare not, in your regard for truthfulness, make any charge against Mr. Greene having been in any way corrupt or wrong-headed——

Mr. NEW. Oh, Mr. President, that is not the issue here at all, and I decline to enter into any argument on that question. I simply say that the facts here show——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, now, I want to ask the Senator one more question, and——

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, have I the floor?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana has the floor.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I desire to ask the Senator one more question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. NEW. No, Mr. President; I decline to yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana declines to yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana has the floor.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I understand.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. And the Senator declines to yield.

Mr. NEW. I decline to yield for an argument; yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I wanted to ask a question, if the Senator would permit me.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. NEW. I prefer, Mr. President, to complete my remarks; and the Senator can answer in his own time.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Very well. Of course I shall not intrude upon the Senator. I merely wanted to ask if there was anything about the return of the vote——

Mr. NEW. Since the Senator merely wants to ask a question, I shall not deprive him of the privilege. The Senator may ask it. I will yield for a question.

Mr. WILLIAMS. My question is, Does the Senator contend that there was anything incorrect about the return of the votes from those camps?

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, in answer to that question I will say "No." I have no contention to make upon that.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I thought not.

Mr. NEW. But I do contend, and I renew my contention, that it was wrong in spirit to send there the partisan representative of a candidate for Senator from the State of Kentucky, even though that candidate be the present governor of Kentucky and had authority to send the man there. I do say that in the spirit of fairness, and in the spirit of justice also, to the men who are there at the Great Lakes Station as soldiers or sailors, wearing the uniform of the United States, that they should have been treated with strict impartiality, and that they were not so treated.

I have no criticism to make, as I said before, on the officers of the Great Lakes Station; I have no criticism to make on the Navy Department. My criticism goes strictly and solely to the one point, that the Republican voters of the State of Kentucky—the Republican State organization there—were not represented, were not consulted, and had no opportunity whatever to do what the spirit of the law, at least, contemplates they should have had a perfect right to do.

Mr. BECKHAM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Indiana yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I want to say a few words here.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair calls the attention of the Senator from Mississippi to the fact that the Senator from Kentucky had previously addressed the Chair.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Will the Senator from Kentucky yield to me for just a moment?

Mr. BECKHAM. I wish to ask the Senator from Indiana a question before he takes his seat.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Will the Senator from Kentucky yield to me just a moment before he asks the question?

Mr. BECKHAM. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I want to say that I twice served with Owsley Stanley in the House of Representatives for 8 or 10 years—I do not remember how long; possibly only 6 years. I know him to be the soul of honor. I know him to be absolutely uncorrupt and incorruptible, and I do not believe that any insinuation or intimation coming from any source whatsoever, even though it come from a United States Senator, can render impeachable a character which I know to be unimpeachable; a gentleman of gentlemen; standing upon his own shoe soles at all times, with the courage of a gentleman and the truthfulness and integrity of a gentleman.

Now, all that is charged here is that he sent a man, who, as he thought, was nonpartisan, although he was a Democrat, to receive and collect the votes at a camp; and the Senator from Indiana dares not charge that the man did not receive and collect the votes properly and rightly and truthfully. I have already challenged him to say that, and he has declined to say it. The citizens of Kentucky in those camps voted, and voted their sentiments, and their votes were counted.

Mr. WATSON. But, Mr. President, if the Senator will allow me——

Mr. WILLIAMS. I challenge the Senator to say that they were not rightfully and truthfully and correctly counted.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President——

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Wait a moment; one at a time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield, and, if so, to whom?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; I yield to the junior Senator from Indiana.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, in the first place I have not charged Mr. Greene with having registered some of the Kentuckians at the Great Lakes Naval Station and denied others the right to register. I have made no such charge as that; but the point is that Mr. Greene went there as the representative of one party and one candidate without due notice to the other party and without the other party having opportunity to be represented with him. So we are in the position here of having to take Mr. Greene's word as to whether the voters were all given opportunity or not. With due respect to Mr. Greene, whose integrity I do not for a moment challenge, I do think that he himself would have been in much better position, as everybody else concerned would have been, if a spirit of fairness and justice had been shown in the first instance and both political parties given a right to be represented. That is all there is to it, Mr. President.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Again, Mr. President——

Mr. BECKHAM. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Wait just one moment; will you give me a little bit more time?

Mr. President, I now understand that the Senator from Indiana, who is notorious as a partisan Republican, does not dare make the statement that anything was wrong about the receipt or the collection of the ballots or the returns of that election?

Mr. NEW. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. NEW. I do dare to make the statement, not that there was fraud, perhaps, in the manner in which the matter was conducted——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, that is all I have asked.

Mr. NEW. But I do dare to say that the proceeding was wrong—absolutely so.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Then, the Senator from Indiana throws himself back upon the original idea that there ought to have been at least two men appointed, or three, and they ought to have represented both parties; but he does not make the statement, and he dare not make the statement, because his regard for truthfulness, notwithstanding his partisanship, is too great for him to make it, that there was anything incorrect or wrong in the vote or returns. He does not deny that every Kentuckian's vote cast in that camp was counted in the election in Kentucky. That is all I want to know; that is all you want to know; that is all the country wants to know. The sum total of an election is this: Were the ballots fairly delivered and fairly counted? Even in the absence of a charge that they were not, I want to say that Owsley Stanley represented the State of Kentucky in this Union, and represented it honestly and fairly, and that if there had been anything wrong in collecting those ballots or reporting them Owsley Stanley would have been the first man in the State of Kentucky to denounce it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The presentation of petitions and memorials is in order.

TWO THOUSAND QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I desire to present a letter which I have received from the Review of Reviews. There was considerable discussion, Mr. President, as the Senate will remember, in regard to their book "Two Thousand Questions and Answers About the War." They ask me to have printed their explanation. I think it leaves the fact unchanged as to the first edition, at all events, but I ask, in fairness to them, that the letter be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, leave will be granted.

The letter referred to is as follows:

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS,
New York, October 14, 1918.

Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LODGE: I am obliged to you for your letter of October 9, relative to the book Two Thousand Questions and Answers About the War, which came while I was out of town.

We are naturally anxious that you should have the full and real facts of the episode before you rather than partial evidence that seems puzzling or contradictory to you, and perhaps you will be patient enough to read this explanation:

In June, 1918, we were first apprised of the presence of certain paragraphs in the book which should be changed, and immediately set about a revision, which continued through the summer.

In late August it seemed fairly certain that the revised edition would be ready at or about the time that unsealed circulars, with their slow handling and delivery, could get back orders. Circulars were sent out soliciting subscriptions which could only be filled from the new and revised edition, since we had had no copies of the original book for sale since June.

It was after the mailing of those circulars, from mailing agencies detached from our office, had been under way for about two weeks that the public attack on the book appeared. This was so widely noticed that it seemed best to arrange for additional reading and approval of the book (for instance, by our department of war and our department of justice), to make sure the second edition was beyond criticism, before it was finally printed. This is making the revised edition a month or more later in reaching the public than had been anticipated when the circulars were sent out in late August and early September.

In these circulars there was not, as you note, any reference to the revision of the edition. But you will appreciate from the facts given above, that, the circulars having been written and printed long before the book was publicly criticized, our book department had no criticism to answer and felt the new edition would speak for itself.

It is obviously true that the sample question as to the *Lusitania* warning should not have gone on the circular envelope.

Perhaps it may serve to make you understand how it came about, even while disapproving it—as we do—if we explain that the people in our book department are such fire-hot proallies that they were totally unconscious that these words could be taken as from any but patriotic Americans, for whom the question, "Did the Germans warn about the *Lusitania?*" must absolutely be equivalent to asking, "Did the barbarous Germans insult us by warning," etc.—the curious historical incident being the thing in mind at the time—with such certainty of our horror and detestation of the crime that followed as to assume them.

Such "legends," as you doubtless know, are sometimes printed on advertising circulars with the idea that a striking topic will arouse curiosity in the person receiving the missive sufficient to insure its being opened and examined. Other legends, not open to criticism, were used on the envelopes of other blocks of circulars sent out to distribute this same book.

In your letter of October 9 you offer to have our formal statement printed in the RECORD. We should appreciate your doing so and a fuller and more exact statement is inclosed for that purpose, if you are still inclined to do this.

Thanking you for your very evident intention to be fair to us,

Sincerely, yours,

CHARLES D. LANIER.

THE ACTUAL FACTS—"TWO THOUSAND QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ABOUT THE WAR."

Erroneous statements having been printed concerning the publishing of the volume "Two Thousand Questions and Answers About the War," the actual facts are here set down:

In February, 1918, the book was finished by editors employed by us for this special work. Some portions of the compilation were made up of matter written and published in Australia and in free circulation there under the British censor. Of the paragraphs which were found later to be out of harmony with the policy and attitude of America, practically all were from this Australian matter. That these paragraphs did not challenge the attention of the editors before publication was due to their British origin and to their free circulation in countries of our allies.

In April the volume was published.

One hundred copies were sent by us for review to some of the most prominently patriotic Americans and to a few distinguished persons among our allies. Only commendations came in return, including one from a well-known college president, saying that he was using the book as a textbook for his lectures on patriotism and another from King Albert, of Belgium, characterizing the volume as "another example of the earnest way our great ally is proceeding to further the cause of right and justice."

Between four and five thousand copies of the first edition were sent to subscribers. Not one adverse criticism came from them to us, all this showing how easy it was to overlook 20 or 30 paragraphs out of 2,000.

In June a friendly critic brought to our attention these paragraphs.

Immediately and on our own initiative we canceled the orders for a second printing and set about a thorough revision.

The first edition had before this been exhausted; no more copies of it were ever printed. Circulars sent out two months later were therefore obviously and of necessity to distribute the revised edition.

To make sure that the revised edition should be beyond criticism we asked the French High Commission to America, our own War Department, and our Department of Justice to read, revise, and approve every word of the book as rewritten. The details of the revision were under the direction of a university professor of history obtained through the suggestion of the authorities at Washington, we having asked for the suggestion.

In September a violent public attack was made on this book, which the publishers had withdrawn from print more than two months before, this being fully known.

Accompanying the attack were pretended extracts from the book, which, by omitting sentences and context and changing the wording, gave an erroneous impression of the spirit and intent of the volume.

It was of course intended that the original edition should be 100 per cent American.

The revised edition speaks for itself.

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO.

THE BLACK SLAVES OF PRUSSIA (S. DOC. 296).

Mr. LODGE. I ask to have printed as a public document a very brief pamphlet entitled "The Black Slaves of Prussia," by the bishop of Zanzibar, Rev. Frank Weston, D. D., addressed to Gen. Smuts, of the Transvaal, giving an account of German treatment of the native tribes. The article is very short, and I think it will be read with the deepest interest by all the Senate as it was read by me.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Massachusetts? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

SHALL THE HUN PAY NO PENALTY FOR ALL HIS CRIMES?

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I have in my hand an article printed in the Detroit Saturday Night, of date October 19, 1918, under the heading of "Shall the Hun pay no penalty for all his crimes?" This article purports to give, I think, in chronological order a number of the more important crimes against humanity which have been clearly established. I ask that it may be printed in the RECORD as an answer to the following statement made by Prince Maximilian, the German chancellor, in his address before the Reichstag of two days ago, in which he said:

Our first and last thought is for the brave men who are defending themselves against superior forces, and whom we must defend against unjust charges. No one must think he can attack our army without also attacking the honor of our people.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[From the Detroit Saturday Night.]

SHALL THE HUN PAY NO PENALTY FOR ALL HIS CRIMES?—HERE ARE SOME SAMPLES OF HIS OFFENSES, FROM WHOSE JUST CONSEQUENCES HE IS NOW BRAZENLY ATTEMPTING TO ESCAPE—IS THE WORLD TO HELP HIM DO IT?

[By N. H. Bowen.]

During the past few months there has been a marked increase in the number of people in America who believe that there should be proper steps taken, when the end of the war is reached, to punish those who are guilty of having caused it in the first place and those who have inspired or committed the awful crimes and excesses that have marked its course.

There is also in Great Britain, France, Belgium, and other allied countries a very powerful demand for legal action against the criminals, and this demand has been expressed with especial force since the recent peace flurry and the renewal of Hunnish "frightfulness" on sea and land.

The following is a very much abbreviated list of crimes committed by the Germans and their allies during the war. It is not intended to be complete—the specific cases cited are merely samples. Many heinous misdeeds, such as diplomatic lies, plots against neutrals, murders of neutral citizens, destruction of neutral property, are purposely omitted, as the list is already long enough. The purpose is to present to the reader some material on which to base a conclusion as to whether the modern Huns ought to be allowed to go their way after the war, unpunished and unmarked, like men with clean hands and souls.

DEEDS OF THE U-BOAT PIRATES.

They sank the steamer *Lusitania*, with 1,906 souls on board, of whom 1,134 perished, including hundreds of women and children, and then struck a medal to commemorate the heroic event.

They sank British and Swedish merchant ships in the North Sea in the fall of 1917 and shelled the lifeboats, killing many civilians. The details were reported by the Norwegian newspapers.

They sank the British ship *Belgian Prince*, made the survivors leave the lifeboats, which they wrecked, and then submerged with their victims helpless on the deck of the submarine. The story was told by the chief engineer of the *Belgian Prince*, who was rescued, 38 of his comrades being drowned.

They shelled the United States transport *Ticonderoga*, killing many, after the steamer was helpless, and submerged while a lifeboat with 17 survivors was tied to the submarine. This occurred after the Germans had opened the present peace negotiations.

They sank the Japanese ship *Hirano Maru*, drowning about 300, and fired two torpedoes at the American destroyer *Sterrett*, which was picking up the survivors.

They sank the Irish Channel mail steamer *Leinster*, with about 750 aboard, of whom only about 150 were saved. This boat is described as a coasting passenger steamer about like the boats plying from New York to Fall River. The victims were of course mostly Irish, for whose welfare the Germans have been so solicitous.

They torpedoed the steamer *Admiral Gantcaume*, with 2,500 refugees on board. Luckily, only 50 lives were lost. This was the first notable attack on a nonmilitary craft by a submarine, and was especially criminal because it was committed in broad daylight, when it must have been evident that the boat was crowded with civilians.

They torpedoed the steamer *Falaba*, and the crew of the U boat laughed and jeered at the victims struggling in the waters. Among the 111 victims was an American, L. C. Thrasher, perhaps the first to perish from this cause.

MURDER OF CIVILIANS.

They murdered 32 civilians in the Place d l'Universite at Liege. This was established to the satisfaction of the Bryce Commission of Inquiry.

They massacred about 400 civilians at Andenne, Belgium. The authority for this is the Bryce report.

They killed many scores of civilians (perhaps 200) at Dinant, many of these being "executed" in the prison courtyard.

They massacred about 50 civilians at Gerbeviller, France. (Report of French commission.)

At Haut-de-Vormont, France, they murdered a widow, Guillaume by name, 78 years old. This old woman's body was mutilated. (French official report.)

They put to death 50 innocent priests and thousands of innocent Catholics. (Statement of Cardinal Mercier.)

They killed 26 priests in the diocese of Malines alone. (Belgian official report.)

They tortured and shot the priest of Duechen, Belgium, an invalid, aged 87. (Belgian official report.)

They killed, near Beaumetz, France, two old men and an old woman, whose bodies were found by the British in a garden, with the brains hanging from their cloven skulls. The only excuse discovered was that they had refused to bake bread for the Germans. (Reported by the Bryce commission on the testimony of a British sergeant.)

They murdered 4,500 noncombatants in Serbia in August, 1914. Some were buried alive, many tortured, etc. This is the testimony of Prof. H. A. Reiss, of the University of Lausanne, Switzerland, who made an inquiry for the Swiss section of the Geneva convention.

They killed by murder, starvation, or hardships, with all the accompaniments of cruelty imaginable, thousands upon thousands of Armenians, the number having been estimated as high as half the Armenian population, totaling perhaps 4,500,000. While the Turks were immediately responsible, the Germans are morally so, having refused to interfere to save the Christian victims of their allies.

They executed a little French Boy Scout because he would not reveal information about the French troops. This was revealed by a letter found on a dead German officer, who described the boy's proud courage before the firing squad, and added the bochian comment: "Infatuated wretch! It was a pity to see such wasted courage."

MAKING WAR ON CIVIL POPULATION.

They dropped bombs on Antwerp, the first atrocity of this kind, killing many civilians.

Their warships bombarded the British summer resort towns of Scarborough and Whitby, killing many civilians.

They made repeated air raids on Paris and London, dropping bombs in purely residential sections and killing in all hundreds of civilians.

They bombed Bucharest from airplanes, killing hundreds of people, including many women and children.

They repeatedly shelled and bombed the open city of Nancy, killing many civilians.

They bombed the city of Padua, killing many civilians.

They repeatedly shelled Paris with long-range artillery, under conditions making anything but indiscriminate destruction impossible. One shell struck the church of St. Gervais during a service and killed nearly 100 people, mostly women and children.

CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

A Bavarian soldier wrote to a girl in Germany that at "Batonville" (Badonviller) he bayonetted seven women and four young girls in five minutes. (French official report.)

Near Ypres they shot two girls, about 6 and 8 years old, whose dead bodies were found in the upper room of a house by British soldiers. (Belgian official report and Bryce official report, evidence being given by at least two witnesses.)

They violated Belgian nuns. This is on the authority of Cardinal Mercier, who states in his letter to the cardinals and bishops of Germany, that to his knowledge there had been several outrages of this kind. He describes the evidence as "very precise," but quite naturally refused to subject the victims to a public inquiry.

At Malines, near Antwerp, a German soldier, one of a squad of eight, impaled a child of 2 years on his bayonet and carried it off down the street. This incident was sworn to before the Bryce Commission by a Belgian citizen and his wife, testifying separately, and giving the same details.

At and near Louvain the Belgian commission of inquiry reports a number of girls and women were raped, some of them by many soldiers. Corroboration of this is furnished by Gen. von Boehn, commanding the Ninth German Army, who told the well-known American correspondent, E. Alexander Powell, that he had sentenced two of his soldiers to 12 years' penal servitude each for this crime. Twelve years!

At Dinant they "executed" 12 children under the age of 6, half of them as they lay in their mother's arms. The younger children were the child Fievet, 3 weeks old; Maurice Betamps, 11 months old; Nelly Pollet, 13 months old; Gilda Genon, 18 months old; Gilda Marchot, 2 years old; Clara Gruvay, 2 years and 6 months. (Recounted by Minister Brand Whitlock, on the authority of the Bishop of Namur.)

At Bailleul, near the Franco-Belgian frontier, at least 30 women and girls were violated during eight days of German occupation in 1914. Sworn evidence of this was presented to the Bryce Commission, and Prof. J. H. Morgan, of the University of London, states that the testimony shows at least five officers were guilty.

At Bailleul "in one case, the facts of which are proved by evidence that would satisfy any court of law, a young girl of 19 was violated by one officer while the other held her mother by the throat and pointed a revolver, after which the two officers exchanged their respective rôles." (Prof. J. H. Morgan in German Atrocities; An Official Investigation.)

KILLING NURSES AND THEIR PATIENTS.

They torpedoed the British hospital ship *Llandovery Castle*, with 258 people, only 24 being saved. Fourteen Canadian nursing sisters were drowned. The testimony of the survivors shows that the submarine tried to sink their lifeboats.

They sank the British hospital ship *Glenart Castle*, about 150 lives being lost.

They bombed the American Red Cross hospital at Jouy, France, killing two and wounding nine of the hospital personnel. This hospital was plainly marked, there being a cross 100 feet along on the lawn, visible from several thousand feet in the air.

They bombed a Canadian hospital, with lighted Red Cross signs, and killed many doctors, wounded, and nurses.

They torpedoed the Russian hospital ship *Portugal* in broad daylight in the Black Sea, causing the death of 21 nurses, 24 other Red Cross workers, and 40 sailors. The vessel was plainly marked, and the torpedo was fired from a distance of some 30 or 40 feet only.

WANTON PROPERTY DESTRUCTION.

They shelled the famous Rheims Cathedral until it was a ruin.

They blew up the ancient castle of Coucy, one of France's most famous medieval monuments, without military reason.

In their retreats in France they have burned whole villages by the score without possible military advantage.

They destroyed a large part of the city of Louvain in an orgy of ruthlessness.

They deliberately destroyed the trees and vines of the French farmers in territory they were evacuating.

They have destroyed the farming implements of the French rural population.

They severely damaged the cathedral at Padua and destroyed priceless objects of art in that and other buildings.

They blew up the Cathedral of Noyon by set bombs on evacuating it during the past summer.

They destroyed many buildings at Cambrai by set bombs.

At St. Quentin the French captured a German officer with a wagonload of explosives which he said he had been told he had two days to distribute through the city.

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

Sixty-three British prisoners died of the "tree punishment," being roped to the trunk of a tree on a flat board, and left 24 to 48 hours, even a week, without water or food. (Reported by the Chicago Daily News correspondent, Edward Price Bell, on the authority of statements secured by the ladies' emergency committee of the British Navy League.)

The Germans in one prison camp trained sheep dogs to bite the prisoners. (Reported by Ambassador Gerard.)

The Austro-Hungarians punished Russian prisoners at Dunaserdagelli by screwing them up in coffins. (Sworn to by many prisoners and a Russian Sister of Mercy to a Russian commission of inquiry.)

In the earlier days of the war especially British prisoners were mistreated and insulted by the civilian population, who spit upon them and perpetrated worse outrages.

The German military and medical staffs deserted the prison camp at Wittenberg during a typhus epidemic in 1915, when 60 British and French and a still larger number of Russians died of this disease.

THE HUNS' FOUL FIGHTING.

They have poisoned wells in many localities. Proof of intent is furnished by a document captured recently, issued to the One hundred and eighth Battalion of German Infantry, and dated September 5, 1918. It says: "All wells should be poisoned."

They have been using explosive bullets against American troops. (Reported with details, by Edwin L. James, the New York Times correspondent.)

They have killed opponents who have surrendered. Proof is furnished by letters of German soldiers sent to Ambassador Gerard, protesting against this violation of the laws of war.

They have violated the use of the white flag, firing on opponents after pretending to surrender. The Bryce commission says: "There is, in our opinion, sufficient evidence that these offenses have been frequent."

They have abused the Red Cross. The Bryce commission received much testimony of this nature, and there have been several reports of similar treachery against American troops. Lieut. W. J. Harcourt, One hundred and twentieth Machine-Gun Battalion, Thirty-second Division, when in Detroit some weeks ago, described the killing of Michigan troops from a church tower at Clerges from which the Red Cross flag was flying.

They have used civilians as a screen against allied fire. (Authority of Minister Whitlock and Cardinal Mercier.)

ROBBERY AND LOOTING.

They systematically robbed all enemy countries by the Rathenau plan of exploitation, the total value of this governmental loot being, as estimated by Andre Cheradame, several tens of billions of francs.

They confiscated in Belgium alone machinery and new materials worth $400,000,000 in the first four months of the war. (Belgian official statistics.)

They destroyed sources of economic wealth in Belgium (not including destruction of private property) to the amount of $1,000,000,000. (Belgian official statistics.)

They have removed machinery from Belgian, French, and Polish factories and taken it to Germany, this being part of the avowed plan to ruin the industries of countries which would compete with Germany after the war. (Corroboration of intent given by Deputy Beumer in the Prussian Diet, February, 1917.)

They made requisitions of goods totaling over 83,000,000 francs at Antwerp before March 18, 1915, for which only 20,000,000 had then been paid. The Frankfurter Zeitung stated, December 21, 1914, that the German policy was to make payment "in such a manner that no money shall be sent to Belgium during the period of the war."

They have organized regular loot detachments in the army, the members bearing white arm bandages and special identification cards. Special attention is paid to private residences.

In violation of The Hague conventions, which Germany signed, they fined Belgium, in December, 1914, nearly $100,000,000. In November, 1915, they decreed that this fine of 40,000,000 francs a month should be paid indefinitely. A year later they increased it to 50,000,000 francs a month, and in 1917 to 60,000,000. Besides, heavy fines were imposed on towns and villages. Total fines imposed on Belgium to August 10, 1917, were $328,000,000 (Official Belgian statistics.)

They fined Lille, a city of about 200,000 before the war, $12,000,000, with an additional threatened fine of $200,000 a day for delay in complying with their demands. (In proportion Detroit would in like circumstances have been fined about $50,000,000 and $800,000 a day.) Levies of this kind were commonly accompanied by the threat to burn the town in case of noncompliance.

They stole machinery and raw material worth about $15,000,000 from the Polish city of Lodz.

The German soldiers have individually robbed and looted like the Huns and Vandals of old throughout the war, both by the testimony of the allies and of themselves.

"A thousand thanks for the beautiful things you sent me; the furs are magnificent, the rosewood furniture is exquisite, but don't forget that Elsa is always waiting for her piano." (Letter from a German officer's wife, left behind in a French chateau.)

ENSLAVEMENT AND DEPORTATION.

They have deported many thousands (100,000 as long ago as November, 1916, according to Minister Whitlock) of Belgians and forced them to work in Germany. Vernon Kellogg, formerly of the Belgian relief commission, says: "The deportations * * * were the most vivid, shocking, convincing single happening in all our enforced observation and experience of German disregard of human suffering and human rights in Belgium."

They imprisoned the directorse, foremen, and 81 workmen of Mr. Lenoir's factory at Mons for refusing to work in the service of the German Army. (Cardinal Mercier.)

They fined the city of Tournai 200,000 marks for refusing to submit deportation lists to the German commander.

They forced Belgians to work at shell making in Berlin. (Ambassador Gerard.)

They deported thousands of men, women, boys, and girls from Lille, giving them in the first instance 90 minutes to prepare for departure. (German official document.)

They deported from Lille and vicinity and from Alsace-Lorraine, to work behind the German lines, many girls from 15 years upward, separating them from their mothers and families.

They forced Belgian women to dig trenches back of the Flanders front. (Authority of Belgian legation at Washington.)

They gravely mistreated and exposed deported Belgian civilians to make them work, using torture by extremes of heat and cold. Many died or were ruined in health. (Information gathered by Belgian Government.)

They enslaved 250,000 Polish workmen who were in Germany in August, 1914, forcing them to remain and labor, and they later lured or forced 250,000 more to come. (Deputy Trompczynski, of the Prussian Diet.)

JUST KULTUR.

"September 3 (1914). Still at Rethel. * * * The houses are charming inside. The middle class in France has magnificent furniture. We found stylish pieces everywhere and beautiful silk, but in what a state. * * * Good God! * * * Every bit of furniture broken, mirrors smashed. The Vandals themselves could not have done more damage. This place is a disgrace to our army. * * * I couldn't resist taking a little memento myself here and there. * * * One house was particularly elegant. * * * I found a splendid raincoat under the staircase and a camera for Felix." (Captured diary of an officer of the One hundred and seventy-eighth Regiment, Twelfth Saxon Corps.)

The Germans "observed" the provisions of international law concerning making payment for requisitioned articles by giving fake "bons"—i. e., if a pair of horses were taken, the bon, written in German, unintelligible to the French or Belgian peasant, might be for a chicken. Later the form itself was omitted. (Vernon Kellogg.)

They circulated in Spain propaganda telling of the quantities of loot they have taken in France and Belgium, including these specifications: High-grade watches, 417; average watches, 5,016; underwear, 18,073; embroideries and women's handkerchiefs, 15,132; umbrellas and parasols, 3,705; silver spoons, 1,876; bottles of champagne, 523,000. The document also boasted that Alsatian children had been fined for refusing to study the "beautiful German language," and explained that while the Germans had fewer British prisoners than the latter have Germans, the severe treatment accorded the Englishmen had "secured a superior moral effect." (Authority of United States State Department, which investigated the document and found it of German origin.)

They broke into French tombs and committed acts of terrible vandalism. Henry Wood, United Press correspondent with the French armies, is authority for the statement that at Bray St. Christophe, Champion, Amy, Beauraignes, and Crapeaumesnil all the more promising tombs in the cemeteries had been dynamited and the coffins stripped not only of the metal lining but of any objects of silver that adorned them. Not in a single instance were the remains placed back in the tombs, and it can only be supposed that they were scattered to the four winds.

They committed in many French residences acts of bestial nature, leaving a record such as no truly civilized people would be willing to have registered against it. There is plenty of evidence of this, including that of Baroness Huard, in the American Magazine for August. Leaving her chateau in France before the German advance in 1914, she locked her personal letters in a desk, left a card testifying to their nature, and locked into one of the drawers, so that it was plainly visible, a small silk American flag. She says she now laughs at her trusting confidence that the boches would tender honorable treatment to a woman or a flag, for after she returned to the chateau the flag was found in one of the bathroom pipes, which had to be cleaned for sanitary reasons.

This was in September, 1914, two years and a half before America was in the war, and the chateau was occupied by his excellency Gen. von Kluck, commander of the western German armies, and this heinous act, which would have been unworthy of an ape, must have been committed by a member of his military family.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. From the Committee on Appropriations, I report back favorably, with amendments, the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, and I submit a report (No. 596) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill; but before the request is put I desire to say that it is somewhat unusual to make such a request pending the conclusion of morning business. The bill, however, will have to go to conference, and if this session of Congress is to adjourn or recess on the 29th of October, it is absolutely necessary for great speed to be made with this bill. I hope to have a conference this afternoon.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, will the Senator allow reports of committees to be made? A number of Senators are waiting to transact morning business.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I will yield for that purpose as soon as this matter is disposed of.

Mr. LODGE. It is out of the regular order, is it not?

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. If the Senator makes a point of order, that is the end of it. I have said that I would yield to him in a few minutes, and I do not think that will interfere with the matters which he has in mind.

Mr. LODGE. The Senator from New Mexico and other Senators wish to make reports.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I yield for any formal matter.

Mr. LODGE. What I have in mind is merely formal matter.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I withdraw the request, Mr. President.

DISTRICT WATER SUPPLY.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 12549) authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to appoint a commission to investigate and report upon the available sources of water supply for the District of Columbia, asked to be discharged from its further consideration, and that it be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, which was agreed to.

HAMPTON, VA., BRANCH NATIONAL SOLDIERS' HOME.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. From the Committee on Military Affairs, I report back favorably, without amendment, the bill (H. R. 13036) transferring jurisdiction and control for the period of the war over the Southern Branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers from the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers to the Secretary of War for use for Army hospital purposes, and I submit a report (No. 597) thereon.

I am going to ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill, and in that connection I want to say that the reason I make the request is that the wounded soldiers are coming over from Europe faster than the authorities are able to find hospital facilities for them. There is an old branch home at Hampton, Va., that can be utilized for this purpose, and this bill is designed to effectuate that end.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon submits a report from the Committee on Military Affairs and asks for its immediate consideration. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

DISTRICT PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Mr. REED. From the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds I report back favorably the bill (H. R. 12404) authorizing the construction of a building for the Public Health Service in the city of Washington, D. C., and I submit a report (No. 599) thereon. It is a very short bill, and I ask to have it read, after which I desire to make a request for unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the bill as requested.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to contract for the construction of an additional building for laboratory purposes and research work and for enlarging and remodeling the present animal house connected with the Hygienic Laboratory, Public Health Service, Washington, District of Columbia, at a limit of cost of $250,000.

In carrying the foregoing authorization for additional buildings to the Hygiene Laboratory into effect, the Secretary of the Treasury may enter into contracts or purchase materials in the open market, or otherwise, and employ laborers and mechanics for executing the work as in his judgment may best meet the public exigencies, within the limits of the authorization herein made.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I want to advise the Senate that the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds is at the present time without a chairman; but, as the ranking member of that committee, I called a meeting. A quorum did not respond, and thereupon the bill was carried to the members of the committee, and the committee polled, it being the opinion of those who were present at the meeting that the bill was an emergency measure and ought to receive immediate consideration; so that I owe it to the Senate to say that the report is of this nature.

I want to say to the Senate that the representations which have led to this action are very well set forth in a report which I have prepared, and I will read a portion of it to the Senate:

The following memorandum, prepared by the Director of the Hygienic Laboratory, will adequately explain the necessity for the proposed building:

When the request was originally made for an additional building at the laboratory it was with the view to a reasonable and proper expansion of the work of the institution. Within the past year, however, circumstances have changed so that it is no longer a question of providing space for the inauguration of additional researches, but of finding room in which to carry on the work already underway, which war conditions have made it necessary to expand in a way that was not foreseen even a year ago. The control of serums, viruses, toxins, and analogous products imposed on the service by law is exercised through this laboratory. The expansion of the work and the increase in the amount of testing required by war conditions has been such that the facilities are not adequate for carrying the work on in a proper manner. It has been found necessary to require all manufacturers to submit samples of every lot of serums required for the treatment of pneumonia and meningitis for testing prior to furnishing the same to the military forces or for sale to the civil population. Further expansion of this work in the near future will become imperative, and, unless additional space is provided, can be performed only in a most inadequate manner.

The report follows along that line. In a word, the medical authorities at the head of this work state that the war has so increased the work that it is absolutely necessary to have this building at once, and hence the bill has been reported, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

DISASTER AT MORGAN MUNITIONS PLANT.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate I desire to submit a report, and to make a statement to the Senate regarding it. The report is upon Senate resolution No. 317, submitted a few days ago by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN].

The resolution provides for an investigation of the recent explosion in the State of New Jersey and asks an appropriation not exceeding $5,000. When the resolution was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, I, of course, wondered what the functions of the committee would be with respect to such a resolution. I recall the incident of some months ago, when the late Senator from New Jersey, Mr. Hughes, submitted a resolution authorizing an investigation of the strike upon the street railways in the city of Washington. At that time I expressed it as my belief that some committee of the Senate should inquire into the advisability of making such an investigation. The Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate at that time recommended to the Senate that the resolution should be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia for the purpose of having that committee inquire into the necessity for the investigation. It involved an expenditure of public money, and I assume that there should be no expenditure of public money unless there is a necessity for it. The Senate at that time, however, declined to refer the resolution to the Committee on the District of Columbia, agreed to the resolution, and authorized the investigation.

When this resolution was referred to the committee I was still of the opinion that somebody should make an inquiry as to whether or not that investigation should be made. I conferred with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN], who submitted the resolution. I suggested to him that I thought it was my duty to make an inquiry of the War Department to find out whether or not the War Department was already investigating the accident in New Jersey, and whether or not the facilities of the War Department were, in the opinion of the department, adequate to meet the situation. The Senator from New Jersey requested that that be not done, and stated that he did not believe that the committee should obtain any information from the War Department as to what was being done. Upon his request I have made no inquiry of the War Department in regard to this matter, and I do not know what the War Department is doing with reference to it. I have reason to presume, however, that where a catastrophe such as that has occurred the War Department, which is to receive the product of the factory, is making an investigation, and that the truth will be known, and proper safeguards will be taken in the future. Personally I do not believe there is a showing here which makes it apparent that this investigation is necessary.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I yield to the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President——

Mr. OVERMAN. I know that the Secretary of War is investigating. I happened to be in the Intelligence Bureau of the War Department in connection with another matter, and I know that the War Department is now investigating this question.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I am glad, of course, to get the information which the Senator from North Carolina presents. I had every reason to believe that such an investigation was being made.

Mr. OVERMAN. I believe, therefore, that I will ask for the regular order.

Mr. SMOOT. This is the regular order.

Mr. OVERMAN. Unanimous consent has never been given for the consideration of the resolution.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The regular order is demanded. Does the Senator from New Jersey present a report?

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I should like to know who demanded the regular order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina demanded the regular order, which is entirely within his rights.

Mr. OVERMAN. I shall object to the consideration of the resolution. What is the use of discussing it now? I know that the War Department has a force investigating it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The regular order being demanded, the presentation of committee reports is in order. If there be no committee reports to be presented——

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, I am sure that the Senator from North Carolina will permit me——

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, the Senator from New Mexico is making a report to the Senate. It is a verbal report and I submit that it is entirely in order.

Mr. OVERMAN. I did not intend to prevent the Senator from speaking, but I hope this matter is not going to be discussed, because I am going to object, if nobody else does, to the present consideration of the resolution, for the reason that I know the matter is now being investigated by the War Department.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Very well. I wanted to make this statement, however. I have discussed these matters with the two other members of the committee who are here, and who, with myself, constitute a majority of the committee. They believe that the resolution should be favorably reported to the Senate. I am simply the acting chairman of the committee. Under the circumstances I deem it my duty to report it to the Senate favorably, and I so do, with the explanation which I have made.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I am going to ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of this resolution, and I hope the Senator from North Carolina will not object until he hears what I have to say.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I certainly do not wish to prevent the Senator from saying whatever he desires to say, nor do I desire to be discourteous to him in any way.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I shall be very brief.

Mr. OVERMAN. But I shall object, for the reason that I know from Gen. Churchill that this matter is being thoroughly investigated by a splendid force of men in the Intelligence Bureau of the War Department.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. OVERMAN. I shall object to the present consideration of the resolution, but I do not want to prevent the Senator from making his statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The presentation of reports is in order.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, do I understand that the Senator from North Carolina objects?

Mr. OVERMAN. I object to the present consideration of the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana has the floor.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, a point of order. I did not understand that the Senator from North Carolina objected to a statement being made by the Senator from New Jersey.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina some minutes ago demanded the regular order, which is the presentation of committee reports; and in the absence of a withdrawal of that demand, the Chair felt it his duty to proceed with the business of the Senate in order.

Mr. OVERMAN. I do not want to prevent the Senator from New Jersey from making a statement.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Jersey submit a request for unanimous consent?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I submit a request for unanimous consent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state his request.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, I do not understand what the parliamentary situation is.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The morning business has not yet been concluded, and until it is concluded it is within the power of any Senator to demand the regular order, which has been done. The regular order is the presentation of committee reports.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I have no objection to the Senator receiving unanimous consent to proceed with his remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senator from New Jersey will proceed.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, the reason why I requested the immediate consideration of this resolution is the fact that at the present time there is a very urgent need of a proper investigation of the storage of explosives at this plant and other plants in New Jersey by industries that are manufacturing munitions.

After the explosion at Morgans, where 7,500 pounds of trinitrotoluol exploded and destroyed buildings within a zone of 30 miles and rendered homeless practically 10,000 people, it was recognized that the storage of these explosives was a menace

to the lives and property not only of the towns and cities adjacent to that plant, but within 30 or 40 miles of it. At the present time there is a reign of terror in that section of New Jersey, because it is known that in five magazines there is 150,000 pounds of trinitrotoluol, and in another magazine 600,000 pounds; and if those magazines were struck by lightning, or an explosion were created by fire, it would mean practically the destruction of half of New York City. At the present time the people in those adjacent towns are terrorized, and they are asking for an investigation in order to force the proper distribution of that explosive so that their homes and their lives may be safeguarded.

The War Department may be making an investigation; but the object of my resolution is to ask the Military Affairs Committee to inform themselves as to what the War Department is doing, and also to make an investigation in that section of the country to ascertain what is being done by the other manufacturers there to safeguard the lives of citizens, and as a basis for legislation, as the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] very properly suggests, in order that we may know what to do to pass the proper regulations to safeguard the people in that district.

Mr. OVERMAN. What is to hinder the Committee on Military Affairs from now making an investigation?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. This is a resolution simply authorizing them to do so.

Mr. OVERMAN. It is not necessary for them to have any such authority.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. They need the money to do it with.

Mr. OVERMAN. They do not need $5,000 to make the investigation.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Possibly not. They will not use it if they do not need it. I hope the Senator will recognize the fact that this would alleviate the conditions in my State at once by assuring the people there that a committee of the Senate is going to investigate the conditions. I hope the Senator from North Carolina will withdraw his objection.

Mr. MYERS. Will the Senator yield for a statement?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Certainly.

Mr. MYERS. I wish to state to the Senator, as the Senator from North Carolina seems disposed to object, that the committee need not necessarily use all of the $5,000, but only so much as may be necessary to make the investigation.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senate has adopted a resolution now authorizing the Committee on Military Affairs to summon every man in New Jersey before it. The committee has full authority to summon everyone down here and to go into an investigation without passing a resolution to send a committee up there to New Jersey and spend the money of the people. When it is already being investigated by the War Department, and the Military Affairs Committee now acting under a resolution passed through the Senate can investigate it thoroughly, what is the use of passing another resolution?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The presentation of the reports of committees is in order.

Mr. OVERMAN subsequently said: I am informed that the Military Affairs Committee wants to have the resolution offered by the Senator from New Jersey passed. Therefore, as the committee is willing to have it passed, I withdraw my objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of a resolution, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Senate resolution 317, instructing the Committee on Military Affairs to make an inquiry into the causes which brought about the recent disaster at the Morgan Munitions Plant, New Jersey.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN subsequently said: Mr. President, in the resolution which was passed this morning the last clause is incorrectly drawn. It provided that the sum of $5,000 should be appropriated. I ask unanimous consent to change the verbiage of the last section so as to provide that the appropriation from the contingent fund shall not exceed $5,000.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the vote by which the resolution was agreed to will be reconsidered and the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 2, after line 6, it is proposed to strike out:

Resolved further, That the sum of $5,000 be appropriated from the contingent fund of the Senate to cover the expenses incident to this inquiry.

And insert:

Resolved further, That the expenses incident to this inquiry be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate, the same not to exceed $5,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to, as follows:

Whereas the recent disaster at the Morgan Munitions Plant, near Perth Amboy, N. J., October 4 and 5, resulted in the loss of scores of lives, the destruction of millions of dollars' worth of property belonging to the United States and to private owners, and the rendering homeless of thousands of citizens: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate be, and it is hereby, instructed to make an inquiry into the causes which brought about said catastrophe, whether by accident or work of alien enemies or agents thereof; what precautions had been taken to prevent such an accident; what plans have been adopted, if any, with a view to the rebuilding of the plant upon a safer basis; what measures have been determined upon, if any, toward the protection of similar munition plants elsewhere.

Resolved further, That said Committee on Military Affairs be authorized and directed to supbœna witnesses and compel their attendance, to send for persons and papers, and to do such further acts as may be necessary to secure any and all information desired in the furtherance of this inquiry; and that a report of the finding of such committee shall, upon its conclusion, be made to the Senate not later than December 6, 1918.

Resolved further, That the expenses incident to this inquiry be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate, the same not to exceed $5,000.

JAIL AT GUTHRIE, OKLA.

Mr. MYERS. From the Committee on Public Lands, I report (No. 598) back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 12438) authorizing the conveyance of the United States jail and land on which the same is located at Guthrie, Okla., to Logan County, Okla. I call the attention of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] to the bill.

Mr. GORE. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill. It is a local bill and is in conformity with the custom in respect to such jails.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and it was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Attorney General of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to convey, by proper quitclaim deed, to the county of Logan, in the State of Oklahoma, the United States jail, at Guthrie, Okla., and all the lands set apart therewith.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 5004) to fix the mileage to be paid to officers of the Army, active and retired, including members of the Officers' Reserve Corps, contract surgeons, expert accountant of the Inspector General's Department, and others connected with the Army, and also providing for reimbursement for actual expenses of travel and a flat per diem in lieu thereof; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MCNARY:

A bill (S. 5005) to assist in the demobilization of the armed forces of the United States at the close of the present war, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. PENROSE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

MARY B. RICHARDS.

Mr. LODGE submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 323), which was read and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate to Mary B. Richards, widow of Charles N. Richards, late keeper of stationery of the United States Senate under the Secretary of the Senate, a sum equal to one year's compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico, subsequently, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred the foregoing resolution, reported it favorably without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

ROY WRIGHT.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico (for Mr. SIMMONS) submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 324), which was read and referred

to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate to Roy Wright, brother of Cortez L. Wright, late assistant clerk to the Committee on Finance of the United States Senate, a sum equal to six months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico, subsequently, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred the foregoing resolution, reported it favorably without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY.

Mr. OVERMAN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 325), which was read and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Sixty-fifth Congress, to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths, to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding $1 per printed page, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with the investigation ordered by the Senate on September 19, 1918, under resolution (No. 307) authorizing and directing the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate, or any subcommittee thereof, to call for certain evidence and documents relating to charges made against the United States Brewers' Association and allied interests, and to report to the Senate thereon, and to employ an assistant clerk at a salary not to exceed $5 per diem, for a period not to exceed four months; and to incur traveling expenses in connection therewith, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate, and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recess of the Senate or of Congress.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico, subsequently, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred the foregoing resolution, reported it favorably without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

Mr. NEW submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 327), which was read and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

Resolved, That the Acting Judge Advocate General, Brig. Gen. Ansell, be, and he is hereby, directed, if not incompatible with public interest, to send to the Senate all correspondence in that department with the Secretary of War, or any Assistant Secretary of War, or with The Adjutant General, on the question of the appointment or the commissioning of officers in the office of the Judge Advocate General.

PROPOSAL OF PEACE WITH THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

Mr. GORE. I submit a resolution and ask that it be read and lie on the table.

The resolution (S. Res. 326) was read and ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

Whereas the President, in his note of October 14 to the German Government, stated that it is within the choice of the German Nation to place itself in a situation to negotiate peace, "if peace is to come by the action of the German people themselves";

Whereas the President, in his note to the German Government, under date of October 23, declares that "concluding peace and attempting to undo the infinite injuries and injustices of this war the Government of the United States can not deal with any but veritable representatives of the German people": Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate advise the President as to its readiness to consent to a treaty concluding a just and acceptable peace made "with the German people themselves" through representatives elected for that purpose in accordance with the methods proposed by the President.

PRICE OF COTTON AND WHEAT.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD a letter which I have addressed to a constituent in regard to fixing the price of cotton, and also an article which I prepared for the Forum, and which has been published in that magazine, in regard to fixing the price of wheat, together with another letter or two which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

OCTOBER 17, 1918.

Hon. VICTOR HARLOW,
Oklahoma City, Okla.

MY DEAR HARLOW: I am pleased to acknowledge your letter of late date, requesting me to report as to the recent agitation in regard to fixing a price on raw cotton. I appreciate the opportunity which your request affords.

The price of cotton vitally concerns the people of our State. Oklahoma is one of the leading cotton States. Cotton is our leading agricultural product. Last year we produced 959,000 bales. Its aggregate value, including seed, was about $140,000,000. The farmers of Oklahoma planted this year for a million bales or more. They have already incurred the expense of planting and cultivating a crop which would, under favorable circumstances, have yielded a million bales. Owing to the drouth they will gather in the neighborhood of only about 400,000 bales. It has therefore cost the farmer, on the average, more than two and a half times as much to produce a bale of cotton this year as it cost last year. Notwithstanding the seemingly high price this year, many farmers in Oklahoma are, no doubt, selling cotton at less than the cost of production. Last year the average price was 25 cents a pound. This year the average price ranges around 32 or 33 cents. The agitation in regard to fixing the price of cotton drove the price down about $30 or $40 a bale. This cost the South some $450,000,000. It cost Oklahoma alone many millions.

This loss to the producers has been attended by no corresponding advantage to the consumers of cotton goods. It is estimated by high authority that cotton manufacturers are still selling the finished product on the basis of 40-cent cotton. Some estimate that at the present price of cotton fabric the manufacturers could afford to pay 50 cents a pound. I do not profess to have expert knowledge upon this point.

The fundamental objection to fixing an arbitrary price upon farm products is the fact that the cost of production can not be ascertained or even estimated in advance. The weather risk is always an important factor and is sometimes the principal factor in determining the cost of production. This weather risk can not be separated from the business of farming. It can not be ascertained in advance. Prices can not be fixed without taking this unknown factor into consideration. If too much is allowed for weather risk, it is unjust to the consumer. If too little is allowed, it is unjust to the producer. Nothing but divine foresight could ascertain it in advance. This risk does not characterize the ordinary commercial and industrial enterprise. The Government has fixed—not an arbitrary but an agreed price on iron, steel, copper, coal, etc. These prices are fixed on the basis of cost plus a profit. If prices are to be fixed at all, they ought to be fixed on that basis. No producer should be required to sell his product at less than the cost of production. He can not continue to do so and survive. If the Government, however, should determine that it is necessary to the winning of the war for producers to sell at less than cost, the farmers will, if the rule be made universal, be the first to yield and the last to complain. They only demand that equal justice which the President has called "the heart of democracy."

I need not say that the farmers are willing to bear any burden, to make any sacrifice necessary for our success. They only wish, as they have a right to wish, that such sacrifices should be fairly apportioned among all classes of their fellow citizens. Certainly public policy forbids that we should cripple or embarrass any class of producers, particularly the farmers. This would hinder the great work of reconstruction which must follow the war. In this splendid service others may play a more conspicuous but none will play a more important part than the American farmer.

There is no law authorizing any officer or department of the Government to fix a price on cotton. Cotton was at one time voted into the food-control act, but we succeeded in voting it out. Up to the middle of July the crop promised to be 15,000,000. Certain southern bankers took fright. They held a meeting in Washington on July 17, urging the Government to fix the price on cotton. On July 16 a meeting was held on the part of the southern Senators and Representatives and the commissioners of agriculture and the presidents of the leading farm organizations of the cotton States to protest against fixing a price on cotton. The farmers have been constant in their opposition to such policy. They remembered that when cotton was selling at 6 cents a pound in 1914 nothing was done by the Government to uphold the price or to help the farmer. They do not think that anything should be done now by the Government to put the price down or to hurt the farmer. The cotton farmers also saw that when the Government interfered in the one single instance of wheat, with the price of an agricultural product it reduced the price from $3 to $2.40 a bushel. However much this helped the consumer, it did not help the producer. All the tracks led into the cave, none of them led out so far as farm products were concerned. On the other hand, the packers, the millers, steel mills, the copper mines are realizing exceptional profits under agreed prices. As you know, I have always maintained a steadfast opposition to any policy of fixing the price on agricultural products. For the reasons, first, that it can not be done scientifically on account of the weather risk and other uncertain factors, and, second, because a mere guess at the price is too likely to hurt if it does not ruin the producer.

When the agitation was later commenced by Mr. Baruch and others in regard to the fixing a price on cotton, a series of meetings was held on the part of the southern Senators and Congressmen. Repeated protests were made and a committee appointed to wait on the President and to give emphatic expression to this protest. After the President's note of September 13, intimating that action might be taken, a final meeting was held and a more vigorous protest was made. This protest brought forth the assurance that nothing would be done for the present and that nothing at all would be done in the absence of extreme and violent fluctuations of price. It is our hope that this assurance will be adhered to and that the farmers may be allowed to receive that price which the law of supply and demand will award even under the present restricted operation of that law. The farmers could not if they would, and should not if they could, become profiteers. They are unorganized. The men that would fatten and batten upon the misfortune of his countrymen or the exigencies of war is a public enemy. Prosperity is not incompatible with patriotism. Our policy ought to be so fashioned as to bring all our producers out of this war prepared for the tremendous economic struggle which is to follow, and able to perform their full duty in the unprecedented task of rehabilitating the world.

With best wishes for an early and complete victory and a permanent peace, I remain,

Your friend, truly, T. P. GORE.

[From the Forum for September, 1918.]

THE WHEAT FARMERS' DILEMMA—WE MUST HAVE WHEAT—AT $2.20 A BUSHEL WILL IT GO ON THE TABLE OR IN THE TROUGH?

(By Hon. THOMAS P. GORE, United States Senator for Oklahoma.)

(The vital food question of wheat backs up to the farmer. Is he treated with justice, in view of a restricted market price, forced to buy in an unrestricted market? The able Senator from the wheat belt of the West takes up the question for the Forum.)

The price of the wheat should bear some just and reasonable relation to the price of those things which he must buy with the proceeds of his wheat. This is the farmer's point of view. The President has stated the farmer's side with characteristic clearness. In his annual message last December he declared that the farmers complain with justice that they are obliged to sell in a restricted and to buy in an unrestricted market. What is the way out of the dilemma described by the President?

First. To remove all restrictions whatever upon the price of wheat.

Second. To advance the fixed price of wheat to correspond with the general level of advanced prices.

Third. To reduce the prices of all other articles to correspond with the reduced price of wheat.

I shall merely mention a fourth, which would be a compromise between the second and the third, by advancing the price of wheat and reducing the prices of other articles until they meet upon a common level.

The application of the first remedy would require a reversal of our policy and a retracing of our steps. I am not certain that we have the power even if we had the disposition to do this. The wheat market has been dismantled by the Government and if it were a legislative possibility I am not sure that it would be a commercial possibility to restore it overnight. If this could be done, it would be the simplest and best solution.

There are those who insist that the general level of prices, particularly upon articles purchased by the farmers, should be so reduced as to correspond with the fixed price upon wheat. If this were a legal and economic possibility it might, indeed, restore the ratio between the price of wheat and the general range of prices. Should we disturb all prices and all economic relations merely in order to attempt with or without success to readjust them? Wheat was selling at $3 a bushel in Minneapolis the day the Government broke the price. That was the ratio between supply and demand. The Government reduced the price to $2.17 at Minneapolis.

It is obvious that a horizontal or a universal reduction of all prices to meet this reduction of wheat would be unavailing so far as domestic commerce is concerned. We would merely have our pains for our labor in operating this treadmill and would be fortunate, indeed, if we escaped with so light a retribution. We could make a general reduction in the prices of all domestic articles and could apply these prices to exports. We could not apply this general or horizontal reduction to the prices of imports. We could sell our own products to the allies and to neutrals at the reduced prices, but we would be obliged to continue purchases from them at market prices or rather at war prices.

We are now obliging our farmers to take less for their wheat than it is worth, and are supplying wheat to the allies and perhaps in limited quantities to neutrals at the reduced figure.

FOREIGN MARKETS TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OUR REDUCTIONS.

I am informed that neutrals purchase wheat from us upon this lower level and sell it to their own people at famine figures. We are supplying millions' worth of wheat to foreign countries at an artificially low price and are purchasing millions' worth of goods from them at war prices. And to make it worse, some of the neutral countries are manipulating foreign exchanges so as to double their advantage and double our disadvantage. This is transfusion with a vengeance.

The President made the point, however, in his veto message that if we advanced the price of wheat here it would oblige the allies to purchase wheat at the advanced price. This is undoubtedly true unless some other or better method could be found for obviating the loss. Let me say once for all that if it be necessary to the winning of the war for us to supply the allies with wheat at $2.20 per bushel, then that should be done and will be done by the unanimous voice and vote of the American people. The Government of the United States, however, should assume and should absorb the loss. The people of the United States in their public capacity should assume that loss and should not visit it upon the wheat producers in their capacity as private citizens. The United States ought to levy taxes and sell bonds enough to defray the necessary expenses of this war. A good deal of vainglory has been indulged in in this country on the action of the Food Administration in reducing the price of flour to $10.50 per barrel. Flour made in England from American wheat sells at the mill door for $7.50 per barrel. It may be somewhat inferior to American flour, but that is not the point. The Government of Great Britain appropriated $200,000,000 to compensate the millers against loss in selling flour at $7.50 per barrel. The loss is, as it should be, assumed and absorbed by the people of Great Britain in their sovereign capacity. It is not visited upon the millers in their private capacity. The difference should be charged up against the Government as an item of war expense and should not be levied as a special tribute or forced contribution upon the wheat farmers. In order to supply the allies with a relatively small quantity of wheat at a reduced price it is neither necessary nor just to subject the farmers to a loss of from $300,000,000 to $600,000,000 on their entire crop.

That the farmer is taking a heavy loss on wheat is not open to controversy. There is a pretty definite historic ratio between wheat on the one hand and corn, rye, barley, and oats on the other. Based on this ratio an expert recently computed that the price of wheat should be approximately $2.77 at Chicago. The measure recently passed by Congress and vetoed by the President proposed to make the price at Chicago $2.60. Congress undertook to apply in a limited measure the remedy of advancing the price of wheat to correspond with the general level of other prices. We must adopt one of two remedies, either to advance the price of wheat or to reduce the general range of prices. Congress preferred the former method. Nothing has been done to apply the other method in the eight months that have come and gone since the President declared that the farmers complained with justice of the existing situation. When the President made that declaration in December last, he, of course, had in mind the price of wheat which the farmer was then obliged to take and the price of other articles which he was then obliged to buy.

WHEAT THE ONLY ARTICLE THAT HAS NOT ADVANCED.

Wheat is perhaps the only article in the United States the price of which has not advanced during this interval. The farmer pays a higher price for everything now than he paid in December. He receives the same price for wheat. The Government fixed the price upon wheat harvested during the season of 1917 at $2.20 per bushel. The Government also fixed the price upon wheat harvested during the season of 1918 at $2.20 per bushel.

If the price fixed by the Government upon wheat for 1917 was not too high, then the price fixed by the Government on wheat for 1918 is not high enough; or if the price of wheat fixed by the Government for 1918 is high enough, then the price fixed for 1917 was too high. I say this because the cost of producing wheat in 1918 was much greater than in 1917. Seed wheat advanced, farm labor advanced, farm implements advanced. Every item of cost save only soil depletion has advanced. Let us state a few comparative figures.

In 1915 denim overalls sold for $9 a dozen wholesale; in 1918 the same overalls are quoted at $29.50. In parts of the great wheat belt farm wages in 1917 were $35 per month plus board; in 1918 they were $65 a month plus board, and the demand could not be supplied even at this figure. Binding twine has gone up from 9 cents in 1914 to 20 cents in 1917 and 26 cents in 1918. A 14-inch gang plow was $65 in 1914, $85 in 1917, and $200 in 1918. In 1914 a 7-foot self-binder retailed for $150; in 1917 the same binder retailed for $185; and in 1918 for $250. The ordinary farm wagon in 1914 cost $75. In 1917 it cost $95, and in 1918 it cost $150. These are retail prices.

The farmer has been obliged to pay a higher price for the articles necessary in producing the crop of 1918, as compared with the crop of 1917, yet he is obliged to accept exactly the same price for wheat in 1918 that he received in 1917. If the farmer complained with justice in December last, he has much greater cause to complain to-day. Something has, indeed, been attempted, but nothing has been done to remedy this injustice.

WHY SINGLE OUT THE FARMER TO TAKE THE BURDEN OF LOSS?

The President once said, with equal truth and felicity, that equal justice is the heart of democracy. In 1917 the millers received a net return upon their investment 300 per cent in excess of their return in 1914.

The farmer has to pay the increasing prices of meat, transportation, labor, and utensils, clothing, etc., out of the diminished proceeds of his wheat, diminished from $3 to $2 per bushel by a proclamation of the President. The farmer can not see in these different attitudes of the Government toward different classes of industry that equal justice which constitutes the heart of democracy. The wheat farmer is not quite satisfied with the honeyed assurances that bread will win the war and that wheat is the one farm product which is indispensable to the triumph of American arms. Is the wheat farmer to be punished rather than rewarded in accordance with the indispensable character of his service?

The wheat farmer who insists that the injustice admitted by the President should be rectified does not thereby brand himself either as unpatriotic or as a profiteer. His patriotism should not be the occasion of his sacrifice or enslavement nor the excuse of denying him that equal justice which is at once the heart and the crowning glory of democracy.

In his veto message the President avowed that personally he did not believe that the farmers of the country depend upon the stimulation of prices to do their utmost to serve the Nation and the world. The President then with less implied praise averred that if the farmer should be given an advance of price, the laborer would require an advance in wages. If the advanced price had registered itself in the advance of flour—which it would not—it would have cost each wage earner in the country $2 a year for himself and for each member of his family. The object of the existing law, under which the President fixes the price of wheat, was not to hammer down the price of wheat in the farmers' hands, nor to afford any other class the benefit of such enforced and arbitrary reduction. It was not intended that the Government should take from three to six hundred million dollars a year from the wheat producer and bestow that amount as a gratuity upon the consumers of this or any other country.

Fortunately the law itself leaves us in no doubt upon this point. Section 14 of the present act, the price-fixing section, empowers the President, whenever he finds "that an emergency exists requiring stimulation of the production of wheat," to fix a reasonable guaranteed price in order that the producers of wheat might have the benefit of such price and "in order to assure such producers a reasonable profit." The object of the law and the lawmakers was not to deprive the farmers of a reasonable profit and to oblige them and the Government to rely solely upon their spirit of patriotism. The lawmakers placed their reliance upon constant economic forces and proposed to guarantee the wheat producers a reasonable profit. The lawmakers did not believe that they could stimulate the production of wheat by reducing its price.

HOW THE LOW-FIXED PRICE OF WHEAT WORKS.

The wheat farmer is now asking nothing more than that the purpose and object of the legislature be realized and that the injustice be corrected, which is inseparable from a system which obliges him to sell in a restricted and to buy in an unrestricted market. This injustice should be corrected as a matter of practical wisdom and a matter of sound public policy. Whatever is unjust is unwise. But we are not obliged to rely upon this necessary implication. There is particular proof of it in this special instance not only in our own country but in other belligerent countries. During the summer of 1917 the Department of Agriculture carried on a nation-wide patriotic campaign to secure the planting of 47,000,000 acres of winter wheat. They failed. The acreage secured was only 42,000,000, the same acreage that the farmers voluntarily planted in 1914, when there was no other encouragement than the prospect of a reasonable return. Rye presents an interesting contrast and should teach a valuable lesson. The farmers increased the acreage of rye of 4,400,000 to more than 6,000,000, an increase of nearly 50 per cent. The price of wheat is fixed; the price of rye is not fixed. Wheat brings only $2.20, 50 or 60 cents less than it is worth. Rye, which is worth less intrinsically, has sold as high as $3. The farmer can produce more rye to the acre than wheat. The farmer can produce more pounds of corn to the acre than wheat, and can, under existing market conditions, receive more per bushel, notwithstanding wheat is worth more intrinsically both as feed and as food. This possibility tends to make the farmer plant corn, rye, barley, oats, and other products the price of which is unrestricted, rather than wheat the price of which is restricted. The farmers in my State—Oklahoma—have sold wheat at $1.90, and with the proceeds have purchased corn as high as $2.20. One farmer put it in an epigram, saying that price reduction has put wheat in the trough and corn on the table. Millions of bushels of wheat have been fed to live stock which ought to have been conserved as a precious resource for ourselves and for our allies. Thus price regulation, like vaulting ambition, sometimes overleaps itself.

A farmer who has fertile lands and favorable seasons and who can rely upon from 20 to 35 bushels per acre can realize a profit on wheat at $2.20. The average yield per acre sown in the United States last year was 11 bushels. This means that millions of acres yielded only 4, 5, and 6 bushels. As a rule our available surplus for export is produced in the semiarid country, where the yield per acre is low. These men can not produce under existing high costs at $2.20 per bushel. If they disappear from the equation our average production per acre would indeed increase, but there would be a dangerous diminution in the total output. In times of crisis it is the total output that counts.

We ought to profit by the experience, and especially by the blunders of all other warring nations. In 1916 the French Government fixed the price of wheat too low. The French peasant shook his head. The results were disappointing to the State. In the effect the keen, logical French mind read the cause. They did not repeat it; they profited by the blunder. The Government price of wheat in France to-day is $3.95 per bushel. The average yield per acre in France exceeds by 5 or 6 bushels the average yield in this country. Switzerland is paying for wheat a guaranteed price of $2.70 per bushel.

WHAT WILL BE THE PRICE OF THE 1919 CROP?

What is to be done with respect to the crop of 1919? At this time no guaranty whatever has been offered. Mr. Hoover has indicated a purpose to buy and hold several hundred million bushels of wheat grown this year against a possible shortage next year.

Can the farmers be expected to produce a normal crop against a carry-over of such proportions? It will be remembered that Mr. Hoover and Secretary Houston appointed an agricultural advisory committee of 24 members, and is of a quasi-public character. It meets from time to time in Washington. Its traveling expenses are paid by the Government. The members are paid $10 per day for their expenses while in the Capital. During the early days of the present month it met and deliberated upon the price of wheat. Seventeen members were present and voting. They unanimously recommended that the price of wheat *for the 1919 harvest* should be fixed at $2.46 basis, Chicago. There was, indeed, one dissenting vote, but this member changed his vote to make the result unanimous. This is the official authoritative advice of the agricultural advisory committee selected by Mr. Hoover and Secretary Houston. Will this advice be heeded? It was given after Mr. Hoover had sent a cablegram from London to the committee advising them not to advise an advance. It was given after Mr. Hoover's assistant and after Mr. Hoover's attorney had both appeared in person and advised the advisory committee not to advise an advance.

In his veto message the President committed himself to the administrative method of agreeing upon a price rather than the establishment of a fixed price by legislation. I have no doubt that the American wheat farmer will be reasonably content if the President should act upon the advice of this advisory committee and fix the price for next year's crop at $2.46 basis, Chicago. This will not, indeed, amend the injustice for the current year, but it will secure a larger measure of justice, a more near approach to equal justice for the season of 1919. May I be permitted to cite once again Mr. Lincoln's declaration that no question is ever settled until it is settled right. This wheat question has not been settled right. It has not been settled at all. It involves an injury which is admitted by the President, an injury which is felt and suffered by the farmers.

I do not know whether every act of injustice disturbs the harmony of the moral universe. I do not know whether every act of injustice calls for ultimate retribution. I do not know whether we could hope for greater success in suspending the great law of retribution that James II experienced in suspending the penal laws of England. I do know that a great nation embarked upon a war for liberty, humanity, and democracy can not afford to violate the great fundamental principles which underlie and which give vitality and value to these high and mighty objects. The United States can not afford to be unjust to the humblest citizen who has a right to invoke the protection of its flag.

WALLACES' FARMER,
Des Moines, Iowa, October 9, 1918.

Senator GORE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I inclose herewith an editorial which appears in Wallaces' Farmer of this week. It deals with a matter which seems to me to be of very great importance to the Nation, and I hope you may be able to find time to read it through.

With best wishes, I am,
Very truly,
HENRY C. WALLACE.

[An editorial from Wallaces' Farmer of Oct. 11, 1918.]

THE FOOD ADMINISTRATION AND THE PRICE OF HOGS.

On November 3, 1917, Joseph P. Cotton, Chief of the Meat Division of the United States Food Administration, issued a statement relative to the price of hogs. This statement concluded with the following:

"As to the hogs farrowed next spring, we will try to stabilize the price so that the farmers can count on getting for each 100 pounds of hog ready for market thirteen times the average cost per bushel of the corn fed into the hogs. Let there be no misunderstanding of this statement. It is not a guaranty backed by money. It is not a promise of the packers. It is a statement of the intention and policy of the Food Administration, which means to do justice to the farmer."

This announcement of policy by the Food Administration followed a series of conferences between Food Administration officials and representatives of the live-stock interests. These conferences were instituted by Mr. Hoover. The stockmen were told that there was a pronounced shortage of hogs and a great necessity for increase in the amount of pork produced; and the announcement of the Food Administration which we have just quoted was made to assure the farmers that they could increase the number of hogs and be sure of getting a fair price for them.

The investigations made by Wallaces' Farmer during the preceding three years had shown conclusively that when the price of hogs dropped below the value of 11.67 bushels of No. 2 corn on the Chicago market production decreased, and that when the price was maintained for a reasonable length of time above this figure hog production increased. This law governing the production of hogs has maintained our hog supply in the United States for 60 years past. It was recognized by our Food Administration when adopting the policy indicated in the statement we have quoted

The Food Administration wanted more than normal production. Therefore it stated its policy to be to see that hogs marketed this fall and winter should bring more than the 60-year average price, measured by the value of the corn fed to them. In other words, it agreed to try to see that hogs would sell for a premium amounting to the value of about one bushel of corn per hundred pounds of hog.

This announcement of the policy of the Food Administration was given the widest publicity. It was printed in bulletins. It was printed in the agricultural papers throughout the United States. It was used by speakers for the Food Administration and by professors of agricultural colleges and by county agents everywhere. It was used to convince the farmer that he would be fully justified in increasing the number of hogs grown this year. He was told that he could depend upon it that they would sell for a price above the cost of production, a price which would give him a profit.

The hog producers of the country were reassured by the implied guaranty of the Food Administration. They had been producing hogs at a loss; that is, they could have sold the corn and hogs separately and have received considerably more money than by feeding the corn to the hogs. But the policy announced by the Food Administration promised to put an end to this unprofitable business. If carried out in good faith the farmers could pay whatever price might be necessary for corn and feed it to the hogs with the assurance that they would not lose by the operation. Consequently the farmers increased the number of sows bred last fall, and this year they raised about 8 per cent more hogs than the year before. It is interesting to note that this is the exact increase which Wallaces' Farmer predicted might be counted upon in case a price ration of 13 bushels of corn to 100 pounds of hog should be fixed.

The Food Administration proposed a business deal with the farmers: If the latter would increase the number of hogs the Food Administration proposed to see to it that the hogs should sell for a price which would give the farmers a slight profit. The farmers accepted this in good faith and made the increase asked for. Now the time has come for the Food Administration to carry out its part of the bargain. Last spring's crop of pigs is now beginning to go to market, and it is these pigs which the Food Administration said it would try to make sell per hundred pounds for the value of 13 bushels of the corn fed into them.

It would appear now, however, that the Food Administration does not want to carry out its share of this bargain. Recent announcements are made to the effect that the average packer's drove of hogs will sell in Chicago during the month of October for about $18 per hundredweight. This is about $2.50 per hundred-weight less than the Food Administration promised to try to make them sell for. It is also announced that a minimum price of $15.50 will be maintained on hogs. During the next five months hogs must sell at from $19 to $22 per hundred pounds to maintain the implied guaranty of the Food Administration; and the suggestion that the minimum be maintained at $15.50 is a most astonishing one to come from anyone conversant with the principles of hog production.

Apparently the Food Administration is going to try to justify this cut of two or three dollars per hundred pounds on hogs. It is going to try to make people believe that it is an approach to its guaranty. When the plan was adopted the price of No. 2 corn at Chicago was taken and the price of hogs at Chicago. Now, it is proposed that instead of taking the price of corn at Chicago, the price will be taken on the farm. This is Jew bargaining with a vengeance. If the price of corn is to be taken on the farm, why should not the price of hogs be taken on the farm? Such juggling will make a difference of 50 cents to $1 a hundred less on the price the farmer gets for his hogs. Also it is proposed to consider the price of corn only during the five months juse preceding the date the hogs are marketed, instead of the price during the 12 months preceding, as was understood when the guaranty was made. In short, the Food Administration proposes to change the terms of the contract to suit its own notion after the farmer has carried out his engagement in good faith.

The Food Administration can not justify a repudiation of its agreement by saying that to carry it out would make the price of pork too high for our allies to pay. If it is necessary for us to furnish pork to our allies for less than the cost of production, then the loss should be taken out of the Public Treasury and not out of the pockets of the hog producers.

Last week the Food Administration held a conference with the packers. In the newspaper report of this conference it is stated that the new scale of prices was submitted to the packers, and that "all the packers opposed the plan vigorously, but finally agreed to support the administration by doing their best to maintain the minimum of $15.50 per hundred for the average drove for the heavy packing season." This is as entertaining as a play. In the future, how can anyone accuse the packers of lack of public spirit when, after vigorous protest, they finally agree not to buy hogs for less than $4.50 below what they are worth?

The Food Administration has not announced what it proposes to pay for November hogs. On the basis of $18.50 for the average packer's drove, the farmer will get for the hogs marketed during the month of October from five to ten million dollars less than they would have received if the price had been fixed on the basis which the Food Administration on November 3, 1917, announced that it would try to follow. From the talk of a $15.50 minimum, it would appear that an effort will be made to buy hogs still cheaper in November, especially as the corn price is being beaten down.

There are two angles from which to approach this whole question. First, is it necessary to maintain or increase our hog production in order to furnish food for our Army and Navy and for our allies? If it is necessary, then the policy which the Food Administration is following is suicidal. Production can not be maintained on any such policy, to say nothing of increasing it. The farmers are the most patriotic class of people in the Nation, but they can not continue to feed corn to hogs at a loss of from one to three dollars per hundred pounds. In addition, if the Food Administration does not make a sincere effort to make good on its promise of November 3, 1917, there is danger that the farmers of the country will refuse to take seriously any further suggestions of the Food Administration. How can they?

If, instead of trying to maintain production, it is the plan of the Food Administration to restrict consumption, and thus make the hogs we do produce go around, and especially meet the needs of the boys in the armies and navies of our allies, that is another matter. We don't know whether it can be done or not. Mr. Hoover has been very skillful in such matters, and by the institution of meatless weeks or wholly restricting home consumption of pork products it is quite possible that he may be able to get as much pork across the seas as is needed. The danger of this meatless program is that it tends to still further reduce production. The farmer sees the demand for his product being curtailed, and he tries to trim his sails accordingly, by producing less and less of it, just as is true in any other line of production. As we look at it, this whole policy which is being followed by the Food Administration is fraught with very great danger to the Nation and to our allies as well.

The second angle from which the matter may be approached is the question of doing justice to the farmer and hog producer. In his address delivered in July, 1917, President Wilson said:

"A just price must, of course, be paid for everything the Government buys. By a just price I mean a price which will sustain the industries concerned in a high state of efficiency, provide a living for those who conduct them, enable them to pay good wages, and make possible the extension of their enterprise, which will from time to time become necessary as the stupendous undertaking of this war develops. We could not wisely or reasonably do less than pay such prices. They are necessary for the maintaining and developing of industry, and the maintaining and developing of industry are necessary for the great task we have on hand."

President Wilson, in this definition of a just price, did not specifically mention agriculture, but it is fair to assume that he believes the Nation should be as just to the farmer as to the manufacturer, and that it should pay the farmer as well as the manufacturer a just price for his products.

On this basis the price of hogs is not just, nor has it been just for more than a year past. Ever since August of 1917 hogs have sold for from one to six dollars per hundredweight less than the average price

of the past 10 years, measured by cost of production. Until the United States entered the war the price of hogs was above the average of 10 years past. Shortly after the Food Administration began its work of "stabilization" the price of hogs dropped below the cost of production, and has remained there ever since. Not until last month did hogs sell for the average price of the past 10 years as measured in cost of production, and no sooner did they reach this point than this hammering process began, and now they are again below this cost.

Is there any good reason why the farmer should be denied that just price for his product which the President stated should be paid by the Government and which has been granted with such a lavish hand to all other classes of producers but the farmer? Is not the farmer doing his share to win the war? Has he not furnished more than 25 per cent of our fighting men? Is he not working longer hours than any other class in the entire Nation? Has he not responded unselfishly to every appeal which has been made to him? Who, then, can justify a policy which denies to the farmer President Wilson's just price for his products? And who can justify the repudiation of a fair and square business deal made with the farmer?

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UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, October 29, 1918.

Hon. JESSE DUNN,
Oakland, Cal.

MY DEAR DUNN: I am pleased to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of late date. Your letter was characteristic. It was of the heart of oak. It was a mirror in which was reflected the principles and feelings of a real Democrat. It proves that real democracy still has real champions on this side of the sea. It proves that the sacred rights of freedom of thought, freedom of conscience, and freedom of speech still have defenders worthy of the undaunted heroes who wrested these rights from embattled tyranny and who sought to transmit the blessings of liberty to their children's children.

I appreciate the indignation which you express toward the action of certain Oklahoma City and Muscogee politicians on the occasion of the recent State convention. The action of those politicians proves that real democracy has real enemies on this side of the sea. It proves that freedom of thought, freedom of conscience, and freedom of speech may still be assassinated by those who make lofty protestations of friendship. They kiss but to betray and crucify. These men are unworthy trustees of the great legacy of liberty handed down to us by the great revolutionary fathers. There will soon be in France some four and a half million brave American boys, who are fighting the battles of democracy. They are shedding their blood, they are sacrificing their lives to make freedom of thought, freedom of conscience, freedom of speech sacred and respected everywhere. There are those on the Muscogee and Oklahoma City delegations who would take advantage of the absence of these defenders to stab democracy in the back, and who would, if they could, murder in the house of their friends freedom of thought, freedom of conscience, and freedom of speech. When these champions of human rights and human liberty return, victory crowned, they will, I doubt not, rebuke those who have in their absence profaned the sanctuary of freedom and desecrated the temple of democracy. When it becomes necessary, if it becomes necessary, for these returning soldiers to reestablish and reconsecrate the inalienable rights of American freemen, "what so poor a man as Hamlet can do, I shall do to assist them." I have stood by these rights—freedom of thought, freedom of conscience, and freedom of the press—without variableness or shadow of turning. Indeed, I voted against the censorship of the press, notwithstanding it was asked by the administration and notwithstanding the freedom of the press has sometimes been abused to abuse me.

I was impressed with your remark that the Oklahoma City incident, intended by the politicians to injure me, would probably in the long run inure to my advantage. Arbitrary power like ambition often overleaps itself. Tyranny does not always succeed in cutting the tongue out of its victims. The people are just and react against injustice. I received from different parts of the State numerous protests which tend to verify your prediction. They show that the great heart of the people still beats in consonance with liberty and justice. You will be interested to hear two or three of them. I received the following telegram from southwest Oklahoma the evening of the incident to which you refer:

"Your enemies are all there. The population absent are your friends. Their high-handed schemes will wreck them. Don't worry."

The following is from an attorney in Delaware County:

"I wish to state to you that, politically, I am for you regardless of what a half handful of politicians do, or fail to do, and I assure you that the 'boys up at the forks of the creek' who live close to nature and recognize rugged honesty, will again cover your opposition with a load of ballots they will never get from under."

The following is from a farmer in Payne County:

"I have been requested to write you because we recognize in you a friend of us farmers. We'll stand back of and vote for you, and condemn the actions of the bone-head delegates; they do not represent us in such sentiment. We are for you; they only represent the little two-bit bone-headed town-corner politicians; they have raised a storm among your friends which augurs," etc.

I will not name the Oklahoma city politicians who were the chieftains in this little episode. They are well known to you. They hold high counsel and direct the destines of the State, the world, and the universe in the lobby of the Lee Huckins Hotel. No one knows better than you that these politicians have always been against me, and that I have always been against them. The issue has always been squarely joined. They seem determined to keep me under perpetual obligation to them. I am sometimes puzzled to determine whether my friends or my enemies render me the greater service. The best way for Democracy to win is to be Democratic. The Daily Oklahoman has given aid and comfort to these politicians. Indeed, the Oklahoman has charged me with three separate and distinct acts, any one of which, had I been guilty, ought to have subjected me to the unmeasured condemnation of all patriotic American citizens. The Oklahoman afterwards felt constrained to withdraw and correct these charges. Unfortunately an assassin can not heal a wound merely by drawing the dagger out of the wound. Truth sometimes pursues at the snail's pace error which flies on the eagle's pinions.

These charges were so fantastic that they would be laughable if they were not so serious, and if good men were not sometimes misled for the moment by such misrepresentations. Since you were once chief justice you will be interested and amused at the character of these fanciful indictments returned by no other grand jury than malice or the imagination. No truth-loving man would make such charges without evidence. No justice-loving man would credit them without proof.

The first count. The Oklahoman charged in flaming headlines that Senator GORE was giving aid and encouragement to draft resisters. This charge was based on the following telegram, which I sent to an unknown constituent. I quote his telegram first.

[Western Union telegram.]

DAUGHERTY, OKLA., *September 17, 1917.*

Hon. T. P. GORE,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Read your letter State chairman. I travel over Oklahoma. I am confident farmers are with you 20 to 1. Please wire if there is a law that exempts men from any Army service who belong to a religious organization whose tenets are against going to war. Please quote authorities. Answer.

(Signed) H. CAPIRS.

[Western Union Telegram.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September 18, 1917.*

H. CAPIRS, *Dougherty, Okla.:*

Your telegram received and greatly appreciated. Am quoting the following from section 4 of the draft act: "Nothing in this act contained shall be construed to require or compel any person to serve in any of the forces herein provided for who is found to be a member of any well-recognized religious sect or organization at present organized and existing and whose existing creed or principles forbid its members to participate in war in any form, and whose religious convictions are against war or participation therein in accordance with the creed or principles of said religious organizations."

(Signed) T. P. GORE.

This is the only correspondence or communication which ever took place between us. At his request I quoted without comment the letter of the law. He asked a civil question and I returned a civil answer.

Count 2. The Oklahoman charged that I was circularizing the State with literature to the effect that the draft law was unconstitutional and that those held under it were being subjected to unlawful imprisonment, and that notwithstanding the Federal court had sustained its constitutionality citizens were not obliged to obey it. This was not only not the truth; it was the reverse of the truth. I not only did not circulate such literature; I did not think that the draft law was unconstitutional. On the contrary, I thought that it was constitutional. The power of Congress to raise armies is plenary.

Count 3. The Oklahoman charged that in an address which I delivered before the Southern Commercial Congress in New York on October 17 of last year, while the liberty loan drive was in progress, I opposed the liberty loan drive and discouraged its success. The contrary was the truth. In that address I urged the success of the liberty loan in the strongest possible terms. I declared that it was as much a public duty to buy bonds as to pay taxes, and that the failure of the drive would be almost as great a calamity as the loss of a battle. I am of course powerless to prevent the Oklahoman or any other publication from imputing acts and motives to me which are the reverse of the truth. Innocent men have sometimes been put to death under the belief that they were guilty. Their innocence has afterwards been discovered, but even that was not quite competent to raise the dead.

You wonder why these charges are repeatedly made by what ought to be a responsible publication. The motive I shall one day more fully discuss. The campaign furioso on the part of the Oklahoman was launched against me during the latter part of August last year. It continued with increasing fury for eight or ten weeks. It is still revived intermittently. I was one of the three members of the Finance Committee who signed the minority report filed on August 13 of last year. We urged higher rates of taxation upon war profits than those recommended by the committee. The committee itself afterwards revised its rates and raised the revenue some half billion dollars or more. I expected the profiteers to resent my action in signing this report. I expected the publications which were under their influence and control to launch against me such a campaign. I was not disappointed. There has been method in their madness. This was the real motive back of a good deal that was said and done. Other excuses, of course, have been assigned. They could not afford to assign the real motive.

I need hardly say that the general charge was made that I was not backing the administration in the prosecution of the war. People had a right to differ before the war was declared. They had no right to differ after war was declared as to the vigorous prosecution of the war to a satisfactory conclusion. Our whole future and our whole destiny are embarked in this enterprise. We must succeed. We can not afford to fail. I have said before that no man can be a friend of mine who does not favor the winning of the war. No man can be a friend of mine who is not willing to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to the winning of the war. As to that supreme end there must be no difference. As to the best means of winning the war differences of opinion are not only inevitable, they are desirable. They are desirable in order to test out—in order to detect whatever flaws there might be in any proposed plan, a plan on which might depend the fate of civilization itself. Lloyd George once said that he wanted a variety of counsel. Let me quote a very impressive and appropriate passage from a speech which he delivered when a member of the Asquith cabinet, while speaking of Premier Asquith:

"But we have had our differences. Good heaven! What use would I have been if I had not differed? I should have been no use at all.

"Freedom of speech is essential everywhere. The councilor who professes to agree with everything that falls from his leader has betrayed him.

"You want a variety of opinions expressed, and the height of wisdom is in knowing not what counsel to give, but which counsel to take. What I want to know is this: Whether the Nation in a great war wants counselors or mere penny-in-the-slot machines?"

I voted for some 18 or 20 big war measures. I shall not tax you with details, but will merely say that I voted for every dollar which has been asked; I voted for every bond issue which has been requested; I voted for the loans to the allies; I have voted to lay a heavy tax on war profits: I have voted for every measure to make our boys efficient fighting men. But this essential fact is, of course, obscured by the circumstance that I happened to vote for or against three or four other particular measures or amendments. Let me instance one or two.

I voted for Senator OWEN'S amendment to the food-control bill to create an auditing committee on expenditures. Taxes were so high, expenses were so heavy, that I felt in duty bound to provide every possible safeguard to prevent waste and to insure economy. Has not time vindicated Senator OWEN'S foresight in offering this amendment and the prudence and patriotism of those who supported this amendment?

I paired against the food-control act, although I approved of certain of its provisions. In a letter to the people of Oklahoma under date of September 29, 1917, I used the following language: "Who can answer the farmers' argument that if he must sell in a controlled market he should be allowed to buy in a controlled market?" Just two months and five days later, in his annual message to Congress, President Wilson said: "The farmers, for example, complain with a great deal of justice that while the regulation of food prices restricts their incomes, no restraints are placed upon the prices of most of the things they must themselves purchase." I thought in July, when the food-control bill was under consideration, that the very things would happen that President Wilson declared in December had happened and of which he said our farmers complained with justice. I did not wish to vote to place the farmers in that situation. No one knows better than yourself to what extent the farmers of Oklahoma assisted in sending me to the Senate. As chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, I felt under a double obligation to protect the farmers against a threatened injury or injustice. The farmers desire only that "equal justice" which the President has called "the port of democracy." A sense of injustice is a terrific force. I feared a political reaction.

I also voted for an amendment to the food-control bill to stop the use of grain in the manufacture of beer. I realized that the people would have to go on short rations and have wheatless days. This was necessary, and the people complied cheerfully. I voted, however, that while women and children were denying themselves bread, others should be required to deny themselves beer. I was outvoted. The administration at that time held a contrary view. I am pleased to say, however, that my vote has been vindicated by the recent presidential order prohibiting the brewing of beer on and after the 1st of next December.

I voted for the so-called Borland eight-hour amendment. I voted to require the Government employees in Washington to do eight hours' work for eight hours' pay. At present they receive eight hours' pay for only seven hours' work. This makes every eighth employee a supernumerary. It requires one-eighth more employees than would otherwise be necessary. It increases this demand for labor by 14 per cent, notwithstanding the present scarcity of labor. These employees have comfortable quarters, and their pay is certain without regard to floods or droughts or the vicissitudes of the seasons. I felt that in time of war they might well be required to render eight hours' work for eight hours' pay, and that the taxpayers were entitled to a dollar's worth of service for every dollar's worth of salary. Many of our people work long hours and work in sunshine and in shower to pay the taxes out of which the Government pays eight hours' wages for seven hours' work. I do not pretend that my views were infallible on this subject; I only maintain that I had a right to my views and had reasons which I honestly considered sufficient.

I also voted for the "work-or-fight" amendment. The administration was not opposed to this policy. It was opposed, as I understand, to the embodiment of the policy in legislation. I had to meet the question, however, as a legislator; I had to bear my own responsibility. I therefore voted for the "work-or-fight" amendment. It seemed to me that while millions of our boys were risking their lives and many of them sacrificing their lives in France, we could not afford to do less than to require those that remained behind either to work or fight. I did not vote to take from labor the right to strike where there was an agreement to submit the dispute to arbitration and abide by the award. I was not willing to enslave labor; on the other hand, I was not willing even to seem to discriminate in favor of slackers in this country as against our boys who are fighting on the fields of France.

I voted to try out the volunteer system before resorting to the draft. No one can deny that there are many points in favor of the selective draft. The volunteer, however, had been one of the chief figures in American history. One of our most cherished traditions was bound up in this system. The volunteers had waged and won every war of the Republic. They had led us without fail to victory and to glory. The heroism of our volunteers, like that of our drafted men, is to-day crowning American arms with unsurpassed splendor. One's wisdom might possibly be questioned for voting to stand by so ancient and so sacred a tradition, but it would hardly seem to lay his patriotism open to impeachment. In respect to the last draft law, I thought that 18 years was too low an age for the draft until it was dictated by military necessity. Both France and England had done what I tried to do. Every Member of the House from Oklahoma but one voted to exempt youths of 18 years from being drafted until all eligible men above that age had been drafted. I had the Senate excuse me from voting upon this measure. My colleagues were of the opinion that a unanimous vote would have a salutary effect upon the people in Germany and Austria. I was anxious to do everything that I could to convince those people of our united purpose to wage this war vigorously to the end. I could not get my consent to vote for a measure which would draft your son and which by its express terms exempted me and other Senators and Congressmen merely because we were officeholders. I have done my duty as I saw it.

Since we are in this war I think we ought to make a good job of it. Some say, "To Hell—ena with the Hohenzollerns!" I am not so much concerned with their habitat as I am to see them stripped of their power to baptize mankind again with blood and with fire.

It had been my hope to get down in the State before the campaign closed. The "flu" is raging there, however, and the Senate Finance Committee is having continuous sessions on the war-revenue bill. I shall indulge the hope to visit you again one of these days in Oakland.

With best wishes, believe me, very truly.

THE FARMERS' NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON PACKING PLANTS AND ALLIED INDUSTRIES,
Washington, D. C., October 16, 1918.

Hon. THOMAS P. GORE,
Chairman Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR GORE: For the sake of fair play and in order that all the interests affected by the packers and those interested in the recommendations of the Federal Trade Commission regarding the meat-packing industry may have their side of the case presented, the Farmers' National Committee on Packing Plants and Allied Industries instructs me to request that you would have the inclosed statement regarding the hearing of the Senate Subcommittee on Agriculture and Forestry printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. We trust that you will have this done.

Yours, very truly,

BENJAMIN C. MARSH,
Executive Secretary.

STATEMENT BY THE FARMERS' NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON PACKING PLANTS AND ALLIED INDUSTRIES.

The hearings held by the Senate Subcommittee on Agriculture and Forestry on Senate resolution 221 with regard to the packing houses brought out a most extraordinary condition of affairs and demonstrated the very close connection between the packers, the financial interests, and the chamber of commerce. The evidence brought out indicated the great influence of the financial interests and the packers in the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and, even more important, the close comradeship existing between the large aggregations of business centering in the chamber of commerce.

Officials of the chamber of commerce claim that the membership represents the major portion of the business interests of the country. The secretary of the chamber of commerce submitted the most recent list of its associate and individual members, confined to firms, corporations, and individuals who are members of affiliated organizations and have no vote. Associate members pay $100 or multiples thereof annually; individual members, $25 annually. At present there are approximately 7,000 individual and 2,000 associate members. About 1,050 commercial organizations, with an underlying membership of over 500,000 corporations, firms, and individuals, constitute the voting membership of the chamber. The financial statement of the chamber of commerce shows that they expended last year about $420,000. It was brought out that the chamber of commerce was started in 1912, and a budget of $100,000 a year was underwritten shortly after by the organizers. Special interest attaches to the chamber of commerce in connection with the investigation being held by the Senate Subcommittee on Agriculture and Forestry because of the widespread publicity given to the report of the Federal trade committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States on the Federal Trade Commission, with direct reference to the report of the Trade Commission on the meat-packing industry.

Mr. Rush C. Butler, chairman of this Federal trade committee, stated, "I have stated broadly that the business interests of the country, as represented in and by the chamber of commerce, took exception to the spirit in which the commands of Congress are administered by the Federal Trade Commission." Mr. Butler admitted that most questions of importance are submitted to the referendum of the membership of the chamber; that being the policy, that it take no action without a referendum, but that this report was not submitted to referendum, and that it is at present nothing more than a report of the Federal trade committee to the board of directors of the chamber, though probably with the authority of the chamber, it has been widely circulated. The Federal trade committee was organized in February, 1915, and Mr. Harry A. Wheeler, who had previously been president of the chamber, was appointed chairman of this committee, which office he held until his reelection to the presidency of the chamber. Another member of the original Federal trade committee was Mr. Joseph P. Cotton, of New York, who now represents the Food Administration on the meat end of the packing industry. Mr. Cotton resigned in 1916. Mr. Butler admitted that he originated the idea of making a report of the Federal Trade Commission while Mr. Heney was conducting his investigation. Mr. Butler, who has been attorney for Cudahy & Co., severely criticized the Federal Trade Commission for an alleged change in their method of dealing with the business interests of the country, and particularly for their action in turning over facts which they had found by searching the correspondence of men engaged in the packing industry to the Department of Justice. He admitted that from what he had gathered from the newspapers he thought that the conduct of Mr. Heney in the investigation of the packing plants was not right, and took steps to secure a report on the Federal Trade Commission on this account, while the Federal trade committee had conferences with the Federal Trade Commission to try to get them to change their methods of investigation and their attitude toward business. Mr. Allen Walker, of New York, local manager for the chamber of commerce, had charge in 1915 of raising a guarantee fund, and sent out a letter appealing for subscriptions to business men. Probably this letter was sent to many, including the big list of 100 who were asked to pay at least $1,000 a year each for three years. In this letter he said: "The point I wish to make—and I did not mean to dwell on it at such length—is that some of our corporation interests do not seem to grasp that this is their game—it is their pie." On the list of large contributors were the following: Thomas F. Ryan, Harry A. Wheeler, Great Northern Railroad, Armour & Co., Swift & Co., International Harvester Co., Kuhn, Loeb & Co., Southern Pacific Railroad, New Jersey Zinc Co., John D. Rockefeller, jr., and the International Paper Co. Mr. Walker explained that the policy of the chamber was to make known that the contribution of any corporation was to be considered in the light of "business patriotism," and that it could not in any sense serve any individual or group interests. Following Mr. Walker's testimony, Mr. Butler expressed his opinion that he "didn't know whether the packers wanted the investigation of themselves or not." Mr. Butler stated, "I have no interest in ascertaining the facts about the packers." He admitted that the packers had been doing a great deal of advertising recently, but claimed that if they spend $25,000,000 a year in advertising they could not counteract the effect of the methods of investigation and the activities of the Federal Trade Commission. He said, "I think this kind of publicity given out by an administrative agency of the Government of the United States does such irreparable damage that the expenditure of $25,000,000 by the packers in a single year in any manner that they see fit to spend it would not begin to repair the injury." Mr. Butler, when asked whether the widespread editorial policy of opposition to the Trade Commission's report on the meat-packing industry might not have been affected by the extensive advertising of the packers, replied, "Well, if so, that would indicate a degraded press. I do not believe it is quite as bad as that." Mr. Butler asserted that the chamber of commerce wishes the commission to stay right where it is, but stated that the President has the power of removal of commissioners and the power of appointment, and that there are two vacancies on the commission now, and if he appoints men of the right viewpoint that the commission will be one of the greatest instrumentalities for usefulness in the country.

Mr. Ed. C. Lasater, a large live-stock grower of Texas, submitted sworn affidavits to the committee showing many instances of the sale of putrid and unfit meat by the five big packers; the indictments found against them, and the fines levied upon them. An item having appeared in the Washington Star to the effect that the farmers were disturbed by the Federal Trade Commission's report, Mr. George P. Hampton, managing director of the Farmers' National Headquarters and legislative representative in Washington of several farm organizations, testified that his knowledge of the farmers and their attitude convinced him that the farmers of the country were overwhelmingly behind the recommendations of the Federal Trade Commission. Mr. Hampton referred

to the organization of the Farmers' National Committee on Packing Plants and Allied Industries, including representatives of most of the leading farm organizations of the country, whose specific purpose is to secure the carrying out of the recommendations of the Federal Trade Commission as to the packing plants.

Most extraordinary testimony was given by Mr. Harry A. Wheeler, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and vice president of the Union Trust Co., of Chicago. Mr. Wheeler was asked whether there was any basis for the mention in the report of the Federal Trade Committee of the Union Trust Co. as one of the banks in which close business associates of the packers were directors, and specifically whether the Union Trust Co. was in any way connected with the Armour interests. He denied categorically that it is so connected, and stated that the commission was not at all justified in including the Union Trust Co. in this list and referring to it as an Armour institution, saying: "It is an assumption such as they have made in many instances, not proven by fact." Chairman Colver, of the Federal Trade Commission, presented proof that the Union Trust Co., with which Mr. Wheeler has been connected for 10 years, was directly tied up with the Armour interests. Mr. George E. Marcy, president of the Armour Grain Co., and for many years the active man of the company, Chairman Colver showed, is a director of the Union Trust Co. J. Ogden Armour owns 64 per cent of the stock of the Armour Grain Co., and other members of the Armour family own 22.9 per cent.

Naturally Mr. Wheeler objected to having the Union Trust Co. brought into the discussion, perhaps anticipating that the facts would be brought out, though he admitted that he was acquainted with the board of directors and the principal stockholders on the Union Trust Co., and said, "None of the Armours are in any way connected with the bank." Before the Senate Subcommittee on Agriculture and Forestry Mr. Wheeler, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, criticized the procedure of the Federal Trade Commission on the ground that it was un-American and improper, though there was no question of veracity or accuracy involved in its report on the meat-packing industry. Mr. Wheeler, on the stand, as also the report of the Federal Trade Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, criticizing the Trade Commission, did not attempt to deny any of the facts or charges of the Federal Trade Commission, and the chamber's charge of ex parte proceedings by the commission was completely disproven by the testimony brought out before the committee, that the packers sought to secure immunity if they gave testimony and declined to waive immunity, under which conditions it would have been manifestly improper for the commission to have permitted them to give any testimony. Mr. Wheeler refused to answer the questions of Senators as to whether the Chamber of Commerce denies the specific charges against the packers made by the Federal Trade Commission. Chairman Colver submitted detailed figures on the loans made to the packers by the banks in which the packers have a controlling interest, even if not officially represented on the directorate. The total loans outstanding about June 30, 1917, was $37,527,351.15 in one series of banks. Much of these loans were made without any security. The Union Trust Co. on June 30, 1917, had loans outstanding to packers of $674,531.27.

The action of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in publishing a report criticizing the Federal Trade Commission, a governmental agency created by act of Congress, and the methods adopted by this powerful association of business men through a small committee to attempt to break down the effect of the commission's findings in investigations ordered by the Congress and by the President, is, so far as our knowledge goes, without a parallel in the history of the United States. The testimony adduced before the Subcommittee on Agriculture and Forestry showed the charges of the Federal trade committee of the Chamber of Commerce that the Federal Trade Commission has exceeded its jurisdiction, has acted without judgment, has skipped from one investigation to another, has played politics, has been too fast and too slow to be utterly without foundation in fact.

The testimony shows the sinister, insidious effort on the part of the trade committee of the Chamber of Commerce to attribute to the Trade Commission the recommendation that the Government should take over and operate the packing plants, through a maliciously cunning reference to the trade committee's report on the findings and recommendation of a committee appointed to report on the policies to be pursued by the Government with regard to the meat and packing industries. The animus of the officials of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States is clearly shown in the statement of Mr. Butler, chairman of the committee of the chamber of commerce which criticized the Federal Trade Commission: "I would conceal evidence from Mr. Heney, and if the commission should come along and say it was behind Mr. Heney I might take some other view of it," as also in his statement with reference to a charge made by the Trade Commission: "Well, I would not believe it if it was in the report if that report was prepared by Mr. Heney." Mr. Butler gave a very strange twist to the ordinary conception of justice when he said: "If a small part of what the commission says about the packers be true, the Department of Justice ought to be impeached, from the Attorney General down." This expressed opinion of the spokesman of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States about the Department of Justice is peculiarly repugnant to the patriotic citizens of our country engaged in this world struggle in view of the fact that none of the officers of the chamber of commerce appearing before the Senate committee questioned in any way the accuracy of the findings of the Federal Trade Commission, but bitterly criticized the commission for turning over evidence the commission found in its inquiries to the Department of Justice. Stripped of its verbiage, the report of the chamber of commerce constitutes a desperate effort to break down the effect of the careful, painstaking, and reliable investigations of the Federal Trade Commission, especially the investigation of the packers.

Among the striking facts brought out before the Subcommittee on Agriculture were the complicated methods by which all the common stock of Sulzberger & Co. was turned over to the following trustees: A. Barton Hepburn, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Chase National Bank; Charles F. Sabin, president of the Guaranty Trust Co. of New York; Harry Bronner, of Hallgarten & Co.; Max Sulzberger and Germon F. Sulzberger, representing the Sulzberger interests, through a system of modified coercion which establishes a record for shady financial transactions. The keen interest of the packers in the organization of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States was shown in a letter put in the hearing, written on June 28, 1915, by Mr. Louis F. Swift to Mr. L. A. Carton regarding a luncheon he attended at the request of Mr. De Frees, attended also by Mr. John Fahey, then president of the National Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Forgan, Mr. Thomas Wilson, and quite a few others. In this letter Mr. Swift said: "Was considerably impressed with the program which they have laid out, and if they make any request for financial assistance would like to know about it. They maintain a bureau in Washington and evidently get a good hearing on all legislation." The story was brought out at the hearing of the interview which Mr. Wheeler had with Mr. Rockefeller with reference to enlarging the scope of the publication of the chamber of commerce called "The Nation's Business."

Mr. Ivy Lee, press agent, testified that the money for this was to come from Mr. Rockefeller's fund. A letter from Mr. Wheeler of the National Chamber of Commerce to Mr. Rockefeller was considered "privileged" and was not produced. The close connection, almost complete identity, between the financial interests and the packers was completely established at these hearings. It is true that the packers, as such, have contributed a relatively small amount of the total budget or to the guarantee fund of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. But it is true in finance as in geometry that things that are equal to the same thing are equal to each other. This identity of interests is determined to prevent, if possible, at least by all means within its power, to postpone the carrying into effect of the recommendations of the Federal Trade Commission with reference to the meat-packing industry, which would strip the five big packers of those privileges they now enjoy, which have enabled them to build up an overwhelming monopoly not only in the production and supply of meat but to reach out for control over the major part of the food supply of the country. Mr. Heney remarked, "Armour advertises that there isn't any food supply that he does not handle," while Commissioner Murdock, after his investigation, came to the conclusion, "So now there is not practically any activity in the way of distribution of food and care of the public, as represented in the average town by stores, that the packer is not invading." Not only that, the packers, intrenched and fortified by carefully built-up undoubted privilege in this country now seek world domination in foodstuffs, so that the Federal Trade Commission was constrained to say of this aspect of international activity: "This urgently argues for a solution which will increase and not diminish the high regard in which this people is held in international comity." Such a solution the Federal Trade Commission has found and recommended, and the plan of the big five packers and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States to prevent the solution is a challenge to the American people. Production must be made free and unmonopolized.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on the 23d instant approved and signed the act (S. 3470) to amend section 35 of the Criminal Code of the United States.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I call up the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in the Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations with amendments.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I ask that the formal reading of the bill be dispensed with and that the Senate consider the committee amendments when reached.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia asks unanimous consent that the formal reading of the bill be dispensed with and that the committee amendments be first considered. Is there objection? The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I ask the Senator from Virginia, who has charge of the Appropriation bill, to yield to me for a moment in order that I may ask unanimous consent for the passage of a very short bill, which came over from the House, having been unanimously reported there, and which has been unanimously reported by the Senate committee.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I will yield to the Senator, with the understanding that the matter is not debated and that the Appropriation bill will not be displaced.

TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH SERVICE.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I ask the Senate to proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12976) providing for the protection of the users of the telephone and telegraph service and the properties and funds belonging thereto during Government operation and control. I will state that it is very necessary that this bill shall pass. The Government can not properly operate the telegraph and telephone until it is passed.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That whoever during the period of governmental operation of the telephone and telegraph systems of the United States by the Postmaster General, under the act of Congress approved July 16, 1918, and the proclamation of the President dated July 22, 1918, shall, without authority and without the knowledge and consent of the other users thereof, except as may be necessary for operation of the service, tap any telegraph or telephone line, or willfully interfere with the operation of such telephone and telegraph systems or with the transmission of any telephone or telegraph message, or with the delivery of any such message, or whoever being employed in any such telephone or telegraph service shall divulge the contents of any such telephone or telegraph message to any person not duly authorized or entitled to receive the same, shall be fined not exceeding $1,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both.

SEC. 2. That whoever shall steal, purloin, embezzle, or without authority destroy any money, property, record, voucher, or valuable thing whatever of the moneys, goods, chattels, records, or property of any telephone or telegraph system operated by the Postmaster General under

the act of Congress approved July 16, 1918, and the proclamation of the President dated July 22, 1918, shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

SEC. 3. That whoever shall receive, conceal, or aid in concealing, or shall have or retain in his possession with intent to convert to his own use or gain any money, property, record, voucher, or valuable thing whatever of the moneys, goods, chattels, records, or property of any telephone or telegraph system operated by the Postmaster General under the act of Congress approved July 16, 1918, and the proclamation of the President dated July 22, 1918, which has been embezzled, stolen, or purloined by any other person, knowing the same to be embezzled, stolen, or purloined, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both, and such person may be tried either before or after the conviction of the principal defendant.

SEC. 4. That whoever shall forcibly break into, or attempt to break into, any telephone or telegraph office, or any building used in whole or in part as such telephone or telegraph office, of any telephone or telegraph system operated by the Postmaster General under the act of Congress approved July 16, 1918, and the proclamation of the President dated July 22, 1918, with intent to commit in such telephone or telegraph office or building, or part thereof so used, any larceny or other depredation, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

SEC. 5. That whoever shall assault any person having lawful charge, control, or custody of any money or property of any telephone or telegraph system operated by the Postmaster General under the act of Congress dated July 16, 1918, and the proclamation of the President dated July 22, 1918, with intent to rob, steal, or purloin such money or property, or any part thereof, or shall rob any such person of such money or property, or any part thereof, shall be imprisoned not more than five years; and if in the effecting or attempting to effect such robbery he shall wound such person having custody of the money or property, or put his life in danger by the use of a dangerous weapon, shall be imprisoned not more than 10 years.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, before proceeding with the reading of the bill, I desire to call attention to the fact, which every Senator realizes as well as I do, that the appropriations are reaching enormous proportions. The Committee on Appropriations has felt deeply the responsibility resting on them. They have made an earnest effort to prevent any useless appropriation, but at the same time they have felt in duty bound to report favorably every dollar necessary for the successful prosecution of the war.

In carrying out this purpose the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate had its labors greatly lessened by the extraordinary labors of the House committee. I desire to take advantage of this opportunity to say that during my service in this body I have never seen abler, more energetic, more intelligent, more faithful work than has been performed on this bill by Mr. SHERLEY, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the House. He has made our duties much lighter than they would have otherwise been, and he has given us information which it would have taken us a long time to acquire. As I said, our duties have been made much lighter by the burden which he has carried and carried with wonderful success.

Now, Mr. President, I have only this suggestion to make: We are all anxious to get the business of the Senate in such a shape that we can adjourn or recess Congress on the 29th to the 12th day of November. We hope to have a conference this evening on this bill. It has to go through conference and to final passage before the 29th of this month. I will not ask and will not suggest that any Senator forego any criticism or any investigation, but I am anxious that the bill should be facilitated and speeded up as much as possible, consistent with a proper guarding of the public welfare.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. OVERMAN in the chair). The Secretary will read the bill.

The Secretary proceeded to read the bill.

The first amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, at the top of page 2, to insert:

ALIEN PROPERTY CUSTODIAN.

Subsection (c) of section 7 of the "trading with the enemy act," approved October 6, 1917, is amended to read as follows:

"(c) If the President shall so require any money or other property including (but not thereby limiting the generality of the above) patents, copyrights, applications therefor, and rights to apply for the same, trade-marks, choses in action, and rights and claims of every character and description owing or belonging to or held for, by, on account of, or on behalf of, or for the benefit of, an enemy or ally of enemy not holding a license granted by the President hereunder, which the President after investigation shall determine is so owing or so belongs or is so held, shall be conveyed, transferred, assigned, delivered, or paid over to the Alien Property Custodian, or the same may be seized by the Alien Property Custodian; and all property thus acquired shall be held, administered, and disposed of as elsewhere provided in this act.

"Any requirement made pursuant to this act, or a duly certified copy thereof, may be filed, registered, or recorded in any office for the filing, registering, or recording of conveyances, transfers, or assignments of any such property or rights as may be covered by such requirement (including the proper office for filing, registering, or recording conveyances, transfers, or assignments of patents, copyrights, trade-marks, or any rights therein or any other rights); and if so filed, registered, or recorded shall impart the same notice and have the same force and effect as a duly executed conveyance, transfer, or assignment to the Alien Property Custodian so filed, registered, or recorded.

"Whenever any such property shall consist of shares of stock or other beneficial interest in any corporation, association, or company or trust, it shall be the duty of the corporation, association, or company or trustee or trustees issuing such shares or any certificates or other instruments representing the same or any other beneficial interest to cancel upon its, his, or their books all shares of stock or other beneficial interest standing upon its, his, or their books in the name of any person or persons, or held for, on account of, or on behalf of, or for the benefit of any person or persons who shall have been determined by the President, after investigation, to be an enemy or ally of enemy, and which shall have been required to be conveyed, transferred, assigned, or delivered to the Alien Property Custodian or seized by him, and in lieu thereof to issue certificates or other instruments for such shares or other beneficial interest to the Alien Property Custodian or otherwise, as the Alien Property Custodian shall require.

"The sole relief and remedy of any person having any claim to any money or other property heretofore or hereafter conveyed, transferred, assigned, delivered, or paid over to the Alien Property Custodian, or required so to be, or seized by him, shall be that provided by the terms of this act, and in the event of sale or other disposition of such property by the Alien Property Custodian shall be limited to and enforced against the net proceeds received therefrom and held by the Alien Property Custodian or by the Treasurer of the United States."

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, I should like to ask the chairman of the committee whether this amendment will permit the Alien Property Custodian to take the assets of the German insurance companies which have been placed in his custody and reincorporate them into another corporation for the transaction of business by and through his authority?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. If the Senator from Virginia will allow me to answer, this amendment does not touch that question. There are only two features embraced in the amendment. It does not broaden the power of the act, but makes the act workable on two questions that were not covered by the original legislation.

One is the question of shares of stock. The present law is amply sufficient to allow the Alien Property Custodian to sell the shares of stock owned by an alien enemy in his actual possession. Of course, they can be obtained from the alien enemy in this country who owns the stock, and it has been done, but where the alien enemy lives in Germany and has stock which would be kept in Germany, the original law was not broad enough to allow him to sell the stock certificate without having actual possession of it. This allows him to sell the stock certificate, notwithstanding the fact that they have not the actual possession. That is as far as it goes on that feature.

The other proposition of the amendment relates to patents. An act has already been passed authorizing the leasing and control of these patents by the President, and he has assigned it to another department of the Government; but the Alien Property Custodian has found that there are a large number of plants that he has taken over and has a right to sell unquestionably under the act, but their ability to carry on the business is dependent on the German patents. He finds he can not sell the property for what it is worth unless he sells the patent right along with it and disposes of the patent at the same time, for after the war is over there would be no value to this particular property. That is largely true in cases of chemicals and in cases of radio plants. The radio plant at Sayville, Long Island, is involved in this question. I understand it is to be sold, and in all probability the Navy Department itself will buy the plant at the sale, to be taken over by the Government. That plant is controlled by a certain patent right on aerial service, and if they proceed to sell the plant without conveying title to the patent right to the instruments they might involve the Government in many lawsuits after the war is over. They seek to avoid that now and to sell along with the plant the patent right in this country. The sale has not been made, but it is supposed that the Government itself will buy it. Secretary Daniels has written Senator MARTIN this letter in reference to that matter:

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, October 22, 1918.

Hon. THOMAS S. MARTIN, U. S. S.,
Chairman Committee on Appropriations,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: The department indorses the proposed amendment to the trading with the enemy act now pending with your committee. The department is engaged in the operation of a large number of wireless stations, both ship and shore, and the purpose of the department contemplates a large increase in the number of stations operated by it. It is essential that the department be allowed to operate these stations without interference by any patent litigation, and particularly without such interference at the hands of aliens. The proposed amendment to the act will effectively dispose of patent litigation after the war by German patent owners, at least to a large extent.

Sincerely, yours, JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

In order to accomplish the real purpose of the original trading-with-the-enemy act it is essential, in order that these plants may be sold and a clear title not only to the machinery but to

the patent rights be obtained, that the President be given this additional power. That is all there is in the amendment. There are only two things involved: One is the right to sell the shares of stock that happen to be in the possession of an alien enemy in Germany where the Government does not get actual possession of them, and to sell them on the books; and the other is to give to the Alien Property Custodian, or whomsoever the President may designate, the right to sell the patent rights along with the machinery. It has been represented to the committee that, as a war necessity, this is of very vital importance, especially at this immediate time. I think one of the most severe blows that this Government has delivered against the German Empire is that we have taken over alien-enemy property; that we are proceeding to dispose of it, and that we do not propose to allow aliens to continue to do business.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, I quite agree with the Senator from Alabama, so far as the control of the alien-enemy property by the Alien Property Custodian is concerned, but what I am interested in is this: It has been stated—and I understand that in the other House an amendment was introduced containing such a provision—that the Alien Property Custodian could take insurance corporations and trust corporations and operate them as Government corporations; in other words, as Government trust or Government insurance companies. Under this amendment providing for the transfer of the shares of these companies where the majority of the stock has been owned by German citizens if a majority of stock can be transferred to the Alien Property Custodian or otherwise, does not that mean that the International Trust Co. and several insurance companies can be taken over by the Alien Property Custodian and run by him, and would not they be Government companies?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. No. I think the Senator from New Jersey is entirely mistaken about that. I think he is correct, however, about a bill pending in the other House. There was a bill pending in the House before the Interstate Commerce Committee that contained vastly larger powers than anything involved in this amendment. That bill may have gone—I am not sure about it—to the point which the Senator indicates. This amendment, however, does not go to that point. What this amendment does is to authorize the President—he is acting through the Alien Property Custodian—to sell the shares of stock. It does not authorize the Alien Property Custodian to take these companies over or to run them, but it merely authorizes him to sell the stock; in fact, he has that authority now as to any stock that he can get hold of in this country.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. If he can make a delivery.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. If he can make a delivery; but of course a large amount of that stock is owned by alien enemies in Germany, and the certificates are there.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Yes; I understand that.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. There is no reason in the world why we should pass a bill that affects the rights of alien enemies living in the United States and not be just as drastic in our methods as to alien enemies living in Germany. That is all there is in this proposition. We have already passed a law that affects the alien enemy who lives here, whom we can put our hands on, but the man who has got a gun in his hands on the other side is getting off.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. But you can provide that the stock shall be sold to American citizens.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. This is only an amendment to that act. All of these provisions are already in the other act. It does not change the terms. The Senator remembers the amendment that he was largely responsible for having placed in the original act. That applies to this amendment just as well as it does to that act.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The only thing that I am trying to ascertain is whether the Alien Property Custodian anticipates, or has anticipated at some future time, taking the assets of these German insurance companies and starting a Government insurance company. All I want to be assured of is that there is no hidden language in this amendment which will permit him to do that, for I am opposed to Government insurance.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I can say to the Senator that I do not know what the purposes of the Alien Property Custodian may be; I know nothing about that; but I can assure the Senator that there is no language in this amendment that will authorize that to be carried out. That is as far as I can go.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McKELLAR in the chair). Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the head of "District of Columbia," on page 5, after line 21, to insert:

MILITIA.

The unexpended balances of appropriations made in the District of Columbia appropriation act for the fiscal year 1918 for the Militia of the District of Columbia are made available for the same purposes for the fiscal year 1919.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Shipping Board," subhead "Emergency shipping fund," on page 7, line 11, after the word "appropriated," to strike out:

Provided, That obligations incurred hereunder may be met from appropriations made or to be made for the construction of ships.

So as to make the clause read:

2. For the acquisition or establishment of plants suitable for shipbuilding or ship maintenance or repair, or of materials essential thereto, and for the enlargement or extension of such plants as are now or may be hereafter acquired or established, authority is granted to enter into contracts or otherwise to incur obligations for not to exceed $34,662,500 in addition to the amounts heretofore appropriated.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Department of State," subhead "Salaries," on page 8, line 11, after the words "Department of State," to strike out "$136,000" and insert "$200,000," so as to make the clause read:

For employees in the Department of State, $200,000: *Provided*, That not more than six persons shall be employed hereunder at a rate of compensation exceeding $1,800 per annum.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Foreign intercourse," on page 9, line 1, after the words "United States," to strike out "$125,000" and insert "$200,000," so as to make the clause read:

Clerks at embassies and legations: For the employment of necessary clerks at the embassies and legations, who, whenever hereafter appointed, shall be citizens of the United States, $200,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Treasury Department," subhead "Bureau of War-Risk Insurance," on page 12, after line 4, to insert:

For the purpose of the payment of allotments made by the enlisted men or the payment of family allowances under Article II of the act of October 6, 1917, as amended, an enlisted man reported as missing in action shall be considered as occupying a pay status until his actual status has been determined by proper official authority of the department in which the man served or is serving: *Provided*, That payments authorized hereunder shall not continue for more than one year.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 13, to insert:

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Interstate quarantine service: For cooperation with State and municipal health authorities in the prevention of the spread of contagious and infectious diseases in interstate traffic, including the sanitation of areas adjoining military and naval reservations and Government industrial plants, in order properly to safeguard the health of the military forces and Government employees, including necessary clerical help in the District of Columbia and other personal services, $500,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Quarantine stations," on page 14, line 14, after the words "direction of the," to strike out "Construction Division of the War Department" and insert "Supervising Architect of the Treasury," so as to make the clause read:

The foregoing construction work under "Quarantine stations" shall be performed under the supervision and direction of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 14, after line 15, to insert:

CREDIT IN ACCOUNTS.

Relief of Maj. (now Lieut. Col.) Charles J. Nelson: The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Maj. (now Lieut. Col.) Charles J. Nelson, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army, the sum of $327.04, being a shortage in his accounts caused by embezzlement of Quartermaster funds by Mack A. Steel, civilian clerk (temporary), who was acting as chief clerk in the finance office at Fort Logan H. Roots.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "War Department," on page 15, after line 1, to insert:

CONTINGENT EXPENSES.

For purchase of professional and scientific books, law books, including their exchange, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, $800,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Miscellaneous," at the top of page 16, to insert:

Claims occasioned by explosions and fire at plant of the T. A. Gillespie Co., Morgan, N. J.: The Secretary of War is authorized to consider, ascertain, and determine the amounts due on all claims for damages to and loss of private property occasioned by the recent explosions and fire at the plant of the T. A. Gillespie Co., at Morgan, N. J., and report the amounts so ascertained and determined to be due the claimants to Congress within six months from the date of the approval of this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Military Establishment," subhead "Contingencies of the Army," on page 17, line 12, after the date "1919," to strike out "$100,000" and insert "$200,000," so as to make the clause read:

For all contingent expenses of the Army not otherwise provided for and embracing all branches of the military service, including the same objects specified under this head in the Army appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, $200,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Quartermaster Corps," subhead "Pay of the Army," on page 24, after line 5, to strike out:

The President is authorized, through the Secretary of War, during the existing emergency, from time to time, to requisition or otherwise take over for the United States any lands, including the buildings thereon and their equipment, or any temporary use thereof, required for hospital facilities. He shall ascertain and pay, from the proper appropriation, a just compensation therefor. If the compensation so ascertained be not satisfactory to the person entitled to receive the same, such person shall be paid 75 per cent of the amount so determined, and shall be entitled to sue the United States in the United States district court for the judicial district where the property is situated to recover such further sum as, added to the 75 per cent, will make up such amount as will be just compensation: *Provided*, That hospital facilities shall be so situated as to provide for the care of patients as near the place from which they entered the Army or Navy as practicable, and that the facilities shall be in every case in keeping with the number of men in the service from the different States.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 25, after line 16, to strike out:

Shooting galleries and ranges: For shooting galleries and ranges, including the same objects specified under this head in the Army appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, $183,186.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 25, after line 20, to strike out:

For the acquisition of land at Fayetteville, N. C., for an artillery range, $1,500,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 25, after line 22, to strike out:

For the acquisition of land at West Point, Ky., for an artillery range, $1,600,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, on page 29, at line 22, I desire to offer an amendment, and I ask permission of the Senator from Virginia that I may offer it at this time, because I am obliged to attend a meeting of the Finance Committee.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I am very glad to agree that that course shall be followed in this instance, because I know that the Senator is needed in the Finance Committee. I therefore ask that the rule be varied so that he may offer his amendment now.

Mr. LODGE. In offering the amendment I merely wish to say that it arises from the great destruction caused to State roads by Army traffic in the neighborhood of Army posts. At several places in my State where there are Army or military posts roads, which were fine roads, they have been destroyed by motor trucks, and this amendment is to give authority to the Government to pay a portion of the expense of repair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 29, line 22, after the word "purpose," it is proposed to insert the following:

That the Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, is hereby authorized to enter into agreements with the duly authorized officials of any State or any political subdivision thereof, for the payments of such proportion as may be mutually determined to be equitable, not to exceed 50 per cent, of the cost of the reconstruction or repair of any public highway, where said reconstruction or repair is made necessary principally by reason of the increased use thereof resulting from the location, construction, or extension of any Government armory, arsenal, fortification, proving ground, or other governmental facility under the supervision of the Chief of Ordnance, in the immediate locality adjacent to or served by said public highway.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I make the point of order that that item is not estimated for, and that it is clearly out of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of order is sustained.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, while my attention was diverted, two items included in lines 21 to 24, inclusive, on page 25, were stricken out in accordance with the amendment proposed by the committee. I wish to say that when this question was before the committee, of which I am a member, I protested against striking out those lines. I was told in the committee that the purpose of striking them out was to get more information, and that the items would go to conference. I think probably that when the bill goes to conference information will be furnished demonstrating that these appropriations are necessary; and with the understanding that the items will be considered in conference and, if necessary, will be put back in the bill I shall make no further protest. I should like, however, to have inserted in the RECORD a letter from Gen. Jervey, Assistant Chief of Staff, who had this matter in hand, and I ask permission to incorporate that letter in connection with my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to incorporate in his remarks the letter to which he has referred. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The letter referred to is as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF,
August 8, 1918.

Memorandum for the Assistant Secretary of War.

Subject: Land for Field Artillery training center, Fayetteville, N. C.

1. The attached papers relate to the acquisition of approximately 120,000 acres of land at Fayetteville, N. C., for use in connection with the Field Artillery training center which is to be established at that place. The real estate branch has ascertained that the land can be acquired as soon as this season's crops are out of the way for approximately $1,500,000—either by purchase or condemnation—or the land can be rented at a cost of approximately $120,000 per year. In the latter case, however, there would have to be an additional amount allowed for damage to buildings and cultivated lands. Only 7 per cent of the land is now under cultivation. From options secured last year by the local chamber of commerce, the purchase price fixed by the owners aggregates about $2,000,000. If the land is leased, it is estimated that damages in addition to the rental for the first year would be $500,000. Therefore the total cost for the first year would be approximately $620,000 if the land is leased. Consequently it would seem more advisable to acquire title to this tract of land, which embraces about 120,000 acres, by purchase, or in those instances where the owners will not sell it at a reasonable price, title should be acquired by condemnation proceedings with view to purchase.

2. The estimated cost of this project is $1,500,000. Funds are available from the Army appropriation bill, fiscal year 1919. It is recommended that $1,500,000 be authorized to acquire title to this tract of approximately 120,000 acres of land and that for those portions of the land which can not be purchased at a reasonable price it is recommended that condemnation proceedings be instituted to acquire title by purchase.

3. Approval is recommended.

HENRY JERVEY,
Brigadier General, National Army,
Assistant Chief of Staff, Director of Operations.

Approved:
B. CROWELL,
The Assistant Secretary of War.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator from North Carolina that the committee was not satisfied with the items to which he has referred; but when the bill goes to conference we will give them further investigation and hear all that can be said in respect to them.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, on page 31, after line 12, to insert:

MILITARY ACADEMY.

The United States Military Academy Cadets of the classes of 1920 and 1921 who have been ordered by military authority to graduate November 1, 1918, and to provide themselves with the full personal equipment required for immediate active service overseas, shall be credited with so much of their respective full course personal equipment allowances as may remain unpaid at the said date of their graduation.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Post Office Department," on page 37, after line 22, to insert:

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL.

For the following employees from November 1, 1918, to June 30, 1919, inclusive, at annual rates of compensation, as follows: Six clerks of class 4, at $1,800 each; 20 clerks of class 3, at $1,600 each; 21 clerks of class 2, at $1,400 each; 24 clerks of class 1, at $1,200 each; 10 clerks, at $1,000 each; and 1 messenger, $840; in all, $74,560.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 38, after line 5, to insert:

For personal services in connection with extraordinary work of the Post Office Department in the District of Columbia, to be expended under the direction of the Postmaster General, $20,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 38, after line 16, to insert:

POSTAL SERVICE.

OUT OF THE POSTAL REVENUE—OFFICE OF THE FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL.

For compensation to postmasters, fiscal year 1917, $4,912.31.
For special-delivery fees for the fiscal years that follow:
Nineteen hundred and seventeen, $22.72;
Nineteen hundred and eighteen, $196,022.32.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Coast and Geodetic Survey," on page 42, after line 21, to strike out:

The appropriation of $50,000 "for one new vessel, including equipment, to cost not exceeding $354,000," contained in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, shall be covered into the surplus fund, and the authorization for the said vessel is repealed.

And insert:

The appropriation "for one new vessel, including equipment, to cost not exceeding $354,000, $50,000," contained in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1919, is hereby amended to read as follows: For one new vessel, including equipment, to cost not exceeding $354,000, under contract which is hereby authorized, $50,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 43, after line 13, to insert:

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

NATURALIZATION SERVICE.

The temporary appointments of members of the Naturalization Bureau and Service are hereby made permanent and the appointees given a full classified status.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I hope that the Senate will not adopt this amendment; or, if it does adopt the amendment, that it will do away with the Civil Service Commission entirely. This is only a beginning. The Naturalization Bureau, I presume, now has more employees than it ever has had, and many of them have been employed, I am sure, without any civil-service examination whatever. I am not finding fault with the bureau for employing men and women without examination under the conditions existing to-day, but I do find fault that as soon as they are in the service without examination, and at a time when it is impossible for the bureau to secure a greater number of employees than needed, such employees are covered into the civil service without examination of any sort whatever. I can not see any reason or justification for this piece of legislation, unless it is going to be followed by other legislation covering all of the hundreds of thousands of temporary clerks into the civil service. The President now has authority to take this action if he sees fit; it has been done in the past, and there is no necessity for the legislation whatever. I can not for the life of me see why it is proposed. There has never been a time, Mr. President, I presume, in the history of our country when it has been so hard to secure the number of employees the various bureaus, divisions, and departments want.

Mr. THOMAS. They get all they need, but not all they want.

Mr. SMOOT. I was very careful to use the word "want." The head of a bureau told me only last week that if he were allowed to pick out 40 per cent of the employees in his bureau he could secure as great an amount and better work than he can now with the whole number employed. They are in each others' way.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

Mr. SMOOT. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. REED. I ask the Senator for information. Why does not the head of the bureau referred to proceed to discharge the 60 per cent of incompetents?

Mr. SMOOT. I will say, Mr. President, that if he should attempt to make the discharges, he would immediately meet with objections higher up.

Mr. REED. Oh, well, I think not. I think there are supernumeraries, but I do not see how a man can be head of a department and not have the authority to regulate his employees.

Mr. SMOOT. What I referred to was not a department, but a bureau.

Mr. REED. Well, the head of a bureau.

Mr. FLETCHER. The head of the bureau must have asked for the employees.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator from Florida suggests that the head of the bureau must have asked for the employees. I do not wish to go into personalities and remind the Senator why many have been employed. The Senator from Florida knows the reason. Senators and Representatives have asked that many be employed and have asked the head of the bureau to employ them. I know it is very hard sometimes for heads of bureaus to refuse to make appointments under such circumstances.

Mr. FLETCHER. The point I was making was that the bureau chief, whoever he is, who makes a statement like that is, in my judgment, in the first instance, responsible, because he must have asked for the employes; and he should not have asked for them if he was going to get an organization that he did not need.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, there is no use of going into a discussion of this question. I think every Senator knows that so far as the number of employees is concerned in the departments in Washington, they are out of all reason. I know that they have employees who can not do the required work, and I am quite sure that if they had such employees as they could secure in ordinary times there would not be half of the employees in the District of Columbia who are now here, and yet they would perform all of the work that is being done at the present time.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; I yield.

Mr. REED. I have not the slightest doubt of the fact that there are a large number of employees in the city of Washington who could be dispensed with if the bureaus and places in which they are employed were thoroughly organized and had time to develop a trained corps of assistants. The trouble to-day is that somebody is called upon suddenly to create a department to perform important work. He has to do it out of raw material, to use an expression that I think will cover it. He calls in a lot of men who are ignorant to a large extent of the work, and they get a lot of young ladies who are ignorant of the work, and they proceed to organize the best way they can. The result is that they have a great number of incompetents and for a while the machinery does not work. After a while they begin to get some system out of it, and some work; and yet, making allowance for all that, I have not a bit of doubt there are a great number of supernumeraries employed in the departments who ought to be gotten rid of. There has been a great deal of waste, but I still do not understand how the head of a department can go around grumbling that he could get rid of 60 per cent of his employees if he were permitted to, because I think he could get rid of them if he tried.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, what I wanted to bring particularly to the attention of the Senate was this: Cases such as that just spoken of by the Senator and the one to which I referred, and intended to proceed to refer to a little more extensively, no doubt exist; but this amendment covers the people into the civil service when we know that they are not qualified or fitted for the positions that they occupy to-day.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator right there?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. As a matter of fact, when this bureau was organized as it is now they could not get civil-service employees. The Civil Service Commission could not furnish them, and could not furnish them to-day. Now, the question is in regard to these people who have been in the employ of the bureau there for six months, some of them for a year, can they not do better service after having been trained in the work, as the Senator from Missouri says, than new ones who might be covered in from the civil-service register?

Mr. SMOOT. In some cases perhaps they might; in other cases they might not. I want to say now that it is my opinion that half of them can not, or even more; and why bother now to provide that all of the employees of that department should be covered in under the civil service, when I have no doubt but that every Senator will agree that there are many of them that could not pass the required examination? That is the objection.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes; but, Mr. President, would you not get very many on the civil-service register that would not be competent to fill the places, and yet you would have to take them?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, they are supposed to be competent if they have passed the examination prescribed by the commission. If the commission has broken down, and if they allow employees to pass the examinations who are not capable of doing the work for which they took the examination, that is against the system.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. If the Senator will allow me to interrupt him further, I know of one or two employees there who failed to pass the civil-service examination, possibly on mathematics, or possibly on using a typewriter, or something else that they are not called upon to use in the service. Now, why should not people like that, who are not required to perform that particular service, be competent to do something else?

Mr. SMOOT. That same argument applies to every bureau and every department of the Government. If we are going to have a civil service, we ought to have it. If we do not want it, we ought to abolish it. We should not allow the Naturalization Bureau and Service to employ people who have not taken the civil-service examination, and then at a time when there are more employees than were ever known before cover them all into the civil service. That is the wrong of this amendment, and that is the reason why I ask that the Senate disagree to the amendment.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, this affects only a very few men—no great number of men. All of the employees in this District are taken under the civil service, except a few men. An act passed at the last Congress providing for the naturalization of certain soldiers in the camps required the employment of lawyers to look after that naturalization. They had to be good lawyers, and the civil-service register could not furnish them. Therefore they authorized the bureau temporarily to appoint these men to do this work that has to be done by a good lawyer. So they appointed those men and are now using them, and the Civil Service Commission now insists on their standing an examination. One man stood the examination when he does not have to typewrite at all and failed on typewriting, and they knocked him out.

This amendment takes care of and puts in the civil service about 30 or 40 men who already have the experience, who are

already learned in the law. It is not necessary for them to stand an examination. Why should we require these men now to stand a civil-service examination? They are few in number—not a great number, like there are in some bureaus here. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] was right when he said that the chief of the bureau he referred to could get rid of them, and he ought to get rid of them. What is he going around here for, talking under cover to the Senator from Utah, and saying that 50 per cent of his men ought to go out? Why does he not put them out if he ought to put them out? He is not the right sort of man himself, or he would put them out if he were looking after the interests of the Government.

This amendment, however, affects only a few men, as I say, called in under those circumstances, because they had to have lawyers and had to have them quickly, and there were not any on the register. Now, the Civil Service Commission wants to turn out all of these men, who are doing splendid work, and make them stand a civil-service examination. That is all there is in this amendment.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, the Senator speaks of turning them all out. There is no necessity for turning them out. The Senator knows that under the civil-service rules they can be temporarily employed. He knows that at the end of three months they can be employed again, and so on, as many times as the head of the bureau wants to employ them. That is not the object of this amendment. The President of the United States has a perfect right and power to cover every one of them under the civil service if he wants to, or he can take any one man and issue an order waiving the examination for his employment in this bureau or in the other bureau of the Government. This amendment is to place every man in this bureau under the civil service without examination.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me to interrupt him, I think he states the matter a little more broadly than the facts warrant. It is not intended to place every man in the bureau under civil service. There are many of them in the bureau who are already under the civil service.

Mr. SMOOT. Then they are under the civil service. I think the statement that I made is absolutely correct. The amendment reads:

The temporary appointments of members of the Naturalization Bureau and Service are hereby made permanent, and the appointees given a full classified status.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, if the Senator will let me interrupt him further, I think I can give him a succinct statement of conditions. I went over the matter with a man in the bureau who knows the conditions from the ground up. The statement I now make is based upon information he gave me, and was put in writing by me in order to bring the matter before the Senate as it actually is:

The fact is that a third of the office force in the bureau in Washington have left for the military service. Temporary appointees were secured to take their places. They have been in the continuous employ of the bureau since July, 1918, in large numbers. Others have come at later periods, and all are now trained clerks who are serving under temporary appointments awaiting the furnishing of eligibles by the Civil Service Commission upon examination. The Civil Service Commission has for over a year endeavored to furnish eligibles and has had three separate examinations for this purpose. A fourth examination has now been called.

Now, why turn out these people who have been in there for six or eight months, or possibly a year in some cases, and wait for the Civil Service Commission to furnish unqualified people?

Mr. SMOOT. You do not have to turn them out. They have not been turned out up to this time. If they have been in the service a year, they can be in the service another year.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. But under the civil-service rules, as the Senator knows, here is A. B., for instance, who is a competent clerk, working in this department, and who has been working there for a year. That clerk, as soon as an eligible is furnished by the Civil Service Commission, must step aside, because he has not passed the civil-service examination.

Mr. SMOOT. Not necessarily.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is the rule.

Mr. SMOOT. I know what the practice is. I know what the rule is. I know what the law provides.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Continuing this statement, if the Senator will permit me a moment, I want to get the facts in the RECORD as they are:

During this period under the act of Congress approved May 9, 1918, the soldier-naturalization work was authorized, among other responsibilities, which has doubled the duties of the bureau. At the time that these duties were added there were no eligibles on the civil-service register having the qualifications requisite to the proper performance of the duties of naturalization examiner. It was necessary to secure immediately an adequate personnel both in numbers and qualifications. A large number, approximately 100 examiners and clerks, were appointed temporarily. All of these who are now serving are performing excellent service. They have been in continuous service, some of them for nearly six months. The examiners are lawyers with qualifications as practical typewriters. Some of them have failed to pass the typewriter examination before the Civil Service Commission.

If the Senator will pardon me for just one moment, I will finish this statement which I desire to make.

Mr. SMOOT. Certainly.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN (reading)—

Because of the heavy demand on the man power of the country it has been found impossible to secure through the usual means provided by the Civil Service Commission a sufficient number of eligibles to enable the bureau to transact its business. It is not known when there will be eligibles obtainable. These men have abandoned their practices and devoted the past four or five months to their duties in the Naturalization Service, and if they are not continued permanently in the service will suffer unnecessary hardship. The Naturalization Service needs their services, or others equally as good. They have all passed through the preliminary course of training necessary to be given to all who enter the service. If these temporary appointees in the bureau and field service, approximating 130, are obliged to be discontinued and other appointees secured, it will result in the constitution of the Naturalization Service of approximately 30 per cent experienced and 70 per cent inexperienced members.

In view of that it seems to me no reason can be given why the appointment of these people should not be made permanent and why they should not be given an opportunity to serve there, rather than to have new men and women come in to take their places.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I wish to say to the Senator that every bureau, every division, every board, every commission, every department in the Government could make the same kind of appeal.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I believe it would be a wise one.

Mr. SMOOT. Then, if it is a wise one, let us repeal the civil-service law.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I should like to see that done in some respects.

Mr. SMOOT. Of course, that is an opinion that the Senator has a perfect right to express, and there are others who believe as he does, but the civil-service law is in force to-day.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, let me ask the Senator a question. There is one instance where there is a lawyer doing this work who is very efficient. When the Civil Service Commission can get a man on the register to fill the place, they send him up, and the bureau has to turn out this lawyer and put in this other fellow?

Mr. SMOOT. Not necessarily.

Mr. OVERMAN. Oh, yes; that is what they are doing. I am putting a concrete case now, where they have taken out a lawyer who did not pass the civil-service examination because he could not typewrite, and they sent some fellow up there who was a typewriter, who was not as good a man as the one they turned out. Now, that is a concrete case.

Mr. SMOOT. I know that these temporary appointments are held over for three months, and then for another period of three months, and sometimes for years. All they have to do is to make a request to the commission that they are wanted there for the positions they are filling, and there is no question but that the request is granted. Now, I very much prefer to vote at this time to abolish the civil-service law entirely, rather than to undertake now to pick out certain bureaus and divisions and departments of the Government to which the civil-service law shall not apply, and have it apply to all others.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I am not particularly concerned about the Civil Service Commission. I share the view expressed by the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN], in that I think in some respects it ought to be abolished; but I fear that this amendment is the beginning of what I am told is a concerted purpose upon the part of the new employees of the Government to make their tenures here permanent after the war.

We have here at least 40 per cent of employees who, I repeat, are not needed at all. They are supernumeraries, even in this time of great activity; and if one may judge from the work which some of them seem to be doing, I have understated rather than overstated the percentage. I have been informed from credible sources that a movement began some time ago—an organized movement, having, of course, political power behind it—by which the employees everywhere now in Government service, and who have been brought in owing to the exigencies of the war, are beginning—they are not only beginning, but they began some time ago, and they are continuing—their activities for that purpose.

Mr. SMOOT. They are writing letters now.

Mr. THOMAS. I therefore expect, if I live to see the war ended, to be confronted with a concerted movement to keep the civil service in its present state of numbers and inefficiency, and consequently I do not want to vote for this amendment. To be perfectly frank about it, I have not much regard for the

legal abilities of any lawyer who has left a practice to serve the Government in its emergency who cares to remain at the present rate of compensation as a permanent employee of the Government.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator there?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I think that is a very unjust criticism to make of these people who have left lucrative practices, whether as lawyers or in any other profession, and have come here to serve the Government at this time.

Mr. THOMAS. I think if a man has left a lucrative practice his lucrative practice will come back to him just as soon as the emergency is over which required him to leave it.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That may be true, too; but the general charge is made that they would not leave lucrative practices to come here and serve the Government at these salaries. Some of them come here and serve for nothing.

Mr. THOMAS. No; I did not say that. The Senator misunderstood me. What I said was that I can not conceive why, having left a large practice, they want to stay here permanently. Of course I cast no imputation whatever upon them. On the contrary, it is a matter to the credit of any man who leaves his business, where he was prosperous, and comes here and serves the Government. That is creditable; but to want to stay and spend the rest of his life here, at the meager salary which is paid by the Government, does not give me a very high opinion of the extent of the lucrative practice which he claims to have had. But, in my judgment, it is the beginning of a policy certain to develop as time goes on, with the political power which goes with organization behind it, to continue this vast horde of employees here in Washington even after the war is over and when the need for them shall have ceased.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? I should like to ask the Senator, if he will pardon me, if it is wise to offer this amendment, why would it not be wise to extend it to other departments?

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator's colleague [Mr. SMOOT] asked that question before the Senator came in.

Mr. KING. I apologize for repeating it, then.

Mr. THOMAS. It will serve as a precedent when it is enacted, and naturally and properly will encourage the employees of other departments to do likewise.

Mr. KING. Then it is apparent, if this is wise and just, there are employees in other departments who have the same right to ask for legislation of this character.

Mr. OVERMAN. And for the same reason exactly.

Mr. KING. It seems to me this is very unfair and very unwise legislation.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, this Naturalization Bureau has had its business increased very largely by the act of May 9, 1918. It is possible that there are other departments situated as is this particular department, and I will say very frankly that if there are other departments—and I know of none that are so situated—they ought to be granted the same relief. I have been unable to see why a man who has been serving the Government for six months or a year by appointment without having passed a civil-service examination should be turned out after having gained experience in his place and that place filled by some man or woman less capable simply because they passed such examination. That does not count for anything. It is simply in compliance with the law that the heads of departments go to the Civil Service Commission to get employees, but that does not mean in any sense of the word that persons so obtained are capable and competent. As a matter of fact, I think I would resign my seat in the Senate if I had to depend for my clerical assistance upon clerks certified to me by the Civil Service Commission whether such clerks suited me or not.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHEPPARD in the chair). The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 4637) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. Allow me to ask a question of the Senator from Oregon. Why does the Senator state that these men are about to be turned out from their present employment?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do not know of any other reason for it except that they are simply holding by appointment without having passed the civil-service examination. Whenever eligibles are certified up by the Civil Service Commission to the Naturalization Bureau they have to discharge employees who have not had the examination and take those certified, whether they have had practical experience or not.

Mr. THOMAS. Their places are being taken so fast that some of the departments have been obliged to call a halt here in the city. The movement is inward.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. They have stopped people coming here because of the influenza.

Mr. THOMAS. I wish they would make it permanent.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Senator does not wish that——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. In just a moment. The Senator does not wish that any more than I do, but the departments are being crippled in their work because they have not sufficient employees.

Mr. THOMAS. Let me say it is not because they have not sufficient employees. There may be other reasons.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside for the consideration of the appropriation bill the Senator from Virginia has in charge, with the understanding that as soon as that bill is disposed of it will be taken up for consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. OVERMAN. We need these employees in the department, and why turn men out who are competent and experienced and go to the civil service and have them certify somebody who is not. Here is a case that is sui generis. It does not set a precedent at all. I do not like to go over the reasons again. I have shown that there are a few lawyers from the country here willing to help the Government, and they are now doing it. One of them took an examination as a typewriter and they turned him down. The Civil Service Commission have not got him on the register, and the man has to get out. This takes care of 40 or 50 experienced, able men, men willing and capable to do this work, and they have done it. The Civil Service Commission say those men must stand a civil-service examination, and they can not keep them any longer. They were appointed for three months, temporarily.

Mr. SMOOT. I will ask the Senator from North Carolina how many employees there are in this bureau?

Mr. OVERMAN. I have no idea. We put only a few in the bill we passed last year.

Mr. SMOOT. There are 130 employees involved.

Mr. OVERMAN. I said there were not very many.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, there is not any question but that every man who is at work in that bureau to-day, whether he be upon the temporary roll or whether he be sent by the Civil Service Commission, is not going to lose his job because of the passage or the nonpassage of this act. If he has been on the temporary roll for six months or nine months, he is continued on the temporary roll for one year longer.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment.

On a division the amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Legislative," on page 43, after line 19, to insert:

SENATE.

To pay Katharine C. Norton and Alice Gallinger Espe, daughter and granddaughter, respectively, of Hon. Jacob H. Gallinger, late a Senator from the State of New Hampshire, $7,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 44, to insert:

To pay Sallie Tillman, widow of Hon Benjamin R. Tillman, late a Senator from the State of South Carolina, $7,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 44, after line 3, to insert:

To pay Ruth James, widow of Hon. Ollie M. James, late a Senator from the State of Kentucky, $7,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 44, after line 5, to insert:

For folding speeches and pamphlets, at a rate not exceeding $1 per thousand, $5,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 45, after line 8, to insert:

JUDGMENTS, COURT OF CLAIMS.

For the payment of the judgments rendered by the Court of Claims, reported to Congress during the present session in House Document No. 1332, namely:

Under the War Department, $68,003.50;
Under the Navy Department, $72,619.45;
Under the Interior Department, $343,440.34;
Under the Department of Justice, $4,544.80;
Under the Post Office Department, $12,954.47;
In all, $501,562.56.

None of the judgments contained in this act shall be paid until the right of appeal shall have expired.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 45, after line 23, to insert:

AUDITED CLAIMS.

SEC. 3. That for the payment of the following claims, certified to be due by the several accounting officers of the Treasury Department under appropriations the balances of which have been exhausted or carried to the surplus fund under the provisions of section 5 of the act of June 20, 1874, and under appropriations heretofore treated as permanent, being for the service of the fiscal year 1916 and prior years, unless otherwise stated, and which have been certified to Congress under section 2 of the act of July 7, 1884, as fully set forth in House Document No. 1333, reported to Congress at its present session, there is appropriated as follows:

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

For collecting the revenue from customs, $2.07.
For paper-money laundering machines, 1917, $109.96.
For freight, transportation, etc., Public Health Service, $284.52.
For miscellaneous expenses, Internal-Revenue Service, $12.
For refunding internal-revenue collections, $20.
For refunding taxes illegally collected, $451,496.72.
For redemption of stamps, $5,997.97.
For payment of judgments against internal-revenue officers, $80,803.30.
For allowance or drawback, $516.50.
For Coast Guard, $429.77.
For pay of crews, miscellaneous expenses, etc., Life-Saving Service, $375.50.
For operating supplies for public buildings, $9.37.
For furniture and repairs of same for public buildings, $436.40.
For general expenses of public buildings, $22.05.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

For pay, etc., of the Army, $1,984.72.
For extra-duty pay to enlisted men as clerks at Army division and department headquarters, $860.
For mileage to officers and contract surgeons, $1,607.67.
For supplies, services, and transportation, Quartermaster Corps, $5,022.23.
For incidental expenses, Quartermaster's Department, $26.60.
For barracks and quarters, $4,108.69.
For transportation of the Army and its supplies, $1,079.32.
For roads, walks, wharves, and drainage, $39.58.
For Medical and Hospital Department, $11.65.
For headstones for graves of soldiers, $7.79.
For National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, Pacific Branch, $336.73.
For National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, clothing, $828.62.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.

For contingent and miscellaneous expenses, Naval Observatory, $13.75.
For pay, miscellaneous, $159.68.
For pay, Marine Corps, $313.97.
For transportation, Bureau of Navigation, $57.88.
For outfits on first enlistment, Bureau of Navigation, $26.87.
For contingent, Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, $7.
For pay of the Navy, $882.01.
For engineering, Bureau of Steam Engineering, $40.
For freight, Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, $2,261.30.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

For contingent expenses, Department of the Interior, $6.35.
For Capitol Building and repairs, 1917, $1.
For surveying the public lands, $375.
For inspecting mines in Alaska, $6.40.
For investigating mine accidents, $4.90.
For testing fuel, Bureau of Mines, 36 cents.
For suppressing liquor traffic among Indians, 1917, $72.75.
For suppressing liquor traffic among Indians, 20 cents.
For relieving distress and prevention, etc., of diseases among Indians, $10.
For Indian schools, support, $195.95.
For Indian school and agency buildings, $220.38.
For purchase and transportation of Indian supplies, 1917, $1,466.59.
For purchase and transportation of Indian supplies, $153.67.
For telegraphing and telephoning, Indian Service, 55 cents.
For pay of Indian police, 67 cents.
For Ganado irrigation project, Navajo Reservation, Ariz. (reimbursable), 95 cents.
For support of Indians in California, $30.
For Indian school, Greenville, Cal., 1917, $4.19.
For oil and gas inspectors, Five Civilized Tribes, Oklahoma, 1917, $116.57.
For Indian school, Tomah, Wis., $1.84.
For Army pensions, $18.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE STATE AND OTHER DEPARTMENTS.

For relief, protection, and transportation of American citizens in Europe, $52,537.32.
For salaries of secretaries, Diplomatic Service, $166.67.
For transportation of diplomatic and consular officers, 1917, $430.85.
For transportation of diplomatic and consular officers, $137.75.
For salaries, Consular Service, $636.86.
For contingent expenses, United States consulates, 1918, $37,480.23.
For contingent expenses, United States consulates, $676.
For representation of interests of foreign governments growing out of hostilities in Europe, $34.28.
For preservation of collections, National Museum, $24.
For books, National Museum, $8.44.
For Interstate Commerce Commission, $2.07.
For general expenses, Bureau of Animal Industry, $754.20.
For general expenses, Bureau of Plant Industry, $372.60.
For general expenses, Forest Service, $31.59.
For marketing and distributing farm products, 54 cents.
For general expenses, Bureau of Standards, $1.21.
For investigation of optical glass, Bureau of Standards, 1918, $121.
For testing railroad scales, etc., Bureau of Standards, $6.
For military research, Bureau of Standards, 1917 and 1918, $1,916.70.
For general expenses, Lighthouse Service, $2,549.25.
For contingent expenses, Department of Labor, $11.61.
For contingent expenses, Department of Commerce and Labor, $1.80.
For expenses of regulating immigration, $41.25.
For general expenses, Children's Bureau, $101.
For contingent expenses, Department of Justice, transportation, 1918, $58.30.
For detection and prosecution of crimes, 1918, $1,486.01.
For inspection of prisons and prisoners, 1918, $534.45.
For salaries, fees, and expenses of marshals, United States courts, $154.98.
For salaries and expenses of district attorneys, United States courts, $1.25.
For pay of special assistant attorneys, United States courts, $542.55.
For fees of clerks, United States courts, 1918, $17,183.85.
For fees of clerks, United States courts, 1917, $68.50.
For fees of clerks, United States courts, $1,605.05.
For fees of commissioners, United States courts, 1917, $119.60.
For fees of witnesses, United States courts, 1918, $44.95.
For fees of witnesses, United States courts, 1917, $16.20.
For fees of witnesses, United States courts, $140.50.
For pay of bailiffs, United States courts, $15.
For miscellaneous expenses, United States courts, $114.50.
For supplies for United States courts, 1918, $895.31.
For supplies for United States courts, 1917, $79.02.
For support of prisoners, United States courts, $1.50.
For United States penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kans., 1918, $4.19.
For United States penitentiary, McNeil Island, Wash., 1918, 35 cents.
For United States penitentiary, Atlanta, Ga., 1918, $20.91.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

For indemnities, international registered mail, $256.63.
For indemnities, lost insured mail, $10.
For shipment of supplies, $28.72.
For star route service, special mail carriers, $40.47.
For railroad transportation, $502.32.
For Railway Mail Service, miscellaneous expenses, $3.15.
For Railway Mail Service, injured, $2,000.
For foreign mail transportation, $352.89.
For compensation of postmasters, $103.99.
For rent, light, and fuel, $43.33.
For City Delivery Service, horse hire, $161.99.
For Rural Delivery Service, $116.27.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Secretary concluded the reading of the bill.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The bill is now open to amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is as in Committee of the Whole and open to amendment.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I propose the following amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read it.

The SECRETARY. Add the following to the bill:

The appropriation of $100,000 provided by section 7, Chapter XV, of the act approved July 9, 1918, "Making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 13, 1919," to be used under the direction of the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, is hereby made available for the purpose of paying the salaries of officers, investigators, and all other necessary employees in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, as well as rentals, office equipment, supplies, and expenses, travel expenses of officers and employees; printing, binding, books and periodicals, law books and books of reference, and miscellaneous expenditures which the board may deem necessary for carrying out the purposes of the act.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, I make the point of order that this amendment is plainly in violation of the rule against legislation on an appropriation bill.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I make a statement in reference to the matter before the Senator insists on his point of order?

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Certainly; I withhold the point of order until the Senator can be heard.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, this is a matter of such great importance that I do not think the Senator from Virginia ought to make a point of order against it. Yet I am frank to say I think a point of order, if insisted upon, would lie against the amendment.

I say again that the amendment and the bill to which it refers greatly affects our people, and not only affects the present generation but generations yet unborn. While the Army appropriation bill of this year was under consideration the Military Affairs Committee took up the subject of venereal diseases as affecting those who were coming into the Army from civil life, and not only was the committee astounded at the conditions which developed in the hearings before the committee, but the country at large was amazed at the showing which was made by those who understood the situation and had made a particular examination into and study of the subject.

At my request, and at the request of other members of the committee, some of the newspapers and magazines took up the subject which had never before been publicly discussed nor very generally discussed in the home circle for reasons of false modesty. The public prints did not discuss it because it seemed to shock the moral sense, although the subject was one which came very near to and affected the homes of hundreds of the people of the country. After that hearing and after experts had testified before the committee and the reports affecting the Army had been examined by the committee, they adopted what is known as chapter 15 of the Army appropriation act. The title of the chapter is "Interdepartmental Social Hygienic Board."

It provided for the creation of a board to take up the subject for intelligent investigation and discussion, and appropriated large sums of money for that purpose, because the necessity for curative and preventive measures was so great, much of it to be spent in cooperation with the States and the several universities

and places of learning in the United States in an effort, if possible, to check and finally to eradicate these destructive diseases.

Mr. WARREN. Will the Senator place in the RECORD before he concludes the amount appropriated?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will do so by inserting the law sought to be amended. On account of the relation that this proposed amendment to the pending bill bears to the act itself I am going to ask to have printed in the RECORD chapter 15 of the Army appropriation act.

Chapter 15 of that act, approved July 9, 1918, is as follows:

CHAPTER XV.

Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board: That there is hereby created a board to be known as the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, to consist of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Treasury as ex officio members, and of the Surgeon General of the Army, the Surgeon General of the Navy, and the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, or of representatives designated by the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Treasury, respectively. The duties of the board shall be: (1) To recommend rules and regulations for the expenditure of moneys allotted to the States under section 5 of this chapter; (2) to select the institutions and organizations and fix the allotments to each institution under said section 5; (3) to recommend to the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy such general measures as will promote correlation and efficiency in carrying out the purposes of this chapter by their respective departments; and (4) to direct the expenditure of the sum of $100,000 referred to in the last paragraph of section 7 of this chapter. The board shall meet at least quarterly, and shall elect annually one of its members as chairman, and shall adopt rules and regulations for the conduct of its business.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy are hereby authorized and directed to adopt measures for the purpose of assisting the various States in caring for civilian persons whose detention, isolation, quarantine, or commitment to institutions may be found necessary for the protection of the military and naval forces of the United States against venereal diseases.

SEC. 3. That there is hereby established in the Bureau of the Public Health Service a Division of Venereal Diseases, to be under the charge of a commissioned medical officer of the United States Public Health Service detailed by the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, which officer while thus serving shall be an Assistant Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, subject to the provisions of law applicable to assistant surgeons general in charge of administrative divisions in the District of Columbia of the Bureau of the Public Health Service. There shall be in such division such assistants, clerks, investigators, and other employees as may be necessary for the performance of its duties and as may be provided for by law.

SEC. 4. That the duties of the division of venereal diseases shall be in accordance with rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury (1) to study and investigate the cause, treatment, and prevention of venereal diseases; (2) to cooperate with State boards of departments of health for the prevention and control of such diseases within the State; and (3) to control and prevent the spread of these diseases in interstate traffic: *Provided*, That nothing in this chapter shall be construed as limiting the functions and activities of other departments or bureaus in the prevention, control, and treatment of venereal diseases and in the expenditure of moneys therefor.

SEC. 5. That there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $1,000,000, to be expended under the joint direction of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to carry out the provisions of section 2 of this chapter: *Provided*, That the appropriation herein made shall not be deemed exclusive, but shall be in addition to other appropriations of a more general character which are applicable to the same or similar purposes.

SEC. 6. That there is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $1,400,000 annually for two fiscal years, beginning with the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1918, to be apportioned as follows: The sum of $1,000,000, which shall be paid to the States for the use of their respective boards or departments of health in the prevention, control, and treatment of venereal diseases; this sum to be allotted to each State, in accordance with the rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, in the proportion which its population bears to the population of the continental United States, exclusive of Alaska and the Canal Zone, according to the last preceding United States census, and such allotment to be so conditioned that for each dollar paid to any State the State shall specifically appropriate or otherwise set aside an equal amount for the prevention, control, and treatment of venereal diseases, except for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, for which the allotment of money is not conditioned upon the appropriation or setting aside of money by the State, provided that any State may obtain any part of its allotment for any fiscal year subsequent to June 30, 1919, by specifically appropriating or otherwise setting aside an amount equal to such part of its allotment for the prevention, control, and treatment of venereal diseases; the sum of $100,000, which shall be paid to such universities, colleges, or other suitable institutions, as in the judgment of the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board are qualified for scientific research, for the purpose of discovering, in accordance with rules and regulations prescribed by the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, more effective medical measures in the prevention and treatment of venereal diseases; the sum of $300,000, which shall be paid to such universities, colleges, or other suitable institutions or organizations, as in the judgment of the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board are qualified for scientific research, for the purpose of discovering and developing more effective educational measures in the prevention of venereal diseases, and for the purpose of sociological and psychological research related thereto.

SEC. 7. That there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $300,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, to be apportioned as follows: The sum of $200,000 to defray the expenses of the establishment and maintenance of the division of venereal diseases in the Bureau of the Public Health Service; and the sum of $100,000 to be used under the direction of the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board for any purpose for which any of the appropriations made by this chapter are available.

SEC. 8. That the terms "State" and "States," as used in this chapter, shall be held to included the District of Columbia.

That the act entitled "An act to authorize condemnation proceedings of lands for military purposes," approved July 2, 1917, as amended by an act approved April 11, 1918, be, and the same is hereby, amended, and its provisions in all respects, together with all its privileges and benefits, are hereby extended to the right of condemnation of standing or fallen timber, sawmills, camps, machinery, logging roads, rights of way, equipment, materials, supplies, and any works, property, or appliances suitable for the effectual production of such lumber and timber products for the Army, Navy, United States Shipping Board, or the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation. That the right to institute such condemnation proceedings is hereby conferred upon the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Chairman of the United States Shipping Board and the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, individually or collectively. Such right of condemnation shall be exercised by such officials only for the purpose of obtaining such property when needed for the production, manufacture, or building aircraft, dry docks, or vessels, their apparel or furniture, for housing of Government employees in connection with the Army, Navy, or the United States Shipping Board and the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, and for the procurement of materials and equipment for aircraft, dry docks, and vessels. The jurisdiction of such condemnation proceedings is hereby vested in the district courts of the United States where the property which is sought to be condemned or any part thereof is located or situated, regardless of the value of the same.

And the President is hereby authorized, through any department or the United States Shipping Board or said Fleet Corporation, to sell and dispose of any lands or interests in real estate acquired for the production of lumber and timber products, and to sell any logs, manufactured or partly manufactured or otherwise procured for the Army, Navy, or United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, or resulting from such manufacture or procurement, either to individuals, corporations, or foreign states or governments, at such price as he shall determine, acting through his above representatives selling or disposing of the same, and the proceeds of such sale shall be returned to the appropriations which bore the expense of such procurement.

I want Senators who oppose this amendment to the pending bill to stand responsible before the country for their course, because I think that German bullets have done less damage to our boys over there than these destructive diseases have been doing in our country at large and to generations yet unborn.

In order to show that I want to call the attention of Senators to the hearings before the Committee on Military Affairs, held on June 10, 15, 17, and 18, 1918. I am not going to discuss the subject at any length. I am merely calling attention to it, and I know it will touch the consciences of Senators here if they have not read this testimony.

Maj. Snow, of the Surgeon General's staff, who is an expert on this subject, was asked to give his reasons for favoring such legislation as the committee was considering, and he answered, in part, as follows:

Maj. SNOW. I might say this, that I was first interested in this problem some years ago as a State health officer. We have been rather backward in applying the scientific information that we have about these dangerous communicable diseases. I think the reason has been that until perhaps 10 years ago we did not have certain important information about ready and accurate scientific diagnosis, particularly of syphilis. Another difficulty has been that it is so closely interwoven with questions of moral standards. Because these diseases are spread especially through sexual promiscuity, health officers have hesitated to take up the problem until the public was ready to take up that phase of the question simultaneously. The public has known nothing about the dangers of these diseases. The advent of war has changed all this. An active public interest has been aroused and health and medical organizations are taking hold. The Surgeon General has assigned me to the problem of control of venereal diseases as they relate to the Army. That has brought me particularly into touch with the seriousness of venereal diseases not only as they affect the military forces, but the civilians who are of value in prosecuting the war successfully.

I would like to present the picture as I see it, because I think that such a picture is perhaps more effective in convincing me that something needs to be done than any statistical argument.

We draw our men, by the decisions of Congress, from every State in the Union, according to a proportionate quota distribution. It was decided that it was wise, so far as venereal diseases are concerned, to accept as a part of the quota from each State all those persons infected with venereal disease who reasonably can be treated in the Army and made useful for military service. That changed the policy as compared with past practices of the Army, and it is a vitally important change, I think, in relation to our combating these diseases. Approximately five-sixths of the cases the Army has had to treat since mobilization were thus brought in from civil life.

He later gave way to Sergt. Harkness, who was his aid, and who prepared maps and charts which were based upon the records which came to the department from the several cantonments.

On page 62 of this testimony Sergt. Harkness commenced to testify from the chart which was before the committee. He said:

Sergt. HARKNESS. This chart has been made up from the weekly reports received from five camps, all National Army camps or cantonments, and they spread over a period of nine weeks, from March 29 to May 24, 1918—

Practically two months—

Not every cantonment reported regularly. We are now getting these reports in regularly, and we will shortly be able to give something that will be a little more representative and from more than five cantonments. But from these 37 reports, after separating them, we found these things. This represents the annual rate per thousand [indicating on chart].

I interrupted him by stating that he should give the figures, because the chart would not go into the record. Mr. Harkness replied:

All these figures are based on an annual rate per thousand, to make them comparable with other statistics, and taking the cases that were brought into the Army the rate was 231.3 per 1,000.

Senators, I want you to note that the cases were coming into the Army from civil life from every community in America.

Mr. POMERENE. What was the rate?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Two hundred and thirty-one and three-tenths per thousand.

Now, note. Maj. Snow said, "For gonorrhea."

Sergt. HARKNESS. That is for gonorrhea as compared with 11 per 1,000 contracted after enlistment.

In other words, in this one disease there were 231.3 per thousand coming in from civil life as compared with 11 per thousand contracted after enlistment. The civil life of this Republic, which ought to be the purest, was the most defiled, and with the men who were serving in the Army it was reduced to the minimum.

Mr. POMERENE. Do those figures relate to the entire service or only to certain cantonments?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. He is making an estimate from a certain number of cantonments which had reported, and these were fairly representative of the whole number of cantonments. Mind you, that refers to only one disease.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the great majority of cases of gonorrhea during the period covered in those five cantonments came in already infected from civil life?

Sergt. HARKNESS. Yes, sir. The percentage of syphilis—

I am glad there are no occupants of the gallery to hear this, because it will not sound so bad in cold type; and yet this subject ought to be discussed as one would discuss tuberculosis or any other disease which is so destructive to the human race.

The percentage of syphilis was 53.5 per 1,000 men of those men brought in as compared to about 2 per 1,000.

Remember that these infected young men came in from civil life and go to make up the armed forces of the United States! I may say here, incidentally, that under the old military regulations, if a man presented himself for enlistment and had any of these diseases, he would probably have been turned down, but the policy of the Government under the selective-service law and the new regulations is to take them and undertake to restore them to healthful lives, which has been done very largely. There are very few of these young men affected by these terrible diseases who are not cured, or cured as far as it is possible to do so, and restored in the open camps to healthy and vigorous life.

The CHAIRMAN. Contracted after they came in?

Sergt. HARKNESS. Yes; after they came in. And of chancroids we had 30 per 1,000 brought in as compared with 4 per 1,000 contracted after they came in.

In other words, 30 per thousand cases came from civil life, while those which were contracted after the young men got into the Army and were subjected to discipline were only 4 per 1,000.

For all venereal diseases we have 320 per 1,000 as brought into the Army, contracted before entrance, compared to 16.8 per 1,000 contracted after enlistment.

Further in his testimony, Maj. Snow was asked:

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not find that there is a very great lack of information among the general public as to the amount of infection and as to the effect of these diseases upon the civil community?

Maj. SNOW. Yes, sir; that is one of the greatest difficulties, or has been in the past, in making any real progress against these diseases. I started to say, before I digressed, in connection with these statistics that for the five-sixths of the 80,000 men Sergt. Harkness has mentioned being called in the draft is the best thing that could have happened to them. Many of them never had been near a physician. They had received the misinformation which medical charlatans give, and the kind of information that all of us, as we have grown up, have had about the harmlessness, relatively, of gonorrhea, and about the ease with which it can be cured by a druggist or by ourselves, when we go and buy some patent medicine which is supposed to be a sure cure, and similar misinformation about syphilis and how it can be cured. In the Army these men are brought to understand, from the education they receive and the treatment, the importance to themselves and to the community later of their being under treatment. Again, the taking of these men into the Army has removed immediately from the community a very considerable number of persons who were carriers of venereal disease. But perhaps the most valuable influence of all has been the awakening of health authorities, and simultaneously of business men and influential men and women generally, to the fact that this is a communicable-disease problem; that it can be met if we apply the same scientific methods that we have applied to the control of yellow fever and other diseases.

The Medical Department of the Army has done everything it could to aid in stimulating this interest of the public in this problem, because you can see, from an administrative point of view, the Surgeon General can do very little about the control of venereal diseases, other than treating those cases that develop, unless he has the cooperation of the public. The infections in the Army after the men are drafted do not occur inside of the cantonments, because the infections primarily come from sexual promiscuity, and there is no ready opportunity for sexual relations to occur between the infected civilian women and susceptible noninfected soldiers in the camp itself; but when the men go out on liberty and furlough we have the danger.

The CHAIRMAN. Those cases you can measurably control?

Maj. SNOW. We can measurably control them to the extent that Congress has provided authorization in sections 12 and 13 of the draft law, and facilities through the Commission on Training Camp Activities for applying those sections. Recreation which keeps a man so busy that he does not expose himself; enforcement of the law which makes infected women inaccessible; education which encourages self-control are all vitally important control measures. Many times just a man's better judgment leads him to realize that he owes it to the Government, if not to his personal career, to keep sober and to avoid prostitution and possible infection.

The CHAIRMAN. I had the pleasure of attending a meeting over in the Committee on Banking and Currency room one evening when you exhibited charts and a motion-picture film and displayed the methods that were being adopted by the commanders of the troops for instructing the young men.

Maj. SNOW. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Medical Corps is proceeding with that instruction, and is delivering lectures on that subject?

Maj. SNOW. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you find that is being attended with benefit?

Maj. SNOW. It is very hard to find out just how successful such measures are, but I think it is significant that the commanding generals and our division surgeons and other officers who are immediately in touch with the men are increasingly expressing their favorable opinion of those methods. They feel that it does have a very distinct deterrent effect on reducing the amount of drunkenness and sexual promiscuity, which they ordinarily would otherwise have expected from the men.

There is another thing that is important, I think. That is, that in the past the Army has felt that it could not do anything ouside of its own Army reservations; that when a man went out he was to all intents and purposes for the time of his liberty a citizen. At the same time the citizens of the community generally were not very much interested in the soldier; they did not know him personally; he had enlisted from some distant place; they did not know what kind of a man he was; he came into the community, and if he got into the hands of the underworld nobody bothered very much about it; and the Army could not do anything except reprimand him and treat him when he returned. At the present time practically every family has some direct interest in somebody in the Army, and there is added stimulus of being at war.

The attitude of the public in favor of clean living; the feeling that we must make for national efficiency; the order against civilian dress for the soldier, resulting, as it does, in every military officer and man being conspicuously identified to the public; all these things are to have their deterrent influence on immorality and consequently on the amount of exposure to venereal disease. Then as the community takes an active interest in this, it becomes harder for the commercialized vice interests to get hold of the men without the better element in the community effectively protesting.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not find that the dissemination of information such as you are giving now and which was withheld from the public in times past, has had the effect of stimulating local interest in the States and in the larger communities?

Maj. SNOW. Oh, undoubtedly. Inquiries are constantly arising. Doubtless they come to each of you here every day, and they come also in very large numbers to the Surgeon General and to every officer, I suppose, of the Army. These come from communities, saying, "We have just learned something about the work of the Government against venereal diseases and prostitution, and we want to know what we can do in our communities to help." Generally there is the vaguest kind of information about what this problem is, and how the diseases are spread and how they can be controlled, and why we need dispensaries. If we ask the question in return, "What have you done with tuberculosis," for instance, they answer promptly with a program because they are familiar with that disease because of the campaign of education which has been carried on for the past 10 years. Such a campaign should be promoted now by Congress. Dr. McLaughlin here, of the Public Health Service, will doubtless tell you about the excellent work that is being done by his service in establishing dispensaries for the treatment of civilians; some 24 of them, I think you have, doctor, or 28?

Dr. MCLAUGHLIN. Twenty-four

Maj. SNOW. These stations are open, and the public understand that they are open for advice and treatment. Some of them already have had 500 patients a week, women and men. That shows that the public wants advice and assistance from a reliable source. A definite educational campaign is being carried on in connection with these clinics, and as more and more people find out that they can get treatment more are coming. We are interested for the Army in this civilian work, because anything that operates to reduce the total amount of venereal diseases in the community operates to lessen the chances of a soldier on liberty being exposed, and therefore it lessens the number of infections that are brought back to us for treatment.

The CHAIRMAN. Why has there been such a woeful ignorance on the part of the public as to these particular diseases?

Maj. SNOW. I think, Senator, that it is because we have never quite sensed the fact that it is a communicable disease problem. And physicians have been, perhaps, more backward than any other group in analyzing the possibilities of talking to the public about these diseases just as frankly as they have talked about malaria and yellow fever and tuberculosis. There has been a feeling that sexual relations which society calls immoral are the source of spreading these diseases, and that we can not do anything until we can control people's morals. Now we have found that with the stimulus of the war and the leadership of Congress and the Federal officers, through the declaration that these diseases were going to be fought, and that measures would be provided to control prostitution and alcohol in relation to them, as well as measures for diagnosis and treatment, everyone has taken courage. The efforts which have already been made by State boards of health or local health departments and by cooperating agencies that are dealing more directly with the moral phases of the problem, have convinced one person after another that there is a practical program that can be put through. This education of the men and women in each community must go on.

I invite the attention of Senators to the whole of this testimony. I simply refer to enough of it to show the necessity for undertaking to enforce properly chapter 15 of the appropriation act of 1918. The reading of the act will show that the administration of it is placed in responsible hands. The Surgeon General of the Army, the Surgeon General of the Navy, the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, the Secretary of War, the

Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Treasury are on the board and attached to and under them are distinguished members of the Medical Corps.

Mr. President, when the board undertake to administer this law they find that obstacles to its proper execution, as in the case of nearly all such laws, are placed in the way by decisions of an acting controller. If we should undertake to walk through the labyrinth of decisions of the various auditors and controllers of these several departments one absolutely gets lost, and the acts Congress intended to put into effect have been delayed, postponed, and nullified by the action of these men.

I do not wish to criticize this particular controller, but in any event he practically held that the appropriations which Congress made in the Army appropriation act could not be used as Congress, I am sure, intended it should be.

It is the purpose of this amendment simply to enable the board to so organize that the purpose of the act may be put into practical effect. I know what the criticism of the distinguished chairman of this committee will be. His criticism will be that they are going to spend a large part of this appropriation in organization.

Mr. President, I do not care if every cent of it is expended in the organization of this work so long as it relieves a serious situation in the life of the American people.

If it is once organized, as it should be and as Congress intended, the money will be judiciously spent by the Federal Government in cooperation with the States, and these States will have a voice in the administration and enforcement of the law. When once established, I venture to say there will be no one who will ever rise on the floor of Congress and suggest the repeal of a law that has for its purpose the purification of the morals of the people of this country and the curing of the diseases that affect not only those of the present but of future generations.

I do hope, in order to assist in carrying out the great work which has been begun, the Senator from Virginia will not insist upon his point of order, because I think if he will examine the record he will find that these diseases are destroying more men annually in one way and another than the influenza and German bullets combined.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, I am so anxious to get the bill through that I shall not spend any time in going into the merits of this question. The service is going on. I want to say that this is simply a question of a greater margin and paying more salaries. I insist on the point of order. The amendment is plainly out of order. I ask the Chair to rule upon it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McKELLAR in the chair). The point of order is sustained.

Mr. MYERS. I offer an amendment, which I desire to have read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the amendment.

The SECRETARY. Amend by adding a new section, as follows:

SEC. —. For furnishing seed for spring planting in food crops in the year of 1919 by farmers in the drought-stricken regions of the United States who, owing to crop failure in the year of 1918, are unable to purchase seed therefor, and for furnishing to such farmers feed for their live stock during the next ensuing winter and spring, the sum of $5,000,000, to be disbursed and paid out, upon application therefor, by the Secretary of Agriculture, upon such showing and proof as he may require and under such rules and regulations as he may promulgate and upon such terms as to security and repayment as he may require.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President——

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Before the Senator proceeds, I will say, so that I may not be misunderstood, that of course I shall not make a point of order if the Senator wishes to address the Senate, but when he gets through I shall make a point of order against the amendment.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, it may be this amendment is subject to a point of order, but the necessity for the appropriation is so great, it is so vital to the interests of the country to have the proposed appropriation made, that I do not think the point of order should be made, and wish it might not be sustained.

A few weeks ago my colleague [Mr. WALSH] offered a similar amendment to another appropriation bill, then pending before the Senate, about the only difference being that the sum then sought to be appropriated was $20,000,000. There was no point of order made against that amendment. It came to a vote in the Senate and was defeated. I think it was defeated largely because the Senate thought the sum sought to be appropriated was larger than should be appropriated and larger than the Senate was willing to vote. Therefore I have offered an amendment, aimed at the same purposes, to appropriate only $5,000,000, a much less sum.

I am sure the Secretary of Agriculture favors this amendment. I have had extended conversation and much consultation with him on this subject, and I know he thinks the sum here sought to be appropriated would do a great amount of good and that it is needed and would be highly beneficial to the country.

There was a very severe drought in some of the Western States this year, and a total failure of crops in some sections of the country. It was a failure to such an extent that it was a great calamity to whole sections of the country; so much so that thousands of farmers were not able to raise enough to furnish themselves with seed for next year, to say nothing about not realizing enough to live on during the fall and winter. In consequence, the President was interested and he agreed to set aside, out of an emergency fund at his disposal, and did set aside the sum of $5,000,000 for the benefit of such farmers, for the fall sowing of wheat and other food crops this fall. I am told, however, by the Secretary of Agriculture and other officials, who have investigated the subject, that all of that sum of $5,000,000 will be required for fall sowing by impoverished farmers, and that none of it can be spared for farmers who sow their wheat in the spring.

A great many farmers in the Western States sow all their wheat in the spring, grow spring wheat exclusively, owing to soil and climatic conditions, and I understand that the $5,000,000 generously set aside by the President will be entirely exhausted by the fall sowing of wheat and that none of it will be left for those impoverished farmers who of necessity must sow their wheat in the spring. There are thousands of farmers in Montana who, owing to soil and climatic conditions, can grow only spring wheat. They are dependent upon that crop alone for a living. There are thousands like situated in other Western States.

I have been told by the Secretary of Agriculture that if anything is to be done for such farmers, if any aid is to be extended to such of them as are not able to buy their seed wheat, of whom there are thousands, it must come from an act of Congress; that the money must be appropriated by legislation. Therefore I have offered this amendment for that purpose, as well as to enable such impoverished farmers to live and feed their live stock through the coming winter. It is of very vital importance. There is a great, crying, actual need for it, and I should like very much for my amendment to be adopted. The farmers who can only grow spring wheat and who were absolutely bankrupted and reduced to dire poverty and distress by the terrible drought and crop failure of this year, of whom there are thousands in Montana and thousands more in other Western States, are patriotic and highly desirous of raising big wheat crops next year and helping to win the war by helping to feed our workers, our civilians and soldiers, and those of our allies, but they can not do it unless they may have help. This amendment does not propose a gift to them, but only a loan. The sum of $5,000,000 is not more than is needed. I am assured by the Secretary of Agriculture it is not. Let us adopt my amendment and give this needed aid.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I make a point of order against the amendment. There has been no estimate and nothing whatever before the Congress of the United States except the speech of the Senator from Montana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of order is sustained.

Mr. MYERS. I appeal from the ruling of the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana appeals from the ruling of the Chair. The question is, Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the Senate? [Putting the question.] The ayes seem to have it. The ayes have it, and the Chair is sustained.

Mr. POMERENE. I move the following amendment: On page 40, line 9, strike out "November 1"; page 41, line 2, strike out "November 1"; page 41, line 4, strike out "November 1"; and on page 41, line 18, strike out "November 1," and in lieu of the words stricken out insert "July 1" in all these cases.

The reason for the amendment in brief is this: Some time in the earlier part of the summer a bill passed Congress providing for an increase in the salary of those who were engaged in the Steamboat-Inspection Service. That is the law now; but as the pending bill is framed it only allows this increased salary which has heretofore been authorized as from November 1, 1918. If Congress was right in providing for the increase, as of July 1, 1918, it seems to me we ought to provide the fund to comply with the act of Congress as from the date it went into effect and not from November 1, 1918.

It is for that reason that I move the amendment be adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. WARREN. I wish to offer an amenmdent. The cause for offering the amendment is a change in the time of graduation of certain of the cadets at West Point. There is a large number of them who will graduate on the 1st of next month who will require equipment. That equipment comes from the commercial store of the academy. They have not up to the present time sufficient funds to provide for it. It costs no more money in the long run by appropriating this amount now than it would to appropriate it later. It merely makes available on the 1st of November that which becomes necessary, under the law, to equip these cadets.

I send the amendment to the Secretary's desk and ask that it be read, in order that Senators may understand it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 31, after line 21, under the subhead "Military Academy," it is proposed to insert the following:

That $150,000 are hereby appropriated for use of the treasurer, United States Military Academy, as a working fund to enable him to keep stock in cadet store, cadet mess, and cadet laundry during the continuance of the present system of cadet instruction at the United States Military Academy: *Provided further*, That in case a four-year course is reestablished that this amount shall remain available for use of treasurer of the United States Military Academy until such time as the equipment fund of cadets shall have reached the same amount.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is upon agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, before the matter passes from the consideration of the Senate, I desire to say that the amendment has not been presented to the committee, and I have not even heard it read. I am willing for it to go to conference; but I do not want the Senator from Wyoming or anybody else to feel that I am committed to it in conference, except to give it fair consideration. I desire, in justice to myself, to make that statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Virginia desire the vote to be again taken?

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. No. I am willing for it to stand, although, as I have said, I do not know what is in the amendment. However, it may go to conference, and I will see that it is given fair consideration.

Mr. WARREN. That is entirely satisfactory to me. I want to give the amendment more consideration myself, but I feel that it is important to let it remain in the bill and go to conference.

Mr. President, in order that the amendment may be understood by the Senate and also by the members of the committee of conference, I submit the following reasons for its adoption which have been furnished by the treasurer of the Military Academy:

1. Fourteen dollars is taken from the pay of each cadet per month and held until graduation, when it is delivered to him for purpose of equipping himself as an officer. This equipment fund is the capital which enables the treasurer to keep stock on hand in the cadet store, cadet mess, and cadet laundry to meet the wants of cadets. When four classes are at the academy, this equipment fund is in the neighborhood of $200,000. The graduation of the top class leaves the equipment fund of the three lower classes to carry on the business.

The recent order to graduate all but the plebe class means that all equipment must be paid out November 1—that of the plebe class amounting to very little, as they have been here but four months, and is far exceeded by their indebtedness. The order being unexpected, the treasurer finds all funds invested in stock, and further orders coming along to take care of stock, and further orders coming along to take care of what would have been probable future wants of cadets.

The present stock in store is $117,330.64; in mess, $17,148.76; and in laundry, $2,695.31; total, $137,174.71. A loan of about $100,000 will be necessary to meet the emergency of graduation.

2. Under the proposed system of training here, a class consisting of all cadets will be graduated once per year. This will mean that once per year all equipment fund will have to be paid out and the treasurer will be left without funds to keep stock in his three departments to meet wants of cadets prior and subsequent to graduation. A permanent working fund is necessary. In case of reversion to old system of four-year instruction, this working fund should remain available until the equipment fund has grown to be equal in amount.

3. It should be noted that this proposed scheme calls only for a loan, as the amount will ultimately revert to the Government.

B. A. DIXON,
Captain, U. S. A., Treasurer, U. S. M. A.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, when we were considering committee amendments I thought the Senate stopped on page 45. Were all of the other amendments beginning "Judgments, Court of Claims," agreed to?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHEPPARD in the chair). All of the other amendments were agreed to.

Mr. FLETCHER. On page 40, line 9, there is a provision in the bill under the head "Steamboat-Inspection Service," which reads:

For amount necessary to increase the compensation of officers and employees of the Steamboat-Inspection Service from November 1, 1918, to June 30, 1919, inclusive.

The law therein referred to, which was passed, provided for a readjustment of the service and for some increases, not very large, and it was approved on July 2, 1918.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I suppose the Senator from Florida was not on the floor, and I desire to inform him that an amendment at that point by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] has just been voted on and rejected.

Mr. FLETCHER. I beg pardon. I was called out of the Chamber for a time, and I had a memorandum in reference to the matter.

Mr. POMERENE. I can assure the Senator from Florida that, judging from the vote, there was no chance for the amendment.

Mr. FLETCHER. I presume the amendment was offered to strike out "November 1" and insert "July 2"?

Mr. POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. FLETCHER. That is the date when the act was approved.

Mr. POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. FLETCHER. I am sorry I was not in the Chamber when the matter was considered, but I was necessarily called out.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, it is a matter of some regret to me, and doubtless my view is shared by a great many others in the country, that in a period like this it has become necessary to hold a general election. In some countries, particularly in Great Britain, it is constitutionally possible to postpone general elections until emergencies making the postponement necessary shall have disappeared. Under a written Constitution like ours the requirements of general elections are inflexible, and consequently they must be held regardless of their effect upon general conditions.

It is difficult to carry on a campaign and to evoke any public interest in a campaign so conducted in the absence of questions and issues upon which the two great parties of the country are arrayed against each other. The differences between the Republican and the Democratic Parties, however, are much more apparent than real, and the contest therefore must necessarily resolve itself into one for securing the control of the American Congress in an off year. Each party, very properly and very naturally, in appealing to the electorate, utilizes every advantage which occurs to it as available or desirable, and each may be pardoned, therefore, from my viewpoint, for taking positions which are not entirely logical and not entirely fair. That is one of the imperfections of human nature, which is quite as apparent in political parties as in individuals.

Mr. President, I have been somewhat interested in determining for my own satisfaction what differences exist between the two great political organizations of the country at this time, and I have been unable to satisfy myself that there are any of any substantial character or importance. My own view of the political situation is that the country is divided into those who are for the Government and for the prosecution of the war, and those who are not. That is a division which cleaves party lines, instead of running parallel to them. There is no lack of loyalty in the Republican Party, but there are many Republicans whose loyalty is the legitimate subject of criticism and challenge. There is no question of loyalty in the Democratic Party, but a large number of those who call themselves Democrats are equally subject to criticism as to their views and positions in the great contest now waging between the allies and Germany. I wish it were possible that the coming election could have been gauged upon such a standard and so conducted as to divide the loyal on the one side and the disloyal on the other. That, of course, is humanly impossible, since parties can not be organized to meet temporary conditions, nor can they avoid, if they are true to themselves, assertions of superiority to their opponents, which include as well the question of patriotism.

I trust, Mr. President, in what I shall have to say that I shall not say anything that can be construed as a reflection in the slightest degree upon the loyalty and patriotism of any man. The criticisms that I wish to offer are based entirely upon different considerations.

The President said in his message last May that "politics is adjourned." It was one of the statements of that illustrious statesman which I was unable to accept. Politics is never adjourned in a republic, and never ought to be. Politics is as essential to the life and the vigor and the purity of a republic conducted as politics is conducted in a country like this, or a country like Great Britain, as is oxygen to animal existence.

The opposition party in England is called the King's opposition. It is recognized as quite as useful to the Government as is the party in power. The same may be said, Mr. President, of political divisions in the United States. Inasmuch, however, as we are to have an election, and inasmuch as the electorate is being instructed, or the attempt is being made to instruct it, I think I may be pardoned for directing attention to the manner in which the so-called issue of loyalty and patriotism seems to be handled.

A Member of the other House on the 19th instant, upon the floor, complained of the Democratic plan to send posters and to post them on billboards all over the United States with statements of this sort: "Germany will say you repudiated Wilson if you elect a Congress not in sympathy with his policies," or "Washington and Lincoln were hampered by critics. Do not hamper Wilson or elect men who will not aid him win the war," and other placards of similar import. The objection of this Representative was that these placards contained an imputation of disloyalty toward Republicans, and, assuming that his criticism was true, it was eminently just, because any announcement that would arraign, as I have said, either of the great political parties as untrue and unfaithful to this great country would be cruelly and criminally untrue.

But I have noticed, Mr. President, and especially from expressions said to have fallen from the lips of the chairman of the Republican national committee, as well as from gentlemen who stand high in the councils of the party, statements of similar import and carrying a similar imputation, if there be imputation in such statements at all. Hence the evil, if it be an evil, seems to be shared in common, and doubtless will continue to be shared in common, possibly upon the theory that the man who talks the loudest will be the last man heard. Competitions in loyalty are delightful. Nothing of the sort could be or should be discouraged, except in so far as they may carry with them the sting of an inference which is unjust toward others.

Mr. President, one thing is absolutely certain, and I think I may refer to it in this connection. It is that one of the great political parties, as a party, sustains the President of the United States and the administration, and that another of the great political parties does not sustain the administration, except in so far as a common interest is concerned.

With regard to domestic affairs, the conflict is constant, and I may say perpetual. It is inevitable and could not and ought not to be avoided if it were possible to do so. It must follow, therefore, from an outside standpoint that an election that does not seem to support but on the contrary seems to be a disavowal of an existing administration must be regarded as in conflict with it, if not in enmity to it. We may know better at home, but, viewed from abroad, one may easily conclude what that view would be by imagining in a country like Germany an election which operated in times of war to change the complexion of the legislative body from one in general accord with the administration to one out of touch with it. Hence, Mr. President, that is an issue, disguise it as we may, or, if you please, a conclusion necessarily resulting from this election and one which of course is the objective sought by the contending parties.

I have, Mr. President, three bulletins released, respectively, on the 21st, 22d, and 23d of October from the Republican national congressional committee, and I suppose, therefore, they may be considered, must be considered, as official and authentic. The first reads:

The Democratic Party is committed to a free-trade policy.

That is the old, old statement which appears in every campaign, just as does the corresponding statement from Democrats that the Republican Party is committed to a high-protection policy. Hence, it is not new; but the bulletin contains a quotation from the President's peace program and includes one of the 14 terms laid down by him in his message to Congress on the 8th of January last. I read it:

The removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

That is the end of the quotation. The bulletin then proceeds:

This is a positive declaration that the treaty of peace must guarantee to Germany free trade with the United States without any tariff safeguards whatever to protect the American laborer, manufacturer, farmer, and business man from foreign competition in his home markets.

I ask to have inserted in the RECORD, without reading, the remainder of the bulletin.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BENET in the chair). Without objection, permission is granted.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Under such a policy Germany will buy raw materials in the United States, manufacture these materials in Germany, and sell the manufactured products in American markets in competition with similar products "made in America," by American manufacturers, without the slightest tariff restrictions for the protection of American labor, business, and farming.

No one doubts that in an open and unrestricted American field Germany, with her cheaper labor, will be able to dominate markets for many manufactured products in the United States and will drive similar American products out of those markets, with the ruin of American manufacturers and harm to American labor swiftly following.

American labor will never agree, and quite properly, to wage scales on a par with the comparative pittances paid to German labor before the war, which undoubtedly will be paid after the war.

The American manufacturer, with the higher wages that he must pay, can not compete with the German manufacturer in many lines if the United States is on a free-trade basis.

The greatest periods of prosperity that the United States has ever known have been Republican administrations, with a protective tariff as the chief corner stone.

The Republican Party has never been defeated on a protective-tariff issue when it presented such an issue to the electorate.

Free trade, absolute and complete, with all its tremendous ills, looms in the near future, under a continuation of Democratic rule.

A Republican House and Senate, elected in November, would be a guaranty to the people that a free tariff disaster would be prevented.

A Republican Senate would never agree to a treaty of peace giving free-trade privileges to Germany.

Reconstruction problems after the war will tax the experience and the genius of the ablest men in the United States. It is well known that most of these men are Republicans.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, the conclusion drawn in this bulletin may or may not be a correct one. I do not think it is; but I have not taken the floor for the purpose of arguing for or against it. What I want to emphasize is that it is a repudiation of one of the 14 bases for peace upon which the recent diplomatic correspondence has taken place between the German Government and our own, and that it must, therefore, be a dissent from the inclusion of such a trade-relation provision in any ultimate peace establishment which may be agreed upon between the allies and the central Empires.

To that extend it is therefore an attitude which is not in accord with the administration, and I think I may say not in accord with the allies of the administration, all of whom have approved more than once, on many occasions and in different ways, the sum total of the President's announced policy, which must therefore be considered as an international understanding.

I am free to confess, Mr. President, that, in my judgment, inasmuch as all wars have been trade wars, since and including the Napoleonic wars at least, we will not have permanent peace on earth if, after the war shall have been closed, we engage in a war of commerce based upon discriminative high tariff and other discriminations, which necessarily beget that friction and disagreement that culminate in very serious differences and afterwards in war.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, would it interrupt the Senator if I should ask him a question?

Mr. THOMAS. No; although I do not want to take very much time.

Mr. REED. The Senator has said that many wars, if not all wars, have occurred because of trade differences; but does the Senator know of any war that has been occasioned by mere differences in tariffs?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I think the present war is largely due to discrimination, which Germany sought to wipe out by the sword.

Mr. REED. Discriminations in tariffs?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. Of course, I do not mean to be understood that that is the sole cause of the war, but that it is and was substantially involved in the war. The freedom of the seas——

Mr. REED. I do not desire to take the Senator's time. I quite agree that many wars have occurred over a desire to secure trade dominance or trade monopoly or trade advantage; but I am not aware of any war that has occurred between highly civilized countries over the mere matter of a tariff.

Mr. THOMAS. No such war has occurred, Mr. President, over a mere difference in tariff rates or a conflict over tariff duties. When I say that most wars have been trade wars, I include a much larger range of causes, nearly all of them commercial and industrial, than those which are involved in the mere matter of discriminating duties.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. THOMAS. I do.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I should like to call the Senator's attention to a public statement by Von Bernstorff, former German ambassador to the United States, of the terms of peace that Germany would have imposed on France a year and a half ago.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I am familiar with it. It was placed in the RECORD the other day by the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. MCCUMBER].

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I had not noticed that; but the statement of Von Bernstorff that Germany would exact free and

unrestricted trade privileges of France and would impose her duties upon French products entering Germany gives the only color that I have ever seen to indicate that the Senator from Colorado is justified in the statement he has made.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, that is precisely one of the things for which Germany waged this war. The Senator is also doubtless familiar with the tentative announcement of the terms of peace made by the German Government very shortly after their big drive seemed to be so successful last spring. But, as I have said, that is one of the things which has been laid down by the President, which itself is far broader than any question of tariff or of free trade, and which has reference to the general commercial and industrial intercourse between the countries.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. WATSON. Will it interrupt the Senator if I ask him a question?

Mr. THOMAS. No, sir.

Mr. WATSON. I should like to ask the Senator whether or not he construes the third basis of peace as laid down by the President to mean universal world-wide free trade?

Mr. THOMAS. I do not as a matter of course. I stated a few moments ago that I was not to be drawn, if I could help it, into a discussion of the old tariff and free-trade controversy.

Mr. WATSON. No, Mr. President, I beg the Senator's pardon; I was not seeking to engage in any controversy with the Senator.

Mr. THOMAS. I am satisfied of that, of course.

Mr. WATSON. I merely wanted the Senator's view as to what that does mean.

Mr. THOMAS. My view of what it means is exactly what it says—"the removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance."

Mr. WATSON. Is one of the economic barriers a protective tariff, in the view of the Senator?

Mr. THOMAS. It may or may not be. All the countries of the world have them.

Mr. WATSON. Except one.

Mr. THOMAS. Which one?

Mr. WATSON. I do not think the policy of Great Britain could be called a protective policy. She has a very high revenue tariff, but not a protective tariff. Of course a protective tariff is an economic barrier; but I wanted to get the Senator's view, if I do not interrupt him—and the Senator is always very kind in yielding—as to whether a protective tariff is an economic barrier that the President proposes to remove by inserting in the forthcoming peace treaty a clause to that effect.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator's question deserves an answer, although entirely outside of what I intended to say. I think that the President designs a tariff that shall not be protective in the sense that it is prohibitive and irritating—at least, I hope he does—and I am satisfied that that sort of an arrangement will be perfectly satisfactory to the nations "consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance," which will be the nations now enforcing peace upon the world.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. THOMAS. I do.

Mr. McCUMBER. I want to ask the Senator if he feels quite certain that the President referred, or intended to refer, to tariffs at all in that address?

Mr. THOMAS. I do not know whether he did or not. The Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON] asked me my view of it. I am unable to state what was in the President's mind, except in so far as I may be able to define the language which he used.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, will the Senator allow another interruption?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. THOMAS. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The President has always regarded the question of tariff duties as somewhat irritating, has he not?

Mr. THOMAS. He certainly has, and I would not have voted for him if he had not.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. If the statement that is contained in the third article of his peace suggestions had been penned by Cobden or any other free trader in the interest of a world-wide free trade, it could not have been stated stronger.

Mr. THOMAS. And if it had been penned by William McKinley it could not have been made any stronger; there is no question about that.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. But, Mr. President, the Senator, of course, is unfortunate in his parallel. Such a statement never could have emanated from any protectionist who believed that trade barriers were absolutely vital to our civilization, to our employments, to our citizenship, and to the preservation of the American market place.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I recollect very distinctly what the sentiment was which was expressed by President McKinley in the last public utterance that he ever made; and I am satisfied that it had a tendency in the right direction; but my purpose in referring to this is simply to emphasize the fact that in one particular, at least, the Republican Party is at present officially opposed to one of the conditions of a universal peace, announced by the President of the United States some time ago, and which must be considered as one of the bases of whatever result may flow from existing conditions.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. WATSON. I understand the Senator from Colorado to say that he does not know whether that means free trade or not.

Mr. THOMAS. No; I did not say that.

Mr. WATSON. If he does not know, how can the Republicans know?

Mr. THOMAS. I do not think the Senator intends to put in my mouth words that I never uttered.

Mr. WATSON. I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. THOMAS. I said I did not think it meant free trade.

Mr. WATSON. Precisely. Now, if the Senator does not know what it means, how can he impute to us a knowledge that he himself does not have, and hence charge us with hostility to a proposition when we do not know ourselves what it means?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, again I say—and I give my view of what it means—that I am satisfied that it does not mean high protection. But, answering the Senator's complaint, I may say, having read the entire bulletin from which I make this quotation, that there is no question but that the Republican Party has put upon it a definition satisfactory to it, at least, and which is the basis of its opposition, necessarily, to the administration.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, I think the opposition of the Republican Party to that particular clause is much broader than the Senator states, because I believe it to be the position of the Republican Party to object to incorporating in any treaty that may be made growing out of this war a provision by which the economic policy of the United States shall be fixed by a foreign nation. Personally I should just as strenuously object to placing in a treaty a clause providing for a protective tariff as I should object to placing in a treaty a clause providing for free trade, because it is my contention—and I think it is the position of the Republican Party, although I have no authority to speak for it—that we of ourselves should be permitted to determine our own economic policy, free from the domination or even the dictation of any or all the other nations on earth combined.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, of course it is impossible even to allude indirectly to the tariff or free trade without getting up a discussion. Perhaps that is one of the beauties of the issue, because it always is an issue, and when we have not anything else to talk about we can always fall back upon that. But I will proceed.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I do not like to interrupt my friend from Colorado, but he is very generous about it.

Mr. THOMAS. I want to get through with what I have to say.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I want to see whether the Senator from Colorado seriously thinks he is doing the memory of the late President McKinley full credit when he challenges his lifelong devotion to the principles of a protective tariff by citing a speech delivered in the last year of his life providing for amicable trade arrangements so effectively reciprocal as to open new and certain markets for our labor and enable us to buy the necessaries we can not produce. This is protection, not free trade. Protection protects our labor, stimulates new enterprises at home, and yields revenue to run our Government.

I enjoyed the personal acquaintance of President McKinley for many years. I heard him upon a hundred different occasions, probably more, enunciate this great cardinal principle of his political faith; and he never wavered even in defeat in his belief that these barriers were vital to the security of the wage earner, and to the development of our domestic industries in such way as would give to us the largest possible supply of the necessities of life from our own soil. I never heard challenged—and I do not think the Senator from Colorado intention-

ally challenges—the constancy and fidelity of McKinley to the principle of protection to American industry and labor. The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] says he hopes he does. I know that the Senator from Mississippi has been a free trader all of his life, and believes in free trade now, and he has the courage to say it, although his party is far from united on that question.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I never have been a free trader, for the simple reason that I never had an opportunity to be.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I have heard the Senator say that over and over again.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I never lived under a government where sufficient revenue could be furnished with free trade. If I had lived under one, I would have been a free trader long, long, long ago. I do think that one of the real mean things in the world is the commercial warfare that one nation carries on against another through tariffs and protectionism, and other things of that description; and I hope that my friend from Michigan understands me well enough to know that I hereby apologize for not being a free trader, because I never had the opportunity to be.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator does not have to apologize for not being a free trader. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for nearly 25 years is full of his utterances in favor of free trade. I have served with him in both Houses of Congress. I have admired his career; I respect his judgment; but on this subject we are irrevocably divided. I am a protectionist, and that principle will be a living necessity here after this war shall have been won.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I repeat, Mr. President, that the only reason why I have not been a free trader is because I have never had the opportunity nor a fair and square chance to be. I have always been a citizen of a government which needed a whole lot of revenue, some of which had to be arrived at by indirect taxation. I wish to God that I were a citizen of a country that could invite the whole world's commercial peace, as well as every other sort of peace.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I do not think anything I said in my reference to President McKinley could be the slightest possible reflection upon his memory or upon his record. If so, I hasten to correct it. My own view is that his last speech was the greatest speech that he ever uttered, and I am satisfied that from it and from the doctrine there enunciated has come much of the remedial legislation of a tariff character that has blessed this country since that time.

I can readily understand that the President may have meant—though I am not his spokesman with regard to this particular feature of his recent proposal—that tariff duties of a nondiscriminatory character by each of the allied nations—that is to say, common and equal as to all the other nations—may have been, and probably were, in his mind at the time. I am satisfied that the interpretation given by the national Republican congressional committee is not the correct interpretation of that proposed article of peace, but, of course, it must be given that interpretation either to create an issue in the campaign or to justify dissent from the President's program.

On the 22d of October there was another political release, which I will not read in its entirety. It pays a tribute to John Sherman, the great Ohio Republican statesman, and to William McKinley, another great Republican statesman, and to William Howard Taft, still another Republican statesman, as a few illustrations of constructive Republican statesmanship. The selections were well made.

The bulletin declares, also, that—

> The Republicans consider winning the war the first great duty.

There is no issue in that. Any American with red blood in his veins, unless he has become terribly un-American in his surroundings and in his views, also considers winning the war as the first great duty.

> They worked all along toward that end, and have given greater support to war measures in Congress than the Democrats. They have supported every war activity. Before the war they asked for preparedness, which was denied them by a Democratic Congress.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, from whom is the Senator quoting?

Mr. THOMAS. I am quoting from the Republican congressional committee's bulletin of day before yesterday.

> They are now pointing out the necessity of preparedness for peace, apparently with avail, but their patriotism, wisdom, and business ability have been called upon to help win the war. The Democrats boast—as a fake display of nonpartisanship—that they have utilized the brains and directing force of the Republicans in this war. They head the list with Taft, Hughes, and Schwab, and a long list of financiers, diplomats, soldiers, statesmen, business and professional men. The Republicans of the constructive type are doing big things at personal sacrifice, not merely holding jobs or commissions but building great fleets of ships, raising billions in taxes and liberty bonds, raising and equipping great armies, and speeding the war program.

And so they are. So also, Mr. President, are Democrats. Hence, there can be no issue there, except a vain or a forced one.

> When peace comes—and reconstruction—these constructive Republicans will be called on to solve the problems growing out of the war, and at the same time protect interests of the laborer, the manufacturer, the farmer, and the business man. This can not be done by the Democratic Party, a Democratic Party now absolutely controlled by the South.
>
> Northern, mid-western, and western Democrats have no voice in their party's policies. These policies are controlled by the Democratic Congressmen from nine Southern States. Democratic Congressmen representing northern, mid-western, and western citizens are bound hand and foot by the party caucus, which is controlled absolutely by the South.
>
> Democrats as well as Republicans outside of the South can not hope to have their great and varied interests looked after properly by Democratic representatives controlled by a southern caucus.
>
> They should vote to send Republicans to Congress who could constructively represent their districts, State, and the Nation without the bossism of the South, whose interests are vastly different from those of the North.
>
> Peace and reconstruction will bring tremendous duties—Republican statesmen would be able to properly handle the great problems.

Mr. President, I can understand how a dispute might be made by the contention that the Democratic Party is unfit to handle these great problems which are bound to arise after the war, and that only Republican statesmanship and ability will be able to deal with them. I can understand that; but to contend as an issue that one party has been more loyal and more active in its support of the administration than the other is simply to get up a childish contention, to appeal to views and to prejudices which I do not believe to be worthy of the Republican Party on a great occasion like this.

On the 23d of October we have another bulletin that was issued, beginning—

> "With the conclusion of the liberty-loan drive political activity again occupies us, and then, as now, every single act of the Republican Party in State and Nation shall be determined solely by how we can contribute most to the sum total of war good," declared Will H. Hays, chairman of the Republican national committee, in a statement to-day.

Then there is a reference to New Hampshire and Wisconsin and Maine and the elections that were held there, which are said to mean that this—

> Is the people's war, and that the war must be kept out of partisan politics, and partisanship must be kept out of the war.

That is to say, the State Republican victories which have occurred since we entered this war served notice upon all that the war must be kept out of partisan politics, and partisanship must be kept out of the war, notwithstanding the bulletin of the previous day declared that the Republican Party had done more than the Democratic Party toward the prosecution of the war and the support of the administration, and therefore its candidates should be elected. If that does not intrude partisanship into the struggle, I am at a loss to know what does. I am not complaining, because I am here to say that you can not keep partisanship out of an election. You can not do it until you change human nature; and therefore I am merely stating the facts, not making any complaint.

> Notwithstanding these defeats, the Democratic high command further pursues this policy.
>
> They are circularizing the country with a pamphlet entitled "Why you should give earnest attention right now to electing a Democratic Congress." It is signed by an officer of that committee. One I have before me was sent out in a letter dated September 18, 1918, which letter is signed by an officer of the organization. In this pamphlet they say the election of a Republican Congress would be "a source of comfort and elation to the Kaiser and his cohorts."

Here is some more partisanship on the other side.

> Against this reprehensible conduct by a responsible political organization I protest, not as a Republican but as an American.
>
> Again, I say, such statements do no harm politically to the party against which they are directed. But for national reasons most important I deplore them.

And then the reasons are given why they should be deplored.

So we have this situation: With the tariff as a sort of a side issue, partially submerged, partly submarine and partly upon the surface, the Republican contention that they have done more for the prosecution of the war, and therefore the support of the administration, than the Democrats, and the Democratic contention that a Republican victory would rejoice the heart of the Kaiser. Now, we may be mistaken in our view of the manner in which a Republican triumph this fall would be received abroad. It ought not to make any difference in so far as the war is concerned. I am satisfied that a Republican Congress would see the war out, just as a Democratic Congress would see the war out. The statement that has been made here that the Republicans of this Congress have done their duty is absolutely true, with two or three exceptions, perhaps, as there are two or three exceptions on the other side.

God forbid that I should say anything that could be even indirectly construed as a criticism of the good work that has been done here conjointly by American citizens on both sides of this Chamber and on both sides of the House. The claiming of too much credit on the one hand and the effect of the election upon the other is, therefore, about the only thing between them.

The action of this responsible Democratic organization, Mr. Hays says, is reprehensible. Mr. MADDEN in the House made the same remark the other day, and made it in a very heated manner. Both regard it as a reflection upon the Americanism of the Republican Party. If we have made that mistake, however, it is because we have followed what may turn out to be a bad example, although we thought it was a good one. There are some great statesmen in the Republican Party. They arrogate to themselves superiority of wisdom and of experience, as perhaps they have a right to do; and sometimes we may be pardoned if we accept the views which they expressed on other occasions and the attitude which they occupied at other times, especially when the people have taken them at their word and acted accordingly.

Now I want to refer to the campaign of 1898. It had a great many points in common with the present campaign. The country was engaged in a war—not so great a war as the war now waging but in a very important war—with a foreign country. The country was behind the administration, without regard to politics.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. THOMAS. I do.

Mr. McCUMBER. Before the Senator reaches the part of his remarks under that heading, I want to ask him candidly if he believes that the last senatorial election in Wisconsin had the slightest influence on earth, one way or the other, with the German people or the German Kaiser?

Mr. THOMAS. No; I do not believe they ever heard of it.

Mr. McCUMBER. And does not the Senator really think *that no* other election, no matter whether the successful candidate were a Republican or a Democrat, would have any influence upon the Kaiser?

Mr. THOMAS. I have not yet come to what I think about it, but I will do so. I will say here that there is a vast difference between a solitary election of a solitary Senator and a general election affecting the whole country and the political complexion of the entire Congress.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, what senatorial election is the Senator talking about?

Mr. THOMAS. The election of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT].

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh!

Mr. THOMAS. In 1898, during the Spanish-American War, Col. Roosevelt was a candidate for governor of New York; and this is what the colonel had to say upon that subject:

> Remember that, whether you will it or not, your votes this year will be viewed by the nations of Europe from one standpoint only. They will draw no fine distinctions. A refusal to sustain the President this year will, in their eyes, be read as a refusal to sustain the war and to sustain the efforts of our peace commission to secure the fruits of war. Such a refusal may not inconceivably bring about a rupture of the peace negotiations. It will give heart to our defeated antagonists; it will make possible the interference of those doubtful neutral nations who in this struggle have wished us ill.

Again Col. Roosevelt said:

> You could get the benefits of the victories of Grant and Sherman only by reelecting Lincoln, and we will gain less than we ought from the war if the administration is not sustained at these elections.

Col. Roosevelt at that time had excellent company. Former President Harrison, pleading for the election of a Republican Congress on that occasion, was quoted by the Philadelphia North American of November 1, 1898, as saying:

> If the word goes forth that the people of the United States are standing solidly behind the President, the task of the peace commissioners will be easy, but if there is a break in the ranks—if the Democrats score a telling victory, if Democratic Senators, Congressmen, and governors are elected—Spain will see in it a gleam of hope; she will take fresh hope, and a renewal of hostilities, more war, may be necessary to secure to us what we have already won.

He also said:

> Our election results should not give or even seem to give encouragement to those who would find in our discords and divided counsels their advantages.

I now wish to quote from the distinguished leader of the minority in this Chamber, the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. The Senator delivered a speech on the 6th day of October, 1898, before the Republican State convention; and he is thus reported in the Springfield Daily Republican of the next morning:

> But there is one question on which I do desire to say a few words, and that seems to me to override all others. It is whether we shall stand by the administration and the President at this juncture. If we give a victory to his political opponents, we say not only to the United States but we say to the world, we say to the Spanish commissioners in Paris, that the people of the United States repudiated its result and repudiated the man who has led victoriously the war and is now leading us back to peace—William McKinley.

If that was true in 1898, it is true in 1918. It is more eminently true now because the war here is not over and because the comparison between the two wars makes the other too insignificant for ordinary human vision.

He said further:

> That is the great and overshadowing question to my mind. * * * Hostilities have ceased, but this war is not over. * * * But there are only two parties in the country when there is a great question like this to settle: one is the party that sustains the American President, who will do his work well, and those who do not.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, will the Senator pardon my ignorance? Who said all that?

Mr. THOMAS. The senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE].

Mr. WILLIAMS. Who is now in this body?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir; and I hope he will remain here for many years.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Still a Member of this body?

Mr. THOMAS. Still a Member of this body.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am glad to hear it.

Mr. THOMAS. And, as I say, I hope he will long continue to be a Member of this body.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, if it will not interrupt the Senator, the historical aspect of the Spanish-American War has two definite and distinct angles in my mind. One was the persistent endeavor of the House of Representatives to get President Cleveland to act upon the serious questions at issue, about which he refused to interest himself, notwithstanding all the crimes that were committed against the people of Cuba by their offenders. Resolution after resolution was silently passed and quietly tabled; and if it got to the President, Mr. Cleveland, at all, nothing more was heard of it.

Now, the administration which succeeded Mr. Cleveland succeeded to the responsibilities of the Cuban situation, and met them fearlessly and courageously. I do not say that our party met them without the cordial cooperation of many Democrats, because there were many Democrats who sustained us; but Mr. McKinley's predecessor in the White House would do nothing in that situation. I speak of him not to criticize him but in the interest of historical accuracy, because I was one of the men here at that time who greatly admired Mr. Cleveland, and I think in history he will stand out for all time as a sterling American. I have nothing but words of the highest praise for him, much as I differed with him politically; but that was the situation at that time. President McKinley's predecessor had failed to act when our island neighbor was being crucified; and to go back to the people who tabled and pigeonholed relief resolutions sought to accomplish relief for Cuba in the preliminaries of the Spanish-American War would have been inexcusable.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, Mr. President, I have noticed that Cleveland is always popular with Republicans.

Mr. WILLIAMS. As a Democratic disorganizer he was a success.

Mr. THOMAS. He was a very good man, perhaps; but to my mind he will go down to history as the arch destroyer of the Democratic Party.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Well, that was no crime. I liked him for that, too.

Mr. THOMAS. Certainly. That is what made him popular with Republicans; certainly.

Now, whatever Mr. Cleveland's fault may have been upon this question, it was rectified by McKinley. He went to war with Spain, and had, of course, occasion to do so. He was justified, and the whole country stood behind him, with here and there an exception, as is now the case. The situation is parallel to the present, although not so imposing.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for just a moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Utah

Mr. THOMAS. I do. I hope, however, this will not provoke a controversy. I want to get through.

Mr. KING. If the Senator will pardon me for just a moment, let me say to the distinguished Senator from Michigan that at the time of the Spanish-American War the Senator will remember, because he was then in the House, that when the Republicans came into power Mr. McKinley refused, as did the Republicans in the Hosue, to take any steps against Spain or to at-

tempt to correct the evils existing in Cuba, and the Senator will remember that 87 Republicans in the House organized——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I was one of them.

Mr. KING. The Senator was one of them—organized under the name of "Republican Reconcentradoes"—and they served notice upon Mr. McKinley that unless a declaration of war was made against Spain—and that was after the *Maine* had been blown up—they would join with the Democrats, who were insisting upon a declaration of war, and would force some action upon the part of the Republican administration.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, I must yield to the Senator now, though I am very anxious to conclude.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator from Utah is partly right and partly wrong. I spoke of the attitude of the Republican House of Representatives in the Fifty-fourth Congress, and the attitude of the President of the United States at that time. We had the House of Representatives—I think the Senator from Utah was a Member of it, and I am very sure the Senator from Mississippi was.

Mr. KING. The Fifty-fifth Congress and the Fifty-sixth.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I wish to say that upon that particular subject you did not have the House of Representatives. The Democrats, plus a lot of Republicans, had it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator from Mississippi was the leader of the Democrats in the House and never knew what their attitude would be. But be that as it may, the Senator from Utah is partly right and partly wrong. There was never any question about going to war from the day the *Maine* was blown up. I was the first caller on President McKinley the morning the news came over the wire, and Mr. McKinley said to me, as he said to other callers, "It is impossible to put this off longer, much as I dread war. I have been a soldier and know the horrors of war; and although we are not as fully prepared as we ought to be, this means war." From that time there was no question about his attitude. We did urge him, as we prodded Cleveland in the early days. President Cleveland may have been wiser than we thought, but President McKinley was wiser always than we were, and when he finally went to war he did it in a manner to command the united support of his countrymen, and he did it in a way to reflect credit upon future generations of his countrymen. There was no attempt to make it a party war. He appointed Democrats and Republicans alike to responsible commands in the Army, and even old Confederate soldiers and prominent Democrats were appointed to every branch of the public service.

Mr. THOMAS. Again, Mr. President, I want to protest that I care nothing about the policy which led to the war with Spain. I am concerned only with the attitude of the Republican Party because of that war toward the election of 1898.

Senator LODGE again, at a dinner given by the Massachusetts Republican Club on October 26, 1898, is reported in the Springfield Daily Republican the next morning as having said:

> The policy of the United States, like the policy of all great nations, has been an advancing and an extending policy, and the question that confronts us to-day is not whether we shall enter upon a new policy, but how far we shall go under the circumstances and conditions created by the war. There is nothing new in the question. It is a question of degree. How far do we want to go? There is one man who has got to deal with that question who can not meet it with empty negatives, and that is the President of the United States. I have faith in him. I believe in his Americanism, and as the Constitution has charged him with this great duty, I, as one American citizen, am prepared to stand back and allow the constitutional representative to deal with it in the face of Europe and of the world, and to settle it, and it is my desire, and I think it should be the duty of every patriot, to stand behind him and to hold up his hands and not to cross him.

Mr. WATSON. What was the date of that?

Mr. THOMAS. The 26th of October.

Mr. WATSON. Eighteen ninety-eight?

Mr. THOMAS. Eighteen ninety-eight.

Mr. WATSON. The War with Spain was then over.

Mr. THOMAS. The War with Spain was over, so far as hostilities were concerned, but the Senator has forgotten that the Senator from Massachusetts on the 6th of October said it was not over. He said "hostilities have ceased, but this war is not over."

Mr. WATSON. Precisely; and did not the question then turn upon the ratification of a treaty of peace?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; it did.

Mr. WATSON. And was not Col. Bryan then on his way from Jacksonville, Fla., where he had resigned as colonel to come——

Mr. THOMAS. That was later.

Mr. WATSON. Was it not about that time?

Mr. THOMAS. No; it was in December.

Mr. WATSON. And at the time Senator LODGE made his speech was not the question of the ratification of a treaty of peace as to what should be done with the Philippines?

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator said——

Mr. WATSON. Was not Col. Bryan opposed to dealing with the Philippines as President McKinley proposed to deal with them, and was not my friend——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. And the payment of money.

Mr. WATSON. And the payment of the money that we agreed to pay Spain for the Philippines. My friend from Mississippi, at that time leader of the House, made the most ringing speech he ever made against the adoption of that peace treaty and the paying of that money. The Senate, of course, had to deal with the ratification of the treaty. The Senator from Mississippi, then the gentleman from Mississippi, used the words "world powering." He coined a new word and used it over and over again. He described the attitude of the Republican Party. The whole question at that time to which Senator LODGE's speech referred was the question of a peace treaty and as to what should be done with the Philippines.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I hope the Senator from Colorado will pardon me just this far. If I am charged with the guilt or offense, whichever it may be, of having opposed paying $20,000,000 to buy the Filipinos, as Tom Reed said, at $5 a head per Filipino, I voted against it; I have always opposed it; and in this age of self-determination if I had my way at the end of this war I would let the Filipinos determine for themselves whether they would be independent or not. But this has nothing to do with the question which the Senator from Colorado is discussing. He is merely showing, from George Washington's day down to now, including George Washington's day, that it always was argued by every party that when a given party was in control during a war, to use the language of President Lincoln, it was very inadvisable to "swap horses while crossing the stream."

Now, you took every advantage during the Spanish-American War—and the Senator from Michigan knows it—of the situation and the fact that William McKinley was President of the United States and was a Republican. You made every point you could out of that fact, and you argued all the time that the American people owed it to themselves to elect Republicans to the Senate and House because a Republican was President during the war. Now you come up here with a hypocrisy that is absolutely superb and argue that if any Democrat dares say that at this time a Democrat is the President of the United States he is guilty of partisanship.

I remember the Senator, then Representative SMITH of Michigan, in the House. I remember how every day he came up with that old slogan, "McKinley President, Americanism, Republicanism. Let us see the President through. Let us stand behind him all the time, and if we do not, we are not quite loyal." Do you not remember that? Of course you do. You know it as well as I. You are not going to stand here and tell me that you deny it.

Mr. WATSON. I will tell the Senator when he gives me the time.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I will give the Senator the time now, if the Senator from Colorado will permit it.

Mr. THOMAS. I want a little time.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am speaking in the time of the Senator from Colorado. If he will permit me——

Mr. WATSON. The Senator from Colorado insists on making his own speech.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I know. I am not making his speech, I am making mine, and I am challenging you to make yours.

Mr. WATSON. This is the situation——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield further?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Senator from Colorado would never forgive either one of us for making his speech. He is so much abler than either of us.

Mr. THOMAS. I am quite willing to yield, but I assured the Senator having charge of the bill that I would only detain the Senate for three-quarters of an hour.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I should like to hear from the Senator from Indiana on that particular question, if the Senator will permit.

Mr. WATSON. I shall be very glad to state in a few words what I have to say about it.

As far as the Spanish-American War is concerned, there was no party division. The South and North alike, Republicans and Democrats alike, were exceedingly loyal and behind the administration. That war was soon over. Then the question came

as to a treaty of peace. The question came as to what disposition should be made of the Philippines. The question came as to whether or not $20,000,000 should be paid, and on that question there was a strict party division. On that question Col. Bryan left his regiment and came here to influence the Senate On that question the gentleman from Mississippi, now the Senator who stands here in our front, opposed the retention of the Philippines and the payment of $20,000,000, so he says now, and all the leaders of the Democratic Party stood squarely against the proposition. The whole of the campaign to stand by the President turned on the question of the ratification of the treaty and as to what should be done with the Philippines. That is the history of the situation.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Now, the Senator from Indiana is mistaken. The Senator from Mississippi, at that time a Member of the House and at that time the floor leader of the Democratic Party, took the position, and the Senator will find it in the RECORD, that the United States Government, having made the pledge to pay the $20,000,000, we ought to pay it, and that although the House had the constitutional right to object to the treaty upon that ground the moral situation was such that I would not oppose it. I made a very short and a very vehement speech in favor of the payment of the money. Now, the Senator is mistaken about that.

Mr. WATSON. Just a moment right there.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I did oppose the retention of the Philippine Islands, and I oppose it now. I say now that the United States never had any moral right under God's sun to deal with $20,000,000 in the liberties of the Philippine people any more than Prussia had to deal in the liberties of Belgium to-day. I have no apology to make for that, but I did stand on the floor of the House as the Democratic floor leader and speak in behalf of the payment of the money, because we had promised it. I believe I said—I am not certain now whether I did or not, at any rate it is an old conviction of mine, and maybe I quoted it and maybe I did not—that gentlemen never quarrel about money.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I am very sorry that we are getting away from the subject matter of my remarks. I am not at all concerned at present with the causes of the Spanish-American War nor with the status of that war at the time of the election of 1898. I want to say, however, in reply to the Senator from Indiana that if it were true, politically true, morally true, in 1898 that the President should receive the support of his party for its reelection to power where only a treaty was involved, then a fortiori must that argument apply in a crisis like this, where not only treaties are involved, but the fate of nations. This war is not over; it perhaps has not yet reached its supreme crisis, and upon the assumption that the arguments which I have read are correct the reason for their application now is a hundredfold greater than it was at that time.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I do not want to be misunderstood by the Senator from Colorado. If Woodrow Wilson was a candidate for reelection as President of the United States on the 5th day of November in the present international situation I would want him to win. I would not lift my finger or say one word to influence the electorate against him. I think in this world crisis he has earned the gratitude and the confidence of the American people. But it is not for him to enter my State and say who shall represent that Commonwealth in the Senate of the United States. That is our business, and may safely be left to the people of Michigan.

Mr. THOMAS. That is an entirely different question. I have not touched upon it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Upon that question, while I differ with some of my associates and some on the other side, I feel that wherever a State, through its representation, has been loyal to the Government in this crisis the State should be permitted to pick its representatives in its own way, without Executive interference, and I hope it will do so.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, Mr. President, I am not going to yield any more, not because I want to be discourteous to my fellow Senator, but because I must get through.

The statement made by the Senator regarding his attitude if this were a presidential election does credit to his heart and to his head. I shall not enter into the local politics of any State, neither shall I excuse or defend anything that may have been done by the Executive with regard to subjects of that sort. I am concerned with the main proposition.

I now, Mr. President, call attention to an extract from the speech of another very distinguished Member of this body, himself a great Republican leader and statesman, and entitled, and has been entitled for many years, to speak for his party. I refer to the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE.]

The Philadelphia Inquirer of October 8, 1898, has the following headings:

Sloan continues triumphal tour.
Reed's earnest appeal.

Meaning the Speaker, I presume.

He urges every man who loves his country to strengthen McKinley's hands.

Senator PENROSE said on the 21st of October, 1898, as reported in the Philadelphia Inquirer, October 22, 1898:

In a few hours President McKinley will be your guest to witness the greatest pageant the country has ever known. In his recent speeches the President has appealed not to a partisan but to a national spirit. He asks the aid of the Nation. He seeks the support of every man who believes in the result of his administration. I appeal not to the martial spirit of the Nation, great as have been our victories on sea and land. I appeal to the quiet, sober thought of the American people, who do not go to war unless for honor and humanity. I make this appeal to you that you give loyal support to President McKinley and the Republican party in the spirit he has asked for it.

He wants Pennsylvania to remain the Keystone State for the Republican party. I do not hesitate to say that no one would mourn more than he disaster to the Republican party in this State, and I say advisedly that the loyal Republicans of Pennsylvania will be found on the 8th day of November holding up the hands and assisting in guiding this Nation, through the leadership of the Republican party, to our manifest and glorious destiny.

The Senator also said:

The conditions surrounding the present congressional election are unprecedented. Before the war with Spain Republicans were willing to concede that the next House of Representatives would probably be Democratic. * * * The successful prosecution of the war raised the hope that the Republican Party might carry Congress even in an "off" year; but the war speedily ended and the reaction even against that exists in many forms. Criticism of the conduct of any war is inevitable, and criticism of the conduct of the late war is no exception. * * * It is difficult to overestimate the supreme importance—

That is pretty strong language—

of sustaining the President of the United States and the Republican Party at the present critical crisis in our foreign relations. * * * While it can not be said that there have yet been formed any issues as to the details of our policies, yet there seems to be one thing upon which we are united, and that is upon the question of our national aggrandizement.

Mr. President, the Republican Members during that campaign were practically unanimous in urging the same duty upon the voter and for the same reason.

Let me quote from the New York Tribune of the 10th of October, 1898:

Everyone knows that there are wide differences between Spain and the United States respecting terms of peace, and that Spain will be immeasurably less likely to yield if led to believe that the American people have no longer the disposition to uphold their Government; nor can any doubt that the election of a Democratic Congress or even the defeat of the President's supporters in this State would go far to create that impression in Spanish minds. Hence it is that a renewal of the war with indefinite possibilities of interference by some European powers may be among the consequences dependent upon the action of the people at the ballot box.

The New York Sun said:

We are at war with Spain, peace commissions and peace jubilees to the contrary notwithstanding. Upon President McKinley and his administration are yet the burdens and responsibilities of a state of war not yet terminated. And upon all patriotic citizens of every political party rests the duty of supporting the administration and sustain the Nation's cause against all foreign enemies, both by voice and by vote.

The Philadelphia North American, November 8, 1898:

The voters will decide to-day whether the administration of President McKinley is to be condemned and the conduct of the war vetoed.

After the election and victory had been scored the same paper said:

It is a great triumph and must be a source of deep satisfaction and profound relief to our much-tried, much-enduring President. His policies and the policies of the party which he represents have been approved. He can now proceed, encouraged and unhindered, with their execution.

The Topeka Daily Capital, a paper which I think is now published and owned by the Republican nominee for the United States Senate and to whom I shall refer before I take my seat, in an editorial on November 3, 1898, took this view:

The Republican Party puts it to the good sense of the country whether or not the election of a Congress in sympathy with a President who has shown himself equal to every test would be for the best interests of the country at this time. * * * In such a campaign no American worthy of the franchise should neglect his privilege to vote, and every man who believes in stalwart, aggressive Americanism should hold up the hands of the stalwart American in the White House and see that his friends and neighbors do the same.

This sounds very much like the announcement which was so severely criticized by the Republican congressional committee.

[From the Chicago Tribune, Sunday, Nov. 6, 1898.]

No less important is it to the future prosperity of the country that the results of the War shall be faithfully preserved. Justice to ourselves as a Nation and justice to the memories of those whose lives have been sacrificed in maintaining American honor and American rights demand it. The attitude of President McKinley on this subject has been unanimously approved by the thinking and patriotic men of the Nation and he is entitled to the election of a Congress on

Tuesday next that will sustain his policy. Any other result will give encouragement to the enemies of the American Republic, not only in Spain, but in every country in Europe, and will delay infinitely the settlement of the question now under consideration by the Peace Commission in Paris. The effect would be the same that the election of a copperhead Congress would have had upon the rebel cause during the Civil War.

What intelligent, patriotic, sagacious voter—whatever his party, name, or creed—is willing to assume the responsibility of offering encouragement to the enemies of his country. Let all such—not only in every one of the 22 districts of Illinois but in every congressional district in the country—make it their duty to support candidates in harmony with the administration.

The Kansas City Star's editorial of November 3, 1898, said:

The people have stood together, regardless of politics, in supporting the Government in prosecuting the war, and there is sound logic in the contention of the Republicans that there should be no change in the control of Congress until the issues arising out of the war are settled.

We now cross the continent and take a paper on the Pacific coast, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer:

The people believe in and trust the President; they are proud of the achievements of the Army and Navy; they have confidence in the wisdom of the administration's policy and expressed their confidence by electing Members of Congress who will work in harmony with and aid the President in his plans.

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat observed:

A Congress hostile to the Executive would multiply the difficulties needlessly and dangerously.

Mr. President, I have read enough and quoted from a sufficient number of sources, I think, to justify the conclusion that if it was orthodoxy in 1898 to preach politically the Republican doctrine of standing by the President, it is not heterodoxy in 1918 for the Democratic Party to do the same thing.

It may be, Mr. President, that the arguments used in 1898 were specious and unsound. They proved conclusive. It may be that they are now specious and unsound, but I hope they will also prove conclusive, for every reason exists to-day in multiplied form which existed then for the recognition above everything else of the administration engaged in the supreme task of waging war against a public enemy.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I wish to say simply this, and I want to say it as an American, not as a Democrat. I think that the arguments made by the Republican politicians during the Spanish-American War were unfair, were morally and politically wrong, and that the arguments made by us now in imitation of them are also unfair and politically wrong. When the American people go to war with a foreign nation it is the American people who are at war and not one party or the other.

I always resented the efforts of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON] and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH], and they were both guilty during the Spanish-American War of trying to make it appear to the American people that it was a Republican war. It was not. It was an American war, and they knew it as well as I did, although you made the opposite impression to the best of your ability.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. That may be true, but——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Now, I am not going to imitate you. I am not going to imitate your bad example. This war is the war of the American people, and you Republicans over there have been loyal by as large a majority as the Democrats over here. When you attempt to read the riot act and say that the President interferes here and there because he demanded loyalty to America and to the Republic and to the administration, unless you tell the whole truth you are guilty of partial falsehood. The President has demanded it in Georgia and in Mississippi, and other Democratic States, and he has seen that the Democrats went by the board when they were not loyal to the American Republic. He has not confined his efforts to Republican politicians or officeholders in the Republican States, and you know that as well as I do. Now, let us be fair to one another.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Let us be fair to the President. I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. THOMAS. I thought the Senator had concluded his interruption.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I beg the Senator's pardon, I thought the Senator had concluded.

Mr. THOMAS. No.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Then, as soon as the Senator does conclude, I will ask for recognition. I thought the Senator had concluded. I have a few more words to say.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I shall occupy the time of the Senate for only a very few moments longer. I have seen it charged in this campaign that Democrats were supporting men of questionable loyalty, and that as a consequence they should not receive the sanction of public approval. That may be true; that is to say, there may be some men here and there against whom that charge may be made; I do not know; and for the purposes of my reference to the subject, I do not care.

But surely, Mr. President, he who complains of the beam in his neighbor's eye should not overlook the mote in his own. There are three candidates for the United States Senate running on a Republican ticket in their respective States, and the charge can be made as fully and as amply against each and every one of them as it can be made against any Democratic candidate of whom I have any knowledge, and there can be no question about the loyalty, the patriotism, and the Americanism of their opponents.

In Nebraska the Republican nominee is our colleague, Senator NORRIS, a most excellent man, a most useful Senator, an honest, upright public servant; but the Senator's record for pacifism is notorious. If I remember correctly, he placed a dollar mark upon the American flag in a speech which he made in this Chamber about the time of our declaration of war. I am satisfied that he regrets having said so. He did say so, however, and the man who is running against him has no such blemish upon his record at this time. Yet for the purpose of preventing an inconclusive peace, for the purpose of upholding the hands of the Democratic President, Nebraska Republicans are asked to support the sitting Member in this body against such a man.

The Republican nominee for Senator in the State of Kansas is the present governor, a most excellent man, a man against whom no man can say a word with respect to his integrity, his honesty, or his purity of purpose. But he is, or has been at least, notorious in his pacifism. It may be that his great majority in 1916 over his opponent had something to do with the fact that he was opposed to the war. I have never heard of any charge on our part of Gov. Capper. There can be no question about the loyalty of his opponent, the sitting Member, Senator THOMPSON, but Senator THOMPSON is to be defeated according to this program in order that his opponent, Gov. Capper, may come here and uphold the arms of the administration and see to it that a victorious peace, a peace with honor, that a satisfactory solution of all the great problems involved now and after the war shall be realized.

Take the candidate in Nevada, Mr. ROBERTS, the sitting Member in the House. He voted against the declaration of war. His record is of similar import to those of the gentlemen to whom I have referred. His opponent is Senator HENDERSON, upright, loyal, patriotic, a typical western American. In God's name, if because of an implication upon some candidate supported by the Democratic Party there should be a change of conditions, our opponents surely should be free from such conditions afterwards.

In my own State a campaign is being made against my colleague to the effect that he could probably not be trusted to make a conclusive and satisfactory peace, and hence his opponent should be elected. There is a man, Mr. President, who has been as faithful, as consistent, and as continued a supporter of this administration from the time of its commencement down to its present hour as can be found; a man of whose three sons—all the children he has—two are in France and one in command of a torpedo boat aiding in the convoy of our boys across the sea. There can be no question about his loyalty, no question whatever about his attitude with regard to every problem of the war, but it is seriously——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan rose.

Mr. THOMAS. Just one moment. But is is seriously declared in the political circles of my State that perhaps such a man would weaken, that he would not be true to the interests of his own country and of the administration should he come back here with credentials entitling him to be his own successor.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am glad to hear what the Senator from Colorado says about his colleague, who is an upright and honorable man, but, if pacifism is not the test of presidential favor, why undertake to interfere with a senatorial election in the State of Michigan?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I am not interfering, and I expressly declare that if, because of such a charge, the party to which I belong is unworthy to remain in control of Congress, then certainly the party which is supporting three such men in different parts of the country at least is open to the same suspicion.

Now, Mr. President, I have said all that I care to say. I desired to put into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the extracts which I have read and to make some remarks in connection with them.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I may refer, of course, to the situation in my own State without any selfish-

ness, because it is a well-known fact that I was not a candidate for reelection and that I have sustained the President at every turn since war was declared, and shall continue to do so until it is over; at least, so long as I stay here; but, nevertheless, I want to reassert that the tendencies of the Democratic Party seem to be pacific in one part of the country and full of virility and fight in another—rather a geographical test, made necessary by political expediency.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I had already begun what I thought would be a few uninterrupted remarks; I thought that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] was through, and I owe him an apology for not having better sized up the situation. I have already said that I would not imitate at this time the conduct of the Republican Members of the House and of the Senate during the Spanish-American War, when they made capital out of the war in behalf of themselves and McKinley at every step, as all of you know they did.

Mr. President, I remember the most disgraceful scene that ever occurred upon this floor. I remember a scene when a United States Senator stood in his place on this floor and announced that, in his opinion, "the American flag was marked all over with the dollar mark," and yet the Senator from Michigan and the Senator from Indiana are supporting that Senator right now.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Well, what is the party of the Senator from Mississippi doing in Michigan? They are supporting a pacifist, trying to defeat them in some and trying to elect them in others.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Henry Ford, at least, never said the American flag was marked all over with the dollar mark.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; of course not. He is a patriot and a most useful and honorable citizen, whose industrial achievements have astonished the world.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have no vote in Michigan. The only fault that Henry Ford ever committed was that he did hope for peace a long time after those of us who had better sense had despaired of it. That is all.

But he never announced, as a Senator did here on the floor, that the American flag in that controversy was covered all over with the dollar mark. He never announced, as did another Senator upon this floor, that the United States was stabbing Germany in the back while France and Great Britain were holding her down. There are a great many things that Henry Ford never did, amongst them those two things.

Mr. President, the other day I read a little Republican pronunciamento to the effect that the State of Pennsylvania was paying more income tax than all the "11 former rebel States." That is a part of the Republican propaganda to-day which has been sent abroad through the country—that Pennsylvania is paying more income tax than all the former 11 rebel States, putting in the word "rebel," you know, so as to catch the popular intonation at the North. I do not know whether it is true or not; I have never examined the statistics to see; but suppose it is true, it really proves that Pennsylvania has enjoyed a degree of prosperity, happiness, and financial enrichment that the 11 former "rebel States" have not enjoyed. If anybody from Pennsylvania thinks there is not a Mississippian who would not agree to pay his Pennsylvania taxes provided he could swap incomes, the Pennsylvanian is very much mistaken. We are perfectly willing to swap taxes and incomes, both, right now.

Now, what is all this baby act? Nonsense. It reminds me of a Kentuckian who once told me in the other House that Kentucky paid an undue share of the revenue on whisky and tobacco. Finally, when I got through with him on the floor of the House, he felt ashamed of it himself, and came to me and told me so. I said, "You may distill most of the liquor and you may raise most of the tobacco, but the people who really pay the taxes after all are the fellows who drink the whisky and who use the tobacco, and I want you to give Mississippi a little bit of the credit or discredit for a part of all that." [Laughter.] Finally he confessed that he believed he would.

Mr. President, the Senator has talked about Michigan. While I do not want to quarrel with the Senator about his colleague—and I am not going to say anything against his colleague, either, because I rather like him personally—but surely, if the Senator goes back to McKinley's time and the time of the Spanish-American War, and will count himself as a Republican at that time and his colleague as a Democrat, I think WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH, the Senator from Michigan, would have a perfect contempt for me if I did not say something about his colleague; but I am not going to do it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator can not say anything except good about my colleague, whose public record is creditable alike to himself and his country.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I may say that Mr. LENROOT cast a great many votes in the other body that were not in accord with yours or mine.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, Mr. President, the Senator is aiming at the Senator from Wisconsin, not my colleague, Senator TOWNSEND.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Votes that were not in accord with this war, and which were not in keeping with the spirit of this war; and the Senator from Michigan knows it as well as I do.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No, Mr. President, I do not know it. I deny that statement; it is not true. In the first place, he did not come to the House until the War with Spain was practically over. The Senator from Mississippi is mistaken and does my colleague an injustice.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am not talking about the Spanish-American War; I am talking about this war.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Well, Mr. President, he was in the Senate then.

Mr. WILLIAMS. He was not. He was in the other House during the first part of it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I beg the Senator's pardon. The Senator's memory is badly at fault.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Can I be that much mistaken?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I will tell you what is the matter with the Senator. Time has outrun him.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think I remember that your colleague voted against conscription and against the selective draft and against the ship-purchase bill.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. In the House of Representatives?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. Am I mistaken? If I am, I want to apologize.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator is mistaken; he is dreaming.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I really did not know it. I thought I was right about it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator is mistaken, and I know he will be glad to make the correction.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am very glad to make any correction.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The European war has been going on about four years.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I mean our part of the war. I am not talking about the war from its commencement.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Our own part of the war has been going on about a year and a half, and my colleague has been here for seven years, so that the Senator is greatly mistaken about that.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I did not know the Senator's colleague had been here for six years.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes, Mr. President, and his record in this war is as straight as a gun barrel and as clear as a bell. The Senator from Mississippi is greatly in error.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have myself been here ever since. The Senator is simply mistaken about it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. If the Senator will pardon me for one word about Michigan, I am not going to say anything in criticism of the candidates for Senator in Michigan—neither Mr. Ford nor Mr. Newberry. They are both honorable men.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have not referred to them.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I would not say anything against either of them, but the Democratic Party were guilty of a form of political kleptomania when they took their candidate for Senator out of the neutral zone of national affairs and made him the unwilling and exclusive candidate of the Democratic Party.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, the opening remarks of the Senator from Michigan led to a very "lame and impotent conclusion." He first said he did not want to say anything, and then he said a good deal about Mr. Ford. I shall not reply to it, for I do not care anything about the fight in Michigan.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator from Mississippi is scheduled for that fray. I hope he will talk free trade there as he does here.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Never mind about that, I am talking for myself now, not for somebody in Michigan. I do not know who they are and do not know what they said.

If I had to say anything about it, if I were to open my front door with an innocuous observation, as the Senator did, and then close the front door with a slam in the face of everybody, I would say that the Republican candidate in Michigan had spent a whole lot of money; but I do not want to say that; I want to keep it in reserve.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Then, do not say it, because the Senator is again wrong.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I will not take it back, because it is true.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; the Senator is wrong again.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Am I?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Republican candidate for Senator in Michigan says he has not spent a dollar, and says so in his affidavit

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the other fellows have spent it for him, then.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. A candidate can not always control his friends.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Now, Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. One word more; I am going to say this, that Mr. Newberry is an honorable, upright, high-minded man, served his country in the War with Spain, and was Secretary of the Navy in the Cabinet of President Roosevelt. He is now a prominent officer in the Navy and has two sons in the Army.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know a thing about him; I never even heard of him until he became a candidate.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, the Senator from Mississippi is facetious.

Mr. WILLIAMS. But I never heard of him, although that may have been my fault. There are a whole lot of people down here in the departments that I never heard of. I met one this morning when I went to the War Department who I did not know was in existence, but he was Assistant Secretary of War. Now, however, the Senator tells me that Mr. Newberry did not spend all this money; that his friends spent it for him.

Mr. President, I want to say that when a fellow spends his own money for office I have some respect for him, because it is his; it is his slave; it is his pocketbook; and he has a right to do what he pleases with it, provided he does not do anything unlawful; but when he becomes a cozener upon his friends and sponges upon them to the tune of a couple of hundred thousand dollars, or something mighty near like it, then I want to know who is going to be elected to the office when he is nominally elected—he or the men who contributed the money?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. How much did Col. House contribute to the compaigns in 1912 and 1916?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, I do not know.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. How much was contributed by Jones, of Illinois, who was put on the Federal Trade Commission and rejected by the Senate? But why should I pursue a theme so inexhaustible and a custom so well recognized by all parties? I deplore the use of money in politics, but the habit is quite general, as we all know.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The voice is the voice of the Senator from Michigan, but the feel is the feel of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN].

Mr. President, I do not know anything about that; I do not care anything about it; I am making no attack upon this man Amsberry, whom the Senator has mentioned. I know nothing about him and never heard of him until about two weeks ago when his name was mentioned in connection with a couple of hundred thousand dollars of campaign expenditures. I do not even know whether the charge is true, but the Senator tells me now that the man did not put up his own money, but that other people put it up for him.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; Mr. President, I did not even say that the Senator was drawing on his imagination.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I thought the Senator said his friends had done it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I know nothing about money in politics personally and have never used it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am not talking about your using money in politics; you never had it to use.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator is at last right.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I did not at any rate. I thought you were in the same class that I was—each equally "poor and honest."

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Possibly, although the Senator from Mississippi takes a great deal of pride in parading his poverty, and I find some difficulty in concealing mine. That is the difference between us. [Laughter.]

Mr. WILLIAMS. Now, Mr. President, I am not attacking this man Fullberry at all; I do not know anything about him. I am just saying that if a man spends his own money to get elected to office, it is at least his own money, and when he is elected to office he himself is elected, but that when a man spends the money of some one else to be elected to office I should like to know who is elected, he or the fellow who contributes the money? Nominally, of course, he is elected; but really, behind everything, the fellow who contributes the cash holds the office.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator can find innumerable instances in this administration where contributors have been rewarded.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not doubt it. I am not contending for one moment that Democrats are saints or Sunday-school teachers. They are about as wicked as you are, and mighty nearly as wicked as I am, and a whole lot of them are mighty near as wicked as this man Comeberry; but all the time, at least, they step out into the front and stand the punishment for their sins. A gentleman Democrat, you know, has this much about him, that whatever else he may be, he is not a hypocrite; he just stands out and takes his punishment.

Now, what I was calling attention to was that this man Mossberry had not even spent his own money, but he had spent the money of a lot of other people who had contributed, and just about the time that the Senator from New Jersey stepped up to give you those few pieces of information about people from other States who had also spent money.

I was thinking about that, and I also want to apologize to you personally now. I really thought that you and I were both "poor, but honest," but now you tell me that you are not poor at all. Did you not? Very well, then.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Poor, but proud.

Mr. WILLIAMS. At any rate, I thought that we were both in that old, honored class. You know I never read an old novel without noticing two sweet things; one of them begins with the hero telling that he is poor but honest, and I thought that that applied to both of us.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The hero was right.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not only the honest part, but the poor part; and then, at the end of the novel it is always said that they remained "happily married forever afterwards," which is also a very large invention of the artist's imagination. I thought we were both in that class.

Now, Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. We are not ready for that yet.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. We have got to pass the appropriation bill.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Very well; I withdraw the motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill has been reported to the Senate as amended. The question is on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole.

The amendments were concurred in.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, I move that the Senate request a conference with the House of Representatives on the bill and amendments and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. MARTIN of Virginia, Mr. UNDERWOOD, and Mr. WARREN the conferees on the part of the Senate.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that when the Senate adjourns to-day it stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to.

CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENT.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 4637) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I desire to say concerning the retirement bill that, as Senators know, it has been before the Senate for a number of days and has come to the point of a vote. I believe there is one amendment still pending, but none others have been offered, and I wish to appeal to the Senate for the early passage of the measure. I desire very much to go home; I made my arrangements a number of days ago to go home, and feel that I should do so; yet I can not do so as long as this vote is not taken. I ask the Senate, therefore, to let this bill come to a vote this afternoon.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I very much regret that I can not consent to have a vote upon this bill at this time and, very briefly, for this reason: There will be another amendment offered. My present intention, at least, is to offer as a substitute for the pending bill the bill reported out by the same committee two years ago or thereabouts. I am having prepared now a comparative statement bearing upon the cost of these two bills to the Government. This statement, in part, was promised me to-day, but I know that the actuary who has the matter in charge has been very busy and has not been able to complete it.

I am just as much in favor of a retirement bill as is the Senator from Tennessee, but I prefer the plan which was reported by the committee two years ago. This is a very serious move on the part of the Congress; it ought not to be passed until there has been a full consideration of it; and I trust that

the Senator from Tennessee will not unduly insist on the passage of the bill.

Mr. McKELLAR. As I understand, the Senator desires to secure some figures and to discuss the matter after he receives those figures. May I ask if the Senator feels that he will have those figures on Monday, and can we have a vote at that time?

Mr. POMERENE. I can not say as to that. There has been rather an understanding that the Senate would adjourn or recess. I have a number of engagements which will take me all of next week. I do not know whether or not I can be here on Monday, but I do not think that this legislation is going to suffer if there shall be a few days' delay. This matter can be taken up after the recess and can be disposed of in a very short time. I shall not ask for any undue delay; but I do think it is a serious proposition, and it ought to be very seriously considered by the Senate before we go to the extent of adopting a system one-half the cost of which is to be paid by the Government. It would be a most serious drain upon the finances of the country.

Mr. McKELLAR. I desire to say that the bill has been before the Senate now for about 10 days or 2 weeks and has been the unfinished business for some time. It has been read; it has been gone over; and the report on it has been available for quite a while. The question has been discussed for the last 20 years, as a matter of fact, and I presume every Senator has determined it for himself and has fixed views as to how he is going to vote. The bill is up to the very point of voting now. The only amendment of which I have heard is the pending amendment, to which I shall not make any serious objection; and there is no reason why the bill should not be voted upon in five minutes.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Except for the fact, if the Senator will allow me, that there are a number of Senators who are not ready to vote; and if the effort were made to vote now they would wish to debate it long enough to give time to enable others to come in. There are a number of us who have no idea of voting on this bill now, and will not vote for it as it stands. We have been busy with other matters. I know three members of the Finance Committee who have been so occupied with the revenue bill that they have not had a chance to study the bill which the Senator from Tennessee has in charge.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have no desire whatever to cut off any Senator.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. We want to know what it is going to cost; we want to study it. I do not mean the Senator has not presented the bill, but we have been so absorbed in other work that we have had no chance to digest it.

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator, then, thinks it is of enough importance, it is a matter for him to examine into, I think, and not ask the Senate to wait day after day and week after week.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. There are some of us who do not think the Senate is really in any hurry about passing the bill; certainly not until they have had an opportunity to examine and study it.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am quite sure of that. I think there has been a filibuster for the past several days, and perhaps for the last week or two.

Mr. POMERENE. I do not think the Senator means that exactly; there has not been any filibuster about it at all.

Mr. McKELLAR. Well, there seems to be an understanding not to vote, if it can be avoided.

Mr. POMERENE. This report was not presented while I was present in the Senate, and, in fact, I knew nothing about it until after I had gone to Ohio in connection with the liberty loan campaign. I came back here and found that it was the unfinished business. There has been a very limited discussion of this bill, and I am satisfied that it has not been given by many Senators the attention that it ought to have and that they will give it if they have an opportunity to do so.

Mr. McKELLAR. I will say to the Senator from Ohio and to the Senator from Georgia that I am perfectly willing to give any reasonable time if they will fix a time when we can vote. I do not think, however, that the bill ought to be kept before the Senate day after day, week after week, and perhaps month after month, as the unfinished business without action.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I am not ready myself to give consent as to a time to vote. I do not know enough about the matter, and other Senators do not. How much is it going to cost?

Mr. McKELLAR. I have explained that very fully. It is going to cost about $18,000,000 a year, of which the employees are going to put up half and the Government is going to put up the other half. I will say to the Senator, however, that the $9,000,000 that the Government pays will come back in increased efficiency in this way, and I can show it to the Senator.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I understand that.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to interrupt him? It is important that we should have an executive session, and it is impossible to reach an agreement to-night upon this matter.

Mr. McKELLAR. I understand that, and I am going to yield for that purpose; but, if possible, I think we ought to come to some agreement. I want to ask for a unanimous-consent agreement.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It is impossible to-night. We can not do anything along that line to-night.

Mr. McKELLAR. What I want to do is to fix some future date when we can vote.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. We can not do it to-night without a roll call.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. There are half a dozen of us who would object to fixing a time to vote. We just have not had a chance to study the measure.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, the only thing I can say is that I hope to keep the bill before the Senate until we do get a vote on it, and I shall do everything in my power to keep it before the Senate until we get a vote on it. I think we are entitled to a vote, and I do not think Senators ought to ask for continual postponements simply because they have not examined into it. I think they ought to examine into it. It is an important matter, and I hope they will examine into it. I want them to examine into it.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. We have been doing something more important.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 15 minutes spent in executive session, the doors were reopened.

RECIPROCAL MILITARY SERVICE WITH ITALY.

During executive session the following convention was ratified, and, on motion of Mr. HITCHCOCK, the injunction of secrecy was removed:

To the Senate:

I transmit herewith, to receive the advice and consent of the Senate to its ratification, a convention between the United States and Italy, signed on August 24, 1918, stipulating for the reciprocal military service of citizens of the United States in Italy and Italian subjects in the United States.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, October 14, 1918.

The PRESIDENT:

The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President with a view to its transmission to the Senate, if his judgment approved thereof, to receive the advice and consent of that body to its ratification, a convention between the United States and Italy, signed at Washington on August 24, 1918, stipulating for the reciprocal military service of citizens of the United States in Italy and Italian subjects in the United States.

This convention has been negotiated in conjunction with the War Department and has its approval.

Respectfully submitted.

ROBERT LANSING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 28, 1918.

The President of the United States of America and His Majesty the King of Italy being convinced that for the better prosecution of the present war it is desirable that citizens of the United States in Italy and Italian citizens in the United States shall either return to their own country to perform military service in its army or shall serve in the army of the country in which they remain, have resolved to enter into a convention to that end, and have accordingly appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America, Robert Lansing, Secretary of State of the United States, and His Majesty the King of Italy, Count Vincenzo Macchi de Cellere, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United States, who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in proper form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

All male citizens of the United States in Italy and all male citizens of Italy in the United States shall, unless before the time limited by this convention they enlist or enroll in the forces of their own country or return to the United States or Italy, respectively, for the purpose of military service, be subject to military service and entitled to exemption to discharge therefrom

under the laws and regulations from time to time in force of the country in which they are: *Provided*, That in respect to citizens of the United States in Italy the ages for military service shall be the ages specified in the laws of the United States prescribing compulsory military service, and in respect to Italian citizens in the United States the ages for military service shall be for the time being 20 to 44 years, both inclusive.

ARTICLE II.

Citizens of the United States and Italian citizens within the age limits aforesaid, who desire to enter the military service of their own country, must enlist or enroll, or must leave Italy or the United States, as the case may be, for the purpose of military service in their own country, before the expiration of 60 days after the date of the exchange of ratifications of this convention, if liable to military service in the country in which they are at said date; or if not so liable, then, before the expiration of 30 days after the time when liability shall accrue; or, as to those holding certificates of exemption under Article III of this convention, before the expiration of 30 days after the date on which any such certificate becomes inoperative unless sooner renewed; or, as to those who apply for certificates of exemption under Article III, and whose applications are refused, then before the expiration of 30 days after the date of such refusal, unless the application be sooner granted.

ARTICLE III.

The Government of the United States and the Government of Italy may, through their respective diplomatic representatives or by other authorities appointed for that purpose by the respective Governments, issue certificates of exemption from military service to citizens of the United States in Italy and Italian citizens in the United States, respectively, upon application or otherwise, within 60 days from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this convention or within 30 days from the date when such citizens become liable to military service in accordance with Article I, provided that the applications be made or the certificates be granted prior to their entry into the military service of either country. Such certificates may be special or general, temporary or conditional and may be modified, renewed, or revoked, in the discretion of the Government granting them. Persons holding such certificates shall, so long as the certificates are in force, not to be liable to military service in the country in which they are.

ARTICLE IV.

The Government of the United States and the Italian Government will, respectively, so far as possible, facilitate the return of citizens of Italy and of the United States who may desire to return to their own country for military service, but shall not be responsible for providing transport or the cost of transport for such persons.

ARTICLE V.

No citizen of either country who under the provisions of this convention enters the military service of the other shall by reason of such service be considered, after this convention shall have expired or after his discharge, to have lost his nationality or to be under any allegiance to the United States or to His Majesty the King of Italy, as the case may be.

ARTICLE VI.

This agreement while in force holds in abeyance any provisions inconsistent therewith in the treaty of February 26, 1871, or in any other treaty between the United States and Italy.

ARTICLE VII.

The present convention shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States and by His Majesty the King of Italy, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington or at Rome as soon as possible. It shall come into operation on the date on which the ratifications are exchanged and shall remain in force until the expiration of 60 days after either of the contracting parties shall have given notice of termination to the other, whereupon any citizen of either country incorporated into the military service of the other under this convention shall be, as soon as possible, discharged therefrom.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate at Washington the 24th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1918.

ROBERT LANSING. [SEAL.]
MACCHI DI CELLERE. [SEAL.]

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, October 28, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 24, 1918.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Alfred Franklin, of Phoenix, Ariz., to be collector of internal revenue for the district of New Mexico, in place of Lewis T. Carpenter, resigned.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

Edwin R. Holmes, of Yazoo City, Miss., to be United States district judge for the northern and southern districts of Mississippi, vice Henry C. Niles, deceased.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT ATTORNEYS.

Harvey A. Baker, of Providence, R. I., to be United States attorney, district of Rhode Island. A reappointment, his term having expired.

Edward C. Day, of Helena, Mont., to be United States attorney, district of Montana, vice B. K. Wheeler, resigned.

John E. Laskey, of the District of Columbia, to be United States attorney, District of Columbia. A reappointment, his term having expired October 22, 1918.

Myron H. Walker, of Grand Rapids, Mich., to be United States attorney, western district of Michigan. A reappointment, his term having expired.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

James A. Baggett, of Big Spring, Tex., to be United States marshal, northern district of Texas, vice John L. Terrell, deceased.

CLERK OF THE UNITED STATES COURT FOR CHINA.

James P. Connolly, of Omaha, Nebr., to be clerk of the United States Court for China.

COAST GUARD.

First Lieut. Philip H. Scott to be a captain in the Coast Guard from September 27, 1918.

The following-named second lieutenants to be first lieutenants in the Coast Guard from September 27, 1918:

Wales A. Benham and
Raymond L. Jack.

The following-named cadet engineers to be third lieutenants of engineers in the Coast Guard from the 1st day of October, 1918:

Louis B. Olsen,
Joseph H. Seymour,
Roger C. Heimer,
Laurence G. Bean,
William J. Kossler,
Joseph S. Walker,
Lester E. Wells,
Ulysses V. Henderson, and
Henry G. Kunz.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Dr. Bertrand Earle Roberts to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to take effect from date of oath.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY FOR THE PERIOD OF THE EXISTING EMERGENCY.

To be lieutenant generals with rank from October 16, 1918.

Maj. Gen. Hunter Liggett, United States Army.
Maj. Gen. Robert L. Bullard, United States Army.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

MEDICAL CORPS.

To be majors with rank from August 3, 1918.

Capt. Herbert L. Quickel.
Capt. Chester D. Allen.
Capt. David E. Smith.
Capt. Leon A. Fox.
Capt. Charles M. Hunter.
Capt. Rossner E. Graham.
Capt. Joseph H. Francis.
Capt. Charles K. Berle.
Capt. George C. H. Franklin.
Capt. William T. Weissinger.
Capt. Samuel M. Browne.
Capt. Frank L. Cole.
Capt. Gerald D. France.
Capt. Miner F. Felch.
Capt. Rowland D. Wolfe.
Capt. Bascom F. Morris.
Capt. Clarke Blance.
Capt. William A. Foertmeyer.
Capt. Cornelius O. Bailey.
Capt. Max R. Stockton.
Capt. Frank C. Griffis.

Capt. Frederick H. Mills.
Capt. Henry C. Bierbower.
Capt. Val E. Miltenberger.
Capt. Edgar F. Haines,

To be majors with rank from September 18, 1918.

Capt. John P. Kelly.
Capt. Edgar J. Farrow.
Capt. Herbert L. Freeland.

To be captains with rank from August 3, 1918.

First Lieut. Herbert L. Quickel.
First Lieut. Chester D. Allen.
First Lieut. David E. Smith.
First Lieut. Leon A. Fox.
First Lieut. Charles M. Hunter.
First Lieut. Rossner E. Graham.
First Lieut. Joseph H. Francis.
First Lieut. Charles K. Berle.
First Lieut. George C. H. Franklin.
First Lieut. William T. Weissinger.
First Lieut. Samuel M. Browne.
First Lieut. Frank L. Cole.
First Lieut. Gerald D. France.
First Lieut. Miner F. Felch.
First Lieut. Rowland D. Wolfe.
First Lieut. Bascom F. Morris.
First Lieut. Clarke Blance.
First Lieut. William A Foertmeyer.
First Lieut. Cornelius O. Bailey.
First Lieut. Max R. Stockton.
First Lieut. Frank C. Griffis.
First Lieut. Frederick H. Mills.
First Lieut. Henry C. Bierbower.
First Lieut. Val E. Miltenberger.
First Lieut. Edgar F. Haines.

To be captains with rank from September 18, 1918.

First Lieut. John P. Kelly.
First Lieut. Edgar J. Farrow.
First Lieut. Herbert L. Freeland.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY.

Acting Pay Clerk Robert G. Robeson to be an assistant paymaster in the Navy with the rank of ensign, for temporary service, from the 15th day of August, 1918, to correct the date from which he takes rank as previously confirmed.

The following-named acting pay clerks to be assistant paymasters in the Navy with the rank of ensign, for temporary service, from the 15th day of September, 1918:

Clifford W. Waters and
Michael A. Sprengel.

The following-named acting pay clerks to be assistant paymasters in the Navy with the rank of ensign, for temporary service, from the 1st day of October, 1918:

William Elliott,
Joseph E. Ford,
Frank M. Sherrill,
James E. Hunt,
William R. Diehl,
Hugh J. McManus,
Aner Erickson,
William E. Woods,
Jesse W. Hilts,
Roe L. Flowers,
Olaf Olsen,
Alexander W. Urquhart,
Leo A. Ketterer,
John J. Carroll,
Erwin A. McKee,
Edward H. Hulit,
Nicholas A. Brown,
Tate Mayhall,
George L. Aulmann,
John W. Overand,
Evans D. Steger,
Howard N. Hill,
Charles H. Converse,
Alonzo A. Munsell,
William R. Davidson,
Leo V. Flavell,
William M. Rogers,
Samuel R. Ullman,
Archie J. Lourie,
Isidore R. Meyer,
Cornelius A. Brinkmann,
Gilbert A. Jones,
Albert W. Alderd,
Charles H. Cameron,
Paul J. Weiss,
David A. Cain,
Thayer B. Thomas,
Jacob H. Kyger,
Joseph T. Lareau,
Marion McCray,
William J. Martin,
Paul K. Coons,
Roy L. Koester, and
James A. Harris.

The following-named warrant officers to be ensigns in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of September, 1918:

Clyde D. Dahlman,
Carl Axelson,
Levi C. Houston,
Albert A. Elliott,
William S. Johnson,
Peter P. Zeller,
John R. J. Le Roy,
Cornelius J. O'Connor,
Frederick A. Olsen,
William G. Sullivan,
John J. Dallier,
Ernest C. Fiedler,
John Francis Shea,
Frank E. Powers,
John S. Bessent,
Clyde W. Jordan,
John F. Welch,
Charles E. Carlson,
Thomas J. Costello,
Edward B. Peterson,
Charles R. Jeffs,
Thomas J. Quinn,
Frank P. Moore,
Albert J. Wheaton,
Glenn C. Provost,
Arthur Brown,
Charley F. Martin,
Arthur S. Fenton,
Merion E. Hair,
Julius J. Lorzing,
Clinton W. Gray,
Edward L. Gench,
George L. Morin,
William R. Simpson, jr.,
Luttie E. Tappen, and
Clarence E. Young.

The following-named ensigns of the United States Naval Reserve Force to be ensigns in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of September, 1918:

Robert A. McCloud,
Philip L. Emerson,
Rowland G. Evans, and
William E. Clow, jr.

The following-named warrant officers to be ensigns in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of October, 1918:

Fred A. Luenser,
Clyde W. Haskins,
Charles E. Chamberlain,
Calvin A. Cole,
Guy R. Bostain,
Leo L. Waite,
Roy A. Jones,
Lawrence S. Tichenor,
Wallace Cooper,
Walter A. Irwin,
Christian W. Manegold,
Wilfred G. Lebeque,
Frank L. Burgess, and
George R. Milbourn.

The following-named enlisted men to be ensigns in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of October, 1918:

Elmer D. Lundberg,
Charles C. Gillis,
Carl B. Fields, and
Philip H. Taft.

The following-named ensigns of the United States Naval Reserve Force to be ensigns in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of October, 1918:

Henry R. Wharton, jr.,
Donald D. Leonard,
Ford K. Lucas,

Julian P. Van Vorst,
Joseph R. Tobin,
Abraham S. Lewis,
Charles G. Lade,
Carletin H. Crawford,
Roy O. Hill,
Thomas F. Kilkenny,
Gordon J. Morrow,
Thomas R. Wells,
Thomas A. West,
Travis F. Beale,
Edgar R. Hill,
Clinton E. Shepard,
Ralph Hicks,
Lloyd M. Thornton,
Ned L. Chapin,
Harold C. Nye,
Hermann P. Knickerbocker, and
Arthur G. Latimer.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of August, 1918:

Philip R. Baker,
Harvey S. Haislip,
Harrison R. Glennon,
Ralph E. Dennett,
George F. Parrot, jr.,
Charles G. McCord,
Alfred S. Wolfe,
Ralph C. Lawder,
Eugene T. Oates,
Roy W. Lewis,
Marion C. Cheek,
Richard S. Field,
Robert P. Molton, jr.,
William J. Butler,
Robert H. English,
Jay K. Esler,
George D. Murray,
Carroll Q. Wright, jr.,
Oliver M. Read, jr.,
Joseph McE. B. Smith,
George J. McMillin,
William H. O'Brien, jr.,
Howard F. Kingman,
Howard S. Keep,
James G. B. Gromer,
Bushrod B. Howard, and
Rivers J. Carstarphen.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 21st day of September, 1918:

Calvin H. Cobb,
Robert B. Simons,
Lee C. Carey,
Norman Scott,
Glenn A. Smith,
Donald C. Godwin,
Richard P. Myers,
Webb C. Hayes,
Howard D. Bode,
Jay L. Kerley,
Harold E. Snow,
Robert M. Doyle, jr.,
Richard H. Booth,
Morton L. Deyo,
Harold T. Bartlett,
Robert M. Hinckley,
Ralph S. Parr,
Shirley A. Wilson,
Charles H. McMorris,
John A. Byers,
Virgil C. Griffin, jr.,
John H. Holt, jr.,
Henry M. Kieffer,
William A. Corley,
Benjamin Perlman,
Howard H. Good,
Ernest G. Small,
Carleton H. Wright,
Donald Boyden,
Robertson J. Weeks,
Herman E. Fischer,
Mark W. Larimer,
Willard E. Cheadle,
Edward P. Nickinson,
Thomas L. Gatch,
Harry G. Patrick,
Alfred E. Montgomery,
Andrew C. Bennett,
Frederick Baltzly,
Allen H. Guthrie,
Eugene P. A. Simpson,
Oliver W. Bagby,
Lawrence P. Bischoff,
James C. Clark,
James C. Monfort,
Robert D. Moore,
Carl G. Gilliland,
Harold Dodd,
Whitley Perkins,
Warren A. Shaw,
Robert A. Hall,
Guy C. Hitchcock,
Anton B. Anderson,
Ralph S. Wentworth,
George L. Woodruff,
Mahlon S. Tisdale,
Schuyler Mills,
Edmund A. Crenshaw, jr.,
James L. King,
William D. Taylor,
Davis De Treville,
Homer C. Wick,
John P. Dalton,
Louis P. Wenzell,
Robert S. Haggart,
Raymond E. Kerr,
Philip Van Horn Weems,
George H. Fort,
Lunsford L. Hunter,
Earnest W. Broadbent,
Forrest U. Lake,
Robert R. Thompson,
Elliott Buckmaster,
Nelson W. Hibbs,
Emory P. Eldredge,
Albert B. Sanborn,
Ellis M. Zacharias,
Clarence Gulbranson,
Wentworth H. Osgood,
Donald F. Patterson,
Harold B. Grow,
Donald W. Hamilton,
Herbert G. Gates, jr.,
Heister Hoegewerff,
John H. Falge,
Louis E. Denfeld,
Ralph W. Holt,
George W. D. Dashiell,
Emory W. Coil,
Nathan B. Chase,
George W. La Mountain,
Alexander W. Loder,
Harold W. Scofield,
Carroll M. Hall,
William S. Hogg, jr.,
Beriah M. Thompson,
John L. Fox,
Earl R. Morrissey,
Stephan B. Robinson,
William G. Greenman,
Harold H. Little,
Horatio J. Peirce,
Hamilton Harlow,
Hugh C. Frazer,
Thales S. Boyd,
James A. Crutchfield,
Daniel E. Barbey,
Charles P. Mason,
John J. Brown,
Grady B. Whitehead,
Carl K. Martin,
Campbell D. Edgar,
Harry P. Curley,
John P. Bowden,
De Witt C. Ramsey,
Baylis F. Poe,
Roscoe E. Schuirman,
Charles K. Osborne,

Abraham C. Ten Eyck,
Ingram C. Sowell,
Francis E. M. Whiting,
Charles A. Lockwood, jr.,
John K. Richards, jr.,
William H. Burtis,
Stanley G. Womble,
Paul S. Theiss,
John Wilbur,
Charles S. Alden,
Robert E. P. Elmer,
Charles F. Greene,
George S. Gillespie,
Garnet Hulings,
Charles W. McNair,
Otto M. Forster,
Louis R. Ford,
Leonard N. Linsley,
William H. P. Blandy,
Henry L. Abbott,
James C. Jones, jr.,
Elmer L. Woodside,
Herman E. Kelsker,
Glenn B. Davis,
Bruce G. Leighton,
Palmer H. Dunbar, jr.,
Roy J. Wilson,
Ray H. Wakeman,
Carl E. Hoard,
Harold C. Van Valzah,
Charles N. Ingraham,
Adolph V. S. Pickhardt,
Stewart F. Bryant,
Paul A. Stevens,
Kenneth R. R. Wallace,
George W. Wolf,
William B. Jupp,
Robin B. Daughtry,
William I. Causey, jr.,
Walter Seibert,
Frank L. Johnston,
Richard H. Knight,
George L. Greene, jr.,
Hugh L. White,
Reginald S. H. Venable,
Norman C. Gillette,
John A. Brownell,
Thomas Shine,
Roy Dudley,
Laurence Wild,
Lloyd R. Gray,
Herbert K. Fenn,
Solomon H. Geer,
Paul Hendren,
Chapman C. Todd, jr.,
Henry M. Briggs,
Paul Cassard,
Joseph Y. Dreisonstok,
Walter O. Henry,
John M. Kates,
Carl T. Hull,
Eric F. Zemke, and
George M. Tisdale.

Lieut. Edward J. O'Keefe to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 27th day of September, 1918.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of August, 1918:

William E. O'Connor,
William Twigg, jr.,
Frederick R. Kalde,
Burton W. Lambert,
Allen I. Seaman,
William D. Dadd,
Charles Swanberg,
Malcolm C. Davis,
William H. Muehlhause,
Leroy Neil,
Oscar D. Parker,
John A. Ward,
John C. Hines,
John Gallagher,
George W. Robbins,
Cyrus S. Hansel,
Ernest A. Healy,
Frederick G. Keyes,
William Eberlin,
Frederick Petry,
John Meyer,
Frederick Evans,
Godfrey P. Schurz,
Clarence L. Tibbals,
Thomas J. Bristol,
William Taylor,
Michael J. Breshahan,
Lafayette P. Guy,
Edmond Delavy,
Frank J. Mayer,
Horace DeB. Dougherty,
James J. Joyce,
Joseph A. Rasmussen,
Warner K. Bigger,
Frank Schultz,
Joseph Sperl,
David F. Mead,
Henry A. Lowell,
Charles Antrobus,
Oliver T. Miller,
August Logan,
John J. Coyle,
George F. Blass,
Walter S. Belknap,
George C. Lacock,
Anton Hengst,
John W. Boldt,
Fred San Soucie,
Howard H. Chambers,
Percy R. Abrams,
Vincent F. Le Verne,
Charles E. Briggs,
George B. Llewellyn,
William C. Milligan,
Frederick J. Legere,
James Reilly,
John H. MacDonald,
William A. James,
William A. Fulkerson,
Jerry C. Holmes,
Conrad T. Goertz,
Edwin R. Wroughton,
Nathan E. Cooke,
Lewis H. Cutting, and
Ernest L. Jones.

Lieut. (junior grade) William C. Carpenter to be a lieutenant in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 18th day of August, 1918.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 21st day of September, 1918:

Murry Wolffe,
Charles L. Greene,
Arthur T. Brill,
Ward T. Hall,
Michael Garland,
Erich Richter,
John C. Heck,
James L. McKenna,
George W. Waldo,
Anthony E. Bentfeld,
Arthur Boquett,
John Harder,
Sigvart Thompson,
Stephen A. Farrell,
William A. Vick,
John J. Welch,
Arthur S. Rollins,
Charles C. Stotz,
John C. Maxon,
Bailey E. Rigg,
Walter A. Buckley,
Frank E. Nelson,
Norman McL. McDonald,
Philip S. Flint,
Charles W. Wagner,
Henry A. Reynolds,
George F. Veth,
James E. Kemmer,
James A. Newell,
William W. Holton,

Fred C. Wolf,
Charles J. Naprstek,
Max Bayer,
Paxton Hotchkiss,
Leon W. Knight,
Harry M. Peaco,
Henry H. Beck,
Frank F. Webster,
John Reber,
Charles N. Koch,
Fred T. Rider,
William S. Evans,
Sofus K. Sorensen,
George J. Romulus,
Arthur L. Hecykell,
Charles King,
Quintus R. Thomson, jr.,
Ora A. Martin,
John A. Pierce,
Stephen Ingham,
William R. Spear,
William T. Shaw,
Roy K. Madill,
William R. McFarlane,
Nils Anderson,
Melvin C. Kent,
John E. Armstrong,
Albert C. Fraenzel,
William A. Martin,
Ralph B. Wallace,
James Roberts,
Joseph D. Glick,
Anthony Prastka,
Joseph W. Birk,
Edmund DuV. Duckett,
Raymond A. Walker,
Hermann Jorgensen,
Charles F. Dame,
Arthur J. Holton,
Vincent Benedict,
Ola D. Butler,
Edgar C. Wortman,
Joseph O'N. Johnson,
David Duffy,
Clyde H. McLellon,
Noel Chatillon,
William F. Schlegel,
Lee W. Drisco,
James J. Delany,
William H. Stephenson,
Arthur E. Rice,
John P. Millon,
Frank L. Elkins,
Sol Shaw,
Ernest J. Leonard,
Thomas J. Sullivan,
John P. Sasse,
Will Mueller,
John H. Chase,
Will S. Holloway,
George J. Blessing,
James D. Brown,
Patrick H. Cassidy,
Franklin A. Manuel,
Frank Flaherty,
Frank G. Waugh,
Arthur A. F. Alm,
Bennett McC. Proctor,
James Donaldson,
John A. Silva,
James Hauser,
John E. Sullivan,
Charles A. Armstrong,
Chauncey R. Doll,
James S. Trayer,
Gregoire F. J. Labelle,
Theodore Anderson,
Henry Hartley,
Eugene J. Frieh,
Philip J. Kelly,
Andrew G. C. Dafgard,
Alfred Doucet,
William E. Benson,
Fred C. A. Plagemann,
Peter J. Gundlach,
Albert M. Hinman,
Leon W. Becker,
William Cox,
Stephen A. Loftus,
Herman C. Schrader,
Asa Van R. Watson,
William A. Eaton,
James M. MacDonnell,
Herbert R. Mytinger,
Harold A. Turner,
Charles B. Bradley,
Curry E. Eason,
Samuel C. Washington,
Brice H. Mack,
James A. Featherston,
Walter N. Fanning,
Herbert J. Meneratti,
Niels Drustrup,
Abraham De Somer,
George Bradley,
Donald McDonald,
Warren E. Magee,
Robert J. Kingsmill,
Charles F. Merrill,
Charles B. Shackelton,
Benjamin F. Ranger,
Robert C. McClure,
Carl S. Chapman,
George C. Martin,
Wilmer W. Weber,
Mark Strosk,
William W. Wilkins,
Helge Ohlsson,
Elroy G. True,
James W. O'Leary,
Warren H. Langdon,
Andrew C. Skinner,
Emery Smith,
Benjamin F. Maddox,
George Keeser,
John A. Rogers,
Alfred E. Raue,
John C. Richards,
Frank W. Yurasko,
Albert H. Mellien,
Philip A. Astoria,
Thomas A. Graham,
William A. Mason,
Everest A. Whited,
John F. Murphy,
Charles A. Kohls,
Clarence R. Rockwell,
Paul E. Kuter,
William E. Snyder,
David McWhorter, jr.,
George H. Kellogg,
Elery A. Zehner,
Samuel E. Lee,
Frank Stinchcomb,
Simon L. Shade,
Ludwig W. Gumz,
Wildon A. Ott,
Hugh W. Nimmo,
Junius G. Sanders,
Frederick B. Webber,
George T. Campbell,
Charles A. Dannenmann,
Harold G. Billings,
Albert E. Freed,
Frank Kinne,
Andrew N. Anderson,
Frank Kerr,
Arthur H. Cummings,
Harry J. Hansen,
Rony Snyder,
Newcomb L. Damon,
Jack K. Campbell,
George Kleinsmith,
Albert G. Martin,
Daniel McCallum,
John M. Buckley,
John J. Madden,
Robert Semple,
Henry H. Fowler,
Stanley H. Sacker,

Elmer J. McCluen,
John M. Kirkpatrick,
Clyde Lovelace,
Claude B. Arney,
Martin Dickinson,
Jesse J. Alexander,
John J. Enders,
Jesse J. Oettinger,
William H. Farrel,
Thomas M. Buck,
John Shottroff,
John Whalen,
Raymond C. McDuffie,
Oscar Benson,
William Martin,
John S. Conover,
Fayette Myers,
John G. M. Johnson,
Frederick Clifford,
Alexander Anderson,
Frederick T. Walling,
Charles V. Kane,
Joseph M. Gately,
Joseph H. Gerrior,
George S. Dean,
Ralph A. Laird,
Charles F. Fielding,
Collins R. Buchner,
Warwick M. Tinsley,
Archie R. Wolfe,
Francis P. Brewer,
Henry A. Stuart,
Aaron Eldridge,
Judson E. Scott,
Clyde H. Dougherty,
Edward L. Newell,
Robert B. England,
Howard S. Raber,
George O. Farnsworth,
Lars O. Peterson,
Omar B. Earle,
Alfred R. Eubanks,
Thomas Flynn,
John F. Piotrowski,
Alexander B. Holman,
Ralph A. Scott,
Michael Burke,
Irwin V. Herin,
William F. Schlesinger,
Herman A. Bauchot,
Earle G. Gardner,
William W. Eagers,
William K. Johnstone,
John F. Craig,
Frank T. Green,
Augustus K. Goffe,
Robert S. Savin,
William J. Graham,
Emmette F. Gumm,
George B. Evans,
Edwin Fisher,
Charles O. Bain,
Clarence H. Fogg,
Joseph A. Flynn,
James J. Lucas,
Thomas Southall,
Bernard S. Riley,
George C. Neilsen,
Sidney C. Seale,
Joseph C. Herman,
Thomas G. Shanahan,
George R. Blauvelt,
Eric P. Teschner,
Erich O. Tauer,
Jens Nelson,
Harry A. Bryan,
Edwin H. Briggs,
George Schneider,
Frank V. Shepard,
Warren L. Graeff,
Hector L. Ross,
Emmet L. Bourke,
John H. Chinnis,
Earl V. Hand,
Alonzo W. Esworthy,
Abram L. Broughton,
Robert I. Hart,
Albert F. Blake,
Charles Waters,
William F. Morris,
Jesse S. Hooper,
Edward I. Dailey,
John Heep,
James H. Cain,
Hugh J. Finn,
Carl J. Hanson,
William H. Wright,
Thomas T. Emerton,
Charles F. Ware,
John R. McMeekin,
Edgar T. Hammond,
John R. McKean,
John D. Thompson,
Raymond R. Smith,
Clarence E. Williams,
George E. Tarbell,
Albert Wing,
John L. Scheidemen,
Harold A. Clough,
Earl Swisher,
Albert C. Buck,
Walter L. Hawk,
Jesse L. Harmer,
Fred H. Stewart,
John W. Ross,
Francis H. McAdoo,
Almy C. Maynard,
James A. Burbank,
Ralph L. Dodge,
Charles K. Cobb, jr.,
Joseph L. Day,
Raymond L. Watrous,
Bulkeley L. Wells,
Winn D. Faris,
Walter R. O'Sullivan,
Chester L. Nichols,
Jay H. Keller,
John S. Brayton, jr.,
Thomas M. Leovy,
Conant Wait,
John Hemphill,
Charles R. Westbrook,
Richard S. Maynard,
Robert M. Curtis,
Ernest Gregory,
George T. Jarvis,
Thomas Robins, jr.,
Arthur C. Saxe,
George G. Jones,
Samuel E. Raymond,
Lyman S. King,
Evans R. Dick, jr.,
Miles Wambaugh,
Herbert M. Corse,
George E. McQuestion,
Arthur W. Ford,
DeLancy Nicoll, jr.,
Lewis G. Smith,
Schuyler Dillon,
Paul A. Scherer,
Frederick A. Merrill,
Douglas G. Lovell,
William F. Kurfess,
William W. Slaymaker,
Harold F. Fultz,
Alfred G. Gennert,
Edwin Cowles,
Sydney P. Clark,
John A. Burgwin,
Frank T. Hogg,
Walter H. Wheeler, jr.,
Junius S. Morgan,
Folke E. Sellman,
Walter P. Shiel,
Arthur M. Tschirgi,
Wayne F. Palmer,
George D. Howell, jr.,
Donald McClench,
Charles Higginson,
Clifford D. Smith,

Hamilton Vose, jr.,
Robert F. Herrick, jr.,
Joseph C. Storey,
Horton Brown,
William C. Bok,
John H. Wilcox,
Edward Lloyd, jr.,
Donald M. Ryerson,
Elmer J. Stoffel,
Horace Butler,
Selim E. Woodworth,
Benjamin W. Cloud, 2d,
John S. Lionberger,
Philip C. Kauffman,
Roy D. Keyes,
Richard H. Cobb,
Frank W. Morrell,
Franklin King,
Francis T. Hunter,
Conrad Chapman,
Harold S. Simmons,
George Taylor,
Robert W. Emmons, 3d,
William T. Kirk, 3d,
Arthur T. Leonard,
William H. May,
John L. Merrill,
John E. P. Morgan,
William V. Couchman, jr.,
Thomas N. Page,
William W. Grace,
George R. Hann,
Winslow H. French,
Andrew C. Little,
Irving R. Gale,
Hallowell V. Morgan,
Howard G. Cann,
Robert B. Noyes,
Thomas I. H. Powell,
Eugene R. Sturtevant,
Bryan Frere,
Henry Hale, jr.,
Thornton Emmons,
Chester J. La Roche,
Mallery K. Aiken,
Milton H. Bird,
Paul A. Hourigan,
John R. Litchfield,
Stanford Harmon,
John D. Schuler,
Carter B. Burnet,
Clarence W. Schmidt,
John T. Scully,
Arthur C. Smith,
William J. Curtis, jr.,
Howard P. Hart,
Hayden Crocker,
Frederick S. Connor,
Matthew P. Waller,
James L. Sprunt,
Robert R. Theobald,
Arthur C. Hoyt,
Marion W. Lee,
Ralph W. Preston,
Gould T. Miner,
James H. R. Cromwell,
William E. D. Stokes, jr.,
Robert D. Bartlett,
John S. Upton,
Charles H. Bowman,
George F. Talbot,
Herbert D. Glass,
Percival V. Harris,
Allan C. Brown,
Fleet W. Corwin,
Howard W. Kitchin,
Leland D. Webb, and
William Knox.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Clyde C. Laws to be a lieutenant in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 22d day of September, 1918.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Henry E. Rung to be a lieutenant in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 27th day of September, 1918.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Edward J. Carr to be a lieutenant in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 28th day of September, 1918.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of October, 1918:

Benjamin F. Strawbridge and
Roy M. Cottrell.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 21st day of September, 1918:

Brady J. Dayton,
Philip J. Drake,
Putnam M. Morrison,
John A. Sweetser,
Frederick R. Bowes,
Raymond E. Baldwin,
Leicester S. Pettit,
John F. English,
Wilbert A. Smith,
Nelson B. Wolfe,
Thomas R. Parkhurst,
Herbert N. French,
Edward M. Shingler,
Paul R. Webb,
Jesse B. Perlman,
William H. Parsons, jr.,
John V. K. Richards,
Edgar R. Payson, jr.,
Harry L. M. Capron,
Louis S. Davidson,
Howell Evans,
Bainbridge D. Folwell,
Eben H. Ellison, jr.,
Francis D. Harrower,
Edwin B. Dunphy,
Ernest C. Haaren,
Alexander L. McKaig,
John H. Magee,
Laurence Schwab,
Douglas S. Moore,
John H. Russell,
Weyman S. Crocker,
Charles K. Wallace,
John I. Wylde,
Sumner F. Fuller,
Edward N. Crosman, jr.,
Lewis P. Scott,
Franklin Pettit, jr.,
Walter W. Burnham,
Henry M. Lamberton,
Lindsay Bradford,
Arthur E. Bartlett,
John G. Quinby, jr.,
William L. Kimball,
John B. Clapp,
Eliot L. Ward,
Francis S. Wilson,
Walter E. Chase, jr.,
Albert W. Findeisen,
Bradford Norman, jr.,
L. Selden Taylor,
Charles E. A. Speigel,
Morris Phinney,
Bennet F. Schauffler,
Gilman M. Gay,
George F. Newton, jr.,
Alden Lee,
Martin J. Quinn, jr.,
William L. G. Gibson,
Jacob S. Disston, jr.,
Henry C. Taylor,
Richard S. Walker,
Joseph Winlock,
James E. Kelly,
Arthur H. Haaren,
Harold J. Wright,
Campbell Higgins,
John S. Bauman,
Samuel M. Haslett, jr.,
Clarence H. Cull,
John B. Burnham,
Charles M. Boswell, jr.,
Johnston L. Redmond,

Francis Brooks,
Thomas L. Entwisle,
John L. Graham,
Marquis Pope,
Carl O. W. Sparkman,
John deK. Bowen,
Robert J. Orr,
William W. Baier,
Marcus A. Sutcliffe,
Anthony D. Bullock,
Franklin W. Hobbs, jr.,
Addison Stillwell,
Oliver B. Jennings,
Arthur D. Murray,
James M. Owens,
Foster M. Hampton,
Caspar S. Chisolm,
Leroy K. Howe,
Theodore C. Marceau, jr.,
Lester S. Moll,
Charles C. Savage, jr.,
Oliver P. Shattuck,
Louis M. Pratt, jr.,
John U. Lemmon, jr.,
Arleigh D. Richardson,
Harry L. Butler,
John G. Rayley,
William Durfee, jr.,
Chester J. Mattson,
Cornelius Shields,
Olin McN. Richardson,
Richard V. Dolan,
John H. Minnis,
Frederick W. Johns,
George W. Burden,
William K. B. Urquhart,
Harold J. Kline,
Thaddeus C. Jones,
Richard Williams,
J. Otto Holcomb,
John G. Gross,
Philip L. Coddington,
Wilfred I. Stiles,
George E. Finlay.
Edward M. McIlvain,
Alden Kimball,
Edgar M. Jaeger,
Francis M. Smith,
Harold M. Wright,
Edwin E. Sheridan,
Kavanaugh C. Downey,
Carl J. Koehler,
J. Willis Gale,
Gordon W. Ayer,
Nelson L. Fortin,
John P. Holland,
Carroll E. Miller,
Brothwell H. Baker,
Frank H. Storms,
Cornelius A. Wood,
Kenneth C. Woodruff,
George W. Palmer, 3d,
Burmain A. Grimball,
Fred L. McNally,
Thomas D. Shepherd,
Clarence J. O'Neill,
Albert J. Porter,
Charles A. Winter,
Thomas T. Hassell,
Elbert M. Burnett,
Stanley H. Freihofer,
Talbert N. Daughtrey,
Russell A. Beck,
John W. Chapman,
Matthew F. Tracey,
Oliver A. Bowers,
Otis E. Bennett,
John J. Gaskin,
Chester N. White,
Thomas H. Murphy,
Leo E. Schlimme,
Bernard S. Rodey, jr.,
Thomas P. Kane,
Alfred J. Byrholdt,
Oliver H. Briggs,
Frederick G. Trummer,
Francis A. Knauss,
Carl J. Hallbert,
Albert T. Lang,
Christian Christensen,
Henry L. Bixbee,
Alexander C. Cornell,
William G. Gillis,
Fred G. Peterman,
Frank E. Norlin,
Leslie R. Heselton,
Lawrence J. Murphy,
George R. Woods,
Robert J. Vierthaler,
George H. Frederick,
Carl Hupp,
John L. Blomquist,
Edwin P. Lacey,
Charles A. Goebel,
John McKean,
Heinrich C. A. Deglau,
John O. Strickland,
Raymond J. Comstock,
Virgil F. Wright,
George F. Evanson,
Clarence C. McDow,
Ralph M. Gerth,
William S. Burns,
Charles A. Strumsky,
Joseph F. Caveney,
William H. Tracy,
John D. Morris,
Charles R. Kehler,
Elliott Kauth,
James E. Finn,
Arthur O. Kolstad,
Stonewall B. Stadtler,
Homer F. McGee,
Sydney W. Ford,
John Harrison, jr.,
Washington E. Bogardus,
William T. Brown,
Philip McK. Zenner,
Stephen E. Haddon,
Clarence E. Jackson,
Arthur V. Holmes,
Frederick Ellison,
James K. Smallwood,
Thomas J. Malarkey,
Frederick T. Mayes,
Edward J. Murnane,
Harold H. Ralph,
Matthew Woessner,
Albert Wood,
Kenneth H. Stetson,
Joseph Murtagh,
John E. Pedersen,
Lansford F. Kengle,
Stanley A. Jones,
Frank A. Brandecker,
Arthur Wrightson,
Joseph A. Clark,
Arthur A. Hewitt,
William A. Lynch,
Edward H. Smith,
Martin F. Comeau,
Robert B. McEwan, jr.,
Forest W. Allen,
Dwight W. Jennings,
Robert A. Haynie,
Watson K. Blair,
Francis H. Cabot,
Ralph Forween,
Harold K. Smoot,
Adolph Bloom,
Charles C. Roberts,
Charles L. Allen,
Guy A. Walker,
Nicholas Kedinger,
Percy C. Becker,
Stockard R. Hickey,
Alfred E. Stulb,
Walter Hinton,
George B. Kessack,
Oscar Erickson,

John J. Bayer,
Oscar F. Bandura,
Guy McLaughlin,
Russell G. McNaughton,
Eduard G. Jahnke,
Otto Beran,
David J. Spahr,
William E. McClendon,
Fred S. Wade,
John W. Collier,
Enos Dahuff,
Delos A. Humphrey,
William J. Sharkey,
George H. Charter,
Edward Reavely,
Niels Andersen,
Howard C. Heald,
Robert S. Dunn,
Lawrence E. Myers,
Robert S. Smith, jr.,
John E. Hatch,
Frederick Shea,
Clarence J. Gale,
Albert Nashman,
Charles E. Olson,
Robert Martin,
William S. Quesinberry,
James C. White,
Edward Reynolds, jr.,
Henry O. Rea,
Frederick W. Boldt,
Horace L. Ham,
George Berton,
Alexander B. Provost,
Harry A. Mewshaw,
Chris Halverson,
William G. Scott,
Harry Bennett,
Elmer J. Tugend,
Morey H. Downs,
John C. Mayhew,
Tom H. Williamson,
Hubert K. Stubbs,
Harold V. Andrews,
Clarence V. Waggonner,
Henry C. Flanagan,
Omer L. Brewington,
Cecil A. McKay,
Duncan W. Frick,
Nathan Young,
Stuart Parker,
Caleb Loring,
Ralph J. A. Stern,
William L. Hickey,
B. Thatcher Feustman,
Barnes Newberry,
Bruce Burns,
Charles H. Duell, jr.,
John R. Haire,
Donald M. Lovejoy,
Edgar M. Queeny,
Charles H. Sterrett,
Allen L. Welch,
Leroy H. Ripley,
Frank A. Saunders,
Warren P. Boardman,
Benjamin J. Shinn,
William J. Clarke,
Merton R. Hinkle,
Caspar Yeager,
Lon H. Robb,
William Y. Rorer,
Cedric O. Eaton,
Charles A. Oliver,
Fred C. Forster,
George E. Ernest,
Albert J. Fern,
Frank Leghorn,
Edward F. Manning,
William G. Spurlock,
Theodore A. Kelly,
William H. Fiddler, jr.,
Frederick J. Leonard,
Alan M. Gray,
Hale G. Knight,
George L. Heyer,
Charles A. Williams,
Harold B. Collins,
William C. Eberle,
Henry John Behrends,
William Henry Meyer,
Will Frank Roseman,
Joseph Alphonse Oellet,
Howard E. Haynes,
Gustav Adolf Curt Leutritz,
Thomas Noland,
Walter Adam Krueck,
Leo John Sutton,
John Benedict Manghan,
Alexander Otto Schory,
Jesse Gilbert McFarland,
Simon Peter Swynenburg,
Joie Carwin Wilkins,
John Reid,
Charles Reading Shaw,
James Charles Humphreys,
John Joseph Coogan,
Herbert Augustus Anderson,
William G. Burgess,
Arthur E. LeGros,
William E. Bringhurst,
Robert E. Dwyer,
Leland C. Poole,
Chester C. Rounds,
Herbert J. Wiker,
George W. Brown,
John Cusick,
Clarence E. Beach,
Claudius G. Pendill,
John M. O'Neil,
John S. Danner,
John P. Dix,
Glenn F. Hulse,
Robert E. Davenport,
Ralph B. Raymond,
Louis Verbrugge,
Raymond Leo Morrissey,
Walter Hansen,
George W. Adams,
Rudolf Winzer,
Charles J. Ingersoll,
Albert J. Courtney,
Edward J. Bermingham,
Frank A. Saar,
Wiley B. Jones,
Charles H. Phillips,
Claude Farmer,
Abraham M. Rosenberg,
Harry B. Luessen,
Eldridge L. Lineberry,
Harry A. Wentworth,
William F. Verleger,
Walter E. Hewitt,
Robert L. Bryan,
Gottlieb Grosch,
Walter M. McCarthy,
Ralph J. Pyatt,
Alfred E. Green,
Rodney B. Starr,
William Wakefield,
Thomas H. Escott,
Timothy Brown,
John C. Bauman, jr.,
Harley E. Barrows,
Francis S. Page,
Irving N. Eustis,
Jay P. Clymer,
Benjamin W. Taylor,
Sidney B. Baisdell,
Harry L. Dodson,
Ray W. Bruner,
Adolphe H. Wenzel,
Oliver C. Field,
Harry R. Pendarvis,
Russel H. Lindsay,
Duane L. Taylor,
Joseph P. Maguire,
Roger F. McCall,
Oscar E. Finlay,
Clarence E. Kraehn,

Richard C. Bartlett,
Henry W. Piquet,
William L. Phillips,
Nathaniel Krasnoff,
Louis Dreller,
George S. Harris,
Frederick J. Silvernail,
Edwin J. Johannessen,
Harry J. Carey,
James H. Alvis,
Murray T. Wilkinson,
Joel R. Conrad,
Charles F. Hudson,
Edwin V. Annatoyn,
James D. Barner,
Arthur L. Mundo,
Walter L. Hunley,
Leon W. Mills,
Edward W. Neville,
Fred E. Patrick,
Philip D. Butler,
John A. Westrom,
Edward Danielson,
Harry F. Breckel,
Clyde L. Lewis,
Joseph L. Norvell,
Joseph A. Wetzel,
Andrew Simmons,
Arthur F. Dietrich,
William J. Charles,
John W. White,
Duncan P. Houser,
Edward A. Wardell,
Francis H. Stone,
Bartholomew J. Patterson,
Malcolm F. Schoeffel,
Thomas G. W. Settle,
Lucien M. Grant,
James E. J. Kiernan,
Richard M. Rush,
James R. Allen,
Daniel W. Hand, jr.,
Charles A. Nicholson, 2d,
Paul W. Hains,
Ralph A. Ofstie,
Rex LeG. Hicks,
Herbert M. Scull,
Matthias B. Gardner,
Leslie C. Stevens,
Charles H. Cushman,
Howard W. Fitch,
Creighton C. Carmine,
Robert F. Nelson,
Antonio S. Pitre,
Winfield A. Brooks,
Thomas P. Wynkoop, jr.,
Ernest E. Herrmann,
James M. Johnston,
Arthur S. Adams,
William E. Hilbert,
Hugh W. Olds,
Albert T. Sprague, 3d,
Maurice H. Stein,
Hobart A. Sailor,
William McC. Callaghan,
Rodman D. de Kay,
Harold L. Challenger,
John J. Orr,
Hubert H. Anderson,
Joseph Buchalter,
Thomas P. Jeter,
Robert G. Waldron,
Adolph O. Gieselmann,
David H. Clark,
Jeffrey C. Metzel,
Festus F. Foster,
Russell M. Ihrig,
James J. Graham,
Ralph B. Netting,
Ralph H. Roberts,
Valentine H. Schaeffer,
Floyd S. Crosley,
Eugene L. Kell,
Allen D. Brown,
John W. Roper,
William C. Vose,
Harry B. Slocum,
Charles E. Olsen,
Robert P. Briscoe,
Harry R. Thurber,
James B. Sykes,
Lyle N. Morgan,
Clarence H. Schildhauer,
Cuthbert A. Griffiths,
Franz O. Willenbucher,
Harry McC. Jones,
Thomas J. Griffin,
William H. Ferguson,
Ernest H. Von Heimburg,
Morton T. Seligman,
Douglas A. Powell,
William N. Updegraff,
Stuart S. Murray,
John O. Huse,
Charles J. Palmer,
William D. Sample,
Arthur P. Thurston,
Logan C. Ramsey,
Scott G. Lamb,
Alfred P. Moran, jr.,
William E. Clayton,
Richard B. Tuggle,
Harry Goodstein,
John H. Cassady,
Julian B. Noble,
Gerald L. Schetky,
Donald C. King,
Henry R. Herbst,
Charles E. Coney,
Dean D. Francis,
Wade E. Griswold,
William H. Mays,
Clayton Demarest, jr.,
Elmer R. Hill,
Henry D. Baggett,
William L. Marsh,
Bayard H. Colyear,
Charles L. Andrews, jr.,
Ralph W. Hungerford,
Charles B. Hunt,
George McF. O'Rear,
Herschel P. Cook,
John W. Cullens,
James D. Lowry, jr.,
Albert P. Burleigh,
Eric M. Grimsley,
Charles K. Post,
John B. Griggs, jr.,
Eliot H. Bryant,
George C. Dyer,
Alonzo B. Alexander,
Walter D. Whitehead,
David S. Crawford,
Charles J. Rend,
Everett D. Kern,
Ten Eyck DeW. Veeder, jr.,
Robert L. Boller,
Albert R. Staudt,
Henry C. Fengar,
Chauncey Camp,
John Neal,
Gordon H. Mason,
Dorrance K. Day,
Paul F. Lee,
Marshall R. Greer,
Philip P. Welch,
George J. Downey,
Walter S. Barlow,
Joseph R. Lannon,
Louis B. Pelzman,
Harry A. Rochester,
Edwin Friedman,
George Kirkland,
James J. Hughes,
Carl K. Fink,
John J. Patterson, 3d,
Walter Ansel,
Wilfred C. Wilcock,
Adrian O. Rule, jr.,
Miles P. Duval, jr.,

Walther G. Maser,
Elmer R. Rungquist,
Walton R. Read,
Daniel M. McGurl,
William E. Tarbutton,
Homer I. Sherritt,
Philip V. Sullivan,
Stephen K. Hall,
Robert McL. Smith, jr.,
Robert B. Crichton,
Paul H. Talbot,
Russell S. Barrett,
James L. Holloway, jr.,
Gustave H. Bowman,
James L. Wisenbaker,
Ralph E. Jennings,
Frank N. Sayre,
Peyton S. Cochran,
Paul B. Thompson,
Fred W. Beltz,
John B. McDonnald, jr.,
Kenneth D. Muir,
Tracy M. Kegley,
John G. Crawford,
Paul D. Dingwell,
James G. Atkins,
Frank V. Aler, jr.,
Leonard C. Parker,
Cyril K. Wildman,
Francis H. Gilmer,
Earle H. Kincaid,
Carleton McGauly,
George W. Brashears, jr.,
Charles R. Smith,
Giles E. Short,
Van Rensselear Moore,
Thomas B. Fitzpatrick,
Dixie Kiefer,
Horace R. Whittaker,
Willis W. Pace,
Harold M. Martin,
Joseph S. Ives,
Edgar R. Winckler,
John L. Reynolds,
William J. Strachan,
John R. Redman,
Ross A. Dierdorff,
George F. Mentz,
Herbert S. Woodman,
George H. Mills,
Charles Allen,
Jack C. Richardson,
Robert M. Dorsey,
Desmond J. Sinnott,
John C. Williams,
Spencer H. Warner,
John S. Spaven,
Grayson B. Carter,
Riffel G. Rhoton,
Willment P. Martin,
Franklin P. Waller,
Charles H. Rockey, and
Gordon M. Jackson.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of August, 1918:

Irving A. Chapman,
Edward P. Street,
David D. Smead, jr.,
Raymond H. Finlay,
Amory Coolidge,
Cortland F. Ames, jr.,
Wayland H. Sanford,
Albert V. Hall,
Henry R. Guild,
Louis C. Seavernes,
Edward Kneass,
Francis B. Thorne,
Benjamin F. McGuckin,
George C. Cutler, jr.,
Richard T. Guilbert,
Leslie A. Wiggins,
Harry A. Thornton,
Atherton K. Dunbar,
Warren D. Arnold,
Arthur B. Homer,
John C. Hurd,
Clifton B. Herd,
Innis O'Rourke,
Rufus D. W. Ewing,
Ayres Boal,
Donald S. Sexton,
Heroy M. Dyckman,
Clement M. Gile,
Harold W. Brooks,
James B. Bergs,
Ellis W. Taylor,
Martin L. Dunn,
James W. Ryan,
George Gregory, jr.,
Earle S. Barker,
Edwin K. Hoover,
Walter Antrim,
Laurence C. Murdoch,
John N. Leonard,
Henry G. Anderson,
Edwin Nelson,
Arthur E. Childs,
Dietrich G. Schmitz,
Thomas C. Parsons,
James M. Connally,
Edmund Ocumpaugh, 3d,
Lawrence Oliphant,
Arthur McL. Bartley,
William O. Kenney,
Thomas Buel,
John F. A. Davis,
Elliott De Bevoise,
John E. Sayler,
John R. Marsh,
Traver Briscoe,
Gorham Hubbard, jr.,
Harold E. Barden,
Edgar Denton, jr.,
Whitley P. McCoy,
Ransom Henshaw,
Donald Scott,
James H. Waller,
Percival W. Buzby,
Thomas C. Nicholls, jr.,
Roderick T. Smith,
Philler Lee,
Hobart M. Birmingham,
Richard E. Wheeler,
Robert N. Hoeflich,
Frederick H. Bosbyshell,
Theodore C. Briggs,
Arthur T. Lyman,
Earle H. Parkins,
Alfred V. Janotta,
Edwin D. King,
Edward G. Shmidheiser,
Leroy H. Davidson,
Henry E. Coe, jr.,
Norman D. Weir,
Vernon C. Bixby,
Howard W. Kitchell,
Vallette S. Church,
Joseph M. Shoemaker,
Chandler Bennitt,
Robert R. Gleason,
William M. Akin,
Julian P. Burlingham,
Thomas W. Allen,
Henry Hilton-Green,
David H. Frantz,
John Garey,
Leonard Jacob,
Frank M. Orton,
Alexander Loewy,
Newton C. Elkin, and
Kenneth C. Kennedy.

The following-named warrant officers to be ensigns in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of October, 1918:

Arthur F. Peterson,
Lewis F. Kepple,
John A. Manfrin,
George O. Augustine,
Samuel M. Thompson,
Edward L. Garnett,

Philip L. Reid,
Arthur E. Maginniss,
Joseph Mather,
Otto Gmelich,
William R. Schimmeyer,
Marshall Anderson,
Denis J. Kiely,
Mortimer Laurence,
Elmer T. Marr,
Charles E. Reynolds,
John H. Kevers,
James N. McTwiggan,
Herman A. Berch,
Wade Lash,
Frederick W. Ickes, and
Ira D. Spoonmoore.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders in the Navy from the 1st day of July, 1918:

William K. Riddle and
John G. Church.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy from the 7th day of March, 1918:

Eric L. Barr and
William M. Quigley.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy from the 8th day of June, 1918:

Alfred E. Montgomery,
Allen H. Guthrie,
Ralph S. Wentworth,
Edmund A. Crenshaw,
Robert S. Haggart,
Forrest U. Lake,
Nathan B. Chase,
Earl R. Morrissey,
Harold H. Little,
Horatio J. Pierce, and
Abraham C. TenEyck.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy from the 5th day of June, 1918:

Archie E. Glann,
Myron J. Walker,
Stephen H. Matteson,
Burton W. Chippendale,
Cornelius W. Flynn,
Robert W. Clark,
Winthrop Winslow,
De Witt C. Watson,
Ralph W. Christie, and
William D. Thomas.

Gunner Clarence L. Tibbals to be a chief gunner in the Navy from the 15th day of February, 1918.

Machinist Ernest A. Healy to be a chief machinist in the Navy from the 17th day of January, 1918.

Brig. Gen. (temporary) Charles G. Long to be a brigadier general in the Marine Corps from the 7th day of October, 1918.

Col. Smedley D. Butler to be a brigadier general in the Marine Corps, for temporary service, from the 7th day of October, 1918.

Col. (temporary) Newt H. Hall to be a colonel in the Marine Corps from the 7th day of October, 1918.

Lieut. Col. (temporary) Harold C. Snyder to be lieutenant colonel in the Marine Corps from the 7th day of October, 1918.

The following-named captains to be majors in the Marine Corps, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Ethelbert Talbot,
Louis R. de Roode, and
John A. Minnis.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Marine Corps, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Robert P. Jeter,
Lawrence B. Smith,
Richard O. Sanderson,
Louis S. Davis,
Jonathan Lucas, jr.,
Archie W. French,
William L. York,
Harry D. Gibbons,
John F. Williams,
Howard B. Freeman, and
Bruce J. Mansfield.

The following-named second lieutenants to be first lieutenants in the Marine Corps, for temporary service, from the 16th day of August, 1918:

Melvin J. Stanchfield, jr.,
Pierson M. Tuttle,
Herman L. McLeod,
Clarence H. Hartley,
John T. Selden,
Frank C. Myers,
Joseph D. Broderick,
Louis A. Perraud,
Grant L. Hill,
Arthur F. Sennholtz,
Carl R. Dietrich,
Edward B. Irving,
Wells W. Miller,
Keesler B. Low,
George Ehrhart, jr.,
Elmer E. Hall, and
Charles F. Worthen.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 24, 1918.

CONSUL GENERAL.

CLASS 4.

Evan E. Young to be a consul general of class 4.

CONSULS.

CLASS 5.

Albert H. Putney to be a consul of class 5.

CLASS 7.

John R. Putnam to be a consul of class 7.
William L. Jenkins to be a consul of class 7.

CLASS 8.

Frank Bohr to be a consul of class 8.
Henry B. Hitchcock to be a consul of class 8.
Luther K. Zabriskie to be a consul of class 8.

MEMBER OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD.

Albert Strauss to be a member of the Federal Reserve Board.

UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE.

George W. Anderson to be United States circuit judge, first circuit.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

Edwin R. Holmes to be United States district judge for the northern and southern districts of Mississippi.

UNITED STATES MARSHALS.

James A. Baggett to be United States marshal northern district of Texas.

Cooper Stout to be United States marshal eastern district of Illinois.

Emmet R. Jordan to be United States marshal District of Alaska, division No. 2.

RECEIVERS OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Oscar B. Gordon to be receiver of public moneys at Camden, Ark.

Homer V. Sewell to be receiver of public moneys at Little Rock, Ark.

REGISTERS OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Benjamin F. Spires to be register of the land office at Little Rock, Ark.

Benjamin M. Tribble to be register of the land office at Camden, Ark.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Alfred Franklin to be collector of internal revenue for the district of New Mexico.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY.

Acting Pay Clerk Robert G. Robeson to be an assistant paymaster with the rank of ensign, for temporary service.

The following-named acting pay clerks to be assistant paymasters with the rank of ensign, for temporary service:

Clifford W. Waters,
Michael A. Sprengel,
William Elliott,
Joseph E. Ford,
Frank M. Sherrill,
James E. Hunt,
William R. Diehl,
Hugh J. McManus,
Aner Erickson,
William E. Woods,
Jesse W. Hilts,
Roe L. Flowers,
Olaf Olsen,
Alexander W. Urquhart,
Leo A. Ketterer,
John J. Carroll,

Erwin A. McKee,
Edward H. Hulit,
Nicholas A. Brown,
Tate Mayhall,
George L. Aulmann,
John W. Overand,
Evans D. Stegar,
Howard N. Hill,
Charles H. Converse,
Alonzo A. Munsell,
William R. Davidson,
Leo V. Flavell,
William M. Rogers,
Samuel R. Ullman,
Archie J. Lourie,
Isidore R. Meyer,
Cornelius A. Brinkmann,
Gilbert A. Jones,
Albert W. Alderd,
Charles H. Cameron,
Paul J. Weiss,
David A. Cain,
Thayer B. Thomas,
Jacob H. Kyger,
Joseph T. Lareau,
Marion McCray,
William J. Martin,
Paul K. Coons,
Roy L. Koester, and
James A. Harris.

The following-named warrant officers to be ensigns, for temporary service:

Clyde D. Dahlman,
Carl Axelson,
Levi C. Houston,
Albert A. Elliott,
William S. Johnson,
Peter P. Zeller,
John R. J. Le Roy,
Cornelius J. O'Connor,
Frederick A. Olsen,
William G. Sullivan,
John J. Dallier,
Ernest C. Fiedler,
John Francis Shea,
Frank E. Powers,
John S. Bessent,
Clyde W. Jordan,
John F. Welch,
Charles E. Carlson,
Thomas J. Costello,
Edward B. Peterson,
Charles R. Jeffs,
Thomas J. Quinn,
Frank P. Moore,
Albert J. Wheaton,
Glenn C. Provost,
Arthur Brown,
Charley F. Martin,
Arthur S. Fenton,
Merion E. Hair,
Julius J. Lorzing,
Clinton W. Gray,
Edward L. Gench,
George L. Morin,
William R. Simpson, jr.,
Luttie E. Tappen, and
Clarence E. Young.

The following-named ensigns of the United States Naval Reserve Force to be ensigns, for temporary service:

Robert A. McCloud,
Philip L. Emerson,
Rowland G. Evans, and
William E. Clow, jr.

The following-named warrant officers to be ensigns, for temporary service:

Fred A. Luenser,
Clyde W. Haskins,
Charles E. Chamberlain,
Calvin A, Cole,
Guy R. Bostain,
Leo L. Waite,
Roy A. Jones,
Lawrence S. Tichenor,
Wallace Cooper,
Walter A. Irwin,
Christian W. Manegold,
Wilfred G. Lebeque,
Frank L. Burgess, and
George R. Milbourn.

The following-named enlisted men, to be ensigns, for temporary service:

Elmer D. Lundberg,
Charles C. Gillis,
Carl B. Fields, and
Philip H. Taft.

The following-named ensigns of the United States Naval Reserve Force to be ensigns, for temporary service:

Henry R. Wharton, jr.,
Donald D. Leonard,
Ford K. Lucas,
Julian P. Van Vorst,
Joseph R. Tobin,
Abraham S. Lewis,
Charles G. Lade,
Carletin H. Crawford,
Roy O. Hill,
Thomas F. Kilkenny,
Gordon J. Morrow,
Thomas R. Wells,
Thomas A. West,
Travis F. Beale,
Edgar R. Hill,
Clinton E. Shepard,
Ralph Hicks,
Lloyd M. Thornton,
Ned L. Chapin,
Harold C. Nye,
Hermann P. Knickerbocker, and
Arthur G. Latimer.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders, for temporary service:

Philip R. Baker,
Harvey S. Haislip,
Harrison R. Glennon,
Ralph E. Dennett,
George F. Parrot, jr.,
Charles G. McCord,
Alfred S. Wolfe,
Ralph C. Lawder,
Eugene T. Oates,
Roy W. Lewis,
Marion C. Cheek,
Richard S. Field,
Robert P. Molton, jr.,
William J. Butler,
Robert H. English,
Jay K. Esler,
George D. Murray,
Carroll Q. Wright, jr.,
Oliver M. Read, jr.,
Joseph McE. B. Smith,
George J. McMillin,
William H. O'Brien, jr.,
Howard F. Kingman,
Howard S. Keep,
James G. B. Gromer,
Bushrod B. Howard,
Rivers J. Carstarphen,
Calvin H. Cobb,
Robert B. Simons,
Lee C. Carey,
Norman Scott,
Glenn A. Smith,
Donald C. Godwin,
Richard P. Myers,
Webb C. Hayes,
Howard D. Bode,
Jay L. Kerley,
Harold E. Snow,
Robert M. Doyle, jr.,
Richard H. Booth,
Morton L. Deyo,
Harold T. Bartlett,
Robert M. Hinckley,
Ralph S. Parr,
Shirley A. Wilson,
Charles H. McMorris,
John A. Byers,

Virgil C. Griffin, jr.,
John H. Holt, jr.,
Henry M. Kieffer,
William A. Corley,
Benjamin Perlman,
Howard H. Good,
Ernest G. Small,
Carleton H. Wright,
Donald Boyden,
Robertson J. Weeks,
Herman E. Fischer,
Mark W. Larimer,
Willard E. Cheadle,
Edward P. Nickinson,
Thomas L. Gatch,
Harry G. Patrick,
Alfred E. Montgomery,
Andrew C. Bennett,
Frederick Baltzly,
Allen H. Guthrie,
Eugene P. A. Simpson,
Oliver W. Bagby,
Lawrence P. Bischoff,
James C. Clark,
James C. Monfort,
Robert D. Moore,
Carl G. Gilliland,
Harold Dodd,
Whitley Perkins,
Warren A. Shaw,
Robert A. Hall,
Guy C. Hitchcock,
Anton B. Anderson,
Ralph S. Wentworth,
George L. Woodruff,
Mahlon S. Tisdale,
Schuyler Mills,
Edmund A. Crenshaw, jr.,
James L. King,
William D. Taylor,
Davis De Treville,
Homer C. Wick,
John P. Dalton,
Louis P. Wenzell,
Robert S. Haggart,
Raymond E. Kerr,
Philip Van Horn Weems,
George H. Fort,
Lunsford L. Hunter,
Earnest W. Broadbent,
Forrest U. Lake,
Robert R. Thompson,
Elliott Buckmaster,
Nelson W. Hibbs,
Emory P. Eldredge,
Albert B. Sanborn,
Ellis M. Zacharias,
Clarence Gulbranson,
Wentworth H. Osgood,
Donald F. Patterson,
Harold B. Grow,
Donald W. Hamilton,
Herbert G. Gates, jr.,
Heister Hoogewerff,
John H. Falge,
Louis E. Denfeld,
Ralph W. Holt,
George W. D. Dashiell,
Emory W. Coil,
Nathan B. Chase,
George W. La Mountain,
Alexander W. Loder,
Harold W. Scofield,
Carroll M. Hall,
William S. Hogg, jr.,
Beriah M. Thompson,
John L. Fox,
Earl R. Morrissey,
Stephan B. Robinson,
William G. Greenman,
Harold H. Little,
Horatio J. Peirce,
Hamilton Harlow,
Hugh C. Frazer,
Thales S. Boyd,
James A. Crutchfield,
Daniel E. Barbey,
Charles P. Mason,
John J. Brown,
Grady B. Whitehead,
Carl K. Martin,
Campbell D. Edgar,
Harry P. Curley,
John P. Bowden,
De Witt C. Ramsey,
Baylis F. Poe,
Roscoe E. Schuirman,
Charles K. Osborne,
Abraham C. Ten Eyck,
Ingram C. Sowell,
Francis E. M. Whiting,
Charles A. Lockwood, jr.,
John K. Richards, jr.,
William H. Burtis,
Stanley G. Womble,
Paul S. Theiss,
John Wilbur,
Charles S. Alden,
Robert E. P. Elmer,
Charles F. Greene,
George S. Gillespie,
Garnet Hulings,
Charles W. McNair,
Otto M. Forster,
Louis R. Ford,
Leonard N. Linsley,
William H. P. Blandy,
Henry L. Abbott,
James C. Jones, jr.,
Elmer L. Woodside,
Herman E. Kelsker,
Glenn B. Davis,
Bruce G. Leighton,
Palmer H. Dunbar, jr.,
Roy J. Wilson,
Ray H. Wakeman,
Carl E. Hoard,
Harold C. Van Valzah,
Charles N. Ingraham,
Adolph V. S. Pickhardt,
Stewart F. Bryant,
Paul A. Stevens,
Kenneth R. R. Wallace,
George W. Wolf,
William B. Jupp,
Robin B. Daughtry,
William I. Causey, jr.,
Walter Seibert,
Frank L. Johnston,
Richard H. Knight,
George L. Greene, jr.,
Hugh L. White,
Reginald S. H. Venable,
Norman C. Gillette,
John A. Brownell,
Thomas Shine,
Roy Dudley,
Laurence Wild,
Lloyd R. Gray,
Herbert K. Fenn,
Solomon H. Geer,
Paul Hendren,
Chapman C. Todd, jr.,
Henry M. Briggs,
Paul Cassard,
Joseph Y. Dreisonstok,
Walter O. Henry,
John M. Kates,
Carl T. Hull,
Eric F. Zemke, and
George M. Tisdale.

Lieut. Edward J. O'Keefe to be lieutenant commander, for temporary service.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants, for temporary service:

William E. O'Connor,
William Twigg, jr.,
Frederick R. Kalde,
Burton W. Lambert,
Allen I. Seaman,

William D. Dadd,
Charles Swanberg,
Malcolm C. Davis,
William H. Muehlhause,
Leroy Neil,
Oscar D. Parker,
John A. Ward,
John C. Hines,
John Gallagher,
George W. Robbins,
Cyrus S. Hansel,
Ernest A. Healy,
Frederick G. Keyes,
William Eberlin,
Frederick Petry,
John Meyer,
Frederick Evans,
Godfrey P. Schurz,
Clarence L. Tibbals,
Thomas J. Bristol,
William Taylor,
Michael J. Breshahan,
Lafayette P. Guy,
Edmond Delavy,
Frank J. Mayer,
Horace DeB. Dougherty,
James J. Joyce,
Joseph A. Rasmussen,
Warner K. Bigger,
Frank Schultz,
Joseph Sperl,
David F. Mead,
Henry A. Lowell,
Charles Antrobus,
Oliver T. Miller,
August Logan,
John J. Coyle,
George F. Blass,
Walter S. Belknap,
George C. Lacock,
Anton Hengst,
John W. Boldt,
Fred San Soucie,
Howard H. Chambers,
Percy R. Abrams,
Vincent F. Le Verne,
Charles E. Briggs,
George B. Llewellyn,
William C. Milligan,
Frederick J. Legere,
James Reilly,
John H. MacDonald,
William A. James,
William A. Fulkerson,
Jerry C. Holmes,
Conrad T. Goertz,
Edwin R. Wroughton,
Nathan E. Cooke,
Lewis H. Cutting, and
Ernest L. Jones.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) William C. Carpenter to be a lieutenant, for temporary service.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants, for temporary service:

Murry Wolffe,
Charles L. Greene,
Arthur T. Brill,
Ward T. Hall,
Michael Garland,
Erich Richter,
John C. Heck,
James L. McKenna,
George W. Waldo,
Anthony E. Bentfeld,
Arthur Boquett,
John Harder,
Sigvart Thompson,
Stephen A. Farrell,
William A. Vick,
John J. Welch,
Arthur S. Rollins,
Charles C. Stotz,
John C. Maxon,
Bailey E. Rigg,
Walter A. Buckley,
Frank E. Nelson,
Norman McL. McDonald,
Philip S. Flint,
Charles W. Wagner,
Henry A. Reynolds,
George F. Veth,
James E. Kemmer,
James A. Newell,
William W. Holton,
Fred C. Wolf,
Charles J. Naprstek,
Max Bayer,
Paxton Hotchkiss,
Leon W. Knight,
Harry M. Peaco,
Henry H. Beck,
Frank F. Webster,
John Reber,
Charles N. Koch,
Fred T. Rider,
William S. Evans,
Sofus K. Sorensen,
George J. Romulus,
Arthur L. Hecykell,
Charles King,
Quintus R. Thomson, jr.,
Ora A. Martin,
John A. Pierce,
Stephen Ingham,
William R. Spear,
William T. Shaw,
Roy K. Madill,
William R. McFarlane,
Nils Anderson,
Melvin C. Kent,
John E. Armstrong,
Albert C. Fraenzel,
William A. Martin,
Ralph B. Wallace,
James Roberts,
Joseph D. Glick,
Anthony Prastka,
Joseph W. Birk,
Edmund DuV. Duckett,
Raymond A. Walker,
Hermann Jorgensen,
Charles F. Dame,
Arthur J. Holton,
Vincent Benedict,
Ola D. Butler,
Edgar C. Wortman,
Joseph O'N. Johnson,
David Duffy,
Clyde H. McLellon,
Noel Chatillon,
William F. Schlegel,
Lee W. Drisco,
James J. Delany,
William H. Stephenson,
Arthur E. Rice,
John P. Millon,
Frank L. Elkins,
Sol Shaw,
Ernest J. Leonard,
Thomas J. Sullivan,
John P. Sasse,
Will Mueller,
John H. Chase,
Will S. Holloway,
George J. Blessing,
James D. Brown,
Partick H. Cassidy,
Franklin A. Manuel,
Frank Flaherty,
Frank G. Waugh,
Arthur A. F. Alm,
Bennett McC. Proctor,
James Donaldson,
John A. Silva,
James Hauser,
John E. Sullivan,
Charles A. Armstrong,
Chauncey R. Doll,
James S. Trayer,
Gregoire F. J. Labelle,

Theodore Anderson,
Henry Hartley,
Eugene J. Frieh,
Philip J. Kelly,
Andrew G. C. Dafgard,
Alfred Doucet,
William E. Benson,
Fred C. A. Plagemann,
Peter J. Gundlach,
Albert M. Hinman,
Leon W. Becker,
William Cox,
Stephen A. Loftus,
Herman C. Schrader,
Asa Van R. Watson,
William A. Eaton,
James M. MacDonnell,
Herbert R. Mytinger,
Harold A. Turner,
Charles B. Bradley,
Curry E. Eason,
Samuel C. Washington,
Brice H. Mack,
James A. Featherston,
Walter N. Fanning,
Herbert J. Meneratti,
Niels Drustrup,
Abraham De Somer,
George Bradley,
Donald McDonald,
Warren E. Magee,
Robert J. Kingsmill,
Charles F. Merrill,
Charles B. Shackelton,
Benjamin F. Ranger,
Robert C. McClure,
Carl S. Chapman,
George C. Martin,
Wilmer W. Weber,
Mark Strosk,
William W. Wilkins,
Helge Ohlsson,
Elroy G. True,
James W. O'Leary,
Warren H. Langdon,
Andrew C. Skinner,
Emery Smith,
Benjamin F. Maddox,
George Keeser,
John A. Rogers,
Alfred E. Raue,
John C. Richards,
Frank W. Yurasko,
Albert H. Mellien,
Philip A. Astoria,
Thomas A. Graham,
William A. Mason,
Everest A. Whited,
John F. Murphy,
Charles A. Kohls,
Clarence R. Rockwell,
Paul E. Kuter,
William E. Snyder,
David McWhorter, jr.,
George H. Kellogg,
Elery A. Zehner,
Samuel E. Lee,
Frank Stinchcomb,
Simon L. Shade,
Ludwig W. Gumz,
Wildon A. Ott,
Hugh W. Nimmo,
Junius G. Sanders,
Frederick B. Webber,
George T. Campbell,
Charles A. Dannenmann,
Harold G. Billings,
Albert E. Freed,
Frank Kinne,
Andrew N. Anderson,
Frank Kerr,
Arthur H. Cummings,
Harry J. Hansen,
Rony Snyder,
Newcomb L. Damon,
Jack K. Campbell,
George Kleinsmith,
Albert G. Martin,
Daniel McCallum,
John M. Buckley,
John J. Madden,
Robert Semple,
Henry H. Fowler,
Stanley H. Sacker,
Elmer J. McCluen,
John M. Kirkpatrick,
Clyde Lovelace,
Claude B. Arney,
Martin Dickinson,
Jesse J. Alexander,
John J. Enders,
Jesse J. Oettinger,
William H. Farrel,
Thomas M. Buck,
John Shottroff,
John Whalen,
Raymond C. McDuffie,
Oscar Benson,
William Martin,
John S. Conover,
Fayette Myers,
John G. M. Johnson,
Frederick Clifford,
Alexander Anderson,
Frederick T. Walling,
Charles V. Kane,
Joseph M. Gately,
Joseph H. Gerrior,
George S. Dean,
Ralph A. Laird,
Charles F. Fielding,
Collins R. Buchner,
Warwick M. Tinsley,
Archie R. Wolfe,
Francis P. Brewer,
Henry A. Stuart,
Aaron Eldridge,
Judson E. Scott,
Clyde H. Dougherty,
Edward L. Newell,
Robert B. England,
Howard S. Raber,
George O. Farnsworth,
Lars O. Peterson,
Omar B. Earle,
Alfred R. Eubanks,
Thomas Flynn,
John F. Piotrowski,
Alexander B. Holman,
Ralph A. Scott,
Michael Burke,
Irwin V. Herin,
William F. Schlesinger,
Herman A. Bauchot,
Earle G. Gardner,
William W. Eagers,
William K. Johnstone,
John F. Craig,
Frank T. Green,
Augustus K. Goffe,
Robert S. Savin,
William J. Graham,
Emmette F. Gumm,
George B. Evans,
Edwin Fisher,
Charles O. Bain,
Clarence H. Fogg,
Joseph A. Flynn,
James J. Lucas,
Thomas Southall,
Bernard S. Riley,
George C. Neilsen,
Sidney C. Seale,
Joseph C. Herman,
Thomas G. Shanahan,
George R. Blauvelt,
Eric P. Teschner,
Erich O. Tauer,
Jens Nelson,
Harry A. Bryan,

Edwin H. Briggs,
George Schneider,
Frank V. Shepard,
Warren L. Graeff,
Hector L. Ross,
Emmet L. Bourke,
John H. Chinnis,
Earl V. Hand,
Alonzo W. Esworthy,
Abram L. Broughton,
Robert I. Hart,
Albert F. Blake,
Charles Waters,
William F. Morris,
Jesse S. Hooper,
Edward I. Dailey,
John Heep,
James H. Cain,
Hugh J. Finn,
Carl J. Hanson,
William H. Wright,
Thomas T. Emerton,
Charles F. Ware,
John R. McMeekin,
Edgar T. Hammond,
John R. McKean,
John D. Thompson,
Raymond R. Smith,
Clarence E. Williams,
George E. Tarbell,
Albert Wing,
John L. Scheidemen,
Harold A. Clough,
Earl Swisher,
Albert C. Buck,
Walter L. Hawk,
Jesse L. Harmer,
Fred H. Stewart,
John W. Ross,
Francis H. McAdoo,
Almy C. Maynard,
James A. Burbank,
Ralph L. Dodge,
Charles K. Cobb, jr.,
Joseph L. Day,
Raymond L. Watrous,
Bulkeley L. Wells,
Winn D. Faris,
Walter R. O'Sullivan,
Chester L. Nichols,
Jay H. Keller,
John S. Brayton, jr.,
Thomas M. Leovy,
Conant Wait,
John Hemphill,
Charles R. Westbrook,
Richard S. Maynard,
Robert M. Curtis,
Ernest Gregory,
George T. Jarvis,
Thomas Robins, jr.,
Arthur C. Saxe,
George G. Jones,
Samuel E. Raymond,
Lyman S. King,
Evans R. Dick, jr.,
Miles Wambaugh,
Herbert M. Corse,
George E. McQuestion,
Arthur W. Ford,
DeLancy Nicoll, jr.,
Lewis G. Smith,
Schuyler Dillon,
Paul A. Scherer,
Frederick A. Merrill,
Douglas G. Lovell,
William F. Kurfess,
William W. Slaymaker,
Harold F. Fultz,
Alfred G. Gennert,
Edwin Cowles,
Sydney P. Clark,
John A. Burgwin,
Frank T. Hogg,
Walter H. Wheeler, jr.,
Junius S. Morgan,
Folke E. Sellman,
Walter P. Shiel,
Arthur M. Tschirgi,
Wayne F. Palmer,
George D. Howell, jr.,
Donald McClench,
Charles Higginson,
Clifford D. Smith,
Hamilton Vose, jr.,
Robert F. Herrick, jr.,
Joseph C. Storey,
Horton Brown,
William C. Bok,
John H. Wilcox,
Edward Lloyd, jr.,
Donald M. Ryerson,
Elmer J. Stoffel,
Horace Butler,
Selim E. Woodworth,
Benjamin W. Cloud, 2d,
John S. Lionberger,
Philip C. Kauffman,
Roy D. Keyes,
Richard H. Cobb,
Frank W. Morrell,
Franklin King,
Francis T. Hunter,
Conrad Chapman,
Harold S. Simmons,
George Taylor,
Robert W. Emmons. 3d,
William T. Kirk, 3d,
Arthur T. Leonard,
William H. May,
John L. Merrill,
John E. P. Morgan,
William V. Couchman, jr.,
Thomas N. Page,
William W. Grace,
George R. Hann,
Winslow H. French,
Andrew C. Little,
Irving R. Gale,
Hallowell V. Morgan,
Howard G. Cann,
Robert B. Noyes,
Thomas I. H. Powell,
Eugene R. Sturtevant,
Bryan Frere,
Henry Hale, jr.,
Thornton Emmons,
Chester J. La Roche,
Mallery K. Aiken,
Milton H. Bird,
Paul A. Hourigan,
John R. Litchfield,
Stanford Harmon,
John D. Schuler,
Carter B. Burnet,
Clarence W. Schmidt,
John T. Scully,
Arthur C. Smith,
William J. Curtis, jr.,
Howard P. Hart,
Hayden Crocker,
Frederick S. Connor,
Matthew P. Waller,
James L. Sprunt,
Robert R. Theobald,
Arthur C. Hoyt,
Marion W. Lee,
Ralph W. Preston,
Gould T. Miner,
James H. R. Cromwell,
William E. D. Stokes, jr.,
Robert D. Bartlett,
John S. Upton,
Charles H. Bowman,
George F. Talbot,
Herbert D. Glass,
Percival V. Harris,
Allan C. Brown,
Fleet W. Corwin,
Howard W. Kitchin,

Leland D. Webb, and
William Knox.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Clyde C. Laws to be a lieutenant, for temporary service.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Henry E. Rung to be a lieutenant, for temporary service.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Edward J. Carr to be a lieutenant, for temporary service.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants, for temporary service:

Benjamin F. Strawbridge and
Roy M. Cottrell.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade), for temporary service:

Brady J. Dayton,
Philip J. Drake,
Putnam M. Morrison,
John A. Sweetser,
Frederick R. Bowes,
Raymond E. Baldwin,
Leicester S. Pettit,
John F. English,
Wilbert A. Smith,
Nelson B. Wolfe,
Thomas R. Parkhurst,
Herbert N. French,
Edward M. Shingler,
Paul R. Webb,
Jesse B. Perlman,
William H. Parsons, jr.,
John V. K. Richards,
Edgar R. Payson, jr.,
Harry L. M. Capron,
Louis S. Davidson,
Howell Evans,
Bainbridge D. Folwell,
Eben H. Ellison, jr.,
Francis D. Harrower,
Edwin B. Dunphy,
Ernest C. Haaren,
Alexander L. McKaig,
John H. Magee,
Laurence Schwab,
Douglas S. Moore,
John H. Russell,
Weyman S. Crocker,
Charles K. Wallace,
John I. Wylde,
Sumner F. Fuller,
Edward N. Crosman, jr.,
Lewis P. Scott,
Franklin Pettit, jr.,
Walter W. Burnham,
Henry M. Lamberton,
Lindsay Bradford,
Arthur E. Bartlett,
John G. Quinby, jr.,
William L. Kimball,
John B. Clapp,
Eliot L. Ward,
Francis S. Wilson,
Walter E. Chase, jr.,
Albert W. Findeisen,
Bradford Norman, jr.,
L. Selden Taylor,
Charles E. A. Speigel,
Morris Phinney,
Bennet F. Schauffler,
Gilman M. Gay,
George F. Newton, jr.,
Alden Lee,
Martin J. Quinn, jr.,
William L. G. Gibson,
Jacob S. Disston, jr.,
Henry C Taylor,
Richard S. Walker,
Joseph Winlock,
James E. Kelly,
Arthur H. Haaren,
Harold J. Wright,
Campbell Higgins,
John S. Bauman,
Samuel M. Haslett, jr.,
Clarence H. Cull,
John B. Burnham,
Charles M. Boswell, jr.,
Johnston L. Redmond,
Francis Brooks,
Thomas L. Entwisle,
John L. Graham,
Marquis Pope,
Carl O. W. Sparkman,
John deK. Bowen,
Robert J. Orr,
William W. Baier,
Marcus A. Sutcliffe,
Anthony D. Bullock,
Franklin W. Hobbs, jr.,
Addison Stillwell,
Oliver B. Jennings,
Arthur D. Murray,
James M. Owens,
Foster M. Hampton,
Caspar S. Chisolm,
Leroy K. Howe,
Theodore C. Marceau, jr.,
Lester S. Moll,
Charles C. Savage, jr.,
Oliver P. Shattuck,
Louis M. Pratt, jr.,
John U. Lemmon, jr.
Arleigh D. Richardson,
Harry L. Butler,
John G. Rayley,
William Durfee, jr.,
Chester J. Mattson,
Cornelius Shields,
Olin McN. Richardson,
Richard V. Dolan,
John H. Minnis,
Frederick W. Johns,
George W. Burden,
William K. B. Urquhart,
Harold J. Kline,
Thaddeus C. Jones,
Richard Williams,
J. Otto Holcomb,
John G. Gross,
Philip L. Coddington,
Wilfred I. Stiles,
George E. Finlay,
Edward M. McIlvain,
Alden Kimball,
Edgar M. Jaeger,
Francis M. Smith,
Harold M. Wright,
Edwin E. Sheridan,
Kavanaugh C. Downey,
Carl J. Koehler,
J. Willis Gale,
Gordon W. Ayer,
Nelson L. Fortin,
John P. Holland,
Carroll E. Miller,
Brothwell H. Baker,
Frank H. Storms,
Cornelius A. Wood,
Kenneth C. Woodruff,
George W. Palmer, 3d,
Burmain A. Grimball,
Fred L. McNally,
Thomas D. Shepherd,
Clarence J. O'Neill,
Albert J. Porter,
Charles A. Winter,
Thomas T. Hassell,
Elbert M. Burnett,
Stanley H. Freihofer,
Talbert N. Daughtrey,
Russell A. Beck,
John W. Chapman,
Matthew F. Tracey,
Oliver A. Bowers,
Otis E. Bennett,
John J. Gaskin,
Chester N. White,
Thomas H. Murphy,
Leo E. Schlimme,
Bernard S. Rodey, jr.,
Thomas P. Kane,

Alfred J. Byrholdt,
Oliver H. Briggs,
Frederick G. Trummer,
Francis A. Knauss,
Carl J. Hallbert,
Albert T. Lang,
Christian Christensen,
Henry L. Bixbee,
Alexander C. Cornell,
William G. Gillis,
Fred G. Peterman,
Frank E. Norlin,
Leslie R. Heselton,
Lawrence J. Murphy,
George R. Woods,
Robert J. Vierthaler,
George H. Frederick,
Carl Hupp,
John L. Blomquist,
Edwin P. Lacey,
Charles A. Goebel,
John McKean,
Heinrich C. A. Deglau,
John O. Strickland,
Raymond J. Comstock,
Virgil F. Wright,
George F. Evanson,
Clarence C. McDow,
Ralph M. Gerth,
William S. Burns,
Charles A. Strumsky,
Joseph F. Caveney,
William H. Tracy,
John D. Morris,
Charles R. Kehler,
Elliott Kauth,
James E. Finn,
Arthur O. Kolstad,
Stonewall B. Stadtler,
Homer F. McGee.
Sydney W. Ford,
John Harrison, jr.,
Washington E. Bogardus,
William T. Brown,
Philip McK. Zenner,
Stephen E. Haddon,
Clarence E. Jackson,
Arthur V. Holmes,
Frederick Ellison,
James K. Smallwood,
Thomas J. Malarkey,
Frederick T. Mayes,
Edward J. Murnane,
Harold H. Ralph,
Matthew Woessner,
Albert Wood,
Kenneth H. Stetson,
Joseph Murtagh,
John E. Pedersen,
Lansford F. Kengle,
Stanley A. Jones,
Frank A. Brandecker,
Arthur Wrightson,
Joseph A. Clark,
Arthur A. Hewitt,
William A. Lynch,
Edward H. Smith,
Martin F. Comeau,
Robert B. McEwan, jr.,
Forest W. Allen,
Dwight W. Jennings,
Robert A. Haynie,
Watson K. Blair,
Francis H. Cabot,
Ralph Forween,
Harold K. Smoot,
Adolph Bloom,
Charles C. Roberts,
Charles L. Allen,
Guy A. Walker,
Nicholas Kedinger,
Percy C. Becker,
Stockard R. Hickey,
Alfred E. Stulb,
Walter Hinton,
George B. Kessack,
Oscar Erickson,
John J. Bayer,
Oscar F. Bandura,
Guy McLaughlin,
Russell G. McNaughton,
Eduard G. Jahnke,
Otto Beran,
David J. Spahr,
William E. McClendon,
Fred S. Wade,
John W. Collier,
Enos Dahuff,
Delos A. Humphrey,
William J. Sharkey,
George H. Carter,
Edward Reavely,
Niels Andersen,
Howard C. Heald,
Robert S. Dunn,
Lawrence E. Myers,
Robert S. Smith, jr.,
John E. Hatch,
Frederick Shea,
Clarence J. Gale,
Albert Nashman,
Charles E. Olson,
Robert Martin,
William S. Quesinberry,
James C. White,
Edward Reynolds, jr.,
Henry O. Rea,
Frederick W. Boldt,
Horace L. Ham,
George Berton,
Alexander B. Provost,
Harry A. Mewshaw,
Chris Halverson,
William G. Scott,
Harry Bennett,
Elmer J. Tugend,
Morey H. Downs,
John C. Mayhew,
Tom H. Williamson,
Hubert K. Stubbs,
Harold V. Andrews,
Clarence V. Waggonner,
Henry C. Flanagan,
Omer L. Brewington,
Cecil A. McKay,
Duncan W. Frick,
Nathan Young,
Stuart Parker,
Caleb Loring,
Ralph J. A. Stern,
William L. Hickey,
B. Thatcher Feustman,
Barnes Newberry,
Bruce Burns,
Charles H. Duell, jr.,
John R. Haire,
Donald M. Lovejoy,
Edgar M. Queeny,
Charles H. Sterrett,
Allen L. Welch,
Leroy H. Ripley,
Frank A. Saunders,
Warren P. Boardman,
Benjamin J. Shinn,
William J. Clarke,
Merton R. Hinkle,
Caspar Yeager,
Lon H. Robb,
William Y. Rorer,
Cedric O. Eaton,
Charles A. Oliver,
Fred C. Forster,
George E. Ernest,
Albert J. Fern,
Frank Leghorn,
Edward F. Manning,
William G. Spurlock,
Theodore A. Kelly,
William H. Fiddler, jr.

Frederick J. Leonard,
Alan M. Gray,
Hale G. Knight,
George L. Heyer,
Charles A. Williams,
Harold B. Collins,
William C. Eberle,
Henry John Behrends,
William Henry Meyer,
Will Frank Roseman,
Joseph Alphonse Oellet,
Howard E. Haynes,
Gustav Adolf Curt Leutritz,
Thomas Noland,
Walter Adam Krueck,
Leo John Sutton,
John Benedict Manghan,
Alexander Otto Schory,
Jesse Gilbert McFarland,
Simon Peter Swynenburg,
Joie Carwin Wilkins,
John Reid,
Charles Reading Shaw,
James Charles Humphreys,
John Joseph Coogan,
Herbert Augustus Anderson,
William G. Burgess,
Arthur E. LeGros,
William E. Bringhurst,
Robert E. Dwyer,
Leland C. Poole,
Chester C. Rounds,
Herbert J. Wiker,
George W. Brown,
John Cusick,
Clarence E. Beach,
Claudius G. Pendill,
John M. O'Neil,
John S. Danner,
John P. Dix,
Glenn F. Hulse,
Robert E. Davenport,
Ralph B. Raymond,
Louis Verbrugge,
Raymond Leo Morrissey,
Walter Hansen,
George W. Adams,
Rudolf Winzer,
Charles J. Ingersoll,
Albert J. Courtney,
Edward J. Bermingham,
Frank A. Saar,
Wiley B. Jones,
Charles H. Phillips,
Claude Farmer,
Abraham M. Rosenberg,
Harry B. Luessen,
Eldridge L. Lineberry,
Harry A. Wentworth,
William F. Verleger,
Walter E. Hewitt,
Robert L. Bryan,
Gottlieb Grosch,
Walter M. McCarthy,
Ralph J. Pyatt,
Alfred E. Green,
Rodney B. Starr,
William Wakefield,
Thomas H. Escott,
Timothy Brown,
John C. Bauman, jr.,
Harley E. Barrows,
Francis S. Page,
Irving N. Eustis,
Jay P. Clymer,
Benjamin W. Taylor,
Sidney B. Baisdell,
Harry L. Dodson,
Ray W. Bruner,
Adolphe H. Wenzel,
Oliver C. Field,
Harry R. Pendarvis,
Russel H. Lindsay,
Duane L. Taylor,
Joseph P. Maguire,
Roger F. McCall,
Oscar E. Finlay,
Clarence E. Kraehn,
Richard C. Bartlett,
Henry W. Piquet,
William L. Phillips,
Nathaniel Krasnoff,
Louis Dreller,
George S. Harris,
Frederick J. Silvernail,
Edward J. Johannessen,
Harry J. Carey,
James H. Alvis,
Murray T. Wilkinson,
Joel R. Conrad,
Charles F. Hudson,
Edwin V. Annatoyn,
James D. Barner,
Arthur L. Mundo,
Walter L. Hunley,
Leon W. Mills,
Edward W. Neville,
Fred E. Patrick,
Philip D. Butler,
John A. Westrom,
Edward Danielson,
Harry F. Breckel,
Clyde L. Lewis,
Joseph L. Norvell,
Joseph A. Wetzel,
Andrew Simmons,
Arthur F. Dietrich,
William J. Charles,
John W. White,
Duncan P. Houser,
Edward A. Wardell,
Francis H. Stone,
Bartholomew J. Patterson,
Malcolm F. Schoeffel,
Thomas G. W. Settle,
Lucien M. Grant,
James E. J. Kiernan,
Richard M. Rush,
James R. Allen,
Daniel W. Hand, jr.,
Charles A. Nicholson, 2d,
Paul W. Hains,
Ralph A. Ofstie,
Rex LeG. Hicks,
Herbert M. Scull,
Matthias B. Gardner,
Leslie C. Stevens,
Charles H. Cushman,
Howard W. Fitch,
Creighton C. Carmine,
Robert F. Nelson,
Antonio S. Pitre,
Winfield A. Brooks,
Thomas P. Wynkoop, jr.,
Ernest E. Herrmann,
James M. Johnston,
Arthur S. Adams,
William E. Hilbert,
Hugh W. Olds,
Albert T. Sprague, 3d,
Maurice H. Stein,
Hobart A. Sailor,
William McC. Callaghan,
Rodman D. de Kay,
Harold L. Challenger,
John J. Orr,
Hubert H. Anderson,
Joseph Buchalter,
Thomas P. Jeter,
Robert G. Waldron,
Adolph O. Gieselmann,
David H. Clark,
Jeffrey C. Metzel,
Festus F. Foster,
Russell M. Ihrig,
James J. Graham,
Ralph B. Netting,
Ralph H. Roberts,
Valentine H. Schaeffer,
Floyd S. Crosley,

Eugene L. Kell,
Allen D. Brown,
John W. Roper,
William C. Vose,
Harry B. Slocum,
Charles E. Olsen,
Robert P. Briscoe,
Harry R. Thurber,
James B. Sykes,
Lyle N. Morgan,
Clarence H. Schildhauer,
Cuthbert A. Griffiths,
Franz O. Willenbucher,
Harry McC. Jones,
Thomas J. Griffin,
William H. Ferguson,
Ernest H. Von Heimburg,
Morton T. Seligman,
Douglas A. Powell,
William N. Updegraff,
Stuart S. Murray,
John O. Huse,
Charles J. Palmer,
William D. Sample,
Arthur P. Thurston,
Logan C. Ramsey,
Scott G. Lamb,
Alfred P. Moran, jr.,
William E. Clayton,
Richard B. Tuggle,
Harry Goodstein,
John H. Cassady,
Julian B. Noble,
Gerald L. Schetky,
Donald C. King,
Henry R. Herbst,
Charles E. Coney,
Dean D. Francis,
Wade E. Griswold,
William H. Mays,
Clayton Demarest, jr.,
Elmer R. Hill,
Henry D. Baggett,
William L. Marsh,
Bayard H. Colyear,
Charles L. Andrews, jr.,
Ralph W. Hungerford,
Charles B. Hunt,
George McF. O'Rear,
Herschel P. Cook,
John W. Cullens,
James D. Lowry, jr.,
Albert P. Burleigh,
Eric M. Grimsley,
Charles K. Post,
John B. Griggs, jr.,
Eliot H. Bryant,
George C. Dyer,
Alonzo B. Alexander,
Walter D. Whitehead,
David S. Crawford,
Charles J. Rend,
Everett D. Kern,
Ten Eyck DeW. Veeder, jr.,
Robert L. Boller,
Albert R. Staudt,
Henry C. Fengar,
Chauncey Camp,
John Neal,
Gordon H. Mason,
Dorrance K. Day,
Paul F. Lee,
Marshall R. Geer,
Philip P. Welch,
George J. Downey,
Walter S. Barlow,
Joseph R. Lannon,
Louis B. Pelzman,
Harry A. Rochester,
Edwin Friedman,
George Kirkland,
James J. Hughes,
Carl K. Fink,
John J. Patterson, 3d,
Walter Ansel,
Wilfred C. Wilcock,
Adrian O. Rule, jr.,
Miles P. Duval, jr.,
Walther G. Maser,
Elmer R. Rungquist,
Walton R. Read,
Daniel M. McGurl,
William E. Tarbutton,
Homer I. Sherritt,
Philip V. Sullivan,
Stephen K. Hall,
Robert McL. Smith, jr.,
Robert B. Crichton,
Paul H. Talbot,
Russell S. Barrett,
James L. Holloway, jr.,
Gustave H. Bowman,
James L. Wisenbaker,
Ralph E. Jennings,
Frank N. Sayre,
Peyton S. Cochran,
Paul B. Thompson,
Fred W. Beltz,
John B. McDonnald, jr.,
Kenneth D. Muir,
Tracy M. Kegley,
John G. Crawford,
Paul D. Dingwell,
James G. Atkins,
Frank V. Aler, jr.,
Leonard C. Parker,
Cyril K. Wildman,
Francis H. Gilmer,
Earle H. Kincaid,
Carleton McGauly,
George W. Brashears, jr.,
Charles R. Smith,
Giles E. Short,
Van Rensselear Moore,
Thomas B. Fitzpatrick,
Dixie Kiefer,
Horace R. Whittaker,
Willis W. Pace,
Harold M. Martin,
Joseph S. Ives,
Edgar R. Winckler,
John L. Reynolds,
William J. Strachan,
John R. Redman,
Ross A. Dierdorff,
George F. Mentz,
Herbert S. Woodman,
George H. Mills,
Charles Allen,
Jack C. Richardson,
Robert M. Dorsey,
Desmond J. Sinnott,
John C. Williams,
Spencer H. Warner,
John S. Spaven,
Grayson B. Carter,
Riffel G. Rhoton,
Willment P. Martin,
Franklin P. Waller,
Charles H. Rockey, and
Gordon M. Jackson.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade), for temporary service:

Irving A. Chapman,
Edward P. Street,
David D. Smead, jr.,
Raymond H. Finlay,
Amory Coolidge,
Cortland F. Ames, jr.,
Wayland H. Sanford,
Albert V. Hall,
Henry R. Guild,
Louis C. Seavernes,
Edward Kneass,
Francis B. Thorne,
Benjamin F. McGuckin,
George C. Cutler, jr.,
Richard T. Guilbert,
Leslie A. Wiggins,
Harry A. Thornton,

Atherton K. Dunbar,
Warren D. Arnold,
Arthur B. Homer,
John C. Hurd,
Clifton B. Herd,
Innis O'Rourke,
Rufus D. W. Ewing,
Ayres Boal,
Donald S. Sexton,
Heroy M. Dyckman,
Clement M. Gile,
Harold W. Brooks,
James B. Bergs,
Ellis W. Taylor,
Martin L. Dunn,
James W. Ryan,
George Gregory, jr.,
Earle S. Barker,
Edwin K. Hoover,
Walter Antrim,
Laurence C. Murdoch,
John N. Leonard,
Henry G. Anderson,
Edwin Nelson,
Arthur E. Childs,
Dietrich G. Schmitz,
Thomas C. Parsons,
James M. Connally,
Edmund Ocumpaugh, 3d,
Lawrence Oliphant,
Arthur McL. Bartley,
William O. Kenney,
Thomas Buel,
John F. A. Davis,
Elliott De Bevoise,
John E. Sayler,
John R. Marsh,
Traver Briscoe,
Gorham Hubbard, jr.,
Harold E. Barden,
Edgar Denton, jr.,
Whitley P. McCoy,
Ransom Henshaw,
Donald Scott,
James H. Waller,
Percival W. Buzby,
Thomas C. Nicholls, jr.,
Roderick T. Smith,
Philler Lee,
Hobart M. Birmingham,
Richard E. Wheeler,
Robert N. Hoeflich,
Frederick H. Bosbyshell,
Theodore C. Briggs,
Arthur T. Lyman,
Earle H. Parkins,
Alfred V. Janotta,
Edwin D. King,
Edward G. Shmidheiser,
Leroy H. Davidson,
Henry E. Coe, jr.,
Norman D. Weir,
Vernon C. Bixby,
Howard W. Kitchell,
Vallette S. Church,
Joseph M. Shoemaker,
Chandler Bennitt,
Robert R. Gleason,
William M. Akin,
Julian P. Burlingham,
Thomas W. Allen,
Henry Hilton-Green,
David H. Frantz,
John Garey,
Leonard Jacob,
Frank M. Orton,
Alexander Loewy,
Newton C. Elkin, and
Kenneth C. Kennedy.

The following-named warrant officers to be ensigns, for temporary service:

Arthur F. Peterson,
Lewis F. Kepple,
John A. Manfrin,
George O. Augustine,
Samuel M. Thompson,
Edward L. Garnett,
Philip L. Reid,
Arthur E. Maginniss,
Joseph Mather,
Otto Gmelich,
William R. Schimmeyer,
Marshall Anderson,
Denis J. Kiely,
Mortimer Laurence,
Elmer T. Marr,
Charles E. Reynolds,
John H. Kevers,
James N. McTwiggan,
Herman A. Berch,
Wade Lash,
Frederick W. Ickes, and
Ira D. Spoonmoore.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders from the 1st day of July, 1918:

William K. Riddle and
John G. Church.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants:

Eric L. Barr,
William M. Quigley,
Alfred E. Montgomery,
Allen H. Guthrie,
Ralph S. Wentworth,
Edmund A. Crenshaw,
Robert S. Haggart,
Forrest U. Lake,
Nathan B. Chase,
Earl R. Morrissey,
Harold H. Little,
Horatio J. Pierce, and
Abraham C. TenEyck.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade):

Archie E. Glann,
Myron J. Walker,
Stephen H. Matteson,
Burton W. Chippendale,
Cornelius W. Flynn,
Robert W. Clark,
Winthrop Winslow,
De Witt C. Watson,
Ralph W. Christie, and
William D. Thomas.

Gunner Clarence L. Tibbals to be a chief gunner.

Machinist Ernest A. Healy to be a chief machinist.

POSTMASTERS.

ALABAMA.

Sam T. Moss, Warrior.
William H. Welch, Wadley.
Hubert H. Hughston, Tuscumbia.
Clement T. Fitzpatrick, Montgomery.

ARKANSAS.

Everett A. Matthews, Ola.
John F. Hunt, Mammoth Springs.
William E. Floyd, Little Rock.
Charles B. Gregg, Jonesboro.
John A. Bridgford, Eureka Springs.
William L. Newton, Camden.

CALIFORNIA.

Anne M. Bearhope, Oceanside.
John L. Steward, Monterey.
Henry R. Gewe, Los Alamos.
Charles Brainerd, Loomis.
Charles W. Collins, El Centro.

GEORGIA.

Pleasant N. Little, Madison.

ILLINOIS.

Matthew N. Price, Zion.
Perley B. Colwell, Wyoming.
Glenn P. Wyatt, Wyanet.
Grover C. Gregory, Willisville.
William V. Lambe, Wheaton.
Mumford L. Briscoe, Westfield.
Robin Etter, Waverly.
George W. Cress, Washington.
Fred A. Ehringer, Washburn.
Charles S. Murphy, Warren.
Charles M. Webber, Urbana.

Charles B. Taylor, Tuscola.
Otto Bacmesiter, Toulon.
Herbert I. Baldwin, Tonica.
Randall A. Thompson, Thompsonville.
Herman Richarz, Techny.
Thomas J. Ronin, Sycamore.
James O. McDowell, Sumner.
Joseph P. Lawrence, Steger.
George H. Luker, Staunton.
Robert C. Probasco, Sparta.
Jennie McNulty, South Wilmington.
Clement L. Butler, Sheldon.
Charles E. Wescott, Sheffield.
George Hanlon, Shawneetown.
Edwin R. Smith, Saunemin.
Adam A. Funk, St. Joseph.
Lucian D. Lyons, St. David.
Asa B. Fagan, St. Charles.
Howard F. Dyson, Rushville.
Joseph R. Hudelson, Royalton.
Leo J. Byrne, Rossville.
Harry P. Simpson, Rock Island.
William P. Stevens, Richmond.
William P. Purviance, Pleasant Plains.
Henry Stahlle, Plano.
Henry J. Richardson, Pecatonica.
Robert T. Ross, Palmyra.
James J. Dougherty, Ottawa.
Charles S. Barker, Oswego.
Torrence B. McGovern, Oneida.
Barney A. Iaun, Olney.
William H. Evans, O'Fallon.
Franklin S. Lyman, Oak Forest.
Solomon E. Avey, Mount Morris.
William H. Ryan, Minonk.
David McFadden, Milford.
Charles A. Brandenburg, Milan.
Carl Montag, Mascoutah.
Robert D. Bolen, Maroa.
Joseph O. Smith, Manteno.
Ferdinand A. McGowan, Manhattan.
James E. Conlin, Lostant.
Charles W. Shade, Lexington.
John B. Henry, Lewistown.
William B. Hogan, Lanark.
John W. Payne, Lamoille.
Fred H. Stevens, La Grange.
William C. Stewart, Kirkland.
Fred O. Grissom, Kinmundy.
Otis E. Boyer, Kansas.
Sylvester J. Jackson, Kankakee.
Joel E. Cory, Jerseyville.
Ralph I. Dunlap, Jacksonville.
Fred C. Smith, Ipava.
Daniel W. Touhey, Hume.
William Finley, Hoopeston.
John L. Schmidt, Hinckley.
Mary B. Boyd, Heyworth.
Milton M. Sharp, Greenville.
Fred B. Bock, Girard.
Bernard J. Reilly, Gilman.
David M. Flynn, Geneva.
William H. J. Hoeft, Geneseo.
Ernest L. Benson, Galva.
William Whalen, Franklin.
Benjamin F. Wineland, Flora.
Charles D. Rock, Farmer City.
Gustav L. Burmeister, Elmhurst.
Lewis T. Rash, Elizabethtown.
Charles G. McClary, Edinburg.
Edgar H. Little, East St. Louis.
Foy O. Lovins, East Moline.
Leonard P. Cooper, East Alton.
Anson I. Graves, Dwight.
Martin B. Dolan, Durand.
Marion C. Cook, Duquoin.
Louis J. Dyroff, Dupo.
Myrtle E. Smith, Depue.
James N. Hall, Delavan.
Arthur F. Hiland, De Kalb.
Fred H. Henckler, Columbia.
John Jakle, Cissna Park.
Charles C. Wescott, Chillicothe.
William H. Stolte, Chicago Heights.
John A. O'Neil, Chatsworth.
Charles J. Mullikin, Champaign.
Elby Ozment, Carriers Mills.
Walter C. Shoupe, Carlyle.
Bernard McManus, jr., Cairo.
John A. Lentz, Blue Island.
Michael M. Morrissey, Bloomington.
Edmond P. Hectorne, Avon.
Frank W. Meisenheimer, Ava.
Louis A. Stoll, Aurora.
Alphus O. Haines, Atlanta.
John F. Atkinson, Astoria.
Joseph A. Roesler, Ashton.
John McCann, Arcola.
Frank B. Huber, Antioch.
John P. Harvey, Amboy.
Henrietta A. Rehwald, Altamont.
Charles E. Duvall, Aledo.
Frank Howey, Albion.

KENTUCKY.

John J. Hagan, Corbin.
Stephen A. D. Thompson, Owingsville.
John R. Paxton, Lawrenceburg.
Goalder Johnson, Hickman.

MAINE.

David N. Cheney, South Berwick.
Fred E. Grant, Cherryfield.
Alphonso F. Russell, jr., Canton.

MISSISSIPPI.

Essie F. McCormick, Yazoo City.

NEVADA.

Florence S. Doherty, Goodsprings.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Adelbert O. Jones, Dixville Notch.

NEW JERSEY.

Karl A. Anderson, Yardville.
Isaiah C. Shinn, Woodstown.
Leo M. Danerhirsh, Woodbine.
Howard J. Tombleson, Williamstown.
George N. Smith, Wildwood.
John P. Walsh, Whippany.
James Walters, Wharton.
William F. Bodecker, Tenafly.
Robert J. Quince, Sussex.
Charles W. Simonson, Spring Lake Beach.
John J. O'Hanlon, South Orange.
Edward J. Tidaback, Short Hills.
Frank C. Tomlin, Sewell.
Thomas F. Dolan, Sayreville.
James H. Mahaney, Roebling.
Henry Walter, Riverside.
Frank Pittenger, Red Bank.
William Slattery, Raritan.
Henry Bell, Ramsey.
George L. Kirchgasner, Rahway.
T. Harry Obert, Pleasantville.
Clarence D. Garis, Phillipsburg.
James J. Cowley, Passaic.
William H. Cook, Palmyra.
John J. Roche, Palisades Park.
Edward W. Sharps, Oxford.
George F. Moore, Oradell.
Benjamin F. Smith, Ocean City.
Eugene S. Burke, Morristown.
Martin A. Madden, Morris Plains.
Carlton J. Garwood, Medford.
Anton J. Mikolajczak, Maurer.
Patrick J. Devlin, Matawan.
Walter D. Finch, Mahwah.
Thomas L. Slocum, Long Branch.
Albert C. Derby, Little Falls.
Sadie M. Wood, Linden.
Andrew F. Stout, Lawrenceville.
James A. Cleary, Lambertville.
Arthur J. Halladay, Kenilworth.
Benjamin F. Apgar, Hampton.
George H. Abel, Haddon Heights.
Lewis E. Matteson, Grantwood.
Thomas J. Foley, Gloucester City.
Watson Rinehart, Glen Gardner.
Daniel J. Murphy, Fort Hancock.
Charles H. Hitchner, Elmer.
Emery Benoit, Edgewater.

William Griffin, Cresskill.
John F. Peniston, Cranford.
Reuben Coyte, Coytesville.
Arthur M. Cowie, Cedargrove.
Valentine Gleckner, Carteret.
Edward C. Wheaton, Cape May Courthouse.
Joseph P. Cullen, Boonton.
Cyrus B. Honce, Belmar.
William B. Loudenslager, Atlantic City.
Robert Bright, Anglesea.
John W. Winter, Allendale.

NEW YORK.

Joseph J. O'Reilly, Willsboro.
Albert C. Salisbury, Waterville.
C. Gordon Simmons, Vernon.
Edward J. Madden, Upper Saranac.
Edward F. Dougherty, Tonawanda.
William A. Cochran, Southold.
Anna E. Joyce, Roslyn Heights.
Albert R. Kessinger, Rome.
Horatio S. Ransom, Ransomville.
Besse R. Griffin, Quogue.
Matthew T. Hutchinson, Port Washington.
Andrew G. Senecal, Plattsburgh.
Carroll F. Simpson, Phoenicia.
George H. Steele, Oriskany.
W. Cooke Oille, North Tonawanda.
Thomas F. Connolly, Norfolk.
Stephen Van Tassel, Mount Vernon.
James A. McDonald, Mamaroneck.
George D. Hughes, Madrid.
Bessie Sullivan, Lisbon.
Wilbur C. Box, Linbrook.
Joseph E. Downs, Islip.
John D. Crosby, Inwood.
Joseph L. Durney, Huntington Station.
Mark L. Mount, Hewlett.
Francis J. Mulgannon, Hempstead.
Herbert W. Rackett, Greenport.
George H. Martens, Fort Totten.
Charles E. Dempsey, Fort Covington.
Abram Lang, Eden.
Arthur E. Hammond, East Aurora.
Owen J. Burns, Clinton.
Frank T. Kelly, Central Islip.
Nicholas Reilly, Brentwood.
Patrick A. Hallahan, Brasher Falls.
Irving Barrett, Bedford Hills.
Edward J. Woods, Bayport.
Robert E. L. Reynolds, Amsterdam.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Sarah A. Lunceford, Smithfield.
Robert N. Cook, Graham.
Benjamin B. Arrington, Beaufort.
Samuel A. Branch, Apex.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Anna Carmody, Hillsboro.
Mary A. Leavy, Granville.
Reuben H. Leavitt, Carson.

OHIO.

Della Boone, Spencer.

OKLAHOMA.

Daniel R. Wright, Taloga.
George H. Blackwood, Hominy.
Thomas P. Stone, Custer.
George W. Barefoot, Chickasha.

OREGON.

Charles W. Holloman, Haines.
Henry D. Reed, Gold Hill.
Mamie E. Gould, Burns.

PENNSYLVANIA.

George S. Dickson, Valencia.
Glenmar G. Gaston, Tionesta.
John H. Rifeuberick, Spartansburg.
Edward W. Workley, Smethport.
Thomas O. Humphrey, Sharon Hill.
Harvey Ziegler, Red Lion.
Frederick P. D. Hazell, Norwood Station.
John A. Rick, Girard.
Bernard Doherty, Clifton Heights.
William V. Wirtz, Albion.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Virginia Gantt, Wagener.
Theron L. Gregory, Kershaw.
Thomas M. Douglas, Chester.

TENNESSEE.

Lewis N. Lumpkins, Lawrenceburg.

TEXAS.

William T. McDonald, jr., Wylie.
William B. Smith, Shamrock.
William A. Garner, Runge.
Herman P. Talley, Rockdale.
Walter L. Crofford, Quitman.
Edward H. Daniel, Port Neches.
Grace R. Rubert, Port Lavaca.
Walter L. Francis, Kosse.
Joe F. Coffey, Eddy.
William G. Hardin, Brownfield.

UTAH.

Stephen W. Stoker, Milford.

WASHINGTON.

Alberta Gilson, Valley.
Mary A. Illy, Uniontown.
Jessie Knight, Shelton.
Albert Meade, Pe Ell.
Arthur Bailey, Monroe.

WISCONSIN.

Kathryn Meisner, Wittenberg.
Paul C. Dierschke, North Freedom.
Louie B. Halsey, Brandon.
Carroll R. Eaton, Adams.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *October 24, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou who canst right all wrongs, soothe all sorrows, and bring Thy children in harmony with Thy will, exercise, we beseech Thee, Thy holy influence upon us and guide us to clear conceptions of right, justice, and liberty, that we may protect the weak, uplift the downfallen, and further Thy purposes; that hunger, starvation, disease, and all the evils which doth beset us shall be removed. Strengthen our armies on land, sea, and sky, that a righteous peace may be established and bring all hearts under Thy sway; and we will praise and magnify Thy holy name, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday, October 21, 1918, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

A message from the President, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had approved bills and a joint resolution, as follows:

On October 16, 1918:

H. R. 12402. An act to exclude and expel from the United States aliens who are members of the anarchistic and similar classes.

On October 17, 1918:

H. R. 12982. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a large dry dock and appurtenant lands.

On October 19, 1918:

H. J. Res. 331. Joint resolution authorizing the readmission to the United States of certain aliens who have been conscripted or have volunteered for service with the military forces of the United States or cobelligerent forces.

On October 22, 1918:

H. R. 10609. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to exchange the present Federal building site at Eatonton, Ga., for another site on the public square in said city.

On October 23, 1918:

S. 3470. An act to amend section 35 of the Criminal Code of the United States.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 3735) to provide for enlistments in the National Guard of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the amenments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 4886) providing for the sale of certain lands in the original town site of Port Angeles, Wash.

The message also announced that the Senate further insisted upon its amendment numbered 28 to the bill (H. R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," disagreed to by the House of Representatives, and agreed to the further conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. GORE, Mr. SMITH of South Carolina, Mr. SMITH of Georgia, Mr. KENYON, and Mr. FRANCE as the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the conference report on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 63) to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution (S. Res. 322):

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. JOHN A. STERLING, late a Representative from the State of Illinois.

Resolved, That a committee of six Senators be appointed by the Presiding Officer to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the deceased.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, announced that they had found truly enrolled a bill and joint resolution of the following titles, when the Speaker signed the same:

S. 3735. To provide for enlistments in the National Guard of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; and

S. J. Res. 63. To establish a reserve of the Public Health Service.

RECESS UNTIL NOON TO-MORROW.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that we take a recess until 12 o'clock to-morrow, for the purpose of considering the deficiency bill. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] will be back to-morrow. That was one of the excepted matters.

Mr. GILLETT. I did not know but that you would take a recess until late this afternoon; but to-morrow will do just as well.

Mr. CANNON. Ordinarily the Senate does not order the printing of its amendments, but I suppose it could do so.

Mr. KITCHIN. The clerks will have that attended to.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. I understand the clerk of the House committee is looking after that in order to have it here to-morrow.

Mr. CANNON. All right.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, at any rate, the conferees on the food-production bill have agreed this morning to report a disagreement, and the Senate, I presume, will act upon that to-day, so that we can take that up to-morrow, too.

Mr. KITCHIN. We could take that up to-morrow. That also is one of the excepted matters.

Mr. CANNON. The Senate can adjourn from day to day?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Is it intended if these excepted matters should come up, that the House will meet on days other than those contemplated in the agreement?

Mr. KITCHIN. We could not meet except by unanimous consent.

Mr. WALSH. The agreement contemplated that any business that was to be transacted was to be transacted on the days when the House met.

Mr. KITCHIN. Technically it might not be within the language of our agreement, but I think the spirit of our agreement was that we could take up these three matters which we excepted, if we could get unanimous consent to stand in recess, as I have asked. Otherwise we would have to wait until Monday.

Mr. CANNON. The legislative day may continue, so far as the calendar days are concerned, up to and including Sunday?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman's suggestion does not modify the agreement that was made.

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not think it modifies the spirit of the agreement at all. These bills were excepted, and all that will be done to-morrow will be the appointment of a conference committee. In other words, we could meet, legislatively and parliamentarily and technically, from now until to-morrow at 12 o'clock, and all through to-day and to-night and to-morrow morning, we could remain in session and wait for that. But instead of that we can have a unanimous-consent agreement to recess until to-morrow, as we could have a recess until 3 o'clock this afternoon or until any other hour.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until 12 o'clock noon to-morrow. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 8 minutes p. m.) the House stood in recess until to-morrow, Friday, October 25, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. PADGETT, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 13112) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to acquire additional lands for the Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md., and for other purposes, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 834), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. PADGETT: A bill (H. R. 13115) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to acquire additional lands for the naval training station, naval operating base, Hampton Roads, Va.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. KNUTSON: A bill (H. R. 13116) authorizing payment to certain Red Lake Indians, out of Chippewa Indian funds, for garden plots surrendered for school-farm use; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. SLOAN: A bill (H. R. 13117) authorizing the conferring upon civilian appointees of the Government who have served the Government during at least six months of the present war without substantial compensation a suitably inscribed bronze badge; to the Committee on the Library.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. KNUTSON: A bill (H. R. 13118) granting a pension to Charles Fortier; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TIMBERLAKE: A bill (H. R. 13119) granting a pension to William Gibson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. CARY: Petition of George D. Bartlett, secretary of the Wisconsin Bankers' Association, protesting against stamp tax on bank checks; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Genevieve Oium, protesting against the Surgeon General prohibiting the osteopathic physicians from serving in any capacity in the Medical Department of the United States Army and Navy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. OSBORNE: Petition of Earle M. Phillips and others, of Los Angeles, Cal., in favor of the Edmonds bill, to establish a pharmaceutical corps in the United States Army; also a petition of the same import by Louis Freedman and others, of Los Angeles, Cal.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, *October 25, 1918.*

(Continuation of legislative day of Thursday, October 24, 1918.)

The recess having expired, the House (at 12 o'clock noon, Friday, October 25, 1918) resumed its session.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate by Mr. Waldorf, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, in which amendments the concurrence of the House was requested, and had asked for a conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses, and had appointed as conferees on the part of the Senate Mr. MARTIN of Virginia, Mr. UNDERWOOD, and Mr. WARREN.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the urgent deficiency appropriation bill, which is on the Speaker's table with Senate amendments, be taken from the table, and that the House disagree to the Senate amendments and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, and that the House disagree to all the Senate amendments and agree to the conference asked by the Senate. Is there objection?

There was no objection; and the Speaker announced as the conferees on the part of the House Mr. SHERLEY, Mr. EAGAN, and Mr. CANNON.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I understand that a meeting of the conferees has been called for this afternoon, and there is a possibility that a report may be agreed upon before midnight to-night. I therefore ask unanimous consent that if the report is agreed upon it be printed in the RECORD of to-day's proceedings.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that if the conferees on the urgent deficiency bill make a report to-day it be printed in the RECORD to-day. Without objection it will be so ordered.

There was no objection.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT (NO. 835).

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 3, 8, 20, and 25.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 7: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 7, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lines 7 and 8 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the following: "including necessary clerical help in the District of Columbia and other personal services," and insert in lieu thereof the following: "including not exceeding $25,000 for personal services in the District of Columbia"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 10: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert "$500,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 11: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 11, and agreed to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 3 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the word "authorized" and insert in lieu thereof the word "directed"; and in line 8 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the word "six" and insert in lieu thereof the word "two"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 13: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 13, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment amended as follows: At the end of the matter stricken out by said amendment insert the following: ": *Provided further*, That property shall not be taken over under the foregoing power at an aggregate cost in excess of $15,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 24: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 24, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Omit the matter stricken out and inserted by said amendment, and on page 37 of the bill strike out line 5; and the Senate agree to the same.

SWAGAR SHERLEY,
JOHN J. EAGAN,
J. G. CANNON,
Managers on the part of the House.

THOMAS S. MARTIN,
O. W. UNDERWOOD,
F. E. WARREN,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT.

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, submit the following written statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conference committee and submitted in the accompanying conference report as to each of said amendments, namely:

On No. 1: Inserts the amendment, proposed by the Senate, increasing the powers of the President under the trading-with-the enemy act in connection with alien property.

On No. 2: Inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, re appropriating for the District of Columbia militia the unexpended balances of appropriations for the fiscal year 1918.

On No. 3: Provides, as proposed by the House, that the expenditures for the establishment of plants for shipbuilding or maintenance or repair may be paid from appropriations for the construction of ships.

On Nos. 4 and 5: Appropriates $200,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $136,000, as proposed by the House, for employees in the Department of State; and appropriates $200,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $125,000, as proposed by the House, for clerks at embassies and legations.

On No. 6: Inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, authorizing the payment of allotments and family allowances for enlisted men reported as missing in action until their actual status has been determined by the proper official authority.

On No. 7: Appropriates $500,000, as proposed by the Senate, for use of the Public Health Service in enforcing interstate quarantine.

On No. 8: Provides, as proposed by the House, that construction work at the quarantine stations carried in the bill shall be under the Construction Division of the War Department instead of under the Supervising Architect of the Treasury, as proposed by the Senate.

On No. 9: Inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, authorizing the crediting of $327.04 in the accounts of Maj. Charles J. Nelson.

On No. 10: Appropriates $500,000, instead of $800,000, as proposed by the Senate, for contingent expenses of the War Department.

On No. 11: Inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, relative to the disposition of claims caused by explosion and fire at the plant of T. A. Gillespie Loading Co., Morgan, N. J., modified so as to direct the Secretary of War to ascertain, consider, and determine the amounts due and report to Congress within two months from the approval of the act.

On No. 12: Appropriates $200,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $100,000, as proposed by the House, for contingencies of the Army.

On No. 13: Restores the paragraph stricken out by the Senate, authorizing the Secretary of War to requisition or take over lands and buildings for hospital purposes, modified so as to limit the authority to a sum not exceeding $15,000,000.

On Nos. 14, 15, and 16: Strikes out the appropriation of $183,186 for shooting galleries and ranges; strikes out the appropriation of $1,500,000 for the acquisition of lands at

Fayetteville, N. C.; and strikes out the appropriation of $1,600,000 for the acquisition of lands at West Point, Ky., as proposed by the Senate.

On Nos. 17 and 18, relating to the Military Academy: Inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, crediting cadets of the classes of 1920 and 1921 with so much of their full-course personal-equipment allowances as may remain unpaid at the date of their graduation, and appropriates $150,000 to be used by the treasurer of the academy to keep stock in cadet store, cadet mess, and cadet laundry.

On Nos. 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23, relating to the Post Office Department: Appropriates $74,560, as proposed by the Senate, for clerical services; strikes out the appropriation of $20,000, proposed by the Senate, for personal services in connection with extraordinary work; appropriates $4,912.31 for compensation of postmasters and $196,045.04 for special-delivery fees, as proposed by the Senate.

On No. 24: Strikes out all reference in the bill to a new vessel for the Coast and Geodetic Survey, instead of the paragraph proposed by the House, repealing the authorization for such a vessel, and the one proposed by the Senate granting authority to construct up to the full limit of cost of such vessel.

On No. 25: Strikes out the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, granting permanence and full classified status to temporary appointees in the Naturalization Bureau and Service.

On Nos. 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30, relating to the Senate: Inserts the paragraphs proposed by the Senate for payments to the widows or legal representatives of deceased Senators and appropriates $5,000 for folding speeches and pamphlets.

On No. 31: Appropriates $501,662.50, as proposed by the Senate, for the payment of judgments of the Court of Claims certified to Congress after the bill had passed the House.

On No. 32: Appropriates for the payment of claims allowed by the accounting officers of the Treasury Department certified to Congress after the bill had passed the House.

SWAGAR SHERLEY,
JOHN J. EAGAN,
J. G. CANNON,
Managers on the part of the House.

REPRINT OF AN ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I have been requested to make the following statement——

The SPEAKER. What is it about?

Mr. LEVER. It is about an extension of remarks by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON]. He requests a correction.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina asks for one minute. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, on October 16 the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON] obtained leave to print in the RECORD an address of the late President Garfield. It was printed in the back part of the RECORD, but the words crediting it to Gen. Garfield were omitted. Mr. GORDON asks that this correction be made and that the address be reprinted, with the proper credit. It is short.

Mr. GILLETT. Did it appear in the RECORD as though it was an address by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON]?

Mr. LEVER. I am informed that it did.

The SPEAKER. That was one of the most famous speeches ever made by the late Gen. Garfield. The gentleman from North Carolina, in the absence of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON], and at his request, asks unanimous consent that the address be reprinted in the RECORD, with the proper credit to Gen. Garfield. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, announced that they had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the following title, when the Speaker signed the same:

S. 4886. An act providing for the sale of certain lands in the original town site of Port Angeles, Wash.

RECESS UNTIL TO-MORROW.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the House take a recess until 12 o'clock to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until 12 o'clock noon to-morrow. Is there objection?

There was no objection; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the House took a recess until to-morrow, Saturday, October 26, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII,

Mr. SABATH introduced a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 339) to designate November 8, 1918, as Czecho-Slovak day, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII,

Mr. ESCH laid on the Clerk's desk the petition of the Clanna-Gael, urging the intervention of America in behalf of Irish independence, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, *October 26, 1918.*

(*Continuation of legislative day of Thursday, October 24, 1918.*)

The recess having expired, the House (at 12 o'clock noon, Saturday, October 26, 1918), resumed its session.

CORRECTION OF THE RECORD.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I rise to correct the RECORD. I notice that in the RECORD of yesterday the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] printed some remarks as an extension under date of Friday, October 25. The gentleman from Alabama did not receive any permission on Friday, October 25, and did not receive any permission this whole week, to my knowledge. I do not charge him with printing an extension of remarks without any permission; I presume some time he has had permission, but certainly when remarks are printed under an extension they should carry the date of the day when the leave was granted.

The gentleman from Alabama in his remarks, which he puts in as of yesterday, prints an order by the Director General of Railroads which was issued October 19, which was certainly since he received permission. He introduces a letter of the President of yesterday and some comments on that letter by the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. FERRIS].

Now, I am sure, however partisan the House may be, the House intends to be fair, and I am sure the House will recognize that the gentleman had no right under the leave which was granted some time ago to put his extension in as of yesterday. It must be put in as of the day when the leave was granted, and therefore he could not put in anything after that date. So I ask that the RECORD be corrected by striking out everything that occurred after the date the gentleman received permission.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, I am not surprised that the gentleman from Massachusetts—the Republican leader—wants to strike my speech from the RECORD. I printed the facts and figures from the War and Navy Departments showing that the Republican claims as to expenditures in Southern States for war purposes were untrue.

Mr. GILLETT. I do not ask that that be stricken out.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago when certain Republicans obtained leave to extend remarks in the RECORD I rose and said, "I make the same request."

Mr. GILLETT. What date was that?

Mr. HEFLIN. I do not remember the day.

Mr. GILLETT. It was not during this week?

Mr. HEFLIN. Not many days ago.

Mr. GILLETT. I know it was not this week.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman from Alabama give us the day and place in the RECORD where the permission was granted?

Mr. HEFLIN. I have not looked it up. The RECORD will show the date.

Mr. GILLETT. What date was that?

Mr. HEFLIN. I do not remember; but I will say to the gentleman that I always get permission to extend my remarks when Republicans are obtaining leave. I do so in order to correct Republican misstatements that are made to the country. [Laughter on the Democratic side.] Mr. Speaker, when several Republicans the other day obtained permission to extend their remarks I thought that I might want to extend remarks, and maybe reply to something they were sending out, so I obtained permission. They have been appealing to sectional prejudice and stating that the North was being discriminated against by the administration, and that war funds were being lavishly spent in the South to the neglect and injury of the North, all of which is untrue. I reserved the right in order that I might print remarks in the RECORD. I have done that before, Mr. Speaker. Every Member has had this right, and

sometimes permissions have been granted for weeks, to my knowledge, and the remarks were not printed until about the time that Congress adjourned. When Congress recessed or adjourned in October last year, remarks were printed from leaves that had been granted two or three weeks prior.

Mr. GILLETT. Will the gentleman allow a question?

Mr. HEFLIN. Yes.

Mr. GILLETT. In all of these cases, when the remarks were printed were they not printed as of the date when the leave was granted?

Mr. HEFLIN. I do not know about that. It was not my purpose to show that these remarks should appear as if leave was obtained on yesterday. The RECORD will show that leave was granted. Let the gentleman look the RECORD up and see whether I had leave to print, and if I did have leave to print and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I have a right to print anything under that leave unless somebody should ask me what subject, and then I should state a specific subject. I know what the gentleman objects to. The President of the United States, because of the Republican conspiracy to slip up on him and get this House and Senate and tie his hands in the conduct of the war, was forced to appeal to the American people to give him a Democratic House and Senate, and his letter to the country is what the gentleman is objecting to. He does not want it printed and sent out in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. We might as well tell the truth and the whole truth about this situation. I had permission to extend my remarks, and I did so. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The rule about extensions is plain enough. If a gentleman rises and simply gets leave to extend remarks, he can extend them any time before the 4th of March, but he can not put into the extended remarks anything that happened after the day that he got his leave. That has been the practice of the House. Of course, the rule has not been invoked very frequently.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, I have been in the House 14 years, and I never heard it invoked before.

Mr. GILLETT. I have been 14 years in the House, and I never have known a man to try to abuse that custom.

Mr. HEFLIN. I have not tried to abuse it.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves that the RECORD be corrected by striking out from the remarks of the gentleman from Alabama those parts that apply to a date subsequent to his getting the leave.

Mr. EAGLE rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Texas rise?

Mr. EAGLE. To make this observation: The Speaker having stated what the rule is, why is a motion requisite in order to enforce the rule?

The SPEAKER. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is a matter entirely in the hands of the House and not in the hands of the Speaker. The Speaker stated what the rule is in a proper way.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, in order to prevent this injustice being done me and the administration which has the conduct of this war in hand, and in order to prevent the Republican minority leader from keeping this truth which is in my speech from going to the country, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama makes the point of order that there is no quorum present.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I will ask the gentleman from Alabama to withhold it for a moment.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, I withhold it for a moment, but I shall make it again.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will withhold temporarily the point of no quorum, I desire recognition upon this point.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama withholds his point of order that there is no quorum present.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I do not feel that the point made by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] is well taken. At least, I am not prepared to concede that it is at this time. Of course, the gentleman from Massachusetts knows that I wish to be perfectly fair about the matter, but I have never heard the rule invoked that where one had authority to extend his remarks in the RECORD it meant that he could insert only whatever data he desired to insert which had occurred prior to the time or at the time of the securing of permission to extend.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Certainly.

Mr. GILLETT. Is it not always the practice when a Member gets permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD that the extension appears in the RECORD as of the date when he obtained permission?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I say very frankly to the gentleman that I have not noticed just what the print carries in respect to that.

Mr. GILLETT. The gentleman is logical, and if he will think for a moment he will realize the truth of what I say. A Member rises and makes a speech, and then asks permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Of course, that means that he extends them as of that date. It must mean that; and if the gentleman will observe the RECORD he will find that it is always printed in the RECORD as of that date. If that is so, no man who has any sense of self-respect could put in something which occurred after he obtained permission when he prints his speech; for instance, as of the date upon which he obtained permission.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, I object to the language of the gentleman from Massachusetts, and he can not apply any such language to me.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama will please suspend. The gentleman from Massachusetts was making a general statement which did not apply to the gentleman from Alabama any more than it applied to the Chair or any other Member of the House. It may have been an extreme statement, and the Chair thinks it was.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, if the Chair will observe, I said that when a Member prints a speech as of a certain date he would not, with self-respect—and this does not apply to the gentleman, because the gentleman violated the rule by not printing his speech as of the date when he was granted permission to print it, but as of yesterday—he can not with self-respect include within his remarks when printed as of a certain date matters which occurred thereafter. If the gentleman had printed his remarks as of the date when he obtained permission, he will recognize, as every Member will recognize, how absurd it would have been to print a speech as of October 17, say, and then include in it some statements which were not issued until a week after. So that I think the gentleman from Tennessee, who is a logical man and who is fair, will at once recognize that that is inevitably so, that the leave to print means that the leave is to print as of that date, and although it is not printed for many days, yet if it bears the date of the time when permission was granted or when the speech was originally delivered, it would, therefore, be preposterous for anyone to include within it something which occurred afterwards, as, for instance, to include within a speech delivered as of the date of October 17, some facts which did not occur until a week afterwards.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I do not agree with the gentleman's premise, that where a Member rises, for instance, and obtains unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD, that that means the remarks must be printed as of that date in the RECORD. It has been quite a while since I recall when general leave to print was given, but, of course, in the experience of all of us here, it has occurred that general leave to print has been given for 10 legislative days, even after the adjournment of Congress in some instances.

Mr. GILLETT. But that leave always specified.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I do not agree with the gentleman's premise. If we admit the gentleman's premise, we will have to admit his conclusion; but I do not agree with the gentleman's premise that where general permission is given to print it necessarily follows that the Member obtaining it must print as of the date upon which permission is granted.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. For that reason I am not prepared to vote to strike out the gentleman's remarks. I am anxious to protect the RECORD. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, when a gentleman rises to obtain leave to print, does he not have in mind to print remarks concerning something that has already happened or concerning something which he then has in his mind, and not to anticipate something that may happen in the future?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Not necessarily. I am sure that I can, with a little time, find and point out to the gentleman cases in which Members have obtained permission to extend their remarks in the RECORD and have inserted in the RECORD things that occurred subsequent to the date upon which permission was granted.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. If that be true, it is no justification, for the reason that if the House is to have any control over its RECORD, and there is to be any system at all with reference

to the conduct of the rule of extension of remarks, it must be in respect to something that a man has in mind at the time.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The time for the House to protect itself, if it anticipates any protection is necessary, is at the time the request is made. Of course, if matter is inserted in violation of the rules of the House it does not matter as of what date it may be inserted. The right of the House to strike out is unquestioned, but I do not understand that it is contended that the matter here is objectionable to any rule of the House.

Mr. GILLETT. Not in the slightest. I am perfectly willing that the matter should be inserted in a proper way.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. It is wholly predicated upon the proposition that matters are inserted which occurred subsequent to the date at which the gentleman obtained permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I will.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Does the gentleman mean to say that when the House agree that a Member may extend his remarks in the RECORD that they are agreeing to something in the future that they do not know anything about? I think it is directly to the contrary, that they are agreeing he may extend his remarks upon what has already occurred.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Of course, no gentleman will insert in the RECORD any remarks which are offensive to the rules of the House. That is the only limitation. I do not think it is understood——

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I am talking about fairness and understanding between each Member, between man and man.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I do not think it is understood where consent is given to a gentleman to insert——

Mr. BANKHEAD. Will the gentleman from Massachusetts yield?

Mr. GILLETT. I will yield.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Did I understand the gentleman from Massachusetts to say that he had no objection to the matter going into the RECORD?

Mr. GILLETT. I have not the slightest objection personally, but I do not like to see the rules violated.

Mr. BANKHEAD. The main objection I understand the gentleman from Massachusetts has to the insertion of the matter is of the date of Friday, October 25, that appears at the head of the extension of remarks?

Mr. GILLETT. They had no right to go in at all. The gentleman from Alabama had no right to put it in, and I am surprised the gentleman from Tennessee does not recognize that when a gentleman gets up and asks leave to extend his remarks in the RECORD, when it goes in the RECORD it ought to go in as of the date he asked it.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I do not understand there is any rule. If the right is granted in that form—I do not remember the form in which leave was granted the gentleman; I do not recall I was on the floor when it occurred—but if that leave was granted, if he arose and said, "Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD," and the question was put and that was granted without limitation, he would have the right to extend at any time during the remainder of this session——

Mr. GILLETT. Certainly.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Any time during the remainder of the session.

Mr. GILLETT. And it should have been printed as of that date.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I will.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. As a matter of fact, has not the gentleman himself and almost every other Member of the House done that very thing?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennesse. I do not recall that I have ever extended remarks in the RECORD, except——

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. I have extended mine.

Mr. GILLETT. But did not the gentleman put the date?

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. I put the remarks in as of the date printed.

Mr. GILLETT. I have never seen that, except as of the date of the permission to print.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILLETT. I will.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. Is there anything in the extension of remarks that is objectionable, if it was printed within the five days?

Mr. GILLETT. Except that it was not in existence within the five days.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. Then I understand there is nothing in it that is objectionable——

Mr. GILLETT. It is obviously a political speech printed contrary to the rules of the House in order to circulate without paying postage the President's letter, the order of the Director General of Railroads, and Mr. SCOTT FERRIS's remarks. That is obviously the purpose of it, a political partisan speech, which I think——

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. But I understood personally the gentleman had no objection?

Mr. GILLETT. I have no objection personally. I do not think it would do any good. Of course, the President's letter has been in all the papers anyway, and I do not think the remarks of Mr. FERRIS—well, I will not say that.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. Would the gentleman object to its being reincorporated in to-day's RECORD?

Mr. GILLETT. I would not have the slightest objection if the gentleman would strike it out from yesterday's RECORD, or the gentleman from Mississippi himself would ask leave——

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. But I understood the gentleman to say he would have no objection——

Mr. HEFLIN. It will not rest on any such contingency as that. What I have printed is properly in the RECORD.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, suppose I make this suggestion: Suppose this remains in the RECORD and with it there is also permitted to go into the RECORD the statement just issued by Mr. LODGE and others.

Mr. HEFLIN. No, sir; under the circumstances, I would not permit that. Leave must be granted in the regular way.

Mr. GILLETT. I thought probably not. I would like to leave it to that side of the House if my suggestion is not a fair proposition.

Mr. KITCHIN. Will the gentleman yield? I will suggest that the gentleman from Massachusetts postpone his motion, and, of course, the gentleman from Alabama will withdraw for the present his point of no quorum, and let us take up and consider and dispose of, if we can, the first deficiency bill, and then the gentleman from Massachusetts can renew it.

Mr. GOOD. No; then we will adjourn.

Mr. KITCHIN. We do not want the point of no quorum made.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, when a Member receives permission to extend his remarks and then makes an extension in the RECORD, should his remarks be dated as of the date he secured the right to extend or as of some other date?

The SPEAKER. That is hardly a parliamentary question, but the Chair will answer it, anyhow. Yes; it ought to be dated when he gets leave. That is the common sense of the thing; and the Chair recollects——

Mr. NORTON. It has been my observation that that has always been done heretofore.

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not know whether it has or not. He will not undertake to say.

Mr. MONDELL. The propriety of the gentleman's remarks having been challenged, it seems to me the gentleman should inform the House as to the date on which and circumstances under which he secured permission to extend remarks. I do not recall any general permission to extend remarks having been granted for some time in the House to anyone.

The SPEAKER. Of course, the Chair does not undertake to speak by the RECORD; but I remember one evening there were half a dozen, and possibly more, gentlemen who hopped up and asked unanimous consent to extend their remarks in the RECORD, and the House, being in good humor, gave them all leave to do so, and among others was the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN]. Now, what the date was I do not remember.

Mr. GILLETT. Should he not show by the RECORD his leave to print?

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks the burden is on him.

Mr. GILLETT. The gentleman asserts that he has the right to print. I would like to have him show it in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The first time my attention was called to this question—and I have forgotten what year it was, but I think it was 1904, when President Roosevelt was a candidate for reelection—a very eminent Member of the House, not a Member of it now, got leave to extend his remarks in the RECORD, and about 30 days after the House adjourned for good he printed a speech that must have taken 20 or 30 pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and he loaded it up with every political thing he could get hold of, down to the day he put it in the RECORD. But Congress was not in session. And while there was a good deal of criticism of it and mouthing

about it, by the time the election was over and we all got back here in December everybody was in a good humor and nobody ever moved to strike the speech out of the RECORD. It was the grossest case I ever saw.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for three minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to address the House for three minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, the point of no quorum is pending. The gentlemen's agreement, with which we are all familiar, is that when the House adjourns it adjourn to meet every three days. Our colleagues from both sides of the House are scattered all over the country in their campaign. Now, what is the situation? Here is an appropriation bill of between six and seven billions of dollars that looks to the prosecution of this war. It is important that it should be passed here and now by the House agreeing to a conference report, but it can not be passed in the event the point of order of no quorum is insisted upon.

Now, the bill is of real substance; it means shot and shell and provisions and ships. It is almost impossible to get a quorum here. It is not just to our absent colleagues that we should be called upon to get a quorum.

Now, I want to make one further remark about this matter. If the gentleman from Alabama and myself were both dead, we would be buried and the funeral expenses would be paid, and that would be the end of it. The point is made that the gentleman from Alabama has violated the customs of the House by printing something under leave to print obtained some days ago, and that he has printed the President's partisan appeal to the country, the object being that it should be frankable. Well, it is pretty well distributed in the newspapers, and, God knows, I have no objection, and I do not believe this side of the House has any objection. If that side of the House thinks it well to make it frankable, then it should be made frankable. And in view of what has taken place, and in view of the emergency that is upon us, the real emergency for the prosecution of this war and the support of the President of the United States, the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, in the prosecution of the war, where both sides of the House will vote between six and seven billions of dollars, I am going to ask unanimous consent that this whole thing may be stopped for the present, in order that the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] may call up his conference report. And after it is adopted I hope the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] may ask unanimous consent to print the matter that is objected to, and if he does not feel like that, inasmuch as he may think it might reflect against him, I will ask that it be printed. Good God, I have no objection to its being printed and sent broadcast! [Applause.] But my object is to pass this bill. [Applause.]

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as the gentleman from Alamaba is not willing that the House should pass on whether he has violated the rules or not, but makes the point of no quorum—which, of course, would be of great inconvenience to many Members on both that side and this and delay this great appropriation bill, I for the present withdraw my motion.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] withdraws his motion.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I present a conference report upon the first urgent deficiency bill, and under the permission of the House given last night this report was printed in to-day's RECORD. I desire to call it up.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky calls up the conference report on the deficiency bill, which the Clerk will read.

STIMULATION OF AGRICULTURE.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, temporarily I yield, that the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER] may present for printing another conference report.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I present for printing under the rule the conference report and accompanying statement on the bill (H. R. 11945) making appropriations to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. The conference report is ordered printed under the rule.

Following are the conference report and accompanying statement:

CONFERENCE REPORT.

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11945) making appropriations to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products, and for other purposes," having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

Amendment No. 28: The committee on conference have been unable to agree on the amendment of the Senate numbered 28.

A. F. LEVER,
E. S. CANDLER,
G. M. HAUGEN,
J. C. MCLAUGHLIN,
Managers on the part of the House.

T. P. GORE,
W. S. KENYON,
HOKE SMITH,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT.

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate numbered 28 to the bill (H. R. 11945) making appropriations to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products, and for other purposes," submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conference committee and submitted in the accompanying conference report as to said Senate amendment numbered 28, namely:

On amendment No. 28: This amendment adds new language and constitutes what is commonly known as the Pomerene antirent profiteering bill, and, among other things, provides for the appointment of a rent administrator for the District of Columbia. The conferees have been unable to agree as to this amendment.

A. F. LEVER,
E. S. CANDLER,
G. N. HAUGEN,
J. C. MCLAUGHLIN,
Managers on the part of the House.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION—CONFERENCE REPORT (NO. 836).

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the conference report on the bill H. R. 13086, the deficiency bill.

The conference report was read, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 3, 8, 20, and 25.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 7: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 7, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lines 7 and 8 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the following: "including necessary clerical help in the District of Columbia and other personal services," and insert in lieu thereof the following: "including not exceeding $25,000 for personal services in the District of Columbia"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 10: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert "$500,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 11: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 11, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line

3 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the word "authorized" and insert in lieu thereof the word "directed"; and in line 8 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the word "six" and insert in lieu thereof the word "two"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 13: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 13, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment amended as follows: At the end of the matter stricken out by said amendment insert the following: ": *Provided further*, That property shall not be taken over under the foregoing power at an aggregate cost in excess of $15,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 24: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 24, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Omit the matter stricken out and inserted by said amendment, and on page 37 of the bill strike out line 5; and the Senate agree to the same.

SWAGAR SHERLEY,
JOHN J. EAGAN,
J. G. CANNON,
Managers on the part of the House.

THOMAS S. MARTIN,
O. W. UNDERWOOD,
F. E. WARREN,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT.

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, submit the following written statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conference committee and submitted in the accompanying conference report as to each of said amendments, namely:

On No. 1: Inserts the amendment, proposed by the Senate, increasing the powers of the President under the trading-with-the enemy act in connection with alien property.

On No. 2: Inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, reappropriating for the District of Columbia militia the unexpended balances of appropriations for the fiscal year 1918.

On No. 3: Provides, as proposed by the House, that the expenditures for the establishment of plants for shipbuilding or maintenance or repair may be paid from appropriations for the construction of ships.

On Nos. 4 and 5: Appropriates $200,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $136,000, as proposed by the House, for employees in the Department of State; and appropriates $200,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $125,000, as proposed by the House, for clerks at embassies and legations.

On No. 6: Inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, authorizing the payment of allotments and family allowances for enlisted men reported as missing in action until their actual status has been determined by the proper official authority.

On No. 7: Appropriate $500,000, as proposed by the Senate, for use of the Public Health Service in enforcing interstate quarantine.

On No. 8: Provides, as proposed by the House, that construction work at the quarantine stations carried in the bill shall be under the Construction Division of the War Department instead of under the Supervising Architect of the Treasury, as proposed by the Senate.

On No. 9: Inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, authorizing the crediting of $327.04 in the accounts of Maj. Charles J. Nelson.

On No. 10: Appropriates $500,000, instead of $800,000, as proposed by the Senate, for contingent expenses of the War Department.

On No. 11: Inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, relative to the disposition of claims caused by explosion and fire at the plant of T. A. Gillespie Loading Co., Morgan, N. J., modified so as to direct the Secretary of War to ascertain, consider, and determine the amounts due and report to Congress within two months from the approval of the act.

On No. 12: Appropriate $200,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $100,000, as proposed by the House, for contingencies of the Army.

On No. 13: Restores the paragraph stricken out by the Senate, authorizing the Secretary of War to requisition or take over lands and buildings for hospital purposes, modified so as to limit the authority to a sum not exceeding $15,000,000.

On Nos. 14, 15, and 16: Strikes out the appropriations of $183,186 for shooting galleries and ranges; strikes out the appropriation of $1,500,000 for the acquisition of lands at Fayetteville, N. C.; and strikes out the appropriation of $1,600,000 for the acquisition of lands at West Point, Ky., as proposed by the Senate.

On Nos. 17 and 18, relating to the Military Academy: Inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, crediting cadets of the classes of 1920 and 1921 with so much of their full-course personal-equipment allowances as may remain unpaid at the date of their graduation, and appropriates $150,000 to be used by the treasurer of the academy to keep stock in cadet store, cadet mess, and cadet laundry.

On Nos. 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23, relating to the Post Office Department: Appropriates $74,560, as proposed by the Senate, for clerical services; strikes out the appropriation of $20,000, proposed by the Senate, for personal services in connection with extraordinary work; appropriates $4,912.31 for compensation of postmasters and $196,045.04 for special-delivery fees, as proposed by the Senate.

On No. 24: Strikes out all reference in the bill to a new vessel for the Coast and Geodetic Survey, instead of the paragraph proposed by the House, repealing the authorization for such a vessel, and the one proposed by the Senate granting authority to construct up to the full limit of cost of such vessel.

On No. 25: Strikes out the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, granting permanence and full classified status to temporary appointees in the Naturalization Bureau and Service.

On Nos. 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30, relating to the Senate: Inserts the paragraphs proposed by the Senate for payments to the widows or legal representatives of deceased Senators and appropriates $5,000 for folding speeches and pamphlets.

On No. 31: Appropriates $501,662.50, as proposed by the Senate, for the payment of judgments of the Court of Claims certified to Congress after the bill had passed the House.

On No. 32: Appropriates for the payment of claims allowed by the accounting officers of the Treasury Department certified to Congress after the bill had passed the House.

SWAGAR SHERLEY,
JOHN J. EAGAN,
J. G. CANNON,
Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, the first deficiency bill for 1919, as it passed the House, carried $2,487,405,890.04 in cash and a contract authorization of $3,844,511,016. The Senate made no change in reference to the contract authorization, but they amended the cash provisions in the bill by striking out certain ones that had been carried in it by the House, and the result of that was to make a net reduction in the bill of $81,977.63.

The bill as it has been finally agreed to carries $2,487,003,912.41 in cash and the contract authorization that I have heretofore referred to, making a total of $6,331,514,928.41. This sum is $401,977.63 less than the bill as it passed the House.

The chief matter of importance at issue between the two Houses related to some legislation that was put in by the Senate in connection with the powers of the Alien Property Custodian. That comprises three matters. It is to make clear, first, that the power given to the Alien Property Custodian over the property of alien enemies embraced, as property, patents, trade-marks, choses in action, and so forth. There seemed to be some doubt as to whether the generic term "property" included property of those kinds, and, in order that there might be no question about that we amend the act prescribing the powers of the Alien Property Custodian so as to carry the language "including patents, copyrights, applications therefor, and rights to apply for the same, trade-marks, choses in action, and rights and claims of every character and description," this being simply a statement showing that the word "property" included such character of property.

Further, there is given to the Alien Property Custodian the right to issue stock certificates in lieu of stock certificates that were owned by the alien enemies, whether such stock certificates were now in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian or not. In some cases the Alien Property Custodian would obtain possession of shares of stock belonging to an alien enemy, because such shares were here in America and under the act were delivered to him. In other instances the books of the corporation would show such stock ownership by an alien enemy, but the actual shares of stock were in the possession of such alien enemy and not within the United States. This amendment enables the Alien Property Custodian to get the evidences of title. He already, under existing law, gets the title to such property, but he would get the evidence of such title by the issuance of

new certificates of stock by the corporation in lieu of those held by the alien enemy.

It was also provided that "The sole relief and remedy of any person having any claim to any money or other property heretofore or hereafter conveyed, transferred, assigned, delivered, or paid over to the Alien Property Custodian, or required so to be, or seized by him shall be that provided by the terms of this act, and in the event of sale or other disposition of such property by the Alien Property Custodian, shall be limited to and enforced against the net proceeds received therefrom and held by the Alien Property Custodian or by the Treasurer of the United States."

In other words, it confines a suit or claim for property taken over under this act to the proceeds resulting from the sale of such property where such property has been sold, and is, I believe, a proper limitation and a limitation that would be placed in any event upon the rights of such alien enemy, even if this provision were not carried in the law.

The House concurred in these amendments, believing that they were simply carrying out the plain intent and spirit of the trading-with-the-enemy act, and that it does not change in any true sense the purpose and intent of such law, but clarifies and makes it plain. It would have been impossible, if the House should have held that the word "property" did not embrace trade-marks and patents, to have disposed of a great deal of property which is in the possession of the Alien Property Custodian and which had belonged to alien enemies, and which property for its value depended upon patent rights and trade-marks, and so forth.

In addition to that matter the Senate had a provision giving for the use of the militia to be formed under the act recently passed by Congress the unexpended balances of appropriations for the fiscal year 1918. The House will recall that within the past few days there has been passed a District of Columbia Militia act, making provision temporarily for a new militia body here, and this is simply to make available for their use the funds that existed for the District of Columbia Militia for the year 1918 and which had not been expended.

The Senate, in connection with the shipping provisions carried in the bill providing for the building of various dry docks, marine railways, and other facilities, struck out that part which made the amount to be expended for such purposes payable from appropriations for ship construction, and as it passed the Senate it would simply have resulted in increasing by some $33,000,000 the authorization in regard to the shipbuilding program. The Senate receded from that provision and let the matter remain as it passed the House.

It may be possible that later on the Shipping Board will desire to come to Congress for additional grants of power in connection with the shipbuilding program; but the House conferees believed that at this time the amount of contract authorizations and cash that they had been given was sufficient to deal with the situation as present needs require, and that later the Congress could consider, if it so desired, the question of increasing the shipping program.

There was also put into the bill by the Senate a paragraph dealing with the situation that grew up at Morgan, N. J., in connection with the explosion there of the plant of the T. A. Gillespie Loading Co. By the Senate provision the War Department was authorized to inquire into and determine the amount of damage that had been done to private property and to report to Congress within six months. As modified by the conference the War Department is directed to make such inquiry and to report within two months. In this connection I desire to say that in my judgment the War Department ought immediately to make such an investigation and detailed report as will enable the Congress very speedily to vote the moneys that are needed to relieve these people, who have suffered in many instances very great loss as the result of this explosion there. It had been very strongly urged by our colleague [Mr. SCULLY] who represents that district that Congress should at this time appropriate money directly for the relief of these people, and he has been very active in presenting the need. If it had been practicable Congress would have been very glad to have acquiesced in his suggestion, but it did not seem wise simply to vote a large lump sum to the War Department for the payment of these claims without a more accurate determination of the amount of the claims due to the various people and the character of the damage wrought. The Senate provision simply authorized this investigation and put a six months' limit upon it. We believed from the statements made by Mr. SCULLY that the War Department ought to be directed to make this inquiry, and we fixed the limit of two months, not because we thought it ought to take two months, but in order not unduly to hurry the consideration of these claims, so that they would not be properly considered from the standpoint of the Government as well as of the claimants. But I again repeat that it seems to me it is a matter that requires early dispatch on the part of the War Department, and that this Congress should be prepared when it meets after the recess to vote what moneys may be properly due to these unfortunate people who have suffered this very great loss.

The Senate struck out the provision that had been in the bill in connection with the right to condemn property for hospital purposes. The House conferees insisted that this ought to be in the bill, because of the need to have such power to prevent extortionate charges being made by owners of property that it was desirable to take over for hospital purposes. The conferees finally agreed upon the restoration of the House provision, with a limitation that not exceeding $15,000,000 of the fund that had been appropriated for hospital purposes should be used in the acquiring of property for such purposes under the condemnation powers herein conferred. That I believe to be an ample sum to safeguard the power, instead of giving them a blanket power for such purposes, and it limits it to the amount I have indicated. The Senate also struck out of the bill the provisions that were carried in it in regard to the acquisition of some land in the way of shooting galleries and ranges in Ohio and two provisions in regard to the acquisition of land at Fayetteville, N. C., and West Point, Ky., and the House conferees have agreed to the Senate amendments.

The Senate took the position that in view of the fact that at this time there has been no definite determination as to the military policy touching the number of camps that might be retained hereafter or the character of the needs for them, they did not think it was desirable to undertake the purchase of this land. Personally I felt, as I stated on the floor the other day, that the matter of purchase was an economic matter, irrespective of whether the camps should be permanently retained or not; but in view of the fact that the question of policy had not been determined by Congress or by the department touching the retention of camps subsequently to the war, the matter could well wait for such determination, and therefore the House conferees concurred.

There were certain increases of salary allowances to the State Department made by the Senate and concurred in by the House conferees on the very strong representation made by the State Department that at this time in particular there was need of added clerical service here and abroad in connection with the very great increase of work that has fallen on that department. I think it is apparent to everybody that this increase has been very great, and will continue to be for some time to come, and therefore the House conferees agreed to the Senate amendment.

They also carried a provision for an increase of clerical force in the Post Office Department. When the bill passed the House I stated that we had denied an increase of any sort in the way of clerical force here in Washington. But it ought to be said in fairness that the Post Office Department has been the one department of this Government that has shown practically no increase in its clerical force for months past.

It has been the one department in the Government that has held down the expenditures for clerical force, and whatever may be said about the management of the Post Office Department it must be admitted by all who are acquainted with the facts that there has been a continued effort in the interest of economy, and as a result of that the department has denied itself the need of clerks at times when other departments were asking great increases. In view of all the circumstances and the strong representations made by the department the House conferees concurred in the Senate amendment as to such increases.

There was also put in the bill a provision for $500,000 for additional moneys for the Public Health Service in connection with their work in conserving public health and sanitation. They had asked and sent in an estimate, which came too late to be considered by the House, for $1,950,000, but the Senate, after considering the matter, concluded that for the present $500,000 was sufficient, and the House conferees concurred in that amendment with an amendment limiting to $25,000 the amount of money that could be spent in the District of Columbia so as to insure that it would not be a fund for the building up of an unnecessarily large clerical force, and that it would go for the purpose for which it was intended.

Mr. ESCH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. ESCH. That is the item in reference to the interstate quarantine service?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; the gentleman is right.

Mr. ESCH. The item being in a deficiency bill is a deficiency, and no part of the million dollars recently appropriated could be utilized in this appropriation?

Mr. SHERLEY. The million dollars recently appropriated was in regard to dealing with epidemics and particularly had relation to the needs in connection with the influenza epidemic, and by its language was made applicable for that particular disease and others. This is in connection with other work, largely around the camps and cantonments, and is incident to the war needs.

Mr. ESCH. Will the gentleman permit another inquiry?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

Mr. ESCH. During the consideration of joint resolution 63, providing for a reserve in the Public Health Service, it was stated on the floor of the House that the Surgeon General's Office of both the Army and the Navy had no jurisdiction beyond the immediate limits of the camps and cantonments. That being true, the burden of sanitating the zones outside now would fall on the Public Health Service, would it not?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; and it was to deal with that situation that the Senate committee felt that they needed an additional amount of money, and the House conferees concurred in the Senate legislation.

The other amendments are minor in their character, and the report which has been read states the action of the conferees in each instance.

There is one other matter that ought to be touched on. The House provided that some moneys appropriated for building a ship for the Coast and Geodetic Survey should be covered into the Treasury. The Senate in lieu of that put in a provision that they should be authorized to construct for the full amount that had been authorized. The House and Senate could not agree touching the matter. It was believed by the House conferees that the matter could be taken care of properly out of the funds available for the Shipping Board. It was also believed if that was not done that the existing law under which this ship was authorized did permit a contract to be entered into. They were unwilling to agree to the Senate amendment. The result of it was that both the House and Senate provisions went out of the bill and the matter, if it needs adjustment, can be taken up subsequently. As I stated previously, there could be no building for months to come without displacing some work now being done by the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. And the matter remains as provided for in the sundry civil bill, and nothing is likely to be done.

Mr. SHERLEY. The matter is just as it rested prior to this bill.

Mr. MONDELL. It means that there is an appropriation of $50,000 which can not be utilized.

Mr. SHERLEY. I think it can be utilized under the act that was passed, but I think it ought not to be utilized, because I still think they can get from the Emergency Fleet Corporation what ship they need.

Mr. MONDELL. What I meant was it practically could not be utilized and probably would not be. That is the situation.

Mr. SHERLEY. That is probably so.

There is another matter which is important and which met with the acquiescence of the House. The Senate put into the bill a provision for the payment of allotments made by enlisted men, or the payment of war allowances under Article II of the act of October 5, 1917, in cases where men are reported as missing in action. The provision reads:

> For the purpose of the payment of allotments made by the enlisted men or the payment of family allowances under Article II of the act of October 6, 1917, as amended, an enlisted man reported as missing in action shall be considered as occupying a pay status until his actual status has been determined by proper official authority of the department in which the man served or is serving: *Provided*, That payments authorized hereunder shall not continue for more than one year.

The effect of this is to continue the payment of allotments in cases where a soldier is reported missing until the actual facts touching his being either captured or alive or dead can be determined. There would have been considerable hardship, as there has been in some cases, due to the fact of men being reported missing and the allotment and allowances to their families stopping forthwith. It was to correct this situation that the matter was put in by the Senate.

It had not been brought to the attention of the committee of the House prior to the reporting of the bill, or it would have been carried, I am quite sure, in the first instance. The House conferees were very glad to concur in the Senate amendment, so as to relieve the situation.

If there is any other matter in connection with the conference report which Members desire to ask, I should be very glad to explain it to the House.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. I presume those words "enlisted men" will be used in their larger sense and will include officers. The gentleman knows that sometimes an enlisted man means a noncommissioned officer only, and would not include those holding commissions. It would seem to me that unless the broad construction is given it there might be some trouble.

Mr. SHERLEY. As I understand the matter, enlisted men and officers are not in the same position in the matter of allotments. The question did not come up in conference. If the gentleman is correct and there be any narrow construction given this act, I think the House ought to correct it, of course, though at this time it is not practical to do it.

Mr. Speaker, I move the adoption of the conference report.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SLAYDEN). The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. SHERLEY, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the conference report was agreed to was laid on the table.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I do this for the purpose, if I shall have the opportunity, if I am able to gather the data, of placing in the RECORD a statement as to the total amount of appropriations that will have been made for the fiscal year 1919 up to the present time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner indicated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT], who is not in the Chamber at this time, I make a similar request.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wyoming asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts may be permitted to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. MONDELL. In the matter of a statement of appropriations and expenditures only.

The SPEAKER. In the matter of a statement of appropriations and expenditures on the same line as the gentleman from Kentucky. Is there objection?

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, did the gentleman say pertaining to appropriations only?

The SPEAKER. Appropriations and expenditures.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I think the character of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] is sufficiently well known so that no one need fear he will abuse the privilege of making the usual statement with respect to appropriations made by the ranking member of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. HEFLIN. I have no objection to that.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD in regard to a military highway bill which I have introduced, which is pending before the committees of the House.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I will ask the gentleman to withdraw that request, as there is an agreement that no other business would be transacted.

Mr. RAKER. I had forgotten that. I withdraw the request,

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock p. m.) the House adjourned until Monday, October 28, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII,

Mr. LUFKIN laid on the Clerk's desk resolutions from West Newbury, Mass., Grange No. 146, protesting against the present zone system of postage on magazines, periodicals, etc., and petitioning Congress for its immediate repeal, which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *October 28, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we have met together in the Senate this morning to give directions to the civil order of this great Nation. Our duties increase with the days. Our responsibilities come upon us heavier with every hour. We turn to Thee, the God of our fathers, the God of infinite providence, for Thy hand has led us in all the past and Thou hast revealed in all our history great and glorious plans. We seek Thy guidance and blessing as we address ourselves to the tasks of this day. Recognizing our infinite debt of gratitude to Thee and renewing our ancient covenant with the God of all nations, committing ourselves this morning to the Divine guidance, we would face the tasks and pray for Thy blessing upon us. Guide us this day, O God of our fathers, in wisdom, in courage, in hope, and may we at the close of the day have the comfortable assurance that our work has been pleasing in Thy sight. For Christ's sake. Amen.

NAMING A PRESIDING OFFICER.

The Secretary (James M. Baker) read the following communication:

UNITES STATES SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D. C., October 28, 1918.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. JOE T. ROBINSON, a Senator from the State of Arkansas, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

WILLARD SAULSBURY,
President pro tempore.

Mr. ROBINSON thereupon took the chair as Presiding Officer.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last was read and approved.

NONCOMBATANT OFFICERS.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of War, transmitting, in response to a resolution of April 18, 1918, a list of the men to whom commissions in the Army have been issued and who are not now and who have not heretofore been placed in command or had charge of any troops in the service of the United States, either here or abroad, etc., which, on motion of Mr. NELSON, was, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House disagrees to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, agrees to the conference asked for by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. SHERLEY, Mr. EAGAN, and Mr. CANNON managers at the conference on the part of the House.

The message also announced that the House agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills, and they were thereupon signed by the Presiding Officer:

S. 4886. An act providing for the sale of certain lands in the original town site of Port Angeles, Wash.;

H. R. 12404. An act authorizing the construction of a building for the Public Health Service, in the city of Washington, D. C.;

H. R. 12438. An act authorizing the conveyance of the United States jail and land on which the same is located at Guthrie, Okla., to Logan County, Okla.;

H. R. 12976. An act providing for the protection of the users of the telephone and telegraph service and the properties and funds belonging thereto during Government operation and control; and

H. R. 13036. An act transferring jurisdiction and control for the period of the war over the Southern Branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers from the board of managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers to the Secretary of War for use for Army hospital purposes.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had approved and signed the following act and joint resolution:

On October 25:

S. 2493. An act to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes," approved December 29, 1916.

On October 27:

S. J. Res. 63. Joint resolution to establish a reserve of the Public Health Service.

ZENG TZE WONG (H. DOC. NO. 1334).

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read and, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith a report from the Secretary of State inclosing a draft of a joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to permit Mr. Zeng Tze Wong, a citizen of China, to receive instruction at the United States Military Academy at West Point at the expense of the Government of China.

The Secretary of State points out that the passage of the resolution would be regarded as an act of courtesy by the Government of China and that it would follow established precedents.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *28 October, 1918.*

TRANSFER OF GOVERNMENT BUREAUS FROM WASHINGTON.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read and, with the accompanying papers, ordered to lie on the table and be printed:

To the Senate:

I transmit herewith, for the information of the Senate, in response to the resolution adopted by the Senate on September 6, 1918, numbered S. Res. 296, reports made by the heads of the several executive departments and independent Government establishments in reference to the matter of transferring from Washington to other cities in the country, for the duration of the war, such bureaus, or parts of bureaus, commissions, and subdivisions of the several departments as could discharge their functions and perform their duties as well outside of said District as within its boundaries. From these reports it will be noted that the heads of the executive departments and independent Government establishments do not deem it advisable to remove any branch of the Government service now located within the District of Columbia to any other location.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *28 October, 1918.*

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. NELSON presented the petition of A. M. Sheldon, of Minneapolis, Minn., and a petition of the First National Bank, of Bemidji, Minn., praying for the repeal of the tax-exemption clause of the Federal farm-loan act, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the petition of Horace Lowry, president of the Twin City Rapid Transit Co., of Minneapolis, Minn., praying that utility corporations be placed in a separate classification in the pending revenue bill, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the memorial of John W. Thomas & Co., of Minneapolis, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed tax on tapestries and textiles in the pending revenue bill, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a telegram, in the nature of a memorial, from the J. R. Watkins Co., of Winona, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed tax on nonbeverage alcohol in the pending revenue bill, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented memorials of the Security State Bank, of Lake City; the Citizens' State Bank, of Pine Island; of Lane, Jaffray & Piper (Inc.), of Minneapolis; the Security State Bank, of Owatonna; the Nobles County Bankers' Association, of Rushmore; the National Bank of Commerce, of St. Paul; the Farmers' and Merchants' State Bank, of Zimmerman; the Farmers' National Bank, of Hutchinson; the Fairmont Creamery Co., of Fairmont; the Merchants' State Bank, of North Branch; the Security State Bank, of Princeton; and the First State Bank, of Rochester, all in the State of Minnesota, remonstrating against the proposed tax on checks in the pending revenue bill, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. KIRBY (for Mr. THOMPSON) presented a petition of sundry citizens of Iola, Carlyle, Manhattan, Kansas City, and Humboldt, all in the State of Kansas, praying that osteopathic physicians be admitted to the medical branch of the Army, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (S. 3219) to incorporate the Recreation Association of America, reported it with amendment.

Mr. FLETCHER, from the Committee on Commerce, to which was referred the bill (S. 4991) to establish load lines for vessels in foreign trade, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 606) thereon.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. NELSON:

A bill (S. 5006) granting a pension to Charles M. Woodworth; and

A bill (S. 5007) granting an increase of pension to John J. Duke; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FERNALD:

A bill (S. 5008) granting an increase of pension to Patrick A. Galvin (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PAGE:

A bill (S. 5009) granting a pension to Emeline A. Spaulding (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McNARY:

A bill (S. 5010) granting an increase of pension to Robert A. Carlton; and

A bill (S. 5011) granting an increase of pension to Indian war veterans and their widows; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PENROSE:

A bill (S. 5012) granting an increase of pension to Isabell Cunningham; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 5013) to amend so much of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919," approved July 9, 1918, as provides for "longevity pay for men other than the Regular Army"; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND:

A bill (S. 5014) granting an increase of pension to Fannie R. Wells; to the Committee on Pensions.

THE REVENUE.

Mr. SHEPPARD submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 12863) to provide revenue, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 3, 8, 20, and 25.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32, and agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 7, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lines 7 and 8 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the following: "including necessary clerical help in the District of Columbia and other personal services," and insert in lieu thereof the following: "including not exceeding $25,000 for personal services in the District of Columbia"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert "$500,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 11, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 3 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the word "authorized" and insert in lieu thereof the word "directed"; and in line 8 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the word "six" and insert in lieu thereof the word "two"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 13, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment amended as follows: At the end of the matter stricken out by said amendment insert the following: ": *Provided further*, That property shall not be taken over under the foregoing power at an aggregate cost in excess of $15,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 24, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Omit the matter stricken out and inserted by said amendment, and on page 37 of the bill strike **out** line 5; and the Senate agree to the same.

THOMAS S. MARTIN,
O. W. UNDERWOOD,
F. E. WARREN,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

SWAGAR SHERLEY,
JOHN J. EAGAN,
J. G. CANNON,
Managers on the part of the House.

The report was agreed to.

PEACE POLICIES AND THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, I should like to request the privilege of the Senate to make a few observations upon a matter which the imminence of peace makes important. I shall not occupy a great deal of time. If I may proceed I will promise to conclude in about 30 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to address the Senate. Is there objection? The Chair hears no objection, and the Senator from Pennsylvania will proceed.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, as the Senate is likely soon to be brought to one of its most important functions in one of the most important periods of the world's history, I feel that we ought without delay to fix our attention most earnestly upon the intricate problems that we already face and so to anticipate and prepare for the wise discharge of that function. The gravity of our responsibility could not be exceeded. The measure of the wisdom with which we shall discharge it is the studious and independent forethought we now bring to the formulation of our views upon questions that are already too clear to be postponed or neglected. It is well, therefore, to examine into the responsibility of the Senate in the present critical situation and to remark upon some of the most salient and urgent phases of that situation.

When there is a question of America's going to war, the Congress alone can declare war. The act of declaring war includes necessarily the determination of the cause of war. The determination of the cause of war includes necessarily the determination of the aim of the war, which is the removal of the cause. Therefore it is through the Congress alone that the American people give their mandate to conduct war and their mandate as to what is the aim of the war.

While this country is at war, the President, as Commander in Chief of the Army and of the Navy, is charged with the conduct of hostilities. In addition to the powers incidental to that function the Congress has bestowed upon him many other powers. Nevertheless, it is the Nation, not the President or the "administration," that is at war; it is the whole Government of the United States, and each and all of its parts, not the President or the "administration" alone, that carries on the great business of war.

When there is question of America's ceasing to make war, war can only be ended by treaty. Treaties can be made only by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Advice and consent to a treaty ending a war necessarily includes determination of the question whether the aim of the war has been achieved in accordance with the mandate of the American people—whether the treaty falls short of that mandate and also whether it goes beyond in a manner to violate that mandate. Therefore it is through the Senate of the United States, quite as much as through the President, that the people of the United States are to say when, whether, and how their mandate to conduct war has been executed by the attainment of their war aim.

To begin war has always been a comparatively quick transaction; to end war has always been a much more long-drawn-

out transition. This is because a nation generally enters war with a clear-cut, simple aim; but the course of events, the fermentation of political theories in the cauldron of war, and the ambitions and pet theories of statesmen, cause to cluster around the prime war aim a multitude of corollaries and subsidiary objects, many of which may not be essential at all to the prime war aim for which the people have given their mandate. These are vastly multiplied when the number of nations at war is great.

Now, the ending of a particular war and the firm founding of the future general peace to follow it may well be regarded as two separate functions, at least in theory. And in practice the two tasks should at least be kept separate in our conceptions.

To the task of ending the war belong all things essential to our prime war aim.

To the task of firmly founding a future general peace belongs the careful examination of each and every thing that has been proposed as a corollary to our prime war aim or as a subsidiary war aim. This task is an especially heavy one, because, be it remembered, upon none of these corollaries, upon none of these proposed subsidiary war aims, has the American people given its mandate; and it will be through the Senate that such mandate must come.

The separation of the two tasks of ascertaining when the prime war aim of this Nation has been achieved and, secondly, of accepting or rejecting one by one the multifarious corollaries and subsidiary war aims that have been proposed—and many of them are adventitious and questionable—is heightened by the facts, first, that it has been sought to make this mass of clustering ideas a part of the res gestæ by linking them with tentative discussions with the enemy; and, secondly, because the array of ideas referred to has not been tested by an attempt to implement them in the form of concise, practicable stipulations.

But upon all these things, as trustees of a large share of the people's authority to make treaties, the Senate has the appalling responsibility of being prepared any day to pass.

Everything possible has been done to lighten the task of the Executive in the conduct of the war. An ephemeral proposal was made at an early stage that there should be a congressional committee to keep Congress informed on the conduct of the war. That proposal failed. No other committee was ever seriously proposed except one of consultative advisory character, designed to secure common counsel and universal cooperation so indispensable alike to democratic government and to true efficiency in statesmanship.

There have, indeed, been various attempts to create deliberative and consultative relations on matters of policy between the Executive and the Congress. Such opportunity for counsel would have enormously lightened the task of the Nation's representatives. It would have informed them for the discharge of responsibilities from which they can not in any case escape.

Even an entirely regular and proper resolution of Congress to inform itself in relation to its function of appropriating money to carry on the war was hotly branded by the Chief Executive as showing "want of confidence in the administration" when it was proposed to investigate the airplane expenditures. Now, the making of this investigation was the constitutional duty of the legislative branch. The principles upon which this is true have been followed since the foundation of our Government, and in the light of these principles it was most unfortunate that this proposal of the legislative branch to exercise its clear right and perform its imperative and indispensable duty should have been branded as a "want of confidence in the administration." One is compelled to say that heretofore Executives have rightly not so considered it.

On the occasion to which I allude, and it is quite typical, the President, in his letter to the Senator from Virginia, said:

> I protest most earnestly against the adoption of any such action and shall hope that every Senator who intends to support the present administration in the conduct of the war will vote against it. These are serious times, and it is absolutely necessary that the lines should be clearly drawn between friends and opponents.

Lincoln, speaking to a delegation in 1864, which was urging him to separate the sheep from the goats—those for him, as were the delegation, and those against him—at a time when it might mean his own defeat for reelection, uttered these lofty sentiments:

> You have spoken of the consideration which you think I should pay to my friends as contradistinguished from my enemies. I suppose, of course, that you mean by that those who agree or disagree with me in my views of public policy. I recognize no such thing as a political friendship personal to myself. * * * Now, when you see a man loyally in favor of the Union, willing to vote men and money, spending his time and money and throwing his influence into the recruitment of our armies, I think it ungenerous, unjust, and impolitic to make his views on abstract political questions a test of his loyalty. I will not be a party to this application of a pocket inquisition. * * * I have no right to act the tyrant to mere political opponents. If a man votes for supplies of men and money, encourages enlistments, discourages desertions, does all in his power to carry the war on to a successful issue, I have no right to question him for his abstract political opinions. I must make a dividing line somewhere between those who are the opponents of the Government and those who only oppose peculiar features of my administration while they sustain the Government.

And the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] has just handed me a copy of the Providence Daily Journal in which is printed an extract from a letter by President Lincoln.

Mr. LODGE. From a letter to Gov. Johnson, to be found on page 359 of volume 9 of the Life of Lincoln by Nicolay and Hay.

Mr. KNOX. In that letter this sentence occurs:

> Except it be to give protection against violence, I decline to interfere in any way with any presidential election.

Mr. LODGE. I ask the Senator if he will read the previous letter in regard not to the election but the nomination of Judge Kelley, of Philadelphia—a letter of June 20, 1864, addressed to the postmaster there.

Mr. KNOX. I will send it to the desk and ask the Secretary to read it as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

> The postmaster of Philadelphia being accused of interference against William D. Kelley, President Lincoln sent for him, and following his custom in grave matters, he read to him a reprimand which he had committed to paper in the following words:
>
> "Complaint is made to me that you are using your official power to defeat Judge Kelley's renomination to Congress. I am well satisfied with Judge Kelley as a Member of Congress, and I do not know that the man who might supplant him would be satisfactory; but the correct principle, I think, is that all our friends should have absolute freedom of choice among our friends. My wish, therefore, is that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage in the case, and not constrain any of your subordinates to do other than as he thinks fit with his."

Mr. LODGE. That relates to a party nomination.

Mr. KNOX. Alas, Mr. President, what a difference between that spirit and the partisanship and secrecy of the present administration. Of its partisanship Republicans are the peculiar victims. Under its secrecy and its aversion to taking counsel Democrats and Republicans in Congress, in office, and, with one conspicuous exception, in private life appear equally to suffer.

But Executive methods so unique in American history, so aloof in isolation from the people's representatives, so absolutely prohibitory of anything like counsel can never for one moment abrogate the constitutional power and solemn duty of the Senate to disentangle the mesh of words that cling, some as healthy growth and some as dangerous fungi, upon the sturdy tree of America's war aims, which are America's peace terms, and from which will germinate America's after-war policies. A solemn duty is before the Senate.

I will merely touch some of the quite open questions upon which the American people have never passed, but which we are warned may quite possibly be treated by the Executive in contradistinction to the senatorial branch of our treaty-making power as adjuncts to our war aims to be attained by altruistic negotiations. To be sure, all the ideas in question are so expressed as to make it difficult even to do so much, and it may be that therein lies salvation here and in the practical good sense of the American and allied nations. For example, are we, a naval power with a proud history, and whose greatest ally is the greatest sea power, to be committed in advance to sweeping changes in the well-established international law of the sea, which we did so much to fashion, while the land is conveniently left as a battle field for the military nations? Are we to be committed in advance to deny ourselves the right to make mutually beneficial understandings with the other English-speaking peoples, or with France or Italy, or with South American countries, or with Japan, or with any other power? Are we to be committed in advance to forego the tariff protection of our labor and our national prosperity and the vindication of our own treatment by other nations by means of reciprocal arrangements we may find it desirable to make?

It was always true and was early recognized by all that the object of this war was and is the permanent removal of the German menace. In the formula "restitution, reparation, and guaranties," the word guaranty is not to mean written guaranties, such as we have seen treated as scraps of paper in the cases of Belgium's neutrality, of accepted international law, of Hague conventions, of the rules of civilized warfare on land and seas. We shall have the guaranties we seek only when we know as a fact, irrespective of the solemnities of diplomatic promises, that the German menace is at an end once for all. Even "restitution and reparation"; even the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France; even just frontiers for Italy and Roumania and the rescue and restoration of Russia and independence for Jugo-Slavs, Czecho-Slovaks, and Poles, and for the nationalities

oppressed by Turkey; even the liberation of Africans and others from German colonial oppression—all these matters—however absolute their intrinsic importance—for the prime purpose of the war, which is, I say again, for our guaranty against the German menace—are of chief interest because they subserve that guaranty. Viewed in any other light they are matters of post-bellum reconstruction.

We shall have our guaranty against the German menace when we know that Germany, whether as autocratic monarchy, as republic, or as democratic monarchy, can not again menace us. On this we shall require the word of Foch, of Haig, of Diaz, and of Pershing, for wars are won by bullets and blood, not by ink and eloquence.

We shall require also evidence that the German grip upon Russia, the Balkans, and Turkey has been loosed. We must never allow to be obscured the prime purpose of the war. From that purpose flows as a corollary the purpose to strive to make the menace of unjust war from any quarter as improbable as we can. From that, again, and from the chivalrous spirit of the entente allies flows the demand for restitution and reparation and for all the complicated territorial and racial readjustments, to some of which I have referred. So flows, too, the aspiration for some salutary league of nations.

As to the "league of nations" question, I will add a few words. The phrase is heard much of late. Some envisage it as a Eutopian world state. Others, less visionary, think of it as a league to enforce peace. In its most extreme form any league of nations will, I believe, have to be relegated to a future quite beyond the purview of the ending of this war or of the reconstruction of peace immediately after this war. There will be no room for a task of such problematical possibility in either of the phases of negotiation that now confront us.

We can aspire, with hope of success, to somewhat higher ideals than it would have been practicable to pursue to earth in the past. National traditions and institutions must yield something to the emancipating forces of progress. Instantaneous world communication has bound nations together in a single body for many purposes and has enabled them, sharing a common knowledge, animated by a common conscience, to take common and contemporaneous action while the need is yet fresh. It is this fact rather than broader and more enlightened views that furnishes the reason for the progress and effectiveness of international cooperation in recent as compared with earlier times. One can readily understand the force and effect of a concurrent expression of international opinion made while the subject upon which it operates is a fresh and burning one as compared with the disconnected and ineffective expression of the same opinion when made at different times after the facts upon which it rests. The peace that follows this war must rest upon a recognition of this interdependence of nations. It must satisfy the international conscience and revivify the sanctions for the rules of international conduct.

The world is in no frame of mind to forget how perfidiously Germany has violated the great compacts of international cooperation for the mitigation of human suffering which expressed the sense of the interdependence of nations and the sodality of human interest. But this sodality will not be best subserved if concurrence upon too many and too Utopian proposals and too great abnegation and too difficult obligations are made the sine qua non of its preservation.

The league of nations that now challenges our solicitude is the league of nations of which we are now a member—the glorious present alliance of the many powers with whom we are now fighting as a league to enforce and to maintain peace from disturbance by the German menace. If we should allow that league to fall apart or to be pried apart by German machinations, who can say when this world will ever again be so near to having a general league to enforce peace as it is to-day? Only a dire menace from without has given this league such solidarity. The centripetal force of a common danger has created the league we have, the entente alliance. Remove the common danger and the centrifugal forces of national individualism, if unrestrained by a firm understanding, will at once come into play. Out of the present alliance to-day, and quite irrespective of any discussions with the enemy, it would seem possible to perpetuate the league we have, already embracing the majority of the population of the globe, as a league for one single purpose of enforcing peace. The function of such a league, I take it, would be to examine any controversy that threatened war and then to throw its weight to the side of such controversy where justice and equity lay, and also to suppress with its overwhelming power any war that might break out and to indicate the just solution of the contention. Such a league, like any league, will demand some encroachment upon the conception of complete and independent sovereignty. The simpler the league, the less of such encroachment it demands, the fewer the subjects it attempts to touch, the more likely it is to prove practicable and permanent.

One must be visionary indeed to suppose that the heterogeneous peoples of the earth could so completely overcome human nature as to combine now in the real internationalism of a world State or even in a league involving a great catalogue of unnatural self-restraints. Such conceptions to-day touch rather the postulates of religion than the facts of statesmanship.

If internationalism can go far enough to minimize the possibility of wars and to enforce approximate equity and justice amongst the peoples of the earth, it will have done much. Indeed there is only one other general subject that seems to me already ripe perhaps for international action by a league of the kind I am discussing. The welfare of a people should be the first concern of government. A league might take such action as would prevent international competition from obstructing that function of government. It might do so by covenants as to hours and conditions of labor, for example.

Let me return for a moment to the two tasks that confront us. The first is the task of ending the war by the sure achievement of its prime aim—the permanent removal of the German menace. The second is the task of weeding out from the mass of proposed corollary aims and subsidiary purposes those things which are safe and wise, those things which the American people and their allies will approve, and which the Senate could approve.

Here, too, when one considers the number of nations concerned and the multiplicity of the subjects presented and of the interests involved, it requires no clairvoyance to foresee the dangerous chaos that will arise if we and our allies are to drift into an ultimate peace conference with a nebulous program, with agreement "in principle" where we should have precise understanding. Here, too, we can readily see, the simplification of the program will be vital to the preservation of that indispensable solidarity which alone is bringing victory to America and her allies.

Simeon E. Baldwin, the learned jurist and one-time governor of Connecticut, made last summer the following observations upon methods of dealing with the two questions of ending the war and of building for the future which now hang over us in mixed and complex form, surcharged with problems of vast variety:

> It may be assumed that there will ultimately be either a peace congress to close the present war, composed of representatives of the leading belligerents on each side, and probably of all the belligerents, or two peace congresses for that purpose, one composed of all the nations which are at war with Germany and her allies and one representing the latter. * * *
>
> The office of a peace congress is to make peace. Whatever more it might effect in defining or improving the public law of the world, or creating new facilities for defining or improving it, could probably be better effected by a congress called specially for that purpose, and proceeding with the deliberation necessarily to be expected from such a body.
>
> It is also true that a peace congress, after bringing a war to a close, can adjourn for a considerable period, to be reconvened as a congress for the settlement of general principles of international conduct. It may be doubted, however, whether a congress of the latter kind, even with large changes in its membership, could ever approach the subject with the freedom from influences occasioned by the war and the juristic sense and power that might be expected from a body newly and specially constituted for its consideration.

The excessive intermingling of the problem of a victorious ending of the war with a great variety of projects of world reconstruction renders our task, as I have said, most difficult. As a coordinate branch of this Government it is our duty, I believe, to make clear the Senate's sense of the immediate necessity of clarification and simplification of any program that enters into the ending of the war or the building of the future and the Senate's sense of the instant necessity of full counsel and accord upon all such programs between the Government of the United States and the Governments of our allies.

And there is a necessity that underlies these urgent needs. That is a clarification for the Senate itself of the policies to which it may later be called upon to consider giving its sanction. In this matter we are guardians of the Nation's mandate, and we can not default.

Some days ago there was made on this floor the preposterous suggestion that the Senate ratify in advance whatever might be the will of the Chief Executive. A few days ago the country was astounded and shocked to find that Chief Executive calling for the election of Democratic Senators and Representatives precisely in order that his individual authority should be untrammeled by counsel. I pass by the unjust, not to say outrageous, implications of that unique document of partisan politics. That the two proposals should associate themselves in one's mind is, I regret to say, due to the proneness of some Senators and Representatives to make themselves mere regis-

trars of the will of the Chief Executive instead of independent deliberators upon the country's problems.

Ex-President Taft has said this of the situation in which we find ourselves:

The unified leadership he (the President) asks is autocratic power in fields in which the Constitution and principles of democracy require that he should consult other representatives of the people than himself. In pursuit of his policies he consults neither his own party nor any other. He wishes a Democratic Senate, not because he would seek the assistance of Democratic Senators in the foreign policy concerning which by the fundamental law they are to advise and consent, but because he can mold them absolutely to his will without consulting them. He has visited his displeasure on every Democratic Member of either House who has differed with him and called upon that Member's constituency to reject him.

Is it necessary for the country's welfare that he should be absolutely ruler of this Nation for the two years ensuing from March 4 next? That is the premise upon which the soundness of his appeal, in its ultimate analysis, must rest. Do we need during the life of the next Congress a dictator? One who knows the facts of this war and our part in it and who loves liberty and popular government must answer "no." The war is nearly won. It may take a year longer. We hope it will be less. The complex questions of the terms of peace are to be settled in the term of the Congress now to be elected.

The still more difficult questions of reconstruction after the war are to be met by that Congress. Do the American people by their action in the next election wish to make both the terms of peace and the reconstruction after the war depend on the uncontrolled will of Woodrow Wilson? That is the issue which he puts to them in his appeal. "Unless you give me uncontrolled power you repudiate me and my leadership before the world." Aut Cæsar aut nullus.

When there is talk of the abdication of the Kaiser it is a peculiar moment to propose that the American people should abdicate their right to have opinions or that the Senate and the House should abdicate their sworn and independent duties.

I ask Senators whether it is the will of the American people or the will of Woodrow Wilson that is to determine the policy of the United States in the two matters of ending this war and of founding a future peace? I ask them whether they propose to subject the vital interests of the American people to their own independent judgment or whether they are content, before their conscience and their country, to be the mere registrars of the will of one man? This is the issue before us.

The abdication of their constitutional duty of independent judgment by the Senate or by the House spells autocracy. No more; no less. If Democratic Members are for such abdication, if they are reluctant to join their Republican colleagues in nonpartisan, independent scrutiny of proposed policies, in insistence upon information and upon rightful share, on behalf of the people, in the determination of the courses of the American Government at this most grave and difficult time, then truly the coming elections have for the American people a transcendent importance.

During the period from 1914 until to-day, Senators will remember, the President has expressed, and always with the same solemn emphasis, the greatest possible variety of ideas and attitudes upon the nature of the war, upon America's relation to the war, and, what is now most in point, upon the terms upon which America is willing to live at peace with Germany and the world. I need not weary you with recital of how the winds of administration opinion have veered all around the compass from exaggerated neutrality even of thought; through a pride too great to be provoked to fight; through readiness, after the *Lusitania*, to compromise the U-boat barbarity as a breach of world law in return for a half-hearted promise to try to spare our ships; through the idea of peace without victory, and so forth and so forth, the long way around to "force without stint." This strange evolution, too, has not connoted the revealing of fundamental facts that need ever have been hidden from the clear eye of wise statesmanship. I ask, then, this question: With what reason can the Senate, can the American people, be asked to assume for the latest ideas scattered through the address of January 8, 1918, and all the later addresses, an immutable wisdom evidently lacking in the earlier ones? Yet these latest ideas, still in indefinite form, have actually been officially referred to, some as terms, others as principles, of settlement. Be they wise and safe or be they foolish and dangerous, that is not the question. The question is, Shall the conditions upon which the Senate and the American people believe they can safely live at peace with Germany and with the world—shall these conditions be decided by the fiat of one man, or shall they be tested by the unbiased, sober judgment of the Nation's representatives whose duty it will be to accept or reject, by a two-thirds vote, whatever terms may be finally presented to end war and to establish lasting peace?

Are the American people a free people of high spirit and of an intellectual ability and energy equal to the obligation of democracy, the obligation to form and to assert, through their chosen representatives, their judgment upon the policies of their country? Or are we merely a complacent people, intellectually indolent, lazily acquiescent, looking for masters and not for leaders? Which is the true American? Which type is the Senate to reflect in its action and thought on behalf of the Nation?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I am glad that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX] has brought this matter before the Senate and before the country at this time as he has, because it affords an opportunity to state the facts of the case in such a way as it seems to me will go far to relieve the fears and the objections to which the Senator from Pennsylvania gives voice.

Condensed, the anxiety of the Senator from Pennsylvania seems to be that the President of the United States will take into his own hands the decision of the settlement of this war. It seems to me the course of recent history indicates that the President has pursued the natural and the logical course which he is called upon to pursue, and that he occupies at this time an impregnable position.

As long ago as the 8th of January the President of the United States asked the two Houses of Congress to meet him in joint session. He came before that joint session at that time and delivered a message in which he boiled down into 14 propositions what he deemed to be the minimum essentials of peace terms which the United States should insist upon. Now, certainly that act of laying his views before the Congress did not have any relation to an attempt, in secret and personally, to settle the war alone. He took the Congress into his confidence, practically seeking its cooperation.

Mr. President, what was done with that message of the President? Ordinarily messages of the President recommending policies, or stating his attitude upon policies, are referred to the committee or committees having jurisdiction of the matter; and then is the time for anyone having opposition to those views, or proposing to question that they embody the attitude of the country, to come forward and state his case.

Was opposition raised? Was any effort made to refer this great message to one or more committees? Did anyone stand here upon the floor of the Senate to question the American principles of peace laid down in the President's message? No, Mr. President. On the other hand, almost as with one voice, Senators and Representatives, Republicans and Democrats, here and throughout the country, newspapers of both parties and all parties, acclaimed that declaration of the American terms of peace as a correct statement of the attitude of the United States.

I shall not refer to many of these statements, but I want to refer to a few statements of Republican Senators and Representatives. Before I do that, however, I want to refer to the present partisan effort on the part of the Republican Party and its responsible leaders to make political campaign issue out of article 3 of the President's declaration of terms of peace. As I said, no opposition was raised at the time; but in the exigency of this political campaign, and for the purpose of furthering an attempt to secure control of the Senate and the House of Representatives, the Republican organization has gone to work not merely to exploit this article 3 of the terms of peace, but to misrepresent its purpose and its purport.

I want to read to the Senate now an extract from a document sent out by the national Republican congressional committee under date of October 21:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 20.*

The Democratic Party is committed to a free-trade policy.

In the 14 terms in President Wilson's peace program, stated to Congress January 8, the third clause reads:

"The removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance."

Now I come again to what the national Republican congressional committee says:

This is a positive declaration that the treaty of peace must guarantee to Germany free trade with the United States, without any tariff safeguards whatever to protect the American laborer, manufacturer, farmer, and business man from foreign competition in his home markets.

Under such a policy Germany will buy raw materials in the United States, manufacture these materials in Germany, and sell the manufactured products in American markets in competition with similar products "made in America" by American manufacturers, without the slightest tariff restrictions for the protection of American labor, business, and farming.

Mr. President, that was a misrepresentation of article 3. That was an attempt to make political capital by the false statement that the President was endeavoring to put into a treaty a permanent commitment of the United States for free trade. I have no doubt that it was a misrepresentation.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, will the Senator permit an inquiry on that point?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes.

Mr. PENROSE. I want to say to the Senator that I have made no public comment upon that paragraph of the President's message; but my own conclusion, as I understand the English language, was that the President did mean a free-trade propaganda. I may be unusually dumb in reading the presidential messages; I do not know.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Well, that may be the Senator's conclusion now, but he certainly did not come forward and say so at the time. He did not stand upon the floor of the Senate and condemn this specification of peace terms on the ground that it meant free trade; and, on the other hand, a number of his associates publicly indorsed the President's message.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I want to state to the Senator on that point that I was restrained by some of my colleagues from criticizing that part of the message. I mentioned it to some of them sitting in the vicinity here, and they suggested that it would come with greater propriety at a later date. We certainly can not be expected to criticize every day the presidential utterances, or we would do nothing else. I do not want the Senator to think that silence means acquiescence by any means.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, it was not altogether a matter of silence. In the Washington paper next day former Speaker CANNON said:

> The President is always strong in his addresses. I wish this one could be read to every man, woman, and child and thoroughly explained in Germany and Austria.

And Representative FESS, who has now come forward and signed a bitter partisan appeal to the American people, based largely upon this misrepresentation of article 3, in that same paper used this language:

> I am wonderfully pleased with the message. It contains no cheap diplomacy. It is very firmly stated, leaving no doubt that Germany must be defeated as a condition of peace. It reassures the country that the loss of life and treasure thus far will not be wasted by an inconclusive peace which if made at this stage would be deferring the time when this Nation would be called upon to make a test with Germany. We are in a better position now to make that test than we will be in the future.

And Representative GILLETT, leader of the Republican minority on the floor of the House of Representatives, said:

> I am in hearty accord with the President's address unless he meant universal free trade by his allusion of economic freedom, and I do not believe that could have been his intention.

And yet Representative GILLETT is also a signer of this partisan appeal, which proposes to deprive the President of a supporting majority in Congress.

The senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] was quoted thus briefly and effectively:

> It is a very able message, presenting a concrete proposition.

So it was not altogether the negative action of Senators like the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] who restrained themselves for a more "propitious" occasion—when a campaign might be on, for instance—but it was the affirmative statement of Republican leaders at that time which gave the impression and justified the conclusion that the people of the United States of all parties were behind the President in his address of January 8; and not until this campaign comes on, in an effort to secure control of the Congress, does it develop that there is criticism.

But, Mr. President, I am not going to leave this matter of the meaning of article 3 in any doubt.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, before the Senator leaves this subject, may I ask him a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Certainly.

Mr. LODGE. The other day the President wrote a note to Austria with which I was in very full sympathy, in which he said, referring to one of the 14 points, that times had changed since that was written; that we had recognized the Czecho-Slovaks, and so forth; and he was quite right. Times have changed. Is the President the only person to whom times have changed? Is he alone to have the right to change his mind? He exercises it freely.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I suppose the Senator from Massachusetts means that when this declaration of the position of the United States was made, the Republicans indorsed it then, while now for some reason they are raising a question about it.

Mr. LODGE. I never indorsed it, Mr. President. I said it was an able message. It was. I took pains the other day, when I was speaking, to say that with some of the 14 points I agreed. I do agree with some of them. I agree with the one about Poland. It is definite. I disagreed from the beginning utterly with the one about Turkey, which proposes as the thing that we should make secure the sovereignty of Turkey over the Ottoman Turks. I do not think we went to war to make any part of Turkish sovereignty secure.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I trust the Senator will not divert me from the question at issue.

Mr. LODGE. No; I will not divert the Senator. I beg his pardon.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. We have here a very plain proposition. I am willing to be interrupted for any question, but I want to stick to the issue. The issue is the proposition I have made, that the President of the United States, in fulfilling his highest duty, nine months ago came to the Congress of the United States and proposed terms of peace which should represent the minimum demands of the United States—not the demands of other countries, but our demands. That proposition was accepted with practical unanimity by House and Senate, by the country, by newspapers, and by individuals; and now, at this late day, in the midst of a campaign, an effort is made—for partisan purposes, I believe—to misrepresent and distort article 3, which relates to trade conditions.

Mr. President, I felt that this attempt to misrepresent that article should receive some attention from the President of the United States; and about a week ago I addressed a letter to him, asking if he did not think it might be wise for him to pay some attention to those misrepresentations.

While I had not originally intended to do so, I am now going to read into the RECORD the reply which the President sent me at that time:

> THE WHITE HOUSE,
> *Washington, 22 October, 1918.*
>
> MY DEAR SENATOR: In reply to your letter of October 21st, let me say that it seems to me really not worth while to answer the Republican attacks on article 3 of the peace terms I suggested in my address of January 8th. The words I used are perfectly clear to any honest mind. They leave every nation free to determine its own economic policy, except in the one particular that its policy must be the same for all other nations and not be compounded of hostile discriminations between one nation and another, such weapons of discrimination being left to the joint action of the nations for the purpose of disciplining those who will not submit to the general program of justice and equality.
>
> It would be impossible to follow up all the perversions and misrepresentations that some of the Republicans are now indulging in, and my own judgment is that we can safely leave the matter to the good sense of our fellow countrymen who can read English.
>
> Sincerely, yours,
>
> WOODROW WILSON.
>
> Hon. G. M. HITCHCOCK,
> *United States Senate.*

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield.

Mr. KELLOGG. After having read the letter, will the Senator please tell us what the economic barriers are which should be removed?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I prefer not to go any further in placing an interpretation on that language than the President has gone. We are not here for a refinement of terms.

This is the fact, Mr. President, that the President laid the matter before the country nine months ago as to what he believed the terms of peace should be. The terms were accepted by this country and the President has felt justified and has been justified in assuming that they represented the will of the country. He has gone forward.

Mr. KELLOGG. I ask in perfect good faith. I want to know what those economic barriers are, and if it is so perfectly plain from the letter I think the Senator might inform us.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I am sure the Senator is as capable of placing an interpretation on it as I am, and I only omit to do so because I want to speak to the point and yield to my friend, Senator PITTMAN, who kindly gave me the floor.

The President must have the initiative in any negotiations, whether they are with our enemy, Germany, or with our allies engaged in this war, Great Britain, France, Italy, and other countries. He must have the initiative. It belongs to him. Knowing that he has the initiative he told us nine months ago what he proposed to stand for; and he has stood for it consistently with such modifications since that time as the events of the war called for.

Senators need not assume that the President is going to secretly negotiate a treaty and force it through the Senate. Senators know very well that a treaty before it can go into effect must have the approval of two-thirds of the Senate. It must not only have the approval of all the Democrats who might sympathize with the President, but it must also have the approval of enough Republicans to make the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution. That is not all. The President has got to have, must have, the full approval of our associates in this war. Then why assume and assert that he is attempting

as an autocrat to dictate terms of peace? He is merely carrying out what he believes to be the will of the American people and is standing for the ideas the country accepted with approval nine months ago.

Mr. President, before I sit down I may say that the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS], not having any knowledge of my action, a week later addressed a letter to the President of the United States, calling his attention to the same political assault being made upon article 3. If the Senate will permit, I will insert it in the RECORD without taking the time to read it, or would the Senator prefer that I should read it?

Mr. SIMMONS. Let the Senator read it.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I will read it. The letter from Senator SIMMONS can be inserted in the RECORD without reading.

The letter referred to is as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,
October 26, 1918.

To the PRESIDENT,
White House.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Certain Republican leaders are attempting to make a partisan use of paragraph 3 of your peace terms found in your address to Congress January 8, 1918. No one has authority to reply to a misconstruction of any part of your address excepting yourself; but I, as chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, wish you would make a reply to these statements and insinuations which are being industriously circulated by the opposition to embarrass you in the handling of these delicate matters.

Sincerely, yours, F. M. SIMMONS.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The reply of the President is as follows. It is dated the 28th of October:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, October 28, 1918.

Hon. F. M. SIMMONS,
United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR: I am glad to respond to the question addressed to me by your letter of October 26. The words I used in my address to the Congress of January 8, 1918, were:

"The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance."

I, of course, meant to suggest no restriction upon the free determination by any nation of its own economic policy, but only that, whatever tariff any nation might deem necessary for its own economic service, be that tariff high or low, it should apply equally to all foreign nations; in other words, that there should be no discriminations against some nations that did not apply to others. This leaves every nation free to determine for itself its own internal policies, and limits only its right to compound those policies of hostile discriminations between one nation and another. Weapons of economic discipline and punishment should be left to the joint action of all nations for the purpose of punishing those who will not submit to a general program of justice and equality.

The experiences of the past among nations have taught us that the attempt by one nation to punish another by exclusive and discriminatory trade agreements has been a prolific breeder of that kind of antogonism which oftentimes results in war, and that if a permanent peace is to be established among nations every obstacle that has stood in the way of international friendship should be cast aside. It was with that fundamental purpose in mind that I announced this principle in my address of January 8. To pervert this great principle for partisan purposes and to inject the bogey free trade, which is not involved at all, is to attempt to divert the mind of the Nation from the broad and humane principle of a durable peace by introducing an internal question of quite another kind. American business has in the past been unaffected by a policy of the kind suggested, and it has nothing to fear now from a policy of simple international justice. It is, indeed, lamentable that the momentous issues of this solemn hour should be seized upon in an effort to bend them to partisan service. To the initiated and discerning, the motive is transparent and the attempt fails.

Sincerely, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. As the Senator from Nebraska understands that letter, would it not prevent any discrimination by the United States against goods produced in Germany?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It would; it has that effect. It leaves that to the league composed of nations with which we are associated now in war and with which we will be associated in the league of nations to maintain peace.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. The Senator is saying these 14 points constitute the conditions precedent upon which any peace may be made and they are the minimum to be demanded by the United States. If those 14 points, including this one, as explained by the President and agreed to by the other nations, prevent either us or the other nations from ever discriminating by a tariff against any goods produced in Germany, I simply want to get it in the RECORD that that is the Senator's understanding of the President's paragraph 3.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The President maintains that such discrimination is an international matter involving the peace of the world and should be left to the league of nations.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Of course it is an international matter, and inasmuch as it is an international matter and the Senate will be called upon to confirm the treaty by which the war is settled, it becomes pertinent that the Senate should understand what is meant by these various theories on these various points.

Mr. PENROSE. Do I understand the Senator from Nebraska to say that the determination of an American tariff is an international matter?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir; not at all; quite the opposite. An American tariff is a matter for the American Congress.

Mr. PENROSE. So, regardless of any other nation on the face of the earth——

Mr. HITCHCOCK. But the use of the tariff as a hostile war measure is a matter for the league of nations.

Mr. PENROSE. Then I understand that the league of nations is to have some kind of a right to pass upon whether an American tariff is equitable to all nations or not.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Not at all.

Mr. PENROSE. The Senator from Nebraska is just as obscure to my mind as the President of the United States as to the meaning of article No. 3.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I am very glad to be in that company. If I am no more obscure I am very fortunate.

Mr. PENROSE. What does the Senator mean?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I have stated my meaning, and I am willing to leave it at that. I merely rose because I thought the time had come when it should be frankly stated here definitely, and the matter called to the attention of the country, that Congress received from the President, as it received nine months ago, a definite statement of his idea of war terms and that Congress as well as the whole country practically accepted those war terms. Not only that, but later when Austria asked of the United States what terms of peace she could have, the President replied, "You know already what the terms of peace are"; and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and other Republican Senators, acclaimed the response as happy and adequate to the situation. They evidently knew and approved the American terms of peace.

Mr. PENROSE. I asked the question of the Senator in entire good faith. Will the Senator enlighten me as to this final point, and then I am done? Under the President's economic theory when peace among the nations of the world is declared, would the United States have a right to make a more favorable economic agreement with the allies than with Germany?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I am going to state it in my own words and not in the language of the Senator from Pennsylvania. The United States would have the right to make any tariff it pleased against the whole world, but if the treaty is made and includes the terms outlined January 8, and Great Britain and France and Italy and our associates agree to it, it would be then improper for the United States to adopt a tariff discriminating between nations. Such a tariff if hostile toward any nation would be practically commercial war against that nation. That the President opposes.

Mr. PENROSE. Including Germany?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Any nation.

Mr. PENROSE. Then German goods must be left to come in under the presidential theories on the same equality the allies would have.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That does not follow.

Mr. PENROSE. It comes very near following. I am glad I smoked the Senator out.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. What follows is that if a league of nations is formed, and if the United States agrees to its formation and Great Britain agrees to its formation and France agrees to its formation and the other nations agree to its formation, the league of nations will take jurisdiction over the question of hostile tariffs or trade barriers to discipline a nation where it is engaged in something contrary to the peace of the world.

Mr. PITTMAN obtained the floor.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I just want to make a brief statement. Then the Senator may want to speak at length. It will take me only a minute.

Mr. PITTMAN. I will yield to the Senator.

Mr. PENROSE. The Senator from Nebraska has made reference to this solemn hour, and it is a correct statement of facts, but partakes a little of cant in view of the following telegram I have been asked to read to the Senate. I will ask the Secretary to read it.

The Secretary read as follows:

RENO, NEV., *October 24, 1918.*

Hon. BOIES PENROSE,
United States Senate, Washington:

The Postmaster General's office is sending out to every postmaster in Nevada the following personal letter:

"MY DEAR MR. ———, Postmaster: I know the Postmaster General feels a deep interest in the senatorial race in your State. He has come to know Senator HENDERSON quite well since his service in the Senate and esteems him highly. Will you drop me a line as to the out-

look for the Senator at your voting box? As you may know, for 17 years I was the private secretary of the Postmaster, and am still with him in the department. Inclosed please find stamped envelope for your reply. Thanking you in advance for your attention to this request, I am,

"Yours, truly, RUSKIN MCARDLE."

I suggest that you give this damnable outrage fullest publicity.

HARRY J. HUMPHREYS,
State Chairman Republican State Central Committee.

Mr. PENROSE. Now, Mr. President, I am through. This young Democrat who writes this letter was covered into the civil service by presidential order, a favorite method, and his biography is to be found in an available publication issued by the Government. I desire to have inserted in the RECORD as a part of my remarks—it is not necessary to read it—the civil-service rules and regulations concerning the activity of persons within the classified service in connection with elections.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the matter will be inserted in the RECORD. The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

IV.—POLITICAL CONDUCT.

SECTION 162—POSTAL LAWS AND REGULATIONS.

No person in the executive civil service shall use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the results thereof. Persons who by the provisions of these rules are in the competitive classified service, while retaining the right to vote as they please and to express privately their opinions on all political subjects, shall take no active part in political management or political campaigns.

Officers and employees of the Post Office Department and Postal Service are not precluded from exercising their political privileges, but shall not use their official positions to control elections or political movements.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, on October 10 I announced on this floor that the issue in the present campaign is between the policies and principles pronounced by Woodrow Wilson for a lasting world's peace and for reconstruction after the war and the policies and principles of the leaders of the Republican Party as they appear from their statements in this body and in the public forum. If there was any doubt with regard to the political issue that was being made by the Republican leaders, that doubt has disappeared to-day. The Republican leaders are seeking an issue for the sole purpose of attempting to establish themselves in power in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, not for the purpose of aiding in carrying out this war, because they do not condemn the conduct of the war. They dare not attempt to condemn the conduct of the war.

Never in all history have preparations been made so expeditiously and a war carried out with such vigor, ability, and grandeur as the war of America and its allies against Germany has been carried out. And yet, unless the Republican Party has an issue it has got to stand by and see the people continue in power an administration that has carried on this war successfully and has laid down a peace program that will be carried out if the Democratic majority is maintained in the Senate and House of Representatives.

They raise their hands in holy horror because, they charge, the President was insincere on January 8 at the time he delivered his message to Congress when he said politics was adjourned. The President has given no evidence of insincerity, and they have not been able to place their finger on a spot save and except his message to the American people delivered a few days ago. They know that that message was not delivered to the American people until Republican leaders and the Republican Party and the Republican campaign managers had been in politics for months in violation of the armistice that he tried to establish on January 8.

The Republican Party charges the President with violating a proposition he made that politics be adjourned, and yet as far back as February 14, 1918, a telegram of Will H. Hays, who had then been elected chairman of the Republican national committee, was quoted as follows in the public press:

I accept the chairmanship with a full knowledge of the responsibility—responsibility multiplied many times by reason of a national situation and the reconstruction that is to come.

Everyone knows that there will be political activity. The Democratic Party has been busy for months. This political activity should be open and accepted and of a character and on a plane that needs no subterfuge.

And again later, on February 26, 1918, the Republican congressional committee gave a reception at the Willard Hotel, in Washington, at which they entertained Mr. Hays. All factions, both Republican and Progressive Parties, attended the gathering. In the New York Times of February 20 it was stated that Mr. Hays had called upon Mr. Roosevelt and ex-Justice Charles E. Hughes and had talked over the political situation with them. Ex-President Taft wired him congratulations, and Mr. Hays was to talk on February 27 with Senator JOHNSON of California and Representative MEDILL MCCORMICK, of Illinois, representing the Progressive wing. Mr. Hays is quoted as saying:

The country needs to-day, as it never needed before, a united militant Republican Party. Every man who ever voted the Republican ticket, and most every other disinterested individual, knows that this is true, and what this country needs it is the duty of every man to give, regardless of personal influence, anger, pique, greed, or ambition. * * * I do not care how a man voted in 1912, 1914, and 1916, nor his reason for so doing. We are all one to-day, for we have work to do for the good of the country, and it takes us all to do it.

Again, you will find on March 2 that a luncheon was given at 120 Broadway, New York, in honor of Mr. William R. Willcox, the retiring chairman of the Republican national committee.

Mr. LENROOT. Will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. PITTMAN. I shall do so when I finish this sentence. On that occasion there was again a meeting of Republicans and again political speeches were made. Now I yield to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. LENROOT. I merely wish to correct the Senator in his statement that it was January 8 that the President made this proposition. It was May 27, long after the occurrences of which the Senator now speaks, that the President declared that politics was adjourned.

Mr. PITTMAN. The Senator from Wisconsin is correct; but the activities of Mr. Hays and the Republican leaders never moderated. Subsequent to that time ex-President Roosevelt, the self-announced candidate of the Republican Party for the Presidency, a man who no leading Republican dare deny will be their candidate—not particularly because they want him, but because he is the only man who has the temerity to make an issue against the Democratic Party when there is no issue—ex-President Roosevelt ever since the President proposed an armistice has been engaging in politics throughout the United States at all times. Will H. Hays has been busy at all times since the declaration was made by the President for an armistice. Not only that, but under the guise of a liberty-loan campaign the admitted candidate of the Republican Party for the Presidency for a third term spoke politics from one end of this country to the other and apparently sought to speak in those States where there were close contests for the United States Senate.

If anyone doubts that the liberty-loan speeches which he made were of a political character, I ask him to read them. They have been printed. He stated in Montana, when he commenced his speech making, that the liberty loan having already been oversubscribed, he had nothing to say upon that subject; and then he attacked the proposal for a league of nations; then he attacked the principle of a gradual reduction of the armaments of nations. Again, he uttered his militaristic principles throughout Montana. Again, by every form of insinuation, of which he is a master, he attempted to convince the people of Montana that the Government was now in wishy-washy hands; and he attempted to convince them in all of his speeches there that there was but one hope of this Government, and that was in the election of a Republican majority in the Senate and in the House of Representatives. Yet you condemn the President of the United States because he addresses the American people with regard to these issues that he considers more vital than any that have ever affected our people since the days of the Revolution.

What Democrats have been speaking of politics throughout the country? When did that occur? What Democrats were speaking politics upon the floor of this body until the armistice was violated by Senators on the other side of the Chamber? I suppose that you on the other side feel that you have the right, through interviews, through public speeches, through speeches in this body, to discredit the President of the United States; yes, to go further—to attempt to destroy the great humane program that he has for a lasting world peace; and you expect the President to stand mute through false modesty while you obtain the control of the Senate and the House of Representatives. You do not know that the President of the United States can rise above miserable, contemptible party politics; you can not understand that. You can not understand why any President in the hour of need, when the great prize that we must receive after this war is about to come to us is being grasped out of his hands for partisan purposes, should appeal directly to the people of the country to cast those who attempt that down into utter darkness and support him as they have supported him in the past.

There is no doubt that some of you on the other side—there is no doubt there are some of the Republican leaders throughout the country—who sincerely differ from the President of the United States. There are some of them who can not understand that humanity has any place in law; there are some of them who can not dream of justice ever controlling and directing

nations as it directs individuals within nations; there are some of them—and they are the leaders to-day of the Republican Party—who believe that the only right, the only justice, is force, force, force to the end. I am not attacking the sincerity of those men. I pity them; I pity them as I would pity a murderer who was guilty of murder by reason of a form of insanity. I know some of the leaders on the other side whose ice-bound souls could never understand what a world democracy means. I know that there are Members on the other side to whom the very name democracy is the cause of silent mirth. Those men only differ from the Kaiser in that they are jealous and resent the power of the Kaiser that they themselves would exert with happiness and pleasure if it were in their power to do so.

Oh, the President of the United States in his message has stated that we must do justice not only to those to whom we want to do justice, but to those to whom we do not desire to do justice. That is a principle of humanity; that is a principle of Christianity; and yet that principle arouses the anger, arouses the contempt, of the leader of the Republican Party, arouses his ire to such an extent that he publicly condemns it as silly, as foolish, as mischievous. Yet the President of the United States under attacks of this character is supposed by these leaders to sit silently by and see not only a Nation but the world cast back hundreds of years because, forsooth, he might personally be charged by some one with an ulterior political purpose. Listen to this charge and tell me if there are any Republicans on the other side who indorse it. I know there are few who indorse it in their hearts; I know they permit it to go out as an argument throughout this country, and that they will utilize it for the pure, simple, unjustifiable purpose of getting back here and nothing else. Listen to this by the chairman of the Republican national committee, Mr. Will H. Hays, speaking of the address of the President of the United States to the people of the United States. What does he say?

> A more ungracious, more unjust, more wanton, more mendacious accusation was never made by the most reckless stump orator, much less by a President of the United States, for partisan purposes.

The chairman of the Republican national committee charges the President of the United States with making a mendacious statement. I do not know whether Mr. Hays believes that; I do not know whether Mr. Hays made that as a serious expression of his party's viewpoint of the President of the United States or whether it is due to an immaturity of mind; I do not know whether that represents the character of the present Republican Party or whether it represents the ignorance of the present Republican Party; yet the leaders of the Republican Party issue a statement in answer to the President's message to the people, and in that statement they insinuate that he has violated his agreement of an armistice between the parties by the issuing of this statement. The leaders of the Republican Party know that he stood to the utmost and to the last minute the worst character of political attack that has ever been made by any party before he found that it was his duty to come to the front.

When was it that the leaders of the Republican Party were opposed to doing justice to those they did not like as well as to those they did like? When was it that the Republican Party turned its back upon the effort of the world to reduce armaments? When was it that the Republican Party was willing to trample under foot the hope of all of the liberty-loving people of the world that they might get together and in one great combine rectify the wrongs of nations and perpetuate peace? When was it that the attacks upon these great principles of the President commenced? Not until it became necessary to make an issue with the President. They now shamelessly take that stand and attempt to defend it.

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE], long one of the leaders of the Republican side and now a leader of the Republican side, has answered. He has answered that he did not make objection to the President's principles at an earlier date because he wanted to await a more opportune time. Are not these principles too sacred to the people of this country, are they not too necessary to the people of the world, to be held as a tool of petty politics? Would the Senator from Pennsylvania conceal a mischievous, treacherous provision in these 14 articles of the President for months and months, with the danger that they might be enforced to the detriment of his own people, in order that he might obtain a political advantage at the right time? Is that politics or is that patriotism?

Let us see. I want to read you in a few minutes what the leader of your party says on this subject, but in the meantime let me read the sentiment of the Republican Party; let me set out the issue that the Republican Party are making through their leader in this campaign. You know what that issue is as made by the Republican leaders, do you not? That the President of the United States is incompetent; that the President of the United States is dealing with mischievous, treacherous principles; that the President is about to do something that will be virtually a surrender of the United States to Germany. Those are the statements, practically and substantially, of the Republican ex-President and candidate for a third time as President of the United States, and the Republican Party have not the nerve to deny them. I will take that back and will say that the leaders of the Republican Party, the officeholders of the Republican Party, have not the nerve, have not the manhood, have not the humanity and the patriotism to throw those words back in the teeth of their perpetual candidate. If they would only find out once and for all that whenever an office seeker becomes a perpetual candidate, when he has an obsession for something for himself, he ceases to be of value to the country or to anybody else.

Listen to this; listen to what your leader says; listen to the platform of the Republican Party. On October 17, in a signed article in a Kansas City paper, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt says this:

> As regards some of the points, either the meaning is so muddy as to be wholly incomprehensible or else the proposals are very treacherous.

There is a statement, not by an ignorant man, not by a man unfamiliar with diplomatic language. There is a statement by a man who has served as President of the United States, and he insinuates that the proposals of the President of the United States are treacherous!

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, will the Senator submit to an interruption?

Mr. PITTMAN. I will.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I would suggest that that criticism of the ex-President and the ex-Progressive and the ex-Republican and the ex-Colonel Roosevelt was not only denied at the time of its fulmination by everybody of prominence that we heard from in the United States, but the denial met with the absolute approbation of every one of our allies in this war—every one of them.

Mr. PITTMAN. In the same article this maker of platforms for the Republican Party, this perpetual Republican candidate for the Presidency, this man who has a right to make issues for the Republican Party, this man without asking whose views on the matter no Republican leader will dare speak, goes further. He says, in speaking of the President's program for a reduction of armaments and for a league of nations, this:

> I gravely doubt whether a more silly or more mischievous plan was ever seriously proposed by the ruler of a great nation.

That is the issue. The Republican Party are opposed to the reduction of armaments. The Republican Party are opposed to the utilization of a league of nations as an instrumentality to hold down the increase in armaments and to rectify the little wrongs which frequently cause wars between nations. I am not here to argue now the question of a league of nations or a reduction of armaments. I stand for both. I am here to show the stand of the Republican Party as announced through their own leaders. The statesmen of the civilized world to-day, with the exception of the few in the Republican Party who are seeking office or following their candidate, stand for a reduction of armaments and a league of nations.

James Bryce, former ambassador to this country, and one of the greatest Englishmen alive to-day, stands for a league of nations. Lloyd-George, next to the President of the United States the most pronounced statesman of this era, stands for a league of nations and for a reduction of armaments.

Oh, the Republican Party have their issues. God pity the Republican Party! God pity the Republicans who have got to have these men who now constitute themselves the leaders of the Republicans Party write their platforms for them!

Ah, there are thousands of intelligent, high-class Republicans in my State who I know will never follow your candidate, will never follow your leaders against a reduction of armaments and a league of nations. It is pure delusion to think they will. They will not stay with you. Your chances are gone. Those were the statements of your candidate; those were the statements of the leader of your party; and your floor leader on that side, the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], will not deny, I believe, that he concurs entirely with the position taken by Theodore Roosevelt. If he does not agree with him, there is every opportunity for him to state that he does not agree with him.

The Senator from Massachusetts, the leader of the Republicans in this body, has stated his opposition to a league of nations. He has stated his opposition to the 14 points of the President. Oh, yes; not only has he stated his opposition to the President's pronounced words and programs and promises but he has gone further; he has shown his lack of confidence in the Chief Executive of this country. He has shown his lack of respect for a

man who is respected throughout the world to-day. He has questioned the leadership of Woodrow Wilson when his leadership is admitted by Great Britain, by France, by Italy, by all of our allies, and by all the neutral countries of the world.

That is your issue. You have made it. You will stay with it. You will fight for militarism of the Czar's kind—not for victory that there may be peace and justice throughout the world, but victory that you may make something out of it, that you may make a profit out of victory. Oh, yes; and in this hour, when the principles that must control the world for years and years to come are under consideration, instead of helping the President, who has the constitutional authority to negotiate those principles, you are doing everything in your power to discredit and obstruct him.

What do you suggest in lieu of a league of nations? What do you suggest in lieu of the reduction of armaments? Nothing except an alliance—an alliance such as Germany had with Austria and Italy; an alliance such as Great Britain had with France and with Russia; an alliance such as has existed from the very beginning of history, and has been, if not the cause, at least the opportunity of every war since the beginning of time. Every Senator on that side who speaks for his party speaks for the old theories of life, for the old theories of nations, for force, for war, for murder, for death, for slaughters throughout all time, and not one word for justice or humanity or peace in the future. Those thoughts are in their souls. They have not lived the lives that lead men to think of justice, humanity, and democracy; and yet they, by fortuitous circumstances, are to-day the leaders of the great Republican Party in the United States—a party that anyone must admit has done wonderful good in its time. They are its leaders, and no matter who the Republicans may elect to this body or to the House of Representatives, those leaders will dominate and control and mold them to their way of thinking.

Oh, yes; suppose you should put five Progressive Republicans on that side, as it is constituted to-day. They would have just as much chance as a humanitarian would have to-day in the palace of the Kaiser. In one week's time they would not know whether they were on the other side of the Chamber or not. They would not know where they were or what their duties were; and yet the Republican leaders urge in one voice that they want Republicans here so as to support the President of the United States, and in the next voice they say that the President of the United States is unworthy of support. In one voice they say that they have supported the President better than the Democrats have supported him, and in the next voice, through their leader, through their perpetual candidate for the Presidency, they warn the people of the country to elect Republicans to the Senate and the House, so that the President will not have his own way and so that they can control the actions of the President.

Is that consistency? Which side do they intend to take? They know that they can not pick out any past events of this administration as the grounds of attack; therefore they are looking to the future for an issue. They not only are moved by their desire for militaristic power in the world, but they are moved by a greed which has been stimulated by an opportunity that never before existed in this country.

The Government of the United States to-day is more powerful than in all of its history. The Government of the United States to-day is more powerful than any other democratic government in the world. The Government of the United States to-day has its hand more closely upon the industry and life of the people than ever before in its history, and that life and that industry would be in danger if the reins of the Government were not in the hands of a man and supported by a Congress who believe in the people, who believe in democracy, and who believe in humanity. Oh, yes; the issues in this campaign do amount to something to the people of this country, and it was the duty of the President of the United States, in view of the character of campaign that was being made, to submit those facts to the people.

I have charged that the civilized world stood for the propositions of President Wilson. Let me read what Lloyd-George had to say with regard to the program of the President of the United States. This speech was delivered on July 5, 1918, at the battle front in France. In it he said:

> President Wilson yesterday made it clear what we are fighting for. If the Kaiser and his advisers will accept the conditions voiced by the President they can have peace with America, peace with France, peace with Great Britain to-morrow. But he has given no indication of an intention to do so. Because he will not do so is the very reason we all are fighting.

Lloyd-George sustained it. Take the statement of Bryce, to which I referred before. It is reported in a telegram from London under date of January 10:

> The address is admirable in spirit and contents. Mr. Wilson rightly points out that an international combination to arrest the aggressions of ambitious sovereigns and military castes and to secure the rights of peace-loving peoples is essential to the future well-being of mankind. In his enumeration of objects to be secured by peace, the following points seem specially important:
>
> His broad, clear assertion of the right of a nationality to self-determination, removal of economic barriers to trade, adequate guaranties for reduction of armaments, absolute independence for Belgium and full compensation for her wrongs, sympathetic comprehension and consideration of the present situation of Russia, and deliverance of all subject nationalities from the brutal and sanguinary rule of the Turks.
>
> Those in Great Britain who know how abominable the rule of the Turks has been heartily welcome this declaration and that recently made by the British prime minister that the allies and the United States regard liberation of the Christian and Arab peoples of Armenia, Syria, and Palestine as an essential condition of any just and durable peace.

Let us see what has been said in the past. There is one Republican on the other side who seems to appreciate the meaning of democracy. There is one Senator on the other side who will not utilize the power of misconstruction of language for political purposes. There is one Senator on the other side whose patriotism has always risen above his partisan politics. Yes; there is more than one; there are others. There are some, however, whose every action condemns them to the suspicions of the public. As to those the public will form their own conclusions; but I want to read what the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH], a Republican, had to say about the President's 14 points. It was published on January 9 in the New York Times:

> Senator BORAH, of Idaho. I am particularly pleased with that part of the message which relates to Russia. I believe it will have a good effect in Russia. I have thought from the beginning of the Russian revolution that we should give more consideration and greater encouragement and sympathy to the people of Russia. I think in this respect the message is admirable.
>
> As to the other portion of the message, I want to say that I am in favor of prosecuting the war to an honorable and permanent peace; that is, as nearly permanent as the human mind can foresee now. Whatever readjustment of territory and other details are essential to that will have to be arranged, but the details can not, in my opinion, be known very far in advance of some intimation of Germany's breaking down.
>
> I say this, however, that I hope we will not get in the habit of discussing territorial readjustment too much. That is the European vice. What we all want is a permanent peace, and anything that is essential to that as matters develop from time to time must be made to harmonize with it.
>
> I think the paragraph of the President's peace terms with reference to trade conditions is also worthy of particular mention. The Paris conference, in my judgment, was a mistake. It was a start along the wrong line, and the President's message dealt with it in a proper manner.

There is the answer to the Senator from Pennsylvania by one of his own Republican colleagues. There is the answer by a Republican whose knowledge of international law and the language of international communication is not excelled in this body. He says that that statement of the President requires particular attention, and he tells why, in his opinion, the President puts it in that message. He refers to the conference at Paris. He refers to that conference which intimated that it was going to discriminate against the enemy after this war was over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BENET in the chair). The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, it becomes the duty of the Chair to lay before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated by the Secretary.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 4637) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, two Republican leaders are attempting to find fault with the principles and policies of the President of the United States. They particularize on three points; that providing for a league of nations, that providing for the reduction of armaments, and that providing for a limitation of trade restrictions as far as possible. I have discussed the first two. Now, as to the last. I have read the interpretation placed upon it by the distinguished Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH]. The construction placed upon it by the President of the United States has been read into the RECORD. But the astute politician, who occupies the Senate seat from Pennsylvania, is not satisfied with the assurance of the President of the United States that the provision in no way shall affect the rights of any nation to regulate its own tariff and other economic laws. He is not satisfied with that. He goes further and demands of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] to know how this provision will affect Germany. The language itself states how it will affect Germany. The language is so clear that except for the misconstruction placed upon it, it would never have been the subject of argument. It reads as follows:

> The removal so far as possible of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

The provision, in the first place, only applies to those nations that associate themselves together under the provisions for a league of nations. If Germany comes into that league of nations, then, of course, Germany will be treated by the United

States as every other member of that league of nations. If there is a league of nations, every nation which is worthy of confidence must be entitled to come into that league or it ceases to be a league of nations, and is simply an alliance. The President has stated under what terms and conditions Germany might enter that league of nations. The distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] seems afraid of free trade or protection or something else. He knows the language there means that as among those nations which shall constitute the league of nations no tariff, no financial law shall be so constructed as to favor one or more of those nations to the prejudice of one or more of the other nations.

Mr. WATSON. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. PITTMAN. He must know that it makes no difference how high or how low the tariff in all those nations may be, it applies equally or justly to all the other nations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. PITTMAN. I do.

Mr. WATSON. Did the United States ever have a tariff at any time that did not embody these features aside from a reciprocal arrangement?

Mr. PITTMAN. I think not, and I do not think it ever should have. The only reason why that statement was put forward was not because the United States has ever proposed such a plan but because it has been suggested on behalf of some other nations which will be members of this league of nations. The principle that we shall not utilize our tariff or other economic laws for the purpose of discrimination is recognized in this country, but it may not be recognized in all the other countries, and Woodrow Wilson found it necessary to make that pronouncement.

I ask at this time that I may print in the RECORD the statement of Representative GILLETT with regard to the President's message of the 8th of January.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The statement referred to is as follows:

I am in hearty accord with the President's address unless he meant universal free trade by his allusion of economic freedom, and I do not believe that could have been his intention.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I have very little more to say on this matter. I feel that the integrity and the sincerity of the President of the United States having been attacked by the chairman of the national committee of the Republican Party, the President's address, which was the foundation of that attack, should be included in the RECORD; and in justice, of course, to Mr. Will H. Hays, I will ask that his whole statement be published at this point, following the statement of the President of the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S APPEAL TO YOU.

My fellow countrymen, the congressional elections are at hand. They occur in the most critical period our country has ever faced or is likely to face in our time. If you have approved of my leadership and wish me to continue to be your unembarrassed spokesman in affairs at home and abroad, I earnestly beg that you will express yourselves unmistakably to that effect by returning a Democratic majority to both the Senate and the House of Representatives. I am your servant and will accept your judgment without cavil, but my power to administer the great trust assigned me by the Constitution would be seriously impaired should your judgment be adverse, and I must frankly tell you so because so many critical issues depend upon your verdict. No scruple of taste must in grim times like these be allowed to stand in the way of speaking the plain truth.

I have no thought of suggesting that any political party is paramount in matters of patriotism. I feel too keenly the sacrifices which have been made in this war by all our citizens, irrespective of party affiliations, to harbor such an idea. I mean only that the difficulties and delicacies of our present task are of a sort that makes it imperatively necessary that the Nation should give its undivided support to the Government under a unified leadership, and that a Republican Congress would divide the leadership.

The leaders of the minority in the present Congress have unquestionably been prowar, but they have been antiadministration. At almost every turn, since we entered the war they have sought to take the choice of policy and the conduct of the war out of my hands and put it under the control of instrumentalities of their own choosing. This is no time either for divided counsel or for divided leadership. Unity of command is as necessary now in civil action as it is upon the field of battle. If the control of the House and Senate should be taken away from the party now in power an opposing majority could assume control of legislation and oblige all action to be taken amidst contest and obstruction.

The return of a Republican majority to either House of the Congress would, moreover, certainly be interpreted on the other side of the water as a repudiation of my leadership. Spokesmen of the Republican Party are urging you to elect a Republican Congress in order to back up and support the President, but even if they should in this way impose upon some credulous voters on this side of the water, they would impose on no one on the other side. It is well understood there as well as here that the Republican leaders desire not so much to support the President as to control him. The peoples of the allied countries with whom we are associated against Germany are quite familiar with the significance of elections. They would find it very difficult to believe that the voters of the United States had chosen to support their President by electing to the Congress a majority controlled by those who are not in fact in sympathy with the attitude and action of the administration.

I need not tell you, my fellow countrymen, that I am asking your support not for my own sake or for the sake of a political party, but for the sake of the Nation itself, in order that its inward unity of purpose may be evident to all the world. In ordinary times I would not feel at liberty to make such an appeal to you. In ordinary times divided counsels can be endured without permanent hurt to the country. But these are not ordinary times. If in these critical days it is your wish to sustain me with undivided minds, I beg that you will say so in a way which it will not be possible to misunderstand either here at home or among our associates on the other side of the sea. I submit my difficulties and my hopes to you.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D. C., October 25, 1918.

"IDEA OF AUTOCRAT," HAYS CALLS APPEAL BY WILSON FOR DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, *October 27.*

Will H. Hays, chairman of the Republican national committee, made public here to-night a statement in which he replied in behalf of his party to President Wilson's appeal to the Nation to return a Democratic Congress. In his statement, Mr. Hays said:

"President Wilson has questioned the motives and fidelity of your representatives in Congress. He has thereby impugned their loyalty and denied their patriotism. His challenge is to you who elected those representatives. You owe it to them, to the honor of your great party and to your own self-respect to meet that challenge squarely, not only as Republicans but as Americans. I, as your chairman, call upon you to do it.

"Mr. Wilson accords the Republicans no credit whatever for having supported the 'war measures' proposed by his administration, although they have done so with greater unanimity than the members of his own party. Despite that fact, he accuses them of having tried to usurp his proper functions.

AN INSULT, HE DECLARES.

"At no time and in no way have they tried to take control of the war out of his hands. The President knows that. The country knows it. You know it. A more ungracious, more unjust, more wanton, more mendacious accusation was never made by the most reckless stump orator, much less by a President of the United States, for partisan purposes. It is an insult not only to every loyal Republican in Congress but to every loyal Republican in the land.

"It fully merits the resentment which rightfully and surely will find expression at the polls.

"Mr. Wilson grudgingly admits that the Republicans have been 'prowar.' Then why does he demand their defeat? Because they are still prowar? Hardly that. No. It is because they are for peace, though not without victory, because they do not believe lasting peace can be obtained through negotiation; because they consider that 'U. S. stands for unconditional surrender as well as for the United States and Uncle Sam.' The Democratic Congress does not. Mr. Wilson does not. There is the issue as clear as the noonday sun. The country will decide.

THE IDEA OF AN AUTOCRAT.

"Mr. Wilson wants only rubber stamps—his rubber stamps—in Congress. He says so. No one knows it better than Democratic Congressmen. He calls for the defeat of prowar Republicans and the election of antiwar Democrats. He, as the Executive, is no longer satisfied to be one branch of the Government, as provided by the Constitution. Republican Congressmen must be defeated and Democratic Congressmen must, as they would, yield in everything. That is evidently his idea—the idea of an autocrat calling himself the servant, but bidding for the mastery of this great, free people.

"Republicans in Congress have seemed to him good enough when they assented, as they did assent with highest patriotism and sometimes against their best judgment, to his proposals. Republicans at home have seemed to him good enough to send fully a million of their sons into battle, to furnish at least half of the Army and far more than half of the money for winning the war. But they are not considered good enough to have a voice in the settlement of the war.

SAYS PRESIDENT WANTS "TWO THINGS."

"But Mr. Wilson's real purpose has nothing to do with the conduct of the war. He has had that from the beginning, has it now, and nobody dreams of interfering with his control. He wants just two things: One is full power to settle the war precisely as he and his sole, unelected, unappointed, unconfirmed personal adviser may determine. The other is full power as the 'unembarrassed spokesman in affairs at home,' as he actually demands in his statement, to reconstruct in peace times the great industrial affairs of the Nation in the same way, in unimpeded conformity with whatever socialistic doctrines, whatever unlimited Government-ownership notions, whatever hazy whims may happen to possess him at the time; but, first and above all, with absolute commitment to free trade with all the world, thus giving to Germany out of hand the fruits of a victory greater than she could win by fighting a hundred years.

"A Republican Congress will never assent to that. Do you want a Congress that will? Germany does.

"Mr. Wilson forces the Republican Party to lie down or fight. I say, fight! Answer with your votes!

"Mr. Wilson is for unconditional surrender—yes; for the unconditional surrender to himself of the Republican Party, of the country, of the allies—all to him, as the sole arbiter and master of the destinies of the world. Do you stand for that? Answer with your votes!"

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, one of our distinguished Senators here to-day was taking the President to task for having sent this message to the American people, and in that attempt he compared the President to another one of our great Presidents. There is no parallel between the two acts. One was the prevention of the interference in politics by a politician and the other was an open, free, frank message to those who elected the President of the United States. Is the time ever coming in a democracy when the President of the United States shall not be recognized as having the right to address a statement directly to the people of the United States? It was not concealed. It

was not hid from the Republicans. No; it was addressed to the Republicans of this country just as much as it is addressed to the Democrats of the country. It is not an appeal, however, to the leaders of the Republican Party, because the leaders of the Republican Party have publicly demonstrated that they are beyond the barrier of any appeal on the ground of humanity or democracy. The President is appealing to Republicans against Republican leaders. He is appealing to Democrats and the men who elected him to office and who placed upon him the responsibility of that office.

But this is not the first time that these things have been done. Let me read just a few remarks here by President McKinley at the time of the campaign of 1898. In a speech delivered at Boone, Iowa, October 11, 1898, he said:

This is no time for divided councils. If I would have you remember anything I have said in these desultory remarks it would be to remember at this critical hour in the Nation's history we must not be divided. The triumphs of the war are yet to be written in the articles of peace.

Again in a speech delivered at Carroll, Iowa, October 11, 1898, he said:

Just at this hour, although hostilities have been suspended, we are confronted with the gravest national problems. It is a time for the soberest judgment and the most conservative and considerate action. As we have stood together in the war, so we must stand together until the results of that war shall be written in peace.

In a speech delivered at Creston, Iowa, October 13, 1898, President McKinley said:

My fellow citizens, I want to leave one more thought with you and that is, as we have been united and therefore strong and invincible in the war, we must continue united until the end of this struggle; we must have no differences among ourselves while we are settling differences with another government. When we have made that settlement in the interest of justice and civilization and humanity, then we can resume our domestic differences.

In a speech delivered at Springfield, Ill., October 15, 1898, President McKinley said:

Now, my friends, what we want is to have no dispute or difference among ourselves to interfere with our united judgment in dealing with the foreign problems that are before us. As we stood together in war, let us stand together until its settlements are made.

Now, then, be it remembered that at that time President McKinley was speaking in a campaign—the campaign of 1898. The country was involved in a campaign at that time, and all the campaign orators were on the stump and the politicians of both parties were in the field. The same Theodore Roosevelt, who to-day is doing everything in his power to discredit the President of the United States and to make him powerless in the execution of a peace program upon the settlement of this war, was then active in politics. He stated in the campaign of 1898 as follows in one of his speeches:

Remember that, whether you will it or not, your votes this year will be viewed by the nations of Europe from one standpoint only. They will draw no fine distinctions. A refusal to sustain the President this year will, in their eyes, be read as a refusal to sustain the war and to sustain the efforts of our peace commission to secure the fruits of war. Such a refusal may not inconceivably bring about a rupture of the peace negotiations. It will give heart to our defeated antagonists; it will make possible the interference of those doubtful neutral nations who in this struggle have wished us ill.

You could get the benefits of the victories of Grant and Sherman only by reelecting Lincoln, and we will gain less than we ought from the war if the administration is not sustained at these elections.

Again, we find former President Harrison using this language in the 1898 campaign:

If the word goes forth that the people of the United States are standing solidly behind the President, the task of the peace commissioners will be easy, but if there is a break in the ranks—if the Democrats score a telling victory, if Democratic Senators, Congressmen, and governors are elected—Spain will see in it a gleam of hope; she will take a fresh hope, and a renewal of hostilities—more war—may be necessary to secure to us what we have already won.

In that same campaign in 1898, when President McKinley was stumping the country and was speaking throughout the United States and delivering the very speeches that I have quoted, we find Senator LODGE, now the senior Senator on the Republican side, now the leader of the Republican Party in this body, now the Senator who in a signed statement condemns the President of the United States for appealing to the people for a Democratic Senate and a Democratic House, appealing on behalf of McKinley for a Republican Senate and a Republican House said:

But there is one question on which I wish to say a few words, and that seems to me to override all others. It is whether we shall stand by the administration and the President at this juncture. If we give a victory to his political opponents we say not only to the United States but we say to the world, we say to the Spanish commissioners in Paris, that the people of the United States repudiate its result and repudiate the man who has led victoriously the war and is now leading us back to peace—William McKinley.

Then, at the same time, we find another distinguished leader on the other side who is doing all in his power to obstruct the principles and policies announced by the President of the United States and to tie his hands with a Republican Senate and a Republican House taking this position in the 1898 campaign. I have read you the speeches of President McKinley at that time. I have not attempted to interpret those speeches. I intend to let the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] interpret President McKinley's speeches. What did the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania have to say in preparing to introduce President McKinley at the time he was making those speeches? This is what he said:

In a few hours President McKinley will be your guest to witness the greatest pagent the country has ever known. In his recent speeches the President has appealed not to a partisan but to a national spirit. He asks the aid of the Nation. He seeks the support of every man who believes in the result of his administration. I appeal not to the martial spirit of the Nation, great as have been our victories on sea and land. I appeal to the quiet, sober thought of the American people, who do not go to war unless for honor and humanity. I make this appeal to you that you give loyal support to President McKinley and the Republican Party in the spirit he has asked for it.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President——

Mr. PITTMAN. I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. POMERENE. In view of the course the Senator's speech has taken I think it not inopportune to read a similar statement made by the Hon. Charles Wilhelm Frederick Dick, whom I had the honor to succeed in the Senate. This speech was made in 1898. It reads as follows:

[From the Akron Evening Times, Akron, Ohio, Friday, Oct. 25, 1918.]

DICK'S PLEA AS MADE TO THE VOTERS IN 1898.

We have had a recent example of what patriotism can do. We have just concluded a successful war against a common foe. The last trace of Spanish sovereignty has been driven from the Western Hemisphere. * * * The results of the war have thrust upon us mighty responsibilities * * * and it belongs to the party of progress to solve them.

In this hour of ballots what message are you going to send to Washington, to Paris, and to Spain? Are you going to cast a vote of confidence in the Government or will you show a lack of confidence? Suppose the situation was reversed and Spain were to hold an election in which support of the Government was the issue, with what eagerness, with what hope and fear, would you await the results?

What effect would it have on other countries if it should be cabled to Paris and Madrid that the Government at Washington is not upheld? That the people of the United States had elected a Congress not in accord with the President. Is it not our duty as Americans to do everything possible to prevent such a disaster?

This is a time to appeal to patriotic hearts. It is not a time to stand with yellow journals and yellow speakers, but a time to hoist the Stars and Stripes higher than ever before. Let us say on election day that liberty and freedom yet live in the hearts of the American people.

This is not only an election of county, of State, and the Nation—it is international. Every nation in Europe, friendly or unfriendly, is watching with jealous eyes the results of this election. They are watching to see whether we will take advantage of the opportunities that are offered us, opportunities that would be eagerly seized by them.

The administration should be supported by the whole people. It is in the interests of the whole people. When we are engaged in mighty contests with other nations there should be no doubt where the people stand.

To-day more than usual the administration represents the Government. The course of William McKinley appeals to the patriotism and the support of the whole people. Give him a Congress that will stand at his back; then if they fail it will be time to condemn and reject.

You know without my telling you that the affairs of the State are well and wisely conducted. I want to say one word, however, on county affairs.

Here Senator Dick disgressed in an appeal for the Republican county ticket, after which he continued:

This is no time to change the party at the helm. Men are but the representatives of principles, whether it be in county, State, or Nation.

The world is looking to the United States. We are now in the very vanguard of the procession, and our civilization will make the coming century the greatest in the world's history If as a people we measure up to every responsibility we have no cause for alarm. There is no doubt that the American people will meet and discharge every duty. When God selected us to make the test of free government He did so with a jealous eye. We must neglect no opportunity. Patriotism should dominate every man in his political creed, and on November 8 Americans should do their full duty.

My good friend, Senator Dick, is now a candidate for Congress in his district in Ohio, and if he is to be sustained in his views then every Republican in that district will have to vote for his opponent.

Mr. PITTMAN. I wish to read at the request of Senator THOMAS, who sent it to me, as he was compelled to be absent, a statement from the Indianapolis Journal of September 17, 1898, which has the following headline to it:

Albert J. Beveridge's keynote speech delivered at Tomlinson Hall at the opening of the campaign of 1898. Mr. Beveridge was a candidate for United States Senator to succeed Senator Turpie, a Democrat.

This is the speech:

In a sentence, shall the American people indorse at the polls the administration of William McKinley, which, under the guidance of Divine Providence, has started the Republic on its noblest career of prosperity, duty, and glory, or shall the American people rebuke the administration, reverse the wheels of history, halt the career of the flag, and turn to that purposeless horde of criticism and carping that is assailing the Government at Washington? * * * In the only foreign war this Nation has had in two generations will you, the voters af this Republic and the guardians of its good repute, give the other nations of the world to understand that the American people do not approve and indorse the administration that conducted it? These are the questions

you must answer at the polls, and I well know how you will answer them. The thunder of American guns at Santiago and Manila will find its answer in the approval of the voters of the Republic. * * *

And the first question you must answer by your vote is whether you indorse that war. We are told that all citizens and every platform indorse the war, and I admit, with the joy of patriotism, that this is true. But this is only among ourselves, and we are of and to ourselves no longer. This election takes place on the stage of the world, with all earth's nations for our auditors.

Not a foreign office in Europe that is not studying the American Republic and watching the American elections of 1898 as it never watched an American election before. Are the American people the chameleon of the nations? If so, we can easily handle them, says the diplomats of the world. Which result, say you, will have the best effect for us upon the great powers that watch us with the jealousy strength always inspires: A defeat at the hands of the American people of the administration which has conducted our foreign war to a world-embracing success, and which has in hand the most important foreign problems since the Revolution, or such an indorsement of the administration by the American people as will swell to a national acclaim? No matter what your views on the Dingley or the Wilson laws, no matter whether you favor Mexican money or the standard of this Republic, we must deal this day with nations greedy for every market we are to invade, nations with ships and guns and money and men. Will they sift out the motive for your vote, or will they consider the result of the indorsement a rebuke of the administration? I repeat, it is more than a party question. It is an American question. It is an issue in which history sleeps. It is a situation which will influence the destiny of the Republic.

Mr. President, that was the keynote speech of the Republican Party in 1898, delivered by one of the most prominent Republicans in this country, a man who stood high in those days in the councils of the Republican Party, a man who spoke for his party. Were there ever two conditions so identical as the conditions then and the conditions now, with the single exception that at that time the war was over with Spain and the negotiations were with but one little country? To-day the war is not over. The negotiations will involve the great civilized countries of the world.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. PITTMAN. I yield.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Am I mistaken in saying that I read in the press of yesterday perhaps that the Senator from Nevada had said that the war is practically over?

Mr. PITTMAN. The Senator is correct. This war is practically over. It has been won while a Democratic President was the Chief Executive officer of this country and was Commander in Chief of the armies, just as the little war against Spain was won when President McKinley occupied the same position. The necessity for the support of President Wilson in the formulation of the policies that will either mean an enduring peace or early return of wars will come up to the President as after-war policies faced McKinley at the time of the campaign of 1898. The situations are practically identical. The arguments made by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], by Theodore Roosevelt, by Albert J. Beveridge, all apply to the situation to-day. I do not desire to charge them with insincerity, but I can not understand, and I do not believe the American people will understand, how those Republican statesmen could have made the speeches they made in 1898 and make the speeches and statements that they are making to-day.

Inconsistency in an ignorant man attracts little attention; inconsistency in a statesman, who owes a duty to the people who elect him, is worthy of the gravest consideration. If the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts felt in 1898 that it was necessary to elect a Republican Senate and a Republican House of Representatives in order that the world should not consider that President McKinley had been repudiated, then it is equally as necessary to-day that the people elect a Democratic Senate and a Democratic House of Representatives so that the world shall not think that President Wilson has been repudiated. Is not that true? Is there any answer whatever to it?

The Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] answers by a nod of his head that there is an answer, and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON] the other day gave a very cute little answer to it. He said the Philippine Islands were involved; that the thing which made it so necessary to have a Republican Senate was in order that the treaty with regard to the Philippine Islands might be ratified. There is nothing in the remarks of the Senator from Massachusetts which were made in 1898 referring to the Philippine Islands. They referred to sustaining the President who won the war, so that he would not appear to be repudiated in the eyes of the world. There is nothing in Theodore Roosevelt's speeches of that date which I have quoted which deals with the Philippine Islands. Theodore Roosevelt's speeches were the same as those of the Senator from Massachusetts. They all placed the argument on the ground that the man who has won the war must be supported not only in the Senate but in both branches of Congress, in order that the world shall know that the American people first sustain the war, and, in the second place, that they do not repudiate the man who won the war.

I listened to the argument of the Senator from Indiana the other day when he tried to change the whole tenor of the speech of the Senator from Massachusetts, and Roosevelt's speech and Beveridge's speech by saying that they were worried for fear that there would be a Democratic Senate elected, and that, if so, the Senate would not ratify the treaty with regard to the Philippine Islands. If that were so, why were they appealing for the House of Representatives? The House of Representatives has nothing to do with treaties. Oh, but the Senator will say they have control of the appropriation of the money necessary to buy the islands. Congress has never violated a treaty made in accordance with the law and the Constitution of the United States, and when a treaty has been ratified by this body the money has always been appropriated by the House of Representatives, although they have nothing to do with the ratification of the treaty.

An attempt will be made to answer this contention. Politicians will be tempted to change the plain meaning of the speech of the Senator from Massachusetts in 1898; to reconstruct the speech of Theodore Roosevelt; to befog the speech of Albert J. Beveridge; and to explain the speech of Benjamin Harrison to the people of the country. No matter how skillful may be the attempt to twist these speeches their truth has reached the American people and they know if the words of the Senator from Massachusetts and those of Roosevelt and Benjamin Harrison and Beveridge were worth anything in 1898, they can not be repudiated now under the existing conditions, and they are not going to permit those men who are simply American citizens, no matter how high their position may be, to change or to misconstrue their own open and avowed position for the present purposes of partisan gain.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ASHURST in the chair). Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. PITTMAN. I yield.

Mr. WATSON. Does the Senator from Nevada make no distinction between a private citizen making an appeal of that kind and the President of the United States making it? At the time the Senator from Massachusetts made that appeal or the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] made it or the then Senator Beveridge made it neither man was President of the United States; neither man was in the midst of the war as Chief Executive; neither man had had the united support of the opposition party. Does not the Senator from Nevada make any distinction at all between a private citizen making an appeal of that kind and the President of the United States making it, and especially at a time when the President has had practically the united support of the opposition party, and in his own letter admits that that party has been prowar quite as much as has his own party?

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, there is no doubt that the Republican Party has been both prowar and loyal; I know of no one who attacks that proposition at all; but it is unnecessary for me to argue as to whether or not the Republican Party has been antiadministration. We do not have to go back of to-day to prove it. The RECORD to-day is full of it. That is enough. If the question is as to whether or not there is a difference between a Senator of the United States appealing to the people for the support of the President, or the President appealing for support, I say now that there is not any difference. It does not make any difference whether the one making such an appeal is a Senator of the United States, a Representative, a plain citizen, or President of the United States. If any man, no matter what position he holds, sees that a condition is arising that is dangerous to the people of the United States and they are not being told of that danger from other sources, then it is his duty to warn them.

Do you think that the people of the United States resent the fact that their President has told them of the danger? Do you think that the people of the United States resented the fact that McKinley appealed for unity in 1898? Do you think that the people of the United States have ever resented a President appealing directly to them with regard to any matter? Why should the President not do so? Does the President of the United States stand apart from the people? Is there no relation of confidence between the people and the President? Is the President too great a man to discuss matters with the people? Is the President's position so high that he may not discuss such matters with the common people? It might have been so under a Republican administration, but it is not so under a Democratic administration, and that is what we have at the present time. There was possibly a little difference between the methods pursued when we had a Republican President and those that are now pursued under a Democratic President. The Republican President wrote letters urging the support of whatever

he wanted, but the letters were not always public. The letters of the President of the United States at the present time are written to the public and are not concealed. The letters of Republican Presidents were sometimes written to politicians; the letters of the Democratic President are written to the people. As to the question of propriety, the Senator from Indiana can decide that for himself. But let me say something further. I have here a letter that possibly the Senator from Indiana remembers. I will read it and see if he recollects it. I think this letter was written by Mr. Theodore Roosevelt when he was President to Mr. JAMES E. WATSON, who was then a Member of the House of Representatives. The letter is dated "Oyster Bay, N. Y., August 18, 1906," and is as follows:

If there were only partisan issues involved in this contest, I should hesitate to say anything publicly in reference thereto. But I do not feel that such is the case. On the contrary, I feel that all good citizens who have the welfare of America at heart should appreciate the immense amount that has been accomplished by the present Congress, organized as it is, and the urgent need of keeping this organization in power. To change the leadership and organization of the House at this time means to bring confusion upon those who have been successfully engaged in the steady working out of a great and comprehensive scheme for the betterment of our social, industrial, and civic conditions. Such a change would substitute a purposeless confusion, a violent and hurtful oscillation between the positions of the extreme radical and the extreme reactionary, for the present orderly progress along the lines of a carefully thought-out policy.

This letter was written for the purpose of aiding in the election of Republicans to the Senate and the House. It was published in the Republican campaign textbook. Surely that can not be a crime in Woodrow Wilson if done by the great Republican god Roosevelt.

Again, on September 9, 1908, from Oyster Bay, N. Y., Mr. Roosevelt wrote, in part, as follows:

It is urgently necessary, from the standpoint of the public interest, to elect Mr. Taft and a Republican Congress which will support him; and they seek election on a platform which specifically pledges the party, alike in its executive and legislative branches, to continue and develop the policies which have been not merely professed but acted upon during these seven years. These policies can be successfully carried through only by the hearty cooperation of the President and the Congress in both its branches, and it is therefore particularly important that there should obtain such harmony between them. To fail to elect Mr. Taft would be a calamity to the country; and it would be folly while electing him yet at the same time to elect a Congress hostile to him, a Congress which under the influence of partisan leadership would be certain to thwart and baffle him on every possible occasion. To elect Mr. Taft and at the same time to elect a Congress pledged to support him is the only way in which to perpetuate the policy of the Government as now carried on. I feel that all the aid that can be given to this policy by every good citizen should be given, for this is far more than a merely partisan matter.

This was at a time when President Roosevelt expected to have Mr. Taft hold for four years, and in trust for Roosevelt, the presidential office. This letter was also written for political purposes, and was publicly used with President Roosevelt's knowledge and consent.

Mr. Taft, who knew of and accepted this aid of President Roosevelt, now holds up his hands in holy horror when Woodrow Wilson makes a similar plea.

I leave the question now as to whether or not the American people are going to take the advice of the Republican leaders given in 1898 or the advice given by the Republican leaders now. I leave it to the people of the country whether the Republican leaders to-day are sincere or whether they were sincere in 1898. There was argument in favor of their sincerity in 1898, but the evidence to-day is all against their sincerity. They argued in 1898 like patriots, and they quibble and debate to-day like politicians

The Republicans have made their issue. It is an issue as to whether or not the President of the United States, who has successfully conducted this war and who has the confidence of the world, shall continue it to the end unhampered, unobstructed, uninterfered with, or whether or not it shall be taken out of his hands and placed in the hands of Senator LODGE and Senator PENROSE, of Pennsylvania. That is the issue, and the people of this country are going to decide with the President. No matter what subterfuges may be used, no matter how cunningly the arguments may be presented, they will see it. You yourselves have exposed yourselves, and further exposition is unnecessary.

Mr. POINDEXTER obtained the floor.

Mr. WADSWORTH and Mr. SMOOT addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Washington yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield first to the Senator from New York.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, in order that the different pronouncements which find their appearance in the press may be contained in the RECORD, I ask permission that a letter written by the President of the United States to Mr. Hennessy, who is a candidate for the United States Senate from the State of New Jersey, which was printed in yesterday's papers, if I remember correctly, be read by the Secretary, and that I be permitted to utter about two sentences upon it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New York? There being none, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

MY DEAR MR. HENNESSY: May I not say how deeply interested I am in the contest you are conducting? I can not but feel that in ignoring my earnest appeal with regard to the suffrage amendment, made in the public interest and because of my intimate knowledge of the issues involved, both on the other side of the water and here, Senator BAIRD has certainly not represented the true feeling and spirit of the people of New Jersey. I am sure that they must have felt that such an appeal could not and should not be ignored. It would be a very great make weight thrown into the international scale if his course of action while in the Senate could be reversed by the people of our great State.

Cordially and sincerely, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, with the permission of the Senator from Washington——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Senators will note that the President of the United States requests the people of the State of New Jersey to defeat Senator BAIRD at the polls solely because he voted against the Federal suffrage amendment. No other reason is given whatsoever. I shall not comment upon the merits or demerits of the Federal suffrage amendment or the accuracy of the President's definition of that measure as being vitally necessary to the winning of the war. The Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] has used the term "sincerity" more than once in his address. In view of this effort on the part of the President to defeat a Senator at the polls because he did not vote for the Federal suffrage amendment, I am wondering whether he will send a similar letter to the people of the State of Delaware and ask the defeat of Senator SAULSBURY, to the people of Tennessee and urge the defeat of Senator SHIELDS, and to the people of the State of Alabama and urge the defeat of Senator BANKHEAD, all three of whom have voted against the same Federal suffrage amendment and are running for reelection.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I will have to decline further interruptions. I have been on my feet for some time; the remarks that I have to make are brief, and I would prefer if the Senator would allow me to proceed.

Mr. FLETCHER. Very well. I was simply going to ask the Senator if he would allow me to submit a report. I could have insisted on the regular order and had the report submitted at the proper time.

Mr. POINDEXTER. If the Senator merely wishes to present a report from a committee, I will yield to him for that purpose.

Mr. FLETCHER. I will wait until the Senator concludes.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, it is extremely distasteful to me to discuss a political issue in the Senate. The President, however, with his great influence has projected a partisan discussion into the affairs of the Government by the letter addressed to the American people which he gave out for publication on Friday, in which he declared that he waived the scruples of good taste on account of the importance of the issues that were involved.

The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK], in discussing the recent negotiations of the President with the German Government, seemed to take the rather curious position that there was a default on the part of the American people or of the Senate for not having declared their objections to the various terms of peace which the President has set forth in his addresses to Congress and in other documents. The Senator failed to state what the statute of limitations is. My own feeling in regard to that, Mr. President, was and is now that it was not desirable at the time the President made his address of January 8, 1918, or that of December 4, 1917, or his various other addresses and letters with regard to terms of peace that they should be discussed, and I think that was the feeling of a great many citizens. I think that generally citizens in private life and men in public office felt that it was a time to concentrate the energies of the country upon the conduct of the war rather than upon discussing terms of peace. They felt that the discussion of peace before we had really gotten into the war which we had declared to exist retarded the efforts of the American people in the preparation for the conflict.

The thing which they resented most was not that the President had in his mind certain policies in regard to the readjustment of international affairs at the close of the war, but that he discussed them, that he diverted public attention and public effort from the preparation for winning the victory to what at

that time appeared, to many of them at least, to be perfectly futile discussions as to peace when there was no peace.

Now, for the Senator from Nebraska to say that because citizens of this country did not enter into a discussion with the President over terms of peace eight months after we had entered the war, before we had struck a blow, before we had landed a cannon or an aeroplane on the battle front, seems to me to be rather unsound. I think that it is perfectly fair to say to the Senator from Nebraska that, with the views which I have just stated, the people who did not express themselves in regard to the President's terms of peace occupied a very reasonable position from their standpoint and that they ought not to be charged now with having accepted the various propositions set forth by the President.

The Senator from Nebraska introduced two letters that have been written by the President in regard to one of the various peace points which he had formulated in his address of January 8, 1918, and in a colloquy on the floor stated that it was the view of the President that to the league of nations for economic freedom which the President declared himself in favor of Germany was to be admitted.

The same declaration was subsequently made by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN]. Questions were asked of the Senator from Nebraska as to whether or not, under this term of peace of the President, the United States would be prevented from levying discriminatory duties against German goods or making discriminatory provisions as to trade with Germany. As I understood the Senator from Nebraska, he interpreted the President's speech and the President's letters to mean that that matter should be left to the league of nations which he proposed.

I have before me the letters which the Senator read; and from them I think it can not be a matter of doubt that although, I suppose as a matter of course, the question would have to be left to the ultimate determination of the league of nations, yet, so far as the views of the President of the United States are concerned, he in these letters clearly declares himself opposed to any discriminatory provisions as to trade with Germany or the importation of goods from that country. Taking this letter of October 28, addressed to the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS], the President states:

> Whatever tariff any nation might deem necessary for its own economic service, be that tariff high or low, it should apply equally to all foreign nations. * * * This leaves every nation free to determine for itself its own internal policies, and limits only its right to compound those policies of hostile discriminations between one nation and another.

So, in the letter of the President of October 22, 1918, addressed to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK], he states:

> They leave every nation free to determine its own economic policy, except in the one particular that its policy must be the same for all other nations and not be compounded of hostile discriminations between one nation and another.

I submit that there can not be any doubt as to the President's attitude upon that subject, and the country is entitled to thoroughly understand the issue. The President has been fair enough to publish to the country his partisan plea for the election of none but Democrats to Congress, and the people will have an opportunity of passing judgment upon the merits of his request. Upon this other matter, which has been set up in the speeches here to-day by the representatives of the administration as one of the central planks in the President's policy which he says Congress must support, the country is entitled to have a fair understanding of what the proposition is.

The letters which the President has written, and from which I have read, leave no doubt that the object of the President is that there shall be a league of nations formed in which Germany shall be an equal partner, and that there shall be no discrimination against her. Of course, he is entitled to advocate that. The country is entitled to understand his position, and it is for it to decide.

Mr. President, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN]—whose declarations are stated by the newspapers in which they have recently been printed to have been made not without the assent of the administration—says that the great issue between the President and his opponents is as to whether or not there is to be a humane peace. I expect in the course of my remarks to refer briefly in detail to the issue which he describes as the program for a humane peace. I comment on it now only to say that the Senator from Nevada utterly failed to inform either the Senate or the country as to the meaning of this program for a humane peace as so expressed.

In passing I will say that there can not be any question of the intention of this country to adopt humane conditions in formulating the terms of peace so far as they affect our allies in the war; so I assume that what the Senator from Nevada means, in speaking for the administration on this matter, is that Germany must be treated humanely. Now, there is a great deal of difference of opinion as to what humane treatment of Germany would consist of, in view of her record of the last four years.

We have here, then, these several statements, which are to be interpreted together, that the great central feature of the President's program, for which he demands unquestioning support, is that there is to be a peace based on justice which will treat Germany humanely; that in the league of nations, which is another part of the program of readjusting the affairs of the world, Germany shall enter upon an equal footing with our allies who have been fighting her and her crimes since August, 1914.

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] seems to be very much affronted because former President Roosevelt and other Republicans have had the temerity to criticize the President. That also illustrates one phase of the present political status of the country. There is a cult abroad that has affected newspapers, that has affected the country generally, that it is an offense of some kind—a great many people have gotten the idea that it is a criminal offense—to differ with the President of the United States. The President himself, in the letter to which I will refer in a moment, does not ask the country for the election of a Democratic Congress in support of any defined policy or of any principle of Government, nor in support of any party; but he says that a Democratic Congress should be elected in order to support him in whatever course he may choose to pursue, whatever it may be, in the conduct of the affairs of the Government. Mr. President, the mere statement of such a proposition is all that is necessary to present it for the judgment of a liberty-loving people.

A great deal of emphasis has been laid on the fact that former Senator Dick, of Ohio; former Senator Beveridge, of Indiana; and Mr. Roosevelt, at a time before he had been elected to the Presidency of the United States in 1898, made speeches arguing that the administration should be supported because the country was engaged in war, and that foreign nations would interpret the rejection of the administration as a change in our attitude and policy toward the war. Now, it is quite interesting in the first place to see the Senator from Ohio, the Senator from Nevada, and the Senator from Nebraska on the Democratic side applauding and approving and following the arguments and advice and suggestions of Republicans made in 1898, which at that time I have not the slightest doubt, if they took part in the campaign at all, each one of them denounced in unmeasured terms.

Why, Mr. President, no party has objected to public speakers, whether they are Members of the Senate or whether they are private citizens, urging the support of the administration. Nobody, I take it, would object, if he cared to go that far, if the President of the United States should issue an appeal to the American people to indorse his record or to support some policy which he announced to them. The criticism which the country has expressed, and which leads to this multiplicity of defenses of the President's action here this morning in the Senate, is not that speakers have gone out over the country and urged the support of the President. They have been doing that for months, and nothing was said about it. It is not that the President submitted his record, which was known and which could be seen of all men, or some policy which he defined and which the people would have an opportunity to judge when they knew what it was, and requested their support for it. The objection and criticism which is made of the address of the President to his fellow countrymen on Friday is that he demands the election of a Democratic Congress, not to support the principles of the Democratic Party, or to indorse his record, or to advocate any particular policy, but to maintain him as the spokesman, not of the Democratic Party, but of the American people. He asked them to elect none but Democrats to the Senate and the House of Representatives, not to enable him to conduct the war to a successful conclusion. Why does he ask it, and why do the people of this country resent it? He asks it because he says he desires to keep in his hands the policy and the conduct of the war.

Now, I want to say a few words about that, Mr. President. Here are the words that the President uses:

> If you have approved of my leadership and wish me to continue to be your unembarrassed spokesman in affairs at home and abroad, I earnestly beg that you will express yourselves unmistakably to that effect.

That letter is addressed, not to the Democratic Party, but to "My fellow countrymen."

Here is what the President further says:

The leaders of the minority in the present Congress have unquestionably been prowar, but they have been antiadministration. At almost every turn since we entered the war they have sought to take the choice of policy and the conduct of the war out of my hands and put it under the control of instrumentalities of their own choosing.

I read no more from the President's message, because that is enough, and the issue rests upon that; and the scruple of good taste, which in another part of the letter the President says he waves aside, is violated, if it is violated at all, by those expressions.

Mr. President, the President of the United States is a historian and a student. I do not think he has had a great deal of experience in practical affairs until quite recently, when he came into politics, but he is serving his second term as President. He has written a history of the United States and published a book on government which I have read with a great deal of interest, and for a man of that experience, and who has presented himself as an authority on government, he expresses in the letter from which I have just quoted a strange misconception of the nature of the Government of the United States. In England the chief executive is the leader of the legislature, and if the legislature fails to follow him, under the British constitution he appeals to the people for the election of a majority in his support. The British executive administration is a committee of the House of Commons, and, of course, can not act except by the authority of the house. There the Parliament is supreme. The highest court is the House of Lords, which is ultimately also under control of the House of Commons.

Parliament exercises supreme legislative, executive, and judicial power. It is subject to no veto and to no constitution, but only to the people themselves in referendum elections. The premier, who is the chief executive of Great Britain, exercises that consolidated power of the executive, the legislature, and in the last analysis can also control the courts, because he has back of him the support of the House of Commons.

In America, under our Constitution—which the President, who is supposed to be an authority, seems utterly to misinterpret, from the appeal which he has made for the election of a Congress which will support him in every particular during the remainder of his term of office—the conditions and limitations of power are utterly different from those in Great Britain. In this country the Executive, the President, is not under the control of Congress. He is independent, within the limits of his powers as fixed by the Constitution, and neither Congress nor the courts can interfere with those powers. On the other hand, Congress and the courts are equally independent of the Executive within the limits of their constitutional power. The President has no more authority to direct or control Congress than he has to control the Supreme Court. Perhaps the most prominent feature of the American Constitution is the separation and the independence of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers. It is the ancient and familiar bulwark of our institutions, and over all and limiting all is the fixed and written Constitution, like the pillars of a cathedral, on which all else must rest or fall.

Mr. President, strange as it may seem, Mr. Wilson misconceives—and I say this with all deliberation and with the utmost respect and sincerity—his functions in the Government. He assumes—and I am speaking upon the utterances which I have just read from him—that he is chosen as the spokesman of the people "in affairs at home and abroad," and that the "choice of policy and conduct of the war" are "in his hands," to use his words. In this he is mistaken. Congress, and Congress alone, is the "spokesman of the people in affairs at home and abroad," and not the President, as he assumes in his letter. Congress, and Congress alone, has "in its hands" the "choice of the policy and the conduct of the war." The President is an executive only. With the specific exceptions of the power to make recommendations to Congress and to veto measures his authority is limited to executing the laws. The President says that certain Members of Congress have undertaken to "take out of his hands" the fixing or choice of the policies of the country. Now, Congress could not do that; Congress has not done it; nobody has attempted to do it, because Congress could not do it. They have never been in his hands; they could not be in his hands, and so they could not be taken out.

Mr. Wilson assumes, apparently, to take under his control the choice of the policy and the conduct of the war, but he can not do so under the Constitution. In that instrument it is provided that Congress shall have the sole and exclusive power "to declare war and make rules concerning captures on land and water, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, to make rules for the government of the land and naval forces, to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof, to regulate commerce with foreign nations"; and no treaty of peace can be made except with the consent and advice of the Senate, two-thirds of the Senators present concurring.

Why, Mr. President, some reference was made in the speech of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] to the initiative of the President in readjusting the affairs of Europe at the end of the war, and the propriety of his negotiating on that subject and making a declaration to the world of his views in regard to it. In a certain way the initiative is with the President, but by the acquiescence only of Congress, and no other way. The initiative is not with the President except by permission, either express or implied, of Congress. There can be no war with an European power without a declaration of war by Congress. There can be no peace with a European power until it is provided for or acquiesced in by Congress. The powers of peace and of war are in Congress and not in the President.

The President says that the Republicans have been antiadministration. I remember very well myself that the Republicans vigorously supported the President when he stood for preferential American privileges in the Panama Canal. We had built that canal at great expense; we were proud of having accomplished a great achievement; and we felt that it was for the benefit of the American people. The President had said so in a most formal and energetic way, and the Republicans supported him in that position. It is true, however, that they opposed him when he took the other side of the question; but that was probably due merely to a lack of as quick adaptability as the Democrats. On the other hand, while the Republicans were strongly against the President when he stood in opposition to the Federal suffrage amendment, this ought not to be held against them, for they lined up strongly for him when he took the other side of the question and supported it.

As a matter of fact it was the Democrats who opposed him in this, and it seems rather unfair that the President should ask the voters of New Jersey to defeat Senator BAIRD because he voted against the suffrage amendment, and at the same time ask the country to elect all the Democratic candidates who voted against it, even though he urged their support of it as a war measure. It is true the Republicans vigorously opposed the President when he stood for national unpreparedness, but when he changed his attitude on that and stood for preparedness the Republicans supported him much more vigorously than the Democrats did. They were for him when he stood with Mr. Garrison for a National Army and against him when he stood with Mr. Hay for dependence on a National Guard. When the President occupied Vera Cruz the Republicans supported him, though they opposed him in its evacuation without securing a settlement of the Mexican question. So they supported him in his punitive expedition after Villa, to protect our citizens on the border. They regretted, however, the retirement of the expedition without accomplishing any result whatever. The loss of precious lives and the expenditure of vast funds were thrown away. When the President made his second campaign on a pacifist platform and attempted to keep us out of war by writing notes about the *Lusitania* and other outrages perpetrated against us by Germany, it is undoubtedly true that Republicans were against that policy, because Republicans believed that immediate vigorous action in protection of the rights and lives of American citizens—the immediate dismissal of the German ambassador, the seizure of German ships in our ports—would have prevented a repetition of those wrongs and would have kept us out of war.

The Republican platform declared in favor of the protection of American citizens throughout the world. And when it was proved that diplomatic notes would not keep us out of war, the Republicans were first and foremost in support of the President in every step that he has taken to vindicate the honor of the Nation. They have granted extraordinary powers and wealth without stint or limit to carry on the war. The charge that Republicans have not supported the President in carrying on the war in the most vigorous fashion can not be established by the record. With a general measure of devotion of the whole people unsurpassed even in our annals, the Nation has supported the Government in this war. To them it was not a war in which we as a Nation had no interest. It was not so much "to make the world safe for democracy" as it was to maintain the honor and the ultimate independence of the United States. They have given their sons, and what more can be said? They gave their all for their native land. And what a land it is! As the morning sun illumines the Atlantic shore and hour by hour sends his beams toward the west until they rest again upon the waters of the sea it is yet our country. Over

coastal plain and mountain range, over prairies and the mighty rivers, freedom reigns. It was to keep it so that our country went to war. It is love of country that has given and demanded support of the Government in the conduct of the war. To attempt to make political capital out of the patriotism of a people is a sordid perversion of the holiest instinct of mankind. To attempt to pervert the people's sacrifice and devotion for a great national cause to personal or party purposes is worse than bad taste. It is something like sacrilege. It is like the crime of Alcibiades in the profanation of the mysterious, as though one entered a holy temple to commit a vulgar indecency.

The President declares that politics are adjourned, but says elect none but Democrats to office. The President not only insists that Congress should have no policies and should leave all to him; but in his statement of October 14 he requests the people themselves not to discuss the most "momentous" issues that affect them but to leave such discussion to "the Governments of the United States and of the allies," while the people occupy themselves raising the revenue. Autocracy never went any further than that.

Mr. Barney Baruch, one of the President's principal representatives, says that peace should be left to the President. He states that "peace talk is affecting our output," but still insists that the President should have a monopoly of it, and that while the President is talking peace the people should "think war, talk war, make war." Considering that the President claims that the "policy and conduct of the war are exclusively in his hands," this is asking a great deal of the people. He evidently has a high opinion of them to suppose that with Congress suppressed and under complete control, and the President talking peace, the people will be able to "think war, talk war, make war."

Furthermore the people are under other handicaps. They were advised by Mr. McAdoo, in whom they have a great deal of confidence—

This—

Referring to the German reply—

if authentic—

No one ever questioned its authenticity—

means unconditional surrender.

That statement was made October 14, and the daily reports of desperate fighting at the front may seem inconsistent. But to reassure the people, Senator PITTMAN, in the New York Times of October 27—he repeated it on the floor to-day in a statement which, it is said, "was not issued without sanction from the White House"—declared "the war has been practically won." The peace negotiations and the peace talk, which we are told must be left to the administration, it is reported in foreign dispatches, have strengthened Germany and alarmed our allies, and, repeated in headlines throughout the land, have retarded the efforts of the people to "think war, talk war, make war." In the meantime, the truth is, that as desperate fighting as the war has seen is now going on, and our men are dying by thousands at the front.

An intimation of the opinion of our allies of negotiations and talk of peace is shown by the debate in the House of Commons on Thursday night by the statement of the representative of the British Government that talk of peace was silenced by "common sense."

I have in my pocket a statement from Paris indicating the views of the French people on this subject under date of October 27:

NO AGREEMENT ON WILSON NOTES, SAYS FRENCH PRESS.

PARIS, *October 27.*

French press discussion of President Wilson's last note to Germany reveals the following facts:

1. That the allies have not formulated a common peace program.

2. That President Wilson's discussion with Germany was conducted without consulting the governments associated with the United States in the war, hence this discussion does not bind them.

3. President Wilson's speeches are not acceptable to the allies in every detail.

For example, the British take exception as regards the freedom of the seas, while the French demand the unconditional restitution of Alsace-Lorraine.

The Echo de Paris says: "The allied European cabinets must agree upon a common attitude. They are bound by nothing President Wilson has said or typewritten."

Le Gaulois says: "Not having participated in the exchange of notes between America and Germany, the allied Governments retain complete freedom of decision and action."

L'Action Francais: "We can not accept a distinction between the various forms of German Government. We might conceive of privileges accorded certain German States, provided they agree to break away from Prussia, but we will pay no premium to a democratic Germany at the expense of our own interests and future security.

Not 18 months ago, like the United States, but a thousand years ago France opposed the German aggressions."

Several papers reiterate that Germany can not have an armistice by diplomatic negotiations, but must send the white flag.

That sounds more like statesmanship, it seems to me, Mr. President; but the humiliating thing to an American citizen is that the United States, the last in the war and consequently the freshest of the allied nations, less exhausted, instead of being an inspiration and a leader, instead of holding up the morale of our allies, exhausted by a four-year struggle, we lie on our backs, so to speak, and send these peace papers to France and Great Britain and say, "You fix it," with a pretty strong intimation that we would be glad to end the war and grant an armistice. It is humiliating to the American people. I have no doubt that France and Great Britain, as judged by these expressions, which no doubt represent public opinion and also the Government views, which are not free at all times to be openly expressed, will be equal to the emergency. I have not the slightest doubt that these great allies, after the sacrifices they have made, are not going to throw away the security of the future and play false to the sacred dead in this great cause, even though we have sent peace papers to them and left the issue to their decision.

Now, it is important to know what are the policies of this Government about which the people are warned not to talk and from which Congress is to be excluded. Senator LEWIS, another spokesman of the administration, has pending a resolution by which Congress would pledge itself in advance to support these policies without knowing what they are, or any other "course the President may take." Some light is beginning to be shed on them. Mr. Frank H. Simonds, a prominent writer in the New York Tribune, states: "We are at the present time facing the greatest danger which we have had to confront since we entered the world war. It is the danger that we may become the advocate of Germany in the peace discussions which are to come." The danger and the fear is that the President, in the policy which he says should be left in his hands, but which the Constitution vests in Congress, will endeavor to form a league of nations with Germany and save her from due punishment and retribution for the wrongs she has done to mankind. The President seeks to differentiate between the German people and the German Army, when, as a matter of fact, they are one and the same.

I read with the utmost interest a speech made a few days ago in the Senate by the Senator from Montana [Mr. MYERS], one of the most complete and illuminating discussions of this entire question that I have seen. I thought so much of it that I mailed a copy of it to my son and asked him to read it. Mr. MYERS spoke in that speech very clearly and unanswerably of the fact that the German Army is the German people. Who else is it? The German Nation is at war. This war is conducted by the German people and by nobody else. It could not have been otherwise conducted. There never was an hour since Germany sprang like a tiger afflicted with hydrophobia upon helpless Belgium and unsuspecting France when the German people have not been back of the Kaiser in waging this war and perpetrating their atrocities against mankind. Yet it is talked about that if they will get up some sort of a democratic-socialistic government there, we can do business with them and they need not surrender.

I should like to know what difference it makes what is said by any purported representative of any kind of a government in Germany so long as a German Army with 3,000,000 men is under military control with arms in their hands. Grant the government to-day and take it back to-morrow! The whole proposition is simply a farce, a German peace offensive into which the United States has fallen.

Mr. Lawrence, who also speaks for the administration, says quite ominously:

If the President's democratic aims are not shared by the allies, it is possible that the prestige of our cobelligerents will not be as great as it has been before, and the interest of the American people in war aims revealed in selfish terms would be considerably altered.

That is quite a distinct threat to our allies, coming from the spokesman of the administration, who knows what he is talking about. Quoting further, he says:

* * * Mr. Wilson said in his New York speech that every nation, whether it be friend or foe, must come to the peace table ready to pay the price.

There he is laying down the hard terms to our allies.

The British labor party and the French socialists have subscribed to the President's views. * * * The President has therefore to steer a middle-of-the-road course.

There is the declaration from the White House. The British Labor Party, quoting again, and the French socialists have accepted the President's views. Probably they know no more about his views than we do in this country, but they have accepted them. We know the views of the British Labor Party leaders, not the mass of British labor but of the political leaders of certain elements of it, and of certain French socialists who

are in accord with the President's views, which he wishes to have unrestricted power to put into effect by a Congress which will commit themselves in advance to support them without even having the respect of being told what they are.

We read the other day in the newspapers that Mr. Henderson, a leader of the party which it is said has accepted the President's views, came down to a port to take a ship to France to meet the French socialists and Mr. Gompers. Mr. Gompers's views are utterly different. He is an uncompromising victory man on this proposition—but he was meeting with French socialists and Henderson wanted to go to meet them. The British sailors said to Mr. Henderson, "You can not ride on our ship," and he did not. They would not take him across the channel, and he had to go back home. I do not know how he got home. The press stated that the taxicab drivers refused to allow him to ride in a taxicab because of his unpatriotic attitude toward the war. He is the man who, Mr. Lawrence says, has accepted the President's views in this great humane program toward Germany, which the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] says is the chief issue of the time.

The French socialists have accepted it. How many times has Mr. Clemenceau, the great premier of France, stood in the tribune in the Chamber of Deputies and denounced the disloyalty and treason of the French socialists? When the victory and evacuation of Lille were announced, and in recognition of the escape of the citizens from enslavement the members of the Chamber of Deputies stood to receive the deputy of Lille in the Chamber of Deputies when he appeared after his release, two of these socialists refused to applaud the victory of their countrymen and the freeing of their fellow citizens. But Mr. Lawrence says the French socialists have accepted the President's program for the ending of this war on the basis of a "humane" treatment of Germany.

Mr. President, to verify the dread that was expressed by Mr. Simonds, one of the best-informed writers on the war, Senator PITTMAN, who has come forward lately as probably the most active and most prominent representative of the administration in this matter, says in his interview in the New York Times of yesterday that "there will be an armistice." Those are very few words, but they are very significant. He says "there will be an armistice." I do not think myself there will be an armistice. The reason why I do not think so is that I feel in my heart certain that France and Great Britain are not going to grant any armistice. They are not going to quit this war, after what they have suffered, until Germany is conquered. Then after that they will discuss the humanities, and "a peace based on justice," a "lasting peace," and all that sort of thing.

I think that Senator PITTMAN is wrong in stating that there is going to be an armistice, but I believe he is right in speaking for the administration that the administration is trying to bring about an armistice. These are the issues before the American people. The President has made it plain, and I do him the justice to say that by making it plain he has given the people an opportunity to decide for themselves.

Senator PITTMAN has proclaimed day after day the great divergence between the policies of Senator LODGE and the policies of the President. I do not know a great deal about the policies of Senator LODGE. I know nothing except what I have heard him say here in the Senate, and I heard him say in the Senate what I have heard a great many people say, what many people have said to me orally, by telegraph, in writing, in this country and in our allied countries in Europe. He is in favor of prosecuting this war until peace among the nations is secured by the unconditional surrender of Germany. The Senator from Nevada speaks for the administration and says that is not the policy of the administration. I know he is speaking with authority. So that is the issue before the American people. The appeal which was made by the President he has a right to make, even though, as he said, it is in bad taste. It is for the people to determine if we are to compromise the war with a weak peace, a peace which the administration says will be lasting, but which in fact would not endure beyond the generation that is now coming on.

Mr. President, no greater service could be rendered Germany than to grant her an armistice on any terms at all. Some people seem to be confused as to the effect of an armistice. An armistice by the very name and meaning of the word indicates that war has not been concluded. What it means is that although the war has not been concluded both nations will hold the battle in abeyance, retaining their arms. I am against that in the case of Germany. I have stated my reasons heretofore. I think whenever we reach that point we will end the war in effect, because we shall not be able to renew it again. We will leave Germany with her military power from that day forth to begin to recoup herself for another attack upon the world at some weak point when it is least suspecting.

The unknown policy that the President and his representatives say must be left to him alone is referred to by Senator PITTMAN as follows:

> Unless the people give the President a Senate that will follow his leadership it will be impossible for him to accomplish the adoption of his program for a lasting world's peace.

The idea here expressed is not that the Senate in this important matter should approve a policy presented by the President after consideration, but that a Senate should be elected pledged in advance to follow the President's leadership blindly without knowing what his policies may be. This is the President's idea also. It is a peculiar view of the Senate and the Constitution; but it has the merit of audacity and of being frankly presented to the people so that they will have fair notice of the consequences of the election of a Democratic Senate.

It is furthermore somewhat startling that the demand should be made for a blind following of the President as leader in a matter with which the President, under the Constitution, has comparatively little authority, the continuance or cessation of the war being exclusively under the control of Congress, and the final terms of peace being subject to the ultimate determination of the Senate. There is a widespread feeling that if the President had devoted himself to executive duties and to the duties of Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy rather than to have immersed himself to such an extent in matters that devolve upon Congress under the Constitution, we would have gotten into the actual fighting somewhat earlier and would have avoided the shipping, ordnance, and aeroplane fiascoes of last year.

Shortly after we entered the war the President began to talk peace and to declare what the terms of peace should be. He has continued that discussion from that time to this in a series of speeches, notes, inquiries, messages, and declarations.

The Senator from Nebraska referred to that again and lays great store upon the fact that the country has not been joining the President in this discussion. I think the country by not joining the President in this discussion showed its intelligence and good judgment. I rather regret myself, as a private citizen, and express it only as an individual, that while we were getting ready to fight the President was continually speaking and writing about making peace.

In a series of speeches, letters, parleys, notes, and inquiries during that period the President has set forth some 35 or 40 different points or terms of peace. Although Congress alone can make war and peace, the conclusions reached by the President were stated by him as though they were final and conclusive. Though sometimes presented in messages to Congress, the only purpose apparently was that the occasion should serve as a medium for advising the world what the President had decided.

Another peculiarity about the peace discussion which has been keeping company with the war, and sometimes getting ahead of it, has been that there is but little suggestion that our allies would have any terms of peace to propose. The President has covered the whole field; he has laid down the terms for Bulgaria and Turkey, although we have never declared war on Bulgaria and Turkey. In fact, the President began laying down terms of peace before we were in the war. Many of those terms conflict, and Austria has found it difficult to accept them fast enough, as she was informed the other day that No. 10 was no longer in effect. It must be somewhat discouraging to her.

On January 22, 1917, before we were in the war, speaking to the Senate, the President said—and I am going to quote from what the President said on several occasions and reiterated afterwards, and which he still defends, in order to define and to illuminate the program of a "humane" peace which the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] is proclaiming and a league of nations, with Germany on equal terms. I remember distinctly hearing the address from yonder rostrum:

> They—
>
> Referring to the assurances of the belligerents—
>
> imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory. * * * Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon a quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit.

That throws some light, Mr. President, on the definition of the Senator from Nevada of a "lasting" peace, which he reiterates and emphasizes. There is the "lasting peace" described by the President himself. This was uttered nearly two years after the *Lusitania* horror, after the guaranty of Belgium's neutrality had been torn up as a scrap of paper, and

after two and a half years of the atrocities that have shocked the world. That was two and a half years after the use of poison gas; after the sinking of ships without a trace; after the crusifixion of Canadian soldiers and the mutilation of Scots; after the ravishment of the women of Belgium, the enslavement of their people, and the starvation of whole populations. The President says that the nation that was guilty of those atrocities must sit at the peace table as an unconquered equal.

It is all very well to say, Mr. President, that we were not at war at that time; but the people of the world had formed their judgment about the merits of this war long before that date. By their consciences and by their sense of right, by their love of freedom and of decency, they had determined for themselves the guilt of Germany; and yet the President said that Germany was not to be condemned in the terms of peace, but was to be protected as an equal.

Not only that, but the President reaffirmed this same declaration in terms eight months after we had gone into the war. On December 4, 1917, when we had been at war with Germany for eight months, before we had struck a single blow or had a cannon or an aeroplane in France, the President appeared before a joint session of Congress. For what purpose? For the strange purpose of telling the country what we were at war for. After the war had been going on for three years; after we had been in it for eight months; after a series of note writing about the *Lusitania* and other maritime outrages, on December 4, 1917, the President, whose policies he says must be accepted without question or consultation with Congress, appeared before Congress to inform them what the war was for. The President said:

I believe that it is necessary to say plainly what we here at the seat of action consider the war to be for.

It has seemed to be my duty to speak these declarations of purpose, to add these specific interpretations to what I took the liberty of saying to the Senate in January.

On January 22, 1917, "peace without victory."

These, Mr. President, are the addresses upon which Germany is relying; these are among the addresses to which the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee [Mr. HITCHCOCK] refers, and upon which the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] bases his "humane," "lasting" peace, founded upon "justice" and a league with Germany. What are they? Says the President in the same address:

We owe it, however, to ourselves to say that we do not wish in any way to impair or to rearrange the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

No wonder they accept his terms of peace.

The President continues:

It is no affair of ours what they do with their own life, either industrially or politically. We do not purpose or desire to dictate to them in any way. We only desire to see that their affairs are left in their own hands in matters great or small.

So as to Austro-Hungary.

How as to Germany? Here is what the President said as to Germany; and I think myself that it represents the state of mind which is the impelling force back of this gradually, slowly developing scheme of things; this undefined program which Mr. Simonds says is creating great dread throughout the world:

And our attitude and purpose with regard to Germany herself are of a like kind. We intend no wrong against the German Empire.

Oh, no; it would be too harsh and cruel to commit any "wrong" against the German Empire—such a righteous Empire; such a humane people. We must be generous toward them. If their enemies should be harsh when the war is over, if France and England should attempt to look out for their interests—which I believe, so far as this war is concerned, are the interest and security of the world—the great Republic of the West must interpose and use its "high idealism," its "generosity" in international affairs, to protect Germany against any harshness. We will see that no punishment is inflicted upon those good hordes of the Kaiser who have left their trail in the blood and misery of the world on land and sea.

"We intend no wrong against the German Empire, no interference with her internal affairs." In the light of her crimes it would be interesting to know what the President would consider "wrong" in dealing with the German Empire, and whether or not a just compensation for the injury she has inflicted on mankind would be a "wrong against her."

Mr. President, it is essential to recall these declarations of policy, in view of the President's appeal for the election of none but Democrats who will leave the policies of the war in his hands without question.

So the President states to the country that if we elect a Congress of Democrats he will hold in his hand the policies of the country. So I suppose we shall take him at his word; but if he is correct about that it is well not to forget the President's views about this most important issue with which mankind has ever dealt.

Mr. President, while these terms of peace and this "humane" and "lasting" arrangement for the protection of the good German Empire are being promoted and propagated throughout the world, it is well to recall the terms of peace proposed by Germany, and I ask leave to print in the RECORD, without reading, the terms as defined by German statesmen.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There being no objection, the matter will be inserted in the RECORD.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Our statesmen must in the peace negotiations be men of iron and not resemble soft wood painted iron gray. The German people mean not only to hold out but to conquer. (Count Von Reventlow.)

An indemnity which would be adequate simply to cover the cost of the war would perhaps amount to thirty billions—two billions in gold, a further four or six billions in exchange, the rest in securities. (Dr. Johann Plenge.)

Peace must assure permanently the military, economic, financial, and political interests of Germany in their widest range, including extensions of territory. (Dr. Spahn, leader of Reichstag Center.)

If we win, we must utterly destroy the power of England; we must take her colonies and her fleet. We might take the French fleet, too, and make France bear the cost of the war. Belgium could be joined to Germany. (Dr. Oppenheimer.)

The security of the Empire in a future war requires the ownership of all mines of iron ore, and to defend them the fortresses of Longwy and Verdun. (Manifesto to the chancellor.)

It is necessary to impose a mercilessly high war indemnity on France, and not forget her large colonial possessions. (Petition of German intellectuals to the Government.)

Mr. POINDEXTER. In the Preussiche Jahrbücher for July, 1918, Prof. Delbrück says:

The diplomatic offensive must go side by side with the Hindenburg offensive.

It did go side by side with it, and it has gotten away ahead of it now; the Hindenburg offensive has fallen behind, but the diplomatic offensive that Prof. Delbrück proclaims has been gaining strength day by day and is entering in as the chief issue in the election just about to be held.

It must aim not to an agreement with the English war party, but at making the war party impossible. * * * The growth of the peace parties can be so far promoted that Germany's enemies will be greatly hampered in the continuation of the war.

That is what all this is; that is the German peace offensive. I remember that one day one of the pacifists in the British House of Commons asked Mr. Andrew Bonar Law what he meant by a "peace offensive." I do not remember what his answer was, but here is the best definition I have ever seen of a peace offensive, by Prof. Delbrück, of the University of Berlin: A peace offensive is an offensive which will win over to the support of German aims the peace parties in the enemy countries—and that is what they are doing, and succeeding in a measure in doing, at the present time.

Mr. President, as an antidote to this, and in order that we may not forget, it would be well for everyone to look on page 31 of the Literary Digest of August 31, 1918, at the photograph of a group of German soldiers looking on in bestial gratification at the death agonies on the noble countenance of a crucified Canadian soldier.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I notice that the letter of President Wilson of October 25, 1918, addressed to the American people and asking them to stand by him by electing a Democratic House and Senate, was printed in the RECORD. I now ask unanimous consent that the answer to that letter, signed by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], Congressman GILLETT, Congressman FESS, and myself, may be also printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ASHURST in the chair). Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Utah? There being none, that order will be entered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Some time ago the President said "politics is adjourned." Now, in the closing days of the campaign—delayed by the united efforts of all parties for the liberty loan—now, when all public meetings have been given up owing to the influenza epidemic, the President sends out a direct party appeal calling upon his countrymen to vote for Democrats because they are Democrats, without any reference to whether such Democrats have been or are in favor of war measures and have a war record which deserves support.

The voters of Michigan, to take a single example, are called upon to support Mr. Henry Ford—notorious for his advocacy of peace at any price, for his contemptuous allusions to the flag, for the exemption of his son from military service—on the sole ground that he will blindly support the President. The President is quite ready to admit that Republicans are loyal enough to fight and die, as they are doing by the thousands; loyal enough to take up great loans and pay enormous taxes; loyal enough to furnish important men at no salary on some of the great war boards in Washington. But they are not loyal enough, in the President's opinion, to be trusted with any share in the government of the country or legislation for it.

SUGGESTED CHANGES.

If the Republican Party controls the House, we can point out some of the things they will do. They will replace Mr. DENT, of Alabama, at the head of the Military Affairs Committee, with Mr. JULIUS KAHN, to whom the administration was obliged to turn for assistance to take charge of and carry the first draft bill against Mr. DENT'S opposition.

They will put a Republican at the head of the Ways and Means Committee, as leader of the House, instead of Mr. KITCHIN, of North Carolina, who voted against the war. They will give the country a Speaker who did not oppose and would not oppose a draft bill and would never say, as Speaker CLARK did, that "there is precious little difference between a conscript and a convict."

Although the Republicans of the House are in the minority, they cast more actual votes on seven great war measures than the Democratic majority was made to do. What is the record of the Senate? On 51 roll calls on war measures between April 6, 1917, and the 29th of May, 1918, the votes cast by Republicans in favor of such measures were 72 per cent, while only 67 per cent of the votes cast on the Democratic side were in favor of such measures. Those were the President's own measures. Does that record look as if we had hampered him? The Republican Party in Congress has supported the administration policies since the war with a unanimity and an absence of criticism unprecedented in the party history.

DOMESTIC QUESTIONS.

There are some domestic questions where we should undoubtedly differ from the course pursued by the administration. We should not, for example, fix a price on the farmer's wheat and leave the planter's cotton untouched. Another domestic question in which the Republican Party believes thoroughly is economic preparation for the coming of peace, and they are clearly of the opinion that the Congress of the United States should not be excluded from that great task.

This is not the President's personal war. This is not the war of Congress. It is not the war of the Democratic or the Republican Party. It is the war of the American people. It is more. It is the war of the United States, of the allied powers, of the civilized world, against the barbarism of Germany. In this great burden and responsibility the Republican Party, representing more than half the citizenship of the country, demands its rightful share.

If the Republican Party is intrusted with power in either or both Houses, it will do everything possible to drive forward the war and hasten the day of victory. The President speaks of the necessity of telling the plain truth. That the Republican Party in control of Congress would do, for they have no friends to shield. And they will do more. They will give all the money to the last dollar necessary to sustain our armies and our fleets, but they will check the waste now going on of the money given by the most generous people on the face of the earth.

EFFECT OF ELECTION ABROAD.

The President speaks of the effect of the election abroad. He says that there they understand the meaning of elections. They do, and they will know that if the Republicans have a majority in Congress the war will be pressed with greater vigor than ever before. They are quite aware that the power of the Senate is equal to that of the President in the consummation of peace by treaty. They well know that the Republican Party stands for a victorious peace and the overthrow of Prussian militarism. That knowledge will not depress the spirit of our allies or encourage the Government of Germany.

The Republican Party believes that the question of surrender should be left to Marshal Foch, to the generals and to the armies in the field. When they report that Germany has laid down her arms the United States and the allies should then impose their terms. Will that knowledge cause dejection to those who are fighting with us? All the world knows that the Republican Party is opposed to negotiations and discussion carried on in diplomatic notes addressed to the German Government. The Republican Party stands for unconditional surrender. There is no Republican creed so short that there is not room in it for those two words.

HENRY CABOT LODGE,
REED SMOOT,
Chairman Republican Senatorial Committee.
FREDERICK H. GILLETT,
SIMEON D. FESS,
Chairman Republican Congressional Committee.

ADJOURNMENT TO THURSDAY.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that when the Senate adjourns to-day it stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian on Thursday next.

The motion was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes, and it was thereupon signed by the Presiding Officer.

CONSOLIDATION OF NATIONAL BANKS.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, it has been impossible for the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN] to be in the Chamber to-day. There is a bill on the Calendar which the Comptroller of the Currency is desirous of having passed at a very early date. I refer to calendar No. 344, being the bill (H. R. 10205) to provide for the consolidation of national banking associations. I told the Senator from Oklahoma that I would call up the bill to-day and ask unanimous consent for its consideration. I am authorized by the Senator from Oklahoma to say that he hopes that the Senate will disagree to the five slight amendments which were reported by the committee, so that the bill will not have to go back to the House, but may go to the President direct and be signed. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, for the consideration of the bill to which I have referred.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 10205) to provide for the consolidation of national banking associations, which had been reported from the Committee on Banking and Currency with amendments.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I think the bill has already been read. I ask that the five amendments reported by the committee be disagreed to.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. What are the amendments?

Mr. SMOOT. I will tell the Senator. They are mere verbal changes. The first amendment is to insert the words "of the" on page 1, in line 6. The next amendment is on page 2, line 4, to strike out the word "paper" and insert "newspaper"; the next amendment is on page 2, line 7, after the word "meeting" to insert "and after posting such notice in at least three public places in the town"; the next amendment is to strike out the words "who has not voted for such consolidation"; and the last amendment is on page 3, line 18, to strike out the word "real." The rejection of the amendments will really make no difference, and the only reason why I ask that the amendments be disagreed to is, as I have stated, in order that the bill may not have to go back to the House, but may go direct to the President for his signature.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will state the amendments.

The SECRETARY. On page 1, line 6, after the word "either," it is proposed to insert the words "of the," so as to read: "consolidate into one association under the charter of either of the existing banks."

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment was, on page 2, line 4, after the words "in a," to strike out "paper" and insert "newspaper."

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment was, on page 2, line 7, after the word "meeting," to insert "and after posting such notice in at least three public places in the town," so as to read: "and after sending such notice to each shareholder of record by registered mail at least 10 days prior to said meeting and after posting such notice in at least three public places in the town."

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment was, on page 2, line 15, to strike out "who has not voted for such consolidation."

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment was, on page 3, line 18, after the word "property," to strike out "real."

The amendment was rejected.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BRIDGE BILLS.

Mr. SHEPPARD. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably with amendments the bill (S. 4966) to authorize the Gulf Ports Terminal Railway Co., a corporation existing under the laws of the State of Florida, to construct a bridge over and across the headwaters of Mobile Bay and such navigable channels as are between the east side of the bay and Blakeley Island, in Baldwin and Mobile Counties, Ala., and I submit a report (No. 604) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The amendments were, on page 1, line 4, before the word "bridge," to insert "construction of the"; and, on page 2, after line 13, to insert as a new section the following:

"SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the time for the commencement and completion of the construction of the bridge, or bridges, and trestles, authorized by the act entitled "An act to authorize the Gulf Ports Terminal Railway Co., a corporation existing under the laws of the State of Florida, to construct a bridge over and across the headwaters of Mobile Bay, and such navigable channels as are between the east side of the bay and Blakeley Island, in Baldwin and Mobile Counties, Ala.," approved October 5, 1917, is extended three years from and after the 5th day of October, 1917.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

The title of the bill was amended so as to read: "A bill to extend the time for the construction by the Gulf Ports Terminal Railway Co., a corporation existing under the laws of the State of Florida, of a bridge or bridges and trestles over and across the headwaters of Mobile Bay, and such navigable channels as

are between the east side of the bay and Blakeley Island, in Baldwin and Mobile Counties, Ala."

Mr. SHEPPARD. From the Committee on Commerce, I report back favorably, without amendment, the bill (H. R. 7637) to authorize the construction and maintenance of a dike on Depot Slough, Lincoln County, Oreg., and I submit a report (No. 602) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. SHEPPARD. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably, without amendment, the bill (H. R. 11709) granting the consent of Congress to the village and township of Halstad, Norman County, Minn., and the township of Herberg, Traill County, N. Dak., to construct a bridge across the Red River of the North on the boundary line between said States, and I submit a report (No. 603) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill granting the consent of Congress to Norman County, Minn., and Traill County, N. Dak., to construct a bridge across the Red River of the North on the boundary line between said States."

Mr. SHEPPARD. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably, without amendment, the bill (H. R. 11948) granting the consent of Congress to the Great Southern Lumber Co., a corporation of the State of Pennsylvania, doing business in the State of Mississippi, to construct a bridge across Pearl River, at or near the north line of section 22, township 8 north, range 21 west, west of the basis meridian, in the land district east of Pearl River, in the State of Mississippi, and I submit a report (No. 605) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. SHEPPARD. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably, without amendment, the bill (H. R. 11949) to extend the time for the construction of a bridge across Pearl River between Pearl River County, Miss., and Washington Parish, La., and I submit a report (No. 600) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. SHEPPARD. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 12631) granting the consent of Congress to the county of Winnebago, in the State of Illinois, and the town of Rockford, in said county and State, to construct a bridge across Rock River at or near Camp Grant, and I submit a report (No. 607) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate, without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. SHEPPARD. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 12773) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Little Calumet River, in Cook County, State of Illinois, at or near the village of Riverdale, in said county, and I submit a report (No. 601) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

STIMULATION OF AGRICULTURE—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

The committee of conference have been unable to agree on the amendment of the Senate numbered 28.

T. P. GORE,
W. S. KENYON,
HOKE SMITH,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

A. F. LEVER,
E. S. CANDLER,
G. N. HAUGEN,
J. C. MCLAUGHLIN,
Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, perhaps I should state that the conferees were not only unable to agree, but the conferees on the part of the House declined to consider any kind of provision on this subject. We invited them to say what kind of legislation they wanted; to say in what way, if any, they objected to the Pomerene amendment; to give us something that they did think would meet the situation. Their attitude, however, was that they would not consider an amendment on this subject placed upon an Agricultural appropriation bill, and that the only possible way to obtain legislation would be through the District Committee. For this reason it is useless to ask for a further conference. While they asked for the conference, they declined to confer.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Certainly.

Mr. LENROOT. Of course, there has not been a quorum of the House back since that time, and the House has had no opportunity to express itself on the conference report.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I am intensely anxious to do something to protect especially those of smaller incomes in the city of Washington, and I am willing to take any course with reference to it that can possibly help us obtain legislation. I think there is a grievous wrong going on, especially in the charges that are being put upon the workers here in Washington with limited resources.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield again?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Certainly.

Mr. LENROOT. Does not the Senator think that if this matter should lie upon the table until a quorum does return to the House, the House might then instruct its conferees to recede?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do not ask that it be acted upon to-day. I think at least it should go over until Thursday.

Mr. LENROOT. I understand; but I am asking the Senator's opinion as to whether that might not be the case.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I had hoped so.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I want to say here that from what I understand, after talking with the chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, there is no possible chance of the House instructing its conferees to recede.

Mr. LENROOT. I have very strong hopes that that is not the case.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I shall not make any motion regarding the matter this afternoon, but I hope that the Senate will take action on Thursday.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. While the subject is up, there is just one word more that I should like to suggest. It occurs to me that if the House would name different conferees on the bills pending before the District Committee the Senate certainly would be willing to name different conferees, and we might bring about a conference in that way. I do not know how the Senator from Ohio would feel about that. I know his deep interest in the legislation.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I am very deeply interested in it, and I am very much disappointed to hear the opinion expressed that the conferees can not get together. I have shared the opinion of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT], to the effect that if there had been a quorum in the House they might have entertained a different view from that which is entertained by the present conferees on the Agricul-

tural bill. I am willing to do anything within reason to get legislation which will be effective. If that can be done by other conferees I shall say "Amen" to it.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, recognizing the Senator from Ohio as the Senator who has done such splendid work upon this subject, I am willing to follow him now in any line that he suggests. I am willing to vote for any action that he supports with regard to the present amendment or any line of conduct that he thinks is wise.

Mr. POMERENE. It is true, Mr. President, that I gave a great deal of attention to this bill, and I am keenly interested in it; but I do not believe I am any more interested in it than every other Senator in this body, because I know that they feel that a gross outrage is being perpetrated upon the temporary residents of this city and of this District by some of these landlords.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MYERS in the chair). The conference report will lie on the table.

THE COAL SITUATION.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I have before me a statement issued by the United States Fuel Administrator bearing upon the coal situation. It is desired that it be printed in the RECORD, and without asking to have it read I ask unanimous consent that it be inserted in the RECORD for the information of the public generally.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there any objection to this question of the Senator from Ohio? The Chair hears none and permission is granted.

The statement referred to is as follows:

STATEMENT BY UNITED STATES FUEL ADMINISTRATOR HARRY A. GARFIELD.

"As winter approaches the people of the United States desire to know what they may expect from the Fuel Administration, and they have a right to know. The experiences of last winter naturally tend to make people apprehensive. While it is not likely that the coming season will be as severe as last, the Fuel Administration has proceeded on the assumption that it might be and has made its plans accordingly. The following are the facts presented in briefest form:

"First, as to domestic fuel. Anthracite (hard) coal is the domestic fuel of the East. Hard coal all comes from eastern Pennsylvania. To prevent long hauls and unnecessary use of railroad locomotives and cars for the transportation of coal, the country has been zoned. The Railroad and Fuel Administrations have united in setting up the zones. In a general way coal must be taken from the nearest fields, although certain kinds of coal necessary for special manufacturing purposes can not be thus limited. The result of this arrangement is that people nearest (radius hard to define) the anthracite coal fields and all of the distant New England points are to burn hard coal. This happens not to be regarded as a hardship. But even if it were, this rule would have to be enforced. Also, because of the possibility of transporting coal by water to upper Lake ports, a considerable part of the Northwest is supplied with anthracite, while the allotment to certain other States has been cut down to a fraction only of the normal supply, the balance being made up with bituminous (soft) coal.

"The program of distribution of domestic coal for the entire year calls for 51,258,029 tons (this includes coal for manufacturing and for gas—about 5,000,000 tons in all) of anthracite coal, which is 2,062,323 tons more than were distributed during 1916. (Nineteen hundred and sixteen was the last normal year for coal distribution. It was, therefore, taken as the basis in making the allotment for 1918.) Up to the 1st of October, 26,388,151 tons had been delivered. (In the Northwest the coal has either been delivered or is en route.) The following schedule tells the story in brief:

States.	Allotment for the year in tons.	Delivered Oct. 1.
New England	10,331,000	5,537,779
Middle Atlantic	31,314,754	15,246,331
Virginia	102,400	73,640
Western	3,481,945	1,835,398
Northwestern	2,374,000	[1] 1,701,561
Canada	3,602,000	1,963,700
Export (principally Newfoundland and Cuba)	51,930	29,742
Total	51,258,029	26,388,151
Allotment for half year	25,629,014	

[1] The coal for the northwestern district has either been distributed or is en route.

"It will thus be seen that to October 1 the Fuel Administration had exceeded its program of deliveries by 759,136 tons.

"But some dealers have found themselves without a supply of anthracite and this has inconvenienced a great many people. This was due to the fact that some dealers had moved, others had started in business this year, while still others, some because of a break in trade relations and others because their credit was not good, had not received their usual supply. This difficulty has, however, largely been overcome, so far as communities, if not individual dealers, are concerned.

"Under the arrangement now in existence, if any domestic consumer finds himself short of coal he should apply to his local fuel administrator, giving him the name of a dealer to whom he has applied and the circumstances of his case. The local administrator will present the matter to the State fuel administrator, who will issue the necessary directions to the anthracite distribution committee.

"Second, as to bituminous coal:

"While anthracite is the domestic fuel of the East, the rest of the country depends upon bituminous coal. About 75,000,000 tons of bituminous coal are used annually by domestic consumers, including apartment houses, but not including coal used for making gas and electricity. The facts as to supply are given below in connection with the industrial use of bituminous coal. I need say here only in brief that the several parts of the country are now well supplied with bituminous coal for domestic use. It must not, however, be understood that domestic users can afford to waste either hard or soft coal. Rigid economy is necessary. If the instructions issued from time to time by the Fuel Administration for the care of furnaces and the heating and ventilation of houses are followed, we shall come through the winter without hardship.

"Again, let me call attention to the fact that more domestic coal is now in the hands of consumers and dealers than at the corresponding period in normal years.

"Industry is chiefly dependent upon soft coal. Therefore its consumption has been much more largely increased by the war than the consumption of hard coal. The following schedule tells the story of increased production of soft coal since 1913:

Production of bituminous coal in the United States.

Year.	Short tons.	Increase over previous year, tons.
1913	478,435,297	[1]
1914	422,703,970	55,731,327
1915	442,624,426	19,920,453
1916	502,519,682	59,895,256
1917	551,790,563	49,270,881
1918 (estimated)	600,000,000	48,000,000

[1] Decrease.

Increase 1918 over 1916: 122,000,000 (approximate).

"The enormous increase for the present year has been made possible by cordial cooperation between the three agencies involved, namely, the mine workers and operators, the Railroad Administration, and the Fuel Administration. What is our situation to-day? The coal year begins April 1. During the first six months, to October 1, we had produced 37,000,000 tons bituminous more than we produced in the corresponding period last year. By produced I mean placed in railroad cars and delivered either as coal or coke. Coal is not produced in any commercial sense until it has been dug from the mine and delivered on board railroad cars.

"What the public wishes to know is whether this coal is being distributed in a way to meet the needs of the country and whether we have been farsighted enough to stock coal against the winter's need. The important item here is, How much coal have we managed to store up? Briefly, the answer is, More than ever before. Taking the country as a whole, we have in stock coal sufficient for eight weeks. Obviously stock piles must be greatest at points farthest from the mines.

"Never until the present year has an attempt been made to ascertain the stocks on hand. The statistical bureau of the Fuel Administration receives a weekly post-card report from each of the great and most of the small industrial plants and coal dealers of the country. Tens of thousands of small manufacturing establishments are included in the weekly returns of public utilities supplying them with power and light. Each card states the amount of coal on hand at the beginning of the week, the amount received and the amount used during the week, and the balance on hand at the end of the week. Over an average of more than 10,000 cards are received and tabulated daily. Errors and omissions are diligently followed up. Final tabulation of these reports are, at the outside, only six weeks behind. The following schedule tells the story of requirements for the

year, the deliveries for the first six months, and the stocks on hand in the several States:

	Net tons.
Total estimated requirements of bituminous coal, Apr. 1 to Sept. 30, 1918, without allowance for conservation or curtailment of industry	361,730,000
Production of bituminous coal, Apr. 1 to Sept. 30, 1918	312,282,000

Number of weeks' stock of bituminous coal on hand Oct. 1 or industrial, public utilities, and coal dealers.

States.	Weeks.
Alabama	2
Arkansas	10
Arizona	4
California	6
Colorado	4
Connecticut	17
Delaware	10
Florida	10
Georgia	6
Idaho	5
Illinois	6
Indiana	5
Iowa	6
Kansas	5
Kentucky	3
Louisiana	7
Maine	17
Maryland	5
Massachusetts	19
Michigan (upper peninsula)	20
Michigan (lower peninsula)	12
Minnesota	20
Mississippi	8
Missouri	6
Montana	5
Nebraska	4
Nevada	15
New Hampshire	18
New Jersey	10
New Mexico	4
New York	6
North Carolina	5
North Dakota	11
Ohio	6
Oklahoma	9
Oregon	3
Pennsylvania	7
Rhode Island	12
South Carolina	8
South Dakota	7
Tennessee	3
Texas	4
Utah	4
Vermont	15
Virginia	4
Washington	4
West Virginia	4
Wisconsin	9
Wyoming	5

"NOTE.—The upper peninsula of Michigan and the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota and, in part, North Dakota and South Dakota have their winter supply of coal assured through the movement of coal to the head of the Lakes, which is moving forward on schedule.

"Stocks on hand for each State are reported by industries so classified as to enable me to know whether, for example, the stocks of by-product coal are sufficiently large to meet beyond peradventure the steel requirements of the War Industries Board. In this connection, it is interesting to know that the stocks of coal for by-product coke ovens average 4 weeks, ranging from 1 week at points in the coal fields to 15 weeks supply for by-product ovens at the most distant points, such as at Duluth and Superior.

"Although accurate statistics have never been taken until this year manufacturers agree that never before have we had larger stocks of coal on hand at the beginning of winter.

"The clean-coal campaign, inaugurated to relieve users of bituminous coal from the handicap they suffered last winter in the use of improperly graded or entirely unprepared coal, is being rigidly prosecuted. During the week ending October 26, 13 mines were ordered to cease shipping. Prior to that time 86 mines had been closed; 67 because the producers would not properly prepare their coal for shipment, and 19 because the coal produced was entirely unusable. In addition to these mines closed, several hundred mines have been ordered to cease taking coal from poor veins.

"Since the advent of the Fuel Administration, inspections numbering 15,369 have been made. The inspection force now comprises 79 United States Fuel Administration inspectors and 106 State inspectors working in cooperation with them. Mines under inspection by other governmental departments, such as the Pocahontas fields under supervision by the Navy Department, do not receive a duplicate inspection by the Fuel Administration.

"The present supply of coke is slightly less than the maximum demand of blast furnaces and war industries.

"There are at present 405 blast furnaces in the United States in shape to run; their monthly requirements being 4,250,000 tons. The blast furnaces take about 95 per cent of the total production of coke, this percentage amounting to 4,100,000 tons. The real shortage at present, due to certain number of furnaces being 'out of blast,' is about 75,000 tons per month.

"The war program demanding that the maximum number of furnaces be kept in operation, there has been but very slight accumulation of stocks. The distribution is being handled by telephone and telegraph direct from Washington, shipments being diverted as necessary to put the coke where most imperatively demanded. The failure to meet the maximum production requirements is due not to any lack of ovens but to shortage of labor at ovens and in mines having ovens.

"The oil situation is briefly this:

"The oil and natural-gas situation for this winter will probably be somewhat acute owing to the decrease in production of natural gas as compared with last year and the expected increase in consumption, and in the case of oil to the steadily increasing domestic and overseas demands.

"The successful solution of the oil problem is largely one of transportation. Tank ships are very scarce and existing pipe lines are now running practically to capacity.

"Additional pipe-line capacity is being built into the new field at Ranger, Tex., but the transporting of this oil from Gulf ports to North Atlantic ports will involve additional tank steamers not now easily available.

"It is essential to limit additional consumption wherever possible, pending construction of additional transportation facilities either in the form of pipe lines, tank ships, or tank barges.

"Oil stocks on September 1, 1917, and September 1, 1918, were, for gasoline, kerosene, gas oil, and fuel oil, as follows:

Stocks.	Gasoline and naphthas.	Kerosene.	Gas, oil, and fuel oil.
Sept. 1, 1917	6,025,000	11,600,000	11,375,000
Sept. 1, 1918	6,000,000	9,400,000	10,500,000

"As to labor. It is a remarkable fact that although 38,000,000 tons more of coal, anthracite and bituminous, have been produced in the first six months of the present coal year than in the corresponding period of 1917, there have been fewer laborers in the field; 50,000 to 60,000 mine workers have gone into the military service and 50,000 to 60,000 more have left the mines for more remunerative work in other fields. The response of those who have remained to the appeals of the President and of the Fuel Administration and their appreciation of the fact that the mine worker is vitally important to the soldier in the trenches, accounts, in large part, for the production results. The mine workers have merited the praise just received from Gen. Pershing by cable, 'We soldiers know that we can depend upon you to do your part as we are doing ours.' The relation of coal and steel to war is new. A hundred and fifty years ago coal and steel were relatively negligible items in war programs—that is, as compared with the soldier in the field. To bring the new relation home to the hundreds of thousands of mine workers of many nationalities and of varying degrees of familiarity with political and industrial conditions has been no small task. The Labor and Production Bureaus of the Fuel Administration deserve the greatest credit for their work in this direction.

"But labor alone can not produce coal. As stated above, coal is produced in a commercial sense only when it is dug out of the ground and loaded into cars. Coal in the mine or dumped on the ground at the mouth of the mine is of as little value as Robinson Crusoe's money. It must be transported to the bin of the consumer and to the furnace if it is to meet the need. If the Railroad Administration had not met the problem of transportation, the results achieved would not have been possible. The elimination of competitive use of tracks, terminals, and equipment—in other words, the taking over for the period of the war of the competing railroad systems and their operation under a single administrative head—has contributed more largely than any other single factor to the result obtained.

"But only of less importance was the elimination of long hauls and cross hauls, which constituted a waste of both motive power and of car tonnage. The importance of this is recognized when it is understood that more than one-third of the entire tonnage of our railroads, even in ordinary times, is used for the transportation of coal.

"From the foregoing it may be inferred that the fuel situation is so well in hand that vexing economies are no longer necessary. But this is far from true. Had less essential industries been permitted to operate without curtailment of fuel supply the stocks on hand would have been seriously reduced. We have been able to stock up because we have saved as well as because we have produced more coal than at any other time. In cooperation with other war administrations, especially with the War

Industries Board and the Food Administration, the Conservation Bureau of the Fuel Administration has made an estimated saving thus far of 12,700,000 tons of coal for the first half of the coal year, but as the saving each month is constantly increasing, there will be a much greater saving during the next six months, which includes the winter, so that it expects during the entire year to be able to report a saving of 50,000,000 tons.

"The Fuel Administration approaches the winter season well organized, with stocks of coal on hand far in excess of the stocks of other years, the report says. We are ready for an unusually severe winter, but we are still and shall continue to be dependent upon the cooperation of the people of the United States in conserving fuel and upon the several agencies concerned in the production and transportation of fuel to enable us to carry through our program to the end of the year.

"The people of the United States have demonstrated their willingness to make any sacrifice necessary, but they must be satisfied that what is asked is necessary and reasonable. The highest testimony to democracy has been furnished by the way in which the people of the United States have met the requests of the Food and Fuel Administrations, even when those requests have imported upon them personal inconvenience and sacrifice."

WHEAT AND COTTON PRICE FIXING.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, it seems that the day is to be consumed in the discussion of the address of the President and the reply of the Republican statesmen. I desire to ask the attention of the Senate to a clause in the reply of the Republican statesmen entirely sectional in its nature and not sustained by the facts.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, before the Senator proceeds, may I ask him a question outside of the matter concerning which he desires to address the Senate?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Certainly.

Mr. WATSON. I believe the Senator is a member of the Military Affairs Committee, and I ask for information. Has the Senator heard anything about the Hughes report, whether or not it has been made, or will be made, or is likely to be made, or whatever has become of that report?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I have no information upon the subject except what I have seen in the press.

Mr. WATSON. No other information?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. No other information.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, will the Senator be kind enough to state what was in the press? I have not seen it.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The statement was made that the report had been handed to the Attorney General Saturday afternoon, I believe.

Mr. President, I do not delight in partisan politics. I deplore sectional strife.

On Friday the Republican congressional campaign committee gave out a statement which contained the following language:

> There are some domestic questions where we should undoubtedly differ from the course pursued by the administration. We should not, for example, fix a price on the farmers' wheat and leave the planters' cotton untouched.

I deplore this appeal to sectional prejudice. I can not believe it would have been made had the facts been understood by those responsible for it.

Before giving the facts which completely answer this appeal to sectional prejudice let me protest against conceding to any branch of our Government, legislative or administrative, the right to fix the price of wheat or any other commodity and to require a producer to dispose of his property at the price fixed.

When commodities are required by the Government for public use the legislative branch of the Government can authorize, under the power of eminent domain, commodities to be taken for public use; but even then the price can not be arbitrarily fixed by the Government. If the representatives of the Government and the owners of the commodities required for public use can not agree upon the price, provision must be made for owners of the commodities to go into court and obtain an adjudication fixing the true value of the commodities and the Government must pay the amount so fixed by the court.

No power is vested in our Government, legislative and administrative combined, to fix a price at which one citizen must dispose of his property to another citizen.

The necessities of war may justify regulation of agencies engaged in handling essential commodities, but even then all care should be exercised to avoid preventing the producer from receiving the fair price which the cost of production and the law of supply and demand would fix.

It may be that regulation has borne severely upon some commodities. Such regulation should be avoided, and if already made be modified.

Wheat is the material essential to feed our armies and the armies of our allies. A large part of the crop was essential for public use. Speculators took advantage of the opportunity to corner markets and advance greatly prices after the wheat had been sold by the farmer who produced it.

Legislation was passed to regulate grain exchanges, elevator companies, and middle men. A large appropriation was made to be used by the Food Administrator with which to make purchases, and authority was given him to sell. No claim was made in this legislation of authority to fix a maximum price for wheat.

Lest this governmental control might injure the wheat grower, the legislation provided Government guaranty to the wheat grower of a price to be fixed by certain administrative agencies, but the legislation also provided that the guaranteed price should not be less than $2 a bushel. The purpose of this guaranty was plain. Congress recognized the fact that no power existed in this Government justly to interfere with the price which the grower's wheat would bring under the law of supply and demand, taking into account also the cost of production to the wheat grower, and, as the regulations provided were required to check the speculator, it was proposed to guarantee the wheat grower from any loss as the result of these regulations.

Legislation was subsequently introduced increasing the minimum price which the Government should guarantee for wheat to two dollars and a half a bushel. Although the cotton-growing States produce but little wheat, and are large buyers of wheat, practically every Senator from those States supported the legislative provision guaranteeing two dollars and a half per bushel to the wheat growers. The fact was recognized that the wheat grower was entitled to an increased price for his wheat, due to the increased cost of production and the normal effect of the law of supply and demand upon his crop. The price guaranteed by the administration was $2.20 per bushel, approximately two and one-half times the price at which wheat sold prior to the war.

The Government did not fix a maximum price for wheat; it guaranteed a minimum price.

If the regulations applied to the conduct of grain exchanges and middlemen have prevented the wheat growers from receiving full value for their wheat, the regulation should be modified, or the Government guarantee should be increased.

Corn is our greatest agricultural product. Hay is one of the greatest. If any effort has been made to interfere with the market price of corn or hay, I do not know it.

Now, I ask your attention to cotton.

No other crop requires so much human labor, and no other labor has so advanced in price. No other crop requires the use of so much commercial fertilizers. The crop this year was 25 per cent below the normal production for the acreage planted. The increased cost of production, compared to the prewar cost, exceed that of any other agricultural product. There have been very short crops for four years. The demand exceeds the supply.

Immediately prior to the war middling lint cotton was selling at 13 cents a pound. Approximately 2,000,000 families were engaged in planting and cultivating cotton, some as the owners of land, some as tenants, and some as croppers. The families engaged in this work consisted on an average of a man, his wife, and three children—a family of five—the children, of course, working part of the time. The average production per family, after paying rent, was about 5 bales. If the farmer owned his land, the portion going to the landowner should be credited to his land; the value of the labor of the family would still be 5 bales. At 13 cents a pound this paid the family $325 a year.

It is true they raised other products and had the seed, but the incidental expenses of the farm consumed this surplus and the amount fairly to be classed as compensation for the labor was cotton of the value of $325 per year.

These wages were lower than those earned by any other class of labor in the United States. They were unreasonably low, and cotton could only have been produced and sold at the low price which it brought before the war upon a basis of labor so cheap that those engaged in it did not earn a fair livelihood.

Even before the war the farmers of the cotton-growing States had begun to realize that from other products they could earn a much better return, and they had begun to give their attention to beans, to peas, to potatoes, to corn, to oats, to stock, to cattle, and to hogs. At present prices their profits from the production of these commodities are fully as great as can be earned from cotton selling at 40 cents a pound.

The demand for labor during the past year has been great. Prices have rapidly advanced. Cotton farm labor was so low

that it has been especially affected by the advance. Where labor was hired for wages those wages had to compete with wages in industries and Government plants. The tenants and croppers can not be expected to continue in cotton fields unless to them is conceded compensation approximately equal to wages earned elsewhere.

The man alone constituting a part of the family cultivating cotton could leave the farm and make in a near-by industry as much as the entire family could make at cotton selling for a figure three times as great as that at which it sold before the war.

During the present year an acreage was planted in cotton which, with a normal crop, would have produced fifteen and one-half millions of bales. All the labor was expended, up to picking time, to plant and cultivate this crop, which would have produced the number of bales named. The hot winds of July and August burned up 4,000,000 bales of cotton and reduced the crop to 11,500,000 bales The cultivation of the increased acreage, which should have produced 4,000,000 bales additional cotton, added to the cost of the cotton actually produced, or, putting it in a different way, reduced the number of bales which the average family gathered. The cost of picking cotton this year was greater than at any time during the history of cotton cultivation. It was from one and one-half to two dollars per hundred pounds, but this means pounds of cotton, seed and all, and it requires 3 pounds of cotton in the seed to make 1 pound of lint cotton, so that the lint cotton cost from 4½ cents to 6 cents per pound for picking alone.

The best information I gather from cotton culture in my own State is that the crop of this year cost, wherever labor was employed for wages, from 30 to 37½ cents per pound. Many well-informed men in the cotton section insist that the average cost of the present crop has been between 35 and 40 cents a pound.

The labor to produce wheat was fairly well paid before the war. The demand for labor at the higher prices did not affect the wheat grower as it affected the cotton grower, for the advance in price did not increase the cost of labor on the wheat farm nearly so much as it increased the cost of labor on the cotton farm. The wheat crop was a normal crop. The cotton crop was 4,000,000 bales less than the planted acreage should have produced.

Another element has entered into the increased cost of producing cotton. It is the greatly increased cost of fertilizer and the difficulty of obtaining potash at any price. Many acres of the lands used for the production of cotton are a sandy loam, which must have potash furnished by the use of commercial fertilizers or the cotton will not properly fruit.

All these elements combined to increase the cost of producing the cotton crop of 1918, and three times the prewar price is now a fair price for cotton.

Goods manufactured from cotton are selling on an average of more than three times prewar prices. Indeed, the Government has paid for supplies of goods manufactured of cotton three times prewar prices.

One-half of our cotton is shipped abroad and handled by foreign manufacturers. That manufactured in the United States is consumed about one-half by the mills in the States where cotton is grown and one-half in the mills of the balance of the country. To force down the price of lint cotton without forcing down the price of the products manufactured from lint cotton would be simply to make a present of the amount taken from the selling price, one-half to the manufacturers in foreign countries and one-half to the manufacturers in this country.

Our Republican friends might have suggested that the price of the products manufactured from cotton should be touched or fixed by the administration. If price fixing were legal and resorted to for the benefit of the people of this country, it is necessary that the price fixing should attach to the products manufactured from cotton. Mere price fixing on lint cotton would not help the great consuming public.

The cotton crop for four successive years has now been a short crop. There is every reason to believe that next year's crop will be much less than the crop of the present year. It certainly will be much less if farmers can not obtain a higher price than the present price for their cotton. The cost of production, the successive short crops, the reasonable application of the law of supply and demand justify a price of 40 cents per pound for middling lint cotton. This, of course, would mean that the lower grades of a spinable character would sell down between 35 and 40 cents per pound. Three times prewar prices for cotton would be 39 cents a pound. An advance of three for one of prewar prices on cotton, considering all the elements attaching to the present crop, would not relatively exceed the prices at which other agricultural products are selling. The ships carrying cotton across the ocean are charging ten times prewar prices.

Then, too, we should not forget that during the first year of the war, in 1914, the cotton crop was very large, the markets of the world were cut off by the war. Cotton was then left unsupported by Government action. It sold as low as 5 cents a pound, and many cotton farmers were financially ruined.

The Government has guaranteed the wheat grower about two and one-half times prewar prices for wheat. It has not undertaken to fix a price of corn, the greatest agricultural product of this country. It has not undertaken to fix the price of hay, one of the chief agricultural products of the country. The Republican manifesto should not have made a sectional attack upon the cotton grower.

Now, let us consider what the administration has done with reference to the selling price of cotton.

Unless prices improve above present selling figures, the administration has not only "touched" cotton but it has hammered down the market, causing a loss of $450,000,000 to cotton growers.

During the first few days of September cotton was selling throughout the sections where it is grown at from 38 to 39 cents a pound. It was apparent that under legitimate laws of supply and demand, together with a proper recognition of the cost of raising the crop and the probable cost and size of next year's crop, cotton would easily have sold for 40 cents a pound. It has been forced down from this price 8 cents a pound. What has done it? This fall in price is clearly attributable, whether intentional or not, to the action of the administration taken through the War Industries Board.

On September 4 the War Industries Board, through the Committee on Public Information, issued a statement that—

> The announcement of another short crop of cotton raises in acute form the problem of satisfying the needs of the Nation as well as those of the allies. * * * With the approval of the President the War Industries Board will appoint a committee to study the present situation, the problems of distribution, the marketing of low-grade cottons, and the desirability and feasibility of effecting a stabilization of the prices.

This announcement followed a rise in the price of cotton to practically 40 cents a pound. It admitted the very short crop and stabilization of prices could have meant nothing but an effort to prevent the rise of prices.

Immediately upon this announcement the price of cotton declined in so startling a way that on September 5 the chairman of the War Industries Board, through the Committee on Public Information, announced that—

> The appointment of a committee to study the conditions arising from a heavy shortage in the cotton crop must not be construed as indicating that price fixing will be a certain outcome of their efforts.

This statement indicated a purpose to let normal conditions apply to cotton and the market substantially rallied.

On September 13, through the Committee on Public Information, another publication was issued by the War Industries Board containing this statement:

> The demand for high-grade cotton, which is out of proportion to the available supply, and the fact that the Government, through early agreements with the allies, must act as a common buyer for allied purchases, make it necessary to secure some basis of distribution of all grades of cotton. * * * It is believed that by this course both the producer and the consumer will be better protected than by continuation of the present chaotic conditions of the market. The plan is to create, subject to the approval of the President, a cotton committee to devise methods for broadening the channels of distribution and use of the great stock of low grades now practically unmarketable, eliminating speculation and hoarding, and apportioning the foreign orders.

There had been no chaotic conditions of the market, except that caused by the first publication from the War Industries Board. Cotton had simply been steadily increasing in market price, as the farmer realized what the crop had cost and as purchasers and farmers realized the short amount of the crop. There had been no hoarding of any character. Farmers had just begun to gather their crop. They were just beginning to sell it. Most of the cotton was still in the field.

The announcement proceeded as follow:

> It may be part of this committee's duty to recommend basic prices on cotton. If, after investigation, it is found necessary, a fair price will be fixed.

This was a threat to prevent the law of supply and demand from applying to the price of cotton. It was a threat to disregard the high cost of producing the crop. It was undoubtedly a threat to interfere with the market by undertaking to fix a price lower than the price at which cotton was selling.

On September 27 the appointment of two committees was announced by the War Industries Board through the Committee on Public Information. These committees were to "control distribution, to buy cotton for the use of the United States Government and the allies, and to consider prices."

On September 25 a statement was issued by Charles J. Brand, chairman of the committee on cotton distribution, and on September 27 a statement was issued by Thomas Walker Page, chairman of the committee on cotton.

I request, Mr. President, that all of these announcements may be printed at the close of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That may be done.

[See appendix.]

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It will be observed that one of these committees had authority to buy cotton for the use of the United States Government and the allies. This would seem in effect to have consolidated the purchase for England, France, Italy, Japan, and other countries uniting with us in war against Germany in a single agency, thereby eliminating all competition among the principal foreign purchasers, while nothing was done to eliminate the competition among the unorganized 2,000,000 growers of cotton, who are the sellers.

As a result of this action by the administration, cotton has been hammered down 8 cents a pound below the price at which it was selling the 1st of September. If the present price is maintained the loss to the cotton growers, as a result of the "touching" of cotton by the administration, would be $450,000,000 on this year's crop. I submit in all kindness that this procedure should not have taken place. Those in charge should still seek to rectify the mistake they have made.

Of course, the cotton farmer is not obliged to sell; but many cotton farmers produce their crop under circumstances where they can not hold it. They must take the price offered in September and October. Fortunately, I believe, a large number of cotton farmers are not compelled to sell except at prices which they feel bring to them fair compensation. I hope that nearly all of what is called "distress cotton" has been disposed of and that the producers from this time on will have a voice in fixing the price which they will receive for their labors.

I oppose a regulation which would prevent the cotton farmer from receiving the price which the cost of his crop and the law of demand and supply would bring to him, just as I would have any regulation producing such a result modified in the interests of the wheat grower.

But who has received the benefit of this action by the administration which reduced the market price of cotton? Not the Government, for it has bought no spinable lint cotton. It buys goods manufactured from lint cotton and has been paying in many instances three times prewar prices for these goods. The public has not benefited, for no effort has been made to control the prices which the public wearers of the manufactured cotton goods pay.

Manufacturers could pay 40 cents per pound for cotton and at present selling prices of manufactured goods make handsome profits. I am advised that foreign cotton manufacturers are selling their products based upon an estimated price of 50 cents per pound for lint cotton.

If the War Industries Board and their committees succeed in maintaining the present depression in the price of cotton they will make a present of $225,000,000 to foreign cotton manufacturers, but they will take the present from our own farmers.

I have said our Government has no use for lint cotton. This is true, but it does use what is called linters, out of which nitrocellulose powders and other munitions are made. After the cotton is ginned the seed are carried to the oil mills, where a fine substance not removed by the gin is scraped from the seed. This substance is called linters. It is a cotton so short and so fine that it can not be used for spinning. It is normally used for bedding, quilts, mattresses, horse collars, and like purposes.

This is the material or cotton best suited for the production of munitions and used for the manufacture of explosives and nitrocellulose powders. Lint cotton is not as desirable for these purposes as linters. Where linters can be obtained in sufficient quantity for the manufacture of munitions lint cotton is not used.

Last year our Government, together with the allies, used 875,000 bales of linters for munition purposes. This year the cotton-oil mills are scraping the seed closer than ever before and will produce over a million bales of linters. They will produce all our Government and our allies will need for munitions. This is the only cotton product purchased by our Government.

Linters could have been condemned for public use, but it was not necessary. The owners of the linters met with the representatives of the Government and agreed upon the price of 4.62 cents per pound for linters. This was not more than half the price at which they would have sold on an open market. But our Government needed them, and, instead of profiteering, they were furnished to the Government at cheaper prices, relative to their value, than any commodity which the Government is buying.

The people of the cotton-growing States are contributing a full part to destroying the Prussian menace. Their boys are in France and at the front. They have bought bonds and subscribed to every activity. I think every cotton State oversubscribed the last liberty loan. There is no sacrifice they would not make to carry the flag to complete victory. If hammering down the price of their cotton 8 cents a pound below a legitimate market price is necessary to whip the Germans, then let it be hammered down; but it is difficult to see how taking 8 cents a pound from the selling price does help whip the Germans. If these were times of peace, a cry of protest would be heard; but our country is engaged in a terrible war, and our people, where they suffer, suffer with commendable patience. They are consoled by the reflection that the burden is simply an incident of the war and the difficulty, during war, to provide regulations intended with the best motives which do not bring some unfortunate results.

Perhaps I would express myself too strongly if I said they all suffer in silence. Texas and Georgia are the two largest cotton-growing States. In each of these States there is a Republican candidate for the United States Senate. The Texas candidate makes the leading plank of his platform the failure of the Democratic administration to properly protect the interests of the cotton raiser. The Georgia candidate puts his race squarely upon the manner in which the Democratic administration has not only "touched" the price of cotton but hammered it down. He charges the Democratic administration with having depressed the price of cotton to the loss of the cotton farmer $450,000,000, and he urges the people to give him their support as a repudiation of this action by the Democratic administration.

I can not concede the wisdom of destroying competition in the purchase of commodities produced by our own citizens. I can not but hope that the War Industries Board will realize the injustice done to cotton owners and withdraw all methods calculated to depress the price.

The board was shown, when price fixing for cotton was under consideration, that no price below 40 cents a pound could be fixed with justice to the farmer. They should withdraw at once any action and all action which has caused the loss of 8 cents in the market price of cotton.

Few farmers, except those holding distress cotton, have sold their cotton at present prices. I hope that cotton owners will be able to hold their cotton until manufacturers and their representatives are willing to pay a price sufficient to compensate for the labor of producing the crop, and sufficient to encourage the production of a full crop in 1919.

In the meantime permit me to suggest to the representatives of the Republican congressional organization that they withdraw their recent statement with reference to the administration leaving cotton "untouched." I am sure unless they will withdraw it they will embarrass their candidates for the Senate in Texas and Georgia. They can not undertake to break into the Senate from wheat-growing States upon the ground that cotton has not been "touched" and at the same time elect Senators from the cotton-growing States upon the ground that "the administration has overburdened cotton."

I can not concede the wisdom of any system of regulation which takes from a commodity in the hands of its producer the legitimate price it would bring under the law of supply and demand; but I shall not discuss that branch of the subject further. I only wish to commend to the attention of the candidates for the Senate in Georgia and in Texas the recent statement, made under a misapprehension, that the Government had not touched cotton; and I should be gratified to supply copies of some of the speeches that are being made by these two candidates in criticism of what the Government has done.

APPENDIX.

[From the Committee on Public Information, Sept. 4, 1918.]

Bernard M. Baruch, chairman of the War Industries Board, authorizes the following:

"The announcement of another short crop of cotton raises in acute form the problem of satisfying the needs of the Nation, as well as those of the allies, and of securing an equitable distribution for the purpose of winning the war.

"Involved in the distribution is the problem of bringing about a reasonable stabilization of prices in the interest of both the producer and the consumer. With the approval of the President, the War Industries Board will appoint a committee to study the present situation, the problems of distribution, the marketing of low-grade cottons, and the desirability and feasibility of effecting a stabilization of prices. This committee will begin activities as soon as possible and will hold conferences at convenient points in the cotton-producing States and at such other places as may be found necessary in order to give parties interested an opportunity to present their views."

[From the Committee on Public Information, Sept. 5, 1918.]

Bernard M. Baruch, chairman of the War Industries Board, authorizes the following:

"The statement issued by the War Industries Board and printed in the newspapers of Thursday relative to the appointment of a committee to study the conditions arising from a heavy shortage in the cotton

crop must not be construed as indicating that price fixing will be a certain outcome of their efforts. The committee, whose personnel is now being selected, will investigate the question in all its phases and will then decide as to the advisability of going into the matter of prices. The committee will report back to the War Industries Board their findings and recommendations, upon which further action will be taken."

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[From the Committee on Public Information, Sept. 13, 1918.]

To avoid misinterpretation of the statements made concerning the stabilization of the cotton industry, the President authorizes the following:

"The demand for high-grade cotton, which is out of proportion to the available supply, and the fact that the Government, through early agreements with the allies, must act as a common buyer for allied purchases, make it necessary to secure some basis of distribution of all grades of cotton. Based on the standard grades established by the Department of Agriculture, an effort will be made to provide a way by which the low-grade cotton will be brought to sale and use along with the high-grade cotton at reasonable and just prices.

"It is believed that by this course both the producer and consumer will be better protected than by continuation of the present chaotic conditions of the market.

"The plan is to create, subject to the approval of the President, a cotton committee to devise methods for (a) broadening the channels of distribution and use of the great stock of low grades now practically unmarketable, (b) eliminating speculation and hoarding, and (c) apportioning the foreign orders.

"It may be part of this committee's duty to recommend basic prices on cotton. If, after investigation, it is found necessary, a fair price will be fixed.

"During this investigation and in order to avoid stagnation a separate committee of three is being set up with authority to buy cotton for the use of the United States Government and the allies at prices to be approved by the President."

—

[From the Committee on Public Information, Sept. 25, 1918.]

The following statement is authorized by Charles J. Brand, chairman of the Committee on Cotton Distribution selected by the War Industries Board with the approval of the President:

"The Committee on Cotton Distribution will establish offices immediately.

"The committee plans to exercise its supervision through existing customary channels by controlling the quantity and quality of cotton used by domestic and foreign consumers. This they believe can be done without disturbing to any appreciable extent the existing facilities and organizations for marketing and distributing the crop.

"The committee will require both domestic and foreign consumers to take a fair and equitable proportion of the grades below middling."

—

[From the Committee on Public Information, Sept. 27, 1918.]

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE COTTON COMMITTEE.

The public and in particular the cotton interests are warned against giving credence to unauthorized reports, rumors, and information purporting to come from the Cotton Committee or the Committee on Cotton Distribution. All authentic information will be published over the signature of Thomas Walker Page, chairman of the Cotton Committee, or Charles J. Brand, chairman of the Committee on Cotton Distribution.

The Cotton Committee now makes the following announcement:

1. The committee will not recommend that a price be fixed on raw cotton at the present time, nor will it so recommend in any event before sufficient time has elapsed to test the effect as a stabilizing influence of the work assigned to the Committee on Cotton Distribution, unless in the meantime unexpected changes occur in the cotton market of such violence as to threaten the welfare of legitimate interests.

2. The Committee on Cotton Distribution has been organized and has been directed to effect as quickly as possible an equitable distribution of cotton as to quantity and also as to grade among both domestic and foreign manufacturers, with a special view to providing for the proper utilization of the surplus of grades below middling.

NOTE.—It is planned to accomplish this distribution by regulations applying to foreign and domestic manufacturers without interference with the usual trading between farmers and buyers or merchants.

3. All purchases both for foreign and for domestic consumption will continue to be made at market prices through the marketing and distributing agencies commonly used, unless and until the Cotton Committee shall determine and announce that a necessity has arisen for making a change.

In view of this announcement the Cotton Committee hopes that agencies engaged in the cotton industry will proceed in the normal transaction of business without uncertainty or hesitation.

THOMAS WALKER PAGE,
Chairman.

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[From the Committee on Public Information, Oct. 10, 1918.]

ADDITIONAL REGULATIONS CONCERNING APPLICATIONS TO EXPORT RAW COTTON.

The War Trade Board announce in a new ruling (W. T. B. R. No. 265), after consultation with the Committee on Cotton Distribution of the War Industries Board, certain important changes in the regulations concerning applications to export raw cotton to all countries.

Applications to export raw cotton filed with the War Trade Board October 14, 1918, or prior thereto, which cover so-called "blanket" business and which do not relate to a specific export order will be canceled.

On and after October 14, 1918, the War Trade Board will not consider applications for licenses to export raw cotton unless the application discloses—

(a) The grade specified in terms of United States Government standards (the staple must also be stated);

(b) The existence of an actual sale contract made subject to the granting of an export license; or

(c) If no sale contract has been made, that there has been a freight allotment or engagement.

Shippers' export declarations, dated October 14, 1918, and thereafter, must show the grade and staple of cotton which is being shipped thereunder, the grades to be stated in accordance with the official standards of the United States Government.

[From the Official Bulletin of Sept. 24, 1918.]

NAME COTTON COMMITTEES TO CONTROL DISTRIBUTION, TO MAKE UNITED STATES PURCHASES, AND TO CONSIDER PRICES—SITUATION IS OUTLINED—WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD ISSUES STATEMENT INDICATING SCOPE, POWERS, AND DUTIES—THOMAS W. PAGE, OF THE TARIFF COMMISSION, CHAIRMAN—RESOLUTION IS ADOPTED FOR ALLOTMENTS TO ALL DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN CONSUMERS AS TO QUANTITY AND GRADE.

The War Industries Board in behalf of the cotton and cotton distribution committees, selected by the War Industries Board and approved by the President, authorizes the following:

On September 14 the President issued a statement in connection with the present cotton situation to the effect that a committee would be appointed to devise methods for (a) broadening the channels of distribution and use of the great stock of low grades now practically unmarketable, (b) eliminating speculation and hoarding, and (c) apportioning the foreign orders; and that it might be a part of this committee's duty to recommend basic prices on cotton, and that if after investigation it be found necessary a fair price would be fixed.

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE.

With the approval of the President, the following have been appointed members of this committee, which has been designated the cotton committee: Thomas W. Page, vice chairman, United States Tariff Commission, Washington, D. C., chairman; from 1906 to date, professor of economics, University of Virginia; member of the United States Tariff Board, 1911 and 1912; at present member of the Tariff Commission. W. R. Beattie, Greenville, S. C., president of the Piedmont Manufacturing Co., a large cotton milling concern, and an executive officer in a group of other cotton mills. R. L. Bennett, Paris, Tex., a cotton grower and seed breeder, formerly connected with the agricultural colleges of Texas and Arkansas. Ward M. Burgess, Omaha, Nebr., a retail merchant connected with the Burgess-Nash Department Store and E. M. Smith & Co., of Omaha. Edward Farnum Greene, Boston, Mass., a cotton spinner and former president of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers; at present treasurer of the Pacific Mills. J. C. Redmon, St. Mathews, S. C., a cotton grower and member of the State Legislature of South Carolina. M. P. Sturdivant, Glendora, Miss., an active cotton grower on a large scale, and the executive manager of a cottonseed oil mill owned and operated by planters. S. W. Weis, New Orleans, La., a cotton factor and member of the firm of Julius Weis & Co., one of the oldest in the New Orleans cotton trade. D. S. Murph, Department of Agriculture, secretary; specialist in cotton marketing and warehousing in the Bureau of Markets.

SEPARATE COMMITTEE NAMED.

The President further stated that during investigation by the cotton committee and in order to avoid stagnation a separate committee would be set up with authority to buy cotton for the use of the United States Government and the allies at prices to be approved by the President. With the approval of the President the following have been appointed members of this committee, which has been designated the committee on cotton distribution: Charles J. Brand, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., chairman. Mr. Brand has been Chief of the Bureau of Markets of the Department of Agriculture since its establishment, and as such is in charge of all of the cotton handling and marketing activities of the Government, including the enforcement of the United States cotton-futures act. William L. Clayton, Houston, Tex., member of one of the large and well-known cotton firms of the Southwest—Anderson, Clayton & Co.—which operates extensively in Oklahoma and Texas; J. Temple Gwathmey, New York City, member of the firm of George H. McFadden & Bro., cotton merchants, engaged in the conduct of a large domestic and foreign business, with headquarters at Philadelphia and New York City and with branches at many points in the United States and at numerous points in foreign countries. Edward H. Inman, Atlanta, Ga. Mr. Inman was formerly a member of the well-known firm of cotton merchants, Inman, Howard & Inman, of Atlanta, but since the declaration of war he has severed his connection with that firm and has been active as a purchasing agent for the United States Government.

Messrs. Clayton, Gwathmey, and Inman are disassociating themselves from their business and will remain so disassociated as long as they continue in the service of the Government as members of this committee.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED.

After full discussion, the cotton committee unanimously passed the following:

"*Resolved*, That the committee on cotton distribution be authorized immediately to allot cotton as to quantity and grade to all domestic and foreign consumers, and that they also be authorized to buy cotton if and when necessary for the requirements of the United States and allied Governments.

"*Resolved further*, That the cotton committee feels that this will have an important effect in stabilizing prices, but in the meantime they will keep in close touch with the whole situation with a view of determining the effect of this action and whether price fixing or any other measure will be necessary."

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I might add a few words to what the Senator from Georgia has said with reference to the attitude of the cotton growers and the cotton situation.

According to the figures, as I gather them, it would seem that the Government has taken about 2,000,000 bales of linters at $25 per bale less than the market price, the growers consenting thereto, thereby contributing $50,000,000 to the Government. In addition to that, my information is that the producers sold at the call of the Government 10,000,000 tons of cotton seed at $20 per ton less than the normal price, which would be a total contribution of $200,000,000. Consequently, it can not be successfully charged anywhere that the cotton growers have not been patriotic by reason of anything they have said or done in connection with this movement which has so seriously affected the market price of their product.

In addition to that, there have been some other grounds of complaint. The demand for the long-staple cotton, for instance, known as the sea-island cotton, has been somewhat reduced by reason of orders limiting the manufacture of automobile tires.

There is a large quantity of last year's crop of long-staple cotton on hand, and the new crop is now coming in. Its chief competitor is the Egyptian cotton. Notwithstanding the shortage of tonnage, the Government has imported this year 80,000 bales, of 750 pounds each, of Egyptian cotton to compete with an oversupply of long-staple cotton produced in our own country, in our own markets, leaving on hand now a quantity of the long-staple cotton for which there is practically no demand at all. I merely mention this, not that I can see how the harm already done can be cured but because I hope these conditions will be corrected and this injustice to our producers avoided in future when the matter is thoroughly understood, and by way of showing that the cotton grower should not be placed in the attitude of unreasonably or unpatriotically protesting against any Government action in the direction of control or regulation of the price, or steps of that sort, in respect to a product which is of great value and importance to the whole country, the effect of which has been to cause the price to go below the cost of production. I would rather have the price determined absolutely by the Government than to have it fixed by speculators and spinners, aided in their purpose by threat or agitation of governmental interference.

Now, Mr. President, speaking further with reference to the subject that has been so extensively discussed here to-day—a large amount of the time taken perhaps being uselessly consumed, but the discussion being indulged in with considerable liberality—I would say this:

The people of this country understand that the President was right in the beginning; he has been right all the time; and he is right to-day on these great questions. The national affairs of supreme importance to this country, the most vital and momentous in all its history, have been successfully conducted up to this time, and there is no question but that the President has the unstinted, absolute confidence of the people of every portion of the country. I am going to dismiss that subject by asking to have inserted in the RECORD, without reading, a clipping from the Florida Times-Union, an editorial of October 14, entitled "Leave it to the President."

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DREW in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[From the Florida Times-Union of Monday, Oct. 14, 1918.]

LEAVE IT TO THE PRESIDENT.

For a year we have been told to leave everything to the President, and in obedience to popular demand he has been given powers that the Constitution never contemplated as being intrusted to the Executive. Even before we went into the war the majority of the newspapers treated support of the President as loyalty to the Nation. Now is the time of all others to repeat this injunction and insist on it. Now the Constitution commands it, for we are now facing a situation in which under the Constitution the President must take the lead.

He has the treaty-making power, though the Senate must confirm his acts. This the Constitution says. He sees the whole situation and has intelligent plans embracing the whole scope of the issues fought out in the war. He alone has such plans. When he looks on this war and the results that will accrue from it he looks not as a man but as the embodiment of American sane aspirations. His position has required him to give his whole mind to the conflict and to the problems to be settled by it, and no other man in the United States has held a position that made any such requirements.

Different Senators and Representatives have given their attention to different phases of the struggle. The Ways and Means Committee had to provide money, but it had nothing to do with the military conduct of the war. The Committee on Military Affairs acted in an advisory capacity as to the conduct of the war, but it had nothing to do with financing it except as its members individually voted on measures proposed by the Ways and Means Committee of the House or passed on by the Finance Committee of the Senate.

The Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the members of the various boards have been doing important work in their respective fields, but their fields were circumscribed, and even in them they were working under the President, whose field was the whole war and all the problems growing out of it.

The President occupies a position that prompts him to decide from reason and divests him of passion. A man so situated may reasonably be expected to reach decisions that will be right for the present and beneficent for the future. It is President Wilson's move. Don't interfere with the skill of his play.

WOODEN AND CONCRETE SHIPS.

Mr. FLETCHER. On another subject of very great public interest there have been some comments in the newspapers recently in regard to the program of the Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and intimations that in some respects they are about to abandon a part of that program. There have been some criticisms with reference particularly to the wooden ship. Claims have been made that it is not giving satisfaction; that the cargo space, the construction of the ship, and some details in connection with the wooden ship, are creating a situation that calls for some hesitation and halting on the part of the Emergency Fleet Corporation with respect to the further construction of wooden ships.

I am not going to take the time of the Senate at this late hour with a discussion of the wooden ship. The building of that kind of ship has been going on for some 2,000 years. It is a perfectly well-established standard of construction, the wooden ship as well as the steel ship, and it is a very late day now to find fault with that kind of vessel which has built countries and built empires and built cities and carried the commerce of the world for all of these years. I am going to ask, however, that there may be inserted in the RECORD, without reading, an article appearing in the Emergency Fleet News of October 17, under the title of "Hurricane Tests *Coyote's* Mettle." The *Coyote* is one of the Ferris type of wooden ships, and this article shows the experience of that ship under most exacting conditions. I ask to have it inserted in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it will be inserted in the RECORD.

The matter referred to is as follows:

HURRICANE TESTS "COYOTE'S" METTLE—FIRST FERRIS TYPE ON CARGO TRIP IS HANDLED ROUGHLY IN SEVERE STORM.

Weathering a hurricane which was accompanied by the highest seas known in certain North Atlantic islands since 1899 the wood steamship *Coyote*, product of the Foundation Co. Kearny yard, came from her first cargo-carrying voyage with highest honors and is given a report ranking her as an excellent seagoing vessel by Thomas W. Clarke, traveling engineer of the division of wood-ship construction, Emergency Fleet Corporation.

The *Coyote* bears several distinctions. She is the first of the fleet corporation's design of wood ships—the Ferris type—to make a voyage with cargo; she is the first wood ship turned out in an Atlantic coast shipyard; the first constructed at the Foundation Co.'s yard; she was the first equipped with machinery at the Lord Construction Co.'s yard, Providence, R. I.; she had the deepest draft ever taken into the harbor of the North Atlantic island visited—23 feet 5 inches—and carried the largest cargo that ever entered that port, 3,032 tons of Pocahontas coal, which was sent from an Atlantic port to a coaling station, where it was needed badly.

HIT BY ANOTHER SHIP.

The hurricane which broke while the *Coyote* was in the harbor was terrific in force and did considerable property damage ashore. In the severe wind and the heavy seas, which at times rose 30 feet high over the reefs encircling the islands, another vessel tied up near the *Coyote* broke its moorings and crashed into the latter. The *Coyote* stood the storm well, according to the engineer's report, and the test was regarded as an excellent one to disclose the staunchness and seaworthiness of the vessel.

At times during the storm the wind reached a force of 10 Beaufort scale and a velocity of more than 90 miles an hour, according to the captain's log book. A stone sea wall, 200 feet astern of the *Coyote*, which had withstood the tempests and hurricanes since the big storm of 1899, was washed away in places and large bowlders were carried as far as 100 feet inland by the rush of the water. Houses were unroofed, windows blown in, and in several places the shore outlines were changed by the heavy erosion of sand and sea. Several small craft in the harbor were dashed to pieces in the fury of the hurricane. During the height of the hurricane two vessels fouled the *Coyote's* anchors, which fortunately held fast, enabling these vessels to ride out the storm in comparative safety instead of being swept to destruction on the reefs.

After being ashore 36 hours, the *Coyote* returned to this country under her own steam. On the return she carried no cargo. In his report, presented to James O. Heyworth, manager of the Wood Ship Division, Engineer Clarke says the *Coyote* put out to sea August 21 with 3,032 tons and 729 pounds of coal as cargo and about 275 tons of bunker coal. The crew numbered 40.

On the second day out reports were received of submarines operating about 170 miles north and the *Coyote* ran at night without lights, with a change of watches in the crow's nest every two hours. Every precaution was taken by the captain and crew. However, nothing occurred to cause uneasiness, and without any unusual experiences, except slight trouble with the pumps and steering gear, land was sighted soon after breakfast hour on the morning of August 25. At noon the vessel anchored.

Upon reporting to the signal station by wigwag, the *Coyote* was ordered to proceed into the harbor. The pilot refused to take the vessel in, saying that there was only 24 feet of water in the channel and that the vessel then drew 23 feet and 5 inches. Capt. John J. Fitzgerald refused to take the responsibility over the pilot's pretest. Although the authorities threatened to have the pilot broken for his refusal, he persisted, and in the morning a new pilot was taken on and the *Coyote* entered the harbor successfully.

FIND SUFFICIENT WATER.

It was found that, due to a high tide caused by a favorable wind, the depth of the channel was more than 24 feet and no trouble was experienced.

For nine days the *Coyote* lay discharging her cargo ashore. On September 4 a heavy gale began to blow, which later turned into one of the worst hurricanes that the island had seen in years. Capt. Fitzgerald prepared for increasing bad weather by doubling his lines and running others. Late in the afternoon a schooner parted moorings and bore down on the *Coyote*. Her jib boom struck the *Coyote*, causing the schooner to swing to port and drift down alongside another vessel also ashore at this time.

In the collision with the schooner the *Coyote's* flagstaff taffrail stanchions and rail on the gun platform were carried away, the after-gun lookout station demolished, the cradle of the afterport boom carried away, and a big hawser leading to the mooring buoy off the port quarter was parted.

With support from the buoy severed the *Coyote* was driven by the heavy wind and furious sea violently against the coal jetties, which were crushed into a mass of débris and the vessel washed ashore, where at times she listed almost 40°. The other vessel had early in the storm drifted ashore about a ship's length ahead of the *Coyote* and was hard aground.

At 8 p. m. the *Coyote* was laying against the bank, pounding slightly. By midnight the wind changed to southeast by east, accompanied by a violent rain. The storm was still in full force, and shortly before daybreak the schooner drifted alongside. Fenders were put out to prevent chafing, but they were unsuccessful, and the schooner chafed the bow

of the *Coyote*, tearing some splinters from the planking. During the afternoon the storm began to abate and the sky showed signs of clearing.

By noon of September 6 the storm was well over and the *Coyote* continued to discharge its cargo. Late the next night the stern was cleared and pulled into deep water, but the bow still held, and the effort was abandoned till the next tide. Early the next forenoon the vessel got clear and hauled into deeper water.

On September 12, having discharged all her cargo, the *Coyote* took her departure.

The first day out the ship encountered heavy swells, but she rolled easily and made good weather, considering that she was light and had no ballast.

The next day in the Gulf Stream, with strong head winds and rough confused sea, a good opportunity was given of judging the seaworthiness of the vessel under adverse conditions during pitching and rolling.

STANCH CONSTRUCTION SHOWN.

"We hear absolutely no sound, demonstrating that the ship is of very stanch construction," reads a paragraph from Engineer Clarke's report.

"The ship seems to be a good sea boat, both loaded and light," says the captain's report.

On September 16 the *Coyote* anchored at an Atlantic port and later went into dry dock, where an examination disclosed that the damage sustained in the hurricane was superficial.

Summarizing his conclusions on the *Coyote*, Engineer Clarke says:

"From observations made on this vessel during a period of from August 20 until October 3, I am of the opinion that the vessel is an excellent design, is stanch and seaworthy. I have seen her in all kinds of weather and find her a dry vessel, i. e., not taking much water on deck. Water sweeps across the well decks, forward and aft, but this comes from the freeing ports, which are not fitted with doors. The sea did not come over the bulwark rail.

"Considerable trouble was had freeing the vessel's bilges from water, but this was due to the immense amount of shavings, chips, and other refuse which was evidently left in the bilges, and can be overcome with the proper arrangement of valves and piping. Bilge pumps are of ample capacity if the bilge suctions are kept free and the water can reach the pumps.

"The engine is excellent design, operates easily and well, and at no time showed any sign of heating. The engines operated on the entire voyage without apparent thumping or noise, except when boilers were priming.

"The sanitary system is fair. Refrigerator and electric-light plants are fair.

"The vessel was very stanch, both loaded and light, as measurements taken across the deck and fore and aft for alignment and sag show.

"She is a good cargo carrier, and although she has a seemingly small storage space abaft the engines when loaded she trims very well. If her Plimsoll mark is located, as the data in the possession of the technical department shows, this vessel can easily carry 3,500 tons of coal if her holds were trimmed full. This would probably bring her down to the Primsoll mark.

"All the faults in this vessel are matters which can be easily corrected, and when this is done in this and other Ferris type ships I feel sure we will have as fine a cargo carrier of her type as has ever been operated—a boat we can all feel proud of—and which, I am sure, is going to be a big factor in winning the war."

The following message on the *Coyote's* trip was sent to Franklin Remington, president of the Foundation Co., by Mr. Schwab, upon receiving a report of the voyage from Mr. Remington:

"The record of the *Coyote* in surviving a hurricane is certainly one to be proud of, and she has proved her stanchness. I wish to congratulate you on the good workmanship."

Mr. FLETCHER. There is another kind of construction which the Shipping Board or the Emergency Fleet Corporation has entered upon which may be regarded in some respects as experimental. No doubt the building of concrete boats up to a thousand tons or such a matter has been an experience that is quite satisfactory in many respects, highly indorsed, but when you get to the larger ship, 5,000 tons and above, I say you enter a field somewhat experimental when it comes to building ships of reinforced concrete.

I have a telegram, however, with regard to one of these ships built on the Pacific coast. Her first voyage was from San Francisco with cargo to Vancouver. She encountered rough weather on that trip, but with very few exceptions seems to have stood it quite successfully. I refer to the *Faith*—5,000-ton concrete ship. There were some matters of not much consequence which needed some correction and they were promptly attended to. Then the ship sailed from San Francisco to Chile and has recently returned from Chile with a cargo of nitrate, which she discharged at New Orleans. Regarding the experience of that ship I have a telegram from the Portland Cement Association, under date of October 21, which I will ask to have inserted in the RECORD without reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MYERS in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

The telegram referred to is as follows:

CHICAGO, ILL., *October 21, 1918.*

Hon. DUNCAN U. FLETCHER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

A. P. Denton, our district engineer, Dallas, telegraphs: Inspected *Faith*, New Orleans, yesterday. She arrived recently. Cargo of nitrates from South America. Most noticeable feature, almost total absence of sweating. Careful examination revealed no cracks in beams or girders due to shear or diagonal tension. Officers enthusiastic over seaworthiness, ease of handling.

PORTLAND CEMENT ASSOCIATION.

Mr. FLETCHER. I have also an article entitled "Great Britain is building concrete ships," which appeared in the Engineering News-Record of New York of September 26, bearing also on the question of concrete ships, which I desire to insert in the RECORD.

[From Engineering News-Record, New York, Sept. 26, 1918.]

GREAT BRITAIN IS BUILDING CONCRETE SHIPS.

The yards in which reinforced-concrete ships and barges are being built are multiplying in the British Isles. A recent issue of the Times Engineering Supplement states that in the west and south and on the northeast and northwest coasts of England, on the Clyde and Aberdeen in Scotland, and near Belfast in Ireland, yards are under way where some 220 vessels are in course of construction. These represent a total of about 200,000 tons of shipping and a capital outlay estimated at nearly £4,000,000, apart from the cost of the land and the shipyard plants. On the designs adopted the saving of steel is about 70,000 tons, as compared with the amount which would be required for steel ships of the same carrying capacity.

The British Admiralty gave every encouragement to the private firms which were undertaking this new industry. Following the announcement of Government aid, 70 or 80 ways were laid down immediately. On many places waste land and bare stretches of shore were rapidly converted into busy centers. Matters have advanced so far that at the present time several vessels of 1,000 tons dead-weight carrying capacity are on the point of completion.

The vessels at present in course of construction for the comptroller general of merchant shipbuilding comprise barges of 1,000 tons dead-weight carrying capacity and steam tugs of 750 horsepower. In addition, six cargo steamships of 1,150 tons dead-weight are being built for private ownership, and designs have been prepared for steamships of much larger size, which, it is understood, will be constructed after the pressing needs of the Government for smaller craft have been sufficiently met. All the barges and steam tugs, 187½ feet and 125 feet in length, respectively, now under construction in controlled shipyards are being built in accordance with the specifications and general drawings issued by the admiralty department of merchant shipbuilding. The details of the hull and of the reinforced-concrete construction are, however, in accordance with working drawings prepared by or for the various shipbuilding firms.

Most of the vessels are being molded on the monolithic principle embodying systems of reinforcement which have been used extensively for land structures. In some cases, however, the precast-slab method of hull building has been adopted, and novel systems of reinforcement have been designed. Again, in some instances, the bottom or the whole of the hull is being built on the cellular principle, while in others the hull consists of a single shell stiffened by transverse frames at frequent intervals.

Mr. President, there has been some discussion in the press and among shipowners with respect to the machinery going into these ships. We are turning them out now very rapidly; we are now building something like 300,000 tons a month, and there has been some question about our ability to furnish the engines and the boilers and the machinery for the ships as fast as needed.

Quite a few experts entitled to very serious consideration and respect have advocated the use of a different style of machinery, favoring the motor for ships, the Diesel engine. There is an editorial in the publication called Motorship, of October 19, 1918, under the heading of "Post-war Marine Commerce," which bears on this question of the motive power. It presents a matter which ought to be investigated and considered, and which, as the Motorship people believe, and a great many others believe, will have an important bearing on problems we must meet in connection with our new merchant marine. I ask to have that editorial inserted in the RECORD without reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The editorial referred to is as follows:

POSTWAR MARINE COMMERCE.

In a recent admirable statement Mr. Edward N. Hurley, chairman of the United States Shipping Board, outlined with clearness the future shipping policy of the Government in respect to postwar trade and the reasons for building America's huge merchant fleet. Mr. Hurley, who has a trend of thought somewhat above the average in plane, frankly emphasized that these merchant vessels will not be used after cessation of hostilities for making a trade war against our gallant allies whom we now are assisting with all our might, main, men, and money.

Such sentiment, of course, is splendid, and no doubt we all wish our merchants, traders, and shipowners will live up to it. In the same way America would not have been in this real war had Germany listened and lived up to the standard of the noble ideals outlined by our own President Wilson several years ago.

Fair competition—even if strenuous—produces business that otherwise would not exist, and without foreign business many nations would go bankrupt. Obviously, then, after the war all countries will strive for "supremacy" in international trade. Consequently, although it will not be started by the United States (provided fine men like Wilson and Hurley are in authority) after peace has been declared and affairs become settled, there is bound to be such a tremendous competition among all countries for the carrying of freight on the high seas that the resultant friendly business rivalry virtually will form something approaching a trade war, once the amount of goods to be carried is less than the capacity of ships in service. Even among the American coastwise trade alone the most economically operated and best managed ships, such as motor ships, will seriously be felt by domestic shipowners who own steamers and sailing vessels, especially if the termination of war happens to leave us with more steamships than we have products to carry several years afterwards.

Also to endeavor to make America entirely self-contained and to export only and not import would be courting disaster, apart from making it impossible to operate our steamships in foreign waters, and the international money exchanges would suffer so much that our manufacturers and traders would be unable to do any business. Incidentally it will be a hard task for America to make a postwar trade campaign with her new coal-fired and oil-fired steamships, because they will have to be used on the same routes as the economical and cheaply operated foreign motor ships now being built by all other nations, including Germany.

The very future and prosperous existence of many countries will rest with their success in securing extensive international trade, and unless a nation's ships can carry produce as cheaply as those of other countries she can not be prosperous continually. That is why America previously has been a third-rate maritime commercial power. Her laws made it impossible for her ships to operate sufficiently economically to compete with the merchant vessels of other countries, and she had no motor ships. Had America previously been a great and successful ship-owning country, some of the terrible financial and bad business years probably would not have occurred. With ships, ships, and ships rests both the immediate and future well-being of all nations, particularly America; but other countries can build and operate their ships at lower cost than America can, so it is essential that America's ships be economical motor ships.

Undoubtedly other nations, when they are free to do so, will make hitherto unknown strenuous efforts to carry the products of the markets of the world—particularly Germany, whose merchant shipping now is in a state of chaos. Already the Reichstag has passed the bill for the restoration of the German merchant marine, and grants will be made after the war to Teuton shipping companies of about $500,000,000 in the form of subsidies. It seems that this money will be given, or loaned without interest, and the grants will continue for nine years after declaration of peace. During the first four years the subsidies may be from 50 to 70 per cent of the total cost of the ships. No wonder Germany is building a hugh motor-ship yard.

Sir Joseph Maclay, the British comptroller of shipping, recently stated that the transport service maintained by Great Britain only had been accomplished by the sacrifice of important trade interests, which would have to be recovered as soon as the emergency has become less acute. Now, if other nations' ships by that time are serving such routes, how can Great Britain secure back the trade without severe competition and without using her merchant ships for such purposes? So it is not surprising that Great Britain also will build motor ships, and that, as detailed elsewhere in this issue, one great British Diesel motor-ship yard now being erected will have 16 slipways.

On the other hand, it appears to be Italy's intention to increase the quality of her ships rather than the quantity. And, as Signor Ugo Ancona recently pointed out, it is with fine ships that Italy will be able to enter into competition even with England and America. Consequently we can understand why Italy is building standardized Diesel-driven motor ships, which vessels she terms her "emergency fleet."

Obviously America must have "quality," too, and it becomes more and more apparent that it is vitally important to order additional motor ships as rapidly as slipways become vacant, for in the economical Diesel-driven motor ships we have the most suitable war-time merchant vessel, also the only type of cargo carrier for postwar trade.

Although Diesel engines at present are a little more costly than steam engines and boilers, a big steel motor ship can be built cheaper than a steamer per ton of cargo capacity, because a motor ship of 10,000 tons displacement will carry overseas about 1,000 tons more actual cargo in her holds than will a steamer of the same dimensions and with the same amount of structural steel in her hull.

The same motor ship will require less men to run her (although carrying 10 per cent more cargo) because of the absence of stokers. Her fuel bill at sea will be reduced to between one-third and one-fifth and her port stand-by charges will be reduced 90 per cent, also she will not be dependent upon foreign fuel stations for her return bunkering. Furthermore, when Diesel engines are built in larger quantities the cost will be less than steam machinery, because the oil motor lends itself so excellently to standardization.

Thus there is every reason why we should build hundreds of motor ships as quickly as is feasible—but no more steamships, except big liners—and there is no sound reason why motor ships should not be built now. Only two arguments yet have been offered against motor ships, and the same are excuses rather than reasons. One is that the marine Diesel engine is not reliable, and the second is that there are insufficient trained engineers to operate such vessels. The first, of course, is totally incorrect, as the Diesel engine when properly designed, constructed, installed, and operated gives far less trouble than the average marine boiler. Even supposing it was not reliable, then its merits and advantages are so remarkable that the Nation's best engineers should at once set to and make it reliable. As regards operating engineers, these can be trained in the shops and on training ships while the engines are being built. What other countries can do America can do. So let us do.

MUNITION PLANTS AND SHIP CONSTRUCTION.

Mr. FLETCHER. I am directed by the Committee on Commerce to report the joint resolution which I send to the desk:

Joint resolution (S. J. Res. 181) to authorize and empower the War Industries Board to aid in equipping and expanding power plants to carry on the manufacture of war munitions and the construction of ships during the war, advance moneys for that purpose to owners and operators of private plants upon terms and conditions to be prescribed by the War Finance Corporation, and making appropriation therefor, was read twice by its title.

Mr. FLETCHER. I will state in connection with this joint resolution, Mr. President, that what is known as the emergency power bill, which passed the House and came to the Senate, was referred to the Commerce Committee, and we have been holding hearings upon that bill. We have considered it as fully as we could in the circumstances, but the committee feels that we ought to give that very important measure, containing far-reaching provisions, further consideration. We have had some difficulties to labor under, such as the absence of some members of the committee, the illness of others, and the crowded condition of matters before Congress, and we felt that we ought to hold that bill for the present in order that we may go into it more carefully and more fully before making a report regarding it.

In the meantime, the committee felt that we ought to report to the Senate a measure which would meet the immediate necessity of the situation, and therefore we have prepared and now submit this joint resolution, which provides for the appropriation of $50,000,000, in order that power plants may be created or extended where they are needed for the purpose of manufacturing munitions and building ships. That situation can be taken care of under this joint resolution, and this general power bill or the emergency bill we can reach at a later time.

I would ask now for the consideration of the joint resolution, because it is an important one and ought to be acted upon as speedily as possible; but in view of the agreement in the House I presume no final action could be reached there, and therefore I simply ask that the joint resolution shall go to the calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be placed on the calendar.

THE TARIFF.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] is absent to-day and will probably be absent for the remainder of the week. His absence, I regret to say, has been occasioned by the very serious illness of his daughter. Just before leaving he received a letter from Hon. Leslie M. Shaw, sometime a member of President Roosevelt's Cabinet. The letter the Senator received from Mr. Shaw made such a severe stricture on Senator THOMAS and was in tone so offensive that Senator Thomas was prompted to reply, in view of the distinguished source from which the letter comes, namely, from a man who has had a very long public career as has Mr. Shaw. I have been requested, therefore, to read the letter to the Senate and also the reply of Senator THOMAS. The letter of Mr. Shaw is dated Washington, October 26, 1918, and is as follows:

WASHINGTON, *October 26, 1918.*

Senator CHARLES S. THOMAS,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I read with great interest your reply to Senator NEW'S assertion that the President's third condition of peace, being interpreted, means international free trade and spells the industrial ruin of America, in which you evidenced recognition of the fatal character of the charge, if substantiated, and sought to explain that the President did not, in fact, mean what his words imply.

You will certainly pardon me, my dear Mr. Senator, if I suggest that when one of a sheriff's posse assumes to speak for all and conducts a megaphone conversation with a fleeing band of highwaymen, gloating over their crimes infinitely worse than any which barbaric savagery ever stood charged, and announces the terms on which these bandits may be admitted to fellowship with the members of the posse, and to social equality with those whom they have robbed and ravaged, he ought to do so in such clearness of tone and certainty of diction as to need no Senatorial apologist.

Inasmuch as you have volunteered to speak for the President and to seek to explain away the fair import of his words in one instance, I ask that you extend your labors, and for these services I am willing to pay.

In his speech of September 27, the President says: "Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific curse in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war. It would be an insincere as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite and binding terms."

Reading the foregoing in conjunction with his third condition of peace wherein he says, "The removal as far as possible of all economic barriers and the establishment of a neutrality of trade conditions," I am willing to pay you a lawyer's fee for a well-considered and comprehensive draft of a treaty provision that will "exclude in definite and binding terms all economic rivalries" between the United States and Canada or Japan, for instance, short of allowing the Chinese and Japanese people freedom of domicile in this country and the right to sell the products of their labor in our markets without encountering a protective tariff.

Second, how can "special alliances be excluded in definite and binding terms" and still preserve to the United States the right to conclude reciprocity arrangements insuring to our people advantages in certain market that are not to be enjoyed by other peoples?

Unless within a reasonable time I shall be favored with a reply containing actual drafts of provisions that will justify the President's language and will not warrant Senator NEW'S interpretations—in which I most unreservedly join—I shall continue to teach that the President's peace purposes, as distinguished from his war policies, are not only dangerous but absolutely ruinous.

Need I remind you, my dear Mr. Senator, that the Commander in Chief of the Armies and Navies of the United States is not ex officio dictator of the economic policies of the American people?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW.

To this letter, which I presume was an attempt to be funny—but like many men the former Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Shaw, is funny only when he is serious—Senator THOMAS made the following reply:

OCTOBER 27, 1918.

Hon. LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR: I am in receipt of your letter of the 26th instant regarding a recent discussion of the President's third condition of peace, which I have read with much interest. I think you have confounded Senator NEW with his colleague, who intruded the free-trade question in the shape of an interrogatory. You will pardon me also for saying, with the greatest respect, that in addressing me you assume the existence of some conditions which I can not concede. I neither spoke for the President on that occasion nor sought to make any explanation of the President's words. I assumed to answer questions of my colleagues; not to have done so would have been discourteous and uncalled for. If you will do me the honor to reread my remarks, I think you will agree with me. I presume that if I, upon reading your letter, should assume that you spoke for the Republican Party it would amuse you and be hotly resented by Col. Roosevelt.

Not being the administration interpreter, as you imagine, I could not if I would accept your gratuitous offer of compensation for assuming to act in that rôle. Were the fact otherwise I could scarcely feel complimented by your offer, as I have not yet reached the point where it is necessary to voice my convictions for pay.

I am not at all surprised that the Republican Party in their desperate efforts to find an issue for the campaign are struggling so hard to lift their old cry of protection from the oblivion to which the people consigned it in 1912. It must have something to distract public sentiment from the administration's magnificent prosecution of the war, and the good old tariff becomes a natural resort. However, the President's announcement of terms of peace on January 8 last, having before and since then been accepted by our allies as a basis for an enduring peace, I am constrained to believe that it will not get very far in a crusade beginning nine months after its announcement and on the eve of a general election. I expressed my own opinions and those alone to the Senate last Thursday, and I do not hesitate to say that an enduring and permanent peace between the nations is wholly irreconcilable with the Republican doctrine of a high protective tariff. If the announcement of such a view has subjected me to a charge of being a free trader, I am content. The war has not changed my convictions of a lifetime that all tariffs should be for revenue purposes only and become robbery when they transcend that point.

It is quite true, my dear sir, that the Commander in Chief is not a dictator of the economic policies of the American people. It is also true that those who would place a controverted economic question above world interest in this great crisis are not the dictators of this administration.

I am, my dear sir, very cordially, yours,

C. S. THOMAS.

Mr. President, I have simply read the correspondence as I would do for any other friend of mine in the Senate or elsewhere. I have no comment to make, of course, upon the letters. They speak for themselves.

THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, apropos of the discussion which has occupied most of the afternoon, I desire to say that I have here an editorial from the New York Times under date of October 26, and under the title "The President and Congress," which I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD without reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There being no objection, the editorial will be inserted in the RECORD.

The editorial referred to is as follows:

THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS.

Mr. Roosevelt's ill-advised and most untimely attempt to stir up a partisan strife against the President lends justification to Mr. Wilson's appeal to the country to express its confidence in the administration by returning a Democratic majority in both Houses of the next Congress. The President's appeal is unusual. It has its obvious risks. To say that the election of a Democratic Congress would be a vote of confidence in the administration connotes the opposite theory that by electing a majority of Republican Senators and Representatives the country would vote want of confidence. The President's action is bold, for the event is uncertain. But his boldness is the measure of the importance he attaches to securing in the next Congress a majority control in sympathy with his policies and purposes. Should the House and Senate pass into Republican control as the result of the election, he feels, and the behavior of Republican leaders, like Mr. Roosevelt and Senator LODGE, justifies him in that feeling, that thenceforth legislation and all action would be "taken amid contest and obstruction."

The President candidly gives credit to the Republicans in Congress for support in the prosecution of the war; they "have unquestionably been prowar." We think he lays too much stress upon the, after all, not very frequent occasions when they have shown themselves to be "antiadministration." He feels that they have sought to take the conduct of the war out of his hands and "put it under the control of instrumentalities of their own choosing." Their efforts to do that have not been very determined; they have never had any chance of success. It must be remembered that the Republican Party is very well organized; that in its membership partisan feeling runs high. Was it not to be expected that the Republicans would now and then bestir themselves to estop the Democrats from getting all the credit accruing from the successful prosecution of the war?

That is not the sole question; it may not be the most important. A Republican majority in both Houses might at times be obstructive; perhaps unpleasantly so. But we doubt that they would let partisanship betray them into failure of duty. Upon the great issues, the questions upon which the vigorous carrying on of the war will vitally depend, their patriotism and American spirit would guide them against the unpardonable blunder of carrying obstruction to the point of danger. Both the great parties are made up of patriots.

It is the construction which our friends abroad, and particularly our enemies abroad, would almost inevitably put upon a defeat of the administration party in the coming congressional elections that is chiefly to be feared. Here in the United States we know that the election of a majority in the Senate and the House would not be an expression of want of confidence in the administration in the parliamentary sense. It would not have the implications which attach to a vote that causes the fall of a ministry. The country is very evenly divided between the two leading parties, and local interest or local pride in a favorite candidate might easily prevail in a sufficient number of districts to give the majority to the Republicans which there would be no warrant whatever for viewing as an expression of the country as a whole against the administration. We could not hope that this opinion of such a result would obtain abroad; certainly not in enemy countries, where they would take great comfort from their belief that the war policies of the present administration had been repudiated by the country. We might be put to great cost and effort to overcome that impression.

Of some shortcomings in Democratic congressional leadership, notably in the House, the country is not unaware. There are corrections and compensations, for the good sense of the membership in both branches of Congress averts the more serious consequences of error. But those are matters which concern ourselves; the election of the congressional majority in sympathy with the President's purposes is a matter of concern, not to ourselves alone, but to the brave people of those nations to whose aid we have sent 2,000,000 soldiers and many billions of money for their financial support. That is a very grave matter, one on which the President lays much stress. It bulks enormously larger than any petty occasions for criticism of those responsible for war legislation in the present Congress. This is the great issue of the election which the people should keep steadily in view, that support should be given to the President, that his appeal for a House and Senate, sympathetic, not obstructive, should have a loyal response.

The President has declared that "politics is adjourned." If his earnest request that the country give him needed support in Congress is considered to be a reentry of politics, let the blame rest upon the Republicans who have forced him to take that course. In 1898, not the President, to be sure, but the responsible leaders of the Republican Party, made such an appeal on the ground that, although the Spanish War was ended before the elections the country must show an undivided front against the enemy. Mr. Wilson has tenfold the justification for his appeal that the Republicans had in that year. And Mr. Roosevelt's exhortation "to the representatives of the American people from one ocean to the other" to bestir themselves against the acceptance of principles of peace already approved by our people, by the nations united with us in the war, which the enemy powers have already pledged themselves to accept, the good faith of that pledge having been put to the test by the President, is reason enough in all conscience for Mr. Wilson's outspoken presentation of grounds for asking the country to assure him of the support during the next two years of a Congress "in sympathy with the attitude and action of the administration."

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. FLETCHER. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened; and (at 5 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Thursday, October 31, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 28, 1918.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

John W. Hanan, of LaGrange, Ind., to be United States district judge, district of the Canal Zone, vice William H. Jackson, whose term has expired.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

Charles F. Clyne, of Chicago, Ill., to be United States attorney, northern district of Illinois. A reappointment, his term having expired.

COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY.

Harry Leypoldt, of Pennsylvania, to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer in the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Department of Commerce. (Vice himself by reinstatement.)

COAST GUARD.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Coast Guard, for temporary service, from the 21st day of September, 1918:

William P. Kain,
Floyd J. Sexton,
Clement J. Todd,
Gustavus U. Stewart,
Joseph F. Farley, jr.,
David P. Marvin,
Carl H. Abel, and
Edward M. Webster.

First lieutenants of Engineers to be captains of Engineers in the Coast Guard, for temporary service, from the 21st day of September, 1918:

Benjamin C. Thorn,
Milton R. Daniels,
Ellis Reed-Hill,
Francis C. Allen,
Mayson W. Torbet, and
Gustavus R. O'Connor.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

MEDICAL CORPS.

To be first lieutenants.

First Lieut. Charles Augustus Short, Medical Corps, United States Army, from October 14, 1918.

First Lieut. William Calvert Chaney, Medical Corps, United States Army, from October 15, 1918.

First Lieut. Olaf Kittelson, Medical Corps, United States Army, from October 16, 1918.

First Lieut. Lawrence Frederick Fisher, Medical Corps, United States Army, from October 17, 1918.

First Lieut. Young Cleveland Lott, Medical Corps, United States Army, from October 18, 1918.

First Lieut. Earl Edward Van Derwerker, Medical Corps, United States Army, from October 19, 1918.

First Lieut. Albert Barnett Ferguson, Medical Corps, United States Army, from October 20, 1918.
First Lieut. Julius Benjamin Boehm, Medical Corps, United States Army, from October 21, 1918.
First Lieut. John Daniel Gillis, Medical Corps, United States Army, from October 22, 1918.
First Lieut. Ralph Waldo Turner, Medical Corps, United States Army, from October 23, 1918.
First Lieut. Francis John Robinson, Medical Corps, United States Army, from October 24, 1918.
First Lieut. Fowler Burdette Roberts, Medical Corps, United States Army, from October 25, 1918.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of August, 1918:
Harry D. McHenry,
Harry R. Bogusch,
George C. Fuller, and
William M. Quigley.
Lieut. Albert R. Mack to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 18th day of August, 1918.
The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 21st day of September, 1918:
James A. Saunders and
John H. Culin.
The following-named acting pay clerks to be assistant paymasters in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of October, 1918:
Clarence E. Kastenbein,
James H. Stevens,
Ellsworth F. Sparks,
Trigg M. Smith,
William G. Conrad,
Orville F. Byrd,
Ellory F. Carr,
James D. G. Wognum,
Edgar C. Hartup,
Robert Von Ritter,
David A. Bachman,
Daniel L. McCarthy,
John E. Wood,
Harry A. Miller,
Harvey R. Dye,
Norris D. Whitehill,
Verney Carroll,
Louis A. Puckett,
George Scratchley,
Charles B. Forrest,
John P. Killeen,
Karl S. Farnum,
Lester B. Karelle,
Harold E. Walker,
Willard B. Hinckley,
Charles H. Gillilan,
Jacob K. Ziesel,
Hunter J. Norton,
Leon Dancer,
Charles H. Ritt,
Joseph W. Cavanagh,
Harry E. Wickham, jr.,
William O. Wood, and
Samuel E. Thompson.
The following-named acting pay clerks to be assistant paymasters in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of September, 1918:
James E. Brennan,
Joseph M. Devine,
George L. Thomas,
Theodore M. Stock, and
Chester B. Peake.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 28, 1918.

CLERK OF THE UNITED STATES COURT FOR CHINA.

James P. Connolly to be clerk of the United States Court for China.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

John E. Laskey to be United States attorney, District of Columbia.
Edward C. Day to be United States attorney, district of Montana.
Myron H. Walker to be United States attorney, western district of Michigan.
Harvey A. Baker to be United States attorney, district of Rhode Island.

COAST GUARD.

First Lieut. Philip H. Scott to be a captain in the Coast Guard.
The following-named second lieutenants to be first lieutenants in the Coast Guard:
Wales A. Benham and
Raymond L. Jack.
The following-named cadet engineers to be third lieutenants of engineers in the Coast Guard:
Louis B. Olsen,
Joseph H. Seymour,
Roger C. Heimer,
Laurence G. Bean,
William J. Kossler,
Joseph S. Walker,
Lester E. Wells,
Ulysses V. Henderson, and
Henry G. Kunz.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

To be lieutenant generals.

Maj. Gen. Hunter Liggett, United States Army.
Maj. Gen. Robert L. Bullard, United States Army.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

MEDICAL CORPS.

To be majors.

Capt. Herbert L. Quickel.
Capt. Chester D. Allen.
Capt. David E. Smith.
Capt. Leon A. Fox.
Capt. Charles M. Hunter.
Capt. Rossner E Graham.
Capt. Joseph H. Francis.
Capt. Charles K. Berle.
Capt. George C. H. Franklin.
Capt. William T. Weissinger.
Capt. Samuel M. Browne.
Capt. Frank L. Cole.
Capt. Gerald D. France.
Capt. Miner F. Felch.
Capt. Rowland D. Wolfe.
Capt. Bascom F. Morris.
Capt. Clarke Blance.
Capt. William A. Foertmeyer.
Capt. Cornelius O. Bailey.
Capt. Max R. Stockton.
Capt. Frank C. Griffis.
Capt. Frederick H. Mills.
Capt. Henry C. Bierbower.
Capt. Val E. Miltenberger.
Capt. Edgar F. Haines.
Capt. John P. Kelly.
Capt. Edgar J. Farrow.
Capt. Herbert L. Freeland.

To be captains.

First Lieut. Herbert L. Quickel.
First Lieut. Chester D. Allen.
First Lieut. David E. Smith.
First Lieut. Leon A. Fox.
First Lieut. Charles M. Hunter.
First Lieut. Rossner E. Graham.
First Lieut. Joseph H. Francis.
First Lieut. Charles K. Berle.
First Lieut. George C. H. Franklin.
First Lieut. William T. Weissinger.
First Lieut. Samuel M. Browne.
First Lieut. Frank L. Cole.
First Lieut. Gerald D. France.
First Lieut. Miner F. Felch.
First Lieut. Rowland D. Wolfe.
First Lieut. Bascom F. Morris.
First Lieut. Clarke Blance.
First Lieut. William A. Foertmeyer.
First Lieut. Cornelius O. Bailey.
First Lieut. Max R. Stockton.

First Lieut. Frank C. Griffis.
First Lieut. Frederick H. Mills.
First Lieut. Henry C. Bierbower.
First Lieut. Val E. Miltenberger.
First Lieut. Edgar F. Haines.
First Lieut. John P. Kelly.
First Lieut. Edgar J. Farrow.
First Lieut. Herbert L. Freeland.

POSTMASTERS.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Jacob M. Bedenbaugh, Prosperity.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *October 28, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou, who art supreme in all Thine attributes, our God and our Father, a heavy hand has been laid upon us; thousands have died and thousands are dying through the malady which is sweeping the land and through the terrible toll on land and sea in a world-wide war.

But where faith abounds, hope inspires confidence. Where love abounds, the heart reflects Thy image; and Thy promises shall not fail if we live to the highest conception of right, and truth, and duty.

Help us, therefore, to hold to Thee and press forward at the command of the still, small voice and rest assured that Thy will, which is good will, shall be at last fulfilled in right, truth, justice, and every heart be satisfied, through Him who taught us the way and the truth and the life. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday, October 26, 1918, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may extend my remarks in the RECORD on the recognition by the present administration of women in public office in connection with the administration, and also the attitude of the present administration on woman suffrage.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to say, while that is a perfectly legitimate matter to go into the RECORD, I will have to object on account of our unanimous-consent agreement. I think it would be a violation of that agreement.

Mr. RAKER. May I ask the gentleman from North Carolina if that includes all unanimous consents?

Mr. KITCHIN. Of course it does. A great many consents could be asked, and personally I would not object, but under our agreement I will have to object, and I do object, Mr. Speaker.

ZENG TZE WONG (H. DOC. NO. 1334).

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith a report from the Secretary of State inclosing a draft of a joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to permit Mr. Zeng Tze Wong, a citizen of China, to receive instruction at the United States Military Academy at West Point at the expense of the Government of China.

The Secretary of State points out that the passage of the resolution would be regarded as an act of courtesy by the Government of China, and that it would follow established precedents.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *28 October, 1918.*

The SPEAKER. Ordered printed and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

RECESS OF CONGRESS.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I send to the Clerk's desk a resolution, which I ask the House to consider at the present time.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House concurrent resolution 56.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That when the two Houses of Congress adjourn on Monday, the 28th day of October, 1918, they stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian on Tuesday, the 12th day of November, 1918.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Is it the thought of the gentleman that we shall remain in session until the Senate has acted on this resolution to-day?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; we will remain in session until we try to get through these matters which are to come up after the passage of this resolution. The Senate expect to pass this immediately, but if they are hung up at all they will amend it, and we could not pass this resolution as amended until Thursday, as we shall not meet to-morrow. That is the reason we had it to begin to-day. I had a talk with Senators MARTIN of Virginia and SIMMONS this morning, and they both said there would be no difficulty in passing the resolution immediately this morning. Then the discussion of other matters which the Senate may take up to-day will go on after that, and they will stay in session until those matters are concluded.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Does not the gentleman think it might be a good idea for us to recess for an hour or two, in order to give the Senate time to act upon this, so we may know to-day what the fate of the resolution will be?

Mr. KITCHIN. That would be all right.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. After the conclusion of the business of to-day?

Mr. KITCHIN. I shall ask unanimous consent then to recess until such time as we think——

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. After the passage of the other business.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. CANNON. Have the Senate agreed to the conference report on the deficiency bill?

Mr. KITCHIN. They have agreed to it; yes.

Mr. CANNON. Has it been signed by the Speaker?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; Senator MARTIN of Virginia has taken it up now, I understand. He said he would take it up in a few minutes and dispose of it.

Mr. CANNON. This is that when we adjourn to-day we adjourn till November 12?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. I said if necessary, as the gentleman from Tennessee suggests, we can take a recess to await the action of the Senate. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts desire to ask a question?

Mr. GILLETT. The gentleman has already answered the question which I had in mind to ask.

Mr. McARTHUR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do.

Mr. McARTHUR. I wish to ask the majority leader what plan is in mind as to the legislative program when we reconvene on the 12th of November, if there is any?

Mr. KITCHIN. The Senate Finance Committee hope by that time to report out the revenue bill, and the Senate hope to finish that bill by the 25th or 26th of November, and then that Congress may take an adjournment sine die, and while Congress is away the conferees on the revenue bill will remain in Washington and try to get together by the time we reconvene.

Mr. McARTHUR. As a matter of fact, there is no legislative program for the House, except to meet every three days.

Mr. KITCHIN. That is correct.

Mr. McARTHUR. Members living at a distance will be at perfect liberty to remain at home?

Mr. KITCHIN. Unless called here by some emergency.

Mr. QUIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. QUIN. From the 12th day of November until the 26th the House will not meet, and Members can go home?

Mr. KITCHIN. As I answered the gentleman from Oregon, it will not be necessary for Members of the House, after reconvening on the 12th, to come back to Washington. There will be enough Members here to attend to matters, and we will adjourn for three days at a time, unless some emergency occurs in the meantime making it necessary to call Members to Washington.

Mr. QUIN. And telegrams would be sent out. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. ANDERSON. If the gentleman will permit, I was wondering if the gentleman would not think it wise to delay the

passage of this resolution until matters pending to-day are disposed of?

Mr. KITCHIN. I should not think so, for the reason that some gentleman might make a point of no quorum, and then it would be impossible for us to pass this until Thursday, because we do not meet to-morrow and we do not meet Wednesday, under our agreement.

Mr. ANDERSON. I want to be entirely fair about the matter. I understand it is intended to offer a resolution continuing the agricultural stimulation appropriations. I intend to object to that resolution.

Mr. KITCHIN. Would the gentleman make the point of no quorum on the stimulation bill?

Mr. ANDERSON. I do not care to pass on that proposition.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman may or may not, but some other gentleman may. Therefore, unless we want to come back here Thursday——

Mr. ANDERSON. I do not intend to make a point of no quorum on the passage of this recess resolution, because it is contemplated by the agreement which we made the other day, but I did say to the gentleman the other day that I should object to the passage of a continuing resolution, and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN] gave the same notice. I do not want to mislead the gentleman now; that is all.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the recess resolution offered by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN].

The question was taken; and the resolution was agreed to.

AGRICULTURAL STIMULATION.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. SHERLEY. I desire to ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 340), which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of a joint resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the provisions of the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government and of the District of Columbia for the months of July and August, 1918, and for other purposes," approved July 8, 1918, so far as they relate to the support of food-production operations of the Department of Agriculture heretofore provided for by law, are extended and continued in full force and effect for and during the month of November, 1918.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. ANDERSON. I feel disposed to object, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota objects.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, has the gentleman from Minnesota objected?

Mr. ANDERSON. I did object.

Mr. LEVER. I wonder if the gentleman from Minnesota might not be persuaded to withdraw the objection temporarily and allow me to make a brief statement?

Mr. ANDERSON. I withhold the objection, but I intend to make it, at least for the present.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say that the situation with reference to the food-stimulation bill is this——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. LEVER. The differences between the Senate and the House have all been agreed to and arranged, except Senate amendment No. 28, which is the so-called Pomerene antirent profiteering bill. The newspapers of the city quote the Senator who is in charge of this legislation at this time as saying that it is not his intention to call it up in the Senate until after the election. The Senate has the papers and of necessity must act first. There is, therefore, no possible way of getting this matter before the House. The continuing resolution which the department is now asking with reference to this bill expires on the 31st of this month, I believe. If we shall adjourn over until the 12th of November, the department will be absolutely estopped from operating along the lines contained in this bill until it gets authority to operate, else if it operates at all it will do so in violation of law.

I make this further statement: The House has not been derelict about this bill. The bill passed the House on the 23d of May under the very skillful management of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER]. It did not pass the Senate until September 6. This is a small appropriation bill, carrying about $11,000,000. There is not an item in the bill as it passed the House that was not absolutely germane to this bill, and yet when it comes back from the Senate to this body it comes back absolutely loaded down with ungermane and irrelevant amendments. There are at least four great, big, substantive propositions put upon this bill by the other body. The House conferees have been able to agree to one or two of those amendments. The Senate has receded from the others. But they insist on this rent-profiteering proposition, notwithstanding the fact that the so-called Pomerene amendment has passed the other body and is in this House now, while on the other hand this body has passed the so-called Johnson bill covering the same subject and that bill is now in the other body, with the conferees appointed by both bodies and ready to act.

It is contended that because of certain criticisms or statements made on this floor the other body refuses to deal through the regular channels with this proposition, and hence in order to get legislation at all I presume it was the intention to do it in this indirect way. I feel that the controversy between the Senate and the House now is much more fundamental and goes much deeper than the proposition involving a Member of this House. If the Senate has the right to say with respect to a matter in controversy between the two Houses that they will not serve with the House conferees, that they refuse to function in their ordinary way because they dislike personally one of the conferees, then the Senate has the right to go one step further and say, "We refuse to serve with you because we dislike the pronounced views of your conferees on the proposition in controversy." And if the Senate has the right to do that, the Senate has the right to say, "We refuse to serve with your conferees because, forsooth, one of them happens to be red-haired, freckle-faced, knock-kneed, and red-nosed, and that kind of a proposition grates upon my esthetic sensibilities." [Applause.]

Now, the proposition is, Has the House been called upon to abdicate its rights to appoint its own conferees? Is the House to abdicate its own power of legislation? If we admit that the other body has the right to control the appointment of House conferees, then you had as well abolish the House of Representatives and let the other body do the legislating for the whole country. [Applause.]

I do not regard this so much a question involving a personal controversy as a question of fundamental right on the part of the House, and I have therefore insisted upon the right of the House in the disagreement of the House conferees on this proposition. It is bad enough, gentlemen of the House, that legislation of this importance should be attempted to be put through the House in the form of riders. True, much good legislation has come to the country in the form of riders upon appropriation bills, but I do not think there is an experienced man here who will not agree with the statement that more vicious legislation has passed Congress in the shape of riders than through any other method or means. You are attempting here absolutely to transfer the jurisdiction of the District of Columbia Committee of the House to the Committee on Agriculture. I confess that I have no knowledge of District affairs except in the most general way, but I do believe, and I think in justice to the gentleman I ought to say, that there is not a man in this House on either side of that aisle who is so well informed about District affairs as the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON], the chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia. [Applause.] I am not willing either to humiliate him by a vote of censure in this House—and this action here would be a vote of censure in the first place—nor in the second place am I willing, without the instruction of the House, absolutely through this method to abdicate the functions of the House and let the other body run it. [Applause.]

Those are the facts, and with that statement and with the further fact, which I reemphasize, that a Member in charge of this bill in the other body is quoted as saying that he will not even bring it up for discussion in the Senate, I ask what possible advantage can be had in objecting to this continuing resolution? I hope very much that my very capable friend from Minnesota will withdraw the objection and let this resolution go through.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I am not interested in the controversy between the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON] and certain Members of the Senate, but I do say this: That if either the gentleman from Kentucky or some Members of the Senate or the war workers in the District of Columbia must suffer, so far as I am concerned it will be either the gentleman from Kentucky or the Members of the Senate, and not the war workers in the District of Columbia.

Now, this bill has been in the hands of the conferees about six weeks. There has been ample opportunity for the conferees to get together. The gentleman from South Carolina [Mr.

LEVER] says that the Senate takes the attitude on the other bill that they will not confer with the gentleman from Kentucky. I am informed that the gentleman from South Carolina has practically taken the same position with respect to this amendment. I am satisfied that if the majority conferees on the part of the House have any disposition at all to agree to the Pomerene amendment, properly amended, there would be no difficulty whatever in coming to some agreement upon it. I think the House ought not to be in the position in which it is to-day. I regret that the Department of Agriculture by any action that I should take should be deprived of any necessary funds, but I am unwilling that the controversy that exists here should be permitted longer to prevent reasonable legislation against rent profiteering in the District of Columbia, and, so far as I can by my voice assist in bringing that matter to some sort of conclusion now, I intend to object to the consideration of a continuing resolution, and I do object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota objects.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee rose.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman allow me a minute?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes.

THE RECORD.

Mr. GILLETT. I do not wish formally to bring up the privileged resolution about correcting the RECORD, but I would like to ask the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN], who is here, if he can kindly tell us where in the RECORD he received his leave to print? I am told by others that they can not find it. I think he ought to cite it.

Mr. HEFLIN. I have not looked for it. The Speaker stated to the gentleman and to the House that he remembered that leave to print remarks in the RECORD was granted to me. It was probably two weeks ago. The RECORD will show the date; that is, if the Official Reporter did his duty in taking down the requests that were made and the leaves that were granted on that day.

Mr. GILLETT. Can the gentleman tell where it is?

Mr. HEFLIN. Not without consulting the RECORD. I requested the RECORD clerk a moment ago to look it up and let me know the date.

Mr. GILLETT. I asked the gentleman about half an hour ago if he would.

Mr. HEFLIN. I have asked him to look it up.

Mr. GILLETT. And he has not been able to find it?

Mr. HEFLIN. I have not heard from him. If the gentleman is at all doubtful about leave having been granted to me, I have several witnesses here now who are ready to testify that they were present when I obtained leave under which my speech was printed.

Mr. GILLETT. Of course, the RECORD is what decides; but I will let the matter drop now.

Mr. HEFLIN. Again I say that I had leave to print my remarks in the RECORD; and that is not all, I have another leave yet. I keep them for the purpose of answering Republican babblings. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

RECESS.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, at the suggestion of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN], I ask unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until 1 o'clock.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until 1 o'clock. Is there objection?

There was no objection; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 31 minutes p. m.) the House took a recess until 1 p. m.

AFTER THE RECESS.

The recess having expired, at 1 o'clock p. m. the House resumed its session.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had agreed to the conference report on the bill (H. R. 13086) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, announced that the committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the following titles, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 12404. An act authorizing the construction of a building for the Public Health Service, in the city of Washington, D. C.;

H. R. 12976. An act providing for the protection of the users of the telephone and telegraph service and the properties and funds belonging thereto during Government operation and control;

H. R. 13036. An act transferring jurisdiction and control for the period of the war over the southern branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers from the board of managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers to the Secretary of War for use for Army hospital purposes;

H. R. 12438. An act authorizing the conveyance of the United States jail and land on which the same is located at Guthrie, Okla., to Logan County, Okla.; and

H. R. 13086. An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes.

RECESS OF CONGRESS.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, before we took the recess I offered a resolution (H. Con. Res. 56) for a recess of Congress from to-day until November 12. I did not introduce the resolution until I had conferred with Senator MARTIN, who said it was all right, that the Senate would pass it immediately, as soon as it reached the Senate. I asked him if he had conferred with the leader of the minority, and he said he had, and that it was satisfactory. Since the House passed the resolution I find that there is a pretty large opposition to the passage of such a resolution in the Senate, especially to-day, and that it will be impossible for them to consider it to-day. There is some hope that by Thursday next they can iron out the kinks and both sides agree to an adjournment resolution. In view of those facts, I ask unanimous consent to reconsider the vote whereby the resolution was passed and to vacate all proceedings under it.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to reconsider the vote by which the concurrent resolution for adjournment was passed and to vacate the proceedings under it. Is there objection?

Mr. GILLETT. Reserving the right to object, may I ask the gentleman, for the convenience of the House, if this will make any practical difference in the necessity of Members of the House attending?

Mr. KITCHIN. I was about to state that our agreement will remain for three-day adjournments, whether we have a fixed time for adjournment or not. Gentlemen can go home with impunity, with the thought that nothing will take place in the way of business under that agreement.

Mr. LEVER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. LEVER. Is it the gentleman's understanding that the food-stimulation bill now in conference would fall within the unanimous-consent agreement made on the 19th of this month?

Mr. KITCHIN. Under the unanimous-consent agreement as written, in connection with the colloquy between the gentleman from Minnesota and myself, it was explicitly stated that in case a demand for a quorum on the extension resolution was made the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] and myself would regard it as absolutely necessary to send out notices.

Mr. LEVER. Is it the gentleman's construction that the demand for a quorum on the extension resolution would be a breach of the unanimous-consent agreement?

Mr. KITCHIN. I hardly think it would, in view of what took place between the gentleman from Minnesota and myself.

Mr. GILLETT. I did not suppose that the agreement would prevent anybody from making a point of no quorum.

Mr. LEVER. That is true; but what I was driving at is, was it tacitly understood that the continuing resolution for the food-stimulation bill would fall within the unanimous-consent agreement?

Mr. GILLETT. Personally, I do not think it would fall within the agreement. I thought it did not.

Mr. LEVER. My construction was that it did fall within it.

Mr. GILLETT. There was some discussion on that very point.

Mr. ANDERSON. If the gentleman will yield, I distinctly called the attention of the gentleman from North Carolina to the situation that would arise under the unanimous-consent agreement if adopted in case the stimulation appropriation bill did not pass and it should be necessary to have a continuing resolution.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman did; and I think, taking the written agreement just as it is, without any further colloquy in the House, that this would be excluded under the technical terms of the agreement, because it reads that during this period "no business shall be transacted by unanimous consent or otherwise, except the final disposition of the pending appropriation bill and the Agricultural stimulation bill." Of course, the extension resolution would not be a final disposition. However, the gentleman from Minnesota made the observation which he

has just repeated. Taking the agreement literally, it is not within the unanimous-consent agreement, because it is not a final disposition; but it was stated that if it became necessary, and a quorum was demanded, we would send out the notices.

Mr. LEVER. Under the interpretation of the gentleman from North Carolina, and my interpretation of his interpretation, whatever action was taken on this bill would have to be final action. It would not be possible without violating the unanimous-consent agreement even to send the bill back to conference if anybody raised the point.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; it would. That is a part of the procedure to final disposition. I submit the understanding of the House was—and the question of the gentleman from Minnesota and my reply to him as to the stimulation bill was a part of it—that we might consider that unless somebody demanded a quorum.

Mr. LEVER. The point I am trying to make is that if the gentleman's interpretation is right it would not be possible between now and the time of coming back to send the food-stimulation bill back to conference, although that is a process of final determination.

Mr. GILLETT. Oh, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] said he thought we could, and I certainly think we could. That is one of the steps toward final disposition.

Mr. KITCHIN. That is a natural parliamentary process.

Mr. GILLETT. Yes.

Mr. LEVER. But is not the other a natural parliamentary process—a continuing resolution?

Mr. GILLETT. Oh, that is a substitute.

Mr. BUTLER. Would it be in order to consider that resolution continuing the appropriations, the one that was objected to?

Mr. KITCHIN. Under the agreement, which I had typewritten and from which I just read, I hardly think it would be, unless the House would regard the statement I made to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON] on his statement to me as a part of the agreement.

Mr. BUTLER. Then why was it considered this morning? Why was permission asked to consider it this morning?

Mr. LEVER. Any objection to the consideration of the joint resolution would place the responsibility for the defeat of it on the objector.

Mr. BUTLER. That is what I am after. This requires gentlemen to object.

Mr. GILLETT. I disagree with the gentleman from South Carolina. The responsibility for the defeat of the proposition rests with the conferees.

Mr. LEVER. Oh, no; not at all.

Mr. ANDERSON. The conferees had notice of exactly the situation with which they were confronted. I was very careful, as the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] will agree, to give notice of my attitude, in order that the conferees might know exactly the situation that they were running into.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman from Minnesota is correct about that.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I was planning to go home on Wednesday, and I understand that we can go home with the full assurance that no business at all will be transacted until after the elections.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; except under the agreement.

Mr. GILLETT. Just as we had made the agreement.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. Gentlemen here are just as free to go home as they would be if the Senate had passed this concurrent resolution.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, I should like to ask this question. I am not sure whether or not the gentleman covered it this morning—at least, I was not clear as to his answer. When we come back on November 12 is it contemplated then to take up anything or will this gentleman's agreement continue until the Senate has voted on the revenue bill?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; but it is understood that we could send it to conference; that on or after November 12, without the necessity of having a quorum, without the necessity of Members coming back, we could send it to conference.

Mr. WINGO. After November 12 will it be possible to get the House to consider another bill or resolution?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; not under our agreement, excepting to send the revenue bill to conference.

Mr. WINGO. Then it is contemplated, unless some emergency growing out of the war should arise, that there will be no further legislation at this session of Congress except to take care of pending——

Mr. KITCHIN. Except to take care of the revenue bill, unless some emergency shall occur that we do not now contemplate, and in that event the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] and myself will give notice to Members to come here.

Mr. WINGO. If gentlemen go home, there is no necessity for their coming back here, unless they are given notice to come, before the December session?

Mr. KITCHIN. That is practically so.

Mr. McARTHUR. Mr. Speaker, does this contemplate a sine die adjournment of this session?

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, in discussing the matter with Senators SIMMONS and MARTIN of Virginia the other day and this morning before the House met they did contemplate finishing the revenue bill by the 24th, the 25th, or 26th of November and then taking a sine die adjournment. The election will be over then, and I do not think there will be any trouble about that. Pending the election, right now, and the state of mind that some of the Senators find themselves in, it seems impossible to-day to pass this resolution for a recess until the 12th of November, although it may be possible to do so next Thursday.

Mr. McARTHUR. Under the gentleman's agreement entered into, would it be possible for gentlemen living a long distance from here to go away and remain away until the December session?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; unless some emergency should occur.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, if objection is going to be made to the passage of a continuing resolution for this food-stimulation bill, or if the point of no quorum is to be made upon the presentation of such a privileged resolution, what is to happen to the operation of the Department of Agriculture under the terms of the present continuing resolution? They will either have to stop operating or operate in violation of the law.

Mr. KITCHIN. My understanding is that it was said that the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY], stated that the President would have funds enough possibly to enable them to go until the 12th of November.

Mr. LEVER. Out of his lump sum?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. I do not know that the gentleman said that, but I understood that he said it; and that the President would probably take care of the situation until then.

Mr. LEVER. He may have that power, but it makes a very confused situation in the department.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina, to reconsider the vote by which the concurrent resolution was passed, and that all proceedings touching it be vacated?

Mr. KITCHIN. It has been suggested to me that perhaps the best procedure would be, after reconsideration, to ask unanimous consent that the resolution lie on the table. Then it goes to the file room.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it will lie on the table, and the gentleman can introduce another one if he desires. [After a pause.] The Chair hears no objection.

Mr. KITCHIN. That is what I propose to do on Thursday if the Senate is then ready to accept it.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn until Thursday, under the unanimous-consent agreement.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 19 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until Thursday, October 31, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. PADGETT, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 13115) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to acquire additional lands for the naval training station, naval operating base, Hampton Roads, Va., reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 837), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. SHERLEY: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 340) making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of November, 1918, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 341) requesting the President to recommend a day for prayer that the prevailing epidemic may cease; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII,

Mr. POU introduced a bill (H. R. 13120) for the relief of the heirs of Frank W. Knight, which was referred to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. GRAY of Alabama: Memorial of the United Real Estate Owners' Association, calling attention to certain inequities in the revenue bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petitions of E. E. Richards, Bessie Richards, R. Rundolph, and S. G. Bessonall, of Mobile, Ala., urging the passage of the osteopathic bill, H. R. 5407; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *October 31, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we thank Thee for the high sense of moral obligation with which we as a Nation have always addressed ourselves to the tasks that have confronted us. We have rejected utterly the doctrine and philosophy that might makes right, because we believe that right is founded upon the Divine will and that the measure of its authority and power is in the Divine law. So we recognize Thy right to rule, and we seek Thy guidance in all the affairs of our national life. We pray that the God of our fathers may lead us on to larger victory in the future. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Secretary (James M. Baker) read the following communication:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D. C., October 31, 1918.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. JOE T. ROBINSON, a Senator from the State of Arkansas, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

WILLARD SAULSBURY,
President pro tempore.

Mr. ROBINSON thereupon took the chair as Presiding Officer, and directed the Secretary to read the Journal of the proceedings of the preceding session.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of Monday last, and was interrupted by—

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia suggests the absence of a quorum. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I rise to a question of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut will state it.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I make the point of order that the suggestion of the absence of a quorum can not be made until the reading of the Journal has been completed. I refer the Chair on that question to page 485 of Gilfry's Precedents, where it is ruled that "the reading of the Journal can not be interrupted by making the point of order that no quorum is present."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair thinks the point of order is well taken. The point, however, comes late.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I realize that it comes late; but I do not think it comes too late, inasmuch as no announcement has been made upon the question of a quorum, and inasmuch as it is the duty of the Chair to direct the Journal to be read and not to entertain the question of the absence of a quorum during the reading of the Journal.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will conclude the reading of the Journal. The Chair hears no objection.

The Secretary resumed and concluded the reading of the Journal of Monday's proceedings, and it was approved.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia suggests the absence of a quorum. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Beckham	Hardwick	McNary	Robinson
Benet	Hitchcock	Martin, Va.	Sheppard
Brandegee	Kendrick	Myers	Simmons
Chamberlain	Kirby	Nugent	Smith, Ga.
Culberson	Knox	Page	Smoot
Dillingham	La Follette	Phelan	Thomas
Fletcher	Lenroot	Pittman	Underwood
France	McCumber	Poindexter	Warren

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. BANKHEAD] on account of sickness. He is in the city but confined to his room.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I desire to state that the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH] is absent on account of illness, and that the junior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. VARDAMAN] is absent on public business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Thirty-two Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is not present.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I move that the Senate adjourn.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. On that motion I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MYERS (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MCLEAN]. In his absence I transfer my pair to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. GUION] and vote "yea."

Mr. SIMMONS (when his name was called). I have a pair with the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG], which I transfer to the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS] and vote "yea."

Mr. SMITH of Georgia (when his name was called). I transfer my general pair with the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] and vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN (when his name was called). Transferring my general pair with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. OVERMAN] to the Senator from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND], I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. FLETCHER. I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDELL] and vote "yea."

Mr. HARDWICK. I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. CURTIS]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. WILFLEY] and vote "yea."

Mr. DILLINGHAM (after having voted in the negative). I have already voted, but I observe that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH], with whom I have a general pair is not present. I therefore transfer my pair with him to the Senator from Indiana [Mr. NEW] and allow my vote to stand.

Mr. BECKHAM (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. SUTHERLAND]. He is not present. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] and allow my vote to stand.

Mr. KENDRICK. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES] and vote "yea."

Mr. UNDERWOOD (after having voted in the affirmative). I transfer my general pair with the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HARDING] to the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] and allow my vote to stand.

Mr. SMOOT. I have been requested to announce the following pairs:

The Senator from New York [Mr. CALDER] with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY];

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT] with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY];

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] with the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH];

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS];

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN] with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. THOMPSON];

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED];

The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. STERLING] with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH]; and

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON] with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WOLCOTT].

The result was announced—yeas 21, nays 12, as follows:

YEAS—21.

Beckham	Hitchcock	Phelan	Smith, Ga.
Benet	Kendrick	Pittman	Thomas
Chamberlain	Kirby	Robinson	Underwood
Culberson	Martin, Va.	Sheppard	
Fletcher	Myers	Simmons	
Hardwick	Nugent	Smith, Ariz.	

NAYS—12.

Brandegee	Knox	McCumber	Poindexter
Dillingham	La Follette	McNary	Smoot
France	Lenroot	Page	Warren

NOT VOTING—63.

Ashurst	Guion	Martin, Ky.	Smith, S. C.
Baird	Hale	Nelson	Sterling
Bankhead	Harding	New	Sutherland
Borah	Henderson	Norris	Swanson
Calder	Hollis	Overman	Thompson
Colt	Johnson, Cal.	Owen	Townsend
Cummins	Johnson, S. Dak.	Penrose	Trammell
Curtis	Jones, N. Mex.	Pomerene	Vardaman
Drew	Jones, Wash.	Ransdell	Wadsworth
Fall	Kellogg	Reed	Walsh
Fernald	Kenyon	Saulsbury	Watson
Frelinghuysen	King	Shafroth	Weeks
Gerry	Lewis	Sherman	Wilfley
Goff	Lodge	Shields	Williams
Gore	McKellar	Smith, Md.	Wolcott
Gronna	McLean	Smith, Mich.	

So the motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, November 1, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *October 31, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father who art in heaven, pour out, we beseech Thee, upon us abundantly of Thy spirit, and inspire us to high ideals, quicken us to worthy endeavors, and free us from the contamination of sin and evil, that we may leave behind us day by day a record of which we may be justly proud, and thus hallow Thy name; in the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday, October 28, 1918, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment House bills of the following titles:

H. R. 7637. An act to authorize the construction and maintenance of a dike on Depot Slough, Lincoln County, Oreg.;

H. R. 11949. An act to extend the time for the construction of a bridge across Pearl River between Pearl River County, Miss., and Washington Parish, La.;

H. R. 10205. An act to provide for the consolidation of National banking associations;

H. R. 12631. An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Winnebago, in the State of Illinois, and the town of Rockford, in said county and State, to construct a bridge across Rock River at or near Camp Grant; and

H. R. 12773. An act to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Little Calumet River, in Cook County, State of Illinois, at or near the village of Riverdale, in said county.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following House bills with amendments, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

H. R. 11709. An act granting the consent of Congress to Norman County, Minn., and Traill County, N. Dak., to construct a bridge across the Red River of the North on the boundary line between said States; and

H. R. 11948. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Great Southern Lumber Co., a corporation of the State of Pennsylvania, doing business in the State of Mississippi, to construct a bridge across Pearl River at or near the north line of section 22, township 8 north, range 21 west, west of the basis meridian, in the land district east of Pearl River, in the State of Mississippi.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following bill, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 4966. An act to extend the time for the construction by the Gulf Ports Terminal Railways Co., a corporation existing under the laws of the State of Florida, of a bridge or bridges and trestles over and across the headwaters of Mobile Bay, and such navigable channels as are between the east side of the bay and Blakeley Island, in Baldwin and Mobile Counties, Ala.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, announced that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the following titles, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 11949. An act to extend the time for the construction of a bridge across Pearl River, between Pearl River County, Miss., and Washington Parish, La.;

H. R. 7637. An act to authorize the construction and maintenance of a dike on Depot Slough, Lincoln County, Oreg.;

H. R. 12773. An act to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Little Calumet River, in Cook County, State of Illinois, at or near the village of Riverdale, in said county;

H. R. 12631. An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Winnebago, in the State of Illinois, and the town of Rockford, in said county and State, to construct a bridge across Rock River at or near Camp Grant; and

H. R. 10205. An act to provide for the consolidation of national banking associations.

APPROPRIATION FOR FOOD PRODUCTION.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Appropriations be discharged from further consideration of House joint resolution 340, and that the resolution be now considered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to discharge the Committee on Appropriations from further consideration of the joint resolution, which the Clerk will report by title, and to take it up for immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

House joint resolution 340, making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of November, 1918, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I take it that this is the continuing resolution for the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. This is the same resolution that was introduced the other day by the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. ANDERSON. Reserving the right to object, I would like to submit an observation or two, with the gentleman's permission. Mr. Speaker, I have thought that the passage of the food-stimulation bill immediately was of paramount importance because of the very important legislation which that bill carried. I have thought that there ought to be no further delay in the passage of rent-profiteering legislation in the District of Columbia; and so far as I could by my single action compel or help to compel the conferees to come to some agreement upon that bill, I have taken that action. It is evident that there is not a quorum of the House in town; and it is therefore evident that it is not now possible, because of the lack of a quorum, to compel any action on the part of the conferees in connection with this bill, one way or the other. I have felt that the conferees were not entirely fair in taking advantage of the situation which they and which we all knew existed in the House by reason of the lack of a quorum. Bnt there is no advantage now to be gained in this situation by depriving the Department of Agriculture of the necessary funds to carry on its activities. There would be no object in my objecting to this resolution further, because it would have no result in the direction I desire results to be achieved. Therefore, so far as I have objected heretofore, I withdraw the objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object, and I trust no one will object, to the consideration of this resolution—we find ourselves in the rather unfortunate and regrettable situation with regard to this legislation. The Senate placed upon the bill as it was passed by the House much new legislation, entirely unrelated to the bill and its subject matter as it passed the House. The House conferees are clearly within their rights, clearly following the rule, in insisting that this new legislation, entirely unrelated to the bill, shall go off. At the same time it is regrettable that a condition exists under which it seems impossible to get an understanding between the two bodies on this matter of rent profiteering in the District. It is tremendously important that something be done.

Mr. LEVER. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. LEVER. The gentleman has been for a long time a Member of this body and one of its most distinguished Members. Does the gentleman feel that the House conferees on this rent proposition could take any other course than that which they have taken?

Mr. MONDELL. I have no disposition to criticize the House conferees, and I do not criticize them. Their attitude is the correct attitude so far as it affects the general proposition of legislation. And it is an attitude that the House must in the main maintain if legislation, passed by the House, is to be even reasonably confined to the subject matter to which it relates.

Mr. LEVER. Will the gentleman yield again?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. LEVER. Is not the proposition involved here more than the gentleman states? Does it not go to the point of the House allowing the Senate practically to name the House conferees on a disputed proposition, and therefore making this a very peculiar case?

Mr. MONDELL. The position which is taken by the other body is one which is equivalent to an attempt to force the hand of the House in the matter of legislation, and the way in which legislation shall be presented.

Mr. LEVER. Exactly.

Mr. MONDELL. And I have no criticism to make of the attitude of the conferees. However, I do suggest——

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. I will, if the gentleman will allow me, in one moment. I do suggest that it is unfortunate that a condition exists under which it seems to have been impossible up to this time to secure an agreement in Congress on this highly important matter of rent profiteering. It is highly regrettable. A great many people are suffering and suffering greatly.

Now, I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ANDERSON. I just wanted to suggest that some gentlemen of the House had contributed considerably to the attitude of the Senate on this matter.

Mr. MONDELL. That is unquestionably true, emphatically true.

Mr. LEVER. But be that true or not, the House must maintain its right of legislating in its own way, and of appointing its own conferees on disputed propositions. The gentleman would not controvert that proposition, I am sure.

Mr. MONDELL. I should not put it in just the way the gentleman has put it, that the House must preserve its right to legislate in its own way; but the House should preserve, as far as possible, orderly procedure in legislation, and that is the question involved here.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. I yield.

Mr. TOWNER. Does the gentleman believe that under any circumstances the mere objection by the Senate to the personnel and to the personal actions and personal comments of a Member of the House would be a justification for their refusing to have anything to do with the conferees appointed by the House?

Mr. MONDELL. If I may, without transgressing the rules, express any opinion on that subject, I should say, "No"; no justification for a refusal to act because of something that might have been said by some Member of the House. There has been a way open, the orderly, usual way, to reach this matter of rent profiteering in the District. The matter can be adjusted at any time. The House stands ready to adjust it in the usual way, through legislation for that purpose, unattached to other legislation having to do with other matters. The attitude of the House according to accepted rules and practices, is correct, entirely correct in this matter, although I regret the situation that obtains.

Mr. LEVER. I am sure we all do, if the gentleman will permit me to interrupt him. But is not this other proposition true, that when an ungermane proposition is put upon a bill by either of the bodies, when the proposition has reached a deadlock, is it not the custom that the offending body putting on the ungermane proposition should recede?

Mr. MONDELL. I think there is no question or doubt in the mind of anyone as to that rule. That is the usual rule, insisted upon by both Houses in a case of that kind.

Now, Mr. Speaker, just one word more. I have no disposition to impugn anyone's motives in regard to this or any other legislation, but the legislation that is held up by reason of the failure to secure agreement is of tremendous importance.

First, the agricultural stimulation provisions are very important at this time. We are trying to cure the failure to provide, as that bill does, for agricultural stimulation, so far as we can, by the passage of this resolution, but we do not meet the situation wholly by the passage of this resolution, because the appropriations that we continue in force are not as great and far-reaching as those carried in the bill, and they do not cover all agricultural fields as do the provisions in the bill that is now in conference, so that we only partly meet the situation by the passage of this resolution, but we meet it as far as we can under the circumstances.

Now, in addition to these provisions of the bill is the tremendously important provision of the bill which would establish a condition of war prohibition throughout the Union on the 1st of July. We all know that there are folks who do not care to have that legislation pass, to put it very mildly and moderately. There are folks that are very insistent that it shall not be passed. I do not say that the attitude of anyone elsewhere than in this House—certainly the attitude of no one in this House—I will not say the attitude of anyone elsewhere in regard to the matters in question is affected by their desire to defeat the enactment of prohibition legislation, but I may very properly say, I think, that the attitude of certain gentlemen who are responsible for the present condition of things—gentlemen who do not sit in this Chamber—has prevented the enactment of this very important prohibition legislation desired and approved by the administration, and in harmony with the judgment of a great majority of the American people. Surely the House is not responsible for the fact that a reasonable District antirent-profiteering law is not on the statute books. The House is not responsible, because this agricultural stimulation bill, with its needed appropriations, is not a law. The House is not responsible because the prohibition legislation is not upon the statute books. I think it is important that that should be understood.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. The gentleman is entirely correct in stating that the House is not responsible for this situation, and is not responsible for the failure of the final passage of this bill up to the present time. My recollection is that this bill passed the House on May 23 and went to the Senate, where it was held up until September 19 before it was passed by the Senate at all. Then, when it passed the Senate, it came back to the House loaded down with riders which had absolutely no connection whatever of any kind, description, or order with the subject matter of this bill. Among them was the rent proposition known as the Pomerene bill, which was added to this bill bodily, when the Senate knew necessarily at the time the conditions that existed in reference to that. Therefore the conferees on the part of the House, under the expressed view of the House, as had been demonstrated by unanimous action taken by the House, contended that in view of the fact that this was not germane to the bill and had no connection whatever with the bill, and was not related in any way to the subject matter of the bill, it should go off the bill, and they are the ones that have stood uncompromisingly all the time demanding that this question shall be considered by the conferees under those conditions. Being one of the conferees, I took the position that legislation of that character having been put on by the other body, it was their duty to recede; but they stubbornly refused, and so we are not responsible, but the other body is responsible.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Mississippi is eminently correct.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and the Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 340) making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of November, 1918, and for other purposes.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the provisions of the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government and of the District of Columbia for the months of July and August, 1918, and for other purposes," approved July 8, 1918, so far as they relate to the support of food-production operations of the Department of Agriculture heretofore provided for by law, are extended and continued in full force and effect for and during the month of November, 1918.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

LIEUT. ROYAL C. JOHNSON.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a cable news item which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of last evening, giving an account of the wounding in battle of Lieut. ROYAL C. JOHNSON, the very able and distinguished young Representative in this House from the second congressional district of South Dakota. The cable-

gram briefly describes the brave and gallant manner in which Lieut. JOHNSON led the men of his company over the top on September 13 at Montfaucon, and although wounded by shrapnel continued the offensive with his men until the strongly fortified German position was taken from the enemy. His fearless conduct under fire confirms the opinion his friends have always had as to the genuine American fighting blood and spirit that he possesses.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Dakota asks unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a cablegram printed in the Evening Star, referring to the wounding of Lieut. ROYAL C. JOHNSON. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The article referred to is as follows:

SEEKING CONGRESS SEAT, ALSO FIGHTS—LIEUT. JOHNSON, SOUTH DAKOTA REPRESENTATIVE, AROUSES SOLDIER ENTHUSIASM—LAUD COURAGE IN FRANCE.

WITH THE AMERICAN ARMY AT THE FRONT, *October 30.*

"If we could only move Baltimore into South Dakota next week we would reelect the big fellow unanimously, for he went right through with us and is a real guy," said Pvt. Tom O'Leary, of Company K, Thirteenth Infantry.

The subject of his praise was Lieut. ROYAL C. JOHNSON, Representative from the second district in South Dakota, who returned to his regiment to-day after recovering from wounds received in the unit's latest fighting.

LED COMPANY IN FIGHT.

Lieut. JOHNSON, after the other officers were wounded, led his company on September 13 when the Seventy-ninth Division, of which his regiment is a part, stormed and captured the historic German observation post Montfaucon. Though wounded in the hail of shrapnel the Germans sent over during the attack, he persisted in remaining with the company until the objective was reached, when he was relieved by another officer. A surgeon insisted that he be sent to an evacuation hospital.

It is the second time that Lieut. JOHNSON has been in a hospital service station. When he was rejected for entrance into the Army he went to a hospital, had an operation performed, applied a second time, and was accepted. The men in his company, practically all hailing from Baltimore, gave him a hilarious welcome when he returned. His fellow officers were surprised at the rapidity of his recovery. An informal dinner in his honor was arranged by Maj. Thomas Miller, of Wilmington, Del., one of the staff officers. It was as sumptuous as possible, considering that only Army fare was available.

KIND OF MEN THEY WANT.

Lieut. JOHNSON, though fighting in France, is running for reelection next week.

Maj. FIORELLO H. LAGUARDIA, of New York City, is said to be the only other Congressman member of the overseas forces.

The men in khaki enthusiastically declare that these courageous officers are the kind of men they want as Representatives in Congress, thus giving a hint as to the complexion of future American elective bodies.

SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE.

The SPEAKER. The Chair wishes to make a short statement. Of course, as everybody knows, the Speaker is confined in the city of Washington more closely than any other man connected with the Government. The rest of the Members can pull out at most any time, but the Speaker has to stay here. The Chair wishes to go home and vote. He does not think there is the remotest possibility of his vote changing the result in that district, but he has been here so long that he would like to go home long enough to vote. Therefore the Chair asks the House to elect a Speaker pro tempore so that he may be able to sign bills while the Speaker is away, which will be only for next week.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. GARRETT, be elected by the House as Speaker pro tempore in the absence of the Speaker until the 12th of November, or until the Speaker returns if he should sooner return, with the power to sign bills and resolutions.

The SPEAKER. That is the only reason for electing a Speaker pro tempore—so that he may sign bills and resolutions. The Chair could appoint him for one day, but he would not be authorized to sign bills.

Mr. MONDELL. We shall all regret the absence of the Speaker, and hope he will have a pleasant journey and a delightful visit home, and that he will receive a large majority, notwithstanding the President's letter. [Laughter and applause.] I am sure we will be delighted to have the House presided over by the gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. GARRETT, during the Speaker's absence.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from North Carolina.

The question was taken, and the motion was agreed to.

RECESS.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I presume it will be better to take a recess until to-morrow. While the Senate appear to be in a bad humor to-day they may conclude to agree upon the continuing resolution, and if so it can be signed to-morrow. I ask unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until to-morrow at 12 o'clock noon.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 26 minutes p. m.) the House took a recess until to-morrow, Friday, November 1, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting deficiency estimate of appropriation required by the Public Health Service (H. Doc. No. 1335); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII,

Mr. SLOAN introduced a bill (H. R. 13121) to transfer the administration of Article III, the compensation for death or disability division of the war-risk insurance act, to the Pension Bureau, which was referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GRIEST: A bill (H. R. 13122) granting a pension to Alice G. Sturgis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MANN: A bill (H. R. 13123) granting a pension to Jane H. Zimmerman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SLOAN: A bill (H. R. 13124) granting special pension to George Baldwin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SMALL: A bill (H. R. 13125) granting a pension to Joseph R. Owens; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of Idaho: A bill (H. R. 13126) granting patent to next of kin of deceased soldiers, sailors, and marines who had entered upon the public land; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. CARY: Petitions of the George Zeigler Co. and the Badger Candy Co., of Milwaukee, and of the G. R. & W. R. Montague Co., of La Crosse, all of the State of Wisconsin, objecting to the proposed tax on the manufacturers' sale of candy; also the petition of the C. W. Fischer Furniture Co., of Milwaukee, Wis., protesting against the proposed 10 per cent floor tax on inventory; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KING: Resolution of the Col. L. W. Shepherd Post, No. 628, Department of Illinois, Grand Army of the Republic, protesting against the placing of a statue of Gen. E. Kirby Smith in the Hall of Fame at Washington, D. C.; to the Committee on the Library.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *November 1, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we come before Thee seeking Thy continued guidance and blessing upon us. When Thou didst call us out of our security and peace to face tremendous responsibilities and sacrifices we went forward under Thy guidance. To-day, as we face yet greater responsibilities that seem to come upon us, we seek the Divine guidance and blessing, that we may measure up to the increasing responsibilities of reconstruction. Guide us this day in the discharge of our duties. For Christ's sake. Amen.

NAMING A PRESIDING OFFICER.

The Secretary (James M. Baker) read the following communication:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D. C., November 1, 1918.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. JOE T. ROBINSON, a Senator from the State of Arkansas, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

WILLARD SAULSBURY,
President pro tempore.

Mr. ROBINSON thereupon took the chair as Presiding Officer.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 340) making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of November, 1918, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills, and they were thereupon signed by the Presiding Officer:

H. R. 7637. An act to authorize the construction and maintenance of a dike on Depot Slough, Lincoln County, Oreg.;

H. R. 10205. An act to provide for the consolidation of national banking associations;

H. R. 11949. An act to extend the time for the construction of a bridge across Pearl River, between Pearl River County, Miss., and Washington Parish, La.;

H. R. 12631. An act granting the consent of Congress to the County of Winnebago, in the State of Illinois, and the town of Rockford, in said county and State, to construct a bridge across Rock River, at or near Camp Grant; and

H. R. 12773. An act to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Little Calumet River, in Cook County, State of Illinois, at or near the village of Riverdale, in said county.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. SIMMONS. I ask to have printed in the RECORD a telegram relating to war work.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 11, 1918.*

LLOYD ENGLAND,
Chairman Arkansas State Council of Defense,
Boyle Building, Little Rock, Ark.:

Am mailing you to-day, special delivery, President's letter, which I quote, as follows:

"THE WHITE HOUSE,
"*Washington, October 9, 1918.*

"MR. LLOYD ENGLAND,
"*Chairman Arkansas State Council of Defense,*
"*Boyle Building, Little Rock, Ark.*

"MY DEAR MR. ENGLAND: Allow me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of October 8 and to express my sincere interest in the farmer's 'give-a-bushel war fund.' It is a most interesting and effective way to help in this time of special need, and I am very glad to express my approval not only but my admiration of it.

"Cordially and sincerely, yours,
WOODROW WILSON."

JOE T. ROBINSON,
United States Senator.

Mr. PHELAN presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce, of San Diego, Cal., praying for the further extension of the motor-truck service of the United States Postal Department, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

Mr. NELSON presented memorials of sundry candy manufacturers in the State of Minnesota, remonstrating against the imposition of a 10 per cent sales tax in the pending revenue bill, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented memorials of the Security State Bank, of Isle; the State Bank of Mayer; the Lowry State Bank, of Lowry; the People's First National Bank, of Olivia; the First National Bank of Eveleth; the Western State Bank, of Duluth; the First National Bank of Frazee; the Pennington County Bankers' Association; the Scandia American Bank, of Crookston; the Security State Bank, of Delavan; the First National Bank of Northfield; the Farmers' State Bank, of Rapidan; the First National Bank of Winnebago; the Wolverton State Bank, of Wolverton; the People's State Bank, of Cannon Falls; the Rock County Bank, of Luverne; the State Bank of Spooner; the Deposit Bank, of Winona; the First State Bank of South Haven; the Minnetonka State Bank, of Excelsior; and the First National Bank of Brainerd, all in the State of Minnesota, remonstrating against the proposed stamp tax on bank checks in the pending revenue bill, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED.

A bill and joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. MCNARY:

A bill (S. 5015) for the relief of Preston B. C. Lucas; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FLETCHER:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 182) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to amendments; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask that the joint resolution just received from the House of Representatives continuing the Agricultural emergency appropriations may be laid before the Senate.

The joint resolution (H. J. Res. 340) making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of November, 1918, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the joint resolution.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, has the joint resolution been read?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution is before the Senate.

Mr. SMOOT. I asked whether the joint resolution had been read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the joint resolution.

The Secretary read the joint resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the provisions of the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government and of the District of Columbia for the months of July and August, 1918, and for other purposes," approved July 8, 1918, so far as they relate to the support of food production operations of the Department of Agriculture heretofore provided for by law, are extended and continued in full force and effect for and during the month of November, 1918.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I am quite sure there is no objection to the passage of the joint resolution.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Then let us pass it.

Mr. SMOOT. I will let the joint resolution pass in just a moment.

Mr. President, the secretary of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] has handed me a telegram from Albuquerque, N. Mex. The beginning of the telegram is as follows:

Senator FALL, who is still completely occupied in fighting the epidemic of influenza among members of his family and his ranch employees, requests me to wire you the following correspondence, with the request that you read it in the Senate.

I am not going to take the time, Mr. President, to read the telegram, but I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I did not catch the nature of the telegram.

Mr. SMOOT. I will read the telegram if the Senator desires that I shall do so.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. That is not necessary; the Senator can state it.

Mr. SMOOT. The telegram is to Senator LODGE, and it begins by saying:

Senator FALL, who is still completely occupied in fighting the epidemic of influenza among members of his family and his ranch employees, requests me to wire you the following correspondence, with the request that you read it in the Senate.

The telegram refers to charges by the President against Senator FALL and Senator FALL's statement in answer to same.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, will the Senator be kind enough to state the nature of the President's letter about Senator FALL?

Mr. SMOOT. I will state that the charges were published in the press throughout the country.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Well, I did not see them.

Mr. SMOOT. The President's letter was in answer to a telegram received from one W. P. Metcalf, of New Mexico, asking whether Senator FALL's election would be satisfactory to him, and the President's answer was, as has been the case in all such instances, that Senator FALL's election would be very objectionable to him, and he hoped that Senator FALL would not be elected.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I trust Senator FALL has not withdrawn from the campaign on that account.

Mr. SMOOT. I can assure the Senator that he has not.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair hears no objection to the request of the Senator from Utah, and the telegram will be printed in the RECORD.

The telegram is as follows:

ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX., *October 31, 1918.*

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Senator FALL, who is still completely occupied in fighting the epidemic of influenza among members of his family and his ranch employees requests me to wire you the following correspondence, with the request that you read it in the Senate.

GEORGE R. CRAIG,
Chairman New Mexico Republican Committee.

[First. Copy of a telegram from W. P. Metcalf, Socialist candidate for the Senate from New Mexico and a Democratic supporter.]

ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX., *October 26.*

President WOODROW WILSON,
Washington, D. C.:

Political friends of Senator FALL are claiming that he has earnestly and sympathetically given your administration his support during the war. It is also claimed that his reelection would be satisfactory to you and that you will be willing to depend upon his support in settling our foreign relations at the conclusion of the war. Will you be kind enough to indicate your view regarding these matters for the benefit of those citizens of New Mexico who want to give you their whole support in this crisis.

(Signed) W. P. METCALF.

[Second. Copy of a telegram from Woodrow Wilson, in reply to above.]

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D. C., October 28.

W. P. METCALF,
Albuquerque, N. Mex.:

Your question whether I would be willing to depend upon Senator FALL'S support in settling our foreign relations is easily answered. I would not. He has given such repeated evidence of his entire hostility to this administration that I would be ignoring his whole course of action if I did. No one who wishes to sustain me can intelligently vote for him. If that is the issue the voters of New Mexico wish to vote upon, it is easily determined.

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

The two above-quoted telegrams were published by the Democratic State committee of New Mexico in a full-page newspaper advertisement decorated with the American flag upheld by a soldier and a sailor, and stating in adding to the two telegrams the following:

"Metcalf question and the President's answer. No one who wishes to sustain Woodrow Wilson can intelligently vote for ALBERT BACON FALL for the United States Senate. Straight from the White House, where our great President is directing the destinies of our soldiers and sailors on land and sea. Like a bolt of lighting from a cloudless New Mexico sky, this telegram came yesterday to the voters of this State, characteristic of Woodrow Wilson, frank, fearless, a blow from the shoulder. Men of New Mexico, think deeply and well in this great crisis. Sink personal preference, abandon deeply rooted political prejudice, awaken to the needs of the Nation. Respond to the call of a great leader. Send W. B. WALTON to the United States Senate and Granville A. Richardson to Congress. Do what the President asks you to do."

[Third. Copy of a telegram from Senator ALBERT B. FALL to the chairman of the Republican State committee.]

Hon. GEORGE R. CRAIG,
Chairman, Albuquerque, N. Mex.:

Your wire repeating the President's message to Mr. Metcalf, saying, among other things, in reference to my candidacy, "No one who wishes to sustain me can intelligently vote for him," received. In the interests of democracy, decency, and the good name of our country, I am glad this telegram is only signed "Woodrow Wilson," and not as President, although Mr. Wilson never has understood this distinction. I always have. It is true that Roosevelt, LODGE, and others in 1898 appealed to the voters to stand by McKinley when the Democrats in Congress were not doing so. This attitude of that party, followed by their platform in 1900, is the principal reason I quit that party. The martyred McKinley, then President and Commander in Chief, had too high a conception or his great office to appeal in a partisan way to the voters. I have always stood by President Wilson, and despite his cruel and partisan appeal I will continue to do so until the 4th of March next, at any rate so long as he stands by the country, and I will as heretofore give him the benefit of the doubt. I will, however, support no Bolsheviki-German peace, nor will the great people of Britain, France, Italy, and other allies, nor the people of this country allow such a peace to be made. This is my only public utterance since my nomination and must be the last during the campaign. I left my wife, one daughter, and four grandchildren four days since in Alamogordo convalescing, thanks to that Almighty Power to which all but Kaisers in Germany and elsewhere eventually turn. I came here to give medicine and what care is possible to 10 of my people living on ranch who are yet alive and convalescing. There have been several deaths among them. We have no physician. Am returning to Alamo Gordo to-day for a few hours, for the purpose of bringing home my wife and the remaining members of my family.

ALBERT B. FALL.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

RECESS.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, in order that the joint resolution containing the Agricultural appropriations may be perfected, it will have to go back to the House. Therefore, I suggest that the Senate take a recess until 2 o'clock p. m.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator if it is really necessary for the Senate to recess?

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. In order to perfect the joint resolution and make it effective to-day, it is necessary for it to be returned to the House for enrollment. The House will notify us that it has been signed by the Speaker, and then it will be signed by the Presiding Officer of the Senate.

Mr. SMOOT. Then I will ask the Senator if he will not make the hour 3 o'clock instead of 2 o'clock?

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I will be very glad to make it 3 o'clock.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I hope the matter can be arranged without interfering with the meeting of the Finance Committee this afternoon.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, the reason why I suggested 3 o'clock was that the appointments that we make ahead—and I refer to members of the Finance Committee—are between the hours when the committee adjourns and meets again in the afternoon. That is the only time we have to meet men that come in from different parts of the country to consult with members of that committee. There is no need of the committee adjourning and no need of our coming here at all if the purpose of the session is simply to enable the Presiding Officer to sign the joint resolution.

Mr. SIMMONS. Then I see no objection to making it half past 2 o'clock, so as not to interfere in any way with the deliberations of the Finance Committee.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I will suggest that it be made 1.45. I am informed that the joint resolution can be completed by that time. I therefore will change my motion, and move that the Senate take a recess until 1.45 p. m.

The motion was agreed to.

At the expiration of the recess the Senate reassembled.

STIMULATION OF AGRICULTURE.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, we are waiting for the joint resolution from the House, which will be here in a few minutes. It only requires the approval of the Presiding Officer; and I hope at the end of that time we will be able, by consent, to adjourn until Monday. We have no quorum. It is really impossible for us to transact business with reference to any matter where there is a division of opinion. For this reason we can not dispose of the Agricultural bill with the provision intended to protect war workers from profiteers.

I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Monday morning at 12 o'clock.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, we can hardly consent to that now. As long as we are going to wait until the joint resolution comes over, I think the Senator had better wait until then and make the request at that time.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Then, Mr. President, I do not press the request at this time, as of course I can not obtain unanimous consent unless everybody consents.

The situation with reference to the Agricultural bill is this, and I think it due the Senate that it should be brought to the attention of the Senate:

There is an agreement between the two Houses on all of the features of the bill except the amendment placed upon the bill with a view to checking profiteering in the District of Columbia. The relation between the two Houses on this subject dates back to last May. The House passed a bill looking to the control of profiteering, providing for the forfeiture in taxes of excess charges. The Senate did not accept the view of the House, at least in part, because the Senate did not desire the excess charges collected from the tenants. The Senate substitute prepared for the House bill was along the line of checking the original excess charges. I have not, however, studied the House bill with sufficient care to discuss it.

It may be that the Senate substitute was not perfect. I would change it without any hesitation myself in a number of respects if I could; an effort was made through the conferees to accomplish an adjustment and to bring about legislation, when, on account of letters written and words spoken, our Senate conferees were not willing to meet, in view of the criticism placed upon them, with the House conferees.

Mr. PAGE. Mr. President, before we proceed to adjourn for to-day, would it be proper for me to ask the Senator if he thinks there is any probability of an agreement between the two Houses?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I was just coming to that; and I will try to answer the question.

The Senate agreed with the view that the references made by the House conferees, or by the chairman of the House conferees, to the Senate conferees were so offensive that we could not ask them to confer longer with the House conferees. Certainly the attitude of the chairman of the House conferees did not indicate the possibility of the kind of conference each body would desire. Now, there was a very simple remedy. We discharged our conferees. The remedy was for the House to discharge its conferees and give us new conferees, whom the Senate would have promptly met, and the legislation might have been agreed on. I will not criticize the House conferees or criticize the House. If I did I would be drifting in the direction of conduct which I am myself disposed to criticize.

The original bill and the Senate substitute can be brought before both Houses at any time by action upon the part of the House appointing new conferees. If the House insists on refusing to legislate through the Post Office Committee, and will give

us a new set of conferees from the District Committee, the Senate will promptly name conferees.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do.

Mr. LENROOT. Is the Senator correct in saying that the Senate conferees upon that bill have been discharged? That is not my recollection, but simply that they have been instructed not to meet the House conferees.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I think I have here a copy of the resolution discharging the conferees.

Mr. McCUMBER. I thought it was merely excusing them from service.

Mr. LENROOT. That is all.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I will read the resolution:

Resolved, That the managers on the part of the Senate on said bill be, and they are hereby, excused from further service as such managers until otherwise ordered by the Senate, and that the Secretary of the Senate be directed to transmit a copy of this resolution to the House of Representatives.

Mr. McCUMBER. Does the Senator regard that as equivalent to a discharge of the conferees—merely excusing them on account of the statements that were made by the chairman of the House conferees?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. They are excused from further action.

Mr. LENROOT. Until otherwise ordered by the Senate; but it leaves the conferees still in existence.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. But the transmission of that resolution to the House is an invitation from the Senate to the House to name other conferees.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Certainly.

Mr. LENROOT. The passage of the resolution by the Senate did not change the parliamentary situation; and there is no way that I know of in which the matter can be brought before the House unless the Senate shall take affirmative action discharging its conferees, which has not yet been done.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. My own view was that that resolution was tantamount to the discharge of the Senate conferees. It relieved them from further duty. It sent the original and substitute to the House with the information that the Senate conferees were relieved. It did not undertake in any way to dictate to the House, but I feel sure Senators hoped the House, in view of what had happened, would ask a continuation of conferences with new conferees.

Mr. PAGE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Vermont?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do.

Mr. PAGE. I am quite willing to remain here an indefinite time if it will do any good in the matter of closing up this long-continued dispute; but before we adjourn I should like to have something as definite as the Senator can give us as to the probabilities of closing the dispute.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. What I was going to say was simply this: I see but two ways to bring it to a close. Either new conferees must be appointed from the Committee on the District of Columbia, or the House must agree to take up with us the amendment put upon the Agricultural bill. Those two ways only are open.

Mr. PAGE. If it is proper for me to ask the question, Have not the House conferees virtually said to us that under no circumstances would they consider a further meeting on this matter?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The conferees on the Agricultural bill have, but that subject has not come before a full House; and, as the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] suggested, when a full House deals with that subject they may be so interested in stopping profiteering in the District that they may take different action. So my own view is to let the whole matter go over until next week, when, after the election, there probably will be more Members of the House and the Senate present. I do not think we should undertake to dispose of it until that time.

Mr. PAGE. The Senator then has sincere hopes that something may be effected?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I always have a very hopeful disposition. I would not like anyone else to predicate action upon my hopes; but let us try again in some way to obtain action. Let us hope if the House will not accept legislation on the Agricultural bill some other plan of action will come from the House. The first bill prepared in the House by the District Committee and the Senate substitute are now in the House with the action of the Senate. I do not believe a deliberative body exists which, under similar circumstances, would have acted with more consideration than the Senate. My great respect for the House leads me to hope for some action which will make legislation possible.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Certainly.

Mr. LENROOT. If the Senator will examine the debate on that resolution, I think he will find that the question was raised as to whether a motion would be in order later to discharge the Senate conferees and ask for another conference, and the Presiding Officer informally held that such a motion would be in order. It was not the thought of the Senate that these conferees should be discharged by that action.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. With the bill and substitute in the House probably action must first take place there.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, informed the Senate that, in the absence of the Speaker and by leave of the House, the House had appointed Hon. FINIS J. GARRETT, one of the Representatives from the State of Tennessee, as Speaker pro tempore.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker pro tempore of the House had signed the enrolled joint resolution (H. J. Res. 340) making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of November, 1918, and for other purposes, and it was thereupon signed by the Presiding Officer.

CALLING OF THE ROLL.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I move that the Senate adjourn until Monday next at 12 o'clock meridian.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia moves that the Senate adjourn until Monday next at 12 o'clock meridian.

Mr. McCUMBER. That is a motion to adjourn to a time certain, is it not?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is.

Mr. McCUMBER. And that motion is open to debate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Then, Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. McCUMBER. I was about to do the same thing myself.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia suggests the absence of a quorum. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Benet	La Follette	Nelson	Smith, Ariz.
Culberson	Lenroot	Page	Smith, Ga.
Fletcher	McCumber	Poindexter	
Hardwick	McNary	Robinson	
Hitchcock	Martin, Va.	Simmons	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Seventeen Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is not present.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I move that the Senate adjourn.

Mr. McCUMBER. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. UNDERWOOD (when Mr. BANKHEAD's name was called). I desire to announce the unavoidable absence from the Chamber of my colleague Mr. BANKHEAD, on account of sickness.

Mr. FLETCHER (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDELL] and vote "yea."

Mr. HARDWICK (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. CURTIS]. In the absence of that Senator I transfer my pair to the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. WILFLEY] and vote "yea."

Mr. McCUMBER (when his name was called). I transfer my general pair with the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] to the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. NEW] and vote "nay."

Mr. SIMMONS (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG] to the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS] and vote "yea."

Mr. SMITH of Georgia (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] and vote "yea."

Mr. UNDERWOOD (when his name was called). I transfer my general pair with the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HARDING] to the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] and vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. SMOOT. The junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. FRANCE] is necessarily detained from the Senate to-day, and he requested me to make that announcement.

Mr. FLETCHER. I have been requested to announce that the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH] is absent on account of illness, and that the junior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. VARDAMAN] is necessarily absent. I wish also to announce that my colleague [Mr. TRAMMELL] is necessarily absent.

Mr. SMOOT. I have been requested to announce the following pairs:

The Senator from New York [Mr. CALDER] with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY];

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT] with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY];

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. DILLINGHAM] with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH];

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL] with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. KENDRICK];

The Senator from Maine [Mr. FERNALD] with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON];

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] with the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH];

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX] with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN];

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MCLEAN] with the Senator from Montana [Mr. MYERS];

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS];

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN] with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. THOMPSON];

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED];

The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. STERLING] with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH];

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. SUTHERLAND] with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECKHAM];

The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. OVERMAN]; and

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON] with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WOLCOTT].

The result was announced—yeas 14, nays 8, as follows:

YEAS—14.

Benet	Hardwick	Pittman	Smith, Ga.
Culberson	Hitchcock	Robinson	Underwood
Fletcher	Kirby	Simmons	
Gore	Martin, Va.	Smith, Ariz.	

NAYS—8.

La Follette	McCumber	Nelson	Poindexter
Lenroot	McNary	Page	Smoot

NOT VOTING—74.

Ashurst	Gronna	Martin, Ky.	Smith, S. C.
Baird	Guion	Myers	Sterling
Bankhead	Hale	New	Sutherland
Beckham	Harding	Norris	Swanson
Borah	Henderson	Nugent	Thomas
Brandegee	Hollis	Overman	Thompson
Calder	Johnson, Cal.	Owen	Townsend
Chamberlain	Johnson, S. Dak.	Penrose	Trammell
Colt	Jones, N. Mex.	Phelan	Vardaman
Cummins	Jones, Wash.	Pomerene	Wadsworth
Curtis	Kellogg	Ransdell	Walsh
Dillingham	Kendrick	Reed	Warren
Drew	Kenyon	Saulsbury	Watson
Fall	King	Shafroth	Weeks
Fernald	Knox	Sheppard	Wilfley
France	Lewis	Sherman	Williams
Frelinghuysen	Lodge	Shields	Wolcott
Gerry	McKellar	Smith, Md.	
Goff	McLean	Smith, Mich.	

So the motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, November 2, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, *November 1, 1918.*

(Continuation of legislative day of Thursday, October 31, 1918.)

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore, Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until 1 o'clock to-day, for the reason that it is possible the Senate will act upon the continuing resolution to-day for the food-stimulation work of the Agricultural Department.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I suggest that the gentleman make that 2 o'clock, for this reason: If the Senate does act upon it, it will hardly do so in time for the House to act by 1 o'clock, and we could just as well come back at 2, or even later. I think we ought to give the Senate time to act, and it is quite likely that there will be some discussion over there.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, let me suggest this to the gentleman: I happen to know that there are two or three Members here who have engagements at 2 o'clock. Why not make it 1.30 o'clock? That will give us time to get some lunch, and we shall know at that time whether it is possible to do anything then or not.

Mr. LEVER. I think the situation in the Senate is such that we will know very promptly whether they will act upon the resolution. Mr. Speaker, I modify the request by asking that the House stand in recess until 1 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until 1 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 2 minutes p. m.) the House stood in recess until 1 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed, without amendment, House joint resolution 340, making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of November, 1918, and for other purposes.

ADMINISTERING OATH OF OFFICE TO SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to submit a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. LEVER. The Speaker pro tempore has not been sworn in by the House, and an examination of the precedents would give the impression that it might be well that that action be taken as a precaution. I desire to inquire if the Chair has made any inquiry himself on that point, and what conclusion he has reached?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has examined the precedents very hastily. It seems that Speakers pro tempore designated or elected have not been sworn in as Speakers pro tempore during the time that they were merely presiding. The question of the signing of bills or resolutions by a Speaker pro tempore without his being sworn does not seem to have been definitely decided, although there is much in the books about it. If the present Speaker pro tempore is called upon to sign any written resolution or bill, it is his opinion that he should be sworn.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, then I suggest that the Chair designate some one to administer the oath.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will ask the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BYRNS] to administer the oath of office. The Chair understands that some matter is to come up that the Speaker pro tempore will be called upon to sign?

Mr. LEVER. Yes.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee administered the oath of office to the Speaker pro tempore.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, there is another matter that I feel ought to be called to the attention of the Chair, and that is the matter of informing the Senate of the action of the House in the election of its Speaker pro tempore. The precedents upon the subject are confused, but to make the situation doubly secure I offer the following resolution, which I send to the desk, and ask that it be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 448.

Resolved, That the Clerk inform the Senate that in the absence of the Speaker by leave of the House, the House has made choice of the Hon. FINIS J. GARRETT, one of the Representatives from the State of Tennessee, as Speaker pro tempore.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from South Carolina yield?

Mr. LEVER. Yes.

Mr. WINGO. I desire to suggest whether or not an amendment should be offered so that the President be also notified? The precedents which the gentleman says are confusing go only to the question where a Speaker pro tempore has been elected for less than 10 days. A note to the final citation in Hinds' Precedents, second volume, section 1405, says that the present usage is to send a message to the President also. I suggest to the gentleman from South Carolina, if that be true, it may be wise to

amend the resolution so that the Clerk shall also notify the President.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEVER. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. While there seems to be some question under the rulings that have been made, it seems to me that the logical and proper thing to do would be to amend the resolution so as to include notice to the President. The President, like the Vice President, must sign any bill or resolution signed by the Speaker pro tempore. It seems to me that he should be officially notified of the action of the House.

Mr. LEVER. The gentleman from Arkansas has had opportunity to examine these later precedents and I have not. Let me inquire of the gentleman if the message is conveyed to the President by the Clerk of the House or by a committee?

Mr. WINGO. By the Clerk. I think the pending resolution could be amended by simply adding, in proper language, that the Clerk be directed also to notify the President of the United States. After I had conferred with the gentleman just before the House reconvened, I ran down these citations that we had not run down, and I found a note which I have not had a chance to pursue further, stating that the present usage is to send a message to the President also. As a matter of safety, and for the reason stated by the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL], I think the gentleman from South Carolina should amend his resolution by adding the words "and the President of the United States."

Mr. LEVER. I shall be very glad to do that. The only point I raise is that it has never come to my attention in my service here that the President was informed of any action of the House except by a committee, certainly of the election of a Speaker.

Mr. MONDELL. As a matter of making assurance doubly sure, and as a courtesy to the President, it seems to me well to amend the resolution as suggested.

Mr. LEVER. I have no objection. The only point I raise is whether we shall inform him through the Clerk of the House or through a committee of the House. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the Clerk again read the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will state, if the gentleman will indulge him for a moment, that the usual form is to notify the President of the United States of the election of a Speaker of the House through the Clerk of the House.

Mr. LEVER. Very good. Now, if the Clerk will read the resolution we can amend it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the Clerk will again report the resolution.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Clerk of the House inform the Senate——

Mr. LEVER. And then add the words, "and the President of the United States."

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Clerk inform the Senate and the President of the United States that in the absence of the Speaker by leave of the House, the House has made choice of the Hon. FINIS J. GARRETT, one of the Representatives from the State of Tennessee, as Speaker pro tempore.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution which I presented at first may be amended as read by the Clerk just now.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent that the amendment proposed may be agreed to. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The question is upon the resolution as amended.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, for the sake of the integrity of the record, the pro tempore officer is elected in the absence of the regular officer, and by the election will this become a permanent office for the remaining part of this Sixty-fifth Congress, or during this interim?

Mr. LEVER. The action of the House yesterday completely covered that situation.

Mr. FESS. Very well.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The life of the office of the Speaker pro tempore is limited by the action taken yesterday by the House.

Mr. FESS. I beg pardon, I had not noticed it.

The question was taken, and the resolution as amended was agreed to.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, announced that the committee had examined and found truly enrolled the following joint resolution, when the Speaker pro tempore signed the same:

H. J. Res. 340. Joint resolution making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of November, 1918, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the majority leader, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN], it becomes my arduous duty to move that the House adjourn until next Monday at noon.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will withhold that for a second, I would like to ask the gentleman if he or any other gentleman on that side has any information as to the probability or possibility of a recess being had for a few days until after the election? Does the gentleman know what the status of that matter is?

Mr. LEVER. I confess I have no information about the matter except what I observed in the other body this morning, and from my observation and information over there, I would not think there is very much hope of a recess.

Mr. MONDELL. The outlook is not hopeful?

Mr. LEVER. Not very hopeful; no.

Mr. MONDELL. It would seem a very wise and proper thing to do, so as to give gentleman an opportunity to go home to vote.

Mr. LEVER. That is very true. The House is always wise in its judgment. I now move that the House adjourn until Monday at noon.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 43 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until Monday, November 4, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Secretary of War submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation required by the Panama Canal authorities for the fiscal years 1918 and 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1336); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. SLOAN: A bill (H. R. 13127) granting pensions to widows of officers or enlisted men who served in United States Mexican border expeditionary forces; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DENT: A bill (H. R. 13128) to provide for the taking over, improvement, relocation, construction, and maintenance of a system of national highways and State highways designed to facilitate the movement of troops, equipment, munitions, and supplies, and to promote the general welfare of the people of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CARY: A bill (H. R. 13129) granting a pension to Paulina Zacher; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CHANDLER of Oklahoma: A bill (H. R. 13130) granting a pension to Flora Middleton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LEA of California: A bill (H. R. 13131) granting a pension to Flora E. Tyler; to the Committee on Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. CARY: Petition of Weber Schlitz Candy Co., protesting against the 10 per cent tax on candy manufacturers; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of the Milwaukee Auto Engine & Supply Co., in regard to House bill 12863; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of the Redel Candy Corporation, in regard to the contemplated 10 per cent tax on the gross sales of manufacturing confectioners; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PADGETT: Petition of sundry citizens of the State of Tennessee favoring the passage of House bill 5407, the osteopathic bill; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

SATURDAY, *November 2, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we pray Thee to lay Thy hand upon those men whom Thou hast called into places of leadership and power, that they may have the wisdom that cometh from on high; that they may have hearts responsive to the highest ideals; that they may have patience and courage to work out the problems that confront them; that they may have God's richest, highest blessings as leaders of a great people in this great crisis of the world's life. We pray Thy blessing upon the men who must bear the weight of the terrible responsibility of this day. For Christ's sake. Amen.

NAMING A PRESIDING OFFICER.

The Secretary (James M. Baker) read the following communication:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D. C., November 2, 1918.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD, a Senator from the State of Alabama, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

WILLARD SAULSBURY,
President pro tempore.

Mr. UNDERWOOD thereupon took the chair as Presiding Officer.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia suggests the absence of a quorum. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Brandegee	La Follette	Page	Smoot
Culberson	Lenroot	Pittman	Thomas
Dillingham	McCumber	Sheppard	Underwood
Fletcher	Martin, Va.	Simmons	
Gore	Nelson	Smith, Ariz.	
Knox	Nugent	Smith, Ga.	

Mr. FLETCHER. I desire to announce that the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH] is detained by illness; and that the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. VARDAMAN] is necessarily absent. I wish also to announce that my colleague [Mr. TRAMMELL] is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair announces that a quorum is not present, 21 Senators having answered to their names.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and five minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, November 4, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *November 4, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we come to Thee and lift our hearts in praise, in grateful recognition of Thy leadership and of the blessings that Thou hast brought upon us as a people. We thank Thee for the news that comes to us from across the sea, for the supremacy of the ideals for which Thou hast called us into existence as a Nation, for the blessings that rest upon our boys in the Army and Navy and for their victories. We pray that Thou wilt hasten the day of the final victory; we pray that Thou wilt give to those who deal with the final issues wisdom and courage and strength that come alone from God, that they may so plan that the world may be reestablished upon a permanent basis of righteousness and peace. For Christ's sake. Amen.

NAMING A PRESIDING OFFICER.

The Assistant Secretary (Henry M. Rose) read the following communication:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D. C., November 4, 1918.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD, a Senator from the State of Texas, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

WILLARD SAULSBURY,
President pro tempore.

Mr. SHEPPARD thereupon took the chair as Presiding Officer.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last was read and approved.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Mr. SHEPPARD introduced a bill (S. 5016) for the relief of Frances Elizabeth Pool, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Claims.

THE REVENUE.

Mr. SHEPPARD submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 12863) to provide revenue, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

THE TARIFF—LETTER FROM LESLIE M. SHAW.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, a week ago, in my absence, a letter was introduced into the RECORD, at my request, by the Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST] from the Hon. Leslie M. Shaw. The Senator from Arizona inadvertently stated in introducing the letter that its contents had been offensive to me. Such was not the case. My relations with the former Secretary of the Treasury are very cordial. There were some things in his letter which I thought to be based upon wrong assumptions, but the letter was in no sense offensive. This is the first opportunity which I have had to make that correction.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, November 5, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *November 4, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore, Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

We bless Thee, Infinite Spirit, our Heavenly Father, that cessation of hostilities seems imminent, and we pray that it may come right speedily in unconditional surrender of the enemies of civilization; that the entente powers may bring together the wisest statesmen, the bravest soldiers, and purest-hearted men, who shall sit in judgment upon those who have caused the world-wide war with its desolation in means and men, and who have filled the world with unprecedented sorrow and misery; that a world-wide peace may be established in justice and equity to all and upon a basis which shall forever free the world from all the chances of war through a permanent court of justice, whose duty it shall be to adjust all differences which shall arise in state and international conditions upon the principles established in the life, character, and precepts of the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, October 31, 1918, was read and approved.

THE GALLERIES.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, several Members have suggested to me that the doors of the galleries of the House be reopened. Some weeks ago, it will be remembered, by order of the House the doors were closed. I understand that the Senate is to-day taking similar action. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the order closing the doors be vacated and that the Doorkeeper be instructed to open the galleries.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent that the order heretofore made closing the doors of the galleries be rescinded and that the doors be opened. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Doorkeeper will cause the doors to be opened.

HEALTH RECORD AT GERSTNER FIELD, LA.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for five minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Louisiana asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Speaker, I have a health report on Gerstner Field, aviation camp at Lake Charles, La., from the Lake Charles Press, and with the permission of the House I would like to insert it in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Louisiana asks unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the matter which he has indicated.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I suggest that the gentleman have it read from the Clerk's desk.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have it read in my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Louisiana asks unanimous consent to have the matter read in his time. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

GERSTNER HEALTH RECORD UNEQUALED—BARRING PLANE ACCIDENTS, BUT FIVE DEATHS—INFLUENZA MILD AND VERY LITTLE AT THAT—NOT A SINGLE DEATH AT THE FIELD CAUSED BY ILLNESS CONTRACTED HERE.

Gerstner Field has been established about one year, and during that time has made a record that stands alone, no doubt, in the history of all camps, fields, forts, cantonments or concentration points where men in the service are located, in its health record.

Barring accidents, there have been but five deaths at Gerstner Field since the boys began training there. Three of these deaths were accidental, though not resulting from aeroplane accidents. One boy was killed by lightning several months ago. He was out in a tent when a thunder and lightning storm came and was struck and killed by lightning. Two boys died as a result of drinking bay rum. This was accidental, of course, but had no connection with their duties and might have happened anywhere. One boy died of heart trouble and one of pneumonia, which he contracted before coming to Gerstner Field.

This is really a very enviable record for any field, and especially so in view of the present influenza epidemic which has hit the camps so hard. Camps, fields, and cantonments in all sections of the country affected by the influenza have suffered losses among their men from the disease, and pneumonia has also been a problem almost over the entire country.

Since the advent of influenza several cases have developed at Gerstner Field, but the medical corps has given statements from time to time regarding their mildness. Patients have been ill only for a few days, and none of them have been seriously ill. During the period of time the field maintains its quarantine the boys are going on with their work, and no real interruption has been occasioned by the influenza.

During the past few weeks several hundred men have been added to the camp roster, as many as 500 coming in one day. From time to time draft men have been added in groups of from 25 to 35, and with all these new people coming in from every section of the country, the disease has not spread and has given little trouble.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the House, under its previous order, adjourned until Thursday, November 7, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII,

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota introduced a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 57) providing that the process of demobilization of the United States Army after the war shall be done gradually and that the illiterates be the last to be demobilized, and that elementary instruction be given to such illiterates before they are discharged, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *November 5, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we come before Thee on this critical day in the world's history, when the great electorate of this country registers its choice of leadership, and we bless Thee that Thou hast given to us unity and accord, and that in the higher levels of our life there is a blessed brotherhood among us. We pray Thee to lay Thy hand upon men for places of leadership, that the power vested in them may be justified by their wisdom and their grace in dealing with the great issues of the present time. We pray Thy blessing upon our Army and Navy, and that Thou wilt hasten the day when final victory shall come to them. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The VICE PRESIDENT resumed the chair.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

AMENDMENT OF ANTINARCOTIC LAW.

Mr. SHEPPARD presented the petition of Dr. William Y. Ward, of Ivanhoe, Tex., praying for the repeal of certain clauses in the Harrison antinarcotic law, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Mr. SHEPPARD introduced a bill (S. 5017) to investigate the cost and practicability of an aerial mail route to Texas and the Southwest; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 2 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, November 6, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *November 6, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we seek Thy guidance and blessing as we attempt to discharge the duties that have come upon us. We have found, even in the narrow sphere of life, that human wisdom and strength are not sufficient for human life. We dare not face the mighty issues that are now before us unless we have Thy guidance and Thy blessing.

We pray Thy blessing upon all whom Thou hast called into places of authority and power. We pray that these men who are to represent the people may represent them in their highest achievements of Christian civilization; that they may be men who fear God and seek to do His will.

Guide us in the duties of this day. We ask it for Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had, on the 4th instant, approved and signed the following acts:

S. 3735. An act to provide for enlistments in the National Guard of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; and

S. 4886. An act providing for the sale of certain lands in the original town site of Port Angeles, Wash.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 2 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, November 7, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *November 7, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we thank Thee that Thou hast so spoken to the moral judgment of all men that our answering conscience has brought us into alignment with all that is true and best in human civilization and has recorded itself as well pleased with the service and sacrifice that we have made for the freedom of the world.

We thank Thee to-day for Thy blessing and leadership, the providence that has surrounded our men on the fighting line. We thank Thee that they are sweeping on to certain victory. We pray that the day may soon dawn when wars shall be no more in all the earth, when righteousness and truth shall prevail everywhere. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I move that the Senate adjourn until Monday next at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 2 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, November 11, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *November 7, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon and was called to order by Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee as Speaker pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Thy grace, O Lord God, our Heavenly Father, be upon us, that as rational and moral beings, fashioned after Thine own image, we may quit ourselves like men under all the trying circumstances of life and thus prove ourselves worthy of the precious gifts bestowed upon us, until we all reach the ideals exemplified in the life and character of the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday, November 4, 1918, was read and approved.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] whether there has been any change in the program? I have received messages from several Members who want to know whether it is necessary for them to return.

Mr. KITCHIN. I see no reason for changing the program under which we have been operating.

Mr. WINGO. In other words, they can rely upon the statements heretofore made? No circumstances have arisen to change the conditions?

Mr. KITCHIN. No.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WINGO. I yield the floor.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I ask leave to proceed for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from North Dakota asks unanimous consent to proceed for 15 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. WINGO. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, of course I would like to see my friend from North Dakota have the opportunity of addressing this very full House, but under the gentlemen's agreement I understand that we have all been denied that privilege, even the privilege of extending remarks. Does the gentleman feel that under the gentlemen's agreement his request would be proper?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. May I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LAZARO] was given permission to proceed on the last day of meeting? There is nothing political in what I am going to say. I would like to proceed for 15 minutes.

Mr. WINGO. I should not object to the gentleman proceeding politically. I do not know of any more harm he could do than has been done. [Laughter.] I was not present when the gentleman from Louisiana secured permission to address the House or I would have called attention to it. I think these gentlemen's agreements, when made, should be kept. The other day I wanted to insert a telegram in the RECORD, nonpolitical, but my attention was called to the fact that it would be in contravention to the agreement, and then I had it put in the RECORD indirectly in the Senate.

Mr. LEVER rose.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. The gentleman from South Carolina will recall that permission was given to the gentleman from Louisiana the other day.

Mr. LEVER. Yes.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I will reduce my request to five minutes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Suppose the gentleman proceeds for one minute, which was the time granted to Mr. LAZARO, and then we will live up to the rule thereafter; or, say, two minutes.

Mr. WINGO. What does the gentleman wish to discuss?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. The resolution that I introduced on November 4 providing for the gradual demobilization of the Army in order to prevent industrial disturbance, and that the illiterate soldiers be discharged last and be given a brief, intensive educational course in the three R's.

Mr. WINGO. I myself would like to address the House for an hour on that subject, and under the circumstances I do not think the gentleman ought to press his request. There are other gentlemen on this side of the House who would like to discuss the same subject, but we have agreed to defer it until we have resumed active sessions.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. You are not going to object to at least five minutes?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the gentleman proceeding for five minutes?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I will withdraw the request, as there seems to be objection to it. After the expiration of the gentlemen's agreement referred to by the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO], I shall renew my request for time to discuss this highly important subject.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. HAWLEY. I should like to inquire of the gentleman from North Carolina if he intends to continue the arrangement heretofore entered into for three-day adjournments?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. HAWLEY. And there will be no business coming up until what time?

Mr. KITCHIN. Well, as we understood, there will be no business transacted until the Senate passes the revenue bill.

Mr. HAWLEY. Has the gentleman any information as to when that may be?

Mr. KITCHIN. When I left here, about November 1, I thought I knew about when it would be, but we can not tell now when it will be. Some conditions have arisen since then that may delay it a little more than we first expected.

Mr. HAWLEY. It will not be passed within 10 days, then?

Mr. KITCHIN. I think the plan of the Senate is to report it out by the 12th, and try to finish it by the 25th.

Mr. HAWLEY. It will not be passed inside of 10 days or two weeks, then?

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, no; certainly not before the 25th of November.

Mr. HAWLEY. And the gentleman intends to ask that the House continue its present arrangement, and that no business shall be transacted until that time?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; no business will be transacted except on the conference report, as to which there was an understanding when we had the gentlemen's agreement.

Mr. TOWNER. Will there be any effort made to obtain a quorum on the 12th?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; there will not.

Mr. Speaker, I move that the House adjourn until Monday next.

ADJOURNMENT.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The agreement covers that. The gentleman from North Carolina moves that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 9 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until Monday, November 11, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting estimate of appropriation for construction of additional building for Hygienic Laboratory, Washington, D. C. (H. Doc. No. 1337), was taken from the Speaker's table, referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII,

Mr. FRENCH introduced a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 342) to select a commission of seven members, to be known as the United States Employment Commission, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *November 11, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we come before Thee with inexpressible joy and gratitude because Thy power has gotten us the victory. We thank Thee that there has come the end of hostilities in the great world war. We bless God that Thou hast set Thy throne in the heavens and that Thy kingdom ruleth over all. Never again shall brute force rise up to dethrone the spiritual ideals of humanity. We thank Thee for the promise and prophecy of the coming of the reign of the Prince of Peace. Give to us in this great day wisdom for the problems that confront us, that those whom Thou dost call to settle the affairs of nations and to reestablish the relationships between peoples may be men who are wise with the wisdom that cometh from on high, strong and brave and true. So do Thou guide us on that civilization may advance and that Thine own kingdom shall rule everywhere. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, November 7, 1918, was read and approved.

NATIONAL FOREST RESERVATION COMMISSION.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In accordance with section 4 of an act to enable any State to cooperate with any other State or States, or with the United States, for the protection of the watersheds of navigable streams, and to appoint a commission for the acquisition of lands for the purpose of conserving the navigability of the navigable rivers, commonly known as the National Forest Reservation Commission, there being a vacancy on the commission, the Chair appoints the Hon. PETER GOELET GERRY, a Senator from the State of Rhode Island, a member of the commission. The Secretary will notify the Secretary of War of the appointment.

CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (S. DOC. NO. 299.)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, transmitting, pursuant to law, a detailed statement of the expenditures from the appropriation for contingent expenses of the gov-

ernment of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1918, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. NELSON presented memorials of sundry candy manufacturers in the State of Minnesota, remonstrating against the imposition of a 10 per cent sales tax on candy, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented memorials of the Stock Yards National Bank, of South St. Paul, the State Bank of Claremont, the Union National Bank of Rochester, the Austin National Bank of Austin, the First National Bank of Elmore, the People's State Bank of Milan, the Drovers' State Bank of South St. Paul, the First National Bank of St. Cloud, the State Bank of Lafayette, and the Farmers' National Bank of Alexandria, all in the State of Minnesota, remonstrating against the imposition of a 2-cent stamp tax on bank checks as proposed in the pending revenue bill, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented the memorial of Benjamin T. Goldman, of St. Paul, Minn., relative to the proposed excess-profits provision in the pending revenue bill, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

HENRY J. DAVIS.

Mr. MYERS, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 923) for the relief of Henry J. Davis, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 608) thereon.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bill were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred, as follows:

By Mr. MYERS:

A bill (S. 5018) authorizing the issuance of patent for certain lands to Paul Kropp; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. CUMMINS:

A bill (S. 5019) for the construction of a memorial archway at Vicksburg, Miss., and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 5020) to amend section 10 of an act "to provide for the operation of transportation systems while under Federal control, for the just compensation of their owners, and for other purposes," approved March 21, 1918; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. NELSON:

A bill (S. 5021) granting an increase of pension to James H. Cornell; to the Committee on Pensions.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, announced that the House had passed a concurrent resolution (No. 58) authorizing the two Houses of Congress to assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Monday, November 11, 1918, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving such communication as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

JOINT MEETING OF THE TWO HOUSES.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate the concurrent resolution (No. 58) just received from the House.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the concurrent resolution of the House of Representatives, which was read, as follows:

House concurrent resolution 58.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Monday, the 11th day of November, 1918, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving such communication as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that the Senate concur in the resolution of the House of Representatives.

The motion was agreed to.

PUBLIC LANDS FOR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The morning business is closed.

Mr. MYERS. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 4947) to make an appropriation to provide for a survey and classification by the Secretary of the Interior of all unentered public lands of the United States, and all unused, cut-over, logged, and swamp lands and other unused lands of the United States, with a view to disposing thereof to honorably discharged soldiers and sailors of the United States and others, and for other purposes.

It is a bill designed to initiate the well-known and admirable plan of Secretary of the Interior Lane as a part of our after-the-war reconstruction and to furnish homes on the unused public lands and certain other unused lands of the country for our returning soldiers and sailors. It is a measure of the highest importance. Nothing can surpass it now in importance. I hope the Senate will take up the bill at this time. I do not believe there will be any opposition to it. I can conceive of none. I know of no ground for any. If we do not take it up now, it will later be hard to get it up. The revenue bill will soon be coming up and then nothing else can be done. The revenue bill will consume all of our time until disposed of. The war is about to end; in fact, has ended so much sooner than anyone supposed that I think we ought right now to pay attention to this important measure and dispose of it without delay. It should not take 15 minutes to explain this bill to the satisfaction of the Senate, and a few minutes of discussion should be sufficient to put it upon its passage, and it should undoubtedly be passed. It has been favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Public Lands and is ready for consideration and action by the Senate. In fact, the reading by the Clerk of the bill and the committee's report should be sufficient to cause it to pass the Senate. No further explanation should be required. It should pass unanimously. I urge my motion to proceed with consideration of the bill.

Mr. PENROSE. I should like to ask the Senator from Montana what amount the bill carries?

Mr. MYERS. One million dollars, or so much thereof as may be needed.

Mr. PENROSE. I thought we were going to begin a course of economy now.

Mr. MYERS. So far as the war is concerned, I think we will, and we ought to do so, and I am heartily in favor of it; but we all realize that there must be some reconstruction legislation for the peace to follow the war and to readjust economic conditions, and we can not do that without some expenditure of money. In some instances I believe it would be a wise expenditure. If the Senate thinks the amount sought by this bill to be appropriated is too much, let the Senate cut down the amount; but I think the bill ought to be considered now. If it is not considered in the next few days, it may not be heard of again during this session of Congress. This will be a very crowded session.

Mr. PENROSE. I do not think the country would suffer much if the bill never was heard of.

Mr. MYERS. The Senator is entitled to his opinion, but a great many think differently; in fact, nearly all who have heard of it think differently, and I suggest that the Senator wait to learn more of it before expressing such an opinion.

Mr. PENROSE. Here we assemble after reading with great interest in this morning's paper a statement by the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations to the effect that economy is to be the order of the day, and the first proposition that comes up is for the expenditure of $1,000,000.

Mr. MYERS. I agree that economy ought to be the motto of the day, but that does not mean that we will never expend another dollar for any purpose whatever. I think it should be taken to mean that our expenditure of money should be judiciously made and carefully guarded, but some things are necessary and must be provided for. This would be a very wise and most beneficial expenditure. I ask that Senators learn something of the bill before forming opinions.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Montana to proceed to the consideration of the bill.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. MYERS. I ask that the bill and the report of the committee be read by the Clerk for the information of the Senate.

Mr. BORAH. I understand the Senator from Montana has asked for the reading of the report.

Mr. MYERS. For the reading of the bill and the report of the committee.

Mr. BORAH. As we are to be here until 1 o'clock, I make no objection.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the bill.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That, with a view to providing legitimate avenues of sustenance and maintenance for the soldiers and sailors of the United States who shall return to the United States and to private life at the end of the present war in which the United States Government is engaged, and with a view to maintaining in a stable condition the economic interests of the United States and encouraging food production, agriculture, industry, and commerce and affording employment for the millions of returned soldiers and sailors and no longer needed munitions workers and shipbuilders and others employed in war industries at the conclusion of the aforesaid war, and for the general welfare and development of the country, the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized and directed forthwith to make or cause to be made a comprehensive survey and classification of all unentered public lands of the United States Government, and of all irrigable, as well as unirrigable, lands of the public domain, and of all privately owned, cut-over, and logged

lands in the United States which are now idle, unoccupied, and unproductive, and of all privately owned swamp or overflowed lands in the United States now unused and unproductive, and of all other totally unused and unproductive lands of the United States, privately owned or a part of the public domain which, in the opinion of the Secretary of the Interior, might be reclaimed and put to productive use, with a view to ascertaining the area, location, nature, and possibilities of all such lands and any other waste lands susceptible of reclamation, settlement, and cultivation, in order to determine what may be necessary to bring them under cultivation and to put them to productive uses, and the amount of money and what methods may be necessary therefor; and he is further authorized and directed to make careful investigation of possible plans and methods of bringing the different classes of all such lands under settlement by returned soldiers and sailors of the United States and industrial laborers out of employment at or before the conclusion of the aforesaid war, and the best methods and terms of making public lands of the United States available therefor, and the best methods and terms for acquisition by the United States of all such privately owned, cut-over, logged, or overflowed lands or other unused privately owned lands, and what would be proper, appropriate, and generous terms of disposition of any or all thereof to returned and honorably discharged soldiers and sailors of the United States and to former munitions workers and others employed during all or any part of said war at war industries, and to citizens of the United States in general. That the Secretary of the Interior shall investigate thoroughly all of the aforesaid subjects and everything connected therewith and the policy of encouraging all such persons to settle on some of such lands and to engage in agriculture, horticulture, farming, and live-stock raising, and to ascertain what amount of capital it would take therefor and how it should be furnished and upon what terms. In doing so the Secretary of the Interior shall use and have at his disposition and under his control the General Land Office and all of its officials and employees, the Reclamation Service and all of its officials and employees, the Geological Survey and all of its officials and employees, and any other agency of the United States Government which, upon his request, the President of the United States may designate or direct to aid him in any of the aforesaid work, and in addition thereto the Secretary of the Interior may employ for such length of time as he may see fit any person or persons, agencies, or instrumentalities not connected with the United States Government and such other employees as he may deem necessary; and upon the completion of all thereof, which is hereby directed to be done as soon as reasonable and possible, the Secretary of the Interior shall, as soon as feasible, make full report of all thereof and of all of his work thereunder to the Congress of the United States, which report shall be accompanied by such recommendations as may be proper and as he may see fit to make, and by the submission of any scheme or plan for the disposition, settlement, and cultivation of such lands as aforesaid that he may devise and recommend, together with an estimate by him of the probable cost thereof.

SEC. 2. That for the purpose of carrying out the provisions hereof there is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury of the United States otherwise unappropriated, the sum of $1,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be expended under the direction and control of the Secretary of the Interior and under rules, regulations, and plans to be by him made and promulgated. With the aforesaid report to the Congress the Secretary of the Interior shall make to the Congress report of how much money herein appropriated was expended and how expended.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the report of the committee.

The Secretary read the report submitted by Mr. MYERS, from the Committee on Public Lands, October 7, 1918, as follows:

The Committee on Public Lands, to which was referred the bill (S. 4947) to provide for a survey and classification by the Secretary of the Interior of all unentered public lands of the United States and all unused, cut-over, logged, and swamp lands and other unused lands of the United States, with a view to disposing thereof to honorably discharged soldiers and sailors and others, and for other purposes, having had the same under consideration, begs leave to report it back to the Senate with an amendment, and as amended recommend that the bill do pass.

The bill was referred to the Department of the Interior, and the Secretary of the department furnished the committee with the following report thereon:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, September 23, 1918.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am in receipt of a copy of Senate bill 4947, introduced by yourself, together with a request from the Committee on Public Lands for a report thereon.

This bill in brief provides for a survey and classification by the Secretary of the Interior of all unentered public lands of the United States and all unused cut-over, logged, and swamp lands and other unused lands of the United States, with a view to disposing thereof to honorably discharged soldiers and sailors and others, and for other purposes.

This measure has my hearty approval. I believe, however, that the work necessary to do now to meet the needs of returning soldiers and sailors can be done for $1,000,000 or less.

I am now having prepared under the Reclamation Service a rough survey of the country which will show those largest bodies of land which may be wisely placed under irrigation, those which have been cut over, and those which can be reclaimed by draining. I also am gathering facts as to the size and availability of the bodies of unused tillable lands in the country, for it has seemed to me likely that each State might, to some degree, care to cooperate in the providing of farm homes for its own returned soldiers, and that it was well to have some information in hand for the Congress on this matter.

The appropriation made by the Congress of $100,000 as to irrigable lands and $100,000 for the other classes is, of course, insufficient for more than what I have termed a rough survey. It will enable us to know where those lands are which may be available. But this is no more than the beginning of the task if we are to be ready against the return of our troops from abroad to offer them an opportunity to build farm homes for themselves for which they shall repay the Government throughout a long term of years.

We must know, first, what lands are available for such use. Then we must have surveys and estimates made which will enable us to say which bodies of land of the various classes are most available, and that from many standpoints—soil, climate, markets, relative cost of reclamation. And, thirdly, when these selections are made in the different sections of the country plans in detail must be made which can be submitted to the Congress for the development of these projects. To do this as to the drainable lands of the South, for instance, or the irrigable lands of the West, will necessitate speed if we are to meet the soldiers on their return with a positive proposition that they may take new employment under the Government in constructive national work.

I beg to inclose a copy of a letter sent to the President and one to the Hon. SWAGAR SHERLEY, of the House of Representatives.

Cordially, yours,

FRANKLIN K. LANE.

HON. HENRY L. MYERS,
United States Senate.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, May 31, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I believe the time has come when we should give thought to the preparation of plans for providing opportunity for our soldiers returning from the war. Because this department has handled similar problems, I consider it my duty to bring this matter to the attention of yourself and Congress.

Every country has found itself face to face with this situation at the close of a great war. From Rome, under Cæsar, to France, under Napoleon, down even to our own Civil War, the problem arose as to what could be done with the soldiers to be mustered out of military service.

At the close of the Civil War America faced a somewhat similar situation. But fortunately at that time the public domain offered opportunity to the home-returning soldiers. The great part the veterans of that war played in developing the West is one of our epics. The homestead law had been signed by Lincoln in the second year of the war, so that out of our wealth in lands we had farms to offer the million of veterans. It was also the era of transcontinental railway construction. It was likewise the period of rapid, yet broad and full, development of towns and communities and States.

To the great number of returning soldiers land will offer the great and fundamental opportunity. The experience of wars points out the lesson that our service men, because of army life, with its openness and activity, will largely seek out-of-doors vocations and occupations. This fact is accepted by the allied European nations. That is why their programs and policies of relocating and readjustment emphasize the opportunities on the land for the returning soldier. The question, then, is, What land can be made available for farm homes for our soldiers?

We do not have the bountiful public domain of the sixties and seventies. In a literal sense, for the use of it on a generous scale for soldier farm homes as in the sixties, "the public domain is gone." The official figures at the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1917, show this: We have unappropriated land in the continental United States to the amount of 230,657,755 acres. It is safe to say that not one-half of this land will ever prove to be cultivable in any sense. So we have no land in any way comparable to that in the public domain when Appomattox came and men turned westward with army rifle and "roll blanket" to begin life anew.

While we do not have that matchless public domain of 1865, we do have millions of acres of undeveloped lands that can be made available for our home-coming soldiers. We have arid lands in the West, cut-over lands in the Northwest, Lake States, and South, and also swamp lands in the Middle West and South, which can be made available through the proper development. Much of this land can be made suitable for farm homes if properly handled. But it will require that each type of land be dealt with in its own particular fashion. The arid land will require water, the cut-over land will require clearing, and the swamp land must be drained. Without any of these aids, they remain largely "No man's land." The solution of these problems is no new thing. In the admirable achievement of the Reclamation Service in reclamation and drainage we have abundant proof of what can be done.

Looking toward the construction of additional projects, I am glad to say that plans and investigations have been under way for some time. A survey and study has been in the course of consummation by the Reclamation Service on the great Colorado Basin. That great project, I believe, will appeal to the new spirit of America. It would mean the conquest of an empire in the Southwest. It is believed that more than 3,000,000 of acres of arid land could be reclaimed by the completion of the upper and lower Colorado Basin projects.

It has been officially estimated that more than 15,000,000 acres of irrigable land now remain in the Government's hands. This is the great remaining storehouse of Government land for reclamation. Under what policy and program millions of these acres could be reclaimed for future farms and homes remains for legislation to determine. The amount of swamp and cut-over lands in the United States that can be made available for farming is extensive. Just how much there is has never been determined with any degree of accuracy. Practically all of it has passed into private ownership. For that reason in considering its use it would be necessary to work out a policy between the private owners and the Government unless the land was purchased. It has been estimated that the total area of swamp and overflowed lands in the United States is between seventy and eighty million acres. Of this amount it is stated that about "60,000,000 acres can be reclaimed and made profitable for agriculture." The undeveloped swamp lands lie chiefly in Florida, in the States along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, in the Mississippi Delta, and in Missouri, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and California.

What amount of land in its natural state unfit for farm homes can be made suitable by cultivation by drainage only thorough surveys and studies can develop. We know that authentic figures show that more than 15,000,000 acres have been reclaimed for profitable farming, most of which lies in the Mississippi River Valley.

The amount of cut-over lands in the United States, of course, it is impossible even in approximation to estimate. These lands, however, lie largely in the South Atlantic and Gulf States, the Lake States, and the Northwestern States. A rough estimate of their number is about 200,000,000 acres—that is, of land suitable for agricultural development. Substantially all this cut-over or logged-off land is in private ownership. The failure of this land to be developed is largely due to inadequate method of approach. Unless a new policy of development is worked out in cooperation between the Federal Government, the States, and the individual owners a greater part of it will remain unsettled and uncultivated. The undeveloped cut-over lands lie chiefly in the Pacific Northwest (particularly in Washington and Oregon), in the Lake States (Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin), and in the South Atlantic and Gulf coastal States (Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas).

Any plan for the development of land for the returning soldier will come face to face with the fact that a new policy will have to meet the new conditions. The era of free or cheap land in the United States has passed. We must meet the new conditions of developing lands in advance; security must to a degree displace speculation. Some of the defects in our old system have been described by Dr. Elwood Mead in these words:

"Science (should) have gone hand in hand with the settlement of the arid and semiarid country, and all that science could give would have been utilized, first in the creation of the conditions of settlement and then in aiding the settler in difficult tasks. Because nothing was done, these heroic but uninformed souls were bedeviled by the winds, cold, drought, and insect pests. They wasted their efforts, lost their hopes and ambitions, and a tragic percentage left, impoverished and embittered. The tragic part of this history is that nearly all this suffering and loss could have been avoided under a carefully thought-out plan of development."

There are certain tendencies which we ought to face frankly in our consideration of a policy for land to the home-coming soldier. First, the drift to farm tenancy. The experience of the world shows without question that the happiest people, the best farms, and the soundest political conditions are found where the farmer owns the home and the farm lands. The growth of tenancy in America shows an increase of 32 per cent for the 20 years between 1890 and 1910. Second, the drift to urban life. In 1880 of the total population of the United States 29.5 per cent of our people resided in cities, and 70.5 per cent in the country. At the census of 1910, 46.3 per cent resided in cities and 53.7 per cent remained in the country. It is evident that since the war in Europe there has been a decided increase in the trend toward the city, because of industrial conditions. The adoption by the United States of new policies in its land development plans for returning veterans will also contribute to the amelioration of these two dangers to American life.

A plan of land development, whereby land is developed in large areas, subdivided into individual farms, then sold to actual bona-fide farmers on a long-time payment basis, has been in force not only in the United States under the reclamation act, but also in many other countries for several years. It has proved a distinct success. In Denmark, Ireland, New Zealand, and the Australian Commonwealth it has completely changed the land situation. One of the new features of this plan is that holders are aided in improving and cultivating the farm. In a word, there is organized community development. Its beneficial results have been well described by the Canadian commission which was appointed to investigate its results in New Zealand in these words:

"* * * the farmers have built better houses or remodeled their old ones, brought a larger acreage of land under cultivation that would otherwise be lying idle; have bought and kept better live stock; have bought and urged more labor-saving machinery on the farms and in the houses. * * * They keep more sheep and pigs and have so largely increased the revenue from their farms that they are able to meet the payments on the mortgages and to adopt a higher standard of living and a better one. Throughout the country a higher and better civilization is gradually being evolved; the young men and women who are growing up are happy and contented to remain at home on the farm and find ample time and opportunity for recreation and entertainment of a kind more wholesome and elevating than can be obtained in the cities."

It may be said that this country outside of Alaska has no frontier to-day. Of course, Alaska will still offer opportunity for a pioneer life. And of course Alaska likewise has yet unknown remarkable agricultural possibilities, but unless we make possible the development of this land by the men who desire their life in that field, we will lose a great national opportunity.

This is an immediate duty. It will be too late to plan for these things when the war is over. Our thought now should be given to the problem. And I therefore desire to bring to your mind the wisdom of immediately supplying the Interior Department with a sufficient fund with which to make the necessary surveys and studies. We should know by the time the war ends, not merely how much arid land can be irrigated, nor how much swamp land reclaimed, nor where the grazing land is and how many cattle it will support, nor how much cut-over land can be cleared, but we should know with definiteness where it is practicable to begin new irrigation projects, what the character of the land is, what the nature of the improvements needed will be, and what the cost will be. We should know also, not in a general way, but with particularity, what definite areas of swamp land may be reclaimed, how they can be drained, what the cost of the drainage will be, what crops they will raise. We should have in mind specific areas of grazing lands, with a knowledge of the cattle which are best adapted to them, and the practicability of supporting a family upon them. So, too, with our cut-over lands. We should know what it would cost to pull or "blow-out" stumps and to put the lands into condition for a farm home.

And all this should be done upon a definite planning basis. We should think as carefully of each one of these projects as George Washington thought of the planning of the city of Washington. We should know what it will cost to buy these lands if they are in private hands. In short, at the conclusion of the war the United States should be able to say to its returned soldiers: "If you wish to go upon a farm, here are a variety of farms of which you may take your pick, which the Government has prepared against the time of your returning." I do not mean by this to carry the implication that we should do any other work now than the work of planning. A very small sum of money put into the hands of men of thought, experience, and vision will give us a program which will make us feel entirely confident that we are not to be submerged industrially or otherwise by labor which we will not be able to absorb, or that we would be in a condition where we would show a lack of respect for those who return as heroes, but who will be without means of immediate self-support.

A million or two dollars, if appropriated now, will put this work well under way.

This plan does not contemplate anything like charity to the soldier. He is not to be given a bounty. He is not to be made to feel that he is a dependent. On the contrary, he is to continue in a sense in the service of the Government. Instead of destroying our enemies, he is to develop our resources.

The work that is to be done, other than the planning, should be done by the soldier himself. The dam or the irrigation project should be built by him, the ditches, the breaking of the land, and the building of the houses should, under proper direction, be his occupation. He should be allowed to make his own home, cared for while he is doing it, and given an interest in the land for which he can pay through a long period of years, perhaps 30 or 40 years. This same policy can be carried out as to the other classes of land. So that the soldier on his return would have an opportunity to make a home for himself, to build a home with money which we would advance and which he would repay, and for the repayment we would have an abundant security. The farms should not be turned over as the prairies were—unbroken, unfenced, without accommodations for men or animals. There should be prepared homes, all of which can be constructed by the men themselves, and paid for by them under a system of simple devising by which modern methods of finance will be applied to their needs.

As I have indicated, this is not a mere Utopian vision. It is, with slight variations, a policy which other countries are pursuing successfully. The plan is simple. I will undertake to present to the Congress definite projects for the development of this country through the use of the returned soldier by which the United States, lending its credit, may increase its resources and its population and the happiness of its people with a cost to itself of no more than the few hundred thousand dollars that it will take to study this problem through competent men. This work should not be postponed.

Cordially and faithfully, yours,

FRANKLIN K. LANE.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House.

AUGUST 2, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. SHERLEY: I wish to express my appreciation of the action of your committee in appropriating $200,000 for the preliminary study of the unused lands of the country with the purpose in view of providing homes for returned soldiers. Since your action the President has approved a recommendation for an appropriation of $1,000,000 to be used in the same work. I am proceeding to organize this work in the hope that the larger amount will be available soon after the new session of Congress opens. In this connection I submit a brief outline of the efforts made in other countries along somewhat similar lines.

UNITED KINGDOM.

Legislation has been enacted by Parliament (6 and 7 Geo. V, c. 38) enabling the board of agriculture and fisheries to acquire land for a small number of experimental holdings for returning men in England and Wales. The measure provides for small farms not exceeding 50 acres, to be of three different types, mixed farming, dairying, and market gardening. Men without previous farming experience are to be given preliminary training on a demonstration farm, under the supervision of a director, receiving a fair living wage. When they are considered capable of taking up a holding for themselves it will be allotted. Under this small-holding scheme I understand that land has been acquired in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. The board is likewise working out a large program, to be later recommended to the ministry. In Scotland the board of agriculture under the act above mentioned has also taken up land.

CANADA.

With reference to the Dominion lands, the reserved areas (known as Crown lands) are placed in the hands of a settlement board, which consists of three members. A free grant of 160 acres is made to the returning soldier, and the board is empowered to grant a loan of not exceeding $2,000 to each man, to be spent in erecting a house, purchasing implements and stock, and generally in preparing the land. This loan will be a first mortgage on the homestead. It will be advanced at a low rate of interest (5 per cent), and will have to be repaid in 15 years. Applicants for lands or loans must have had previous farming experience. Intending settlers among returning soldiers without previous farming experience can go upon demonstration farms for training. If they elect, however, they may go upon farms of selected and approved farmers for a definite time. In either case employment at current wages will be paid. "The classes entitled to participate," says the report of Lord Tennyson's committee, "include honorably discharged ex-service men from the forces of Canada, the United Kingdom, and any of the self-governing British Dominions, and to the widows of soldiers and sailors from other parts of the Empire whose husbands died while on active service."

Ontario: Under the act No. 150, passed in 1916, the Government grants free to ex-service men 160 acres of land. Loans of $500, bearing interest at 6 per cent and repayable within 10 years, can be secured from the provincial government. Training is provided for men with no agricultural experience. A training depot has been established at Monteith which provides living accommodations and board during instruction. A reasonable wage, under the act, is to be paid. When a sufficient number of men are trained, a settlement is to be established, farms of 80 acres, of which 10 acres will be cleared, will be granted free and a loan up to $500 advanced for farm machinery and stock, repayable over 20 years. Provisions will be made for married men to have their families with them as soon as practicable.

British Columbia: The British Columbian act (6 Geo. V, No. 59), passed in 1916, provides for the settlement of ex-service men, including the widows of men who would have come under the act. The lands are to be granted free. In addition ex-service men can obtain on payment of about $10 a preemption claim to land, the area and residence requirements to be fixed by regulation, which is to be free of all taxes except for educational purposes. The act likewise provides that a fund shall be established from the sale of Crown lands. This fund is to be used for loans to returned soldiers, and will be administered by the Agricultural Credit Commission of British Columbia.

New Brunswick: An act was passed in 1916 (6 Geo. V, No. 9) authorizing the provincial government to develop a scheme for the settlement of men who have served in the present war. The work is to be done by the farm settlement board, and an area of 20,000 acres has already been set aside for beginning settlements. Settlements are to accommodate from 100 to 250 families, and a demonstration farm is to be established to provide implements and information. The farms will be from 10 to 100 acres, and the cost will vary. Those on Crown lands will be governed by the actual cost of improvements, the payment of which will be on moderate terms, spread over 20 years. Ex-service men can obtain employment in preparing the holdings until they desire to take up a farm.

AUSTRALIA.

The Commonwealth of Australia held a conference of the Federal and State authorities in 1917. A board was appointed, which was to include a minister from each State, and the Commonwealth authorized an appropriation of $100,000,000 for the work. The board is now working on plans for advancing money to soldier settlers, with rates of interest, method of repayment, and policy yet unannounced. The various States of the Commonwealth have taken the following steps for preparing land for returning service men:

New South Wales: In 1916, under the returned soldiers' settlement act (No. 21), areas of Crown land and resumed private lands have been set aside for the settlement of returned Australian soldiers. The State government will extend these advantages to soldiers of the Empire, and has already undertaken the preparation of 1,000 farms in the Yanco

irrigation area. The average farm is to be 50 acres, with a perpetual lease, and the rent 2½ per cent of the capital value, besides water rent. Advances will be made by the Government for the purpose of (1) paying off debts due the Crown, (2) for paying off encumbrances on the land, and (3) for building houses and making other improvements. During the initial stages, before the land has become productive, the Government may suspend payment. The proposed suspension applies to payments due (a) for rent, (b) water charges, (c) improvements, and (d) installments of purchase money. The Government Saving Bank of New South Wales will advance an amount up to three-fourths of the holder's interest in improvements. The legislation also provides for a previous six months' agricultural experience for the returning soldier. Otherwise, if he elects, he can go to the Government farm for the necessary training.

Victoria: Legislation indicating the policy of the Government has been introduced into the State parliament. It contains the following provisions: Irrigation land is to be open in settlements to the returning men. Settlers must pay deposits of 3 per cent on capital value, and make subsequent payment at the rate of 6 per cent per annum for 31½ years to cover the interest and purchase money. In case of soldiers from active service no payments for the first three years. In addition, advances will be made by the State government up to 70 per cent of the value of improvements, with a maximum of about $2,500. Previous agricultural experience is required before taking up land.

Queensland: The discharged soldiers' settlement act (No. 32) was passed in 1917. It provides facilities not only for the settlement of ex-service men of the Commonwealth, but extends it also to men of the United Kingdom and its allies. Crown lands and lands resumed by the State government are offered for settlement in "perpetual lease." No rent is required during the first three years, but after that time survey fees will be payable in 10 installments, and rent must be paid. On Crown lands the rent will be 1½ per cent of the capital value of the land. At the end of 15 years the rent will be determined by the land court. The lease will contain provisions for making improvements, for preparing the land, for stocking the farm, and erecting buildings—up to a sum not exceeding about $1,000. Advances to that amount can be secured from the Government Saving Bank, repayable by installments extending over 40 years. It is my understanding that an area of 60,000 acres has already been set aside by the Government in advance of this proposed legislation.

South Australia: By the returned soldiers' settlement act of 1916 (7 Geo. V, No. 1264) the State government has set aside two large blocks of lands, and liberal advances and conditions will be given returning soldiers. The administration of the land is in the hands of the land board.

Western Australia: A reservation of land has been made by the Government for the returning soldiers. Settlement on 160 acres, subject only to survey fees, is provided, and the repayment of these fees, together with charges against preliminary improvements, with the repayments of capital values, extends over 30 years. Loans can be secured from the State Agricultural Bank. On each settlement a central farm where soldiers can obtain practical training in agriculture will be established under State supervision.

Tasmania: Under the returned soldiers' settlement act of 1916 (5 Geo. V, 20) free grants of land are made to service men from Tasmania. The act provides for the sale or lease to returning men of the Australian forces and those from the United Kingdom up to 200 acres. A sum of money up to $1,500 may be advanced for improvements, implements, and stock, to be repaid in installments. No rates or taxes for four years will be payable by returning men. The legislation provides that some previous agricultural experience is necessary, otherwise the State farm at Deloraine will give adequate training necessary.

NEW ZEALAND.

The discharged soldiers' settlement act was passed in 1915 (6 Geo. V, 45) and amended in 1916, with a view to settling soldiers on the land. Provisions are made in the acts for the setting apart of areas of land for selection by discharged soldiers, and facilities are given whereby holdings may be acquired on easy terms. Advances may be made to selectors for clearing and improving the land, erecting buildings, and purchasing stock. Preference is likewise given to soldiers at the ordinary land sales. Following the example of the requirements for colonization, men who have had no previous farming experience can arrange for training on the State farms. These acts apply only to men belonging to the New Zealand forces and residents of the Dominion who have served in active military and naval forces.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

It is understood that the Union Government is working on a plan for settlement for a limited number of ex-service men with special qualifications for land development.

FRANCE.

On April 9, 1918, President Poincare signed a law providing for the acquisition of small rural properties by soldier and civilian victims of the war. It provides in part for "individual mortgage loans to facilitate acquisition, parceling out, transformation, and reconstitution of small rural properties of which the value does not exceed 10,000 francs." The loans are to be made from the agricultural lending societies at a rate of 1 per cent, with a term of 25 years. Advances for improvements are provided for, and a special commission is appointed to administer the law.

Since a large part of the soldiers of France are landowners, it is evident that the problem of the demobilization of the armies at the end of the war will be a simple one. The French soldiers will simply return to their farm homes.

This outline of the plans of other nations for their returning soldiers indicates that much thought and work have been given in these countries toward the solution of this problem. Of course I realize that these policies are made to fit the conditions and conduct of each particular part, whether it be nation or state. And I do not mean to imply that we can model our plans or policies along those lines. But I do believe that this knowledge points out one lesson that has much good in it. That is this, that the preparation of plans for providing opportunity for our returning soldiers can not be left to the day when the war is over.

Cordially, yours,

FRANKLIN K. LANE.

Hon. SWAGAR SHERLEY,
Chairman Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives.

The proposed legislation is for the purpose of providing an opportunity to procure homes for those of our returning sailors and soldiers who may wish them upon their return from the war, as well as giving a like opportunity to thousands of workers in munitions factories and other war industries who at the conclusion of the war will be out of employment. It is intended to promote as nothing else ever has the "back to the land" spirit. It is recognized that one of the great evils of the times in our country is the overcrowding and congestion of people in the cities, many of whom are utterly unfitted for city life and not adapted to the vocations thereof. After the war this undesirable condition will be greatly intensified. Further, there will be hundreds of thousands of young men who will have returned from service in our Army or Navy who will be out of employment and for whom there will be no jobs or positions. In addition there will be thousands and thousands of men and women, now employed in munitions factories and other war industries which will have to close at the end of the war, who will be out of employment. Many of them will have some means which they will have saved at their employment and with which they could locate upon and improve land and engage in agriculture, horticulture, or live-stock raising. All of the above-described classes of people will be needed on the land. The land will need them and they will need the land. It should be the object of the Government, and it is the object of this proposed legislation, to provide them with the opportunity of getting on the land. Furthermore, the undertaking which this proposed legislation contemplates, if embarked upon by the Government, would afford employment to thousands of men who will be out of employment at the termination of the war, when there will be a scarcity of employment in this country and when the idle will be clamoring for employment.

This bill is in line with proposed legislation suggested by the Secretary of the Interior, and the committee believes it of great importance. The committee further believes that it should be attended to in ample time and that no time should be lost in doing so. The war may end in another year, and if this scheme is to be embarked upon at all no time should be lost in doing so. The committee believes the proposed legislation and the undertaking contemplated thereby to be of great and vital importance to the country and a great and valuable economic program.

The committee recommends that, by amendment, the amount to be appropriated be reduced to $1,000,000, which in the opinion of the committee, as well as in the opinion of the Secretary of the Interior, will be amply sufficient. Of course, according to the terms of the bill, only so much thereof as would be needed is to be appropriated. With that amendment, the committee heartily recommends the bill for passage.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, some days ago the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN], the leader of the majority, gave out an interview upon the question of expenditures and the curtailment of expenditures by the Government for the future. I read a paragraph from that interview, as follows:

We have got to stop waste, extravagance, and reckless expenditure or the country is ruined. Unless there is an immediate cessation in piling up enormous indebtedness the people of this Nation will be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for generations. I want to begin curtailing appropriations at once. I want to get the country back into normal condition. This must not be done violently, but as rapidly as possible.

This announces a wise and statesmanlike policy, and, for what it is worth, I want to commend the Senator from Virginia for his statement and to assure him that he will get a vast amount of support if he will carry forward this program.

Mr. President, outside of the immediate questions of the war, the most vital question with which the country has now to deal is that of the curtailment of expenditures, and that relates not alone to war expenditures, which will necessarily and promptly be curtailed when the war shall have ended, but it relates to the expenditures which have been characteristic of our Government in times of peace. I say this, Mr. President, regardless of what party is in power.

If the people really knew the method and the manner in which we expend money and the waste of which we are guilty, they would mob us. It is by reason of the fact that the details of these expenditures are kept from the people that public opinion is not aroused to its height in regard to this matter. I was, therefore, exceedingly pleased when I saw that the able Senator from Virginia, the leader of the majority, at once seized upon the proposition of initiating a program of retrenchment which, I trust, will not relate alone to expenditures which have been necessarily incurred by the war, but to expenditures which have been characteristic of the Government in times of peace. We have for years been a wasteful, extravagant Government, expending money as if it came like "manna" from heaven and not through and by the toil and energy of the people.

Mr. President, there are some items which, it seems to me, ought to receive the consideration of the departments and of of Congress at once. I want to read a statement which appeared in a recent Washington Post, as follows:

The War Department yesterday authorized the Construction Division to proceed with 13 war projects, costing $18,000,000. The largest appropriation, one of $7,500,000, was made for enlargement of Camp Grant, Ill.

Other appropriations for extensions included Camp Custer, Mich., $4,815,000; Camp Dodge, Iowa, $2,835,210; Delaware ordnance depot, $1,203,185; and aerial gunnery school, Miami, Fla., $660,000.

I am unable to say, without yet knowing the terms and conditions of the armistice, and therefore being unable to judge entirely of the future, how far these curtailments may now be carried and to what extent we may now initiate retrenchments; but it does seem to me that those items are well worthy of the consideration of the Secretary of War, with the view of eliminating that further expenditure, if possible. I believe the terms of the armistice will be such as to make it impossible for Ger-

many to renew hostilities. We will know the terms in a few minutes, and I trust such expenditures as this may be greatly curtailed.

Mr. President, the Senator from Virginia will find, as he undertakes to carry forward this very wise program, that there will be a thousand reasons given for the continuance and maintenance of every expenditure which has been provided for. He will find that there will be a thousand reasons given for the maintenance and extension of every bureau that is now in existence; and before another fortnight has passed a powerful propaganda will have begun in this country for the purpose of satisfying the people that not only are these present organizations and institutions and bureaus and officers necessary, but that it is even necessary to enlarge and to extend them.

There is one thing that Congress has never yet been able to do, and that is to abolish a bureau or abolish an office. Congress has great capacity to make 12 men do what 1 man did before, but practically no capacity apparently to curtail or limit either the employees or the expenditures. I say to the Senator from Virginia that he will find that he has announced a program which it will be very difficult, indeed, for him to carry forward; and it is a program which, if carried out, will have to be carried forward regardless of party lines.

The reconstruction task which is soon to begin in Europe is as stupendous and overwhelming as the winning of the war itself. Millions upon millions of people will be out of employment and without the means of sustenance, and the United States must necessarily do its part in the feeding and taking care of this class of people. The burden upon the American people is already great—necessarily great—because nobody complained of a single dollar that was necessary to expend in the winning of the war; but because the burden of the American people is, and necessarily has to be, heavy, and, therefore, it ought to be the policy of Congress to eliminate and cut out every possible unnecessary expenditure. We want to do our part to the end, and let us waste nowhere and do unnecessary things.

National waste, Mr. President, has become a disease. It is not only characteristic of the National Government, and has been for years and years, but it is characteristic of township governments and county governments and city governments and State governments throughout this country. A republican form of government is necessarily a very expensive form of government at best, and especially under a Federal system such as we have, with its double layer and double tier of officers in the State and in the Nation. It is necessarily an expensive form of government; it is one of the prices which we pay for a republican form of government; but it behooves us, as the nature of it is to be expensive, to utilize our best efforts to see that it is not greater than the form of government absolutely requires.

We have been for years here creating commissions, paying stupendous salaries, and creating bureaus and enlarging them long before the war began. I am very much afraid that we will continue to do it after the war is over; but, as I said a few moments ago, if the Senator from Virginia will carry to the country the details of the expenditure of this money, we can build up public opinion in this country so that we can get results here in the Congress. You will find, however, as I have said, that there will be a powerful propaganda justifying these increased expenditures, justifying the amount which we are now paying out in different ways and for different purposes, and even insisting upon its enlargement.

What I have said has no reference to the particular bill which is before the Senate. I do not know yet what that bill provides for, or whether the expenditure under it is justified or not. I simply arose to indorse most heartily the view of the Senator from Virginia and to say to him I will follow his lead with zeal and enthusiasm even unto the full close of his program.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I notice that but a few moments remain before the Senate will take a recess and proceed to the Hall of the House of Representatives, so I merely wish to say a few words at this time.

I fully indorse the statement made by the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] in relation to the curtailment of the expenditures of our Government. I think, Mr. President, it is time now that Senators should take an interest in this subject; that they should not only make declarations that it ought to be done, but that they should point out how it can be done, then present a plan to the Senate, and ascertain if there is not a majority of the Senators in favor of a policy of restriction of expenditures. I have in mind, Mr. President, at some early date making some such recommendations; I shall wish to present them to the Senate, and I desire to assure the majority Members of this body that there will be an interest taken upon this side of the Chamber to stop every extravagant expenditure and every waste that is now taking place, so as to make every dollar of the Government's money go just as far as it would go if it were to be expended by an individual. If that policy is followed out, there is no question but that billions of dollars that are appropriated for the present fiscal year need not be expended or used.

Mr. President, I was very much pleased to read the recent statement made by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN], the chairman of the Appropriations Committee. I had already made a statement that was published generally, I suppose, but in the New York papers at least, that I thought extravagant waste now should be eliminated in every department of our Government. I will suggest one thing that I think ought to be done, and done immediately, by every department of the Government. I am told that in some of the recently created bureaus there are to-day employed over 10,000 people, and I know of one of them as to which I stated upon the floor of the Senate the other day that the head of a division of the bureau told me that if he were allowed to select 40 per cent of the employees, and had the absolute right of directing their work, he would accomplish more than is accomplished now by the 100 per cent.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. SMOOT. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator made that statement a day or two ago, and I was very much surprised to hear it. I should like to ask the Senator why the head of this bureau has not the power to do what he says he would like to do?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, the head of the division is not the one who directs the employment of the persons under him.

Mr. THOMAS. That is true of a great many of them.

Mr. SMOOT. They are sent to him by officials over him, and he is told to put them to work; and the head of this division says there are so many of them that they are in each other's way, and some of them that never ought to be employed in any department of the Government, totally ignorant of the work that they are called upon to do.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I think there is no doubt about that; and yet I am satisfied that there are bureaus the heads of which have ample powers both of employment and of discharge. That is the reason why I am surprised at the statement of the Senator. I fully concur in the statement so frequently made here that there are in this District perhaps 50 per cent more employees, so called, than are necessary. I do not think there is any question about it. The chances are—and I understand that they are organizing for the purpose, and that means political power—that an effort will be made to secure their permanent retention in office.

Mr. SMOOT. That, Mr. President, is the danger we have to meet to-day.

Mr. THOMAS. The chances also are that each of the great political parties will cater to that situation, because it will be a political asset.

Mr. SMOOT. In answer to that suggestion, I want to say that, so far as I am concerned, I shall not in the future approve of an appropriation unless it is shown to the members of the Appropriations Committee, and by them to the Senate, that it is absolutely necessary that the money be expended; and when a request is made for a horizontal increase of employees, as has been done in the past, I want to say to you that the first thing we ought to do is to go into an investigation of the request and find out whether they are needed or not.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator knows that a bill is now pending in the Senate which does that very thing—the so-called Nolan bill, which has passed the House. I am very glad to hear the Senator take that position, because I am in full sympathy with it.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I should like to call the attention of the Senator from Utah to a characteristic phraseology. On page 4 of the report of the committee, in the letter over the signature of Franklin K. Lane, he says:

> A million or two dollars, if appropriated now, will put this work well under way.

It is a case of throwing around millions. It does not much matter whether they get one million or two million, in Mr. Lane's opinion.

Mr. THOMAS. May I ask the Senator what the work is?

Mr. SMOOT. Survey and classification of unentered public lands.

Mr. PENROSE. It is an ingenious scheme to get money out of the Treasury for a very great purpose.

Mr. THOMAS. Is not that purpose connected with the proposed homestead policy for soldiers?

Mr. PENROSE. Yes; it is the bill that we are discussing, but it is so absurd for the Secretary of the Interior to say: "Give me a million or two million; one or two million will help along."

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator knows that in these days a million is not chicken feed when it comes to national appropriations.

Mr. PENROSE. I am hopeful, now that the war is over, that it will not be chicken feed.

Mr. THOMAS. I hope so, too.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, it took us a long time to learn to use the word "billions." Members of the Appropriations Committee would be discussing a question upon the floor, and it was next to impossible for any of them to use the word "billions"; but we have got to using the word so flippantly and so often that nothing short of a billion has been thought worthy of consideration. As the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. OVERMAN] suggests, if any member of the Appropriations Committee undertook to save a hundred thousand dollars he would be laughed at; and he might just as well have gone further and said that a mere question of a million dollars was not worthy of a moment's passing thought.

Mr. President, we have got to return to normal conditions. A reconstruction is to take place. As I have said in public many times, I have not been afraid of the outcome of the war. Success to the arms of America and her allies was as sure as that the sun would rise on the morrow. I have said that we would have no trouble raising money or enforcing laws and regulations during the time our armies were fighting the enemy of civilization; but I always had a fear as to our future after peace was declared.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. SMOOT. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WALSH. I feel very certain that every Member of the Senate will subscribe to the view of the Senator that economy ought to be the watchword, but I am curious to know what the attitude of the Senator is with reference to the pending bill. Is he opposed to the scheme proposed, of providing homes for the returning soldiers upon the available lands of the country?

Mr. SMOOT. If the Senator asks that question with a view of getting a direct answer, I will say that I certainly am not opposed to legislation along this line. I wanted to say to the Senator, however, that it is impossible to pass this bill to-day. There are Senators who are opposed to some provisions of it; and we do not want to call for a quorum before 10 minutes to 1 o'clock, as there is not a quorum in the city.

Mr. WALSH. The Senator will understand that I was not endeavoring to hurry his observations.

Mr. SMOOT. As the time has arrived for the joint meeting of the two Houses, I will say no more. In the near future I expect to point out to the Senate some of the ways that I believe will save the Treasury of the United States untold millions of dollars, and the quicker we get at it the better it will be.

JOINT MEETING OF THE TWO HOUSES.

The VICE PRESIDENT (at 12 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.). The hour having arrived at which, in accordance with the concurrent resolution of the two Houses, the Senate is to proceed to the Hall of the House of Representatives to receive a communication from the President of the United States, the Sergeant at Arms will take charge.

Thereupon the Senate, preceded by its Sergeant at Arms and headed by the Vice President and the Secretary, proceeded to the Hall of the House of Representatives.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 1339).

The address of the President of the United States this day delivered at a joint meeting of the two Houses of Congress is as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS: In these anxious times of rapid and stupendous change it will in some degree lighten my sense of responsibility to perform in person the duty of communicating to you some of the larger circumstances of the situation with which it is necessary to deal.

The German authorities who have, at the invitation of the Supreme War Council, been in communication with Marshal Foch have accepted and signed the terms of armistice which he was authorized and instructed to communicate to them. Those terms are as follows:

I. MILITARY CLAUSES ON WESTERN FRONT.

One. Cessation of operations by land and in the air six hours after the signature of the armistice.

Two. Immediate evacuation of invaded countries: Belgium, France, Alsace, Lorraine, Luxemburg, so ordered as to be completed within fourteen days from the signature of the armistice. German troops which have not left the above mentioned territories within the period fixed will become prisoners of war. Occupation by the Allied and United States forces jointly will keep pace with evacuation in these areas. All movements of evacuation and occupation will be regulated in accordance with a note annexed to the stated terms.

Three. Repatriation beginning at once and to be completed within fourteen days of all inhabitants of the countries above mentioned, including hostages and persons under trial or convicted.

Four. Surrender in good condition by the German armies of the following equipment: five thousand guns (two thousand five hundred heavy, two thousand five hundred field), thirty thousand machine guns. Three thousand minenwerfer. Two thousand aeroplanes (fighters, bombers—firstly D. Seventy three's and night bombing machines). The above to be delivered in Simmstu to the Allies and United States troops in accordance with the detailed conditions laid down in the annexed note.

Five. Evacuation by the German armies of the countries on the left bank of the Rhine. These countries on the left bank of the Rhine shall be administered by the local authorities under the control of the Allied and United States armies of occupation. The occupation of these territories will be determined by Allied and United States garrisons holding the principal crossings of the Rhine, Mayence, Coblenz, Cologne, together with bridgeheads at these points in thirty kilometer radius on the right bank and by garrisons similarly holding the strategetic points of the regions. A neutral zone shall be reserved on the right of the Rhine between the stream and a line drawn parallel to it forty kilometers to the east from the frontier of Holland to the parallel of Gernsheim and as far as practicable a distance of thirty kilometers from the east of stream from this parallel upon Swiss frontier. Evacuation by the enemy of the Rhine lands shall be so ordered as to be completed within a further period of eleven days, in all nineteen days after the signature of the armistice. All movements of evacuation and occupation will be regulated according to the note annexed.

Six. In all territory evacuated by the enemy there shall be no evacuation of inhabitants; no damage or harm shall be done to the persons or property of the inhabitants. No destruction of any kind to be committed. Military establishments of all kinds shall be delivered intact as well as military stores of food, munitions, equipment not removed during the periods fixed for evacuation. Stores of food of all kinds for the civil population, cattle, etc., shall be left in situ. Industrial establishments shall not be impaired in any way and their personnel shall not be moved. Roads and means of communication of every kind, railroad, waterways, main roads, bridges, telegraphs, telephones, shall be in no manner impaired.

Seven. All civil and military personnel at present employed on them shall remain. Five thousand locomotives, fifty thousand wagons and ten thousand motor lorries in good working order with all necessary spare parts and fittings shall be delivered to the Associated Powers within the period fixed for the evacuation of Belgium and Luxemburg. The railways of Alsace Lorraine shall be handed over within the same period, together with all pre-war personnel and material. Further material necessary for the working of railways in the country on the left bank of the Rhine shall be left in situ. All stores of coal and material for the up-keep of permanent ways, signals and repair shops left entire in situ and kept in an efficient state by Germany during the whole period of armistice. All barges taken from the Allies shall be restored to them. A note appended regulates the details of these measures.

Eight. The German command shall be responsible for revealing all mines or delay acting fuses disposed on territory evacuated by the German troops and shall assist in their discovery and destruction. The German command shall also reveal all destructive measures that may have been taken (such as poisoning or polluting of springs, wells, etc.) under penalty of reprisals.

Nine. The right of requisition shall be exercised by the Allied and the United States armies in all occupied territory. The upkeep of the troops of occupation in the Rhine land (excluding Alsace-Lorraine) shall be charged to the German Government.

Ten. An immediate repatriation without reciprocity according to detailed conditions which shall be fixed, of all Allied and

United States prisoners of war. The Allied Powers and the United States shall be able to dispose of these prisoners as they wish.

Eleven. Sick and wounded who cannot be removed from evacuated territory will be cared for by German personnel who will be left on the spot with the medical material required.

II. DISPOSITION RELATIVE TO THE EASTERN FRONTIERS OF GERMANY.

Twelve. All German troops at present in any territory which before the war belonged to Russia, Roumania or Turkey shall withdraw within the frontiers of Germany as they existed on August first, 1914.

Thirteen. Evacuation by German troops to begin at once and all German instructors, prisoners, and civilian as well as military agents, now on the territory of Russia (as defined before 1914) to be recalled.

Fourteen. German troops to cease at once all requisitions and seizures and any other undertaking with a view to obtaining supplies intended for Germany in Roumania and Russia (as defined on August first, 1914).

Fifteen. Abandonment of the treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk and of the supplementary treaties.

Sixteen. The Allies shall have free access to the territories evacuated by the Germans on their eastern frontier either through Danzig or by the Vistula in order to convey supplies to the populations of those territories or for any other purpose.

III. CLAUSE CONCERNING EAST AFRICA.

Seventeen. Unconditional capitulation of all German forces operating in East Africa within one month.

IV. GENERAL CLAUSES.

Eighteen. Repatriation, without reciprocity, within a maximum period of one month, in accordance with detailed conditions hereafter to be fixed, of all civilians interned or deported who may be citizens of other Allied or Associated States than those mentioned in clause three, paragraph nineteen, with the reservation that any future claims and demands of the Allies and the United States of America remain unaffected.

Nineteen. The following financial conditions are required: Reparation for damage done. While such armistice lasts no public securities shall be removed by the enemy which can serve as a pledge to the Allies for the recovery or repatriation for war losses. Immediate restitution of the cash deposit, in the National Bank of Belgium, and in general immediate return of all documents, specie, stocks, shares, paper money together with plant for the issue thereof, touching public or private interests in the invaded countries. Restitution of the Russian and Roumanian gold yielded to Germany or taken by that power. This gold to be delivered in trust to the Allies until the signature of peace.

V. NAVAL CONDITIONS.

Twenty. Immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea and definite information to be given as to the location and movements of all German ships. Notification to be given to neutrals that freedom of navigation in all territorial waters is given to the naval and mercantile marines of the Allies and Associated Powers, all questions of neutrality being waived.

Twenty one. All naval and mercantile marine prisoners of war of the Allied and Associated Powers in German hands to be returned without reciprocity.

Twenty two. Surrender to the Allies and the United States of America of one hundred and sixty German submarines (including all submarine cruisers and mine laying submarines) with their complete armament and equipment in ports which will be specified by the Allies and the United States of America. All other submarines to be paid off and completely disarmed and placed under the supervision of the Allied Powers and the United States of America.

Twenty three. The following German surface warships which shall be designated by the Allies and the United States of America shall forthwith be disarmed and thereafter interned in neutral ports, or, for the want of them, in Allied ports, to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America and placed under the surveillance of the Allies and the United States of America, only caretakers being left on board, namely: Six battle cruisers, ten battleships, eight light cruisers, including two mine layers, fifty destroyers of the most modern type. All other surface warships (including river craft) are to be concentrated in German naval bases to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America, and are to be paid off and completely disarmed and placed under the supervision of the Allies and the United States of America. All vessels of the auxiliary fleet (trawlers, motor vessels, etc.) are to be disarmed.

Twenty four. The Allies and the United States of America shall have the right to sweep up all mine fields and obstructions laid by Germany outside German territorial waters, and the positions of these are to be indicated.

Twenty five. Freedom of access to and from the Baltic to be given to the naval and mercantile marines of the Allied and Associated Powers. To secure this the Allies and the United States of America shall be empowered to occupy all German forts, fortifications, batteries and defense works of all kinds in all the entrances from the Categat into the Baltic, and to sweep up all mines and obstructions within and without German territorial waters without any question of neutrality being raised, and the positions of all such mines and obstructions are to be indicated.

Twenty six. The existing blockade conditions set up by the Allies and Associated Powers are to remain unchanged and all German merchant ships found at sea are to remain liable to capture.

Twenty seven. All naval aircraft are to be concentrated and immobilized in German bases to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America.

Twenty eight. In evacuating the Belgium coasts and ports, Germany shall abandon all merchant ships, tugs, lighters, cranes and all other harbor materials, all materials for inland navigation, all aircraft and all materials and stores, all arms and armaments, and all stores and apparatus of all kinds.

Twenty nine. All Black Sea ports are to be evacuated by Germany; all Russian war vessels of all descriptions seized by Germany in the Black Sea are to be handed over to the Allies and the United States of America; all neutral merchant vessels seized are to be released; all warlike and other materials of all kinds seized in those ports are to be returned and German materials as specified in clause twenty-eight are to be abandoned.

Thirty. All merchant vessels in German hands belonging to the Allied and Associated Powers are to be restored in ports to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America without reciprocity.

Thirty one. No destruction of ships or of materials to be permitted before evacuation, surrender or restoration.

Thirty two. The German Government shall formally notify the neutral Governments of the world, and particularly the Governments of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland, that all restrictions placed on the trading of their vessels with the Allied and Associated Countries, whether by the German Government or by private German interests, and whether in return for specific concessions such as the export of shipbuilding materials or not, are immediately canceled.

Thirty three. No transfers of German merchant shipping of any description to any neutral flag are to take place after signature of the armistice.

VI. DURATION OF THE ARMISTICE.

Thirty four. The duration of the armistice is to be thirty days, with option to extend. During this period, on failure of execution of any of the above clauses, the armistice may be denounced by one of the contracting parties, on forty-eight hours' previous notice.

VII. TIME LIMIT FOR REPLY.

Thirty five. This armistice is to be accepted or refused by Germany within seventy-two hours of notification.

The war thus comes to an end; for, having accepted these terms of armistice, it will be impossible for the German command to renew it.

It is not now possible to assess the consequences of this great consummation. We know only that this tragical war, whose consuming flames swept from one nation to another until all the world was on fire, is at an end and that it was the privilege of our own people to enter it at its most critical juncture in such fashion and in such force as to contribute in a way of which we are all deeply proud to the great result. We know, too, that the object of the war is attained; the object upon which all free men had set their hearts; and attained with a sweeping completeness which even now we do not realize. Armed imperialism such as the men conceived who were but yesterday the masters of Germany is at an end, its illicit ambitions engulfed in black disaster. Who will now seek to revive it? The arbitrary power of the military caste of Germany which once could secretly and of its own single choice disturb the peace of the world is discredited and destroyed. And more than that,—much more than that,—has been accomplished. The great nations which associated themselves to destroy it have now definitely united in the common purpose to set up such a peace as will satisfy the longing of the whole world for disin-

terested justice, embodied in settlements which are based upon something much better and much more lasting than the selfish competitive interests of powerful states. There is no longer conjecture as to the objects the victors have in mind. They have a mind in the matter, not only, but a heart also. Their avowed and concerted purpose is to satisfy and protect the weak as well as to accord their just rights to the strong.

The humane temper and intention of the victorious governments has already been manifested in a very practical way. Their representatives in the Supreme War Council at Versailles have by unanimous resolution assured the peoples of the Central Empires that everything that is possible in the circumstances will be done to supply them with food and relieve the distressing want that is in so many places threatening their very lives; and steps are to be taken immediately to organize these efforts at relief in the same systematic manner that they were organized in the case of Belgium. By the use of the idle tonnage of the Central Empires it ought presently to be possible to lift the fear of utter misery from their oppressed populations and set their minds and energies free for the great and hazardous tasks of political reconstruction which now face them on every hand. Hunger does not breed reform; it breeds madness and all the ugly distempers that make an ordered life impossible.

For with the fall of the ancient governments which rested like an incubus upon the peoples of the Central Empires has come political change not merely, but revolution; and revolution which seems as yet to assume no final and ordered form but to run from one fluid change to another, until thoughtful men are forced to ask themselves, With what governments, and of what sort, are we about to deal in the making of the covenants of peace? With what authority will they meet us, and with what assurance that their authority will abide and sustain securely the international arrangements into which we are about to enter? There is here matter for no small anxiety and misgiving. When peace is made, upon whose promises and engagements besides our own is it to rest?

Let us be perfectly frank with ourselves and admit that these questions cannot be satisfactorily answered now or at once. But the moral is not that there is little hope of an early answer that will suffice. It is only that we must be patient and helpful and mindful above all of the great hope and confidence that lie at the heart of what is taking place. Excesses accomplish nothing. Unhappy Russia has furnished abundant recent proof of that. Disorder immediately defeats itself. If excesses should occur, if disorder should for a time raise its head, a sober second thought will follow and a day of constructive action, if we help and do not hinder.

The present and all that it holds belongs to the nations and the peoples who preserve their self-control and the orderly processes of their governments; the future to those who prove themselves the true friends of mankind. To conquer with arms is to make only a temporary conquest; to conquer the world by earning its esteem is to make permanent conquest. I am confident that the nations that have learned the discipline of freedom and that have settled with self-possession to its ordered practice are now about to make conquest of the world by the sheer power of example and of friendly helpfulness.

The peoples who have but just come out from under the yoke of arbitrary government and who are now coming at last into their freedom will never find the treasures of liberty they are in search of if they look for them by the light of the torch. They will find that every pathway that is stained with the blood of their own brothers leads to the wilderness, not to the seat of their hope. They are now face to face with their initial test. We must hold the light steady until they find themselves. And in the meantime, if it be possible, we must establish a peace that will justly define their place among the nations, remove all fear of their neighbours and of their former masters, and enable them to live in security and contentment when they have set their own affairs in order. I, for one, do not doubt their purpose or their capacity. There are some happy signs that they know and will choose the way of self-control and peaceful accommodation. If they do, we shall put our aid at their disposal in every way that we can. If they do not, we must await with patience and sympathy the awakening and recovery that will assuredly come at last.

The Senate returned to its Chamber at 1 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m. and the Vice President resumed the chair.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 37 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, November 12, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *November 11, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father in heaven, we approach Thee with gratitude welling up in our hearts and praise upon our lips, that truth has again vindicated itself, right is marching on, and Thy will is in the ascendency.

Hostility has ceased. Democracy lives, and is spreading its wings over the earth. Autocracy, militarism, Kaiserism, and all the evils connected with them shall cease to be. Freedom, liberty, truth, justice, righteousness live, to the glory and honor of Thy holy name.

Let Thy wisdom descend upon those of the entente powers whose business it shall be to readjust the affairs of the world, that they may make it a safer place for Thy children to dwell in; that wars shall forever cease and peace reign. "The one sin in the world is selfishness; the one virtue is love. In these two rest all the theology and philosophy of the ages." Grant that out of this terrible war these truths may be thoroughly established; in the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, November 8, 1918, was read and approved.

SWEARING IN OF A MEMBER.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask at this time unanimous consent that FREDERICK ESSEN, elected a Representative from the tenth district of Missouri, be sworn in. His credentials have not arrived, but there is no question about his election. His majority is somewhere near 20,000.

The SPEAKER. Mr. ESSEN's majority was over 19,000. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. ESSEN, accompanied by Mr. DYER, appeared at the bar of the House and took the oath prescribed by law.

JOINT SESSION OF SENATE AND HOUSE.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution (No. 58):

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Monday, the 11th of November, 1918, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving such communication as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

The resolution was agreed to.

PORTO RICO.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to address the House for five minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Reserving the right to object, what does the gentleman propose to talk about? Last week similar requests were refused several times.

Mr. TOWNER. I hope the gentleman from North Dakota will not object.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I withdraw the objection.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. What I shall say refers to the situation in Porto Rico.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make a statement to the House relative to the situation in Porto Rico, and then to submit to the judgment of the House whether any action shall be taken.

In the month of October a very severe earthquake occurred on the westerly side of the island of Porto Rico. It was followed by a tidal wave and by minor quakes and caused damage, according to the statement contained in the official communication sent to me by the Secretary of War, of $4,000,000 in property and the loss of a number of lives.

Considerable Government property has been destroyed. The Governor of Porto Rico has made an appeal to Congress for relief, and an appropriation of $300,000 is asked for the purpose of restoring what we may call the Federal building; also the governor desires that there shall be such legislation as will enable the Government of Porto Rico to make an appropriation out of the treasury of Porto Rico to supplement the Federal appropriation for the purpose of giving this relief, which undoubtedly is urgently required.

If I may read this one section from the communication addressed by the Governor of Porto Rico to the War Department, it will perhaps enable the gentlemen to understand better the situation:

The property loss in the cities and towns directly affected by the earthquake is so enormous and the cessation of commerce and industry so complete and sudden that I do not think it possible for us to accomplish a restoration of anything like normal conditions in any reasonable time without congressional aid, and I feel confident Congress will help. I am sure it would if they could see matters as they now exist in the wrecked cities and towns.

On Friday evening last the Secretary of War sent to me by special messenger a letter, in which he inclosed the report of the Governor of Porto Rico, and made a recommendation that the request be granted, explaining its urgency; and on the strength of that a meeting of the Committee on Insular Affairs was called, which was held this morning. That committee unanimously adopted a resolution and directed that I, as chairman, submit the matter to the House and see whether or not unanimous consent could be obtained, provided, of course, I could obtain the floor, for the consideration of this joint resolution, which appropriates $300,000 and which confers on the Legislature of Porto Rico the authority to appropriate out of the Porto Rican treasury, an authority they have not had under the organic act. I will ask that the resolution be read.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I yield.

Mr. WALSH. Was there a majority of the Committee on Insular Affairs present?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. No; but the point of no quorum was not made. There was not a quorum of the committee present.

Mr. WALSH. Does the gentleman know whether concurrent action will probably be had during the day in the other branch if this resolution is passed by the House to-day?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. All I can say is that I conferred with Senator SAULSBURY, who is chairman of the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico. He inquired, first, if there was any pending appropriation bill upon which it might be possible to secure this insertion by way of amendment. I told him I did not think there was. He seemed to think that, as far as he was personally concerned, he would be able in the Senate to secure the passage of the resolution. They have no sort of agreement that will interfere in any way with this matter. He seemed to think that immediately after we received these communications. That is all the information that I could give the gentlemen about it.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman state if the matter is of such an urgent character that a day or two would probably make a considerable difference in this work of relief?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The Red Cross has been contributing. Authority was given to draw upon the Red Cross for $10,000, and out of that fund they have been taking care, as much as possible, of those who have been rendered helpless and are in want. In addition to the appropriation, this resolution also carries authority to the Secretary of War to loan Army tents and advance supplies out of material on hand. That part of it, I should say, in view of the fact, as I understand it, that the Red Cross funds have been practically depleted, would be extremely urgent. The earlier they begin the reconstruction of Government buildings, of course, the earlier they are going to be able to give employment to needy people.

Mr. WALSH. My last inquiry was prompted by the condition resulting from the agreement which was entered into in respect to the sessions of the House, and I wanted the gentleman's opinion whether he thought this was such an emergency as could not wait the termination of the time fixed by the agreement, which, I understand, will be to-morrow—whether he thought a delay of a day or so would be serious, and whether he thought it might pass the other branch to-day if prompt action was had by the House.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I am not able to state any more than I have said as to the possibility of its passing the other branch of Congress.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Tennessee will permit, I would say to the gentleman from Massachusetts that the agreement to which he refers does not terminate to-morrow. It terminates only when the Senate disposes of the revenue bill, unless in the meantime some emergency should happen, and then the agreement provided that the majority and minority leaders should give notice of that fact.

Mr. WALSH. As I recall, the agreement was that no business should be transacted before November 12.

Mr. KITCHIN. No. The date November 12 was mentioned in the discussion for the reason that it was then thought that we would make an agreement with the Senate whereby we could pass a joint resolution to adjourn until November 12, but the Senate failed to pass the adjournment resolution.

Mr. WALSH. If that is a correct interpretation of the agreement, then I will say to the gentleman from Tennessee that personally I have no objection, although it seems to me to be hardly of such an emergency character that it ought to be taken up now. I shall not object, however.

Mr. KITCHIN. I think it ought to be taken up. I do not believe there would be any objection if the whole membership of the House were present. It is one of those emergencies which are provided for in the agreement, but we provided that the majority and minority leaders should give notice to the membership; and the only question now is whether we should give such notice before we take this up for consideration. For myself, I believe the entire membership of the House, if present, would agree to this, and also that not being present, they will have no criticism to make of us if we here waive that portion of the agreement and pass the resolution.

Mr. WALSH. I will say to the gentleman from North Carolina that the statement of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] certainly shows that it is a very great emergency, and I have no doubt if a quorum were here that the resolution would pass practically without opposition. The only point is whether it is wise to attempt to project it into the proceedings in view of the agreement; but, as I understand the interpretation of the agreement made by the gentleman from North Carolina, it is that the agreement does not terminate to-morrow.

Mr. KITCHIN. According to the letter of the agreement, this would be a violation of it, and it is only a question of whether we who are present shall take the responsibility upon ourselves of technically violating the agreement to the extent of not requiring the majority and minority leaders to give notice to come in and vote on this proposition.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two or three minutes before the resolution is read.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will permit me to make this statement before that request is put: Of course, I am quite familiar with the agreement, and I have no personal desire whatever to do anything that would even appear to violate it; but it did seem that this was of such an urgent character that we would be justified at least in submitting the question to the judgment of the House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa asks unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Speaker, this matter has really been pending for consideration since the occurrence of this calamity. Soon thereafter an appeal was made by the Governor of Porto Rico and it was submitted to the members of the Committee on Appropriations and others, with the idea of seeing if something could not be done to secure immediate action. It was thought that perhaps under the agreement it was best not to make the attempt at that time. Since then, however, repeated requisitions have come from the island, and the reports as to the extent of the calamity and the amount of damage done have been constantly increasing. The amount of damage done and suffering of the people is a matter that could hardly have been appreciated earlier. I think there is no possible question but that we would be justified, in view of the existence of these facts, in taking this action, notwithstanding our agreement, and, of course, it can be done, as I understand it, by unanimous consent.

The matter has been quite carefully examined by the chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs, and by myself and others of the committee, and we have become satisfied that we would be derelict in our duty if we did not present it for the consideration of the House at this time. Gentlemen will understand that Porto Rico is not rich. They have very little taxable property on which to levy to support the government of the island. Their schoolhouses in half a dozen towns have been completely destroyed, and they have no money to rebuild them. Many of the public buildings belonging to the United States Government in the island have been destroyed, and, of course, it is our duty to rebuild those. Hundreds of men have been thrown out of employment. They have been deprived of their homes by the hundreds. The situation is very deplorable. Gentlemen will understand that the Red Cross have extraordinary demands made upon them. They have given to what they consider the extent of their ability in appropriating $10,000 to meet the immediate needs of the calamity. However, that is vastly insufficient. It has been supplemented in part by private contributions. Help has been given in various ways, but with all of these they are unable to meet the extent of the calamity and the extent of injury and the necessity for some im-

mediate action. I sincerely hope that there will be no objection on the part of anyone to the consideration of this resolution.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Kansas rise?

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of saying——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas asks unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I sincerely hope that no one will invoke the gentleman's agreement that was made with respect to bringing up matters of legislation during the interim that was agreed upon. This resolution presents a very serious situation among a helpless people. The only help they can get is through our Government. Hours of delay means serious loss and inconvenience to those people. I hope in the interest of the Porto Rican people, for whom we are acting, that no objection will be made, and I am sure that if the whole membership of the House were here not a single voice would be raised against this resolution. I hope, therefore, that no objection will be made, and that it will be agreed to.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 345) to provide relief of sufferers from earthquakes occurring in Porto Rico during the month of October, 1918.

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized, in his discretion, to loan, issue, or use such tents, provisions, and supplies pertaining to the Quartermaster Corps and Medical Department of the Army from any stores now on hand as he may deem necessary for the temporary relief of destitute persons in need of the same in the districts affected by earthquakes in Porto Rico during the month of October, 1918, under such regulations for the care and return of articles not consumed in the use as he may deem necessary.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of War, as in his judgment may be necessary, is authorized to purchase additional supplies for the relief of said earthquake sufferers and to provide employment on public works, including the rebuilding and repairing of the public buildings belonging to the United States Government which were partially or totally destroyed by said earthquakes, and for this purpose there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $300,000, to be expended under the direction and in the discretion of the Secretary of War.

SEC. 3. That the Legislature of Porto Rico is hereby authorized to extend relief and assistance in any form and in any manner to those destitute persons who have been rendered homeless or are in needy circumstances as a result of the said earthquakes, and to those municipalities in the island which are in urgent need of aid or assistance as a direct result of the said earthquakes, nothwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 19 of section 2 (being the bill of rights) of an act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes, approved March 2, 1917.

SEC. 4. That there is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such an amount as may be necessary to reimburse the several appropriations of the Army for such moneys or property as have already been expended or furnished in affording such temporary relief as is provided for herein.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be amended by striking out the words "Be it further resolved" where they appear at the beginning of sections 2, 3, and 4. Those words are unnecessary and are surplusage.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the amendment will be agreed to.

There was no objection.

The resolution as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read the third time, was read the third time, and passed.

RECESS.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until five minutes of 1 o'clock.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] asks unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until five minutes before 1. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the House stood in recess until 12 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.

AFTER RECESS.

The recess having expired, the House (at 12 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) resumed its session.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had agreed to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 58) that the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Monday, the 11th day of November, 1918, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving such communication as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Leave of absence was granted, as follows:

To Mr. SCOTT of Michigan, indefinitely, on account of illness; and

To Mr. LAZARO (at the request of Mr. DUPRÉ), indefinitely, on account of illness in his family.

JOINT MEETING OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE.

At 12 o'clock and 57 minutes p. m. the Doorkeeper, Mr. J. J. Sinnott, announced the Vice President of the United States and the Members of the United States Senate.

The Members of the House rose.

The Senate, preceded by the Vice President and by their Secretary and Sergeant at Arms, entered the Chamber.

The Vice President took the chair at the right of the Speaker, and the Members of the Senate took the seats reserved for them.

At 12 o'clock and 59 minutes p. m. the Doorkeeper, Mr. J. J. Sinnott, announced the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court entered the Chamber and took the seats reserved for them in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

The SPEAKER. On behalf of the House, the Chair appoints the following committee to conduct the President into the Chamber: Messrs. KITCHIN, GARRETT of Tennessee, HARRISON of Mississippi, CAMPBELL of Kansas, and MADDEN.

The VICE PRESIDENT. On the part of the Senate, the Chair appoints as a like committee Senators MARTIN of Virginia, SAULSBURY, SIMMONS, MCCUMBER, and FRELINGHUYSEN.

At 1 o'clock and 2 minutes p. m. the President of the United States, escorted by the committees of Senators and Representatives, entered the Hall of the House and stood at the Clerk's desk, amid prolonged applause.

The SPEAKER. Gentlemen of the Sixty-fifth Congress, I present the President of the United States.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT—TERMS OF ARMISTICE SIGNED BY GERMANY (H. DOC. NO. 1339).

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen of the Congress, in these anxious times of rapid and stupendous change it will in some degree lighten my sense of responsibility to perform in person the duty of communicating to you some of the larger circumstances of the situation with which it is now necessary to deal.

The German authorities who have, at the invitation of the Supreme War Council, been in communication with Marshal Foch have accepted and signed the terms of armistice [applause] which he was authorized and instructed to communicate to them. Those terms are as follows: I read them as transmitted by cable:

I. MILITARY CLAUSES ON WESTERN FRONT.

One. Cessation of operations by land and in the air six hours after the signature of the armistice.

Two. Immediate evacuation of invaded countries: Belgium, France, Alsace Lorraine, Luxemburg [applause], so ordered as to be completed within fourteen days from the signature of the armistice. German troops which have not left the above mentioned territories within the period fixed will become prisoners of war. [Applause.] Occupation by the Allied and United States forces jointly will keep pace with evacuation in these areas. All movements of evacuation and occupation will be regulated in accordance with a note annexed to the stated terms.

Three. Repatriation beginning at once and to be completed within fourteen days of all inhabitants of the countries above mentioned, including hostages and persons under trial or convicted.

Four. Surrender in good condition by the German armies of the following equipment: five thousand guns (two thousand five hundred heavy, two thousand five hundred field), thirty thousand machine guns. Three thousand minenwerfer. Two thousand aeroplanes (fighters, bombers—firstly D. Seventy-three's and night bombing machines). The above to be delivered in Simmstu to the Allies and United States troops in ac-

cordance with the detailed conditions laid down in the annexed note.

Five. Evacuation by the German armies of the countries on the left bank of the Rhine. These countries on the left bank of the Rhine shall be administered by the local authorities under the control of the Allied and United States armies of occupation. [Applause.] The occupation of these territories will be determined by Allied and United States garrisons holding the principal crossings of the Rhine, Mayence, Coblenz, Cologne, together with the bridgeheads at these points in thirty kilometer radius on the right bank and by garrisons similarly holding the strategetic points of the regions. [Applause.] A neutral zone will be reserved on the right of the Rhine between the stream and a line drawn parallel to it forty kilometers to the east from the frontier of Holland to the parallel of Gernsheim and as far as practicable a distance of thirty kilometers from the east of the stream from this parallel upon the Swiss frontier. Evacuation by the enemy of the Rhine lands shall be so ordered as to be completed within a further period of eleven days, in all nineteen days after the signature of the armistice. [The arithmetic is not correct, but I do not feel at liberty to correct the cablegram.] All movements of evacuation and occupation will be regulated according to the note annexed.

Six. In all territory evacuated by the enemy there shall be no evacuation of inhabitants; no damage or harm shall be done to the persons or property of the inhabitants. No destruction of any kind to be committed. Military establishments of all kinds shall be delivered intact as well as military stores of food, munitions, equipment not removed during the periods fixed for evacuation. Stores of food of all kinds for the civil population, cattle, etc., shall be left in situ. Industrial establishments shall not be impaired in any way and their personnel shall not be moved. Roads and means of communication of every kind, railroad, waterways, main roads, bridges, telegraphs, telephones, shall be in no manner impaired.

Seven. All civil and military personnel at present employed on them shall remain. Five thousand locomotives, fifty thousand wagons and ten thousand motor lorries in good working order with all necessary spare parts and fittings shall be delivered to the Associated Powers within the period fixed for the evacuation of Belgium and Luxemburg. The railways of Alsace Lorraine shall be handed over within the same period, together with all pre-war personnel and material. Further material necessary for the working of railways in the country on the left bank of the Rhine shall be left in situ. All stores of coal and material for the up-keep of permanent ways, signals and repair shops left entire in situ and kept in an efficient state by Germany during the whole period of armistice. All barges taken from the Allies shall be restored to them. A note appended regulates the details of these measures.

Eight. The German command shall be responsible for revealing all mines or delay acting fuses disposed on territory evacuated by the German troops and shall assist in their discovery and destruction. The German command shall also reveal all destructive measures that may have been taken (such as poisoning or polluting of springs, wells, etc.) under penalty of reprisals.

Nine. The right of requisition shall be exercised by the Allied and the United States armies in all occupied territory. The upkeep of the troops of occupation in the Rhine land (excluding Alsace-Lorraine) shall be charged to the German Government.

Ten. An immediate repatriation without reciprocity according to detailed conditions which shall be fixed, of all Allied and United States prisoners of war. [Applause.] The Allied Powers and the United States shall be able to dispose of these prisoners as they wish.

Eleven. Sick and wounded who can not be removed from evacuated territory will be cared for by German personnel, who will be left on the spot with the medical material required.

II. DISPOSITION RELATIVE TO THE EASTERN FRONTIERS OF GERMANY.

Twelve. All German troops at present in any territory which before the war belonged to Russia, Roumania, or Turkey shall withdraw within the frontiers of Germany as they existed on August first, 1914. [Applause.]

Thirteen. Evacuation by German troops to begin at once and all German instructors, prisoners, and civilian as well as military agents, now on the territory of Russia (as defined before 1914) to be recalled.

Fourteen. German troops to cease at once all requisitions and seizures and any other undertaking with a view to obtaining supplies intended for Germany in Roumania and Russia (as defined on August first, 1914).

Fifteen. Abandonment of the treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk and of the supplementary treaties. [Applause.]

Sixteen. The Allies shall have free access to the territories evacuated by the Germans on their eastern frontier either through Danzig or by the Vistula in order to convey supplies to the populations of those territories or for any other purpose.

III. CLAUSE CONCERNING EAST AFRICA.

Seventeen. Unconditional capitulation of all German forces operating in East Africa within one month. [Applause.]

IV. GENERAL CLAUSES.

Eighteen. Repatriation, without reciprocity, within a maximum period of one month, in accordance with detailed conditions hereafter to be fixed, of all civilians interned or deported who may be citizens of other Allied or Associated States than those mentioned in clause three, paragraph nineteen, with the reservation that any future claims and demands of the Allies and the United States of America remain unaffected.

Nineteen. The following financial conditions are required: Reparation for damage done. While such armistice lasts no public securities shall be removed by the enemy which can serve as a pledge to the Allies for the recovery or repatriation of war losses. Immediate restitution of the cash deposit, in the National Bank of Belgium, and in general immediate return of all documents, specie, stocks, shares, paper money together with plant for the issue thereof, touching public or private interests in the invaded countries. Restitution of the Russian and Roumanian gold yielded to Germany or taken by that power. [Applause.] This gold to be delivered in trust to the Allies until the signature of peace.

V. NAVAL CONDITIONS.

Twenty. Immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea and definite information to be given as to the location and movements of all German ships. Notification to be given to neutrals that freedom of navigation in all territorial waters is given to the naval and mercantile marines of the Allied and Associated Powers, all questions of neutrality being waived.

Twenty one. All naval and mercantile marine prisoners of war of the Allied and Associated Powers in German hands to be returned without reciprocity.

Twenty two. Surrender to the Allies and the United States of America of one hundred and sixty German submarines (including all submarine cruisers and mine laying submarines) with their complete armament and equipment in ports which will be specified by the Allies and the United States of America. [Applause.] All other submarines to be paid off and completely disarmed and placed under the supervision of the Allied Powers and the United States of America. [Applause.]

Twenty three. The following German surface warships which shall be designated by the Allies and the United States of America shall forthwith be disarmed and thereafter interned in neutral ports, or, for the want of them, in Allied ports, to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America and placed under the surveillance of the Allies and the United States of America, only caretakers being left on board, namely: Six battle cruisers, ten battleships, eight light cruisers, including two mine layers, fifty destroyers of the most modern type. All other surface warships (including river craft) are to be concentrated in German naval bases to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America, and are to be paid off and completely disarmed and placed under the supervision of the Allies and the United States of America. [Applause.] All vessels of the auxiliary fleet (trawlers, motor vessels, etc.) are to be disarmed.

Twenty four. The Allies and the United States of America shall have the right to sweep up all mine fields and obstructions laid by Germany outside German territorial waters, and the positions of these are to be indicated.

Twenty five. Freedom of access to and from the Baltic to be given to the naval and mercantile marines of the Allied and Associated Powers. To secure this the Allies and the United States of America shall be empowered to occupy all German forts, fortifications, batteries and defense works of all kinds in all the entrances from the Categat into the Baltic, and to sweep up all mines and obstructions within and without German territorial waters without any question of neutrality being raised, and the positions of all such mines and obstructions are to be indicated.

Twenty six. The existing blockade conditions set up by the Allies and Associated Powers are to remain unchanged and all German merchant ships found at sea are to remain liable to capture. [Applause.]

Twenty seven. All naval aircraft are to be concentrated and immobilized in German bases to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America.

Twenty eight. In evacuating the Belgian coasts and ports, Germany shall abandon all merchant ships, tugs, lighters, cranes

and all other harbor materials, all materials for inland navigation, all aircraft and all materials and stores, all arms and armaments, and all stores and apparatus of all kinds.

Twenty nine. All Black Sea ports are to be evacuated by Germany; all Russian war vessels of all descriptions seized by Germany in the Black Sea are to be handed over to the Allies and the United States of America; all neutral merchant vessels seized are to be released; all warlike and other materials of all kinds seized in those ports are to be returned and German materials as specified in clause twenty eight are to be abandoned.

Thirty. All merchant vessels in German hands belonging to the Allied and Associated Powers are to be restored in ports to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America without reciprocity.

Thirty one. No destruction of ships or of materials to be permitted before evacuation, surrender or restoration.

Thirty two. The German Government shall formally notify the neutral Governments of the world, and particularly the Governments of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland, that all restrictions placed on the trading of their vessels with the Allied and Associated Countries, whether by the German Government or by private German interests, and whether in return for specific concessions such as the export of shipbuilding materials or not, are immediately canceled.

Thirty three. No transfers of German merchant shipping of any description to any neutral flag are to take place after signature of the armistice.

VI. DURATION OF THE ARMISTICE.

Thirty four. The duration of the armistice is to be thirty days, with option to extend. During this period, on failure of execution of any of the above clauses, the armistice may be denounced by one of the contracting parties, on forty eight hours' previous notice.

VII. TIME LIMIT FOR REPLY.

Thirty five. This armistice to be accepted or refused by Germany within seventy two hours of notification.

The war thus comes to an end [prolonged applause]; for, having accepted these terms of armistice, it will be impossible for the German command to renew it.

It is not now possible to assess the consequences of this great consummation. We know only that this tragical war, whose consuming flames swept from one nation to another until all the world was on fire, is at an end and that it was the privilege of our own people to enter it at its most critical juncture in such fashion and in such force as to contribute in a way of which we are all deeply proud to the great result. [Applause.] We know, too, that the object of the war is attained; the object upon which all free men had set their hearts; and attained with a sweeping completeness which even now we do not realize. Armed imperialism such as the men conceived who were but yesterday the masters of Germany is at an end [applause], its illicit ambitions engulfed in black disaster. Who will now seek to revive it? The arbitrary power of the military caste of Germany which once could secretly and of its own single choice disturb the peace of the world is discredited and destroyed. [Applause.] And more than that,—much more than that,—has been accomplished. The great nations which associated themselves to destroy it have now definitely united in the common purpose to set up such a peace as will satisfy the longing of the whole world for disinterested justice, embodied in settlements which are based upon something much better and much more lasting than the selfish competitive interests of powerful states. [Applause.] There is no longer conjecture as to the objects the victors have in mind. They have a mind in the matter, not only, but a heart also. Their avowed and concerted purpose is to satisfy and protect the weak as well as to accord their just rights to the strong.

The humane temper and intention of the victorious governments has already been manifested in a very practical way. Their representatives in the Supreme War Council at Versailles have by unanimous resolution assured the peoples of the Central Empires that everything that is possible in the circumstances will be done to supply them with food and relieve the distressing want that is in so many places threatening their very lives [applause]; and steps are to be taken immediately to organize these efforts at relief in the same systematic manner that they were organized in the case of Belgium. By the use of the idle tonnage of the Central Empires it ought presently to be possible to lift the fear of utter misery from their oppressed populations and set their minds and energies free for the great and hazardous tasks of political reconstruction which now face them on every hand. Hunger does not breed reform; it breeds madness and all the ugly distempers that make an orderly life impossible.

For with the fall of the ancient governments which rested like an incubus upon the peoples of the Central Empires has come political change not merely, but revolution; and revolution which seems as yet to assume no final and ordered form but to run from one fluid change to another, until thoughtful men are forced to ask themselves, With what governments, and of what sort, are we about to deal in the making of the covenants of peace? With what authority will they meet us, and with what assurance that their authority will abide and sustain securely the international arrangements into which we are about to enter? There is here matter for no small anxiety and misgiving. When peace is made, upon whose promises and engagements besides our own is it to rest?

Let us be perfectly frank with ourselves and admit that these questions can not be satisfactorily answered now or at once. But the moral is not that there is little hope of an early answer that will suffice. It is only that we must be patient and helpful and mindful above all of the great hope and confidence that lie at the heart of what is taking place. [Applause.] Excesses accomplish nothing. Unhappy Russia has furnished abundant recent proof of that. Disorder immediately defeats itself. If excesses should occur, if disorder should for a time raise its head, a sober second thought will follow and a day of constructive action, if we help and do not hinder.

The present and all that it holds belongs to the nations and the peoples who preserve their self-control and the orderly processes of their governments; the future to those who prove themselves the true friends of mankind. To conquer with arms is to make only a temporary conquest; to conquer the world by earning its esteem is to make permanent conquest. [Applause.] I am confident that the nations that have learned the discipline of freedom and that have settled with self-possession to its ordered practice are now about to make conquest of the world by the sheer power of example and of friendly helpfulness. [Applause.]

The peoples who have but just come out from under the yoke of arbitrary government and who are now coming at last into their freedom will never find the treasures of liberty they are in search of if they look for them by the light of the torch. They will find that every pathway that is stained with the blood of their own brothers leads to the wilderness, not to the seat of their hope. They are now face to face with their initial test. We must hold the light steady until they find themselves. [Applause.] And in the meantime, if it be possible, we must establish a peace that will justly define their place among the nations, remove all fear of their neighbours and of their former masters, and enable them to live in security and contentment when they have set their own houses in order. I, for one, do not doubt their purpose or their capacity. There are some happy signs that they know and will choose the way of self-control and peaceful accommodation. If they do, we shall put our aid at their disposal in every way that we can. If they do not, we must await with patience and sympathy the awakening and recovery that will assuredly come at last. [Prolonged applause.]

At 1 o'clock and 31 minutes p. m. the President retired from the Hall of the House.

At 1 o'clock and 32 minutes p. m. the Speaker announced that the joint session was dissolved.

Thereupon the Vice President and the Members of the Senate returned to their Chamber.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the House, in accordance with previous agreement, adjourned until Thursday, November 14, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. WINGO: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 343) to provide for the procurement of a site in France and the erection thereon of a suitable monument or monuments or other memorials commemorating the valor and services of the American military forces; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. BARKLEY: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 344) declaring July 18 of each year to be a national holiday; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 345) to provide relief for sufferers from earthquake occurring in Porto Rico during the month of October, 1918; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. DALE of New York: Memorial of the Allied Printing Trades Council of Greater New York favoring the immediate passage of the Smith-Bankhead bill, providing for the rehabilitation of men and women disabled in industry; to the Committee on Education.

Also, a joint resolution of the Northern New York Federation of Women's Clubs asking for the passage of House bill 5407; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *November 12, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we seek Thy divine guidance. We pray that we may address ourselves to the nobler tasks of peace with the same enthusiasm and the same efficiency with which we gave ourselves to the conflict in which we have just been engaged. We pray especially that Thy blessing may rest upon those agencies that minister to the moral and spiritual welfare of the boys who have responded so willingly to the call of the country and who have so gloriously won the victory. We pray that there may be thrown about them to protect them Christian sympathy and helpfulness and service, and that they may return to us nobler men, unsoiled by their experience abroad, to enter once more with fresh vigor and life and high ideals upon all the affairs of our civil and commercial life. We pray that these agencies which minister to the welfare of the boys may receive the hearty and enthusiastic support of all the people of this country. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

COST OF PRODUCTION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS (S. DOC. NO. 300).

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting, in response to a resolution of September 24, 1918, certain information relative to the cost of producing wheat and other farm products, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed.

Mr. NORRIS subsequently said: I should like to inquire whether the report from the Secretary of Agriculture, which I understand has been made in response to a resolution submitted by myself and which the Senate passed several weeks ago, has been laid before the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It has been ordered printed and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. NORRIS. That is the order I wanted to have made.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S DIPLOMACY.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I ask consent of the Senate to read a resolution passed by the chamber of commerce in the city of Atlanta, where I live. The telegram to me states:

The following resolution was unanimously adopted this morning by the directors of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce: *"Resolved by the directors of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce,* That the following telegram be sent to Hon. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States:"

The telegram to President Wilson reads:

In this hour of victory and universal thanksgiving for the deliverance of the world from barbarism, we salute you not only as the Commander in Chief of our Nation but as the leader in the world's struggle for liberty whose words have shaped the issues of the contest and guided the oppressed peoples of many lands to freedom. Your counsel has been the healing of the nations and the inspiration of our soldiers and our people in the glorious service and sacrifice which have turned the tide of war and rescued the world from slavery. For your enlightened leadership we are profoundly thankful, and we congratulate you upon the happy and successful termination of the contest. As at the outset this organization tendered you its services in carrying on the war, we now pledge to you the best efforts and full cooperation of ourselves and our people in meeting the weighty responsibilities and difficult problems of reconstruction.

Mr. President, this resolution expresses the view of a splendid body of men, and in this connection I will add that the terms of the armistice could not be more satisfactory. If unconditional surrender had been required the result would not have been more complete. In this hour of joy at the cessation of bloodshed, the triumph of liberty, all fair-minded men should be ready to concede that the diplomacy of President Wilson, criticized by some during the past 60 days, has really saved the world from 12 months more of war and sacrifice. He carried the battle for democracy into the heart of Austria and into the heart of Germany. He conducted the struggle there which contributed not less than the forces of Gen. Foch on the front to bring the war to a speedy and triumphant conclusion.

The world recognizes this to be true, and every American citizen should realize the part played by our President and the personal value of that part to each of us as well as to all the world.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. NELSON presented the memorial of Dr. E. O. Thorson, of Luverne, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed sales tax on medicinal preparations in the pending revenue bill, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a telegram in the nature of a petition from L. S. Pomeroy, of Minneapolis, Minn., praying for the enactment of legislation allowing the deduction of a reasonable percentage of the value of merchandise inventories before arriving at the taxable profits, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Northwestern Hardwood Lumberman's Association, of Minneapolis, Minn., relative to the relaxation of present restrictions on the shipment and use of lumber, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented the memorial of H. D. Thorp, of Redwood Falls, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed tax on photographic supplies in the pending revenue bill, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented memorials from the Farmers and Merchants' State Bank of Oklee, the Glenwood State Bank, the First State Bank of Stacy, the Peoples' State Bank of North Mankato, and the Pelican Rapids State Bank, all in the State of Minnesota, remonstrating against the proposed stamp tax on bank checks in the pending revenue bill, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. McCUMBER presented petitions of sundry citizens of Fargo, Bismarck, Buffalo, Plaza, Epworth, Carrington, Ray, and Moffit, all in the State of North Dakota, praying for the enactment of legislation granting the same rights and privileges to chiropractors that are granted to other branches of the medical profession in the Army and Navy, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Mr. TRAMMELL introduced a bill (S. 5022) to authorize and grant to all officers and enlisted personnel of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps one month's furlough on full pay prior to being discharged from the service, which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

EMPLOYMENT OF ADDITIONAL CLERKS.

Mr. CALDER. I submit a resolution and ask that it be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The resolution (S. Res. 328) was read and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, as follows:

Resolved, That Senate resolution numbered 75, agreed to on April 3, 1918, being a resolution authorizing the employment of an additional clerk by each Senator having no more than one clerk, one assistant clerk, and one messenger for himself or for the committee of which he is chairman, for the remainder of the second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, at the rate of $100 per month, said compensation to be paid out of the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate, be, and the same is hereby, continued and extended in full force and effect until the end of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I offer the following resolution to go over under the rule. I ask that it may lie on the table for the present.

The resolution (S. Res. 329) was read and ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

Whereas the cause of the United States in the present war against the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires is identical with that of our allies, all having as a common object complete and permanent victory over the enemy and a peace on such terms as will prevent a recurrence of the catastrophe; and

Whereas the United States and her allies have established unity of military command in the prosecution of the war, and it is desirable that there should likewise and for the same reason be unity of diplomatic action between the United States and her allies with reference to their common enemy; and

Whereas the German Government addressed peace proposals to the United States Government separate and apart from the allies of the United States, and has attempted to bring about a separate agreement with the Government of the United States upon the terms of peace, and has requested the Government of the United States to act as an intermediary or mediator between the Government of Germany and the Governments of the allies of the United States in securing for Germany an armistice of arms and a discussion of terms of peace; and

Whereas the purpose of the German Government in such representations to the United States is to bring about a division of interests between the United States and her allies and a disagreement between them as to the settlement of the war: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that for the purpose of the existing war the United States should enter into full alliance with the other belligerent nations at war with Germany, and should conduct no separate peace negotiations, lay down no separate terms of peace, nor carry on any separate discussion with the German or Austro-Hungarian Governments as to treaty of peace, nor make any separate agreements with the German or Austro-Hungarian Governments as to peace or the terms of the same; and be it further

Resolved, That for the reason and purposes stated above the United States Government should, through its proper representatives, become a signatory to the agreement already made between our cobelligerents, having for its object complete unity between them in the matter aforesaid, known as the pact of London.

ADDRESS BY JOSEPH J. SLECHTA.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, I have here the address of Mr. Joseph J. Slechta, traffic manager Gaston, Williams & Wigmore Steamship Corporation. The address was delivered at the annual convention of the American Manufacturers' Export Association, held in New York October 30 and 31, 1918, and is entitled "How shall we have a real merchant marine?"

I beg to say that I know Mr. Slechta very well. He was in the Consular Service in Brazil for several years, and later was New York manager of the Brazil Steamship Co. He has been a frequent contributor to the leading journals in the country of articles relating to shipping and the shipping interests.

I ask that this address may be referred to the Committee on Printing with a view to having it printed as a public document.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That action will be taken.

STIMULATION OF AGRICULTURE—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I rose to ask the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] concerning the conference report on the agricultural extension bill. I understand that the Senator from Georgia has charge of the matter, and I wish to know what is the present status of the report.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I think we can get it up before the end of the week.

Mr. KENYON. Why can it not come up now? Is there any reason why it can not?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I think there may be some advantages by way of adjustment between now and the last of the week, and we can determine upon the course we will be compelled to pursue with reference to the disagreement in conference. It may be found that the only thing to be done will be simply to introduce a resolution continuing the Saulsbury resolution for six months after the declaration of peace. I feel sure that we can call up the conference report and have action upon it before the week passes. I will state to the Senator that I will aid in bringing it up before the end of the week.

Mr. KENYON. I will state that when I left a few days before the election I gave the chairman of the committee the power to use my vote in conference to recede from the rent amendment rather than to imperil the prohibition feature in the bill.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It was the Senator's power to use his vote in conference that brought the conference report into the Senate. His name was signed to the conference report which reached a disagreement.

Mr. KENYON. I do not want to see the prohibition feature of the bill under the present circumstances absolutely lost by the contest over the rent proposition.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It can not possibly be lost by delay. When we take up the conference report the Senate can recede from the Pomerene amendment if the Senate so desires.

Mr. KENYON. The Senator will bring it up during the week?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It is my purpose to bring it up during the week. I move that the Senate adjourn until Friday.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Before the Senator from Georgia makes that motion, I should like to call attention to a matter which is one of emergency and I think possibly the Senate had better adjourn until to-morrow. An earthquake occurred in the western part of Porto Rico on the 11th of October. It resulted in destroying probably $4,000,000 worth of property and some lives. There is an emergency resolution which has just passed the House, the attention of the chairman of the House committee having been called to the state of the case and to the need for immediate relief in Porto Rico. That resolution proposes to appropriate $300,000, which is subject to the disposal of the War Department for emergency relief in Porto Rico. I should like very much to get the attention of the Senate to it at as early a day as possible. The Committee on the Pacific Islands and Porto Rico has met and practically agreed upon the resolution. I would suggest to the Senator, if agreeable to him, that the adjournment be taken until to-morrow. The resolution has not yet come over from the House, but I hoped it would reach the Senate to-day.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It is generally conceded that a quorum of Senators is not now in the city. As the result of some conference among members of the steering committees on both sides it was practically agreed that a motion should be made to adjourn until Friday. It would seem that Friday would be as early as we could have a report from the Senator's committee. They could consider the resolution informally and be ready to report on Friday, could they not?

Mr. SAULSBURY. I will say to the Senator that has already been done by the Senate committee and I think it probably would be better not to adjourn until Friday. The House has adjourned until Thursday. The committee has instructed me when the joint resolution comes here to report it favorably with an amendment. So if the Senate would adjourn until Thursday, I could get action on it and the House having adjourned until Thursday it could then take action on the Senate amendment.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I desire the RECORD to show that at this time I am opposed to an adjournment to Friday or until to-morrow or any other day. There is much important business here to attend to, and if we keep on just meeting and adjourning from day to day, without doing anything else, until the revenue bill is reported, with business waiting for attention, it will never be attended to. The revenue bill will then displace everything else. Nothing else will have any show.

I refer particularly to the bill (S. 4947) to provide for a survey and classification by the Secretary of the Interior of all unentered public lands of the United States, and all unused cut-over, logging, and swamp lands and certain other unused lands of the United States, with a view to disposing thereof to honorably discharged soldiers and sailors and others for homes and for other purposes.

I think that legislation ought to be attended to without further delay and that we should not simply meet and adjourn from day to day, wholly disregardful of such important legislation. I emphatically protest against such procedure. We are here to attend to business and should do it and not be wasting time. I shall vote against the motion to adjourn.

ADJOURNMENT TO FRIDAY.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I move that the Senate adjourn until Friday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Friday, November 15, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *November 14, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, our Heavenly Father, we bless Thee for that silent yet potent influence which is ever going out from Thee to uphold, sustain, and guide Thy children in right thinking and pure living.

Make us, we beseech Thee, more susceptible to the heavenly influences, that we may be guided in this critical hour by Thy judgments, which are true and righteous altogether.

Man proposes but God disposes. Never was the old adage more clearly illustrated than in the terrible war through which the world has been passing.

Grant that the conclusions which shall be finally reached may guide to a peace which shall live forever and aye, and righteousness make glad the hearts of all mankind. In the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday, November 11, 1918, was read and approved.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has telegrams from the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. BRUMBAUGH, and the gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. LOBECK, asking indefinite leave of absence on account of sickness in the family. Without objection, the requests will be granted.

There was no objection.

NATIONAL BANKS.

Mr. EAGLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent as acting chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee to address the House for 10 minutes concerning the desirability of

the present consideration of Senate joint resolution 179, proposing to amend the banking and currency law in such a way as to permit national banks to contribute to the seven organizations which are raising a fund of $170,500,000 for the united war-work service.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent to address the House not to exceed 10 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Reserving the right to object, I want to ask the gentleman whether the Committee on Banking and Currency has acted on the bill to which he refers?

Mr. EAGLE. The committee has not, because this has been the first day since the recess of Congress when it was even possible that a majority of the committee were in the city. Nine only were present and responded to the call, while others sent telegrams expressing their thought about the measure; but there was not a majority present, whereupon the committee of necessity declined to take action.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is it the purpose of the gentleman from Texas to ask unanimous consent for the passage of the bill if his request is granted?

Mr. EAGLE. I asked for the present consideration of the bill.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I am frank to say that while I have no objection to the gentleman speaking, I should object to the passage of the bill under the circumstances.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, this is a subject which I presume practically everybody in the House would like to speak in favor of if it were in order. Why should the gentleman from Texas alone be allowed 10 minutes now in breach of our agreement? Is he acting chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency?

Mr. EAGLE. I am, and it was in that capacity I made the request.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under the circumstances, with all due respect to the gentleman from Texas, I am obliged to object.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, if I may make a short statement, I think I would have been compelled to object myself in order to keep faith with the membership of the House in carrying out the agreement that we made. It is a matter, of course, perfectly legitimate to be discussed in the House, and personally I would like to have heard the gentleman's remarks. But having entered into this agreement and having shaped the agreement myself and asked the House to enter into it, I think I should notify the membership of the House that I feel it to be my duty to object to any extension of remarks or discussion on the floor of any subject unless it is some emergency, such as happened the other day with respect to Porto Rico.

Mr. EAGLE. If the gentleman will yield, I think the emergency to which he refers, that of Porto Rico, is no greater than the emergency that induced me to ask for the present consideration of joint resolution 179.

Mr. KITCHIN. We have had to object to other gentlemen who desired to address the House since this agreement was entered into, and, as I say, I feel that I am compelled to carry out the agreement to keep faith with the membership of the House.

Mr. DYER. Will the gentleman state what the agreement is to which he refers?

Mr. KITCHIN. It is an agreement to take up no business, no extension of remarks, no unanimous-consent requests, until after the Senate disposes of the revenue bill, unless some emergency should occur, and in that event the majority and minority leaders would give notice to the membership so that it might return to Washington.

Mr. DYER. The gentleman is satisfied that under the situation, so far as the Senate is concerned, that agreement will prevent the taking up of any business by the House for the rest of the session?

Mr. KITCHIN. That was the agreement.

Mr. DYER. Then why can not the House adjourn?

Mr. KITCHIN. The House can not adjourn for more than three days at a time without the consent of the Senate.

Mr. DYER. Does not the gentleman think that the Senate would, under the circumstances, agree to it?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not think so.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I hope the gentleman will try it again.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. WINGO. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. EAGLE] made a request that he address the House——

Mr. WALSH. Oh, that has already been objected to.

Mr. WINGO. So as to show the House the situation, just as the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] did the other day. I trust the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] and the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] will at least permit the gentleman from Texas, who does not care to make a speech, but simply desires to lay the matter before the House as acting chairman of the committee, to address the House, and then, after having received the facts if the gentleman thinks it does not present an emergency situation, he can object.

Mr. KITCHIN. There is no question about this. The gentleman from Arkansas has been present here and has heard Members object to others addressing the House upon the ground that it is a violation of the agreement.

Mr. WINGO. Did the gentleman object to the gentleman from Tennessee when he made the statement?

Mr. KITCHIN. What gentleman from Tennessee?

Mr. WINGO. Mr. GARRETT made a statement the other day and got a bill passed as an emergency measure. The gentleman from Texas seeks to make a similar emergency request.

Mr. KITCHIN. But we all considered that that was an emergency, a great emergency, and the gentleman was present at the time.

Mr. WINGO. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. EAGLE] has stated that he desires to call the attention of the House to an emergency, and the gentleman refuses to permit the acting chairman of one of its committees to address the House upon an emergency so that he may lay the facts before the House and have it determine whether it is an emergency and coming within the spirit of the exceptions provided in the agreement itself.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman knows that it is a violation of the agreement.

Mr. WINGO. No; I do not. I have not been able to find out just what the agreement is. I thought it permitted consideration of emergency matters; and consideration of emergency matters has been permitted.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman ought to have been present in the House or ought to read the RECORD.

Mr. WINGO. I have been present.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order. This wrangle ought to stop sometime.

Mr. WINGO. I have been present in the House more regularly than has the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. WALSH. That is not in order.

Mr. WINGO. It may not be in order, but I have stated it anyway.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the gentleman is not in order.

The SPEAKER. This conversation is out of order and has been for the past 10 minutes.

Mr. WINGO. I have not the slightest doubt of that, and the remarks of the gentleman from North Carolina were out of order; and no rule of this House is going to keep me silent when those who are seldom here question my attendance.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, on November 11 the House passed, by unanimous consent, House joint resolution 345——

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. WINGO. Has the gentleman from Tennessee obtained unanimous consent to make this explanation?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman does not have to have unanimous consent to correct the RECORD.

Mr. WINGO. But he has not stated that he desires to have the RECORD corrected.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Military Affairs be discharged from further consideration of House joint resolution 345, which has already been passed, and that the same be referred to the Committee on Insular Affairs, to which it belongs.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to change the reference of House joint resolution 345 from the Committee on Military Affairs to the Committee on Insular Affairs. Is there objection?

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I should like to ask the gentleman whether or not that is an emergency?

Mr. MADDEN. The resolution has already been passed.

Mr. WINGO. Is there any emergency?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

Mr. WINGO. We all know that often controversies arise over changes of reference, and if a member of the Banking and

Currency Committee—the acting chairman—can not be permitted to even submit a request for consideration of an emergency measure I shall object to consideration of all other matters.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is the request of the gentleman from Tennessee. Is there objection?

Mr. WINGO. Not knowing that an emergency exists, I shall object, and I shall also object to any business being transacted that is not of an emergency nature.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arkansas objects.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman from Arkansas is right in objecting. I would myself.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is a motion to adjourn.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 17 minutes p. m.), in accordance with the order previously made, the House adjourned until Monday, November 18, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 11640) granting a pension to Mary J. Hood; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 6992) granting a pension to James P. Newton; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CLARK of Florida: A bill (H. R. 13132) authorizing the construction of additional vaults in the Treasury Building, Washington, D. C.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. GOULD: A bill (H. R. 13133) to grant all officers and men in the military services extra full-duty pay when honorably discharged or mustered out; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HICKS: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 346) declaring November 11 in each year to be a national holiday; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 347) declaring November 11 of each year to be a legal public holiday; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. VARE: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 348) declaring November 11 of each year a national holiday; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. FESS: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 349) providing for a world celebration in the city of Washington, D. C., July 4, 1919, to commemorate the ending of the war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. VARE: Concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 59) requesting the President to negotiate with foreign governments to make November 11 of each year an international holiday; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DENISON: A bill (H. R. 13134) granting an increase of pension to Homer H. Hanson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HICKS: A bill (H. R. 13135) for the relief of Lillian D. Boone; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McKINLEY: A bill (H. R. 13136) granting a pension to Sarintha A. Cashman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13137) granting an increase of pension to John E. Saxton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WARD: A bill (H. R. 13138) granting a pension to Isabelle Monroe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. DALE of New York: Petition of the aviation committee of the Special Aid Society, asking for increase of pay for cadet aviators; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of sundry citizens of Brooklyn, urging the passage of the Edmonds bill; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petitions of John Pierson, the Joseph Fallert Brewing Co., Sarah B. Van Brunt, and George T. Stockham, all of Brooklyn, N. Y., asking for the passage of the osteopathic bill; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of the Federal Employees' Union, No. 4, urging the passage of the McKellar-Keating retirement bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorial of the United Spanish War Veterans, National Soldiers' Home, Danville, Ill., asking further relief for veterans of the Spanish War; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, resolution of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, favoring amendment to section 202 of the war-revenue bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, favoring House concurrent resolution 53; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WALSH: Petition of certain subscribers to the fourth liberty loan, residents of Mattapoisett, Mass., urging absolute and unconditional surrender of the enemy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *November 15, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we desire to address ourselves to the tasks of this day with a sense of the Divine presence and leadership. We seek even-handed justice. We remember that Thou hast established Thy throne in the heavens and that Thy kingdom ruleth over all. Thy hand alone can hold the balance exact. Thy inspiration alone can give to us the wisdom and patience and love necessary to do justice as well as to love mercy. So we pray Thee to guide us by Thine own Spirit with regard to the difficult duties that now confront us. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, November 12, 1918, was read and approved.

DEEP WATERWAYS SYSTEM FROM DULUTH TO NEW YORK (S. DOC. NO. 301.)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of Commerce transmitting, in response to a resolution of September 21, 1918, a report on the commercial advantages of ship canals connecting Lake Erie and Lake Ontario and Lake Ontario and the Hudson River, which, with the accompanying paper, was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 345) to provide relief for sufferers from earthquakes occurring in Porto Rico during the month of October, 1918, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

CONGRATULATORY CABLEGRAMS.

The VICE PRESIDENT. There is an order of the Senate that no communications from foreign governments shall be received save and except they are transmitted by the President of the United States. The Chair believes that was intended to apply to any business that might be desired to be transacted with the American Government. Certain communications have been received of a congratulatory character from foreign governments to the Senate of the United States, and, if there is no objection, the Chair will have them read.

The Secretary read as follows:

LAPAZ, BOLIVIA.

PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
Washington:

I have the honor of communicating to the honorable Chamber presided over by you the following resolutions approved by the Bolivian Senate to-day:

"On receipt of confirmation of victory of the cause upheld by the allies in the European war, the national Senate of Bolivia rejoices over the victory of the cause of justice and right and is proud in the fact that Bolivia was the first South American Nation to break relations with Germany as a protest against the German methods of warfare, and

resolves to address cablegrams of congratulations to the corresponding legislative chambers of the allied nations, as also to those who like her broke off relations formulating a vote in favor of a speedy arrival of such a peace as will guarantee the tranquillity of the world.

"ISMAEL VASQUEZ,
"ATILIANO APARICIO."

I offer you my respectful considerations.

ISMAEL VASQUEZ,
President of the Bolivian Senate.
ATILIANO APARICIO,
Secretary of State.

HABANA, CUBA, *November 11, 1918.*

To the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
Washington:

The Senate of Cuba being organized, on this day hears the news of the signing of the armistice and unanimously passes the resolution—the Senators present standing—to suspend its session in honor of so auspicious an event and sends to its brother body its highest and most generous congratulations and makes wishes that a peace will be definitely secured which will guarantee liberty, justice, and democracy to the peoples.

RICARDO DOLZ,
President of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair also lays before the Senate a message from Montevideo to the American Senate, which says:

MONTEVIDEO.

The American Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The Senate of Uruguay felicitates the American Senate upon the decisive victory of the grand people of Washington upon the triumph of democracy.

RICARDO ARECO, *President.*
M. MAGARINOS SOLSONA,
Secretary.

The Chair thinks that being addressed to the Senate of the United States some response ought to be made to these communications.

Mr. POMERENE. I suggest that they be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The communications will be so referred.

RELIEF OF PORTO RICAN SUFFERERS.

H. J. Res. 345. Joint resolution to provide relief for sufferers from earthquakes occurring in Porto Rico during the month of October, 1918, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I am instructed by the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico to report back favorably with amendments the House joint resolution just referred to it. The amendments are as follows: Strike out all of section 4 of the joint resolution——

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, there has been so much confusion in the Chamber that no one on this side could hear what was the request of the Senator from Delaware. Will the Senator please state it again?

Mr. SAULSBURY. I will state to the Senator that I have made no request. I am making a report on the joint resolution which has just been received from the House, and which was referred to the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico. I am making a report from that committee favorably with certain amendments the committee has made. I was directed to make a report on the joint resolution. It is an emergency measure, and I propose to ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration as soon as I state what the report is.

The report from the committee is that section 4 of the joint resolution be stricken out, and that after the words "for this purpose," where they first appear in section 2, the following words be inserted:

And to reimburse the War Department for the several appropriations of the Army already made or expended in affording the temporary relief herein sanctioned.

In explanation of this report, I desire to say that the joint resolution passed by the House contains an appropriation of $300,000 to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War for the relief of sufferers by earthquakes in Porto Rico and for the rebuilding and repairing of public buildings which have been destroyed or injured by earthquake. There was a very severe earthquake in the western portion of Porto Rico on the 11th of October, followed by successive small ones, and there has been within the last few days another earthquake in Porto Rico, which has caused some destruction. The War Department already, by allowing houseless Porto Ricans to use tents, has afforded relief. It has also placed at the disposal of the needy Porto Ricans certain portions of war supplies under the control of the War Department in Porto Rico. The House appropriated $300,000 as an additional amount to the amount already expended or used by the War Department. The effect of the Senate committee amendment is to make the total appropriations for this emergency, including the money already expended, $300,000. The War Department as yet has no data showing how much has been expended or exactly what was done.

Mr. SMOOT. Will the Senator repeat the amendment?

Mr. SAULSBURY. The amendment is to strike out section 4, which validates all previous expenditures but which will be covered by the other amendment, which I shall now read. It is to insert, after the words "and for this purpose," in section 2, the following:

And to reimburse the War Department for the several appropriations of the Army already made or expended in affording the temporary relief herein sanctioned.

The effect of the amendment is to make the total amount which has been and may be expended by the War Department $300,000. I am informed by a letter from the Secretary of War and by letters from the Governor of Porto Rico that it is very necessary that some aid be afforded by the Federal Government. The temporary relief, so far as the suffering is concerned, will not be a great expenditure. The money will not be chiefly applied to that, but will be applied to repairing and rebuilding public buildings in Porto Rico which have been damaged and destroyed and thereby give employment to persons who have been deprived of employment by the destruction of their property.

Mr. PENROSE. There was some confusion in the Chamber while the Senator was bringing this matter up. I should like to ask him what committee reports the joint resolution?

Mr. SAULSBURY. The Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico.

Mr. PENROSE. It ought to go to the Committee on Appropriations or the Committee on Military Affairs. Mr. President, I do not say that I am going to oppose in this case the expenditure of money, but I do intend to take the stand that the time has come to call a halt. The Senate does not hold a meeting any day that some Senator does not bring up a bill to expend a million or half a million or some other considerable sum on some specious pretext. If we are not going to stop I do not know where we are going to end.

Mr. SAULSBURY. May I say to the Senator that I have not the slightest objection, if the Senate desires to have the joint resolution referred, to send it to any committee the Senate wants to refer it to. This is a matter which has been delayed for now nearly a week by reason of the adjournment of the Senate from time to time and by reason of the joint resolution not getting over here. It is an emergency which exists in Porto Rico for relief, which I think is entirely proper. If the Senator desires to have the joint resolution reported on by the Committee on Appropriations or any other committee I have no objection. I will have performed my duty by bringing this measure to the attention of the Senate and asking that it be acted upon.

Mr. PENROSE. Then I move to refer the joint resolution to the Committee on Appropriations, with the request that they furnish a full report to the Senate of the character of the damage done, with an itemized statement of the expenditures already made and some kind of information as to the expenses contemplated.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

Mr. SAULSBURY. If I may reply to the Senator's remark, I only desire to say that I think the condition of affairs in Porto Rico is such that Congress ought to act immediately on this matter. I have taken the matter up with the Chief of the Insular Division and endeavored to get the facts. Probably, if the Government of the United States waits until it gets detailed reports of the expenditures and what has been done there, the people of Porto Rico who are suffering will continue to suffer for a very considerable time. I shall vote against the motion, because the joint resolution has been reported from a committee. I did not seek to have it referred to the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico. It is simply to tide over an emergency in Porto Rico and to relieve people there in distress.

It seems to me we ought to be very much more careful regarding the people of Porto Rico than we would be regarding any one of the States of the Union, because the status of the Porto Ricans is one which is rather anomalous, as I conceive it, under our American Government. I think we should seek in every way to benefit those people, and particularly to relieve them from the great hardships which exist in their island, which we would not hesitate to do for one minute if there was a flood in the Johnstown district again, or if there were floods in Ohio, such as we have relieved. I think the emergency is the same. I shall vote against the motion of the Senator from Pennsylvania, because I think it should be attended to at once.

Mr. PENROSE. The Senator may be convinced that this appropriation ought to be made. I do not think any other Senator has the slightest information about it.

Mr. SAULSBURY. The committee, of course, has considered it.

Mr. PENROSE. I suppose the committee considered it. I do not know how many members of the committee were present.

Mr. SAULSBURY. A majority of the committee met last Monday and considered the joint resolution, anticipating that it would be here from the House and be referred to it as the proper committee.

Mr. PENROSE. The committee does not seem to have had very much information submitted to it. If we are to continue on every pretext of flood and famine and earthquake to spend public money on a large scale without any data, I do not know how we are to reduce the war taxes, which will be urged on us by everybody, in office and out of it. We have dealt rather generously with the people of Porto Rico. We freed them from tyranny; we put them in a position to control their affairs; and they are in receipt of a very liberal income as a result of the generosity of the United States.

I should like to have some little evidence that the Government of Porto Rico can not take care of the loss of $300,000 worth of property by an earthquake. Does the Senator from Delaware have any evidence as to how many buidings have been demolished by the earthquake and in what parts of the island?

Mr. SAULSBURY. I think if the Senator desires he might be enlightened by hearing the letter from the Governor of Porto Rico and the letter of the Secretary of War, which I will send to the desk. They have been considered by the committee.

I want to say, if the Senator was as familiar with what is known as the organic act of Porto Rico——

Mr. PENROSE. I voted for it.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Yes; one frequently votes for a bill when he is not thoroughly familiar with its provisions, especially if not on the committee which considered it.

Mr. PENROSE. Especially during the last two years.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I desire to make a parliamentary inquiry. Has unanimous consent been granted for the consideration of the joint resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. No; there is a motion to refer it to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. CUMMINS. I insist on the regular order.

Mr. PENROSE. If the Senator from Iowa objects to the consideration of the joint resolution, I will withdraw my motion and let it go to the calendar.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It can be reached again in three minutes under the call for reports of committees. The regular order is the presentation of petitions and memorials, if the Senator from Iowa insists on postponing it until later.

Mr. FLETCHER. It came from the House regularly and was laid before the Senate.

Mr. SMOOT. The joint resolution just came from the House and has just been handed down?

The VICE PRESIDENT. It was referred to the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, and, without objection, the Senator from Delaware was making a report upon it.

Mr. PENROSE. I should like to inquire when the joint resolution was referred to the committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. This morning.

Mr. PENROSE. The committee had about one minute's session upon it, if any session at all.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I stated that the committee anticipated that the joint resolution would come from the House, and last Monday had a meeting, at which a majority of the committee were present, and they instructed me when the joint resolution did come from the House to make the report upon it which I have made.

I want further to say in reply to the Senator from Pennsylvania that there is a prohibition against appropriations being made by the Legislature of Porto Rico, possibly not in this case, but in many other cases, and it is questionable whether they could give relief in this case. This joint resolution authorizes the Legislature of Porto Rico to make appropriations for this particular purpose.

Mr. PENROSE. Then we have got to pay for every expenditure in Porto Rico that their local law does not permit?

Mr. SAULSBURY. The organic law, for which the Senator has already stated that he voted, paragraph 19, section 2, provides:

That no public money or property shall ever be appropriated, applied, donated, used, directly or indirectly, for the use, benefit, or support of any sect, church, denomination, sectarian institution or association, or system of religion, or for the use, benefit, or support of any priest, preacher, minister, or other religious teacher or dignitary as such, or for charitable, industrial, educational, or benevolent purposes to any person, corporation, or community not under the absolute control of Porto Rico.

Then it goes on with other provisions.

Mr. PENROSE. That does not include flood or famine or earthquake, but it expressly says, "Not under the absolute control of Porto Rico." Let them control this expenditure.

Mr. SAULSBURY. But the joint resolution includes the word "charitable." Of course, the Senator did not hear that word.

Mr. PENROSE. I did hear the word "charitable," but that is used in an entirely different sense from the relief of an emergency. This is sectarian charity, and there is a provision contained in the constitution of every State in the Union that appropriations shall not be made for sectarian charity, and it is a very proper one. But the Legislature of Porto Rico could make an appropriation for a nonsectarian charity under that provision.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I am quite hopeless of being able to convince the Senator from Pennsylvania that the phrases which I have read, which seem to me to be perfectly clear, do not mean what he has construed them to mean. I do not know that it is worth while for me to try further in regard to that. The only desire I have in regard to this matter having been to correct a misapprehension under which I think the Senator is laboring about the meeting of the committee, the action which they have taken, and the very full consideration that they gave this subject or tried to give it—as full consideration as I know of any measure of this character having ever received by any committee of which I am a member—I think it would be perfectly proper to vote on the motion of the Senator to refer the resolution to the committee. I shall certainly vote against it, however.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I wish to suggest that I hope the Senator from Delaware will not impliedly agree that the joint resolution be referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I am not agreeing to that.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I think that the Senator from Delaware, as the chairman of the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, ought to insist on the jurisdiction of that committee over the joint resolution. I understand that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] only desires to have a full consideration of the matter and to have adequate data before the Senate votes on the proposition. The best way to have further consideration would be to have the matter referred back to the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico. The matter is properly in the jurisdiction of that committee; and it would be a reflection upon the committee, an attack upon the committee's work and upon the jurisdiction which has been allotted to it under the rules of the Senate, to take it away from that committee.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I agree with the Senator from Washington. I think that the joint resolution was properly referred in the first instance. I am obliged to the Senator, who is a member of that committee and who met with the other members of the committee to consider the joint resolution, for his statement. I am not consenting to the motion of the Senator from Pennsylvania, and I am going to vote against it; but it seems to me that we are wasting a great deal of time in finding fault with very small appropriations which are necessary, in the opinion of the committee, which has, in my judgment, proper charge of the matter, just because, I suppose, there is an idea that any possible appropriation would be objected to. I regard it as a petty objection to a very necessary appropriation, and it will occasion a delay which will work great hardship to the people of Porto Rico. It seems to me that we may certainly place $300,000 at the disposal of the War Department to repair buildings which have been injured or destroyed by earthquakes and to assist the suffering people of that island. I shall vote for it.

Mr. OVERMAN. If the Senator from Delaware will yield to me, I should like to ask him when this earthquake occurred? I confess I do not know anything about the earthquake or when it occurred.

Mr. SAULSBURY. The chief earthquake occurred on the 11th of October. There have been subsequent smaller ones, and within the last two or three days another has occurred, knowledge of which has come to me from the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department.

Mr. OVERMAN. Was there much destruction of human life?

Mr. SAULSBURY. I presume there was destruction of life; but I think the best way for me to inform the Senator as to that is to have the letters in relation to the matter read.

Mr. OVERMAN. I do not want the letters read. I merely desired to know if there was any destruction of life.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I can not say positively to the Senator whether or not lives were destroyed; but the destruction of property amounted to over $4,000,000. A great many people were rendered homeless, public buildings were injured, and many people were thrown out of employment by the destruction of buildings.

Mr. SMOOT. I desire to ask the Senator from Delaware to allow the joint resolution to go to the Committee on Appropriations, for the reason that I can not call to mind a single appro-

priation of this character which has not been referred to the Appropriations Committee. This is a direct appropriation, if ever there was one; I do not know anything about its details, except what I have heard the Senator state; but I think that where there is money appropriated directly out of the Treasury, as is proposed to be done in this case, no matter whether it may be for Cuba or Porto Rico or for sufferers in the South on account of flood or sufferers in Ohio or sufferers by earthquake in San Francisco, it makes no difference; legislation for that purpose ought to go to the Appropriations Committee. Therefore I hope that the Senator from Delaware will allow this joint resolution to go to that committee.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President, I think the joint resolution was properly referred to the committee of the Senate having jurisdiction of matters of this kind coming from Porto Rico. They are supposed to have some general knowledge in regard to subjects down there.

Mr. OVERMAN. I want to say to the Senator——

Mr. SAULSBURY. If the Senator will permit me to continue for a moment——

Mr. OVERMAN. Certainly.

Mr. SAULSBURY. The course pursued in the Senate with regard to this joint resolution was the same as that pursued in the other House. The joint resolution in the House of Representatives was not referred to the Appropriations Committee, but it was referred to the Committee on Insular Affairs, which I think is the name of the committee having jurisdiction of the matter in that body. When the joint resolution came over here it was very properly referred to the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico. It is now reported from that committee. I have no personal desire that the joint resolution shall be referred to any committee of which I happen to be the chairman or a member; but it seems to me that it should be referred to the proper and appropriate committee, and that that was done in this case. The Senator from Washington is a member of the committee; doubtless there are other members of the committee who are present, and I should be very glad to have them say anything they desire to say about it; but I think the motion to refer is an improper motion.

Mr. VARDAMAN. May I ask the Senator from Delaware what committee considered the joint resolution?

Mr. SAULSBURY. It was considered by the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico.

Mr. VARDAMAN. On what day was the joint resolution considered?

Mr. SAULSBURY. On Monday.

Mr. VARDAMAN. On Monday last?

Mr. SAULSBURY. Yes. The Senator from Mississippi was notified of the meeting of the committee, but he was not present.

Mr. OVERMAN. If the Senator will yield to me, I desire to say that there is no reflection intended on his committee. All legislation appropriating money should be referred to the Appropriations Committee. That is the committee which considers appropriations. The Porto Rican Committee is concerned in regard to Porto Rican domestic affairs and the laws of Porto Rico. Heretofore the appropriations in regard to Territories and for Porto Rico have been before the Appropriations Committee. We ought to refer to that committee all legislation making direct appropriations from the Treasury. If we do not do so we are going to find ourselves in inextricable confusion. The Committee on Appropriations is formed to consider these matters, and I wish to say, in answer to the Senator from Washington [Mr. POINDEXTER], that I do not think it would be any reflection on the committee of which he is a member to have the joint resolution referred to the Committee on Appropriations. That committee ought to be in touch with these matters. It is their duty to consider every appropriation which is to come directly from the Treasury. That is why the committee was established. The Committee on the Pacific Islands and Porto Rico was formed for the purpose of reporting legislation in regard to Porto Rico. They have performed that duty, and they have done it very wisely. I am not proposing to reflect on the committee, and I do not think anyone else is proposing to do so who favors a reference of the joint resolution to the Appropriations Committee. Not only this joint resolution, but every piece of legislation of a similar nature ought to go to that great committee, which has such matters in charge. They know the condition of the Treasury and they will get all the details in regard to the matter when it is proposed to pass a law making appropriations. That is their duty, and that is the committee to which, in my judgment, the joint resolution ought to be referred.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I know that the proposition which the Senator from North Carolina states has been agitated. It has been agitated by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON], and I think it has been advocated to a certain extent by some prominent members of the Appropriations Committee in the House, that all appropriations should be considered and recommended by the Appropriations Committee; but that is a change in the allotment of business of the Senate which has not yet been made. The Senator's statement that all appropriations ought to be considered and recommended by the Appropriations Committee is in the face of the fact that the Committee on Military Affairs prepares and recommends appropriations——

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. POINDEXTER. Just a second. That the Committee on Naval Affairs prepares and recommends vast appropriations, and that various other committees in connection with their jurisdiction over particular matters, such as the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, the Committee on the District of Columbia, and any number of other committees, prepare and recommend appropriations. Matters that relate peculiarly to Porto Rico and to the Pacific islands, which means the Hawaiian Islands, are within the jurisdiction of the committee on that subject, including the appropriations which relate distinctly and separately to those islands.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield to me, I desire to state that the rules of the Senate themselves provide where appropriation bills shall go. Naval appropriations, under the rules of the Senate, go to the Committee on Naval Affairs, and military appropriations, under the rules of the Senate, go to the Committee on Military Affairs. What the Senator from Iowa has been contending for is that all appropriations shall go to the Appropriations Committee, and I am rather inclined to agree with him; but under the rules of the Senate the Committee on Military Affairs, the Committee on Naval Affairs, the Committee on Agriculture, and certain other committees are designated by those rules to consider certain appropriations. Therefore every other appropriation, according to the spirit and meaning of the rules, should go to the Appropriations Committee. It is the duty of that committee to consider such appropriations, and they ought to perform that duty.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, the situation with reference to the joint resolution seems to be that it came over from the House, was referred to the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, and that committee has now made a report on the joint resolution. It was reported with an amendment, and now the Senator from Pennsylvania moves to refer the joint resolution to the Committee on Appropriations. I have never heard of such a procedure as that being followed in the Senate. It is a distinct reflection, it seems to me, on the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, which committee has considered this joint resolution, has gone into the details, has made inquiry and investigation regarding it, and is prepared to furnish information to the Senate to the same extent as any other committee could furnish it.

The Senator seems impatient and to want information. One Senator even suggested that he never heard of the earthquake in Porto Rico that occurred about a month ago, by which more than $4,000,000 worth of property was destroyed, people were rendered homeless, thrown out of employment, and are in a very distressing condition. They ought to be given relief.

The appropriate committee to consider that matter is the committee which considers all matters with relation to Pacific Islands and Porto Rico. That committee has considered the joint resolution; it has acted on it, and has the information here ready to lay before the Senate. Why can we not go on and consider the resolution? If it appropriates too much, or if the data furnished by the committee are not sufficient to warrant their conclusion, we can alter it, change it, or amend it as we see fit, but we can get just as much information on that subject now as we can a week or a month from now, after the Appropriations Committee makes a similar report on the resolution.

The committee charged with this particular duty has considered the joint resolution. It did not originate in the Senate; it originated in the House of Representatives; it has passed the House and was there considered by a similar committee. It came to the Senate and was referred to the committee having particular jurisdiction—special jurisdiction with regard to Porto Rico. That committee has investigated it, has reports from the War Department and from other departments upon the subject, giving all the data with reference to it. The newspapers of Porto Rico have been full of it, and have furnished information. I have read several issues of papers from that island describing the awful destruction of property and the tidal wave that swept over a large portion of the coast. The committee has found that those people ought to be given some relief. If that is true, why should we not act on it now? There is no use to give relief a month or two from now, when the people

will have died or have suffered all the distress of this terrible calamity to the limit. I think we ought to act on it now. The reference to another committee is simply procrastination and delay, and will accomplish no good result.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I presume that if there is any necessity for acting upon this resolution there is a necessity for acting quickly; but it seems to me that if the facts are in the possession of the committee which has reported the resolution the facts might be laid before the Senate, and the Senate can determine now as well as a week later whether or not it desires to vote this appropriation at all. Certainly if we are to act we ought to act in time to help the people whom we are assuming to help. I trust therefore that we may go ahead, have the facts laid before the Senate, and determine whether or not it is necessary to appropriate at all; and if it is necessary to appropriate, to appropriate in time to serve the people whom we wish to help.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Just a moment; let us get somewhere. We are in this parliamentary situation exactly: The joint resolution came over from the House of Representatives, and the Chair referred it to the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, to which committee the Chair thought it properly belongs. The Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, without objection from the Senate, made a report with an amendment, and just at the point when the Senator from Delaware was, so he says, about to ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the joint resolution, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] interposed with a motion to refer the resolution to the Committee on Appropriations. The Chair thinks that motion is in order and must be disposed of one way or another, but there is as yet no right for the present consideration of this joint resolution. On objection of a Senator, it will go over until to-morrow at least.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. Would it not first be necessary to discharge the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico from further consideration of the joint resolution?

The VICE PRESIDENT. It has already been discharged; it has already made its report. The Chair's opinion may amount to nothing, but he thinks it is no reflection upon the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico at all to refer the matter to another committee. The Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico have made their report. It is here now. There is no occasion to refer it back to them that the Chair can see. It went to them, in the view of the Chair, properly, and they very properly made a report, and it is here now. The only thing now to be done is to vote on the motion of the Senator from Pennsylvania to refer the resolution as reported to the Committee on Appropriations. If that is voted down and if there is objection to the consideration of the joint resolution, of course it can not be now considered, and goes to the calendar.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. President, I am not acquainted at all with the facts of the case before the Senate. Therefore what I shall say has no bearing on the real merits of this controversy. Neither do I intend to reflect upon the committee that reported the joint resolution, for I have no doubt they have given it as careful consideration as any other committee of the Senate would do if referred to them; but I think there is a question involved in this report that is very material to the orderly business of the Senate.

We have gone through a period of war where the control of legislation has been more or less lax and where, when the necessity presented itself, we have not hesitated to draw technical rules as to the jurisdiction of committees. But there is a reason behind the rules of the Senate, or the rules ought to be abolished; and, as I understand, the reason of the rules is not only for the conduct of orderly business in the Senate, but to preserve the rights of the Government; and one of those rights is to protect the Treasury.

Mr. President, there can be no doubt that a vast amount of money has been appropriated in the past year that was unnecessary because there was not an absolute coordination of effort on the part of one set of men with a view to protecting the Treasury against waste. When you scatter your appropriation bills among a number of committees there is not the check and balance that you have when they go to one committee.

To a certain extent that already has been done by the rules of the Senate. The very fact that the House and the Senate under their rules have deprived the general Appropriations Committee of part of its jurisdiction and have scattered the power to legislate in reference to appropriations is one of the reasons why we hear continual talk through the country to the effect that we should have some system of control of the Treasury expenditures, some budget committee, or some plan of that kind. It is because you have lost control where control ought to be placed.

The rules of the Senate provide that all appropriation bills shall go to the general Committee on Appropriations, unless the rules specifically provide in specific cases that they shall go to some other committee, and those are very clearly set out. In matters of war expenditures, the bills carrying appropriations go to the Committee on Military Affairs; bills in reference to naval expenditures, to the Committee on Naval Affairs; bills in reference to agricultural expenditures, to the Agricultural Committee; and a few other exceptions. But outside of those exceptions the Senate has given sole jurisdiction in matters of appropriation to the general Committee on Appropriations, for the purpose of conducting orderly business and for the purpose of conserving the Treasury of the United States.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President——

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Just one moment. Now we have reached an era in the history of this country, with the war over and war expenditures still hanging on the Nation, when the battle cry of the people of the United States of necessity must be retrenchment and reform in these matters. There can be no other course. It is idle to say that we will increase taxation when we can accomplish the same result by proper expenditures and reach it by economy.

I yield to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, merely for information, the Senator has stated that the rules provide that all appropriation bills must go to the Committee on Appropriations, except as the rules otherwise specifically provide. Can the Senator inform me where there is any such rule of the Senate?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I have not it at hand. I can find it for the Senator.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I can inform the Senator where the rule is to be found. It is on page 17 of the Standing Rules of the Senate, paragraph 1.

Mr. LENROOT. That applies only to general appropriation bills. Of course this is not a general appropriation bill, and it has been held many times that specific appropriations do not come within that rule.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. It has been held sometimes in the Senate in recent years, on points of order, that specific appropriations do not come within the language of the rules in reference to general appropriations. That has never been the holding in the House of Representatives, and has not been the holding in the Senate until recent times. I think it is a very lax ruling and a very improper one for the orderly conduct of business and the conservation of the Treasury.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I yield.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I should like to ask the Senator from Alabama if he will state to the Senate that it is his judgment that under a rule the general appropriation bills, except where specifically otherwise provided, shall be referred to the Appropriations Committee, a specific appropriation, one item for a particular case, should be referred to the Appropriations Committee?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I do not think there is any doubt about it. I am not talking about the technical language of the rule. The rule has been here for years. In the House of Representatives there never has been any question about it, and the rule reads in practically the same way.

Mr. POINDEXTER. As I understand it, then, that is a holding to the effect that the language "general appropriation bill" also includes a specific item of appropriation.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. It does where that is the gravamen of the bill. That is a general appropriation if it is the gravamen of the bill. I do not contend that a revenue bill might not be brought into the Senate, where the purpose of the bill is to produce revenue, and carry certain appropriations within the terms of the bill that are a minor matter, for the purpose of carrying out that bill; or that a bill relating to railroads and the government of railroads might not be reported from the Interstate Commerce Committee, having jurisdiction of it, and, as an incident to that bill, carry a certain amount of appropriations for the purpose of enforcing the terms of the law. But when it comes down to the sole question of the expenditure of money, and no other provision is contemplated, then I say that all bills of that class should go, and properly go, to one committee. Otherwise you leave this loose practice of allowing bills for the appropriation of money to go to practically any committee in the Senate, through some reason or other, pretext or excuse, good or bad. My criticism is not directed to this particular case, because if this joint resolution does not go to the Appropriations Committee I admit that it was properly referred to the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico; but if you allow

measures of this kind to be scattered throughout the committees of the Senate you give an opportunity to those who are anxious to secure appropriations to pick the committees where they will get favorable reports and steer bills in that direction. The only way you are going to conserve the Treasury of the United States, the only way we are going to meet this situation that is going to confront the people of the United States in the next decade, of economy in order to meet past war expenditures, is to have a committee that has the power and the jurisdiction and the ability to properly conserve the great appropriations of the Government, and by that I mean the small as well as the great appropriations that come before us purely as matters of appropriation.

If the Senate is going to continue—and there is precedent for it—its past policy of a loose distribution of bills, why should not this situation arise with regard to the Committee on Cuban Relations, for example? I do not know that that committee functions in any particular way at this time, or ever has; but it seems to me that if some American battleship were wrecked off the coast of Cuba, or some other question arose that needed money, and purely money, in Cuba, it would be absurd to say that that committee, which has no jurisdiction of the matter, and does not consider questions of appropriations, should have the right to bring in a bill appropriating large sums of money.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I yield.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I am very much gratified to hear the Senator from Alabama and other Senators express an ardent desire to curtail expenditures and protect the Treasury, but I am somewhat surprised at his statement that the Appropriations Committee is able and willing to do that. My impression of the Appropriations Committee—of course it has had the excuse of the emergency of the war, which, however, is now in part ended—is that it has been appropriating money here with about as reckless disregard of economy and of the burdens imposed upon the people as it was possible for the imagination to conceive. The impression that I have had, and my observation of the action of the committee, is that without question, without adequate investigation, without data, without attaching wise or prudent conditions as to the expenditure of the money appropriated, it has granted out of the Treasury of the people the amounts asked for by the departments and the various emergency commissions and committees which have been set up for the expenditure of this money.

One of the most powerful proofs of that that could possibly be introduced would be, if a man cared to use evidence of that kind, to take a moving-picture camera, station it out here by the Senate door, and focus it on the group of men who are engaged in constructing a vast number of temporary buildings here, and observe through it the actions of these men, who are being paid large wages out of the appropriations made without condition or limitation by the Appropriations Committee. Why, in a group of 20 you will see not more than 3 of them working or moving at one time, the rest of them being idle.

I might call the Senator's attention to the getting out of spruce by the Government, which I understand is still going on, although the armistice has been agreed to, and the probability is that there will be no further fighting in the war. There have been in the spruce woods of the Northwest a great army of men, at enormous wages——

Mr. UNDERWOOD. If the Senator will allow me, I am very glad to yield to him in my time for a question in regard to the matter under consideration, namely, appropriations that are within the control of the Senate; but I hope he will not take my time to discuss the question of how the money has been disposed of after it has left the control of the Appropriations Committee, because that is the issue involved.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I just wanted to call attention to the fact that those appropriations were made by the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I suppose it is natural enough for the Senator to take the position that he has taken, because he is not a member of the Appropriations Committee and he is not informed on the question. The reason why the Senator has made the statement he has just made is because of lack of information on his part, and I shall be glad to demonstrate that to the Senator. Being a member of the Appropriations Committee, I have some knowledge on the question.

I do not hesitate to say that that portion of the Senator's speech which relates to war expenditures to a large extent is true. I do not mean to say that the committee has not given careful study and a careful understanding of the facts so far as it was possible to ascertain the facts, but we plunged into this war without any knowledge whatever of what was needed or what was necessary to carry on the war. The executive branch of the Government, to a large extent, were just as blind as the committees of Congress, and we had to appropriate money in millions—yes, in billions—without an absolute knowledge of what could be accomplished by it, because it was war. But when the Senator says that the Appropriations Committee, when you go beyond the jurisdiction of war, has been reckless in its expenditures, he is not informed of the facts.

The bills that have been reported to the Senate from the general Appropriations Committee in matters of government that did not directly relate to the war issue have been cut to the bone. In every way they have economized. The committee has sat there month after month and refused to increase expenditures. It has been besieged from every source, in the Senate and out of the Senate, to increase wages and increase expenditures, but outside of war endeavor we have refused to do so continually and systematically.

Just to illustrate, the Senator refers to this housing proposition. Probably if the war had gone on for two or three years these buildings would have been necessary; but I concur with what the Senator says. The war having ceased, peace having come, the expenditure for these buildings is probably almost an entire loss.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to ask him a question on that point?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Yes.

Mr. POINDEXTER. The Senator says I am misinformed. I do not believe I am. I do not think the country is; but aside from that, let me ask the Senator this question: The Senator says the Committee on Appropriations acted carefully, and he says that he wants data in regard to the item that is now before the Senate. Did the Committee on Appropriations make an estimate or have an estimate or have any data whatever as to the reasonable cost of erecting these houses for temporary occupancy? I should like the Senator to advise me as to that.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I will call the Senator's attention to where he is misinformed.

Mr. POINDEXTER. What I should like to have the Senator do is to answer my question.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I am going to answer it, but I am giving the facts, and I am sure what I shall say will be a complete answer to the Senator.

This appropriation did not originate with the general Appropriations Committee of the Senate. The whole housing proposition came before the Senate Appropriations Committee originally and was turned down and they refused to grant the appropriation. Then it came over here, I think, as a House bill from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, carrying an authorization, I think, originally of fifty millions for buildings outside of the District of Columbia and ten millions for buildings in the District of Columbia. It did not go to the general Appropriations Committee, but it went to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds and was passed as a legislative bill, carrying an authorization. I suspect, although I do not know, that the Senator himself voted for it. I do not say he did, because I do not know, but I know of no serious objection on his part. When that authorization was made by law—was made by the Senate, not by the Appropriations Committee, and had been signed by the President and was the law—there was nothing in the world for your Appropriations Committee to do but to appropriate the money. We originally, as a committee, refused to pass amounts of this kind, and the matter was taken out of our jurisdiction, and we were directed by the law itself. So I say I think if the Senator would fully inform himself on these questions so far as they relate to the functions of the general Appropriations Committee of the Senate, he would find that where we had any reasonable opportunity we have conserved the public funds. I admit that in war expenditures in many places and to a large extent we had to make appropriations blindly, because the war drove us into that situation.

That is the real condition of things. I am not criticizing the joint resolution. I do not know the facts about it. I am not criticizing the report that is before the Senate. But I do say that if the Senate proceeds to scatter its appropriation bills to all the committees in the Senate you are going to have numerous instances, just such as the Senator has himself pointed out, of building $10,000,000 worth of houses in the District of Columbia that probably will not be used in the future.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, inasmuch as this matter, which I regard as entirely out of order, is likely to proceed interminably, I ask unanimous consent to present a petition.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If the Senator raises a point of order, the presentation of petitions and memorials is in order.

Mr. CUMMINS. I raised a point of order, and I insisted on the regular order after I made a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair did not so understand it. The regular order is the presentation of petitions and memorials.

MEASURES LIMITED TO THE WAR.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, I have a memorandum of important measures that were limited to the period of the war on the face of the statutes providing for them. I think it would be useful to Senators and others, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

IMPORTANT MEASURES LIMITED TO THE PERIOD OF THE WAR ON THE FACE OF THE STATUTES PROVIDING FOR THEM.

Sixty-fifth Congress, first session.

Public act 23, making appropriations to supply deficiencies for 1917.

PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION TO DECLARE WHEN WAR HAS TERMINATED.

SEC. 4. That the service of all persons selected by draft and all enlistments under the provisions of the act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917, shall be for the period of the war, unless sooner terminated by discharge or otherwise. Whenever said war shall cease by the conclusion of peace between the United States and its enemies in the present war the President shall so declare by a public proclamation to that effect, and within four months after the date of said proclamation or as soon thereafter as it may be practicable to transport the forces then serving without the United States to their home station, the provisions of said act, in so far as they authorize compulsory service by selected draft or otherwise, shall cease to be of force and effect.

Public act 23, making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations on account of war expenses for the fiscal year 1917, and for other purposes.

UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD AND EMERGENCY FLEET CORPORATION.

The emergency shipping fund provision of June 15, 1917, at paragraph 10, provides that "all authority granted to the President therein, or by him delegated, shall cease six months after a final treaty of peace is proclaimed between this Government and the German Empire."

Under section 11 of Public act No. 268 of the Sixty-fourth Congress, known as the United States shipping act, the United States Shipping Board was authorized, in order to carry out the purposes of the act, to form under the laws of the District of Columbia one or more corporations for the purchase, construction, equipment, lease, charter, maintenance, and operation of merchant vessels in the United States. Section 11 goes on in the last paragraph to provide that "at the expiration of five years from the conclusion of the present European war the operation of vessels on the part of any such corporation in which the United States is then a stockholder shall cease, and the said corporation shall stand dissolved. The date of the conclusion of the war shall be declared by proclamation of the President. The vessels and other properties of any such corporation shall revert to the board (Shipping Board)."

Public act 24, to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States and for other purposes, known as the "espionage act."

TITLE I.

SEC. 3. Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully make or convey false reports or false statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies and whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or shall willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, to the injury of the service or of the United States, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or imprisonment for not more than 20 years, or both.

TITLE VII.

SECTION 1. Whenever during the present war the President shall find that the public safety shall so require and shall make proclamation thereof, it shall be unlawful to export from or ship from or take out of the United States to any country named in such proclamation any article or articles mentioned in such proclamation, except at such time or times, and under such regulations and orders, and subject to such limitations and exceptions as the President shall prescribe, until otherwise ordered by the President or by Congress: *Provided, however*, That no preference shall be given to the ports of one State over those of another.

The appropriations for the War Trade Board are based upon authority contained in this and the "trading-with-the-enemy act."

Public act 26, to authorize condemnation proceedings for lands for military purposes.

Hereafter the Secretary of War may cause proceedings to be instituted in the name of the United States, in any court having jurisdiction of such proceedings, for the acquirement by condemnation of any land, temporary use thereof, or other interest therein, or right pertaining thereto needed for certain military purposes. * * *

(No limitation.)

Public act 29, authorizing the President to increase temporarily the Signal Corps of the Army and to purchase, manufacture, maintain, repair, and operate airships, and to make appropriations therefor, and for other purposes, for and during the present emergency.

Public act 40, to provide for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products.

SEC. 12. That the provisions of this act shall cease to be in effect when the national emergency resulting from the existing state of war shall have passed, the date of which shall be ascertained and proclaimed by the President; but the date when this act shall cease to be in effect shall not be later than the beginning of the next fiscal year after the termination, as ascertained by the President, of the present war.

Public act 41, to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.

SEC. 24. That the provisions of this act shall cease to be in effect when the existing state of war between the United States and Germany shall have terminated, and the fact and date of such termination shall be ascertained and proclaimed by the President * * *.

Public act 48, to create the Aircraft Board and provide for its maintenance.

SEC. 3. That said board and tenure of the members thereof shall continue during the pleasure of the President, but not longer than six months after the present war.

Public act 91, to define, regulate, and punish trading with the enemy, and for other purposes, known as the "trading-with-the-enemy act."

Nearly all activities authorized in this act cease upon the termination of the war, except certain duties of the Alien Property Custodian in handling property in his possession.

The appropriations for the Alien Property Custodian, the War Trade Board, and for censorship are based wholly or in part upon authority contained in this act.

Sixty-fifth Congress, second session.

Public act 102, to authorize and empower the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation to purchase, lease, requisition, or otherwise acquire, and to sell or otherwise dispose of improved or unimproved land, houses, buildings, and for other purposes, and provide housing facilities for its employees.

(No limitations.)

Public act 107, to provide for the operation of transportation systems while under Federal control, for the just compensation of their owners, and for other purposes.

SEC. 14. That the Federal control of railroads and transportation systems herein and heretofore provided for shall continue for and during the period of the war and for a reasonable time thereafter, which shall not exceed one year and nine months next following the date of the proclamation by the President of the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of peace: *Provided, however*, That the President may prior to July 1, 1918, relinquish control of all or any part of any railroad or system of transportation further Federal control of which the President shall deem not needful or desirable; and the President may at any time during the period of Federal control agree with the owners thereof to relinquish all or any part of any railroad or system of transportation. The President may relinquish all railroads and systems of transportation under Federal control at any time he shall deem such action needful or desirable. No right to compensation shall accrue to such owners from and after the date of relinquishment for the property so relinquished.

SEC. 16. That this act is expressly declared to be emergency legislation enacted to meet conditions growing out of the war; and nothing herein is to be construed as expressing or prejudicing the future policy of the Federal Government concerning the

ownership, control, or regulation of carriers or the method or basis of the capitalization thereof.

Public act 121, to provide further for the national security and defense and, for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to provide credits for industries and enterprises in the United States necessary or contributory to the prosecution of the war, and to supervise the issuance of securities, and for other purposes, known as the War Finance Corporation act.

TITLE I. WAR FINANCE CORPORATION.

That the Secretary of the Treasury and four additional persons (who shall be the directors first appointed, as hereinafter provided) are hereby created a body corporate and politic in deed and in law by the name, style, and title of the "War Finance Corporation" (herein called the corporation), and shall have succession for a period of 10 years: *Provided*, That in no event shall the corporation exercise any of the powers conferred by this act, except such as are incidental to the liquidation of its assets and the winding up of its affairs after six months after the termination of the war, the date of such termination to be fixed by proclamation of the President of the United States.

TITLE II.—CAPITAL ISSUES COMMITTEE.

SEC. 200. That there is hereby created a committee to be known as the "Capital Issues Committee," hereinafter called the committee, and to be composed of seven members to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. At least three of the members shall be members of the Federal Reserve Board.

The terms during which the several members of the committee shall respectively hold office shall be determined by the President of the United States.

SEC. 206. That this title shall continue in effect until, but not after, the expiration of six months after the termination of the war, the date of such termination to be determined by a proclamation of the President of the United States, but the President may at any time by proclamation declare that this title is no longer necessary and thereupon it shall cease to be in effect.

Public act 149, to authorize the President to provide housing for war needs.

SEC. 5. That the power and authority granted therein shall cease with the termination of the present war, except the power and authority to care for, sell, or rent such property as remains undisposed of and to conclude and execute contracts for the sale of property made during the war. Such property shall be sold as soon after the conclusion of the war as it can be advantageously done: *Provided*, That before any sale is consummated the same must be authorized by Congress.

All moneys received by the United States in carrying out the act entitled "An act to authorize the President to provide housing for war needs," approved May 16, 1918, may be used as a revolving fund until June 30, 1919, for further carrying out the purposes of the said act. (Additional urgent deficiency act for fiscal year 1918.)

Public act 152, authorizing the President to coordinate or consolidate executive bureaus, agencies, and offices, and for other purposes, in the interest of economy and the more efficient concentration of the Government.

For the national security and defense, for the successful prosecution of the war, for the support and maintenance of the Army and Navy, for the better utilization of resources and industries, and for the more effective exercise and more efficient administration by the President of his powers as Commander in Chief of the land and naval forces the President is hereby authorized to make such redistribution of functions among executive agencies as he may deem necessary, including any functions, duties, and powers hitherto by law conferred upon any executive department, commission, bureau, agency, office, or officer, in such manner as in his judgment shall seem best fitted to carry out the purposes of this act, and to this end is authorized to make such regulations and to issue such orders as he may deem necessary, which regulations and orders shall be in writing and shall be filed with the head of the department affected and constitute a public record: *Provided*, That this act shall remain in force during the continuance of the present war and for six months after the termination of the war by the proclamation of the treaty of peace, or at such earlier time as the President may designate: *Provided further*, That the termination of this act shall not affect any act done or any right or obligation accruing or accrued pursuant to this act and during the time that this act is in force: *Provided further*, That the authority by this act granted shall be exercised only in matters relating to the conduct of the present war.

Public act 181, making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and for other purposes.

NATIONAL DEFENSE.

For the national security and defense, and for each and every purpose connected therewith, to be expended at the discretion of the President, $50,000,000.

WAR EMERGENCY SERVICES.

To enable the Secretary of Labor during the present emergency to furnish such information and to render such assistance in the employment of wage earners throughout the United States as may be deemed necessary in the prosecution of the war and to aid in the standardization of all wages paid by the Government of the United States and its agencies, including personal services in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, per diem in lieu of subsistence at not exceeding $4, traveling expenses, rental of quarters in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, heat and light, telegraph and telephone service, supplies and equipment, and printing and binding, $5,500,000: *Provided*, That no money now or hereafter appropriated for the payment of wages not fixed by statute shall be available to pay wages in excess of the standard determined upon by the War Labor Policies Board.

To enable the Secretary of Labor, during the present emergency, to carry on the work of war-labor administration, including mediation and conciliation in labor disputes, the working conditions of wage earners in the most essential war industries, the acquiring and diffusing of information on subjects connected with labor, the employment of women in industry, and the training and dilution of labor, including personal services and rent in the District of Columbia and in the field, per diem in lieu of subsistence not to exceed $4, traveling expenses, law books, books of reference, periodicals, newspapers, supplies and equipment, and contingent and miscellaneous expenses, in amounts not exceeding the following: Commissioners of conciliation, $300,000; working conditions service, $45,000; information and education service, $225,000; woman in industry service, $40,000; investigation and inspection service, $300,000; personnel service, $15,000; training and dilution service, $150,000; Secretary's office, $110,000; printing and binding for all services, $150,000; in all, $1,335,000.

Public act 193, making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919.

CHAPTER XXI.

Power of the President to increase the drafted Army: That the authority conferred upon the President by the act approved May 18, 1917, entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," is hereby extended so as to authorize him during each fiscal year to raise by draft as provided in said act and acts amendatory thereof the maximum number of men which may be organized, equipped, trained, and used during such year for the prosecution of the present war until the same shall have been brought to a successful conclusion.

Public act 220, to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of those ores, metals, and minerals which have formerly been largely imported, or of which there is or may be an inadequate supply.

SEC. 10. Upon the proclamation of peace the President shall proceed as rapidly as possible to wind up and terminate all transactions under this act, and to dispose as fast as practicable of all property acquired thereunder, and after said proclamation of peace no contracts shall be made, property acquired, or other transaction performed under this act except such as shall be necessary for the purpose of this section and incidental thereto, and two years after such proclamation of peace this act shall cease to have effect and all powers conferred thereby shall end: *Provided*, That the termination of this act shall not prevent the subsequent collection of any moneys due the United States, nor shall it affect any act done or any right or obligation accrued or accruing, or any suit or proceeding had or commenced before such termination, but all such collections, rights, obligations, suits, and proceedings shall continue as if this act had not terminated, and any offense committed or liability incurred prior thereto shall be prosecuted in the same manner and with the same punishment and effect as if this act had not terminated.

Public resolution 38, to authorize the President, in time of war, to supervise or take possession and assume control of any telegraph, telephone, marine cable, or radio system or systems, or any part thereof, and to operate the same in such manner as may be needful or desirable for the duration of the war, and to provide just compensation therefor.

The President during the continuance of the present war is authorized and empowered, whenever he shall deem it necessary for the national security or defense, to supervise or to take possession and assume control of any telegraph, telephone, marine cable, or radio system or systems, or any part thereof, and

to operate the same in such manner as may be needful or desirable for the duration of the war, which supervision, possession, control, or operation shall not extend beyond the date of the proclamation by the President of the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of peace: *Provided*, That just compensation shall be made for such supervision, possession, control, or operation, to be determined by the President; and if the amount thereof so determined by the President is unsatisfactory to the person entitled to receive the same, such person shall be paid 75 per cent of the amount so determined by the President and shall be entitled to sue the United States to recover such further sum as, added to said 75 per cent, will make up such amount as will be just compensation therefor in the manner provided for by section 24, paragraph 20, and section 145 of the Judicial Code: *Provided further*, That nothing in this act shall be construed to amend, repeal, impair, or affect existing laws or powers of the States in relation to taxation or the lawful police regulations of the several States, except wherein such laws, powers, or regulations may affect the transmission of Government communications or the issue of stocks and bonds by such system or systems.

AMENDMENT OF THE RULES.

Mr. NORRIS. I give notice of a proposed amendment to the rules. I ask that the Secretary may read the notice and the proposed amendment.

The Secretary read as follows:

I hereby give notice that on to-morrow, or as soon thereafter as the Senate shall be in session, I will propose the following amendment to the Standing Rules of the Senate:

"*Resolved*, That Rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate be amended by adding thereto a new paragraph, as follows:

"'3. After the 4th day of March, 1919, any Senator who is chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, Finance, Foreign Relations, Interstate Commerce, Judiciary, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, or Post Offices and Post Roads, while holding such chairmanship shall not be a member of any of the other of said committees.'"

G. W. NORRIS.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that when the Senate adjourns to-day it stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, the papers yesterday carried an all too brief report of a most important address delivered by the Premier of Great Britain the day before, and also a brief report of the address made by the Chancellor of Great Britain. As it touches a subject of very great importance, I ask that it be printed in the RECORD. I ask it at this time, Mr. President, because in a conversation with an exceptionally well-informed gentleman only a few days ago he expressed to me the view that the idea of a league of nations for insuring the future peace of the world, to which the President of the United States stands committed, does not meet with the approval of the American people, and in his judgment would be opposed by the leading men of the nations allied with us.

In this speech Premier Lloyd-George comes out squarely in favor of a league of nations to secure peace, and it occurs to me it would be wise to give the greatest possible publicity to it. I read from the newspaper report the following:

Discussing the question of a league of nations, the premier said that such a league would be more necessary now than ever. He pointed out that the conditions which prevailed in the Balkans before the war were now affecting practically two-thirds of Europe.

"A large number of small nations have been reborn in Europe," he continued, "And these will require a league of nations to protect them against the covetousness of ambitious and grasping neighbors. In my judgment a league of nations is absolutely essential to permanent peace."

We shall go to the peace conference to guarantee that a league of nations is a reality. I am one of those who believe that without peace we can not have progress. A league of nations guarantees peace and guarantees also an all-around reduction of armaments, and that reduction of armaments is a guarantee that you can get rid of conscription here.

Mr. PENROSE. I should like to ask the Senator a question on that subject, if this is a suitable opportunity. I have not read the speech of Lloyd-George. So I would be glad if the Senator from Montana could inform me whether this so-called league of nations, which up to the present time has a very nebulous aspect to my mind, includes economic freedom and a kind of free-trade alliance between the nations who are members of such a league.

Mr. WALSH. I expected the Senator would——

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I call for the regular order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The regular order is the presentation of petitions and memorials.

Mr. PENROSE. I hope I have not offended the feelings of anyone by my inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question before the Senate is whether these articles shall appear in the RECORD.

Mr. PENROSE. Before I refrain from objecting I should like to have an answer to my inquiry.

Mr. WALSH. I would be very glad to answer the question.

Mr. PENROSE. I do not ask the Senator to argue it. I ask for information.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Iowa calls for the regular order, and a colloquy is out of order.

Mr. CUMMINS. We have a right to finish the morning business so that those who desire to busy themselves elsewhere can do so.

Mr. PENROSE. Unless I can get information as to a very important feature of this declaration of a very novel idea, which we certainly ought to consider very carefully, I shall have to object to the insertion in the RECORD of the document. If the Senator from Montana will tell me, I will withdraw the objection.

Mr. WALSH. If the Senator from Iowa will withdraw his objection, I will be very glad to answer the Senator's question. If not, I will take a later opportunity to do so, if the Senator will honor me with his presence.

Mr. PENROSE. I shall try to be present.

TRIAL OF WILLIAM AND HIS COPARTNERS.

Mr. McKELLAR. I present a telegram from F. L. Pittman, mayor of Union City, Tenn., stating that at a mass meeting of 8,000 citizens of Union City and Obion County resolutions were passed approving an editorial in the Commercial Appeal of November 11 demanding that the head officials of the Imperial German Empire be tried before a tribunal selected by the allies for the crimes committed against humanity and civilization in the recent war. I ask that the telegram and editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNION CITY, TENN., *November 11.*

K. MCKELLAR,
Washington, D. C.

At a mass meeting of 8,000 citizens of Union City and Obion County held here to-night resolutions were passed approving an editorial in the Commercial Appeal of November 11 demanding that the head officials of the Imperial German Empire be tried before a tribunal selected by the allies for the crimes committed against humanity and civilization in the recent war between the German Empire and the allies. It would be an outrage to permit the responsible parties for this cruel war to escape punishment. Will you transmit this telegram to the State Department as an expression from the citizenship of Obion County?

F. L. PITTMAN,
Mayor of Union City.
W. E. JACKSON,
President of the Commercial Club.

[From the Memphis Commercial Appeal, Monday, Nov. 11, 1918.]

WILLIAM AND HIS COPARTNERS SHOULD GO ON TRIAL FOR THEIR LIVES.

Murder is murder, whether committed by sewer rat, aristocrat, general, or king.

In all nations where murder is done there must be a recompense to human society.

Even barbarians and savages have their criminal codes and under them murder done meets with punishment.

In the wild excitement of war there are occasional lapses from its well-defined rules. Officers and men at times do things which are unlawful, according to well-defined military regulations. These infractions when detected are usually punished by the military authorities of the army of which the offenders are members.

In the Civil War soldiers were shot for doing unlawful things, even against the persons who gave allegiance to the enemy.

The rights of noncombatants in war regulations are as well defined as are the rights of a citizen in civil codes.

Some one is responsible for the sinking of the *Lusitania*. That act was committed in violation of all the legitimate rules of warfare. The act was committed in violation of the civil law of all nations. It can be justified by no commentator on the rules of war nor upon the rules of international custom.

The violation of the soil of Belgium was confessed to be illegal by the legitimate speaking authority in Germany. If the first act was unlawful then all things done in Belgium were unlawful.

A sea captain, commanding an unarmed ship, was taken into the German lines, court-martialed, and shot.

It was claimed that Edith Cavell was shot because she violated German law by giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

There are well-authenticated cases of murdered women and children and rape done in Belgium.

When the German Army sent deadly gases against the English, without warning, those German soldiers and officers responsible for their action committed murder.

There are thousands of cases of alleged murder and other crimes committed by Germany. These cases were so frequent, the crimes were so numerous that one is warranted in the charge that they were done according to a well-defined policy.

The German policy of frightfulness was a part of their war program.

The Germans believed that if it were necessary, by terrorizing civilians and by destruction of civilian property, to win a war, these things were right.

No man can be a law unto himself.

No nation can be a law unto itself.

A monarch surrounded by millions of armed men, having upon his forehead the chrism of coronation, holding in his hand the scepter of rule, is just as responsible for acts he commits contrary to the common law of human society as is a highwayman who proceeds to kill and murder, if he finds it necessary, in order to come in possession of the money of the man making a journey on the public road. Indeed, the monarch and his court are the more culpable because, having the greater power and greater position, the greater is their accountability.

William of Hohenzollern is now a private citizen. He has given up the office of German Emperor. He has also resigned the office of King of Prussia. He is no longer commander in chief of the imperial army. He followed the traditions of his family until Saturday. East Prussia is the original home of the Hohenzollerns. Centuries ago in this region they robbed, they pillaged the villages of their enemies, and they took toll from whomsoever they were able to master. In those days they were acting according to the customs of those times. Even then they were a defiant lot.

Centuries ago, once a week, a trumpeter, richly dressed, mounted the walls surrounding their castle and blew four blasts, one to the north, one to the east, one to the south, and one to the west. It was the defiance of the Hohenzollerns to all other knights, counts, and kings. They sent this challenge so far as the winds of heaven would carry it. During all the centuries since the foundation of the dynasty this ceremony was gone through every week. For the first time in the history of the house the note of defiance is hushed. The bugle blast no longer terrifies the ears of the world.

But William, the last of the Hohenzollern rulers, takes off the trappings of office. The scepter of power falls from his crippled hand. He who 10 years ago said to the young officers, "Your souls and your bodies are mine; if I command you to kill even your parents it is your duty to obey," is now a wanderer upon the face of the earth, but he is a wanderer just as Cain was. The mark of Cain is on his brow. No false pity must go after him. No soothing message of "go and sin no more" must come within his hearing. Justice, impartial, stern but fair, must be requited. William must be dragged from his lair in the swamps of Holland and made to answer.

The allies should constitute a great international court. In that court articles of indictment should be drawn against William, against his advisers, and against his responsible generals. They should be cited to appear. Prosecutors should be appointed. They should be given the benefit of counsel. They should be placed in the dock and tried, and every man, whether he be king, field, marshal, or cabinet minister, proven to be guilty beyond a reasonable doubt, should be punished.

The proceeding is not without precedent.

Let there be an international grand-jury investigation, and let those indicted, be they William, Hindenburg, or Michael the Sergeant, be put on trial for their lives.

"Stand up, William of Hohenzollern, look on the jury. Jurors, look on the defendant."

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. CUMMINS presented a petition of the Vigilance Corps of the American Defense Society (Inc.), of Grinnell, Iowa, praying for the enactment of legislation for the suppression of newspapers printed in the German language, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. NELSON presented a memorial of the Williams Hardware Co., of Minneapolis, Minn., and a memorial of G. Sommers & Co., of St Paul, Minn., remonstrating against the imposition of a floor tax on inventories in the pending revenue bill, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. KENYON presented a petition of sundry citizens of Iowa, praying for the substitution of the oath required of enlisted men for the oath required of officers, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

GERMAN ATROCITIES.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Reports of committees are in order.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Before we pass from the other order, I ask leave to submit a letter addressed to me from Mr. George Creel, and an editorial——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is it a petition or a memorial?

Mr. POINDEXTER. It is an editorial in the Christian Science Monitor, one of the soundest and most excellent journals in the world. What I am presenting is also somewhat in the nature of a personal privilege, Mr. President, because the letter is a denial of certain statements which I made some time ago in the Senate in regard to the Committee on Public Information. To disprove the statements as to Gen. March in the letter from Mr. Creel, and to show that the Christian Science Monitor is mistaken in its editorial, I submit an article from the Washington Star of this city of August 26, 1918. In support of my former statement that the Committee on Public Information had made a general attack upon reports of German atrocities by American soldiers I submit a few paragraphs from a Bulletin of the Committee on Public Information.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I do not desire to object to the remarks of the Senator from Washington, but I rise to call the attention of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. CUMMINS. I object. I call for the regular order.

Mr. POINDEXTER. My understanding was that the regular order was the submission of documents for printing in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is not of what the Senator from Iowa complains.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I was accompanying it by a very few words of explanation.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The explanation is objected to.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Very well. I submit a further statement from the Bulletin of the Committee on Public Information, which has the official stamp of the committee, of October 11, 1918, in disproof of the statement in the letter from Mr. Creel that "the Committee" (on Public Information) stated explicitly that "the crucifixion (of Sergt. Cole) took place in July, 1915."

Mr. CUMMINS. I have no objection in the world to putting all these things in the RECORD, but there are some of us who have routine morning business to transact, and there will be abundant opportunity afterwards for these matters.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair has ruled with the Senator from Iowa that remarks are out of order.

Mr. CUMMINS. Precisely, and I hope I may be permitted to present routine business.

Mr. POINDEXTER. In the same connection I submit a letter by myself addressed to a correspondent, a letter from Frederick F. Forbes, a statement from the Washington Post of November 6, 1918, showing that others have not the same poor opinion of soldiers' letters as the Committee on Public Information. I submit a document, and suppose I may state the title of it. I appreciate the very strict application of the rule.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is not objecting; the Senator from Iowa is objecting.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I understand the Senator from Iowa objects.

Mr. CUMMINS. I am quite willing to bear my share of the responsibility. I think we ought to be permitted to transact routine morning business before these long interpolations occur.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I present a document entitled "A Searchlight on Germany," certain pages of which that I have marked I ask be printed in the RECORD, and also two other letters on the same subject.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, they will be inserted in the RECORD.

The matter referred to is as follows:

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION,
Washington, D. C., October 23, 1918.

Hon. MILES POINDEXTER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In your speech of October 21 you charged that "on a previous occasion Gen. March felt called upon to issue a statement repudiating news items" given out by the Committee on Public Information in his name. I trust that you will be glad to learn that this charge is absolutely without base in fact. Never at any time did Gen. March make any such statement.

You said also that the Committee on Public Information, in the name of Gen. March, had issued a denial of the crucifixion of Sergt. A. B. Cole, of East Liverpool, Ohio. Never at any time or in any way has the name of Gen. March been connected with this incident. Nor has the Committee on Public Information at any time or in any way issued any such denial. The committee merely corrected the impression that Sergt. Cole was a member of the American Expeditionary Forces, stating explicitly that as the crucifixion took place in July, 1915, it was obviously the case that Sergt. Cole was serving with the Canadians.

You said, "I am concerned with the persistent and continued effort on the part of the Committee on Public Information to create the impression that the Germans have abandoned the practice of cruelty to prisoners and civilians in the occupied territory."

There has been no such "persistent and continued effort." Only two releases out of thousands have had bearing on this subject. On July 10, 1918, we issued the following cable from Gen. Pershing:

"A St. Louis, Mo., paper recently received here states that a sergeant, one of 50 men sent back in connection with the liberty-loan campaign, is making speeches in which he states:

"'The Germans give poisoned candy to the children to eat and hand grenades for them to play with. They show glee at the children's dying writhings and laugh aloud when the grenades explode. I saw one American boy, about 17 years old, who had been captured by the Germans, come back to our trenches. He had cotton in and about his ears. I asked some one what the cotton was for.

"'The Germans cut off his ears and sent him back to tell us they want to fight men was the answer. They feed Americans tuberculosis germs.'

"As there is no foundation whatever in fact for such statements based on any experience we have had, I recommend that this sergeant, if the statements quoted above were made by him, be immediately returned for duty here, and that the statements be contradicted.

"PERSHING."

On October 15 the committee released a statement headed, "The daily German lie." It was this statement that served as a base for your speech. You omitted to mention that the opening paragraphs were concerned entirely with official refutations of German lies to the effect that American soldiers had killed 150 German prisoners as a measure of retaliation.

It is true, however, that the statement did comment specifically upon certain German atrocity stories utterly disproved by official investigation. But these corrections were accompanied by the following paragraph that you did not see fit to quote:

"This is not inspired by a desire to suppress criticism of Hun cruelty. That he has been guilty of atrocities has been clearly proven. The request is designed to prevent vitiation of the unimpeachable case which has been established against him by the British Bryce report and the findings of other official agencies which have investigated instances of his cruelty. Publication of charges of atrocities that are not susceptible of proof would enable him to make a propaganda attack upon the proven cases."

I feel that this paragraph is a justification of policy that will be accepted by the people of America, even as it has been approved and urged by the responsible military authorities.

Very truly,

GEORGE CREEL, *Chairman.*

[Editorial from Christian Science Monitor of Oct. 28, 1918.]

One in the position of George Creel, chairman of the United States Committee on Public Information, must of necessity, in the present state of popular thought, incur displeasure and invite criticism. He would be more than human if he succeeded in escaping either. Doubt-

less he has made mistakes, and some that should not be repeated, but the record shows clearly that Senator POINDEXTER, in his recent charges against this particular public official, was in error. It can not possibly do any harm to deal justly with a public agency toward the conduct of which millions of eyes are directed.

—

[Article from the Washington Star of Aug. 26, 1918.]

When Dr. Howard's story was related to Gen. March to-day, the Chief of Staff said he had never received a report that Sergt. Cole was crucified in the Marne fighting. He added that Gen. Pershing would almost certainly have made a special report of that sort of a case.

—

THE NORTH AMERICAN,
Philadelphia, November 1, 1918.

Senator MILES POINDEXTER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR POINDEXTER: Your letter of the 26th ultimo asking for data on which we based our statement that Gen. March had denied expressions attributed to him in news given out from the War Department has been referred to me by Mr. Van Valkenburg.

The case is as follows: Afternoon editions of date of September 6 carried a dispatch from Washington in these words:

"WASHINGTON, *September 6.*

"Confidential messages from Gen. Pershing and other reports from France indicate that the American Army now is supplied with sufficient airplanes of all kinds to protect its men and in battle. Gen. March, Chief of Staff, gave this information to members of the House Military Committee to-day at their weekly conference of the War Department."

That this was sent out under the authority of the Commitee on Public Information is undoubtedly true. In a private letter from George Creel to Mr. Van Valkenburg, under date of September 6, Mr. Creel says: "There is not a single item of official news concerning our Army and Navy that does not pass through the committee's hands.

That Gen. March denied having made the statement is also undoubtedly true, for later in the afternoon the Associated Press sent out the following:

"WASHINGTON, *September 6.*

"EDITORS: In day story on the conference between Gen. March and the House Military Committee. Kill all reference to airplane supply for the American Expeditionary Forces. Requested by Gen. March on the ground that he made no such statement.

"THE ASSOCIATED PRESS (ED.)."

Later the Associated Press sent another bulletin on the same subject, as follows:

"WASHINGTON, *September 6.*

"EDITORS: The Committee on Public Information, at the request of Gen. March, Chief of Staff, issues this confidential note to editors regarding stories sent from Washington to-day in which Members of Congress quoted Gen. March as saying that there are sufficient airplanes for the American Expeditionary Forces: 'A report anonymously quoting members of the House Military Affairs Committee was sent out from Washington to-day to the effect that Gen. March had said that the American Army in France has airships in plenty. Gen. March made no such statement. The Chief of Staff does not wish to be put in the position of publicly denying such an anonymous statement, and therefore requests editors to discountenance that report.'

"THE ASSOCIATED PRESS."

The North American has in its possession the original copy of the Associated Press on these bulletins. We regard it of so great importance that we can not let it out of our possession except in the most urgent cause. However, should you need it we would be very glad to forward it to you. On the other hand, you can get verification from the office of the Associated Press in Washington.

I want to congratulate you, Senator PIONDEXTER, on the very able fight you have been leading for virile Americanism and for freedom of thought and expression in our public life. I am sure that Mr. Van Valkenburg joins me in these congratulations.

Very truly, yours,

FREDERICK F. FORBES.
Managing Editor, the North American.

—

COMMITTEE ON PUELIC INFORMATION,
SERVICE BUREAU,
October 14, 1918.

As a result of the campaign to deceive and inflame and confuse the American people with fake atrocity stories, the Military Intelligence Branch of our War Department has sent the following letter to newspapers that have been imposed upon:

"Atrocity stories are daily bandied around Army camps abroad; they gain credence through circulation; and frequently they are communicated to this country in news dispatches or soldiers' letters as fact. Many of these stories are extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible to trace to the source of origin. Consequently we are asking editors to refrain from publishing atrocity stories, whether charged against the enemy or against our allies, until facts embraced in them shall have been substantiated and officially made public by our Government or the Government of one of our allies."

* * * * * * *

In this connection it is well to note that there has been an error made in the published story of the crucifixion by Germans of an American soldier named Sergt. A. B. Cole, of East Liverpool, Ohio. A circumstantial account of the atrocity has been printed by the Salvation Army, as related by Dr. P. H. Howard, a member of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, who visited France to gather first-hand information about the war. Dr. Howard was quoted as giving the story on the authority of Pvt. A. C. Cole, a brother of the victim, who found the crucified soldier pinned with bayonets to a door.

To an inquiry from the War Department, Dr. Howard has replied that he has Pvt. A. C. Cole's signed statement of how he "found his brother crucified by Uhlans, battle of Ypres, July 21, 1915." But if the atrocity was committed in July, 1915, Sergt. Cole was not a member of the American Expeditionary Forces but was enlisted probably in the Canadian Army.

—

[Letter to a correspondent by Senator POINDEXTER.]

OCTOBER 25, 1918.

Am just in receipt of yours of the 22d instant with inclosures, which latter I herewith return as requested.

I agree with you, of course, that no false statements relative to German atrocities should be made. However, in view of the fact which has been proved, at least by a thousand witnesses, and embodied in official findings of the Governments of France and Great Britain and filed in their archives, showing the Germans to be guilty of practicing every imaginable kind of indecency, brutality, and atrocity, and to have made a general practice of the same and to have introduced unheard-of and barbarous methods of warfare, barred by international law, some of these recently being certified by the President in his note to the German Government, I fail to see why our people should labor to find disproof of well-authenticated reports of particular instances of this general practice.

Dr. P. H. Howard, whose office is 709-714 Jaccard Building, St. Louis, Mo., fortunately took the precaution before reporting the fact of the crucifixion of Sergt. A. B. Cole, of the Canadian Army, to secure the written statement of A. C. Cole, at present a member of the First Canadian Tunneling Company, and of Fred A. Robinson, of the Forty-eighth Canadian Infantry. These men in their statements assert that they found the body of A. B. Cole, the brother of A. C. Cole, crucified by the Germans after the battle of Ypres, July, 1915. Dr. Howard also testified to having had the oral statements of five other members of the First Canadian Tunneling Company, corroborating the written statements of Cole and Robinson. Dr. C. R. Wheeler is given by Mr. Elmore Leffingwell, director of publicity, national headquarters, Salvation Army, 122 West Fourteenth Street, New York City, as a witness who personally informed Leffingwell that he, Dr. Wheeler, was with Dr. P. H. Howard when the latter received the statements of the soldiers referred to, and that he, Wheeler, also personally talked with these soldiers and heard them make the statements reported by Dr. Howard.

There are in the possession of returned soldiers of the Canadian Army, whose names and addresses I have, negatives and photographs taken therefrom of the crucified remains of Canadian soldiers crucified by Germans, showing witnesses present whose names and addresses and authenticity are given. All of this, however, is so revolting as to repel its use or reference to it except when required by solemn necessity or occasion. There is no such occasion now, as the denial of the crucifixion of Sergt. Cole, of the Canadian Army, is supported by no evidence whatever, but the atrocity itself is proved by the most conclusive evidence of eyewitnesses.

The statement in the newspaper clipping which you forwarded to me that "the subject came up in the United States Senate and there were men there who deliberately argued that even if the story were not true it was a good thing to print it," is absolutely false. No such argument or contention was ever made in the United States Senate. What was stated in the Senate was in substance what I have stated in the beginning of this letter, which is quite a different thing from that quoted from your newspaper clipping.

This matter has been confused, whether purposely or not I do not state, by controversies as to the date when the crucifixion occurred and the locality of the previous residence of the Cole brothers. Neither of these circumstances is in any degree material, and there has been no confusion or uncertainty as to either one of them in the proof submitted by Dr. Howard. Changing the details and controversies about immaterial circumstances in newspaper reports dressed up to create a sensation do not in any way affect the material question involved.

With kind regards, very truly, yours,

MILES POINDEXTER.

P. S.—Look on page 31 of the Literary Digest of August 31, 1918.

M. P.

—

[From the Washington Post of Nov. 6, 1918.]

MARINES TO WRITE HISTORY—CALL FOR LETTERS FROM MEN IN FRANCE AS FIRST BASIS OF WORK.

It will be the Marines themselves who are now fighting for democracy who will write marine history later on, according to marine headquarters here yesterday. The Marine Corps yesterday issued a call for letters from Marines in France describing the flattening out of the St. Mihiel sector, the fighting in the Champagne, and the capture of Mont Blanc, in which the Marines participated. The letters will be used as the basis of marine history.

—

NEW YORK, *October 22, 1918.*

DEAR SENATOR: Isn't it possible to stop the writing of any more notes? I don't know where we are going to end; we have all these Germans licked, and why not let Gen. Foch finish the job?

If Senator POINDEXTER, of Washington, wants any more evidence of instances of crucifixion, he can get a story that beats the one he told all to pieces from Col. Hamilton Gault, formerly of Montreal, who commanded the Princess Patricias, and Gault could get this corroborated by a Dutch major who was under his command when the Canadian soldiers were crucified. Both of them have told me the story, and I think you would have no trouble in getting their affidavits. Gault is at present abroad. He has recently been on a holiday in England at his home in Somersetshire, but a letter or cable addressed "Col. Hamilton Gault, Princess Patricia's Light Infantry, Canadian Expeditionary Forces, France," would certainly reach him.

* * * * * * * *

Yours, sincerely,

H. W. MARSH.

Senator JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

—

509 WEST ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIRST STREET,
New York City, October 23, 1918.

SIR: If you are seeking further verification of the crucifixion of a Canadian soldier, a fact denied by the Committee on Public Information, according to the Tribune of October 22, I think I can put you on the track of confirmatory evidence.

In the third year of the war, when it was still hard to convince many people of the truth of atrocities, the popular belief being in a Hohenzollern devil leading astray a flock of innocent German sheep, a natural irritation at having my story of this incident met with incredulous smiles led me into an investigation on my own account.

A letter to the Great War Veterans' Association, of Montreal, led to their giving me the address of James William Smith, post-office box 122, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

I quote from a letter received from Sergt. Smith:

"In answer, will state that I have 11 negatives of the instance you speak of. As you are a total stranger to me, I will not allow any of these pictures to be used for show purposes by anyone or to get into

the possession of anyone I am not personally acquainted with, for the reasons mentioned above, as I will not allow anyone to make profit from the afflictions of my comrades.

"If this will meet with your requirements, I will forward an enlarged picture from the original negative, 24 by 36, and the original negative, to New York for you just to view, and then to be returned to me—no reprints to be taken—with full details and names of all persons standing about the scene as they were taken down."

As his letter was sufficient confirmation, and he spoke of the pictures being revolting, I did not ask to have them forwarded.

Yours, truly,

M. HAMILTON.

To Senator MILES POINDEXTER.

A SEARCHLIGHT ON GERMANY—GERMANY'S BLUNDERS, CRIMES, AND PUNISHMENT.

[By Dr. William T. Hornaday, member board of trustees American Defense Society, Preparation Pamphlet Series.]

But the German in uniform is not the only agent of hate and brutality. "The people of Germany" are only one short step behind him. Let every person who doubts this send 5 cents to the Saturday Evening Post, Philadelphia, for its issue of July 14, 1917, and on page 16 read "Englander Schwein" ("English Swine"), the diary of Corpl. Edwards, of Canada's top regiment, the Princess Patricia's C. L. I., who was captured by the Germans. Read it, if you have in your heart even one soft spot for "the people of Germany."

It is a story of revolting filth inflicted upon refined gentlemen, of three days' utterly needless hunger torture inflicted on half-starved men taken out of their cars three times a day, lined up, and compelled to watch German soldiers stuffed with food by German women, with "Nein!" "Nein!" to them when they begged for food. It is a story of horribly neglected wounds, arms rotting off, slow starvation in the prison camp on food consisting of 200 gallons of water to one small bag of potatoes, etc.

Of the murders and mutilations in the trenches there is not time to speak. But read this account of the treatment the Canadians received along the railway from the women of Germany—even "gentlewomen":

"The mob surged around us, heaping on us insults and blows—particularly the women. They spat on us, with hate in their eyes. We had to take that or the bayonet. These were the acts not only of the rabble but also of the people of good appearance and address. One very well dressed woman came rushing up. Under other circumstances I would have judged her to be a gentlewoman. She was screaming invectives at us as she forced her way through the crowd. 'Schwein!' she screamed, and struck at the man next to me. Then, drawing deep from the very bottom of her lungs, she spat the mass full in his face."

WORK OF THE GERMAN TOYMAKERS ON THE CHILDREN OF FRANCE.

In essaying to give in one article even an outline sketch of the crimes of Germany one is perplexed by the many different kinds of atrocities and the great mass of instances and proofs bearing upon them. Out of it all there thrusts up the ugly fact, like a spear from a pile of corpses, that many of these crimes were committed intentionally, with malice aforethought, and often were deliberately ordered by German officers, both high and low. For example:

Gen. Stenger issued a printed order to kill all the wounded.
Bissing was the refined torturer of all Belgium, in many orders.
Manteuffel was the chief murderer at Louvain.
Bulow and Schonmann were the wild beasts of Ardenne.

And it was Bayer at Dinant, Bohn at Sommerfeld and Termonde Nieher at Wavre, Wittenstein at Clermont-en-Argonne, and so on until you are tired.

1. THE MURDER OF CIVILIANS.

This flourishing German industry began at Louvain, at the very outbreak of the war, and has continued right down to the present. It is astounding to see how quickly murders began, with the most revolting brutality, immediately after the Germans entered Belgium. Sometimes the excuse was made that "mann hat geschossen"—that "civilians have fired"—and then the indiscriminate slaughter began.

The thick volume of "Evidence" taken by the Bryce commission on the German atrocities is crowded full of testimony; and so are many subsequent publications of the British and French Governments.

The stories written down in their diaries by German soldiers are both terrible and amazing. In an uncountable number of villages old men, old women, boys, girls, women, and children were shot by dozens and by hundreds; and hundreds were stabbed to death by bayonets.

There are sickening accounts, from eyewitness testimony, of German soldiers bayoneting children and girls, but the most spectacular crime of that kind was committed at Malaines (d4, Bryce Evidence), when a German soldier, walking down the main street singing, "drove his bayonet with both hands through a living child's stomach, lifting the child into the air on his bayonet, and carrying it away on his bayonet, he and his comrades still singing." (Page 82.)

In the village of Sempst an Uhlan cut off the breast of a woman with his sword, and a little boy was burned to death in an attic. (K. 33.) At Aerschot a girl of 18 or 20 was found "absolutely naked, with her abdomen cut open," and "her body covered with bruises, showing that she had made a struggle." Jack the Ripper in a spiked helmet!

And our Government has just now admitted 4,000 cases of recently-made German toys for our children! Will Congress stand for it?—W. T. Hornaday.

And again at Aerschot (C. 38) did the German jack get in his work on another girl of 18. She was found (dead) with "her arms nailed to the door in extended fashion, * * * her left breast cut away, and numerous bayonet wounds in the chest, some piercing through to the back." (Told by a Belgian soldier, who helped to recapture the place.)

A British subject saw on September 15, 1914, in the Wetteren Hospital, a girl of 11 from Alost with 17 bayonet thrusts in her back, "practically flayed, and at the point of death." (F. 13.) "Out of the 1,300 inhabitants of Noumeny at least 150 were killed (murdered) by the Germans." (French Police Report, Aug. 24, 1914.)

This list could be extended by hundreds of other cases, and a long chapter could be filled with such instances as the above. Geographically they reach all the way from Louvain to the beginning of the great German defeat before Paris.

In order to form estimates of what the quiet little country villages of New England might expect if the armed wolves and mad dogs of Germany ever gained a foothold here, let us consider a few figures compiled from official reports and published by the Illustrated London News. They relate solely to the murder of unarmed, inoffensive civilians—old men, women, girls, boys, and children:

In Brabant, 897 persons shot or bayoneted.
In Luxembourg Province, over 1,000 persons shot or bayoneted.
At Arlon, 119 persons shot or bayoneted.
Dinant Arrondissement (French), 606 killed, from 3 weeks to 77 years old.
Neufchatel, 18 shot.
Etalle, 30 shot.
Hondemont, 11 shot.
Tintiguy, 157 shot.
Izele, 10 shot.
Rossignol, 106 shot.
Bertrix, 21 shot.
Ethe, about 300 shot; "530 in all missing."
Latour, only 17 men left.
Maissin, 12 shot, 1 a young girl.
Aloy, 52 men and women shot.
Claireuse, 2 men hanged.

And so on, indefinitely. On the most trivial pretexts, or none at all, the Germans slaughtered unresisting noncombatants who were in their power. Out of a lot of 40 German soldier diaries, only 6 express disapproval or disgust, and at least 30 diaries treat murders either exultingly or as being merely a part of the day's work.

The slaughtered innocents of Belgium, France, Serbia, and Poland would, in each of those countries, undoubtedly run far up into thousands if it were possible to count them.

Thanks to the diligence of the British and French Governments in collecting evidence now while evidence is procurable, there is already enough printed testimony to damn Germany in the eyes of the world for at least two centuries.

2. KILLING OF PRISONERS AND WOUNDED MEN BY GERMANS.

The crimes of Germany under this head have been literally innumerable. Judging by German, French, Belgian, and English evidence, it seems as if German soldiers have slaughtered probably 100,000 defenseless prisoners and wounded men. Prof. J. H. Morgan states that von der Goltz, the evil genius of Turkey, "predicted some years ago that the next war would be one of inconceivable violence"; and he declares that "the Germans have no sense of honor in the field.". He was hideously correct.

German prisoner murder began before Antwerp on October 6, 1914, when the captain of the Eighty-fifth Regiment, Ninth Corps, Fourth Company, said to his men, "I do not want to see any Englishmen prisoners in the hands of this company." To which the company cried "Bravo!" And Richard Gerhold, Seventy-first Regiment Reserve, Fourth Army Corps (killed in September, 1914), wrote in his precious diary thus: "Great atrocities are of course committed upon Englishmen and Belgians. Every one of them is now knocked on the head without mercy."

The famous Stenger order of August 26, 1914, brings us to a capital case. A German brigadier general, Stenger by name, issued this written order to his brigade:

"To date from this day no prisoners will be made any longer. All the prisoners will be executed. The wounded, whether armed or defenseless, will be executed. Prisoners, even in large and compact formations, will be executed. Not a man will be left alive behind us."

The instances of the murder of helpless prisoners by Germans are far too numerous to be cited in detail. Beyond reasonable doubt a hundred thousand soldiers were murdered on the Stenger basis.

And after the war is over, if we resume friendly "relations" with Germany we may see Stenger in Washington as military attaché to his excellency the German ambassador, shaking hands with the President of the United States.

3. THE BOMBING OF CIVILIANS IN LONDON AND ELSEWHERE.

The Kaiser and Zeppelin and the German people have spent many millions of dollars in deliberate attempts to slaughter the unarmed inhabitants of London and strafe England. All the German talk about attacking "the fortress of London" is beneath contempt. Rarely, indeed, has a soldier been injured in London or any other English city by a Zeppelin or an airplane bomb. It has been the helpless women, school children, and other noncombatants who have been blown to pieces.

These murders of civilian men, women, and children have served only to send furious Englishmen rushing to the trenches in droves for vengeance. Had the squareheads deliberately attempted to stimulate British enlistments, the dropping of bombs on London would have been the ideal plan. At last the British public demand reprisals on the basis of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, which would be absolutely right.

But thus far the statesmen of England firmly say:

"No! We will not descend to the low level of the Huns of Germany."

Nevertheless Zeppelin died of a broken heart. From a military point of view his campaign has proven a complete fiasco—just as Americans long ago predicted that it would—and his "frightfulness" gas bags are now on the scrap heap.

4. TIRPITZ AND THE SUBMARINE MURDERS.

For a submarine to sink a war vessel with all on board is merely war, no more and no less. No one whines about atrocities of that sort. All the world does object, however, and very strongly, too, to the sinking of unarmed passenger steamers, hospital ships, and Belgian relief ships. All such acts of murder as these are the acts of monsters, not of men. Of course we know that Germany sees her doom, and her people are wild over the certainty of defeat. But even a 90 per cent defeated prize fighter must not deliver a foul blow.

The submarine murders are so well known to Americans as to require no comment, but a few murder statistics will be worth while, lest we forget:

March 28, 1915, steamer *Falaba*, 111 lost.
May 7, 1915, steamer *Lusitania*, 1,198 lost.
June 28, 1915, steamer *Armenian*, 30 lost.
August 19, 1915, steamer *Arabic*, 30 lost.
November 7, 1915, steamer *Ancona*, 208 lost.
December 30, 1915, steamer *Persia*, 385 lost.
March 24, 1916, steamer *Sussex* (channel boat), 52 lost.

HOSPITAL SHIPS MALICIOUSLY DESTROYED BY THE GERMAN "NAVY."

Portugal, March 17, 1916, 45 Red Cross nurses lost; 40 of the crew.
Britannic, November, 1915, about 50 lost.
Asturias, March 20, 1915, 43 lost.
Gloucester Castle, March 30, 1915, all wounded saved.
Donegal, 41 lost.
Lanfranc (152 wounded Germans saved by British Navy), 19 British wounded lost; 15 German wounded lost.

On a very few occasions a few German submarine captains have acted humanely, and some even gallantly; but all these acts have been besmirched by the acts of cowardly and brutal men who have deliberately fired upon hospital ships and open lifeboats loaded with men attempting to save themselves from drowning. In one celebrated instance a U-boat captain and his crew came out upon their deck and at close range jeered at drowning men and women who were struggling in icy water.

And here is the latest feat of the brave and gallant German "Navy":

On July 31, 1917, 200 miles from land a German submarine engaged in combat and sank the unarmed British freighter *Belgian Prince*. They assembled the entire crew of 40 men on the submarine's deck, stripped from them their life belts, and smashed all their lifeboats with axes. Then the brave Germans went below, closed their hatches, ran on the surface for 2 miles, then suddenly submerged. Thirty-eight were drowned, but two lived to be picked up and tell the story.

A new trick. Look for frequent repetitions.

5. POISON GAS, LIQUID FIRE, AND POISONED WELLS.

Early in the war the much-vaunted German "men of science" invented poisonous gases (chiefly of chlorine), liquid-fire apparatus, and other forms of deviltry forbidden in civilized warfare. The "flammenwerfer" is now a favorite German institution, but occasionally it gets into trouble by being exploded by shell fire in the hands of the men using it. One result of poison gas and liquid fire is the everlasting odium that it has fastened upon the German Army. The British soldiers say that "the Germans are dirty fighters," and the name will stick forever.

In German Southwest Africa, when the Boer general, Louis Botha, captured Swakopmund, he found that all six of the wells had been poisoned with arsenical cattle dip. Bags of the poison hung in the wells, and the crime was acknowledged and defended in writing by Lieut. Col. Franke, commander of the German forces. Previous to that time the new German governor had murdered in cold blood 208 of the leading natives of the capital town to teach the surviving Hereros the advantages of life under the black vulture of Germany.

6. BACTERIA OF GLANDERS AND ANTHRAX SENT INTO ROUMANIA.

"The world owes much to German science." This remark is not original. We have heard it about 147,500 times, but the world has not heard quite so often how the worthy "scientists" of Germany sent large collections of living and active bacilli of glanders for horses and anthrax for cattle into Roumania under the German diplomatic seal just before war was declared by Roumania. The precious cultures were found buried in the garden of the German consulate, and in their usual bludering way the dunderheads did not know enough to destroy the evidence of their newest species of crime. All this has been set forth by the Roumanian Government in a neat little pamphlet very useful to students of criminology and degeneracy.

7 THE MURDER OF EDITH CAVELL.

Not in 200 years will the world forget or forgive this dastardly crime. If Bissing is not now in hell for it, then there is no such place. The cities of civilized countries should erect Cavell monuments and name streets Cavell, lest we forget. Only Germans or Turks could have done a deed so unnecessary, so brutal and unchivalrous. But it seems that the Germans stick at no atrocity.

8. THE MURDER OF CAPT. FRYATT.

This crime was committed in cold blood, unchecked by the criminal Kaiser, because on March 28, 1915, Capt. Fryatt escaped from a German submarine by attempting to ram it. On June 23, 1916, he was captured, taken to Zeebrugge, and by a naval court-martial sentenced to death. Great "sports" were those German naval officers! They have in their veins about as much sporting blood as so many hyenas, but no more.

On several occasions the British have actually honored the fine seamanship and daring and skill of German sea raiders, even after great destruction while at sea. But the British Navy men are good sports, while the men of the German Navy do not seem to recognize a bold and capable seaman when they see one, and they have no sense of sportsmanship. When did the German Navy ever rescue a British or French sailor from drowning? But British sailors have saved many Germans.

The murder of Capt. Fryatt brands the whole German Navy with a mark that it will wear forever.

9. THE GERMAN OUTRAGES UPON WOMEN.

It is here that the pen falters, and the heart turns sick with horror and loathing. Thus far the newspapers of the United States have shrunk from printing the awful details that have been available on this subject.

For 50 years we have been reading of the wars of nations—white, black, red, brown, and yellow—but never in modern times have we seen such ghastly, such loathsome, such shocking, and sickening brutalities of lust as German officers and soldiers inflicted, wholesale, upon the women of Belgium and northern France. At present we will say little of Poland for the subject is too vast.

I shall not give instances, even though there are hundreds at hand, well authenticated and undoubtedly true. But let all Americans remember this: Never within the last 400 years or more have any women ever been so brutally abused, so extensively raped by violence, often accompanied by murder in Jack the Ripper fashion, or so disgustingly maltreated before the eyes of fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, and groups of men as were the wretched women of Belgium and northern France.

The rage of the German brutes whose great conquest of France was balked seemed to be visited with particular fury and cruelty upon the women of the captured territory between 14 and 40 years of age. I have before me one instance so awful and so revolting that the woman upon whom it was inflicted immediately went mad. The details are published only in French in order that only a few English-speaking persons may read them.

No wonder that when the armies of Gen. Joffre and Gen. Foch were chasing the German ravishers back to the banks of the Marne that the French women of the recaptured towns and villages dragged themselves to their windows, leaned out, and begged the French soldiers to "Take no prisoners! Kill them—all!"

The total number of women who have been cruelly abused by German officers and private soldiers never will be known; but it must run up into hundreds of thousands. Only the devil himself knows how many miserables have been "given to the soldiers," just as was the Polish maid of an American lady, Madame Turczynowics, now in New York, who tells about it in her book, "When the Prussian Came to Poland" (p. 138). This is the passage:

"* * * we pushed our way into the room where Manya was. * * * what had been Manya. * * * An officer came in to ask our business with the girl.

"She is my maid—stolen! This is her father. I have come to take her home."

"I am very sorry, but you are not allowed to take her. She belongs to the soldiers."

"Don't you see, Herr Offizier, the girl is dying?"

"Ill she is and shall have the best of care. We have a doctor to attend to just such cases." And I had to leave her!

10. GERMANY'S COLOSSAL CRIME IN ARMENIA.

A little pamphlet of 24 pages, obtainable from the G. H. Doran Co., New York, for 5 cents, is quite enough to damn Germany past all forgiveness from now to the end of time. It is entitled "The Horrors of Aleppo. Seen by a German Eyewitness," and it is "a word to Germany's accredited representatives, by Dr. Martin Niepage, higher grade teacher in the German Technical School at Aleppo."

The enormous extent and the extreme savagery of the slaughter of Armenian Christians by the Turkish allies of Germany literally stagger the imagination and sicken the heart. The mind can scarcely grasp the idea of men, women, and children being massacred en masse in 1916 literally by the thousand But let me quote a few lines of strictly German testimony:

Page 14: "It is utterly erroneous to think that the Turkish Government will refrain of its own accord even from the destruction of the women and children unless the strongest pressure is exerted by the German Government. Only just before I left Aleppo last May (1916) the crowds of exiles encamped at Ras-el-Ain, on the Bagdad Railway, estimated at 20,000 women and children, were slaughtered to the last one."

Page 11: "Many more appalling things were reported by the engineer of the Bagdad Railway * * * or by German travelers who met the convoys of exiles on their journeys. Many of these gentlemen had seen such appalling sights they could eat nothing for days. One of them, Herr Grief, of Aleppo, reported corpses of violated women lying about naked in heaps on the railway embankment at Tel-Abiad and Ras-el-Ain. Another, Herr Spiecker, of Aleppo, had seen Turks tie Armenian men together, fire several volleys of small shot with fowling pieces into the human mass, and go off laughing while their victims slowly perished in frightful convulsions.

"The German consul from Mosul related in my presence at the German Club at Aleppo that in many places on the road from Mosul to Aleppo he had seen children's hands hacked off in such numbers that one could have paved the road with them. * * * The Arabs of the village declared that they had killed the Armenians by the Government's (Young Turks) orders."

And so forth, and so on, until you are sick!

Thus do the "Young Turks" of Turkey (on whom may all the curses of Allah alight), who are determined to Turkify all Asia Minor. Thus have 1,500,000 Christians perished at the hands of Germany's ally—an ally absolutely under German control—and without one protest or prohibition from the archcriminals of Potsdam and Berlin. And this under "our dear, good, kind Emperor" William!

The crimes of Germany were not committed by the officers of the army or the navy or of the State alone. They were perpetrated partly by the common people of Germany as represented by the fathers, sons, and husbands making up the army and the navy. The officers are not alone to blame. Therefore the curses of mankind and the punishment of the ages should fall and will fall upon all the Germans of Germany and their children unto the tenth generation. To them the Germans of to-day will bequeath a vast legacy of world scorn and world aversion.

Americans should be the last people on earth to talk to outraged England, France, Russia, and Serbia of "magnanimous" terms to Germany and peace "without annexations or indemnities." Germany must pay for her war and her crimes.

PROVINCETOWN, MASS.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I send to the desk a telegram which I have received from the selectmen of Provincetown, Mass., which relates to a very interesting event in our history. I should like to have it read.

There being no objection, the telegram was read, as follows:

PROVINCETOWN, MASS., *November 11, 1918.*

Hon. JOHN W. WEEKS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

This day the town of Provincetown, Mass., commemorates the signing at Provincetown of the Pilgrims' compact and the establishment of democracy for America, November 11, 1620, old style, and celebrates the signing of the armistice and the establishment of democracy for the world November 11, 1918, new style.

S. A. P. HANNUM,
JAMES BIRAM,
CHAS. N. ROGERS,
Selectmen.

EMPLOYMENT OF ADDITIONAL CLERKS.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred Senate resolution 328, submitted by Mr. CALDER on the 12th instant, reported it favorably without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to as follows:

Resolved, That Senate resolution 75, agreed to on April 3, 1918, being a resolution authorizing the employment of an additional clerk by each Senator having no more than one clerk, one assistant clerk, and one messenger for himself or for the committee of which he is chairman, for the remainder of the second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, at the rate of $100 per month, said compensation to be paid out of the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate, be, and the same is hereby, continued and extended in full force and effect until the end of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. SAULSBURY:

A bill (S. 5023) granting an increase of pension to John F. McLaughlin; and

A bill (S. 5024) granting an increase of pension to Oliver L. Bell; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FLETCHER:

A bill (S. 5025) to amend an act entitled "An act for the establishment of marine schools, and for other purposes"; and

A bill (S. 5026) to amend an act entitled "An act to define, regulate, and punish trading with the enemy, and for other purposes," approved October 6, 1917; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. CUMMINS:

A bill (S. 5027) to withdraw certain authority heretofore granted to the President and to other executive and administrative departments of the Government relating to priorities in transportation and to restrictions upon the sale and distribution of commodities; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. SMITH of Maryland:

A bill (S. 5028) to amend an act entitled "An act to prevent the spread of contagious diseases in the District of Columbia," approved March 3, 1897; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. LENROOT:

A bill (S. 5029) declaring the 11th of November of each year a legal holiday in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. KENYON:

A bill (S. 5030) granting a pension to William H. Johnson (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 5031) granting an increase of pension to Lucina E. Smith (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. OWEN:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 183) providing that November 11 shall be set apart and designated a national holiday to be known as "Democracy Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 184) extending a loan to the Republic of Colombia; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

RENT ADMINISTRATOR FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I introduce a joint resolution and ask that it be read and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 185) to extend the provisions of a joint resolution to prevent rent profiteering in the District of Columbia, approved May 31, 1918, was read the first time by its title, and the second time at length, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the provisions contained in the joint resolution to prevent rent profiteering in the District of Columbia be extended and continued so that the same will be effective for six months after a treaty of peace shall have been definitely concluded between the United States and the Imperial German Government.

PUBLIC LANDS FOR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

Mr. BORAH submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 4947) to provide for a survey and classification by the Secretary of the Interior of all unentered public lands of the United States and all unused, cut-over, logged, and swamp lands and other unused lands of the United States, with a view to disposing thereof to honorably discharged soldiers and sailors and others, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

TAX ON CHILD-LABOR PRODUCTS.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I desire to present an amendment to the revenue bill which provides for an excise tax of 10 per cent on the net profits of persons employing child labor within prohibited ages in addition to all other taxes. I may say that during the past several months a bill was presented on this subject by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] and one by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] and two by myself. The amendment which I present is the result of the collaboration of the junior Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON], the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT], and myself. Of course there are certain constitutional questions which are involved. I do not care to discuss them now, but at some later date I may ask that privilege.

I ask that the amendment be printed and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered.

The amendment proposes to insert the following:

SEC. —. That every person (other than a bona fide boys' or girls' canning club recognized by the Agricultural Department of a State and of the United States) operating (a) any mine or quarry situated in the United States in which children under the age of 16 years have been employed or permitted to work during any portion of the taxable year; or (b) any mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment situated in the United States in which children under the age of 14 years have been employed or permitted to work, or children between the ages of 14 and 16 have been employed or permitted to work more than eight hours in any day, or more than six days in any week, or after the hour of 7 o'clock post meridian, or before the hour of 6 o'clock ante meridian, during any portion of the taxable year, shall pay for each taxable year, in addition to all other taxes imposed by law, an excise tax equivalent to 10 per cent of the entire net profits received or accrued for such year from the sale or disposition of the product of such mine, quarry, mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment.

SEC. —. That in computing net profits under the provisions of this title, for the purpose of the tax there shall be allowed as deductions from the gross amount received or accrued for the taxable year from the sale or disposition of such products manufactured within the United States the following items:

(a) The cost of raw materials entering into the production;

(b) Running expenses, including rentals, cost of repairs, and maintenance, heat, power, insurance, management, and a reasonable allowance for salaries or other compensations for personal services actually rendered, and for depreciation;

(c) Interest paid within the taxable year on debts or loans contracted to meet the needs of the business, and the proceeds of which have been actually used to meet such needs;

(d) Taxes of all kinds paid during the taxable year with respect to the business or property relating to the production; and

(e) Losses actually sustained within the taxable year in connection with the business of producing such products, including losses from fire, flood, storm, or other casualties, and not compensated for by insurance or otherwise.

SEC. —. That if any such person during any taxable year or part thereof, whether under any agreement, arrangement, or understanding or otherwise sells or disposes of any product of such mine, quarry, mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment at less than the fair market price obtainable therefor either (a) in such manner as directly or indirectly to benefit such person or any person directly or indirectly interested in the business of such person; or (b) with intent to cause such benefit; the gross amount received or accrued for such year or part thereof from the sale or disposition of such product shall be taken to be the amount which would have been received or accrued from the sale or disposition of such product if sold at the fair market price.

SEC. —. (a) That no person subject to the provisions of this title shall be liable for the tax herein imposed if the only employment or permission to work which, but for this section, would subject him to the tax, has been of a child as to whom such person has in good faith procured at the time of employing such child or permitting him to work, and has since in good faith relied upon and kept on file a certificate issued in such form, under such conditions, and by such persons as may be prescribed by a board consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and the Secretary of Labor, showing the child to be of such age as not to subject such person to the tax imposed by this title. Any person who knowingly makes a false statement or presents false evidence in or in relation to any such certificate or application therefor shall be punished by a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $1,000, or by imprisonment for not more than three months, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

In any State designated by such board an employment certificate or other similar paper as to the age of the child, issued under the laws of that State, and not inconsistent with the provisions of this title, shall have the same force and effect as a certificate herein provided for.

(b) The tax imposed by this title shall not be imposed in the case of any person who proves to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Treasury that the only employment or permission to work which but for this section would subject him to the tax, has been of a child employed or permitted to work under a mistake of facts as to the age of such child, and without intention to evade the tax.

SEC. —. That on or before the first day after the third month following the close of each taxable year, a true and accurate return under oath shall be made by each person subject to the provisions of this title to the collector for the district in which such person has his principal office or place of business, in such form as the commissioner, with the approval of the Secretary, shall prescribe, setting forth specifically the gross amount of income received or accrued during such year from the sale or disposition of the product of any mine, quarry, mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment, in which children have been employed subjecting him to the tax imposed by this title, and from the total thereof deducting the aggregate items of allowance authorized by this title, and such other particulars as to the gross receipts and items of allowance as the commissioner, with the approval of the Secretary, may require.

SEC. —. That all such returns shall be transmitted forthwith by the collector to the commissioner, who shall, as soon as practicable, assess the tax found due and notify the person making such return of the amount of tax for which such person is liable, and such person shall pay the tax to the collector on or before 30 days from the date of such notice.

SEC. —. That for the purposes of this act the commissioner, or any other person duly authorized by him, shall have authority to enter and inspect at any time any mine, quarry, mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment. The Secretary of Labor, or any person duly authorized by him, shall, for the purpose of complying with a request of the commissioner to make such an inspection, have like authority, and shall make report to the commissioner of inspections made under such authority in such form as may be prescribed by the commissioner with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Any person who refuses or obstructs entry or inspection authorized by this section shall be punished by a fine of not more than $1,000, or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both such fine and imprisonment.

SEC. —. That as used in this title the term "taxable year" shall have the same meaning as provided for the purposes of income tax in section 200. The first taxable year for the purposes of this title shall be the period between 60 days after the passage of this act and December 31, 1919, both inclusive, or such portion of such period as is included within the fiscal year (as defined in sec. 200) of the taxpayer.

EDNA F. EVANS.

Mr. FRANCE submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 330), which was read and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate to Edna F. Evans, widow of Clarence C. Evans, late clerk to Hon. JOSEPH I. FRANCE, Senator from the State of Maryland, a sum equal to six months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

GENERAL PEACE HOLIDAY.

Mr. SHEPPARD submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 331), which was read and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the United States Senate that the nations of the world, or as many of them as practicable, should hold a general holiday on the day of the beginning of peace among the present belligerent powers; and

Resolved further, That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and requested to cause negotiations to be instituted with this purpose in view.

IDA M. SHAW.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 332), which was read and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate to Ida M. Shaw, widow of Richard A. Shaw, late a laborer on the rolls of the United States Senate, a sum equal to six months' compensation at the rate he was receiving at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS—HATTIE F. RICHARDSON.

On motion of Mr. HALE, it was

Ordered, That the papers accompanying the bill S. 3764, Sixty-fifth Congress, second session, granting a pension to Hattie F. Richardson, be withdrawn from the files of the Senate, no adverse report having been made thereon.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent that the article to which I referred a short time ago, and which I shall send to the desk, be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. SMOOT. Is morning business closed, Mr. President?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Not yet. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

Mr. PENROSE. I object, Mr. President, until morning business is closed. Then I shall still have to object unless I am informed as to the nature of the document.

Mr. WALSH. I shall be very glad to inform the Senator.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there further morning business? [A pause.] Morning business is closed. The Senator from Montana.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, the nature of the article is disclosed in its headline, which is as follows:

TERMS MUST BE FAIR—LLOYD-GEORGE MAKES JUSTICE ISSUE IN COMING ELECTION—NO VENGEANCE OR GREED—RIGHT PEACE WILL END CONSCRIPTION AND RIVAL ARMAMENTS—BRITAIN GOING TO PEACE CONGRESS TO GUARANTEE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN REALITY—NEEDED MORE THAN EVER TO PROTECT LITTLE NATIONS OF NEW EUROPE FROM AVARICE AND AMBITION—SEES END OF ANIMOSITIES.

For the information of the Senator from Pennsylvania, Mr. President, I shall now read the article. It is as follows:

LONDON, *November 13*.

"One of the principal issues at the forthcoming general election will be the nature of the peace settlement. It will mean the settlement of the world."

Premier Lloyd-George made this announcement in an address to his Liberal supporters on November 11.

"What are the principles on which that settlement is to be effected?" he asked. "Are we to lapse back into the old national rivalries, animosities, and competitive armaments, or are we to initiate the reign on earth of the Prince of Peace? It is the duty of liberalism to use its influence to insure that it shall be a reign of peace.

JUSTICE AND FAIR PLAY.

"What are conditions of peace? They must lead to a settlement which will be fundamentally just. No settlement that contravenes the principles of eternal justice will be a permanent one. The peace of 1871 imposed by Germany on France outraged all the principles of justice and fair play. Let us be warned by that example.

"We must not allow any sense of revenge, any spirit of greed, any grasping desire, to override the fundamental principles of righteousness. Vigorous attempts will be made to hector and bully the Government in an endeavor to make them depart from the strict principles of right and to satisfy some base, sordid, squalid ideas of vengeance and of avarice. We must relentlessly set our faces against that.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS NEEDED.

"The mandate of the Government at the forthcoming election will mean that the British delegation to the peace conference will be in favor of a just peace."

Discussing the question of a league of nations, the premier said that such a league would be more necessary now than ever. He pointed out that the conditions which prevailed in the Balkans before the war were now affecting practically two-thirds of Europe.

"A large number of small nations have been reborn in Europe," he continued. "And these will require a league of nations to protect them against the covetousness of ambitious and grasping neighbors. In my judgment, a league of nations is absolutely essential to permanent peace.

NO PROGRESS WITHOUT PEACE.

"We shall go to the peace conference to guarantee that a league of nations is a reality. I am one of those who believe that without peace we can not have progress. A league of nations guarantees peace and guarantees also an all-round reduction of armaments, and that reduction of armaments is a guaranty that you can get rid of conscription here.

"Of course, we must have in this country an efficient army to police the Empire, but I am looking forward to a condition of things, with the existence of a league of nations, under which conscription will not be necessary in any country."

HOLD FUTURE OF WORLD.

Lord Robert Cecil, assistant secretary of foreign affairs, in an address yesterday on the subject of a league of nations, declared that the allies had in their hands the political future of the entire world. On their decisions, he added, might depend the peace and happiness of many generations. The most glorious victory, he continued, would scarcely be distinguishable from defeat unless by it there were laid the foundations of a lasting peace.

The suggested league of nations, said Lord Robert, could not be restricted to a certain group of nations, but must be open to every nation which could be trusted by its fellows. It would be incomplete and proportionately ineffective unless every civilized nation joined it.

Lord Robert said the machinery to enforce the principles was the real problem. He thought, however, that all that would be necessary would be a treaty binding the signatories never themselves to wage war or to permit others to wage war until a formal conference of nations had been held to inquire into and, if possible, decide upon the dispute.

Mr. President, I desire to invite especial attention to these words of the assistant secretary for foreign affairs, who declares that the league of nations will be ineffective and fail of its purpose unless it includes all civilized nations.

We find, Mr. President, that only a short while ago an eminent American citizen, whose words have no little influence upon public opinion in this country, in the course of an address delivered in my State declared it to be an unwise policy to admit Germany particularly to the league of nations. On that occasion he said this:

If it seems advisable when the time comes to have a league of nations, all right, but let's be a little careful whom we invite in. The allies at this moment have a league of nations that's a pretty good going concern.

As for inviting Germany, Austria, Turkey, and the present Government of Russia—any Lenine and Trotsky, or Bolsheviki, into a joint league of peace—I would just as lief ask so many road agents and gunmen to join a sheriff's posse.

I would approve of going into any rational-plan peace affair—not guarantee peace affair—to lessen the likelihood of war, but when all is said and done I would accept such a plan only as an addition to but never as a substitute for Uncle Sam preparing his own strength for his own defense.

Mr. President, it might as well be recognized that when an orderly government is established in Germany, she must either be admitted to the league of nations, if one is to be organized, or we and our allies must perpetually maintain a military establishment sufficient for all time to overawe that country.

One of the most valuable contributions made to the literature of this subject is a recent book by that brilliant and versatile English writer, Mr. H. G. Wells, entitled "In the Fourth Year." It exhibits such a warm admiration of the American system as a model for the league of nations that I venture to read a few extracts from the book. Mr. Wells says:

It happens, very fortunately for the world, that a century and a quarter ago 13 various and very jealous States worked out the problem of a Union, and became—after an enormous, exhausting wrangle—the United States of America. Now, the way they solved their riddle was by delegating and giving over jealously specified sovereign powers and doing all that was possible to retain the residuum. They remained essentially sovereign States. New York, Virginia, Massachusetts, for example, remained legally independent. The practical fusion of these people into one people outran the legal bargain. It was only after long years of discussion that the point was conceded; it was, indeed, only after the Civil War that the implications were fully established, that there resided a sovereignty in the American people as a whole, as distinguished from the peoples of the several States. This is a precedent that everyone who talks about the league of nations should bear in mind. These States set up a Congress and President in Washington with strictly delegated powers. That Congress and President they delegated to look after certain common interests, to deal with interstate trade, to deal with foreign powers, to maintain a supreme court of law. Everything else—education, militia, powers of life and death—the States retained for themselves. To this day, for instance, the Federal courts and the Federal officials have no power to interfere to protect the lives or property of aliens in any part of the Union outside the District of Columbia. The State governments still see to that. The Federal Government has the legal right perhaps to intervene, but it is still chary of such intervention. And these States of the American Union were at the outset so independent spirited that they would not even adopt a common name. To this day they have no common name. We have to call them Americans, which is a ridiculous name when we consider that Canada, Mexico, Peru, Brazil are all of them also in America. Or else we have to call them Virginians, Californians, New Englanders, etc. Their legal and nominal separateness weighs nothing against the real fusion that their great league has now made possible.

Now, that clearly is a precedent of the utmost value in our schemes for this council of the league of nations. We must begin by delegating, as the States began by delegating. It is a far cry to the time when we shall talk and think of the sovereign peoples of the earth. That council of the league of nations will be a tie as strong, we hope, but certainly not so close and multiplex as the early tie of the States at Washington. It will begin by having certain delegated powers and no others.

I observe that the Senator from Pennsylvania is not giving me his attention at this time. Perhaps the sentence I just read will in a measure be an answer to the question propounded to me by the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I beg the Senator's pardon. I was interrupted for a moment when he read the last sentence, and I should like to have him read it again.

Mr. WALSH. I shall be very glad to read it again:

That council of the league of nations will be a tie as strong, we hope, but certainly not so close and multiplex as the early tie of the States at Washington. It will begin by having certain delegated powers and

no others. It will be an "ad hoc" body. Later its powers may grow as mankind becomes accustomed to it. But at first it will have, directly or mediately, all the powers that seem necessary to restrain the world from war; and unless I know nothing of patriotic jealousies, it will have not a scrap of power more. The danger is much more that its powers will be insufficient than that they will be excessive.

I read this, Mr. President, as an indication of the line of thought of one of the leading thinkers of the world upon this subject; and I now answer the Senator from Pennsylvania that I do not believe any man has yet undertaken to work out all the details of the constitution, if you may so call it, under which the league of nations will operate, if it ever comes into being. I do not believe that it will be possible to announce in advance by anyone just exactly what powers that league of nations shall possess. So I say to the Senator that I am unable to answer his question, and I am unable to direct him to anybody who can. The league of nations, if it ever comes into being, will be the result of the activities of the statesmen of the world. Whether they shall deem it wise to include in the constitution such powers as suggested by the Senator from Pennsylvania, I am unable to say, but I should rather think not.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, the Senator has addressed an inquiry to me; and if he is ready for me to reply, I should like to do so.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SUTHERLAND in the chair). Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. WALSH. I do not remember having addressed an inquiry to the Senator.

Mr. PENROSE. I thought the Senator asked me whether that was a sufficient answer to my inquiry.

Mr. WALSH. No; I did not.

Mr. PENROSE. Then the Senator does not care to be interrupted at this moment?

Mr. WALSH. I have not the slightest objection to the Senator interrupting me at this time.

Mr. PENROSE. Then I will ask the Senator this question: He states that while this proposition of a league of nations is so nebulous that no one in this generation can define its character, it being a kind of rainbow vision——

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, just a moment. If the Senator undertakes to quote me, he must quote me accurately.

Mr. PENROSE. I was paraphrasing the Senator.

Mr. WALSH. I did not make any such statement.

Mr. PENROSE. I will not go on with the description if it does not suit the Senator; but he says that the first proposition that is generally admitted is that it shall be the duty of such league of nations to enforce peace. I take it the Senator stated that that was a general admission of the primary purpose of the league—to police the world and preserve peace. President Wilson has stated, and others of a free-trade tendency, that one of the great causes of war is economic rivalry and economic boycotts; and in the discharge of these high duties of preserving world peace, following out that theory, it would seem to me from a practical, common-sense point of view that the league of nations would be called upon to give the same reciprocal advantages in trade to our late opponents as they would to our recent allies. Would that be the Senator's thought?

Mr. WALSH. I am not undertaking to lay down the constitution of the league of nations at this time.

Mr. PENROSE. The Senator undertook to describe it.

Mr. WALSH. I do not undertake to reply to that question.

Mr. PENROSE. It is evident to my mind that the Senator is unwilling to reply.

Mr. WALSH. I am not undertaking at this time to lay down the details of the constitution which is to govern the league of nations. I did not have any such purpose at this time, and it does not seem to me that it is appropriate to the discussion. The Senator is endeavoring, it seems to me, simply to divert the public mind from the question as to whether we should have a league of nations to preserve the peace of the world.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I only want to say, in closing, if the Senator will permit me, that the fanciful generalizations quoted from the book of Mr. Wells ought to occupy close rank on the shelf with the equally ridiculous novel of that great diplomatist, Col. House.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I proceed.

I read from the book the following encomium upon the Constitution of the United States. He says, at page 22:

I turn from any European precedents to that political outcome of the British mind, the Constitution of the United States. Because we must always remember that while our political institutions in Britain are a patch-up of feudalism, Tudor, Stuart, and Hanoverian monarchist traditions and urgent merely as European necessities, a patch-up that has been made quasi democratic in a series of afterthoughts, the American Constitution is a real, deliberate creation of the English-speaking intelligence.

And, Mr. President, to show how clearly the author appreciated the purposes for which this great war has been waged, I read the following from page 69:

We are asking Germany to become a different Germany. Either Germany has to be utterly smashed up and destroyed or else Germany has to cease to be an aggressive military imperialism. The former alternative is dismissed by most responsible statesmen. They declare that they do not wish to destroy the German people or the German nationality or the civilized life of Germany. I will not enlarge here upon the tedium and difficulties such an undertaking would present. I will dismiss it as being not only impossible but also as an insanely wicked project. The second alternative, therefore, remains as our war aim. I do not see how the sloppiest reasoner can evade that. As we do not want to kill Germany, we must want to change Germany. If we do not want to wipe Germany off the face of the earth, then we want Germany to become the prospective and trustworthy friend of her fellow nations. And if words have any meaning at all, that is saying that we are fighting to bring about a revolution in Germany. We want Germany to become a democratically controlled State, such as is the United States to-day, with open methods and pacific intentions, instead of remaining a clenched fist. If we can bring that about we have achieved our war aim; if we can not, then this struggle has been for us only such loss and failure as humanity has never known before.

But do we, as a Nation, stick closely to this clear and necessary, this only possible, meaning of our declared war aim? That great, clear-minded leader among the allies, that Englishman who more than any other single man speaks for the whole English-speaking and western-thinking community, President Wilson, has said definitely that this is his meaning. America, with him as her spokesman, is under no delusion; she is fighting consciously for a German revolution as the essential war aim. We in Europe do not seem to be so lucid. I think myself we have been, and are still, fatally and disastrously not lucid. It is high time, and over, that we cleared our minds and got down to the essentials of the war. We have muddled about in blood and dirt and secondary issues long enough.

His admiration for our political institutions, Mr. President, as will be perceived from the extract just read, is not exceeded by that which he entertains toward the Chief Executive of this Nation. The book is filled with remarks expressive of the high appreciation he holds of the capabilities and the purposes of the President.

I read from page 2:

The common talk is of a "league of nations" merely. I follow the man who is, more than any other man, the leader of English political thought throughout the world to-day, President Wilson, in inserting that significant adjective "Free."

From page 26:

This peace congress is too big a job for party politicians and society and county families. The bulk of British opinion can not go on being represented forever by President Wilson.

From page 96:

Every day when I am in London I walk past Buckingham Palace to lunch at my club, and I look at that not very expressive façade and wonder—and we all wonder—what thoughts are going on behind it and what acts are being conceived there. Out of it there might yet come some gesture of acceptance magnificent enough to set beside President Wilson's magnificent declaration of war.

From page 129:

The one man who has risen to the greatness of this great occasion, the man who is, in default of any rival, rapidly becoming the leader of the world toward peace, is neither a delegate politician nor the choice of a monarch and his councilors. He is the one authoritative figure in these transactions whose mind has not been subdued either by long discipline in the party machine or by court intrigue; who has continued his education beyond those early twenties when the mind of the "budding politician" ceases to expand; who has thought, and thought things out; who is an educated man among dextrous undereducated specialists. By something very like a belated accident in the framing of the American Constitution the President of the United States is more in the nature of a selected man than any other conspicuous figure at the present time. He is specially elected by a special electoral college after an elaborate preliminary selection of candidates by the two great party machines. And be it remembered that Mr. Wilson is not the first great President the United States have had; he is one of a series of figures who tower over their European contemporaries. The United States have had many advantageous circumstances to thank for their present ascendancy in the world's affairs—isolation from militarist pressure for a century and a quarter, a vast virgin continent, plenty of land, freedom from centralization, freedom from titles and social vulgarities, common schools, a real democratic spirit in its people, and a great enthusiasm for universities; but no single advantage has been so great as this happy accident which has given it a specially selected man as its voice and figurehead in the world's affairs.

Mr. President, there is just one more extract from the book which I desire to read because of the questions addressed to me by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE], and more because of the spirit in which they were asked than because of the questions themselves. He is discussing here the objections that will be urged to the league of nations to insure and enforce peace; and he says, on page 32:

Disarmament is, in fact, a necessary factor of any league of free nations, and you can not have disarmament unless you are prepared to see the powers of the council of the league extend thus far. The very existence of the league presupposes that it and it alone is to have and to exercise military force. Any other belligerency or preparation or incitement to belligerency becomes rebellion, and any other arming a threat of rebellion, in a world league of free nations. But here, again, has the general mind yet thought out all that is involved in this proposition? In all the great belligerent countries the armament industries are now huge interests with enormous powers. Krupp's business alone is as powerful a thing in Germany as the Crown. In every country a

heavily subsidized "patriotic" press will fight desperately against giving powers so extensive and thorough as those here suggested to an international body. So long, of course, as the league of free nations remains a project in the air, without body or parts, such a press will sneer at it gently as "Utopian," and even patronize it kindly. But so soon as the league takes on the shape its general proposition makes logically necessary, the armament interest will take fright. Then it is we shall hear the drum patriotic loud in defense of the human-blood trade.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. WALSH. I will finish the quotation in just a moment.

Are we to hand over these most intimate affairs of ours to "a lot of foreigners"? Among these "foreigners" who will be appealed to to terrify the patriotic souls of the British will be the "Americans." Are we men of English blood and tradition to see our affairs controlled by such "foreigners" as Wilson, Lincoln, Webster, and Washington? Perish the thought! When they might be controlled by Disraelis, Wettins, Mount-Battens and what not! And so on and so on. Krupp's agents and the agents of the kindred firms in Great Britain and France will also be very busy with the national pride of France. In Germany they have already created a colossal suspicion of England.

Here is a giant in the path.

I yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED. I wanted to ask the Senator if he indorses that statement—if he believes that the munition makers of the world control the press of the world?

Mr. WALSH. Why, Mr. President, there is not any such statement here.

Mr. REED. As I interpret the language, that is the purport of the quotation.

Mr. WALSH. I am sure the Senator has misinterpreted it. The expression is:

In every country a heavily subsidized "patriotic" press will fight desperately.

Mr. REED. Yes. Now, of course, that expression means that the press is heavily subsidized.

Mr. WALSH. Not *the* press; *a* press.

Mr. REED. Well, a press.

Mr. WALSH. That is, some of the papers.

Mr. REED. And that it is a pretense that it makes that it is patriotic. The word "patriotic" is used in the ironical sense.

Mr. WALSH. Evidently.

Mr. REED. Now, I will ask the Senator if he believes that in the limited sense in which he now puts it there is a press in every country, subsidized by the munition interests, powerful enough to affect public opinion? Does the Senator indorse that statement?

Mr. WALSH. Why, I have not the slightest doubt in the world about it. I have not the slightest doubt in the world that money is put into newspapers for the purpose of controlling the public mind in favor of industries that are incidental to the conduct of war, and I have not the slightest doubt in the world that money is put into newspapers for the purpose of controlling public opinion with reference to many other subjects of legislation; and the Senator from Missouri has abundant reason for concurring with me in that opinion.

Mr. REED. The Senator is discussing a question a little different from the one I put. I suppose there are some newspaper men and some newspaper enterprises in every country that might be controlled by money; but does the Senator think that the munition makers of this country and of other countries in the world have subsidized the press, or a press, to such an extent as to materially control or affect public opinion? I do not think so.

Mr. WALSH. The Senator may not think so; but I have not the slightest doubt in the world that if a league of nations, such as is contemplated, is in process of formation, the men who have millions invested in business that will be destroyed if the league of nations comes into being will as a matter of course spend some of their money to control public opinion, as they believe, possibly honestly, but with prejudiced minds, in the public interest; and I shall be much surprised if the Senator from Missouri will not agree with me that those gentlemen are not going to see their business destroyed if they can help it.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CURTIS in the chair). Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. WALSH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. REED. If the Senator will pardon an interruption, I hope this discussion of the league of nations is not going to be put upon the sordid basis that there are some men interested in making gunpowder and cannon, and that they and all who are opposed to the league of nations are acting from selfish motives. I am sorry to find that injected into the debate. Speaking for myself, I question whether there is a man in the United States engaged in the making of munitions who would postpone for one moment the day of universal peace, if that be possible, in order to perpetuate his profits.

Mr. WALSH. The trouble about it is that he thinks he is not postponing the day of universal peace. He argues to himself, and quite satisfactorily, that the way to preserve peace is to build up a tremendous military organization, and he believes it honestly; but, of course, his view is a prejudiced one. His observation is obscured by the fact that he is interested in the matter.

Mr. REED. I will undertake to make this further statement, and then dismiss the subject: When the question comes to be investigated it will not be shown that the munition makers of the United States control a single first-class newspaper in the United States.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, that is, of course, a very small consideration in the discussion of the entire subject, and I should hate to have the Senator from Missouri or anyone else believe that that is the only line of argument that will be pursued. As a matter of course there are many, many people who have no faith whatever in the maintenance of peace by any such scheme or plan. The Senator from Missouri expressed himself upon the subject some time ago. None of us could imagine for a moment that the Senator is moved by any consideration but the highest patriotic motives, and there will be many other people in this country who will feel exactly the same way. The munition makers will be actuated by high motives and purposes, but their judgment will be wrong about it, in my humble opinion. As a matter of course they will be spending their money, not only to preserve their own individual interests, but, as they believe, to promote the interests of the country.

Mr. REED. As a matter of course, they will be spending their money. That is an assumption that has been demonstrated. I simply dismiss the matter, as far as I am concerned, with the statement that I have never seen the evidence produced that a single munition maker of the United States has ever undertaken to suborn the press or that he has ever undertaken to control public opinion in the interest of his business. It is within the limits of possibility that some one may have done so. I hold no brief for these gentlemen, certainly not, but I, at this time, solemnly protest against the argument being made that men who are opposed to this league of nations are opposed to it for selfish reasons.

I shall take occasion to make some remarks on that subject later.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which the Secretary will state by title.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 4637) for the retirement of employees in the classified service.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, the remarks of the Senator from Montana——

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I have just a sentence to conclude.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I thought the Senator had concluded. He had taken his seat.

Mr. WALSH. I simply desire to add that I commend the extracts that have been read to the very careful attention of the Members of this body.

Mr. PENROSE subsequently said: Mr. President, as part of my colloquy this morning with the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH], I ask permission to have inserted in the RECORD an editorial from a Philadelphia newspaper entitled "An Australian Prime Minister's Protest," in regard to the protest of Mr. Hughes, the prime minister of the Australian Commonwealth, against the 14 points enunciated by the President, and distinctly declares his opposition to economic union and reciprocity.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the editorial referred to will be inserted in the RECORD.

The editorial is as follows:

AN AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER'S PROTEST.

Mr. W. M. Hughes, the prime minister of the Australian Commonwealth, is none too well pleased with the 14 points enunciated by the President which are to serve as the basis of peace, and he is feeling sore because the dominions were not consulted prior to their adoption. Judging from what he said in a recent interview, he is laboring under the impression that they are to be embodied without interpretation, amplification, or modification in the compact eventually to be formulated, and he wishes it to be clearly understood that this is a prospect with which he and his fellow countrymen are deeply dissatisfied.

He especially objects to the third point providing for "the removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance," which he construes as threatening to impose an obnoxious and intolerable restriction on Australia's right as a self-governing dominion. "Australians," he

says, "would not permit Great Britain to curtail their economic freedom," and he wants to know why they should allow anyone else to do so.

So far as his criticism on this particular point is concerned, it may be remarked that many Americans have shared the apprehensions which he expresses, and that for their reassurance an explanation of the objectionable third paragraph has been furnished from official sources which minimizes its significance and eliminates its menace. It is not directed toward the universal institution of free trade, which, in view of the President's well-known free-trade proclivities, had been not irrationally surmised. It is directed against the erection of tariff barriers designed to exclude the products of any particular country; but to Premier Hughes, even as thus attenuated, it is unwelcome, and his position is that if Australia wishes to discriminate against German commodities it must reserve the right to do so.

That position admits of a strong defense which need not at the moment be discussed. Premier Hughes apparently assumes that the 14 points are identical with the terms of peace, and he complains of their acceptance as constituting a "fait accompli" consummated without the assent of the dominions, in which, however, they are bound to acquiesce. His view of the matter is a mistaken one. The 14 points have been accepted as the basis of peace, but they are far from comprising the conditions upon which the coming peace will eventually be established. They are in large part abstract propositions, the details of whose application remain to be determined, and it is unimaginable that at the conference, where the British self-governing dominions will be represented, the rights and interests of those dominions will not be unequivocally recognized and effectually conserved.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, I merely wish to say a few words in immediate connection with the development of this idea of a league of nations, which has been brought out by the Senator from Montana as the most appropriate occasion for calling the attention of the Senate and the country to the issue as it shapes itself.

A great many of the observations of Mr. Wells about our institutions are accurate, and there are a good many of them that are inaccurate. Mr. Wells's statement that we have in the United States no titles of nobility is correct, but his statement that we are free from social vulgarities is about as far from being correct as any criticism of the country could be. We have an element in this country, as there is in every country in the world, who indulge in social vulgarities; and I think a certain element, due to conditions—the rapid accumulation of wealth—is probably more marked in that respect than in any other country in the world.

I only call attention to it to show the unreliability of Mr. Wells's observations in all respects as to conditions and institutions in the United States.

Mr. Wells is one of the best-known socialists of Great Britain. He is a pronounced radical socialist, a brilliant author and novelist, a philosopher in a certain sense, a brilliant writer upon social and economic questions. He has never, so far as I know, had any part in the British Government. He is a pacifist, although after Great Britain entered the war he supported the war.

Furthermore, Mr. Wells, whose dissertation upon the subject of a league of nations has been read from at such length by the Senator from Montana, and, I think, in a spirit of general approval and recommendation by the Senator from Montana of the ideas and the propositions and the arguments made by Mr. Wells—Mr. Wells in addition to being a pacifist and a socialist is an internationalist, and that term has come of recent months to have quite a concrete and vital significance. Mr. Wells belongs to a very large and growing class of socialists and radicals who minimize the value of nationality.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. POINDEXTER. In just a moment. I would prefer that the Senator should interrupt me just a little later.

Mr. Wells belongs to that political element in England, in Germany particularly, in France, and of growing importance in the United States, who believe that the great political issues of the day are not national or to be determined by the sovereign powers which have been established through the natural evolution of things but that they are to be determined upon a horizontal cleavage of classes of people. He is more attached to the socialist class than he is to the nation to which he belongs.

This gentleman, whose setting forth and elucidation of the character of this proposed league of nations is emphasized by the Senator from Montana, believes in encouraging class warfare. He does not believe, I assume, in the possibility of the elimination of classes so far as the adjustment of economic and national political questions are concerned.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield.

Mr. WALSH. I think the Senator is not very accurately informed about Mr. Wells's views, which are quite aside from the line of the argument. So I did not read that portion of the book which argued for the abolition, for instance, of the monarchy and aristocracy.

Mr. POINDEXTER. As far as the abolition of monarchy and aristocracy is concerned, it was not necessary for the Senator to read that, because it is not an issue in the United States.

Mr. WALSH. Exactly; but the Senator stated as a fact that the writer was advocating a war of classes.

Mr. POINDEXTER. He is advocating an issue between classes. I mean, of course, a political war, and, I assume, carrying it to the extent of a military war if necessary. He is a believer in the doctrine of the social class, and that the political party to which he belongs should extend beyond the confines of the country and should join hands with the same class and the same party in all other countries in the world, and that there should be set up over them by their amalgamation a world power.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

Mr. POINDEXTER. I decline to yield just at this moment. I will yield just a little later. I call the Senator's attention to the fact that aside from the details of having a sovereign king or emporor that that is the same doctrine that was advocated by the late Kaiser of the German Empire. He was an internationalist. He believed in world power or downfall. It is in the same category. Although, of course, he advocated world peace under his central control, there is little else to distinguish the Kaiser's dream from the doctrine that is now being advanced under the mild term of a league of nations in favor of the establishment of a central power with armies and with navies which will impose its dictates upon every people and upon every nation as to their relations with each other.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WALSH. When I rose to interrupt the Senator a while ago, I was going to remark that it was not very important to us what Mr. Wells's views are except as they coincide with those of the premier of Great Britain, Lloyd-George, and the Assistant Secretary of State. I dare say that the Senator could hardly make that kind of a stricture against Robert Cecil.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, the Senator calls them strictures. I did not regard them as strictures. I was undertaking to give a definition. I assume that Mr. Wells would consider it a eulogy and a compliment, because he believes in the doctrine. I am simply undertaking to get at the real situation and the actual facts. Whether or not Mr. Wells's views are important is a matter which the Senator from Montana has settled for us all, because he has thought them of importance enough to bring his book here and read it at length and commend it to the attention of Senators.

A few days ago in the debate in the Senate as to the relation which the United States should occupy toward Germany in the reestablishment of the world, I called attention to the statement of the principal press spokesman of the administration, in which he said that the views of President Wilson had the approval of the British Labor Party and of the French Socialists. They belong to the same general internationalist party that Mr. Wells belongs to. At that time attention was called to the fact that when Mr. Henderson, who is one of the leaders of the labor party, whose support was set forth as evidence of the esteem in which internationally the President of the United States is held, undertook to go to Paris to meet there with the French Socialists, he was held up by the British sailors. He was not allowed to take passage upon a ship, and when he undertook to return to his home the taxicab drivers refused, according to the dispatches, to allow him to ride in their taxicabs, and they took that position because of what they considered his unpatriotic attitude toward the war in which Great Britain was engaged at that time for its honor and its independence. He agreed with Mr. Wells in preaching the doctrine of internationalism upon which the doctrine of a league of nations is founded. With whatever sophistry we may be engaged in defining the proposition, the fact is it is proposed that the sovereign power of the United States, which was won by the sages and patriots of the Revolution in blood and effort and sacrifice, is to be surrendered in this year 1918.

One of the surprising features about this is that it is carried here to the extent of having a member of that party which has stood the strongest in time past for local self-government in all respects, for distribution of power rather than centralization, present to us extracts from a book which sets out, in sharper outline than perhaps has been set out before, the astounding proposition of an international government molded on the principle of the Federal union of the States.

The Senator from Montana reads it to us and commends it to our attention, notwithstanding all of the heritage and traditions

which he has received, along with the rest of us, in the struggles and the conquests which our people have made for a national independence, for individual liberty, for national freedom.

Mr. President, they propose expressly, in some of the extracts which have been read, that international commerce shall be controlled by the league. That at once would take out of the hands of the United States any power to regulate a tariff, to levy import duties.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I can not let that statement go unchallenged.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I will yield to the Senator to challenge it, but let me say, in order that he may answer it all at once, that Mr. Wells, whose statement he just now read, compares this league and its ultimate ideals and developments to the Federal union of the United States and expressly said that his idea, which the Senator commends to us, was that the league should control the international commerce of the various members of it.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I desire to challenge that statement. There was nothing of the kind in what I read.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Of course, as far as that is concerned the extracts which the Senator read will have to show whether my understanding or his is correct.

Now, I want to call attention to this, that once we have entered into a league of nations I assume that the Senator from Montana will admit that this league, its representative government, of whatever kind it may be, which has not yet been defined, will have power to curb one of its constituent members from beginning a war against another member. Otherwise there will be no object whatever in forming it, as it would be no advance at all over The Hague convention which already exists, the worthlessness of which in the face of the perversities of human nature, as exemplified by the German nation, has been shown to all the world.

Once we form this league, that league having this power, the league, and not any member of it, will determine what its powers shall be, whether they shall be curtailed or whether they shall be extended. That, in general, has been the tendency of the Federal Union in its relations with the States. The inventions of science, however, and the spread of intelligence have made our happy domain as one community. Its independence, its sovereignty, is the chief jewel in its crown. It can not be surrendered without a struggle.

Only a few days ago on the floor of the Senate the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee said that, in the question of international trade, as to whether or not there should be any discrimination between the United States and any other nation, that question would be determined by the league. Now, there is the whole proposition admitted away, for if this plan is adopted the power of determination has gone from the United States. It is in the hands of an alien power; it is in the hands of rival powers; it is in the hands of Europe. The United States will have surrendered its birthright; it will have given up the spirit as well as the fact of sovereignty. Your Monroe doctrine will be absorbed in your league of nations. It will become obsolete, as some of the internationalists have already been preaching, circulating pamphlets with the phrase, "The Monroe doctrine an obsolete shibboleth." That will become a realization if this league of nations that is proposed by the Senator from Montana, as near as I can gather his idea, is carried out.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President——

Mr. WALSH. I yield to the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. OWEN. I want to remind the Senator that the Monroe doctrine was in reality a declaration by the United States that it would regard as an unfriendly act the establishment of a system of autocracy by any of the European powers on our shores; and that, of course, is impossible now, because the autocracies of Europe have been destroyed by this war. I take it that any league that might be made would be in view of the maintenance for all future time of the principles of democratic government throughout Europe and throughout the world.

Mr. POINDEXTER. That evidences, I think, the general attitude that is taken by most of those who advocate a league of nations. They assume that the issues that had to be fought for in the past, for which we have had to fight in the past, are not going to arise again. The Senator assumes that because autocracy for the time being, at least, is in a state of confusion and abdication, temporarily anyhow, in Germany, the purposes for which the Monroe doctrine were set up have been fulfilled; and according to that idea of course the necessary conclusion would be that the Monroe doctrine becomes obsolete, and it verifies just what I said before.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, the Senator's inference or conclusion from my observation has no justification, because I only pointed out that the Monroe doctrine was a declaration by the United States that it would not permit autocracy to be established on the Western Hemisphere.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I know what the Monroe doctrine is, and I suppose all of us do. It goes further, however, than the Senator has stated, and is not limited to autocracies in its exclusion of further European colonization in the Western Hemisphere.

Mr. OWEN. I do not believe it is generally understood that it arose out of the treaty of Verona and a war of the autocracy of Europe on the democracies of the world. That was the cause of the action of President Monroe.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President——

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WATSON. I should like to ask the Senator from Oklahoma whether he believes that the Monroe doctrine should be abrogated or abandoned as the American policy?

Mr. OWEN. Not at all. Nobody believes that, and no one has suggested it as far as I know.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington will proceed.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I am going to pursue the statement justifying my conclusion, not the conclusion of the Senator from Oklahoma, based on his statement that the conditions now being so different from those existing at the time of the Holy Alliance there is no danger of the occupation of American territory by European powers. I draw the conclusion that if he feels that the reason for the Monroe doctrine no longer exists, the doctrine itself is obsolete. It seems to me to be a legitimate conclusion to draw from his remarks.

Now, let us see. In the first place, I think the Senator is too optimistic, and I might say idealistic, to assume that as a result of this war the same passions and ambitions that have actuated the governments of nations in the past are not going to be in full play in the evolution of the future. Your league of nations is established. We all know that most of the European nations have never accepted, perhaps none of them in express terms, the validity of the position taken by the United States in setting up the so-called Monroe doctrine. They have never admitted its validity. The populations of these powers are going to increase, the struggle for existence, for bread, is going to continue in the future as it has in the past. The necessity for expansion and for colonization are not matters that are determined by the form of government or by the terms of peace. They are governed by fundamental influences, the primal instincts of man, and they are going to be in as full play after the terms of peace between Germany and the allies have been settled as they were at the time the Monroe doctrine was set up by the American statesmen of a previous generation. Trade is going to be carried on. Rivalry and controversy about trade, about property rights, about personal rights, are going to arise. Does the Senator from Oklahoma suppose that Europeans are not going to seek business, to acquire property, to have rights in Mexico, in Brazil, in the Argentine Republic in the future as they have in the past? If he does, then it seems to me he leaves out of account the necessary continuity of the ambitions and the activities of mankind. They are going to continue these activities.

Now, let us suppose that some question of that kind arises. The league of nations is in control. We set up the Monroe doctrine in opposition to some proposition of a European member of this league, of a protectorate or direct governmental control in order to protect the property, or the trade, or the person of its nationals in Central or South America or in Mexico. What is the result? It inevitably goes before the league. The constituted authority of the league will pass on it, not the United States. They will determine it. Do you suppose that they are going to accept for their guidance the Monroe doctrine, which has never been admitted by them and which the United States alone, for its protection and for the preservation of a democratic form of government, has set up and maintained by physical power? Of course not. They are going to determine it according to their own ideas. The sovereignty of the United States in maintaining its doctrine, its principles, its tradition, its Constitution will all be gone.

In the second place, Mr. President, a league of nations as proposed by the Senator from Oklahoma and the Senator from Montana and the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] who is not here, but whom I have heard express himself on this floor on that subject, would necessitate, if we are going to be governed by law, a revision of the Constitution of the United States. I know it has become quite unpopular nowadays to refer a question to the Constitution. But this league of nations which is proposed assumes, if it assumes anything at all, that the ultimate control in regard to war or peace rests in the league. Under the Constitution of the United States it rests in the Government of the United States, and if you take it away from

that Government and submit it to a league, then you set aside your Constitution in effect, whether you do it expressly or not.

There is another circumstance to which I want to call attention that seems to me to be somewhat surprising. The chief support of this strange doctrine comes from the South, many of whose greatest men did not even want to surrender their independence to the extent of joining the Federal Union. Virginians brought Patrick Henry and George Mason from retirement to the convention of Virginia to make the greatest fight that they ever made in their lives against surrendering the independence of Virginia, even in order to become a member of the Federal Union. Now from the South comes the chief advocacy of the proposition that the Federal Union itself, continental though it is in its domain—and powerful enough to uphold righteousness in the world, a league of nations in itself—shall surrender its sovereignty, its control over its international affairs, and merge its nationality in a centralized league of the world. The Federal Union, in the providence of God, has become the apple of our eyes, and our very heart's desire; but because it is so should make us turn as from a sacrilege from the surrender of its control to alien hands and the merging and losing of our peculiar ideals in the common stream of mankind. It is a wonder that the mighty shades of Jefferson and Calhoun, of Washington and Marshall do not walk and cry out against such a betrayal.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WATSON in the chair). Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield.

Mr. OWEN. The very principle which the Senator from Washington condemns of the Southern States that seceded, or of a Southern State or any other State that did not wish to join a Union for purposes of common protection, and the Senator approving the Union, nevertheless, for purposes of common protection, is logically driven to recognize the value of international cooperation for mutual protection. That can be done without sacrificing in any degree the entire and complete control of the internal affairs of each and all of the nations that might be confederated for the common purpose of protecting the world against a recurrence of so gigantic a disaster as that now drawing to a conclusion.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, the Senator from Oklahoma is correct in saying that the internal affairs of the several constituent elements of the league of nations would still be under their control. That was the theory of the Federal Union—that the internal affairs of the several States should be under their control—and I am very glad indeed for the colloquy to have taken place, for more and more it brings clearly out the outlines, at least, of this league of nations as it is conceived by its advocates. The statement just made by the Senator from Oklahoma puts the league of nations relatively in the position with the affairs of the world that the United States Government now has over the United States. The Senator implies by his statement that the league, not the United States, would control the foreign affairs of the United States and its relations of war and peace.

Mr. OWEN. Not at all, Mr. President. The Senator from Oklahoma did not concede anything of the kind. All that was involved in what was said by me was that the international relationship might be under the control of an international league; but that would merely be the control of the seas, the protection of each nation in its right to a free sea, and to those principles of international right that are clearly recognized by everybody.

Mr. POINDEXTER. My inferences of the Senator's conclusion were based upon his own remarks. I think that they were justified; but, of course, the Senator is entitled to put his own construction upon what his intentions are.

The idea that is always assumed, that such a league as is now proposed is in the interest of peace, is in the face of all history. We did not even prevent war in the United States by forming a Federal Union. The most gigantic war that the world had ever seen up to that time occurred between the constituent members of the league, or of the Union, as it was called in that case. The Senator, as I said before, can not stop the rivalries and ambitions of men by joining them in a Federal league. They are going to continue whether you have a Federal league or not. The undertaking to interfere with the sovereign right of the United States to determine its policy, to set up a Monroe doctrine, if it sees fit, to levy a tariff against other nations, to make such shipping regulations as it proposes, and to give preferences to its own ships in passing through the Panama Canal, if it wants to, as against the ships of other nations will lead to trouble and to warfare instead of to that dream of peace which the Senator from Oklahoma has in mind. As a member of the league, instead of following the advice of Washington and keeping aloof as far as possible from the embroilments of other nations, we would be inextricably involved in the increasing complications of race and a party to every quarrel which growing populations and the struggle for land and trade will inevitably force upon the world.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, I remind the Senator from Washington that every war which has ever arisen has arisen out of the defects in the structure of government. The war between the States of this Union was due to the fact that the structure of government in our original Constitution provided that the minority might veto the will of the majority; that one-fourth of the States could prevent a change of the Constitution; and the Constitution was interpreted as having nationalized and legalized slavery in this country. That is what caused our war. If the league of nations keeps that in mind, there will be no future wars.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Oh, the Senator's idea that any human institution is going to prevent future war illustrates the difficulty of this entire socialistic internationalist program.

Mr. OWEN rose.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Now, if the Senator will allow me, I shall conclude in just a moment.

I want to call attention to this inconsistency in the situation, that the advocates of this league of nations have even declined—at least the administration, which I put in the class of the advocates of the league of nations, has declined—to join the league of nations which has been formed for the purpose of conducting this war against Germany. It seems to me that if the United States Government, or those at present in control of it, advocate as a practical proposition a league of nations in this greatest emergency which the world ever saw, where such a league ought to have increased value, they would take advantage of the opportunity to carry out their theory, would sign the pact of London, and become in truth and in fact an ally of Great Britain and France for enforcing the peace of the world against recalcitrant Germany.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, it is a league of nations now that on the battle fields of Europe has controlled the autocracy of Europe, brought them to their knees, and brought the abdication of every petty Teutonic emperor, king, grand duke, or whatnot in that country.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, the United States has not joined that league and has expressly and very carefully stayed out of it, declining to call the United States an ally, but speaking always of "our associates" in the war, and undoubtedly has a deliberate purpose in doing so.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, the Senator from Washington stands on a barren and empty technicality in talking about the United States not being a party. In fact, it is just as much an alliance as if the United States did not call itself an associate Nation. That is a mere matter of diplomatic usage in the use of terms. The truth is that here there are joined together the military, the financial, the political powers of 22 nations, standing like a solid rock against autocracy and bringing a triumph for civilization and liberty throughout the world.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Well, they ought to be joined for the purposes of this war in that pact; but, as a matter of fact, they are not. The Senator from Oklahoma says it makes no difference whether we have signed it or not. That is equivalent to saying that the pact is a mere scrap of paper; that it adds nothing to the obligations of the nations which have joined it. I attach more importance to the deliberate actions of the administration in control of the Government in deciding great questions of that kind than to assume that they regard that as a negligible proposition. To show that it is not inconsequential, not a mere negligible incident, as assumed by the Senator from Oklahoma, we see from day to day the German Government, the Austrian Government, even the Turkish Government, attempting to divide the United States from its associates in this war, making addresses to the President of the United States to intervene to secure a modification of the armistice which Gen. Foch recently imposed upon the German Army. This morning we saw a new appeal made to the President, to act as an intermediary between Germany and France, Italy, and Great Britain. We have seen the United States standing on the outside of this pact and refusing even to give its moral support to our associates in the war by declaring war against Bulgaria and Turkey.

What has brought this war to a conclusion has been a series of events, beginning with the conquest of Bulgaria by France, Serbia, England, and Italy; followed, as an immediate consequence, by the downfall of Turkey, exposing the borders of Austria to invasion, leading to Austria's downfall, and so opening up the German Empire to the attacks of the allies, and lead-

ing to the final surrender of Germany. In the two essential steps which began this series of great events, the United States was not even nominally a party. We not only declined to give them material aid, but we declined to give them moral aid. We even declined to go in with them and to make a common cause with them against the autocracy and the cruelties of Turkey and against its alliance with Germany, and as a consequence they are appealing to the President of the United States from day to day to interpose, not as one of the allies but as an intermediary, to secure a humane peace, to mitigate the terms of the armistice; and, strange to say, we find the President of the United States responding, putting himself in the position of negotiating, entirely apart from France, which has suffered most, even now with the German people, undertaking to differentiate the German people from the German Army, of which the German people were the component parts, and which was supported in everything that it did by the German people with a unanimity that was never evidenced before in the case of any people in the world. The President, standing outside of this pact, declining to sign it, is negotiating with the present government of Germany for the interposition of his influence and that of the American people for a modification of terms in behalf of Germany against France and Great Britain!

Mr. President, if Germany desires to obtain concessions in regard to peace or to the armistice, the courteous thing, the thing which in good faith would reflect credit and honor upon the people of the United States, would be for the American Government, when they are approached in these matters, to refer the German Government to her nearest neighbors, who have been the principal belligerents in this war and have suffered and are now suffering most from German crimes, and not undertake to intervene between them in a matter in which we have borne the least part.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, the Senator having concluded, I should like to submit an observation in regard to this matter.

On August 15, 1917, I introduced a joint resolution proposing an international convention for the purpose of establishing an international government in lieu of the international anarchy which was then and is still prevalent. Without reading, I ask to put in the RECORD as an exhibit that joint resolution, together with several other resolutions to the same effect, which I introduced at different times, to explain what I regard as essential to the proposed international league.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The resolutions referred to are as follows:

Joint resolution (S. J. Res. 94) proposing as a war measure an international convention for the purpose of terminating international anarchy, establishing international government in lieu thereof, and coercing the Teutonic military conspiracy by the organized commercial, financial, military, and naval powers of the world.

Resolved, etc., That it is the opinion of the representatives of the people of the United States assembled in Congress that international government, supported by international force, should be immediately organized to take the place of the existing international anarchy; that competing armaments should be replaced by a noncompetitive international army and navy; that the Teutonic military conspiracy to dominate the world should be overthrown by the combined commercial, financial, military, and naval powers of the world.

That international government should be based upon the following principles:

First. Every civilized nation and informed people should have the unquestionable right of internal self-government, with exclusive control within its own territory over immigration, emigration, imports, exports, and all internal affairs, with the right to make its own political and commercial affiliations.

Second. The oceans and high seas should be free and open under international rules. All international waterways, straits, and canals should be open on equal terms to the citizens of all nations. Equal terms should be arranged for fuel repairs, and dockage in all ports for the ships belonging to the citizens of all nations.

Third. All interior nations having no seaports should have the right of shipment of their goods in bond on equal terms and conditions, without tax, through any intervening territory to the seaports of any other nation with equal access to shipping facilities.

Fourth. That there should be established by international agreement an international organization of all civilized nations with an international legislative council to draft rules of international law to be submitted to the several nations for approval. That when such rules of international law are approved by the parliaments, or lawmaking branch of the governments of three-fourths of the member nations, representing three-fourths of the total population of all the member nations, such international rules should be binding on all member nations. Such rules should be limited to the powers expressly delegated to such international legislative council and strictly confined to international affairs.

Fifth. The international legislative council should elect and define the duties of a representative international executive cabinet to execute and enforce the rules established as international law.

Sixth. The international legislative council should have representatives from each member nation exercising a voting power according to relative population, relative wealth, and relative governmental development, to be determined by international agreement.

Seventh. The international legislative council should establish and define the duties of an international supreme court, with power to pass upon all questions of international controversy incapable of diplomatic adjustment, but with no power to pass on questions affecting the reserved rights of nations.

Eighth. The international legislative council should formulate the method for raising an international army and navy and for establishing an international blockade and other means for enforcing the rights of member nations under international law, such army and navy to be provided and sustained by the member nations pro rata according to relative population and wealth.

Ninth. With the conclusion of the present war the nations of the world should agree to reduce in progressive stages their land and sea forces to a point preferably not to exceed internal or local police purposes and the quota required for the international army and navy.

With progressive disarmament and international peace safeguarded by world government dissatisfied nations now held captive by dominent nations for strategical purposes could be safely given their liberty.

Tenth. That the international army and navy should not be authorized to exercise military force further than to prevent or suppress the invasion of the territorial integrity of any of the member nations and in the blockade and embargo to enforce international law.

Eleventh. That it should be a violation of international law and the highest international crime for any nation on any alleged ground to invade the territorial limits of another nation. The penalty of such invasion should be immediate international blockade of the invading nation, embargo on all mail, express, and freight to or from such nation, and the suppression of such invasion by the international army and navy.

Twelfth. That nations backward in education, industrial and economic development, and in the knowledge of the principles of government should have their rights safeguarded on the principles of freedom, humanity, and justice by international agreement, with a view to future self-government.

Thirteenth. It is clearly realized that the program of progressive disarmament or permanent world peace is impossible of attainment until the military forces now ruling the Teutonic people, first, either voluntarily acquiesce in progressive disarmament and international justice as the basis of world peace; second, are forced to do so by the Teutonic people; or, third, are coerced to do so by the combined powers of the world.

Fourteenth. That in order to bring this war to an early termination, the belligerent nations opposing the Teutonic powers should immediately cohere on a plan of international government pledging justice and peace to all member nations and the coercion of the military autocracy of Prussia by the commercial, financial, military, and naval forces of the world, giving assurance, nevertheless, to the Governments of Germany and Austria of their willingness to admit the Teutonic powers as members of the proposed international union on equal terms with other nations when they shall have met the conditions and given satisfactory guaranties.

Fifteenth. In our opinion no reliance should be placed upon the vague suggestions of peace of the Teutonic military autocracy, but that their obscure proposals should be regarded merely as a military ruse. The peace resolution of the Reichstag, while promising well for the attitude of the German people, when they achieve self-government, can not at present be regarded as a proposal binding on or capable of enforcement by the German people, because they do not control their own Government, but are mere subjects and puppets of a military autocracy which has long conspired and still dreams of conquering the world by military force and terrorism. The United States and the nations opposing militarism should strenuously prosecute the war with every available resource, and no separate peace should be made by any of them until the menace of the military autocracy of Germany is removed.

Sixteenth. It is our opinion that if a world-wide agreement can be established on the above principles, and the men now engaged in slaughter and destructive activities can be returned to productive industry, the world could quickly recover the gigantic shock of the present war and would be able without serious difficulty to soon repair the material injuries and losses already suffered.

Seventeenth. The United States does not enter this war for material advantage, for any selfish purpose, or to gratify either malice or ambition. The United States will not approve forcible annexations or mere punitive indemnities, but it will approve a free Poland, the restoration of territory wrongfully taken from France and Italy, and restorative indemnity to Belgium and Serbia, and the adjustment of other differences by international conferences. It will favor extending international credits for the restoration of all places made waste by war. The United States enters this war in self-defense; to protect its own citizens and the nations of the world in their present and future rights to life and liberty on land and sea. It does not wish the world to remain an armed camp.

Eighteenth. No peace is desirable until the world can be safeguarded against a repetition of the present war. Competitive armaments must be ended and replaced by international cooperative armaments in order to assure permanent world peace.

Nineteenth. That the President of the United States shall immediately submit the above resolution to the belligerent nations now defending themselves against Prussian military autocracy and invite them and all neutral nations by wire to an international convention for the purpose of considering the above principles and taking affirmative action for the early suppression of the Teutonic military autocratic conspiracy by the combined commercial, financial, military, and naval powers of all nations.

Twentieth. The sum of $400,000 is hereby appropriated to meet the cost of promoting such convention.

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Senate concurrent resolution 17.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), The United States declared a state of war existing between the Imperial Government of Germany and the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria and the United States because of their repeated willful violations of the rights of the people of the United States under the acknowledged principles of international law; the sinking of unarmed merchant vessels and of hospital and Red Cross ships; the destruction of the lives of unoffending American citizens on their lawful business on the high seas on many occasions; filling the United States with spies and secret agents; conspiring the wholesale destruction of American industries by arson, by explosions, and murder; systematically promoting sedition and treason among our citizens, and the criminal violation of our laws by the German and Austrian aliens residing in the United States; endeavoring to incite the hostility and aversion of other nations against the United States, and to persuade Mexico and Japan to make war upon the United States, and many other wrongful acts contrary to the laws of nations and in violation of justice and of humanity; and for the further reason that it had finally become known to the United States from indisputable evidence that the military masters of Germany and Austria had deliberately and secretly conspired to bring about an elaborately prepared offensive war by which and through which they intended, first, to dominate Europe, nation by nation, and then to dominate the other unprepared nations of the earth and establish a military world dominion.

For many years past the governing powers of Germany and Austria have by world-wide intrigue carried on a systematic attempt to disorganize public opinion in the United States and in the other nations of the world for the purpose of breaking down the powers of resistance of other nations against this conspiracy for world dominion by exciting nation against nation and internal disorders among the nations that might oppose this sinister design.

The United States has not forgotten that the military rulers of Germany and Austria deliberately prevented international agreements at the various Hague conventions for arbitration of international differences, abatement of armaments, and world peace.

The United States recognizes this war as an offensive war of the completely prepared German and Austrian military autocracies against the unsuspecting and inadequately prepared democracies of the world in pursuance of the policy laid down in the first and second articles of the secret treaty of Verona of November 22, 1822, in which the autocratic rulers of Prussia and Austria solemnly pledged their powers to each other to overthrow all "representative" governments on earth, the consummation of which design the Prussian and Austrian autocratic group has steadily and secretly kept in view, and that this war had for its objects the premeditated slaughter and robbery of the innocent peoples of other nations for the sordid and base purposes of annexation, indemnity, robbery, and commercial profit by military force and terrorism and ultimate world dominion.

The United States finally recognized the unavoidable necessity of meeting the forces of this military conspiracy on the battle fields of Europe in order to prevent the military rulers of Germany and Austria succeeding in the first step of mastering Europe as a means to mastering and robbing America.

The United States can not be deceived by those military leaders of Germany and Austria who now, before their own people, pretend to be waging a war of defense and to desire an honorable peace, but whose every act has clearly demonstrated to the whole world that they deliberately planned and are still persisting in this unspeakably brutal war, with their sinister purposes unchanged, and which they are still attempting to carry out by terrorism, intrigue, and systematic falsehood and deceit at home and abroad.

The United States can not confide in any statement or promise emanating from such a perfidious source until the German and Austrian people in fact and in sober truth can control the conduct of their agents and compel them to observe the rules of morality and good faith.

The unbounded ambition and deceit of the Prussian military autocrats are again exposed in shameless nakedness before the German and Austrian people, their allies, and the world at large in their present demands of annexation of adjacent Russian territory and other demands contemplating the domination of the Russian and Polish people, in flat violation of their own Reichstag's recent pledges against annexation and indemnity.

The United States feels for the Russian people the liveliest sympathy in their great losses in life and property at the hands of the German and Austrian autocrats, as well as their magnificent and glorious struggles in behalf of freedom and democratic world peace.

Having passed through many severe tests and trials in establishing popular government in America, the people of the United States, through their own directly elected representatives, desire to extend to the Russian people the cordial hand of fellowship in their new-found freedom and to assure their democratic brothers in Russia that we earnestly desire to render them, so far as possible, every assistance they may need and which they themselves desire.

The United States did not enter this war for material advantage or for any selfish purpose or to gratify either malice or ambition.

The United States will not approve of forcible annexations or mere punitive indemnities even on the misguided people of Austria or of Germany, but demands the complete evacuation of all territory invaded during the present war by the German and Austrian troops and the restoration and indemnity of Belgium, Serbia, Roumania, and Montenegro.

The United States believes that righting the wrong done to the French people by the Prussian Government in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine will remove long-pending grievances due to previous military aggression and will promote future world peace.

The United States believes that a readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognized lines of nationality; that an independent Polish state should be established over territory indisputably occupied by Polish people; that the peoples of Austria-Hungary, of the Balkans, and of the Ottoman Empire should have the right of autonomous development.

The United States will favor recognizing and protecting by an international alliance the territorial integrity of all nations, great and small; the maintenance of the right of unembarrassed self-determination of all nations, and the right of such nations to manage their own affairs by internal self-government; and safeguarding the rights of backward peoples by international agreement.

The United States will favor extending international credits for the restoration of all places made waste by war.

The United States will insist that the oceans and high seas and international waterways and canals shall be open on equal terms to the citizens of all nations; that all nations shall have the untaxed right of access to the sea of their goods in bond through any intervening territory to the seaports of other nations, with equal access to shipping facilities.

The United States will favor the removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of equal trade conditions among all the nations of the world consenting to peace and associating themselves for its maintenance, without

interfering with the right of any nation to govern its own imports and exports.

The United States will insist that adequate guaranties shall be given and taken to the end that national armaments on land and sea should be reduced to the lowest points consistent with domestic safety.

The United States will favor an open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the claims of the Governments whose titles are to be determined.

The United States recognizes that a general association of civilized nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity to nations, great and small alike, and of maintaining world peace, and believes that under such a system dissatisfied peoples now held under subjection to dominating nations for strategical purposes could be safely given their liberty and autonomy as the rights of the dominant nation would be made safe by the general association of nations, and the subject nation would cease to be a coveted asset against future war.

The United States believes that under such general association of nations it should be a violation of international law and the highest international crime for any nation, on any alleged ground, to invade by military power the territorial limits of another nation, and that the penalty for such invasions should be the immediate international blockade of the invading and offending nation, an embargo on all mail, express, and freight to and from such nation, and the suppression of such invasion by the combined forces of the general association of nations organized for the protection of world peace.

The United States believes that all future international treaties should be made in the open, where all the world may know of the proceedings in the framing of such treaties, and that secret diplomacy and international intrigue should end.

The United States desires to be on friendly terms, political, commercial, and social, with the people of every nation, including those now under the control of the German and Austrian military autocracies, and to restore as speedily as possible these friendly relations with the German and Austrian people as soon as they organize a government responsible to the will of the people of Germany and Austria, and whenever they shall themselves demonstrate a willingness to deal with the other nations of the world on a basis of equality, justice, and humanity, and are willing to abandon the atrocious and detestable doctrine of making war for annexation, indemnity, and profit.

The United States entered this war to protect the rights of its own citizens to life and liberty, to protect its own future, to make the world safe from the future menace of military despotism, dynastic ambitions, or competing armaments, to establish permanent world peace on a basis of international justice, righteousness, and humanity, and, in cooperation with the self-governing belligerent nations, will maintain these principles, whatever the cost, with firmness and resolution until these ends are fully accomplished.

—

Joint resolution (S. J. Res. 153) requesting the President to invite the entente allies to declare the rules of international law and require the German Government to accept such rules under penalty of progressive international boycott, etc.

Resolved, etc., That the President of the United States is hereby requested to invite Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan and their allies in the present war brought upon them by the Hohenzollerns to enter into a treaty declaring the fundamental rules of international relationship and to bring to the knowledge of the commercial and financial interests now backing the Hohenzollern war that instead of profit out of this war they shall be visited with assured commercial and financial loss so long as they refuse to conform to the reasonable rules of international law and so long as they maintain militarism and defend the immoral doctrine that "might makes right" and deny to smaller nations the right to unembarrassed self-determination.

SEC. 2. That the fundamental principles of international relationship and of international law upon which the future peace of the world must depend are as follows:

Every civilized nation has the unquestionable right to exercise full powers of internal self-government, with exclusive control within its own territory over emigration, immigration, exports, and imports, and to complete unembarrassed territorial integrity, but no right to menace other nations by militarism.

That the oceans and high seas and international waterways should be absolutely free and open under international rules to the citizens of all nations recognizing international law.

That the right of access to the sea by shipment in bond without tax through intervening territory should be conceded to all nations recognizing international law.

That all international differences should be definitely and finally settled by arbitration, but no case questioning the validity of the fundamental rules of international law is justiciable.

That the invasion of the territorial integrity of one nation by another on any alleged ground is the highest of all international crimes, and any nation offending this law should be regarded by all civilized nations as an international outlaw.

That subordinate nations or colonies, backward in education and in industrial and economic development, should have their human rights safeguarded on the basis of the principles of freedom and justice by international agreement.

That Alsace-Lorraine, Terra Irredenta, and Poland should be assured unembarrassed self-determination under international agreement.

That Germany and Austria must immediately, under the rules of international law, evacuate all territory invaded by them during the present war and make full reparation to Belgium and Serbia.

That progressive reciprocal disarmament of the nations shall be agreed upon as an international rule of conduct to go into effect immediately after the termination of this war to an agreed basis of actual requirements for domestic and international police.

That an international police army and navy shall be established by international agreement after the termination of this war for the purpose of enforcing international law.

SEC. 3. That in order to remove the hope of profit and to establish the certainty of loss upon the commercial and financial forces now backing the German military machine in this war that the international agreement hereinbefore proposed shall further stipulate that if within 30 days after such international agreement be signed the German Government shall not by resolution of the Reichstag and by referendum of the German people agree to the above principles of international law, then and in that event the nations of the world now at war with Germany should solemnly pledge themselves by an irrevocable agreement to enforce the following commercial and financial stipulations until the Reichstag of Germany and the German people accept the proposed principles of international law, to wit:

STIPULATIONS OF BOYCOTT.

First. To refuse clearance to any of their vessels to any German port.

Second. To refuse entry to any of their ports of any vessel under the flag of Germany or a vessel under any other flag engaged directly or indirectly in trade with Germany or owned in whole or in part by any subject of Germany.

Third. To prohibit the exportation, direct or indirect, of any merchandise, goods, wares, raw materials, or other natural products, whether of domestic or foreign origin, to Germany.

Fourth. To refuse to permit the importation, direct or indirect, of any merchandise, goods, or wares, whether of domestic or foreign origin, from Germany.

Fifth. To prohibit the exportation, direct or indirect, to Germany of coin, bullion, or paper money, or securities, or any other form of indebtedness, or bills of exchange, or of other negotiable instruments, or of banking or commercial paper.

Sixth. To forbid any postal, telegraphic or telephonic, or express communication with Germany or with any person in Germany.

Seventh. To prohibit the transfer to their own nationals, either directly or indirectly, of any stocks, shares, mortgages, or other forms of indebtedness owned by a resident subject of Germany, and to confiscate all property, including patents and patent rights, owned in the entente allied countries by German subjects residing in Germany and use the same or the proceeds thereof as an indemnity to their own nationals owning property lost or confiscated in Germany.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, the world has been brought to this unspeakably horrible war by reason of the fact that we had no established international law. We had merely precedents; we had merely practices; there was no actual existing international law, because a rule of conduct which is not enforceable before any tribunal or a rule of conduct which depends merely upon ethics amounts to practically no law, amounts to anarchy when you are face to face with an existing interna-

tional armed military menace, such as the Teutonic empires presented, which defies and nullifies the so-called law.

The world has long felt the necessity for cooperation for mutual protection, and at various times at The Hague international conventions have been entered into looking to an end of military autocracy in the world. Many years ago it was proposed to have gradual disarmament and to have established at The Hague conventions by which international relationships should be clearly understood and made a matter of deliberate written agreement between the nations of the world. In every instance it was Germany, with its influence over Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria, that prevented The Hague conventions providing for gradual disarmament and providing, therefore, a means by which the peoples of the various nations would govern themselves as progressive democracies. If military establishments had been disarmed under The Hague convention agreements Germany would not have been a menace to Europe, and the German people in that event would, in all human probability, have been an established parliamentary government; but now we are face to face with the question as to whether we shall organize the world for the lawful protection of our future peace or whether we shall leave ourselves unprotected by world agreements or by a world league. If we fail to do so, sometime we may perhaps be confronted with the organization of militarism in the Orient. A good many people live in the Orient; they are fatalists; they do not fear to die, and they might be organized into a military machine that would make the whole world tremble. The time to establish the doctrines of peace, of justice, of humanity, of mercy, is at hand, and this great Republic of ours ought to take a leading part in safeguarding the future of mankind and join other free nations in establishing an era of a thousand years of peace.

Such action does not involve giving up in any degree the sovereignty of the United States. No man suggesting a league of nations for the better protection of international relationships has ever suggested that any nation participating in such a league should give up its territorial integrity or internal sovereignty. On the contrary, the very purpose of the international league would be to make it an international high crime to invade the territorial integrity of any one of the member nations, great or small, and impose suitable penalties to prevent it.

It does not involve giving up to some foreign power the right to frame the tariff schedules of any one of the member nations or to interfere in internal affairs relating to immigration or emigration of any one of the member nations; but the internal affairs of every member nation would be, in any arrangement looking to an international league of nations, carefully safeguarded by the representatives of every nation party to it.

Every citizen, Mr. President, yields something of his right in order that he may have an orderly, peaceful relationship with other men. Counties do the same within the State; States do the same in their relation to each other in the Union of the 48 States; and nations, in establishing a league of nations, would give up something of their independence in order to be assured of a future measure of right, justice, and peace.

We want the seas to be free. Shall we rely upon our own Navy to make them free? Shall Great Britain rely upon its own navy to make them free? Shall one nation be competitive with another nation in building up, at great expense to the taxpayers, more and more gigantic armaments upon the sea, at a cost of hundreds of millions of dollars, with long-range, powerful guns? Shall we go on in competition with Great Britain as a builder of giant warships?

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, am I to assume that the Senator from Oklahoma is opposed to our building any more battleships?

Mr. OWEN. I will answer that in due time. Are we to go on in a competitive system? If we have no international arrangement, we must go on in order to defend our rights. Is it not better for us to say at the peace table that we will abate our own shipbuilding program of these monsters of war by an agreement between the nations to have an international fleet available for the protection of the rules we lay down in common? We have now a three years' naval program, involving hundreds of millions of dollars, for the purpose of enlarging the great war fleet of the United States. Shall we stop building without any understanding? Shall we say to the workers in the shipyards, "Lay down your tools; make no more dreadnaughts or superdreadnaughts or torpedo boats," while we know that other nations could under those circumstances impose upon our rights as Germany did impose upon us with her submarines? Or shall we pursue the other alternative, of coming to an understanding at the peace table with the great free nations of the world whereby we would abate the building of these engines of war made to destroy human life as well as to protect human rights?

Mr. President, I am in favor of a league of nations; I approve what the President of the United States has said with regard to a league of nations; I approve of what Lloyd-George said yesterday with regard to it; and I approve what he said with regard to the establishment of peace.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

Mr. OWEN. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I can readily see how Lloyd-George, being a member of the Liberal Party of Great Britain—and I presume now that the war is over that very likely the coalition Government of Great Britain will not last very long, for there is as sharp a division of opinion between the parties in Great Britain as there is between parties in the United States—I can readily see why a British free-trader, advocating a doctrine which is perhaps the central one of British policy, should eagerly grasp at the idea of a league of nations, one of whose principal aims is economic freedom between nations.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, the Senator and many of his colleagues——

Mr. POINDEXTER. May I add that if Great Britain could secure—I am not saying whether or not she can—but if Great Britain could secure as a consideration for going into this league of nations the power of such a league to regulate the United States tariffs she would be a great gainer by it.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, the Senator and some of his colleagues continually come back to that ancient and venerable fetish with which they play so lovingly at all seasons, known as the protective tariff. I say to the Senator flatly that I am in accord with him on the protective tariff to the extent that it shall not exceed the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad. All I ask is that that principle in framing our laws shall be carried out with intellectual integrity. I will say more to the Senator—and I ask him to listen to this—that international debts are paid by "commodities," using the term to include services. Commodities pay for commodities. To the extent that we ship goods to other people, they must pay us in goods. They can not pay us in gold or credits except for the briefest possible space of time. They must retain their gold as a means of protecting their paper currency and their credits at home. They must maintain their per capita circulation, unless they want to have violent fluctuation of prices within their own borders. So that in the long run and through the years nations pay each other for commodities by commodities. Whatever we ship abroad is paid for by the things that people ship here from abroad, and in no other way.

We may give them temporary credit, but they will have to pay that back with interest, and they can not pay it back with interest in gold. They are obliged to pay it back with interest in "commodities." Therefore it follows with inexorable logic, from which no man with mental integrity dare to depart, that just to the extent to which we prevent imports into our country we prevent exports from our country and prevent our people from engaging in larger activities and in greater industrial development.

Mr. President, I approved Lloyd-George's great declaration—and I ask to insert it in the RECORD without reading—in which he demands a peace of justice, of humanity.

I am opposed to a peace of mere hard-hearted vengeance. But I agree also that those who have been guilty of the gigantic crime against the world of bringing about this war should be held to a strict personal account for high crimes against humanity, whether it be done by their own tribunals where justice may be assured, or be done by international military court-martial. But, Mr. President, we can not afford to deal with brutality and with absolute indifference to life with the people within the Teutonic Empires. We have all read the appeal which was made to Mrs. Woodrow Wilson this morning by the distressed women of Germany, calling attention to the fact that at least the poor women and the children of Germany were not responsible for the cataclysm of war which has deprived them of life and of everything they held dear. I think we would do well to listen to that call for food and for succor.

I ask, without reading, to put the letter of the German women into my remarks.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KING in the chair). Does the Senator from Oklahoma yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. OWEN. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Before that is done, my recollection of that appeal is that it was that Mrs. Wilson should use her influence to secure a modification of the terms of the armistice. Does the Senator think that she should do that?

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, it is not necessary to change the purpose of the armistice in the least degree. The purpose of the armistice was to disarm the military autocracy that has made war on the world, and that end has been accomplished. But those same cars can be used under the authority of Marshal Foch to transport food from the fields to those who must have food or die without reenforcing the military machine of Germany.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, France has been so much closer to this war, and has played a so much larger part in it than the United States, and is so much more important in the present situation than the United States, that it would seem to me that she at least ought to be consulted about what is to be done with Germany, and that the appeal for modifications of the armistice, in all due respect to that great nation which has done so much for the world, ought to be addressed to France and to Great Britain, who fought the war for three years before the United States was in it.

Mr. OWEN. Oh, Mr. President, the United States is not going to take any action without the sympathetic cooperation of France and Great Britain. This appeal was made to the President of the United States because he was in a better position to have his eyes free from blood and tears than the men who have suffered the agonies of death in this great battle, and a suggestion coming from him would be entitled to receive consideration, and will receive it. I have no belief that Marshal Foch desires the death of the women and children of Germany. I know he does not. No great soldier would desire that, and Foch is unsurpassed in the annals of the world as a great military commander.

I ask, Mr. President, that the declaration of Lloyd-George and the letter of the German women to which I have referred may be printed in connection with my remarks, without reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, that order will be made.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Premier Lloyd-George made this announcement in an address to his liberal supporters on November 11:

"What are the principles on which that settlement is to be effected? Are we to lapse back into the old national rivalries, animosities, and competitive armaments, or are we to initiate the reign on earth of the Prince of Peace? It is the duty of liberalism to use its influence to insure that it shall be a reign of peace.

JUSTICE AND FAIR PLAY.

"What are conditions of peace? They must lead to a settlement which will be fundamentally just. No settlement that contravenes the principles of eternal justice will be a permanent one. The peace of 1871 imposed by Germany on France outraged all the principles of justice and fair play. Let us be warned by that example.

"We must not allow any sense of revenge, any spirit of greed, any grasping desire, to override the fundamental principles of righteousness. Vigorous attempts will be made to hector and bully the Government in an endeavor to make them depart from the strict principles of right and to satisfy some base, sordid, squalid ideas of vengeance and of avarice. We must relentlessly set our faces against that.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS NEEDED.

"The mandate of the Government at the forthcoming election will mean that the British delegation to the peace conference will be in favor of a just peace."

Discussing the question of a league of nations, the premier said that such a league would be more necessary now than ever. He pointed out that the conditions which prevailed in the Balkans before the war were now affecting practically two-thirds of Europe.

"A large number of small nations have been reborn in Europe," he continued. "And these will require a league of nations to protect them against the covetousness of ambitious and grasping neighbors. In my judgment a league of nations is absolutely essential to permanent peace.

NO PROGRESS WITHOUT PEACE.

"We shall go to the peace conference to guarantee that a league of nations is a reality. I am one of those who believe that without peace we can not have progress. A league of nations guarantees peace and guarantees also an all-round reduction of armaments, and that reduction of armaments is a guaranty that you can get rid of conscription here.

"Of course, we must have in this country an efficient army to police the empire; but I am looking forward to a condition of things, with the existence of a league of nations, under which conscription will not be necessary in any country."

BERLIN, *November 12, 1918.*

To Mrs. WOODROW WILSON,
White House, Washington, D. C.

MADAME: According to the terms of the armistice, Germany has to surrender a very large part of the rolling stock of her railways. At the same time she has to feed the troops of her former enemies in the occupied provinces of Germany. The German women and children have been starving for years. They will die from hunger by the millions if the terms of the armistice are not changed.

We need the rolling stock of the railways to bring food from the farms to the cities. It will be impossible to feed the soldiers of the occupying armies if we can not get large amounts of food from overseas. The women and children all the world over have been the innocent sufferers of this terrible war, but nowhere more than in Germany. Let it be through you, madame, to implore our sisters in the United States of America, who are mothers like ourselves, to ask their Government and the allied Governments to change the terms of the armistice so that the long suffering of the women and children of Germany may not end in unspeakable disaster.

For the National Council of Women of Germany.

GERTRUD BAEUMER.
ALICE SOLOMON.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, the people of Germany are human beings, after all. They are fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers. They love and laugh and sing as well as hate, fight, and die. Under happier circumstances, as a free people, the good qualities God has planted in all men will develop in the German people. I believe justice and mercy should go hand in hand in dealing with the Germans. They have greatly sinned against the world. I do not in the least condone their conduct. They must make reparation, and we should require and help them to do it; but I can not help but remember the frailty of human nature, and that they also have been greatly sinned against. I can not help but remember what I know to be the historical fact, that since the days of the Elector of Brandenburg these people have not enjoyed free speech or liberty. They have not enjoyed a free press. The military powers in control of them as *subject* people—and you might as well call them *slaves* as subjects—the Hohenzollerns, have controlled the printing press, the magazines, the newspapers, the kindergartens, and the gymnasium schools and the universities. They have controlled the press, the platform, and the pulpit.

They have taught these people the doctrine of militarism, the doctrine of autocracy, the doctrine of divine right; that the emperor is synonymous with patriotism, synonymous with the fatherland, synonymous with love of country, synonymous with God and religion. Their minds have been poisoned, and they have been betrayed by the doctrine of militarism, schrecklicheit, "Deutschland uber alles," and so forth, and they are now going through a violent revulsion of feeling. Their kings and princes and dukes are running like rats from the wrath of the deceived German people. The Kaiser and Crown Prince have fled into Holland, where they are politely interned, awaiting the action of an international council. The German people—no longer subject—are trying to establish order; and they are in great danger now, during this violent intellectual and moral revolt, of going into complete anarchy and bolshevism.

We may think that it is none of our concern whether Germany goes into anarchy or bolshevism. The same kind of argument would say that we were not concerned in the bubonic plague in Europe, or in Asiatic cholera, or in the Spanish influenza abroad. We have had a dose of it recently which ought to be a gentle reminder that we are very much concerned. The meanest answer ever made to a question in all literature was the answer which Cain gave in the Garden after murdering his brother Abel: "Am I my brother's keeper?"

Mr. President, America has the opportunity of all the centuries to take the lead in establishing on earth the doctrines of humanity, of democracy, of the people's rule system of government. America has the opportunity of leading the way for all the world along the lines of orderly democratic government, where human industry can supply every human want, where all men and all women and all children shall be abundantly fed, abundantly clothed, well housed, and given a reasonable liberty to walk in the fields and look upon the flowers of the fields, and look into the sky and realize the truth that God reigns over all men, that men are brothers at last, and the children of "Our Father."

Under the blessings of liberty the German people will in due time make amends for the past, as far as human atonement is possible, and will prove that under happier conditions they will cherish free institutions, liberty, and humanity and morality as loyally as others who have had more favorable surroundings.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, I ask leave to print as part of my remarks a brief editorial from the St. Paul Dispatch.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

UTTERLY BEYOND BELIEF.

From Washington is wired the incredible statement that "the central powers," the President is said to hold, "should be treated as magnanimously by their conquerors as the South was treated by the North at the end of the Civil War." This is too monstrous for the belief that it emanated from the President, himself of southern antecedents. It would put the men of the South on a par with the unspeakable Hun. It would make Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson rank with Ludendorff and Hindenburg. When the Civil War was ended the North, following the course of the great-hearted Lincoln, received the South back as erring and forgiven brothers, but as brothers. After all of the horrors indescribable, the wanton brutality, the extremity of barbarity that characterized German warfare for over four years, are we to grasp the bloody hand and kiss the foul cheeks of the Hun? "As the South was treated!" Did the men of the South bayonet babies, crucify children, sink hospital ships, and drop bombs upon Red Cross stations? It would be interesting to hear what the chivalric people of the South would say to a proposition that the conquered Hun is entitled to the same treatment that they received when the sound died away from the last shot in the lost cause. It is incredible that such a view should be held by President Wilson.

CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENT.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 4637) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I had hoped to get a vote on the civil-service retirement bill to-day, but the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] has asked that it go over until Monday, with the assurance that after he has made a speech on the subject he will no longer oppose a vote, and I am assured by various Senators that there will be no objection to a vote on Monday; so I am not going to insist on a vote this afternoon.

I therefore move——

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I do not now have any intention of opposing a vote on this bill on Monday, but I do not want to sit in silence in the face of a statement of that kind lest I might be bound by it. I have not had an opportunity to fully examine this bill. I hope to do so between now and Monday, and it may be that I shall have something to say upon it which will prevent a vote on that day.

Mr. McKELLAR. I trust not.

Mr. THOMAS. I want the Senator to understand that I do not now have any intention of doing so, but I want to reserve the right——

Mr. McKELLAR. Why, surely.

Mr. THOMAS. So that I can not be misunderstood by reason of my silence.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. McKELLAR. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 10 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 18 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, November 18, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate November 15, 1918.

SECRETARY OF EMBASSY.

CLASS 4.

Charles Henry Chapman, of San Francisco, Cal., to be a secretary of embassy or legation of class 4 of the United States of America.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Percy M. Moir, of Virginia, to be an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, vice Frederick C. Fisher, resigned.

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF PORTO RICO.

Howard L. Kern, of Iowa, to be attorney general of Porto Rico. (Reappointment.)

RECEIVERS OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Owen E. Thomas, of Montana, to be receiver of public moneys at Kalispell, Mont., his term of office having expired. (Reappointment.)

George G. Beams, of Nebraska, to be receiver of public moneys at Lincoln, Nebr., his term having expired. (Reappointment.)

COAST GUARD.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Coast Guard, for temporary service, from the 21st day of September, 1918:

William J. Keester,
Eugene A. Coffin,
John S. Baylis,
Charles G. Roemer,
Wilfred N. Derby,
Leo C. Mueller,
Clarence H. Dench,
William K. Scammell,
Roy A. Bothwell,
Wilmer H. Eberly,
Russell L. Lucas,
Stephen S. Yeandle,
Frederick A. Zscheuschler
Thomas S. Klinger,
Charles E. Anstett,
Henry G. Hemingway,
Jeremiah A. Starr, and
Joseph E. Stika.

First Lieut. of Engineers Herbert N. Perham to be captain of engineers in the Coast Guard, for temporary service, from the 21st day of September, 1918.

The following-named third lieutenants to be second lieutenants in the Coast Guard, for temporary service, from the 21st day of September, 1918:

George W. McKean and
John Trebes, jr.

Third Lieut. of Engineers John A. Curran to be second lieutenant of engineers, for temporary service, in the Coast Guard from the 21st day of September, 1918.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

MEDICAL CORPS.

To be first lieutenants.

First Lieut. Hugo Muench, jr., United States Army, from October 26, 1918.

First Lieut. Jarrett Matthew Huddleston, United States Army, from October 27, 1918.

First Lieut. George Eason Blue, United States Army, from October 28, 1918.

First Lieut. Earl Calvin Padgett, United States Army, from October 29, 1918.

First Lieut. David Oscar Nathaniel Lindberg, United States Army, from October 30, 1918.

First Lieut. Cecil Emerson Johnson, United States Army, from October 31, 1918.

First Lieut. Harry LeRoy Smith, United States Army, from November 1, 1918.

First Lieut. Carl Bearse, United States Army, from November 1, 1918.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENTS, BY PROMOTION, IN THE ARMY.

CAVALRY ARM.

To be first lieutenants.

Second Lieut. Arthur W. Stanley, from August 9, 1918.
Second Lieut. Harold E. Brailey, from August 21, 1918.
Second Lieut. Carleton Burgess, from August 27, 1918.
Second Lieut. Frederick H. Vandegrift, from August 27, 1918.
Second Lieut. Harry E. Dodge, from August 27, 1918.
Second Lieut. Charles F. Palmer, from August 27, 1918.
Second Lieut. Jay D. D. Marcellus, from August 27, 1918.
Second Lieut. Lewis D. Cooper, jr., from August 27, 1918.
Second Lieut. Charles J. Davis, from August 27, 1918.
Second Lieut. George W. Outland, from August 27, 1918.
Second Lieut. John M. Moose, jr., from August 27, 1918.
Second Lieut. Nelson R. Perry, from August 27, 1918.
Second Lieut. Innes Randolph, from August 27, 1918.
Second Lieut. Carl B. Byrd, from August 28, 1918.
Second Lieut. Thomas Brady, jr., from August 30, 1918.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

To be first lieutenants.

Second Lieut. Frank C. Delaney, from August 17, 1918.
Second Lieut. Pell W. Foster, jr., from August 27, 1918.
Second Lieut. Kennedy Hassenzahl, from August 27, 1918.
Second Lieut. Arthur P. Patterson, from August 27, 1918.
Second Lieut. Robert P. Reynolds, from September 18, 1918.
Second Lieut. Philip G. Hodge, from September 25, 1918.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

INFANTRY.

To be lieutenant colonels.

Maj. John W. Barker, from August 27, 1918.

Maj. James P. Harbeson (subject to examination required by law), from September 18, 1918.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Capt. John A. Hoogewerff to be a rear admiral in the Navy from the 1st day of July, 1918.

Capt. Marbury Johnston to be a rear admiral in the Navy from the 28th day of November, 1918.

Lieut. Commander Fletcher L. Sheffield to be a commander in the Navy from the 18th day of January, 1918.

Lieut. Commander Louis Shane to be a commander in the Navy from the 20th day of March, 1918.

Ensign Merrill T. Kinne to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy from the 5th day of June, 1918.

Capt. Charles F. Hughes to be a rear admiral in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 11th day of October, 1918.

Commander Allen Buchanan to be a captain in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 11th day of October, 1918.

Lieut. William L. Wright to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of October, 1918.

Lieut. Hamilton V. Bryan to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 10th day of October, 1918.

Lieut. Elroy L. Vanderkloot to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 11th day of October, 1918.

Lieut. Wilbur J. Ruble to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 14th day of October, 1918.

Lieut. John R. Palmer to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of October, 1918.

The following-named naval constructors, with the rank of commander, to be naval constructors in the Navy, with the rank of captain, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Henry Williams and
Henry T. Wright.

The following-named naval constructors, with the rank of lieutenant commander, to be naval constructors in the Navy, with the rank of commander, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Alexander H. Van Keuren,
Roy W. Ryden,
Waldo P. Druley,
Paul H. Fretz,
Fred G. Coburn, and
Herbert S. Howard.

The following-named assistant naval constructors, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), to be assistant naval constructors in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant, for temporary service, from the 24th day of September, 1918:

Henry R. Oster,
William H. Hopkins, jr.,
Lawrence B. Richardson,
Homer N. Wallin,
William J. Malone,
Ralph S. McDowell, and
William C. Wade.

The following-named officers to be assistant naval constructors in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service, from the 15th day of October, 1918:

Michael C. Faber,
William A. Nightingale,
Frank A. Saar, and
Garrison R. Arey.

Commander Frank H. Clark to be a captain in the Navy from the 1st day of July, 1918.

Lieut. Commander Allen Buchanan to be a commander in the Navy from the 26th day of May, 1918.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders in the Navy from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Clarence L. Arnold and
Frederick L. Oliver.

Lieut. Commander John M. Enochs to be a commander in the Navy from the 23d day of July, 1918.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy from the 1st day of July, 1918:

Claude A. Bonvillian,
Herndon B. Kelly,
Hamilton F. Glover, and
George H. Bowdey.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy from the 7th day of March, 1918:

Franklin S. Steinwachs,
James A. Logan, and
Richard P. Myers.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy from the 8th day of June, 1918:

Carleton H. Wright,
Schuyler Mills,
Carroll M. Hall,
John J. Brown,
James C. Monfort,
Lunsford L. Hunter,
Daniel E. Barbey,
Walter S. Haas, and
John P. Bowden.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy from the 5th day of June, 1918:

Homer H. H. Harrison,
James R. Kyle, jr., and
Albert R. Stephan.

Midshipman Herschel P. Cook to be an ensign in the Navy from the 7th day of June, 1918.

Boatswain Edmund Delavy to be a chief boatswain in the Navy from the 19th day of February, 1918.

Machinist John A. Ward to be a chief machinist in the Navy from the 17th day of January, 1918.

Lloyd C. McDonald, a citizen of Kansas, to be an assistant dental surgeon in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), from the 1st day of July, 1918.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 21st day of September, 1918:

Conrad Ridgely,
Edward O. McDonnell,
Walter S. De Lany,
Hans Ertz,
Hubert V. La Bombard,
Thomas M. Shock,
Robert P. Mohle,
Robert A. Lavender,
Walter S. Haas,
Aaron S. Merrill,
Charlie P. McFeaters,
George D. Hull, and
James E. Brenner.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 23d day of July, 1908:

William Seyford,
George E. Maynard,
Gottlieb Sherer,
Arthur B. McCrary, and
Axel Lindblad.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Seldon L. Almon to be a lieutenant in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 26th day of July, 1918.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 21st day of September, 1918:

Thomas W. Mather and
Charles L. Poor, jr.

Ensign Stuyvesant Wainwright, jr., to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 21st day of September, 1918.

The following-named warrant officers for temporary service to be ensigns in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of November, 1918:

William Pfeffer,
Benjamin V. Goepfert,
Lester E. Auger,
Charles R. Hoffecker,
Samuel A. Katz,
Walter G. Neal,
Edward G. Nolan,
Walter F. A. Dixon,
Edward A. Stein,
William R. Ross,
Scott E. Peck, and
Angus V. Chisholm.

The following-named enlisted men to be ensigns in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of November, 1918:

George E. Hummer,
Arnold Hanchett,
Charles F. Grisham,
William Hartenstein,
Leonard Sicer,
Henry L. Burmann,
Edward J. Tyrrell,
Virgil D. Duke,
Charlie S. East,
William C. Betzer,
Ralph E. Thomas,
Richard W. Thompson,
John H. Thomas,
James M. Haynes,
Jesse F. Cordes,
Joe R. Robson,
John S. Hawkins,
Erastus E. McClaine,
Reuben F. Davis, and
Charles H. Trask.

The following-named acting pay clerks to be assistant paymasters in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, for temporary service, from the 15th day of September, 1918:

Mason E. Mitchell and
Albert T. Creightney.

The following-named acting pay clerks to be assistant paymasters in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, for temporary service, from the 1st day of November, 1918:

Ervine R. Brown,
Charles Musil,
Forrest Ivanhoe,
Ray E. Snedaker,

Samuel L. Bates,
Clifton I. DuFilho,
George W. Davis,
Guild Bruda,
Chauncey J. Buckley,
Don M. Robinson,
Evans C. Sorenson,
Edwin E. Thiele,
Arthur C. Schroeder,
John T. Knox,
Robert R. Blaisdell,
Fred W. Lynch, jr.,
Charles Schaaf,
Edmund J. Flynn,
Louis F. Randall,
Ray W. Byrns,
Walter Wilson, jr.,
William W. Wise,
John T. Neighorn,
Guy E. Holmes,
Alvin S. Reid,
William D. Blaker,
Howard B. Stout,
Robert H. Lenson,
Arthur C. Wallen,
Edward F. Ney, and
Ernest C. Middleton.

The following-named citizens to be acting chaplains in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service, from the 17th day of October, 1918:

Carl W. Becker, a citizen of Montana,
William F. Blackard, a citizen of Tennessee,
Edward C. Boynton, a citizen of Massachusetts,
John A. McCarthy, a citizen of New Hampshire, and
John R. Spann, a citizen of Texas.

Umphrey Lee, a citizen of Texas, to be an acting chaplain in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service, from the 23d day of October, 1918.

The following-named officers to be assistant naval constructors in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), from the 23d day of September, 1918:

Henry R. Oster,
William H. Hopkins, jr.,
Lawrence B. Richardson,
Homer N. Wallin,
William J. Malone,
Ralph S. McDowell, and
William C. Wade.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate November 15, 1918.

POSTMASTERS.

MICHIGAN.

Charles C. Jackson, Algonac.
George H. Mitchell, Birmingham.
George H. Anklam, Pigeon.
Dorr A. Rosencrans, Reed City.
Noah C. Sutherland, Romeo.
Earl W. Eckfeld, Unionville.
Freeman Ware, White Pigeon.

NEW YORK.

Silas Springstead, Cobleskill.
William J. White, Livingston Manor.
Lawrence M. Kenney, Saugerties.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *November 18, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, as we face the unsolved problems of to-day we ask for divine direction and blessing. We pray Thee to lay Thy hand upon master spirits in all nations, bringing them together under the inspiration of Thy truth and the guidance of Thy Spirit. Help them together to take counsel for the reestablishment of the brotherhood of nations and for the reign of the Prince of Peace. We pray that out of the concert of nations, the prayers of the people, the achievements of Christian civilization, there may come a new day, with all prosperity and blessing to the people who fear Thy name and keep Thy commandments. We ask it for Christ's sake. Amen.

The Vice President being absent the President pro tempore assumed the chair.

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday last was read and approved.

SENATOR FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I present the credentials of Mr. MOSES, of New Hampshire, which I ask may be read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The credentials will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

This is to certify that on the 5th day of November, 1918, GEORGE H. MOSES was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of New Hampshire a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the unexpired term of the late JACOB H. GALLINGER, ending on the 3d day of March, 1921.

Witness: His excellency our governor, Henry W. Keyes, and our seal hereto affixed, at Concord, this 15th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1918.

[SEAL.] HENRY W. KEYES, *Governor.*

By the governor:
EDWIN C. BEAN, *Secretary of State.*

Mr. LODGE. Mr. MOSES is here, and I move that he be now sworn in.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I have just conferred with one of the Senators on the other side, and I understood this matter would be taken up to-morrow. I think in view of the fact that this request is now made I ought to state to the Senate that some days ago a telegram came charging that there had been certain acts of corruption in connection with this election and that an application had been made for a recount. I have since been informed that the application for a recount has been granted, the application having been made under the New Hampshire statute to the secretary of state, and that a recount had been ordered to begin on the 9th of December.

Such correspondence as I have had on this subject I submitted to the Committee on Privileges and Elections on last Friday. I am not prepared now to say what the precedents require us to do, but since the meeting on Friday some additional letters have come containing certain affidavits charging corruption, and so forth, in the purchase of votes. It should be said that none of these affidavits bring the information home to Mr. MOSES, but under the circumstances I feel that probably his commission ought to be referred to the committee for a brief conference and let them determine what should be done in the matter. Personally I have no disposition to stand in the way of having Mr. MOSES sworn in if the committee feel that that should be done.

I may say that if the Senate approves my suggestion I feel it of the greatest importance that the committee should be called together at once, so that there may be quick action, to the end that Mr. MOSES may not be deprived of any of the privileges which he should have under the law.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, the official count has been made by the State authorities. There is no provision for a recount in New Hampshire; the provision is for an inspection of the ballot, with a view to form the foundation of a contest. I take it that the Senator does not question the authenticity or regularity of the governor's certificate?

Mr. POMERENE. Oh, no; Mr. President, I assume that it is by authority.

Mr. LODGE. I was sure the Senator would not. It is regular in form and certifies that Mr. MOSES was elected in the form required by the Senate. Without question, he has therefore the prima facie right to a seat. In the House, as we know, the Clerk there makes up the roll according to the prima facie title. If there is a contest, it follows. This is the well-settled practice of the Senate, I think. It was certainly decided very clearly in the SMOOT case, when Mr. HOAR—

made a statement to the effect that he (the chairman) understood the orderly and constitutional method of procedure in regard to administering the oath to newly elected Senators to be that when any gentleman brings with him or presents a credential consisting of the certificate of his due election from the executive of his State he is entitled to be sworn in, and that all questions relating to his qualification should be postponed and acted upon by the Senate afterwards.

His reasons for this procedure are here set forth, as follows:

"If there were any other procedure, the result would be that a third of the Senate might be kept out of their seats for an indefinite time on the presenting of objection without responsibility and never established before the Senate by any judicial inquiry. The result of that might be that a change in the political power of this Government which the people desired to accomplish would be indefinitely postponed." (Senate election cases from 1789 to 1913, p. 929.)

Mr. SMOOT, with the approval of the Senate, on that statement was thereupon sworn in. I have not been able to look at all the cases, but I am informed that it is almost an unbroken precedent. Of course if there is a contest, that is for the Senate to decide.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President——

Mr. LODGE. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. POMERENE. In order to bring the matter before the Senate, I move that the commission be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. LODGE. I moved that the Senator elect be now sworn in, which is a motion of the highest privilege—I have looked at the authorities—and it must be disposed of.

Mr. POMERENE. Allow me to make a statement further in the matter. I want to say very candidly to the Senate that I know nothing about the facts in this case, save and except as they have come to me in the way I have indicated. I have the affidavits here with me of a certain kind. I think that the Committee on Privileges and Elections ought to have the opportunity to go through these affidavits, to the end that they may determine what should be done.

I distinguish between the so-called Smoot case and the case at bar in this, that the question there was one as to the qualifications growing out of a certain political or religious belief, as I understand it. Here the question is as to whether or not the Senator elect who presents his credentials is entitled to the office, and the question is raised that there has been certain fraud in connection with his election. If the State authorities had taken no action with regard to it, then it seems to me the Senate should take a somewhat different view of it, but because of the fact that an application has been made for a recount and that application has been granted, and it is ordered to begin on the 9th day of December, my belief is that before we take final action the members of the Committee on Privileges and Elections should have an opportunity to counsel together with respect to this matter. I may state that if the matter should be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections I shall call the committee together at once and we can then determine what should be done.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will ask the Senator if he can refer the Chair to any precedent for such a course?

Mr. POMERENE. Since this matter has come up I have not had the opportunity to investigate the precedents. I may say that I was waited upon by one of the Senators on the other side this morning and I was informed that the credentials were here, and it was suggested at that time by him that the matter should go over until to-morrow, so that we could have an opportunity to confer together. That is as far as I am cognizant of the matter.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. LODGE. I yield.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. This matter may come to a vote without a roll call, and therefore I should like briefly to state my view of the question.

I think the important question before the Senate in reference to the seating of a Senator is that the State from which he comes may have the representation of the people of that State; that they may have a voice in the Senate according to their own selection.

Mr. President, it seems to me very clear that if a Senator elect presents himself at the bar of the Senate and his credentials are in proper form, indicating that he has been the selection of his State for a seat in the Senate, that makes out a prima facie case that he is the man entitled to the seat, and nobody else is; and that it is the plain duty of the Senate at the earliest moment to administer the oath of office to the Senator elect and allow him to exercise his functions in this body. Of course if there is a contest of the election that is a matter that can come up afterwards. His taking the oath of office does not preclude a subsequent contest on the part of some one else.

If this rule was not followed and because a contest may be threatened a Senator is deprived of his right to take the oath of office when he presents his credentials, you might face a contingency here where one-third of the Senate would be prevented from acting because objection was made to their taking the oath of office when their credentials were presented.

I think that is the only question involved in the case, and so far as I know the universal precedent almost heretofore has been in accord with this proposition. There may be one or two exceptions, but they are exceptions growing out of other matters. I recall the exception of the Roberts case in the House, where Mr. Roberts presented his credentials to the House showing that he was duly elected, but on objection he was not allowed to take his seat because of some question growing out of his religion. However, there were a large number of men in the House at that time who refused to sustain that precedent because they contended then that the highest question involved was the right of the State to its representation in the bodies of Congress, and no one has the right to challenge the certificate of that State except in the way provided by law, and that is by a contest before the properly organized committees of the House.

I ask the Senator from Massachusetts to pardon me for occupying his time, but feeling that this question goes to the fundamental questions of government and the real and important question is as to the right of a people to representation on the floor of the Senate according to their own will, and as I understand the Senator who desires to be sworn in has presented credentials that are unquestioned, that are in due and proper form, it seems to me clearly that he ought to be allowed to take the oath of office at once, and then if anyone desires to contest his seat afterwards there will be full and ample opportunity to do so.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] has stated my view of the general question, the view I held in the House, and have always held since. The precedents are overwhelmingly in favor of the procedure which the Senator from Alabama has outlined. For instance, there is the case of former Senator Morgan, a Senator from Alabama, and there are many others. A Senator comes to the bar and presents a certificate of unquestioned authenticity, regular in form. If there is a contest or a reason for his being unseated, that follows his taking his seat and is in no way impaired by his doing so.

The danger of this other system is very great, Mr. President. I left it on the statement of Mr. Hoar, which I read; but if a man comes here with his credentials in due form—the credentials of the State by the governor—and we undertake to hold them up and discuss them on charges, charges may be brought, founded or baseless, against every Senator who comes here with a credential. It would not be confined to one case. You open the door for what would be a most dangerous and most obnoxious practice.

As I have said, I could go on and give other cases here—I have a number—but I thought it was fully decided by the Smoot case, where the statement was made which I have read; and in that case the investigation followed, which took a long time. I hope we shall not open the door to such a dangerous precedent as it would be to refuse to swear in a Senator who comes here with the proper credentials, unquestioned, authentic, regular in form, from the governor and duly constituted officials of the State. It was in that view I made the motion that Mr. MOSES be now sworn in.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, in the argument of the Senator from Massachusetts it is assumed that this commission is in regular form and that all preliminary conditions entitling a Senator to his seat exist. That is one of the very questions, it seems to me, which the Committee on Privileges and Elections ought to pass upon. I remember when I came to the Senate——

Mr. LODGE. If the Senator will allow me, has the Senator compared the credentials in this case with the required form?

Mr. FLETCHER. I have not.

Mr. LODGE. Well, I have, and they are in regular form.

Mr. FLETCHER. I do not doubt that in the judgment of the Senator that is correct.

Mr. LODGE. I mean the credential is verbatim the same as the form furnished in the rule.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, when I came to the Senate there were 32 Members on this side of the Chamber, and the practice at that time was unbroken to refer credentials to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. I remember perfectly well when my credentials were presented that they were referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. It was accepted as a matter of course that that committee should pass upon the question as to whether or not the credentials were in proper form.

Now, the suggestion is made by the chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections that there are reasons why this commission should go to that committee. I am not advised as to those reasons, nor am I advised as to the character of these credentials, whether or not they do comply with the requirements of the rules and the law. Those are matters which the committee should pass upon. It may be that the Senator from Massachusetts is entirely correct and that the credentials are in due form; that they are correctly certified, and all that sort of thing; but it may be that there is a question about that. At any rate, the Committee on Privileges and Elections has for its function the determining of those very questions, and it seems to me the regular practice heretofore pursued—pursued all the time, so far as I am advised, when the other side had a majority in this Chamber, with unbroken and continued regularity, that credentials presented were referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections—should be now pursued.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I have no desire to do anything at this time which is not warranted by the rules of the Senate and by precedents which have been established.

There is a great deal in the argument of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] which at first blush is unanswerable. As a general proposition there can be no question that the course which the Senator suggests is the one which should be pursued.

It is too much, however, Mr. President, to say that the precedents referred to by the Senator from Massachusetts are without exception or that the unbroken custom of the Senate has been, whenever a certificate in due form has been presented, to at once swear in the Member presenting such credentials. There is a historic precedent, doubtless growing out of the fevered political condition of that time, which is furnished in the case of William Pitt Kellogg, of Louisiana, whose credentials, if I remember correctly, were entirely regular, but whose seat was vigorously contested for months, the Senator being finally sworn in by a bare majority vote. In the Book of Precedents, on page 398, I find this statement of date February 17, 1865:

Mr. Willey presented the credentials of the Hon. Joseph Segar, elected a Senator by the legislature of the State of Virginia to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of the Hon. Lemuel J. Bowden; which were read.

A motion was made by Mr. Sumner that the credentials be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

On motion by Mr. Howard to amend the motion of Mr. Sumner by adding thereto the words "and that the committee be instructed to inquire and report upon the election, returns, and qualifications of the claimant,"

After debate,

On motion by Mr. Sherman that the credentials lie on the table,

Mr. McDougall raised a question of order, to wit: That the subject under consideration being a question of privilege, affecting the organization of the Senate, the motion to lie on the table, which precluded debate, was not in order.

The President pro tempore (Daniel Clark) decided that a question of privilege, when brought before the Senate for its action, was subject, like other questions, to such motion as any Senator may think proper to submit; and decided that the motion of Mr. Sherman was in order.

From this decision Mr. McDougall appealed.

The decision of the Chair was, however, sustained. There are doubtless other instances, Mr. President, in which motions to refer credentials to the appropriate committee have been made, have been considered, and have been granted.

I understand that the motion of the chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections is that, owing to certain representations made, and of which he has given an intimation, these credentials be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which would be immediately called together for the purpose of considering them. In my judgment that motion is not only entirely appropriate, but in view of what the Senator has said he would be remiss in his duty if he did not press the motion upon the consideration of the Senate, there being, of course, no disposition—I assume that, at least—to delay consideration of the matter in the slightest, and giving to the subject such due diligence as its importance requires.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, if there is any question raised as to the regularity of the certificate, if any Senator will rise in his seat and say that the certificate is not regular in its form, is not duly authenticated, then, in my opinion, that question ought to go to the Committee on Privileges and Elections because of the dispute as to the certificate; but——

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. REED. I think, if the Senator will let me finish my sentence, he will perhaps not desire to interrupt. But I understand no such question is raised; and if no such question is raised then we have this kind of a case: A man comes to the Senate with a certificate from the governor of his State in due and regular form. No one challenges the validity of the certificate. If that is the case, what is to be gained by sending it to the Committee on Privileges and Elections? Clearly nothing in the matter of passing upon the form of the certificate, for that is admitted to be right. There remains, therefore, only one other thing the committee could do, and that would be to institute a challenge to the election itself; in a word, the committee would be obliged to start an election contest, and while the election contest was pending to deny a seat to a man who had a certificate in due and proper form.

It is not, as I understand, the custom of Congress, when a man presents himself in either House with a certificate in proper form, to deny him his seat pending the contest. If, then, we were to refer this matter to the committee, what is to be gained by it? The certificate is in proper form; that is admitted. Do we propose to keep this man from his seat while the Committee on Privileges and Elections institutes an inquiry as to whether or not an election contest ought to be started, and then to keep him from his seat during all of the contest, for all the weeks or months that that contest might proceed? If that course is to be followed in this case, then it can be followed in all other cases; and if it is followed in all other cases, as was so well said by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD], one-third of the Senate might be kept from their seats and business of the greatest importance might be transacted while representatives of one-third of the States of the Union were deprived of the opportunity to sit in this Chamber.

It seems to me, therefore, that the better practice is at once to permit the swearing in of any man who comes here with a certificate the regularity of which is not challenged, and then, if a contest is instituted, let that question be tried; but in the meantime the State should not be deprived of its representation.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I think from what the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] has stated that there can be no question about the regularity of the form of the certificate. I have no desire to interfere with the Senator elect being qualified, if that is thought to be the judgment of the Senate; but I did feel that it was my duty to call these matters to the attention of the Senate, so that they could be before the body prior to any action, if they desired to take any action, with respect to it.

I realize very fully that if the question is one of fraud, that is a matter that must be investigated. The thought that raised some doubt in my mind was the fact that a recount had already been ordered, and I was disposed to think that, as a matter of orderly procedure, perhaps we ought to wait until that had been completed. However, if the Senate feels differently about it, this matter can be investigated later; and, so far as I am personally concerned, I withdraw my objection to the Senator elect being qualified.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, the question of the form of the certificate must be passed on by some authority of this body. I assume from what the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] has said that the form is in due and ancient order; but the question of whether it is or not does not lie with any individual Senator of this body, but that question should be passed upon in due order by the proper committee of this body that would have such a matter come before it. That committee has been the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

With the observations made by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] I am in accord, but I do think the orderly procedure is to have this matter go before the Committee on Privileges and Elections and have a report made to this body that the certificate is in due order; and until that matter has been before the committee I do not think that this body should be troubled with the consideration of it.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, if there were nothing involved in the matter now before us except the suggestion that there was fraud in the election, I do not see how there could be any very extensive diversity of opinion concerning the justice of administering the oath to the Member who presents himself, for, notwithstanding that suggestion, that would be simply a ground for a contest of his election. But the suggestion goes further than that. It is represented, as I understand, that pursuant to the laws of New Hampshire, an application has been made for a recount of the vote, and that that proceeding is now in progress.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. WALSH. If I am in error about that, I should be very glad to be corrected.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. WALSH. I do.

Mr. LODGE. There is no provision for a recount under the law of the State of New Hampshire. After the official count is made, all that can be done is to ask for an inspection of the ballots, with a view to the foundation of a contest; but there is no provision for a recount.

Mr. WALSH. I assume, as a matter of course, because of the positive manner in which the Senator from Massachusetts speaks, that he is fully advised about that——

Mr. LODGE. I am advised.

Mr. WALSH. But the information that came to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, as I understood the chairman, was to the effect——

Mr. LODGE. I am advised by the sitting Senator from New Hampshire, Mr. DREW, that I have stated the law correctly.

Mr. WALSH. Well, I should like to see that statute. It ought not to be difficult to get it for the advice of the Senate.

However, I was going to remark, Mr. President, that under the statutes of many States provision is made, upon the demand of anyone directly interested, for a recount of the vote. Such a statute exists in the State of Rhode Island, for instance, and I believe in other New England States, and I was under the impression, from the information that came to the Committee

on Privileges and Elections, that a similar statute existed in the State of New Hampshire. Now, it occurs to me that under a law of that character the actual work of canvassing the returns is not complete until the recount is had, if proceedings to that end have been initiated and are progressing, because that would naturally interrupt the effect of the original certification just the same as a motion for a new trial would ordinarily interrupt the effect of a judgment in a proceeding in court. Of course, if I am in error about that, then the suggestion has no force.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. WALSH. I do.

Mr. LENROOT. I should like to ask the Senator whether he thinks his observation would be true in any case where the statute of a State provided that a certificate might be issued, even though there might be provision for a subsequent recount?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, if the statute provides that its force and effect should not be disturbed by the other provision, I would, of course, say that it had lost none of its efficacy.

Mr. LENROOT. But in the absence of any such provision——

Mr. WALSH. But if the statute of a State provided for the original canvassing of the returns and then the issuance of a certificate, and then provided that a recount might be had within a certain limited time upon taking the proper steps, I would then say that the legal force and effect of that would be to suspend the operation of the certificate. It seems to me that no other conclusion can be justly reached from such a statute as that; because of what significance is it? Suppose now that the Member here tenders a certificate in regular and due form, then a recount is had, and it is discovered by the recount that he really is not elected a Member from his State, and a certificate issues to another person. Meanwhile, he is sworn in as a Member of this body. In what situation are we? Here are two Members with two certificates. This Member is seated. Is it essential that the new Member institute a contest against the sitting Member, and have that contest referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and that the rightful Member be excluded until the committee reports? I can not believe that that is correct? So it occurs to me that the question that confronts us is, What is the statute of the State of New Hampshire concerning the matter of the recount?

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, in the case the Senator supposes, it would be impossible for there to be two certificates. It is unthinkable that the statutes of any State would authorize the issuance of a second certificate unless provision had been made for the cancellation of the first; and if the first had been canceled, and it was presented to this body in connection with the presentation of a second one, would it not be in the same situation as if he had presented it originally?

Mr. WALSH. I do not see any necessity for a provision for cancellation; but whether there is or not, as a matter of course the original certificate would be displaced by the proper official recital of the result of the recount.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, the Senator referred to the law of New Hampshire. I have the statute here:

> The secretary, as soon as may be, shall lay all such returns before the governor and council, and the votes shall be examined and counted, and the election of the person having the largest number of votes declared and certified, and the certificate thereof made out and transmitted in the manner hereinbefore directed.

That has been done. There is no provision for any recount after the count of the State officers. The provision about inspection of ballots is simple:

> If any person for whom a vote was cast and recorded for any office at a biennial election, before the expiration of 90 days, shall apply in writing to the secretary of state for an inspection of the ballots given in for all persons for such office, and state in his application the names of the opposing candidates, the secretary of state shall appoint a time for the inspection not earlier than 15 days after the receipt of the application. Such inspection shall take place in the statehouse, and the secretary shall order the applicant to give notice thereof by giving to each of the opposing candidates, or leaving at his place of abode, a copy of the application and order of notice seven days at least prior to the day so appointed for inspection of the ballots. No other notice shall be required.

It is a mere right of inspection; and to-day in New Hampshire there are cases among the State officers where men have the certificates, and will take their seats, where the inspection of ballots has been ordered. The inspection carries with it no power to change the count.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, a copy of the statute has been placed in my hands, and I find it to be in substantial accord with the statement made by the Senator from Massachusetts. There seems to be no provision whatever for any further official act with reference to the determination of the result. It simply provides for an inspection of the ballots, which might become the foundation of a contest.

Mr. LODGE. With a view to the foundation of a contest.

Mr. WALSH. Apparently. So that there appears to be no reason, so far as the statute is concerned, why the oath should not be administered to the Member.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The motion of the Senator from Massachusetts is that Hon. GEORGE H. MOSES, who is properly certified in accordance with the formal resolution of the Senate, which will be found on page 8 of the standing rules, giving the form of such certificate, shall be now sworn in as a Senator from New Hampshire. [Putting the question.] The "ayes" have it, and the Senator elect will present himself at the desk.

Mr. MOSES was escorted to the Vice President's desk by Mr. LODGE, and, the oath prescribed by law having been administered to him, he took his seat in the Senate.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. LODGE. I present certain resolutions of the New York section of the Society of Chemical Industry. I should like to have them printed in the RECORD without having them read. They are very brief and very important.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The resolutions are as follows:

> Whereas for many years the German Government has fostered the chemical and other "key industries" with the object of reducing other nations to dependency upon her and at the same time rendering herself independent of others and establishing industries which in time of war would give her an enormous advantage over those she was planning to attack and rob; and
>
> Whereas from the very beginning of her outrageous attack upon the civilized nations of the world Germany has pursued a deliberately organized course having for its object the permanent economic injury or destruction of other countries who had been her competitors in the world markets; and
>
> Whereas in pursuance of this course Germany has deliberately—
>
> First. Stolen and carried away whatever machinery she could.
>
> Second. Destroyed whatever machinery and property she could not steal or carry away.
>
> Third. Deported or destroyed communities of skilled artisans.
>
> Fourth. Murdered or by studied brutal ill treatment permanently injured prisoners of war and innocent civilians so as to deprive their countries of their skill and labor.
>
> And
>
> Whereas it is essential that the allied civilized nations must as a matter of self-protection render Germany impotent to do further harm from a commercial as well as from a military standpoint and prevent her, although defeated on the field of battle, from reaping a commercial triumph as the result of her deliberate wickedness above referred to: Therefore be it
>
> *Resolved*, That the New York section of the Society of Chemical Industry requests that the proper authorities of the various allied Governments take special note of the above facts and insist that Germany, where possible, be compelled to restore the stolen machinery and other property or replace the stolen property and also whatever machinery or property has been destroyed by equivalent machinery or property taken from German factories, and that they furthermore see to it that all allied industries are fairly and justly safeguarded under the ultimate terms of peace against the machinations of an insidious and conscienceless enemy, whose express intention is to reduce other nations to industrial subservience and dependence.

Mr. LODGE. I present a petition from the Selectmen of Provincetown, Mass., where the compact of the *Mayflower* was agreed to on the 11th of November, 1620 (old style), rejoicing that on that same date—November 11, 1918 (new style)—the signing of the armistice was announced to the United States. The petition is very short and I ask that it may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petition was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> PROVINCETOWN, MASS.,
> OFFICE OF THE SELECTMEN,
> *November 11, 1918.*
>
> Whereas on November 11, 1918, the town of Provincetown, Mass., did gratefully and solemnly observe the two hundred and ninety-eighth anniversary of the signing at Provincetown of the first constitution of American democracy, known as the Pilgrims' Compact, November 11, 1620 (old style), and did rejoice heartily that there was signed the armistice of peace that establishes democracy for the world November 11, 1918 (new style),
>
> It becomes a further duty to call attention to the Nation's equal obligation to honor these two great 11th days of November:
>
> Therefore it is requested that on its anniversary in the new style November 11, 1918, there be presented for public reading in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States the Pilgrims' Compact.
>
> A. P. HANNUM,
> JAMES BIRAM,
> CHARLES N. ROGERS.
> *Selectmen of Provincetown.*
>
> COMPACT.
>
> In the name of God. Amen:
>
> We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign, Lord King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, etc., have undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith and the honor of our King and country a voyage to plant the first colony in the

northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together in a civil body politic for the better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape Cod the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign Lord King James of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, anno Domini, 1620.

Mr. KNOX presented a petition of sundry citizens of New Castle, Pa., praying for the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution to prohibit polygamy, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to prohibit the sale of narcotics, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Allegheny County, Pa., praying for the substitution of the oath required of enlisted men for the oath required of officers, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Pennsylvania, praying for the enactment of legislation requiring the examination of practitioners of osteopathy for commissions in the Medical Reserve Corps of the Army, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. TOWNSEND presented a memorial of Richland Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, of Richland, Mich., and a memorial of Vine Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, of Tawas City, Mich., remonstrating against the continuance of the so-called postal-zone system, which were referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

PURCHASE OF METAL FOR MINOR COINAGE.

Mr. OWEN. From the Committee on Banking and Currency I report back favorably the bill (H. R. 12998) to amend section 3528 of the Revised Statutes, and I submit a report (No. 609) thereon. The bill proposes to appropriate $400,000 for minor coinage, upon the recommendation of the Director of the Mint. I ask for the present consideration of this measure, as the coinage is much needed by the business of the country.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. SMOOT. Let the bill be read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read the bill.

The Secretary read the bill.

During the reading of the bill the Vice President resumed the chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I shall not object to the consideration of this bill, but I will object to the transaction of any other business until the morning business is concluded.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I object to the consideration of the bill until the conclusion of the morning business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Objection being made, the bill will go to the calendar.

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (S. 4726) to prohibit "cost-plus" Government contracts and to prohibit the payment of commissions for the awarding of Government contracts, reported it without amendment.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED.

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. LODGE:

A bill (S. 5032) to regulate the sale of goods, wares, and merchandise in whole or in part the growth, product, or manufacture of Germany or Austria-Hungary; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CUMMINS:

A bill (S. 5033) to give to every soldier and sailor in the Army and Navy of the United States the uniform he is wearing at the time of his honorable discharge; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. POINDEXTER:

A bill (S. 5034) to give officers and enlisted men of the Russian Railway Service Corps the same status and benefits as officers and enlisted men in the railway engineer's organizations of the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HALE:

A bill (S. 5035) for the relief of William Sands; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PITTMAN:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 186) authorizing the President of the United States to cause to be struck bronze medals commemorating the winning of the world's war and the valor of our military forces and to distribute and present such medals to the officers and men of our land, sea, and air forces; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

EMPLOYMENT OF ADDITIONAL PAGES.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 333), which was read and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That Senate resolution No. 184, agreed to on January 17, 1918, authorizing and directing the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate to employ three additional pages for the Senate Chamber at $2.75 per day each for a period lasting until the end of the present session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, to be paid from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate, be, and the same is hereby, extended and continued in full force and effect until the end of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

COMMITTEE ON ECONOMY AND RETRENCHMENT.

Mr. GORE. I submit a resolution, and I ask that it lie on the table subject to call.

The resolution (S. Res. 334) was read and ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

Resolved, That a select committee on economy and retrenchment be, and hereby is, authorized and constituted to consist of the chairmen of of the Committee on Appropriations, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, Agriculture and Forestry, and Finance, and two other members of each of said committees to be designated by the chairman thereof.

It shall be the duty of the committee on economy and retrenchment to make a thorough investigation of all appropriations heretofore made and authorized in connection with the changed needs and requirements of the Government resulting from the change in the military situation, and to recommend such economies and reductions of expenditures as may be consistent with the efficiency of the public service.

The chairman and the clerk of the Committee on Appropriations shall act as chairman and clerk of such select committee. The committee on economy and retrenchment herein created is also empowered to collaborate with any like committee on behalf of the House of Representatives to effect all practical and proper retrenchment of public expenditures.

EXPORTS OF COTTON.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I submit a resolution, which I ask to have read.

The resolution (S. Res. 336) was read as follows:

Whereas the authority to place an embargo on exports was stricken in the United States Senate from the original bill upon the ground that the embargo might be used to depress the price of our products but was subsequently restored upon the assurance that it would only be used to prevent products from reaching enemy countries; and

Whereas the war is now practically over, and no possible danger could arise from permitting cotton to go freely to Japan, Spain, Italy, France, Great Britain, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; and

Whereas any restriction upon the exportation of cotton is a serious injury to the cotton grower, to the merchants, and business men of one-fourth of the Union, in which cotton is the largest agricultural product, and to our entire Nation, which depends so largely upon the sale of cotton abroad to care for our international balances, and upon the part the cotton-growing States contribute to the commerce of our entire country: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the War Trade Board is hereby directed to report, as early as possible, to the United States Senate to what extent the export of cotton is still being restricted, the reasons for such course, and the time within which restrictions as to shipments will be removed and cotton permitted to be exported without further hindrance.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I shall not ask for the immediate consideration of the resolution, but I shall endeavor to call it up to-morrow morning for consideration, at which time I shall present facts that I consider extremely important to the Senators who support the resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will lie over under the rule.

EMPLOYMENT OF ADDITIONAL CLERK.

Mr. FLETCHER submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 335), which was read and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That Senate resolution No. 198, agreed to on September 28, 1918, being a resolution authorizing the Committee on Commerce of the United States Senate to employ an additional clerk at the rate of $100 per month, to be paid from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate, until the end of the present session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, be, and the same is hereby, extended and continued in full force and effect until the end of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

ANNIE V. HICKS.

Mr. CURTIS submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 337), which was read and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay, from the miscellaneous items of the contingent funds of the Senate, to Annie V. Hicks, sister of John A. Hicks, late a laborer in the employ of the United States Senate, a sum equal to

six months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

REPORT OF CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION (H. DOC. NO. 1437, 65TH CONG., 3D SESS.).

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, and ordered to be printed:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

As required by the act of Congress to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States approved January 16, 1883, I transmit herewith the Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the United States Civil Service Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1918.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *18 November, 1918.*

NOTE.—Report accompanied similar message to the House of Representatives.

THE PARTITION OF TURKEY.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD a short memorandum, which has been sent to me by Mr. William Chandler, formerly a Member of the House of Representatives, in regard to the partition of Turkey. It is a very condensed and very useful memorandum, and I am sure Senators will be glad to examine it. I ask that it may be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that order will be made.

The matter referred to is as follows:

THE PARTITION OF TURKEY.

1. It is taken for granted that the Turkish Empire will cease to exist as at present constituted and be divided according to its several nationalities, with a possible further subdivision in the form of protectorates under certain of the allies.

2. The only real obstacle to this division is the Ottoman debt, held principally by British, French, and German subjects, and it is unthinkable that the civilized nations of the world can not devise some practical method for overcoming this obstacle. Possibly the separate newly formed States or protectorates might assume a pro rata share of the debt.

3. The real Ottoman Turks number less than 10,000,000, and are for the most part settled in Anatolia, a rich country, ample in size for their present needs, and also for their future development for years to come.

4. The Turkish population is most illiterate (the partially educated classes numbering less than 100,000) and capable only of performing agricultural labor, and possess few arts, the chief among them being rug making and brass work, but both of these are largely in the hands of Greeks and Armenians. They come originally of a pastoral and nomadic race, and have in five centuries only taken one step toward civilization; that is, they have stopped wandering and have become a people with a fixed abode.

5. Anatolia corresponds with what is called Asia Minor. If this whole territory is given to the Turks, they would possess a good port on the Black Sea, Bafra, and many on the Mediterranean shore. However, the Italians and Greeks would doubtless be allotted the principal cities on the coast (Smyrna among others), with a considerable hinterland. In Anatolia are several cities, such as Broussa (the ancient capital), Khonich, and Angora, quite ample to satisfy the urban population of the Turkish race.

6. Constantinople will doubtless become neutralized and placed under the protection of the allies, together with the Dardanelles. Adrianople, with the land lying between the Maritza River and the Black Sea, should be attached to Constantinople as hinterland and as a buffer against Bulgaria. The latter country's needs to a seaport on the Ægean Sea being satisfied by Dedeagatch.

7. The only civilized portion of Anatolia is the coast line, and this is peopled mostly by Greeks—some 500,000—who control the higher trades and professions other than those allied to religion. (The judiciary, such as it is, is closely linked to the priesthood in Mahometan countries.) The Greeks should be given ample opportunity to protect their interests, and many towns should be given them, beginning with Trebizond on the Black Sea.

8. Armenia should be erected into a self-governing community, and all Armenians scattered throughout the Turkish Empire should be induced to settle there, thus forming a Christian barrier between the Turks and the Mahometans of northern Persia (Kurds, etc.), and shutting off forever Turkish ambitions to influence their coreligionists in Afghanistan, Turkistan, etc.

9. Syria, with some of its seaports, should be put under the French, who have for many years had large interests and great influence there.

10. Palestine for the Hebrews. South of Palestine, extending to the fertile portions of Arabia (Yemen Shamar and Nejid), lies the Hedjaz, in which are situated the holy cities of the Islamic world—Mecca and Medina.

11. It has been the possessions of these shrines that has enabled the Turks to control the Arab tribes of Mesopotamia and Arabia, despite their undying hatred of the Turkish race and Government. In 1242 the Turks seized the Khalifat, or the representation of Mahomet on Earth (somewhat similar to the papacy in the Catholic Church), then held by a royal Arab family called Abbasides. The Turks assumed the religion and system of government of the Arabs as a political measure, and though professing the Islamic faith are in no sense a religious people and are in no degree in touch with the spiritual aspirations and conceptions of the Arabs, who are a highly endowed race intellectually, but have been crushed into almost insensibility by brutal Turkish methods of oppression.

12. There has been lately established a Kingdom of the Hedjaz, under the sovereignty of the Cherif of Mecca, an Arab of good family and great influence. He is lending his aid to the British in Palestine and welcomes the opportunity of throwing off the Turkish yoke and freeing his fellow Arabs and coreligionists throughout the world from the incubus of the Turkish influence. The possession of the holy places to this man's hands and his known sympathy with the allies renders it advisable to make him the medium of the restitution of the Khalifat or spiritual control to the Arabs, from whence it was wrested by the Turks. He or some member of his family should be made Khalifa.

13. Practically all of the allies have Mahometan subjects (the United States possess in the Moros a certain number) and are deeply interested in aiding the leaders of that religion into friendly and sympathetic paths.

14. The situation of Mecca, with its seaport Jiddah, is ideally central as to the geographical distribution of Mahometan people and is easily accessible of physical control, should this become necessary. The Kingdom of Hedjaz and Khalifat should be guaranteed by the allies, and all should have representatives at Jiddah. South of Hedjaz lies the fertile portion of Arabia, composed of Shamar and Nejid in the north and Yemen in the south. There are still a few Turkish troops in these localities, but the countries are each really controlled by a separate Arab ruler. These men by diplomacy and presents could be easily induced to acquiesce in the Khalifat being placed in the hands of the King of Hedjaz, in which case the rest of the Mahometan world would make no objection. One must never forget that Islam is an Arab religion and that these people are the only followers of that faith who actually understand it and believe thoroughly in it. Therefore Arabia will have to be consulted.

15. It is to be hoped that Great Britain will place no obstacles in the way of the transference of the Khalifat to the Hedjaz, though her ambitions will doubtless lead her to wish it placed in the hands of the Sultan of Egypt, their vassal. This would give her too much power in the Mahometan world.

16. It would be advisable to annex Shamar and Nejid to the Hedjaz, and this can be done. The British are at Aden and should have that part of Yemen which forms its hinterland. Italy undoubtedly should have a portion of Yemen, as it lies opposite to and not far from her possessions of Eretria (Massowah), and one of the ports, either Mocha or Hodeida, with some hinterland.

17. Mesopotamia naturally should rest under British control and should extend to the southern boundary of Armenia; also, of course, the Egyptian Government should extend to the frontiers of Palestine, in order to protect the Suez Canal.

18. The Turkish people are in such an impoverished and weakened condition that they will be led with little difficulty to accept the mandate of the allies. The defeat of the central powers will cut them, or rather their government, from all sources of supply, financial or otherwise, which have enabled them to continue the war, and peace will naturally arrive. The character of the new Sultan is little known, but it can hardly differ from that of his predecessors in degree of intelligence, for his lack of education is similar to theirs. The Government is practically in the hands of the Grand Vizier, Talaat, who is assisted by three men (Hakki Pacha, having recently died)—Enver, chief of staff and minister of war; Djemal Pacha, commanding the armies in the field against the British; and Djavid, the minister of finance.

19. These men, with Talaat as their chief, represent the party of union and progress or the Young Turk Party. They are hopelessly corrupt and are without the slightest pretension of possessing patriotism, though in the case of Talaat it is possible that ambition forces him to appear patriotic. Either they can be purchased to carry out the will of the allies or can be exiled and a more favorable government established. The present leaders are so hated that it will be an easy matter to remove them.

20. With the disbanding of the Army brigandage will become prevalent. The allies can suppress this, and when suppressed, even with the Turks in control of Anatolia, the old system of gendarmerie, under command of European officers, should be organized and maintained at the cost of the Turks until they prove themselves fit to govern.

21. Until the arrival of the Young Turks all Government services were managed by Greeks or Armenians—post and telegraph, railroads, etc. The Young Turks tried to employ their own race, but found them too ignorant. Once these people are settled in Anatolia and forced to lead a peaceful life, they will either be forced to become educated or to employ educated people to run their affairs. In either case progress will be made under civilized supervision.

22. Up to the present the principal interest of the United States in Turkey has been the protection of their schools and missionaries. With the break up of the Empire the above task will become easier and our commercial interests will increase by leaps and bounds.

23. It is worth considering whether it is not worth while to acquire a coaling station or trading base when the break up of the Empire occurs.

24. It is to the interest of the United States to watch the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire at every step, for unless it is done skillfully it will hold the germs of the future wars. It is not a difficult undertaking as the Empire lends itself readily to partition upon both geographical and racial lines.

25. The first step is the removal of the Khalifat, which is alone what enables the Turks to maintain the supremacy. So anxious are the Turks to retain this that lately a special secret mission has been established in Switzerland for the purpose of leading the allies to allow the Turks at least nominal control of the holy cities Mecca and Medina in order to maintain their spiritual supremacy.

INDEPENDENT POLISH STATE.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I offer the following Senate resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 338), as follows:

Resolved, That in the opinion of the Senate an independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, the words of that resolution are identical with the words of point 13 used by the President in his 14 points. That statement is very brief and very explicit and I think it will be very well at this time for the

Senate to join itself with the President in the statement on that point in regard to Poland.

The reason why I say that is this. You will observe that the President speaks of access to the sea. That access to the sea can only be at Danzig at the mouth of the Vistula. The Vistula is inhabited entirely along both banks by Poles, but Danzig is a German city and I have already seen attempts to say that as a German city they must continue to hold it and give certain rights to the Poles. The access to the sea that the Poles will get if Danzig is held will not be worth having. Guaranties can be given to the people of Danzig. I think nothing is more important than the President's proposition about access to the sea.

My other reason for offering and hoping the Senate will adopt the resolution is that I have information which I think good that there is a movement on foot, a strong movement, though underground, here and abroad to prevent the establishment of a strong independent Poland. They want to break it up for some reason and have a small State, with a German or a Hapsburg prince, and probably a small State with a republican form, but with tendencies to defeat it. I thought at this moment it would be well to show that the Senate is with the President in his statement in regard to what should be done for Poland, which was absolutely explicit.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Would the Senator have any objection to having the resolution referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations for consideration this week?

Mr. LODGE. No; I will make no objection if the Senator wants to correct the President's words.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Not at all, but it is a matter of large importance.

Mr. LODGE. I have merely quoted the President's exact words.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I think it would be better to have it referred to the committee and permit a little consultation with the State Department before the Senate goes on record.

Mr. LODGE. If they are not ready to accept the President's words in the State Department, I think it is queer.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I think the Senator is hardly justified in saying that, but the reading of a resolution is hardly sufficient *warrant for* the action of the Senate in a matter of as large importance and dignity; and if the Senator will consent to allow it to go to the committee——

Mr. LODGE. I have no objection to its going to the Committee on Foreign Relations, where I suppose it will be buried. I judge it is going to be buried there, but it is on record, and that is what I wanted.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I hope the Senator will not make an assumption of that sort. He is a member of the committee.

Mr. LODGE. I make no objection to its reference to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, speaking as a member of the committee, I wish to say that I am willing to meet to-morrow morning for the consideration of the resolution, and I am willing to stand by the President not only with regard to Poland, but with regard to the entire 14 propositions.

Mr. LODGE. If the Senator will add those, we will talk it over here in the Senate.

Mr. THOMAS. Should I do that the Senator would then insist on its going to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. LODGE. I am personally willing to discuss the 14 points here now or at any time.

Mr. BORAH. I wish to ask the Senator from Massachusetts if he would be willing to include in the resolution also point 1?

Mr. LODGE. About secret diplomacy?

Mr. BORAH. Yes.

Mr. LODGE. That is hardly serious.

Mr. BORAH. I understand the Senator does not want to include it, but before a resolution including the 14 points, or any part of them, is passed upon by the Senate it will be a matter of serious consideration here in the Senate.

Mr. LODGE. I shall be very glad to have it seriously considered.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I ask that the resolution may be referred.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will go to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

AMENDMENT OF THE RULES.

Mr. NORRIS. I offer the resolution which I gave notice on Friday that I would offer to-day to amend the rules. I ask that it be read and referred to the Committee on Rules.

The resolution (S. Res. 339) was read and referred to the Committee on Rules, as follows:

Resolved, That Rule XXV of the standing rules of the Senate be amended by adding thereto a new paragraph, as follows:

"3. After the 4th day of March, 1919, any Senator who is chairman of the Committees on Appropriations, Finance, Foreign Relations, Interstate Commerce, Judiciary, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, or Post Offices and Post Roads while holding such chairmanship shall not be a member of any of the other of said committees.

PURCHASE OF METAL FOR MINOR COINAGE.

Mr. OWEN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12998) to amend section 3528 of the Revised Statutes reported by me this morning.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, of course I will not object to that motion, but this is Calendar Monday and surely we ought to have the calendar called on Calendar Monday. There are a number of bills which are relatively unimportant that ought to be disposed of, and the only opportunity there is to have these considered is when the calendar is called, because they are not of such crying and national importance as to cause them to be considered in any other way. I shall vote for the Senator's bill, but I hope we will not have any more motions like it.

Mr. OWEN. There is very urgent need for minor coin. No one has any objection to the bill.

Mr. ASHURST. I hope the bill will be passed, but I wish that we might have the calendar on Calendar Monday.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Oklahoma under the new rule is not in order.

Mr. OWEN. I should like to have the Chair state the new rule.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It provides:

That on Mondays the calendar shall be called under Rule VIII, and during the morning hour no motion shall be entertained to proceed to the consideration of any bill, resolution, report of a committee, or other subject upon the calendar, except the motion to continue the consideration of a bill, resolution, report of a committee, or other subject against objection as provided in Rule VIII.

Mr. OWEN. I ask unanimous consent to dispose of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. OWEN. I offer an amendment on page 2.

The SECRETARY. On page 2, line 5, after the word "assay," insert a colon and the following proviso:

Provided, That the director shall purchase the silver metal needed for such coinage at not less than $1 per ounce, as required by law.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

STIMULATION OF AGRICULTURE—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I desire to call attention to the conference report on House bill 11945, the agricultural stimulation bill, which provides for prohibition and a number of other things.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I am not sure that it would be in order, under the rule, to move its consideration, but I bring it to the attention of the Senate and submit to the Chair whether the recent amendment to Rule VIII, providing for Calendar Monday, excludes a motion to consider a conference report. If so, we can reach it after 2 o'clock.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair thinks not.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I promised the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. SHEPPARD] and one or two other Senators if we would delay action until to-day I would bring the matter to the attention of the Senate at this time.

Mr. KENYON. I understood the promise of the Senator was that he would move to take it up, not to call attention to it.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I will move to take it up if the Chair says it is in order. I submit to the Chair the question whether it would be in order, under the recent amendment to Rule VIII, providing for Calendar Monday?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The conference report is not on the calendar. It is on the table.

Mr. SHEPPARD. It is on the calendar under the head of "Bills in conference."

The VICE PRESIDENT. This is the rule:

The presentation of reports of committees of conference shall always be in order, except when the Journal is being read or a question of order or a motion to adjourn is pending, or while the Senate is dividing; and when received the question of proceeding to the consideration of the report, if raised, shall be immediately put and shall be determined without debate.

Since that rule was enacted paragraph 3 of Rule VII has been adopted by the Senate, heretofore read—

That on Mondays the calendar shall be called under Rule VIII, and during the morning hour no motion shall be entertained to proceed to the consideration of any bill, resolution, report of committee, or other subject upon the calendar except the motion to continue the consideration of a bill, resolution, report of a committee, or other subject against objection as provided in Rule VIII.

The Chair is rather of the opinion that a conference report should not go to the calendar. It lies upon the table. In the opinion of the Chair, except when the Journal is being read, or a question of order or a motion to adjourn is pending, or while the Senate is dividing, a motion can be made to take it up, and it must be decided at once without debate. The Senator from Georgia moves that the Senate proceed to consideration of the conference report.

The motion was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the conference report.

The report was read as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11945) making appropriations to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

The committee of conference have been unable to agree on the amendment of the Senate numbered 28.

T. P. GORE,
W. S. KENYON,
HOKE SMITH,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

A. S. LEVER,
E. S. CANDLER,
G. N. HAUGEN,
J. C. MCLAUGHLIN,
Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. KENYON. I move that the Senate recede from amendment numbered 28, commonly known as the Pomerene amendment.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, before that motion is acted upon, I think the absence of a quorum should be suggested. I have given no public notice that this matter would come up at this time, and yet a number of Senators have spoken to me about asking when it would come up. I do not think it would be fair to the Senate to act without calling for a quorum and thus giving an opportunity to all to know what is before the Senate and to be present.

I wish to add that I have introduced a resolution providing for the extension of what is known as the Saulsbury resolution. I am not in favor of extending this resolution without some modification. I believe, to illustrate, that the provision which does not allow a man at the conclusion of a lease to take possession of his own house and occupy it unless he is a war worker is extreme and no longer reasonable. There have been owners of property who have been denied the privilege of coming back into their own houses in Washington because they had leased them to other parties, the owners not having been war workers. I think the resolution of extension should be modified by striking out the words "necessarily requires" and "bona fide" and striking out the words "whilst in the employ or officially connected with any branch of the Government." The owner of property who had rented and when the lease expired wanted to occupy his own house certainly ought not to be denied the privilege of occupying his own house because he was not a war worker.

Mr. SMOOT. Does the Senator intend to try to put that modified resolution on this conference report——

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. No.

Mr. SMOOT. Or is he just giving notice of what he intends to do?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I am calling attention to the fact that although I introduced the resolution to extend the Saulsbury resolution, I am not in favor of extending the resolution except with certain modifications. At the time I drew the resolution I did not have time to specify the modifications I deemed desirable. I wished to have the subject of rent profiteering pending before the Senate even if the Senate receded from the Pomerene amendment to the Agricultural bill.

Mr. SMOOT. I am glad the Senator is making the explanation, because I have received I do not know how many letters deploring the fact that the Senator had moved to extend the Saulsbury resolution. I answered every one in only one way, that the Senator from Georgia assured me that the resolution would be amended, and that he had it referred to the committee for that purpose.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I expected to have the resolution extending the Saulsbury resolution with the modification in it ready to present. The resolution was prepared for me and sent to my desk as the Senate met and I found it was an entirely new resolution not referring to the Saulsbury resolution, using the substance of the Saulsbury resolution and changing it to meet the suggestions I have mentioned and certain other suggestions protecting a little more fully against the misconduct of tenants themselves. I believed it better to extend the Saulsbury resolution than to undertake new legislation.

I believe that perhaps the worst profiteering in the District has been by those who have made leases and obtained extortionate prices for subleases. I think there is more just cause for complaint on account of conduct of that character than any other.

Mr. REED. I should like to ask the Senator when the resolution will expire?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. With the proclamation of peace.

Mr. REED. If it is to expire with the proclamation of peace, why should we offer it at all, in view of the fact that we are now so much at peace that the orders are already being prepared to demobilize 1,700,000 troops in this country?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I misunderstood the Senator. The resolution I offer is an extension of the Saulsbury resolution, which expires with the peace. I propose to extend it in some modified form for six months.

Mr. REED. I want to ask the Senator if he believes that Congress has any such constitutional right in a time of peace as to undertake to extend contracts made between landlords and tenants or to deny the due process of the law to the courts?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I believe that Congress has power over the subject in the District of Columbia for a limited length of time, growing out of war conditions and conditions that we ourselves have brought about by bringing to Washington large numbers of Government employees, and that Congress can control rents to a limited extent. I do not think we have the right to go now as far as the present resolution, and I have presented several modifications to it.

Mr. REED. The Senator from Georgia thinks the Constitution of the United States can be set aside to a limited extent?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do not think you can set aside the Constitution. I do not think you can set aside the Constitution under any circumstances, and I do not believe that in time of war you can set aside the Constitution of the United States without violating the fundamental law of the land.

Mr. REED. I am glad to hear that.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. And such a course I regard as inexcusable.

Mr. REED. I am glad to hear that. Now, I should like to have the Senator, as a constitutional lawyer, tell me how the Congress of the United States can extend or alter the obligation of contracts between two individuals—taking property without due process of law—without denying to the citizen the equal protection of the law, and without, if he undertakes to effect a remedy, denying to the citizen due process of law?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. If the Senator from Missouri has finished, I desire to say that I decline to enter into a categorical discussion of the subject with him. For the present I have simply introduced the resolution to which I have referred, and it has gone to the Committee on the District of Columbia; it is not before the Senate at present for action. I was bringing to the attention of the Senate the fact that, although I introduced the resolution in general terms, I would favor, when it came back to the Senate, a modification of some of the provisions of the Saulsbury resolution, and did not mean to ask that the Saulsbury resolution be extended in its exact language. Beyond that I am unwilling to carry the discussion at the present time. I am sure that the modifications that I suggest are in the line of constitutional action which will meet the approval of the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I do not want to engage in a discussion of constitutional law, but I feel like saying just a word regarding the observations made by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH]. One of his statements was that he did believe that Congress possessed these peculiar powers when it was dealing with conditions which grew out of the war, and which it, that is, Congress, had itself created. Of course, if Congress does not have the right to pass a certain statute at all it does not have the power to create a condition which will afford an excuse for passing a statute and then to pass it. The question is one of power. Absent the power to pass a law,

a law can not be passed merely because the Congress has created a bad condition by the enactment of some other bad law. Neither is this question which we are about to discuss affected by degree of the invasion of the rights of the citizen, for if the Constitution of the United States gives to a citizen the protection of his property rights it gives him the protection of all of his property rights. You do escape violating the Constitution by the claim that you have only invaded the property rights 1 per cent or 10 per cent or 30 per cent. Such an invasion is as fatal as is the invasion of the whole of the citizen's property rights. If you can invade the property rights of a citizen 1 per cent, then you can invade them the 100 per cent, for the 1 per cent is as much a property right as the 100 per cent is a property right. There is no escape from that line of argument, in my opinion.

I am wondering—and I throw this in by way of preliminary to some things I am going to say a little later on—whether it is not about time for the rule of reason once more to obtain; whether we have not arrived at a time when sanity is once more to control in the councils of the world; whether it is not time for the cry, "Back to the Constitution," to be reraised and heeded; whether, of all times in the history of this country and of the world, it is not the duty of the American Congress to set an example of obedience to law and of reverence for the Constitution.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, will the Senator from Missouri yield to me for a moment?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. REED. Gladly.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. In the first part of the Senator's remarks there was the suggestion that he referred to views which I entertain with reference to the Constitution and this legislation. I expressed no opinion so definite as to justify a statement of what my views were. I wish to repeat that my suggestion was a modification of the provisions of the Saulsbury resolution on the right of an owner of property to take possession of his property at the close of a lease. I am sure such a modification would be constitutional whether the original provision was or not. As to the original provision, I do not mean to express an opinion. The other suggestion I made was with reference to a sublease. I believe that in the District of Columbia, where we have entire legislative control, Congress can provide by legislation against subletting property. But I do not mean to say that I am prepared to sustain the constitutionality of such a provision if it is intended to apply to an existing contract.

Mr. REED. The Senator, I am glad to see, is apparently not far removed from the views I entertain.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I only make this statement lest what had occurred might be cited hereafter as an indication of a constitutional view which I do not entertain.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I want to make this observation in all seriousness to the few Members of the Senate who are present. The greatest menace to the world to-day is an uprising against law and order; not a mere uprising against a monarch, but the denial of all the fundamentals of law which must be a part of every civilized government and upon which civilization itself is dependent. The one great Republic in the world, aside from France—indeed, the only great Republic in the world that has furnished an example through the storms of more than a century to all the rest of the world—is the United States. It has given evidence of the fact that the people can rule themselves and rule according to law and constitutions.

Notwithstanding some remarks that were made on the floor of this body a few months ago to the effect that republics could not make war, it has been demonstrated that this Republic can make war. Now, I say that with governments falling all about us, and with the sinister visage of anarchy lifting itself in every land, with organizations that have for their basic principle the denial of all principle, of all law, and of all government, there never was a time in the history of this Nation or in the history of this world when it was so much the duty of lawmakers and of public servants to uphold the structure of honest government. To do that we must maintain inviolate the Constitution of this free people. Our example will be of incalculable benefit. Just so far as we dare to lay a finger of distrust or to strike a blow that injures the Constitution of the United States we destroy the faith of the people of the world in free institutions and we tend to encourage the evil, the unlearned, and the ignorant masses of other countries, who can not distinguish between license, rapine, and murder and lawful liberty.

So I hope that in the Senate we will be prepared to turn again to the Constitution of the fathers and to cease trifling with that instrument. I say without any hesitation that there is not a lawyer in the Senate who dares stand upon his feet and declare that at a time like this a law that proposes to annul contracts that have been made between private citizens with reference to their private property can be constitutional so long as there is nothing immoral or injurious to the public health or contrary to public policy in such contracts.

Mr. President, if the question which has been suggested by the Senator from Georgia is coming before the Senate, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is that a suggestion of the absence of a quorum?

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator to withdraw his suggestion for a moment.

Mr. REED. Not having made it, I will not make it, if the Senator from Arizona desires to speak.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I crave just a moment. It is obvious that the pending matter will take some half hour or more. I am not feeling at the very best to-day and I wish to go home, but there is pending on the calendar a bill in which I am interested. The bill is of no national importance, and unless I can get it up on Calendar Monday I will probably never be able to secure its passage. I am going to make a very brief statement as to what the bill is and then I am going to ask the Senate to consider it for a moment.

In 1913 an act was passed providing an appropriation of $110,000 for a customhouse at Nogales, Ariz., and an additional appropriation of another $10,000 for a site for a post office; in other words, two sites were authorized. Two sites are not necessary, Mr. President, and, indeed, not proper, because if two sites were paid for and purchased inevitably there would be a clamor for two buildings, whereas one building and one site are sufficient.

I have in my hand a copy of a bill which has passed the House amending the act of 1913 and simply providing that there shall be one building and one site. This bill, if it could pass the Senate, would save ultimately about $100,000 to the Federal Government.

I will read a brief extract from the House committee's report:

> Briefly stated, the purpose of the bill is to consolidate two separate authorizations made for Nogales in the act of March 4, 1913, one providing for a customhouse and the other providing for the post office and other governmental offices. It is assumed that these two separate authorizations were inadvertently placed in the bill, which was passed and approved without the error being detected.

That is true, the two sites were authorized inadvertently. The legislation, to wit, Calendar No. 535, being Senate bill 282, repeals and amends the former legislation, so that there will be authorized but one site and one building instead of one building and two sites.

I do not wish to interrupt at this time the pending bill, and I will ask the Senator from Georgia to allow me to have five minutes in order that I may ask unanimous consent for the consideration of this bill, which will save $100,000, I think, in the future.

If it takes over two or three minutes, I will withdraw the request.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do not now consider myself in charge of the pending matter. I have performed my agreement by bringing the subject up. The Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. SHEPPARD] are now in charge; and the motion pending is the motion of the Senator from Iowa, which heretofore I have been resisting, but now I am content that action by the Senate be had upon it.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, there are not many requests the Senator from Arizona could make that I would not be willing to accede to. Nevertheless, the Senator will find that as soon as his bill is up there will be interminable discussion upon it, because there is something behind the whole matter besides the Senator's bill.

Mr. ASHURST. Then, Mr. President, I will withdraw the request.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, just a moment. We have been talking about billions; I have offered to the Senate an opportunity to save $100,000. Surely the Senate is not going to refuse to avail itself of this opportunity. We talk of economy, but at the very moment an opportunity is presented to save $100,000 is that opportunity to be passed by? Is our economy only to end in talk?

I withdraw the request at this time because there is nobody here more anxious for war-time and peace-time bone-dry prohibition than I am, with the understanding that when we act on the pending conference report we will take up the calendar. The reason I am so earnest about it is this: The Senate will adjourn to-day or to-morrow until December.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Oh, no.

Mr. ASHURST. Yes, sir; until December; and when it does adjourn and meets in December it will be utterly impossible to pass little bills of this sort.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Why does the Senator say the Senate will adjourn on that day?

Mr. ASHURST. I know what I am talking about. I beg the Senator's pardon, but I know that we are going to adjourn until December, because I know it; that is all. I think we ought to pass all these bills which do not affect the Nation at large but which affect the Federal Treasury. I happen to be one of those who believe that economy should be something more than talk. The way to quit spending money is to stop spending it; that is the only way to economize.

Mr. KING. Is the Senator opposing the pending matter?

Mr. ASHURST. No; I am not opposing it; I am in favor of it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON].

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hitchcock	Moses	Sherman
Baird	Johnson, Cal.	Myers	Simmons
Bankhead	Jones, N. Mex.	Nelson	Smith, Ga.
Beckham	Kellogg	Norris	Smith, Md.
Borah	Kendrick	Nugent	Smoot
Cummins	Kenyon	Overman	Sutherland
Curtis	King	Owen	Swanson
Dillingham	La Follette	Phelan	Thomas
Fletcher	Lenroot	Pittman	Trammell
France	Lewis	Poindexter	Vardaman
Frelinghuysen	Lodge	Pomerene	Warren
Gerry	McCumber	Reed	Watson
Gore	McKellar	Saulsbury	Weeks
Hale	McLean	Shafroth	
Harding	Martin, Va.	Sheppard	

During the calling of the roll,

Mr. CURTIS (when the name of Mr. MARTIN of Kentucky was called). I desire to protest against the calling of the name of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MARTIN]. We can pass on the question later on, if the Chair desires to let the matter go over until after the call.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is of the opinion that it is for the Senate to determine the qualifications of its own Members. It is not desirable to take up the question just now.

Mr. CURTIS. I think it had better go over until afterwards. I just wanted to file a protest. We can determine it later on.

After the roll had been called,

Mr. SHEPPARD. I wish to announce that the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] is detained by illness.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I announce the absence of my colleague [Mr. GOFF] on account of illness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Fifty-eight Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present. The pending question is the motion of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] that the Senate recede from its amendment numbered 28.

The motion was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate recedes, and the bill is passed.

PUBLIC LANDS FOR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, as the rules do not permit a motion at this time, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 4947, to provide for a survey and classification by the Secretary of the Interior of all unentered public lands of the United States and all unused, cut-over, logged, and swamp lands and other unused lands of the United States, with a view to disposing thereof to honorably discharged soldiers and sailors and others, and for other purposes. I make this request on account of the extreme importance of this measure.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection?

Mr. ASHURST. I object, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Objection is made.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, ordinarily I would not object to the consideration of this most salutary piece of legislation, which I hope will pass; but Calendar Monday was set up, I repeat, to give an opportunity for the passage of bills that are relatively unimportant, that have no national importance, yet are proper, and should be passed. I feel that in good faith we ought to observe these Calendar Mondays. However salutary and however wise any proposed legislation may be, I feel constrained to object, and ask that we proceed with the calendar for the balance of the day under the Calendar Monday rule.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, my reason for making the request was that there is only 10 minutes left in which to call the calendar, and I did not think much could be done in that time.

Mr. FLETCHER. I call for the regular order.

Mr. ASHURST. I ask unanimous consent that for the balance of the afternoon we proceed with the calendar under Calendar Monday rule.

The VICE PRESIDENT. There is not any necessity for that. We will go ahead with the calendar under Rule VIII, if we can get a chance.

THE CALENDAR.

The first business on the calendar was the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 39) to appropriate $3,000,000 to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to prosecute the work of eradicating the southern cattle tick.

Mr. SMOOT. I ask that that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be passed over.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 53) authorizing the President to appoint two additional Assistant Secretaries of Agriculture, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be passed over

The bill (S. 1725) to stimulate the production of food upon private and public lands within reclamation projects, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. FLETCHER. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The resolution (S. Res. 91) extending the authority of and provision for the committee appointed under S. Res. 92, Sixty-third Congress, first session, to investigate the charges of alleged attempts to influence legislation was announced as next in order.

Mr. ASHURST. I ask that that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be passed over.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 10) authorizing the appointment of a joint committee to investigate the causes of the recent riots in East St. Louis, Ill., and to report thereon, was announced as next in order.

Mr. ASHURST. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The concurrent resolution will be passed over.

The joint resolution (H. J. Res. 200) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women was announced as next in order.

Mr. ASHURST. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be passed over.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 12) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of President and Vice President without the intervention of the electoral college, establishing their term of office from the third Tuesday of January following their election, and fixing the time when the terms of Senators and Representatives shall begin was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be passed over.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. When a bill goes over, does it go under? [Laughter.]

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I want to say a word with reference to this measure, Senate joint resolution 12.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is not in order. There is nothing before the Senate.

The bill (S. 23) granting to the State of Nevada 7,000,000 acres of land in said State for the use and benefit of the public schools of Nevada and the State university of the State of Nevada was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 90) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be passed over.

The bill (S. 3311) to increase and expedite the supply of munitions of war was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 1795) to relieve Congress from the adjudication of private claims against the Government was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 951) to provide for the sinking of artesian wells, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. ASHURST. Let that go over, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 758) to increase the productive agricultural area of the United States by the reclamation of arid and swamp lands was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 132) to amend section 14 of the food-control act by increasing the guaranteed minimum price of wheat for the crop of 1918 from $2 to $2.50 per bushel was announced as next in order.

Mr. FLETCHER. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be passed over.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 136) providing for the registration for military service of the subjects or citizens residing in the United States of a foreign country with whose Government the United States has concluded or hereafter concludes a convention or agreement consenting to such aliens being drafted into the military forces of the United States under the terms of the act approved May 18, 1917, entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," and all amendments thereto, was announced as next in order.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, that joint resolution may be indefinitely postponed. It has been included in other legislation.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Florida moves that the joint resolution be indefinitely postponed.

The motion was agreed to.

The bill (S. 4185) to require the Commissioner of Education to devise methods and promote plans for the elimination of adult illiteracy in the United States was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 39) to authorize the printing of 250,000 copies of the soldiers' and sailors' civil relief act, approved March 8, 1918, etc., was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The concurrent resolution will be passed over.

Mr. SMOOT subsequently said: Mr. President, referring to House concurrent resolution 39, to authorize the printing of 250,000 copies of the soldiers' and sailors' civil relief act, approved March 8, 1918, I move that it be indefinitely postponed.

The motion was agreed to.

The bill (S. 3899) to repeal the sixth section of an act approved July 12, 1882, entitled "An act to enable national banking associations to extend their corporate existence, and for other purposes," was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (H. R. 10691) to amend section 5200 of the Revised Statutes as amended was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 3893) to amend and reenact section 5239, Revised Statutes of the United States, was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 3894) to amend and reenact section 5147, Revised Statutes of the United States, was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 3896) to amend and reenact section 691a of chapter 18, subchapter 7, of the Code of Laws of the District of Columbia, was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 3897) to amend and reenact section 713 of chapter 18, subchapter 10, of the Code of Laws of the District of Columbia, was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 3901) to authorize national banking associations to establish and maintain branches was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 3903) to amend and reenact section 5137, Revised Statutes of the United States, was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 3905) to amend and reenact section 5209 of the Revised Statutes of the United States was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 3910) to prevent usury, provide penalties for its violation, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, there are a number of those bills that have been reported by the Banking and Currency Committee which I have observed from time to time have been objected to as they came up. I do not believe there is any particular reason for the objection, but still the bills have been disposed of in that way. I merely rise to say that I regard this practice of disposing of the Calendar by unanimous consent as an ill-advised parliamentary practice.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator has overlooked one of the provisions of the rule. He can move to take up any one of these bills, if he wishes, right now.

Mr. OWEN. The time is so short now—there being only five minutes left—that I do not care to do that. I have no particular personal interest in these bills. They are bills the passage of which is desired by the Comptroller of the Currency.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator is in error in saying that there is only five minutes left. This is Calendar Monday.

Mr. OWEN. I do not care to move to take them up. There is not time to discuss them.

The bill (S. 3904) to amend and reenact sections 5222 and 5230, Revised Statutes of the United States, was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The resolution (S. 229) to request the Committee on Foreign Relations, to which was referred S. J. Res. 145, to give said resolution early consideration and report to the Senate thereon was announced as next in order.

Mr. FLETCHER. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be passed over.

The bill (S. 3907) to provide for the consolidation of national banking associations was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator from Oklahoma if that bill should not be indefinitely postponed? We passed a bill similar to this, but it was a House bill.

Mr. OWEN. I ask that it go over at present.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 4426) to amend and reenact sections 5235 and 5236 of the Revised Statutes of the United States by providing for a guaranty fund for payment of certain deposits, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 3172) to provide for the abandonment of Piney Branch Road between Allison Street and Buchanan Street NW., in the District of Columbia, was announced as next in order.

Mr. NELSON. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

The bill (S. 3914) authorizing a right of way for the transportation of water for improvement of grazing and development of the live-stock industry upon public and national forest lands in Arizona was announced as next in order.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I think the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] has some objection to that bill. I will ask, therefore, that it go over, since he is not in the Chamber.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

EMMA H. RIDLEY.

The bill (S. 3944) for the relief of Emma H. Ridley was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It authorizes and directs the Secretary of the Treasury to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $3,000 to Emma H. Ridley, widow of Dr. George V. Ridley, who lost his life January 7, 1907, in the discharge of his duty in the Canal Zone while in the employ of the Isthmian Canal Commission.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ETHEL PROCTOR.

The bill (S. 3258) for the relief of Ethel Proctor was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill had been reported from the Committee on Claims with an amendment, on page 1, line 7, to strike out "$5,000" and insert "$2,100," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, to Ethel Proctor, widow of Almon R. Proctor, the sum of $2,100 to compensate her for the death of her husband on June 26, 1912, due to malarial poisoning contracted while in the discharge of his duty as sanitary inspector on the Panama Canal in the employ of the Isthmian Canal Commission.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I should like to ask the chairman of the committee having this measure in charge, or having reported it, if there is not some general rule or general law to reach these cases; and if not, under what principle do they proceed to establish liability against the Government and reach the amounts which have been recommended in payment?

The VICE PRESIDENT. There seems to be nobody here to answer the Senator's question.

Mr. KING. I ask that the bill go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

BILL PASSED OVER.

The bill (S. 3260) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of Wilbur F. Lawton was announced as next in order.

Mr. THOMAS. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

MANUSCRIPT OF CHARLES CHAILLE-LONG.

The bill (S. 3986) to acquire the manuscript of Charles Chaille-Long, containing an account of the unveiling of the McClellan Statue, was announced as next in order.

Mr. THOMAS and Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be passed over.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President, may I ask who asked that that bill go over?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS].

Mr. SAULSBURY. May I have an opportunity to explain about it?

Mr. THOMAS. Certainly; I will withhold the request for the present.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I was waiting here for the bill to be reached. I do not know whether the Senators know who Charles Chaille-Long was. He was a very gallant and distinguished officer, who did a great deal of work for this country, particularly in the Near East and in Egypt and on the upper Nile. This work which he did was authorized and requested of him.

Mr. THOMAS. By whom?

Mr. SAULSBURY. By the memorial committee having charge of the exercises; and he did it very well. He died. The bill has already passed the Senate. It passed it, I think, at the last session of the other Congress, and was sent over to the other House and failed because of lack of time to consider it. If I had thought the bill was coming up, I would have had here a description of the life and services of Charles Chaille-Long; but he was a very useful citizen of this country, and has represented the country in the Near East and in the Far East, in Korea, and in that vicinity, during the time of the troubles in Korea.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator for what purpose the information is desired which this gentleman has collated?

Mr. SAULSBURY. The memorial committee in regard to this statue asked him to prepare this account of the exercises, and he did it and did it very well.

Mr. THOMAS. Was that memorial committee an official body appointed by Congress?

Mr. SAULSBURY. I believe it was. I can not say. It certainly had authority over those matters, and he did the work pursuant to the authority that existed.

Mr. THOMAS. If this committee was one acting under the authority of Congress, and the work was done by its direction, I am not disposed to object.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I am not sure that the committee was authorized to have the memorial prepared. My impression is that it may not have been authorized; but they did, as a part of their duty, request that this literary work be done by Col. Charles Chaille-Long, who did it very well and who was a very proper person to do it.

Mr. THOMAS. I will withdraw my objection.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. SMOOT. I should like to ask the Senator, after acquiring the manuscript containing an account of the unveiling of the statue, where it will go when prepared.

Mr. SAULSBURY. It belongs to the Government. I think it has been furnished to the Library Committee.

Mr. SMOOT. I suppose the bill would state that, but I have not heard the bill read.

Mr. SAULSBURY. So far as I know it may have been delivered to the Library Committee.

Mr. SMOOT. Have any of the departments of the Government requested that this manuscript be prepared?

Mr. SAULSBURY. The committee in charge of the memorial exercises requested Col. Charles Chaille-Long to prepare this literary document commemorative of those exercises.

Mr. SMOOT. Of course, I do not know very much about the matter, although I do feel that it is embarking on a new scheme of expenditure of public money. It may be and it may not.

Mr. SAULSBURY. This matter has been considered several times by the Senate. I simply do not happen to have the data with me concerning it.

Mr. FLETCHER. The Senate committee says in its report that—

The committee is of the opinion that as the services for which the claim is made were authorized and directed by a Committee of the Library of a former Congress, and as the services were rendered, involving the expenditure of considerable time and labor on the part of the claimant, the amount asked for should be paid, and your committee recommend that the bill be passed.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Undoubtedly the services were performed pursuant to a supposedly proper request.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ARMY MINE-PLANTER SERVICE.

The bill (H. R. 9898) to establish in the Coast Artillery Corps of the Regular Army an army mine-planter service was announced as next in order.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I think the hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the unfinished business must be laid before the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. This is Calendar Monday, and we will go through the calendar.

Mr. FLETCHER. The bill just reached on the calendar has been incorporated in the Army bill. I move that it be indefinitely postponed.

The motion was agreed to.

BILLS PASSED OVER.

The bill (S. 4459) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917, was announced as next in order.

Mr. FLETCHER. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will go over.

The next business on the calendar was Senate resolution 249, to print the article entitled "The Electoral College and presidential suffrage" as a Senate document.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will go over.

The next bill on the calendar was the bill (S. 2933) for the relief of the Philippine Scouts.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will go over.

The bill (S. 4221) for the relief of private owners of lands within or near the Bitter Root National Forest, Mont., was next in order on the calendar.

Mr. LENROOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will go over.

LAND OFFICE AT SPRINGFIELD, MO.

The bill (S. 2171) to abolish the United States land office at Springfield, Mo., was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported from the Committee on Public Lands with an amendment, in line 4, to strike out the words "first day of July, 1917," and insert the words "date of this act," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the land office at Springfield, Mo., shall be, and is hereby, abolished from and after the date of this act; and the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to transfer to the State of Missouri such of the transcripts, documents, and records of the office as are not required for the use of the United States and as the State may desire to preserve.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS PASSED OVER.

The bill (S. 4366) to amend section 5 of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, and for other purposes," approved June 23, 1913 (38 Stat. L., 4, 75), was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will go over.

The bill (S. 3269) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John H. Armstrong was announced as next in order.

Mr. FLETCHER. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will go over.

MINIMUM WAGES FOR WOMEN AND MINOR WORKERS.

The bill (S. 4548) to protect the lives and health and morals of women and minor workers in the District of Columbia, and to establish a minimum wage board, and define its powers and duties, and to provide for the fixing of minimum wages for such workers, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. TRAMMELL. I move that the bill be indefinitely postponed. A similar bill has heretofore passed the Senate.

The motion was agreed to.

BILLS PASSED OVER.

The bill (S. 1089) to amend and reenact an act for the establishment of a probation system for the District of Columbia was announced as next in order.

Mr. NELSON. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will go over.

The bill (S. 3379) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to exchange public coal lands for private coal lands in certain cases was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will go over.

The bill (S. 4439) to provide for the survey of a national highway connecting certain national monuments in the States of Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico, was announced as next in order.

Mr. LENROOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will go over.

The bill (S. 2494) to provide for the exchange with the State of Oregon of certain school lands and indemnity rights within the national forests of that State for an equal area of national forest land was announced as next in order.

Mr. WALSH. As neither of the Senators from Oregon is here, I object to the consideration of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will go over.

The bill (S. 2898) to provide for the erection of a public building at Knoxville, Knox County, Tenn., was announced as next in order.

Mr. NELSON. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will go over.

ALBERT H. CAMPBELL.

The bill (S. 1661) for the relief of Albert H. Campbell was announced as next in order.

Mr. KING. I object to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. CURTIS. I hope the Senator from Utah will withdraw his objection to this bill. It is a very meritorious measure. If the Senator will read the report he will find that the Judge Advocate General at one time recommended that the disability incurred by his sentence be removed and the governor of Kansas be notified that there was no further objection to this man being commissioned, and such a notice was sent to the governor of Kansas, but there was no necessity afterwards for his services. Under the circumstances I hope the Senator will let the bill go through.

Mr. KING. Reserving the right to object, I ask that the bill be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be read.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That Albert H. Campbell shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as captain of Company G, Fourteenth Regiment Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, on the 30th day of May, 1865.

The bill was reported from the Committee on Military Affairs with an amendment to add the following proviso:

Provided, That no pension, pay, bounty, or allowance shall accrue prior to the passage of this act.

Mr. KING. I should like to ask the Senator from Kansas if this is not a bill for the purpose of relieving the individual mentioned in the bill of the charge of desertion and then giving him a pensionable status?

Mr. CURTIS. No; the officer in this case was court-martialed because he was interested in a contract which sold to the Government 1,500 cords of wood delivered at Fort Smith, Kans., the report states; it must have been Fort Smith, Ark. He was tried for being interested in that contract while he was an officer. Afterwards an application was made by Col. Judson, of the Sixth Kansas Cavalry, for the removal of the disability.

The committee report states:

This application was referred to the Judge Advocate General of the Army, who, under date of March 1, 1866, in reviewing the case stated that the contract in which Capt. Campbell was concerned was the furnishing of 1,500 cords of wood upon an advertisement of the quartermaster at Fort Smith, Kans. The Judge Advocate General stated that there did not appear to be any fraud in the performance of the contract; that the actual offense consisted in the violation of the act of Congress approved July 16, 1862, entitled "An act to prevent Members of Congress and officers of the Government of the United States from taking consideration for procuring contracts, office, or place from the United States." He further stated that the conviction of conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline was merely as a corollary to the violation of the act referred to, and the Judge Advocate General concluded his remarks with reference to the case as follows:

"In consideration of the previous good character of this man, his meritorious service during the Rebellion, the fact that the contract in which he illegally engaged was performed in good faith, without fraud upon the Government, and the severe penalty he has already suffered, it is believed that the disability incurred by his sentence may be removed without detriment to the public interests."

That was the finding of the Judge Advocate General.

Thereupon, by direction of the President, the governor of Kansas was informed, in a letter from this office dated March 23, 1866, that the disability resulting from the dismissal of Albert H. Campbell, formerly captain, Fourteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, was thereby removed, and that he might be recommissioned should the governor so desire.

Of course, that was so late that no other commission was issued. Of course, the discharge by court-martial prevented him from getting a pension, but, as a matter of fact, he has been entitled to one all the time. This act should have been passed years and years ago.

Mr. KING. Is he receiving a pension?

Mr. CURTIS. No, sir.

Mr. KING. Is the bill retroactive?

Mr. CURTIS. It is not. The amendment provides that no pension shall be allowed until after the passage of the act.

Mr. KING. I withdraw the objection.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

GRANTING OF NEW TRIALS.

The bill (S. 68) to amend section 269 of chapter 231 of the act of March 3, 1911, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with amendments, on page 1, lines 3 and 4, to strike out the words "of chapter 231"; on the same page, before the word "amended," in line 7, to insert the words "and the same is hereby"; on page 2, line 4, before the word "defects," to strike out the words "or"; and, in the same line, before the word "exceptions," to strike out the word "to," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 269 of the act approved March 3, 1911, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 269. All of the said courts shall have power to grant new trials, in cases where there has been a trial by jury, for reasons for which new trials have usually been granted in the courts of law. On the hearing of any appeal, certiorari, writ of error, or motion for a new trial, in any case, civil or criminal, the court shall give judgment after an examination of the entire record before the court, without regard to technical errors, defects, or exceptions which do not affect the substantial rights of the parties."

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read, "A bill to amend section 269 of the act of March 3, 1911, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary."

BILL PASSED OVER.

The bill (S. 1930) for the relief of Elizabeth T. Wells was announced as next in order.

Mr. OVERMAN. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will go over.

TENNESSEE RIVER BRIDGE.

The bill (H. R. 10818) to authorize the county of Loudon, in the State of Tennessee, to construct a bridge across the Tennes-

see River, near Loudon, Tenn., was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I offer the following amendment to add a new section.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add a new section, as follows:

That the provisions of section 5 of the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes, approved March 3, 1917, relating to intoxicating liquors in interstate commerce, as amended by section 1110 of an act entitled "An act to provide revenue to defray war expenses, and for other purposes," approved October 3, 1917, and the same are hereby made applicable to the District of Columbia.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The pending bill is hardly an appropriate place for the amendment.

Mr. KING. I understand we are considering a bill granting permission to erect a bridge over a navigable river in Tennessee, and the Senator from Texas desires to introduce some legislation in the form of an amendment in regard to intoxicating liquors in the District of Columbia.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It has to do with water.

Mr. SHEPPARD. It applies the so-called Reed bone-dry law to the District of Columbia, and is offered in order to correct a shameful situation now prevailing in the matter of the shipment of intoxicating liquors from Baltimore into Washington.

Mr. KING. This is not the time to discuss that question. I may agree entirely with the Senator from Texas, but I think the bill had better go over.

Mr. SHEPPARD. If the Senator asks that the bill go over, I withdraw the amendment. I will not imperil the bill, but I shall continue to take advantage of every opportunity to offer an amendment to correct the situation I have described, and I believe there would have been no objection at this time except for the remark made by the Vice President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is in Committee of the Whole and open to amendment.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Is the amendment withdrawn?

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BUSINESS PASSED OVER.

The next business on the calendar was Senate resolution 297 directing the Committee on Military Affairs to investigate and report relative to enforcement of the draft.

Mr. SMOOT. I move that the resolution be indefinitely postponed.

The motion was agreed to.

The next bill on the calendar was the bill (S. 1857) for the relief of Patrick McMahon.

Mr. KING. Let the bill go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will go over.

The next bill on the calendar was the bill (S. 3602) for the relief of John L. O'Mara.

Mr. KING. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will go over.

CREDIT FOR LOST INTERNAL REVENUE STAMPS.

The bill (S. 4272) for the relief of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and was read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to credit the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and his accounts with $2,980, being the representative value of 172 pipe-line beer stamps returned to him for destruction by the collector of internal revenue of the first collection district of New York, which stamps, after being received by the said commissioner and charged to him September 2, 1914, were lost or irregularly destroyed.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The bill (S. 4271) for the relief of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue was considered as in Committee of the Whole and was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to credit the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and his accounts with the sum of $5,000, being the value of one hundred $50 documentary stamps charged to him and believed to have been stolen from the stamp vaults of his office during the month of January, 1915.

Mr. KING. I should like to ask the chairman of the committee having this measure in charge if there is not some general statute that will reach cases of this character? Is there not some provision under which they would automatically go before some tribunal or some board and where credit could be obtained?

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to my colleague that there is no statute on the subject. The only way the Commissioner of Internal Revenue can receive credit is by a special act of Congress. He is in the same position as a postmaster when stamps are stolen from him. In this particular case, of course, they do not know whether they were stolen or not, but there is not any question but that they are not in his office. His account does not balance within $5,000, and he requests that this legislation be passed.

Mr. KING. It seems to me before an appropriation is made there ought to be some certainty.

Mr. SMOOT. It is virtually a credit; it is not an appropriation. If the stamps ever turn up, they can not be used unless somebody presents them, and if they are presented we will find out whether they were stolen or how taken, and the Government will not be out of any money.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

NATIONAL BUDGET SYSTEM.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 121) creating a commission to report a plan for the adoption of a national budget system was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

Mr. KENYON. Will the Senator wait?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; I will withdraw the objection for the present.

Mr. KENYON. I wish to perfect the joint resolution, and after I offer some amendments I shall not ask to have it considered at this time. I move to strike out the preamble.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the joint resolution will be taken up as in Committee of the Whole for the purpose of amendment.

Mr. KENYON. I move to strike out the preamble down to and including the word "therefore," in line 2, page 3. That is the first amendment. I will send to the Secretary's desk the amendment. Then it commences with the words "*Be it resolved*," and so forth.

I move further to amend section 1 of the joint resolution by striking out, in line 3, the word "out" and also the words "adoption of." I shall then ask to have the joint resolution reprinted. Let the Secretary read the amendment.

The SECRETARY. Strike out the preamble down to and including the word "therefore." in line 2, page 3. Strike out, in line 3, the word "out," also the words "adoption of." Strike out, in line 5, the word "and" and insert after the word "two" the word "members"; strike out all of line 6; so that the first section will read:

That a joint commission to report a plan for a national budget system is hereby established. Its membership shall consist of the Secretary of the Treasury, two members to be appointed by the President, three Members of the Senate and the three Members of the House, to be appointed by the presiding officer of the House and Senate, respectively.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendments will be agreed to, without objection.

Mr. KENYON. I move to amend section 3, line 14, by striking out "1918" and inserting "1919."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KENYON. On page 4 I move to insert at the end of section 4 the following:

Within the limits of the amount appropriated under section 5.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KENYON. In section 6 I move to strike out "June" and insert "March," and to strike out "1918" and insert "1919."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KENYON. I ask that the joint resolution as amended may be reprinted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KENYON. And that it retain its place on the calendar.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will retain its place on the calendar.

BILLS PASSED OVER.

The bill (S. 4891) making certain officers of the Army eligible for appointment as Chief of Staff Corps and Departments was announced as next in order.

Mr. ASHURST. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will go over.

The bill (S. 4892) to amend section 4 of chapter 5 of an act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, approved July 9, 1918, and to make said amendment retroactive was announced as next in order.

Mr. ASHURST. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will go over.

The bill (S. 4893) transferring the tract of land known as Craney Island from the jurisdiction of the War Department to the jurisdiction of the Treasury Department and transferring the tract of land known as Fishermans Island from the juris-

diction of the Treasury Department to the jurisdiction of the War Department was announced as next in order.

Mr. SMOOT. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will go over.

The bill (S. 4852) to create an executive department in the Government to be known as the Department of Aeronautics, and for the appointment of a Secretary of Aeronautics and an Assistant Secretary, and providing for appropriations for said department was announced as next in order.

Mr. ASHURST. Let that go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will go over.

CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENT.

The bill (S. 4637) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service was announced as next in order.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask that the bill be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It has been read.

Mr. FLETCHER. Can we not finish the calendar and come back to it? We shall soon be through with the calendar. There are only a few more bills on it to be reached.

Mr. McKELLAR. I should like very much to go on with the bill. We have spent some time on the calendar. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 4637.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I am very much in favor of this legislation which is the unfinished business. The Senator from Tennessee has the skill and the patience and the ability to press the bill. He has a great many sympathizers. I am sure that many Senators here appreciate his work. But I fear if the bill were now to be taken up the balance of the afternoon would be consumed. I make no objection, but I am tremendously interested in a bill which is to follow on the calendar and that I have watched for three or four years. I understand, of course, it is utterly impossible to pass my bill because it saves the Federal Government several hundred thousand dollars. I know, of course, if it had appropriated a million it would have passed long ago. I appeal to the Senator from Tennessee, who is a practical legislator, to let his bill go over at least until my bill is passed.

Mr. McKELLAR. I can not agree to that when the Senator has been three of four years trying to get his bill passed. I hope the Senator will withdraw any objection. As to his bill that will save the Government several hundred thousand dollars, I will say to the Senator that I will help him in every possible way to get it passed. I hope the Senator will not object to the unfinished business coming up. I think it will take only a short time to dispose of it.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I merely wish to suggest to the Senator from Arizona that if he will offer an amendment proposing to appropriate $1,100,000, the bill will then pass, according to his statement, and the $100,000 which he proposes to save will be secured for the Treasury.

Mr. McKELLAR. I will say to the Senator from Arizona that I do not think it is going to take more than a few moments to pass the bill which I now desire considered. The bill has been read; I understand what is to be said upon it is going to be said immediately, and that it will take but a short time to dispose of the bill. And I hope the Senator will withdraw the objection.

Mr. ASHURST. I have no objection.

Mr. MYERS. I understand if the motion to proceed with the consideration prevails the bill is to be considered under the calendar rule and the speeches will be limited to five minutes. Am I correct in that?

Mr. McKELLAR. I hope so.

Mr. KING. Then I object to the consideration of the bill at this time.

Mr. McKELLAR. I move to proceed to the consideration of the bill, notwithstanding the objection; and I ask for a vote upon the motion.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Tennessee moves to proceed to the consideration of the bill notwithstanding the objection.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, this is a pretty important bill. I have some observations to submit upon it and I can not submit them in five minutes. If the five-minute rule is to prevail in the consideration of the bill, I shall certainly object to its consideration, though I am in sympathy with its purpose.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The five-minute rule will not apply if the consideration of the bill is proceeded with notwithstanding the objection.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Harding	Myers	Smoot
Bankhead	Hitchcock	Nelson	Swanson
Beckham	Jones, N. Mex.	Norris	Thomas
Borah	Kellogg	Nugent	Townsend
Culberson	Kenyon	Overman	Trammell
Cummins	Knox	Phelan	Underwood
Curtis	La Follette	Poindexter	Vardaman
Fletcher	Lenroot	Pomerene	Walsh
France	Lewis	Saulsbury	Warren
Frelinghuysen	McCumber	Shafroth	Weeks
Gerry	McKellar	Sheppard	
Gore	Martin, Va.	Smith, Ga.	
Hale	Moses	Smith, Md.	

Mr. LEWIS. I wish to announce the absence of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], who is detained by illness in his family.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Forty-nine Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR] to proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 4637.

The motion was rejected.

ADJOURNMENT TO THURSDAY.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that when the Senate adjourns to-day it stand adjourned until Thursday at 12 o'clock meridian.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. McKELLAR. I call for a division, Mr. President.

The question being put, on a division the motion was agreed to.

PROPOSED EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, if it is not inappropriate, I should like to move, with the consent of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK], the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, for an executive session, in view of the pendency of certain appointments which need confirmation. Would such a motion be inappropriate at this moment?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Such a motion is always in order.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Let us finish the calendar, Mr. President.

Mr. LEWIS. I was under the impression that we had concluded the consideration of business on the calendar. That not being so, I withdraw the suggestion.

LOUISIANA MARSHALS AND DISTRICT ATTORNEYS.

The bill (S. 1590) providing for an increase of salary for the United States marshals and for the United States district attorneys for the western and eastern districts of Louisiana was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with amendments, on page 1, line 6, after the words "rate of," to strike out "$4,000" and to insert "$3,500"; in the same line, after the word "year," to strike out "and the salary of the United States marshal"; on page 2, line 1, after the word "shall," to strike out "each"; and in the same line, after the words "rate of," to strike out "$5,000" and to insert "$4,000"; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act the salary of the United States marshal and the salary of the United States district attorney for the western district of Louisiana shall each be at the rate of $3,500 per year, and the salary of the United States district attorney for the eastern district of Louisiana shall be at the rate of $4,500 per year.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill providing for an increase of salary for the United States marshal and district attorney for the western district and for the United States district attorney for the eastern district of Louisiana."

SALE OF PUBLIC LANDS.

The bill (S. 4472) providing for the sale of public lands for the purpose of using the proceeds arising therefrom in the construction of roads and other permanent improvements in national parks was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, was this bill reported from the Public Lands Committee?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I will say to the Senator from Idaho that the bill has received the approval of the Public Lands Committee; that it applies to the public-lands States and the parks that are located in public-lands States, and only from the public lands situated in those States is there to be any appropriation of land made.

Mr. BORAH. Though the Secretary read the bill rather deliberately I did not fully catch the language.

Mr. SHAFROTH. The bill simply provides that in public-lands States where there are public parks located, for the purpose of maintaining the parks and making permanent improvements in the parks, such as roads and other necessary improvements, there shall be set aside an equal area of public land which may be sold at a price not less than $2.50 per acre.

If the Senator from Idaho will permit me, I will call attention to the fact that new parks have been established in my State and perhaps in his, and there has been a limitation placed upon the amount of money that can be appropriated for the maintenance of such new parks to $10,000.

In the case of the Rocky Mountain Park, which is one of the most magnificent parks in the world, that sum is totally inadequate. It is not even sufficient to police the park. Consequently any improvement in the way of roads or other permanent improvements can not be made. We have endeavored to have passed and have had passed through this body a number of times bills providing for the appropriation of a greater amount than $10,000 for this purpose, but invariably the other House has ruled such appropriations out on the ground that the bill itself creating the park has limited the amount which could be expended in the park to $10,000. Consequently for the last four or five years we have been tied up so that we can get no improvement whatever in those parks. It has, therefore, seemed to me to be the proper thing to do, without calling on the Treasury to expend any money, that we should appropriate some of the public lands in the States where the parks are situated to the purpose of making permanent improvements in the park. I can not see any better purpose to which such lands could be put.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator from Colorado if he thinks that any money arising from the sale of such public lands would ever again go into the Treasury if this bill should pass?

Mr. SHAFROTH. Oh, yes; I think unquestionably it would.

Mr. WEEKS. Does the Senator not think that the pressure to build roads and expend money for the purposes in connection with the parks would be sufficient to consume the proceeds of the sales of public lands?

Mr. SHAFROTH. Oh, no; this applies to unappropriated lands. These lands, of course, will be taken up in the end, and the Government will get nothing whatever from them. By reason of the fact that now, while they are available, they can be set aside and can be sold, there will be no draft on the Treasury hereafter.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, may I ask if the lands which may be sold under this proposed act are such lands as could be homesteaded?

Mr. SHAFROTH. Well, there is no limitation, except that they shall be unappropriated, unreserved, nonmineral public lands.

As the Senator from Idaho is aware, there has been considerable talk about lands for the soldiers when they return, but I am confident that the soldiers had rather pay $2.50 an acre and then obtain the land than to be required to live on the homestead for five years. I am satisfied that they would seize the opportunity. The whole matter being in the hands of the Secretary of the Interior, the land could be utilized to better advantage for that very purpose at an expense of $2.50 per acre, which, it seems to me, would be inconsiderable compared to the difficulty of a man having to go, enter, and live five years upon the land.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I desire to ask the Senator from Colorado whether the provisions of this bill limit the sale of lands to public lands within the State where a particular park is located?

Mr. SHAFROTH. Oh, yes. For instance, if there is any improvement to be made upon a Colorado park only Colorado lands may be sold for that purpose.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I wish also to ask the Senator another question. What effect would the passage of this bill have on lands which have been set aside for irrigation purposes in what are known as the arid-land States?

Mr. SHAFROTH. The provisions of the bill would not apply to lands which had been set aside, but only to unappropriated lands.

Here is the wording of the first section of the bill:

That the Secretary of the Interior shall select and reserve and within two years thereafter sell at public auction in each of the States in which national parks are situate, unappropriated, unreserved, nonmineral public lands in amount equal to the total area of the national parks within such State, and the proceeds thereof shall be expended in aid of the construction, improvement, and maintenance of roads or other permanent improvements in and leading to the national parks situate in such State.

It will readily be seen, Mr. President, that, having tied these public parks up so that we can not get anything out of the Treasury for them, if at the same time we do not provide a fund from the public lands of the State in which the parks are situated we will have a number of public parks that are of practically no use.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I am asking the question more for information than for any other purpose. I think the Senator and myself were on the committee when the original irrigation bill was passed.

Mr. SHAFROTH. We were.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I have in mind what happened then, but the act has been amended since that time, and I am not sure whether my conception of the law is correct. My understanding is, however, that the proceeds of all sales of public lands within the 18 arid States were to be converted into a fund for the purpose of irrigation.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Yes.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. And if this bill is passed it will divert a part of that fund from the purpose of irrigation.

Mr. SHAFROTH. It will to a limited extent, but we have been continually doing that. For instance, when we create public parks we do that. We have made many inroads in regard to the source from which the irrigation fund is derived, and yet the enormous amounts of money obtained from locations under irrigation projects will continue to come into the Treasury, will be paid back and constitute a revolving fund for the purpose of the irrigation enterprises undertaken by the Government.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I realize that; but it may be that the present irrigation fund as a revolving fund is not large enough to meet the conditions. I am not informed as to that, but, at least, if we pass this bill it will constitute a diversion of part of the fund that would otherwise go to irrigation.

Mr. SHAFROTH. In the first place the Senator is mistaken in this, that nine-tenths, if not ninety-nine one-hundredths, of these lands will yield nothing, because they will be taken up by homesteaders, and the Government does not receive any return whatever from the location of a homestead, aside from the filing fees and the fees that are paid the register and receiver. The funds are derived very largely from the commutations which are made in order to get title to the land a little quicker than by living upon it, or by the sale of mineral lands, which sales are continually going on, the locator taking patent to the land and paying $5 an acre. By that means the irrigation fund is built up more than in any other way. If these lands lie there and are located upon under the homestead act, the Government gets no money out of them at all.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I should like to have this bill go over until Thursday in any event. I do not wish the Senate to pass hurriedly upon a bill which takes homestead lands and offers them at public sale for the purpose of improving public parks which already have a very large donation from the Treasury.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I will say to the Senator that the difficulty arises very largely from the fact that in the case of many of these parks the bills creating them contain provisions that no more than $10,000 can be appropriated for the different purposes in connection with the parks, and that is totally inadequate in many cases. Inasmuch as the money which will be secured from the operation of the bill now under consideration will be applied to a good purpose—for we can not have a better improvement than public roads in a park—and inasmuch as it will cost the General Treasury nothing, the money coming from lands that are within the borders of the States in which the parks are situated, I should like it very much if the Senator would allow the bill to pass.

Mr. BORAH. I should like to have the bill go over until Thursday, at any rate.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, before the bill is finally disposed of for the present, inasmuch as I may not be here when the bill is next taken up, I want to say a word in relation to it. I regret very much to differ with my distinguished friend from Colorado [Mr. SHAFROTH] in regard to the merits of this bill, I have not been able to give it my approval, although we have a large and most interesting national park in the State of Montana, the improvement of which would undoubtedly be speeded by some such provision as this. But, Mr. President, that would mean taking 3,000 sections of land out of the body of land which goes to make up the reclamation fund, and to that extent would deplete the reclamation fund.

I sympathize very much with the Senator from Colorado in his feeling that the national parks have not been treated as liberally by our Government as their importance justifies; in

fact, I feel that we could not make a better investment than in the construction of roads and other improvements to make these parks attractive and to keep tourists here instead of having them go in droves every year to Switzerland, where the scenery, according to the testimony of those who are familiar with our mountain scenery and with the scenery of Switzerland, by no means compares with that which can be seen in the great national parks in the West. A most miserly and niggardly policy has thus far been observed with reference to these parks; but, Mr. President, these parks are created for the benefit of the people of the whole country, and are available to the people of the whole country, and there is no reason at all why the lands in the States in which these parks are located should be appropriated to the making of improvements within them.

The Glacier National Park has an area of practically 3,000 square miles, and that means 3,000 square miles of public land in the State of Montana, which when sold would go to swell the reclamation fund, are to be sold and the amount appropriated for the making of improvements in this park.

Mr. SHAFROTH. But does not the Senator recognize the fact that if these lands are taken up for homesteads not one dollar will go into the reclamation fund.

Mr. WALSH. I appreciate that.

Mr. SHAFROTH. That being the case I do not see how it can deplete the reclamation fund.

Mr. WALSH. According to the argument the Senator makes there would not be anything to go into the reclamation fund at all. The available land will not necessarily be taken up exclusively by homesteaders, but even if it is taken up by homesteaders the homsteader is entitled to commute, so that in many cases, indeed I might say in a majority of cases, the homesteader pays for his land instead of living on it the entire period of five years.

Mr. SHAFROTH. In some instances he does, but I do not think in the majority; in the greater number of cases I think the homesteader lives upon the land.

Mr. WALSH. But to my mind there is another objection to the bill, Mr. President. I do not want to take 3,000 square miles of land available for homestead entry in my State and put that land up for sale to speculators. There is no restriction; a man may buy land, paying not less than $2.50 an acre for it, without any purpose whatever to cultivate it; he may hold it for any purpose he may desire.

I think the Senator from Colorado is unduly apprehensive about the restriction in the bill creating the Rocky Mountain National Park. Even though it does provide that no more than $10,000 shall be spent annually in the making of improvements in the park——

Mr. SHAFROTH. And for maintaining the park—policing it and everything else.

Mr. WALSH. That is no restriction at all, for any Congress may appropriate $100,000 for the improvement of that park if it so desires.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Yes; and I have had incorporated in appropriation bills a provision repealing that section, but it has always gone out on a point of order.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I rise to a question of order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state his point of order.

Mr. OVERMAN. I think the debate is proceeding beyond the five-minute rule, and I now move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. MYERS. I hope the Senator will not do that.

Mr. OVERMAN. Are there any more bills on the calendar?

Mr. MYERS. Yes; and we had a tacit agreement to finish the call of the calendar.

Mr. OVERMAN. If there is a tacit agreement to finish the calendar, I will withdraw the motion.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I wish to say another word with relation to the bill under discussion, and that is that there is a limitation as to the number of acres sold to any one person, so that the land can not be the subject of speculation, as is suggested by the Senator from Montana.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a question?

Mr. SHAFROTH. Certainly.

Mr. LENROOT. I should like to ask the Senator, with reference to the $10,000 limitation, if he is not aware that the limitation was put in for the express purpose of confining appropriation for the parks to which it applied to police regulation and not improvement, and that it was put in when the parks were created for the sole purpose of preserving them and not with the idea of expending money upon them? In reference to the Rocky Mountain National Park, I wish to ask the Senator if he is not aware that the position of the House is that they are willing to repeal the limitation as to that park just as soon as the war is over?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I will state to the Senator that I have been before the Public Lands Committee with the object of securing a repeal of the $10,000 limitation, but there has been continual objection made to the repeal. There has been a suggestion by the Senator from Wisconsin that after the war he would be willing to have that provision repealed, but I do not know whether the other members of the committee will agree to it now or not.

Mr. LENROOT. If I may say so to the Senator, I presume I am responsible for the $10,000 limitation; but, so far as the Rocky Mountain National Park is concerned, before I left that committee they were unanimously of the opinion that that limitation should be repealed as soon as the war was over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. This bill goes over under objection. The Secretary will state the next bill on the calendar.

FORT PECK INDIAN RESERVATION, MONT.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, considered the bill (S. 4178) providing additional time for the payment of purchase money under homestead entries of lands within the former Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Mont.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That any person who has made homestead entry under the provisions of the act of Congress approved May 30, 1908 (35 Stat. L., 558), entitled "An act for the survey and allotment of lands now embraced within the limits of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, in the State of Montana, and the sale and disposal of all the surplus lands after allotment," may obtain an extension of time for one year from the anniversary of the date of entry last preceding the passage of this act within which to pay the one-half of the installment, then due of such part of any preceding installment, where payment has not yet been made and where an extension of time therefor is not authorized by the act of Congress approved March 2, 1917 (39 Stat. L., 994), by paying interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum on the sums to be extended from the maturity of the unpaid installments to the expiration of the period of extension, the interest to be paid to the receiver of the land office for the district in which the lands are situated, within such time as may be prescribed for that purpose by the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided*, That the one-half of any installment which becomes due within one year from the passage of this act and for which an extension of time for payment is not authorized by the said act of March 2, 1917, may also be extended for a period of one year by paying interest thereon in advance at the said rate: *Provided further*, That any payment so extended may annually thereafter be extended for a period of one year in like manner, but no payment shall be extended beyond eight years from the date of entry nor shall any extension be granted for less than one year: *And provided further*, That if commutation proof is submitted, all the unpaid payments must be made at that time.

SEC. 2. That moneys paid as interest provided for herein shall be deposited in the Treasury to the credit of the Fort Peck Indians, the same as moneys realized from the sale of the lands.

SEC. 3. That the failure of an entryman to make any payment that may be due, unless the same be extended, or to make any payment extended either under the provisions hereof or under the provisions of the said act of March 2, 1917, at or before the time to which such payment has been extended, shall forfeit the entry and the same shall be canceled, and any and all payments theretofore made shall be forfeited.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PUBLIC LANDS FOR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

The bill (S. 4947) to provide for a survey and classification by the Secretary of the Interior of all unentered public lands of the United States and all unused, cut-over, logged, and swamp lands and other unused lands of the United States, with a view to disposing thereof to honorably discharged soldiers and sailors and others, and for other purposes, was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, I should like to have the bill read. I was not here when it was read before.

The Secretary will read the bill.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I should like to ask the chairman of the committee reporting this bill if it is not a fact that the Secretary of the Interior is now making the investigation which the bill just read contemplates shall be made?

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, the Secretary is now making a preliminary investigation, in an initial way, of this plan of reconstruction. Congress last July, at the request of the Secretary of the Interior, appropriated $200,000 for gathering certain necessary data and statistics and making a purely preliminary investigation of the subject, and that is now going on, but the Secretary, at the time he asked for that, stated that for the permanent survey and classification of these lands the sum of about $1,000,000 would be needed. The bill reads "$2,000,000," but at the suggestion of the Secretary of the Interior the committee reported an amendment to reduce that to $1,000,000 only. The sum that was appropriated in July was understood at that time to be merely an initial sum for a preliminary investigation of the subject and for doing certain preliminary work, but the Secretary in his report on this bill

says he hopes that not later than the 1st of December the further sum of $1,000,000 will be appropriated for the completion of the work. At the top of page 2 of the report he says:

> The appropriation made by the Congress of $100,000 as to irrigable lands and $100,000 for the other classes is, of course, insufficient for more than what I have termed a rough survey. It will enable us to know where those lands are which may be available. But this is no more than the beginning of the task if we are to be ready against the return of our troops from abroad to offer them an opportunity to build farm homes for themselves for which they shall repay the Government throughout a long term of years.

He then further says that he hopes the further appropriation of $1,000,000 necessary for the completion of the work will be made not later than the 1st of December.

Mr. KING. Then, as I understand the Senator, the present bill will carry $1,000,000?

Mr. MYERS. One million dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary. The Senate committee recommended that the amount originally asked for, $2,000,000, should be reduced to $1,000,000, or so much thereof as might be found necessary.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I will say to the Senator that it is almost imperative that this bill should be passed soon, because the soldiers are going to return soon, and these fields ought to be open for the purpose of location upon their part and the settlement of these lands. I think the bill is a most excellent one and ought to pass.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, as I understand, this is a provision authorizing the use of a million dollars in money for the purpose of determining what can be done to advantage with certain so-called waste lands in all parts of the country. I assume that it is part of a scheme of reconstruction after the war is over. I assume that it has been brought forward with an idea of taking care of some of the men who will be discharged from the Army.

I do not know how practical this plan is. On the face of it, it seems to me to be reasonable to try to improve some of the waste lands. I can not imagine that it is a scheme for the purpose of allowing the exploitation of certain sections of the country at the Government expense; and yet it is such a novel idea and so difficult to understand in a practical way that one is almost warranted in imagining anything that might grow out of such a measure. But assuming that it is in reality a part of the scheme of reconstruction, does not the Senator from Montana believe that it would be wise to allow this to come in to be considered with the general plan that I understand is to be adopted here in order that we may know what is the best way to spend the millions of dollars—the separate millions of dollars—which will be required in a process of reestablishment such as is proposed here?

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, this plan was launched by the Secretary of the Interior, wholly separate and apart from any general plan of reconstruction and economic adjustment after the war, not tied up with any other plans, but solely for the purpose of getting people on the vacant, idle land of the country; for the purpose of providing homes for returned soldiers and sailors and hundreds of thousands of workers in the munition plants of the country who will be out of jobs as soon as the war is officially declared ended and as soon as those munition plants cease to operate. Some of them are ceasing to operate now and the need for this legislation is very urgent and very great. Some of these munition plants, as I say, are closing down now and many others of necessity will close down in the very near future, and thereby there will be hundreds of thousands of people thrown out of employment and the country will be thrown into a state of industrial confusion and paralysis. These people will have to turn somewhere else to make a living for themselves and their families; our soldiers and sailors are now being returned. I want to assure the Senator that it is not in the least degree intended, by virtue of this bill, to exploit or benefit any one section of the country at the expense of other sections of the country. It applies to waste, swamp, cut over, logged, unused, and uncultivated lands in every section of the country. There is not a section of the United States that will not be benefited by this legislation, if enacted. The need for it is great and crying. There is an emergency which calls for its immediate enactment. Delay would be deplorable, and I hope there may be none. Necessarily this scheme is separate from and disconnected with any of the general schemes suggested for reconstruction and rehabilitation after the war. Its very nature makes it so. It should not be tied up with any other. It is sui generis. The demand for it is peculiar. There can be no delay if the plan is to be a success.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator if it is not also true that this bill does not undertake to distribute the lands, but merely to get the necessary information, so that the Congress can distribute the lands if it fits in with the general plan?

Mr. MYERS. That is true. That is a good point. I will say to the Senator from Michigan that this is merely to classify and survey these lands, make plans, and get the proposed work well in hand, so that when Congress enters upon a general scheme of reconstruction it may have the benefit of the information and knowledge and preliminary work which this survey and classification will bring. It may not take $1,000,000. The bill does not necessarily appropriate the sum of $1,000,000. The appropriation clause reads:

> That * * * $1,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary—

Is appropriated for this work. The bill has the indorsement of governors of States and commercial bodies and associations of people all over the country who are interested in the welfare of the country. It has met with universal approbation, and I think it is very meritorious, and I am glad to see that the Senator from Michigan finds some merit in the plan. It has been submitted to the President of the United States, governors of States, Representatives in Congress and Senators, commercial bodies, and clubs, and not one word of criticism has it heretofore elicited. To the contrary, it has evoked and received many expressions of unbounded and unqualified approval and commendation. It has evoked hearty, widespread, and almost universal approbation. Many Senators and Representatives have commended it and committed themselves to its support. Its merit is apparent. We must do something for our returning soldiers and sailors. They are even now returning. The people of this country are now being asked to subscribe $170,000,000 by private subscription for their welfare and entertainment in Europe. Shall we hesitate to appropriate $1,000,000 to provide homes for them and make useful citizens of them and make useful our waste lands? I hope I have satisfied all inquirers, I hope there will be no delay in the passage of this bill.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, I understand, of course, that this bill provides only a million dollars, or so much thereof as may be needed. No one doubts, however, that it will absorb the $1,000,000. What is disturbing me is whether it is a wise thing for the country for the Congress at this time to appropriate a million dollars to be used in this kind of a scheme. I understand also that it is true, as the Senator says, that this is a proposition to be undertaken by the Secretary of the Interior on his own hook, and that it has no reference to concerted action by the Government to determine what it is best as a whole to do. That is one of the reasons why it seems to me it is unwise. I should like to see a plan of reorganization or reconstruction established in order that we may expend the money properly.

I hope the munition workers and the discharged soldiers are not going to be abused through all the months that are to come by assuming that they are to be the beneficiaries of all kinds of legislation, the same as winning the war has been abused during the past few months. I should like to have some reason given for the plan; I should like to have it established on a basis of its own so that we may know that this is desirable legislation. Not all of these soldiers and these munition makers are going to flock into the reclaimed marshes or burned-over or cut-over lands. In my judgment they are not as a whole earnestly looking for a job of that kind.

I go back, however, to the original proposition: If we have land that should be reclaimed for the benefit of the country I am in favor of reclaiming it; but I do not like to start in in this way on these separate schemes by different secretaries or other gentlemen each trying to establish a system of reconstruction on his own hook. I should like to have concerted action so that we can know what the general scheme is to be.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Michigan if an investigation of this question generally has not been ordered by somebody or some department?

Mr. TOWNSEND. I am obliged to the Senator for calling my attention to that. I had forgotten one thing that I had in mind when I was going over the bill. I think we have almost complete records already in existence of all of the classes of lands that we have here. I do not think there is a single tract in the United States that is not already get-at-able, so far as the records are concerned. I do not think there is any doubt about that, and I am obliged to the Senator from Mississippi for calling my attention to it. That is practically all that this $1,000,00 is for, according to the statement of the Senator from Montana, namely, to provide information which is already in hand.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, if the Senator will pardon me for interrupting him further, I wish to say that we all desire that the soldiers coming back from France who are willing to go to the country shall be given an opportunity to build homes there and become farmers. In my judgment the future of this Republic depends very largely upon the character of the men and women who live in the country; but I want the Senate and the Congress in the consideration of this measure not to over-

look the fact that there is an effort made along this line by interested parties who have a great deal of utterly worthless land which they are going to try to sell the Government and have the Government give it to these soldiers, or sell it to them on easy terms, which will be of no benefit whatever to the soldiers when they get it. I know of some lands that are being offered to the Government for these purposes that will be an incumbrance rather than a benefit to the soldier if given him free of cost. The owners of these lands, in the name of patriotism, will dispose of them to the Government for their own personal profits rather than for the good of the patriotic man who defends the flag in a foreign land. I think this matter ought to be carefully considered before taking definite action on it. Therefore I shall ask that the bill go over, that I may have something to say when the matter comes up for final consideration later.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, I am going to ask that this bill go over until Thursday next. We are to have another meeting of the Senate then, and I want a little more information in reference to the matter.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President——

Mr. MYERS. Then, Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill notwithstanding the objection.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Montana. [Putting the question.] The "noes" have it, and the motion is lost.

Mr. MYERS subsequently said: Mr. President, I desire to say that my motion to proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 4947, notwithstanding the objection thereto, was put to the Senate and defeated while I was on my feet and had the floor and was engaged in the act of addressing the President of the Senate and the Senators. It was put and voted on in the midst of my remarks. I had no opportunity to conclude my remarks or to give my reasons for my opposition to the request of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND] that the bill go over, nor to make any argument, as I wished to do, in support of my motion for its immediate consideration.

Notwithstanding the Senate has refused to proceed with the bill to-day, I wish to say this bill has been very carefully considered by the Senate Committee on Public Lands, which recommends its passage, and by the Secretary of the Interior. It has the approval of a great many governors and other high officials. It is approved by commercial bodies and associations in this country which have given it very careful consideration. I do not know what further consideration could be or should be given it. If the bill is always to be put off for alleged lack of consideration, as has now been done twice, of course it never can be considered on its merits and disposed of. By the next time it comes up. I hope those Senators who now say they want to give it further consideration will have considered it to their satisfaction and may let us have a vote on the bill and let us either pass the bill or defeat it, because the time is here when it is imperative to do something with this bill, one way or the other. It is not fair continually to postpone disposition of the bill on the plea that it has not been sufficiently considered. This is an important measure. Those who are not decided as to its merits should study it and consider it and not require those of us who are satisfied of its merit to submit to its postponement day after day. A week or more ago the bill was printed in the RECORD, together with the committee report on it, which is exhaustive and goes much into detail. I hope those Senators who have not read the report will read it. I protest against further delay.

I have here a communication, addressed to the Secretary of the Interior, from the International Farm Congress, assembled at Kansas City, Mo., on the 17th day of October, 1918, in relation to the merits of this bill and making some suggestions about the proposed plan. I ask that it may be printed in the RECORD in connection with my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

KANSAS CITY, MO., *October 17, 1918.*

HON. FRANKLIN K. LANE,
Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned, acting under the authority and direction of the International Farm Congress, assembled at Kansas City, Mo., this the 17th day of October, A. D. 1918, representing the following States, desire to express to you our hearty approval of the policy outlined in your letter of May 30, 1918, to the President, to provide useful employment and homes for returning soldiers, and our desire to cooperate in every way in bringing that policy into effect.

We believe that the legislation that is to be enacted in regard to this matter should embrace the following features:

The proposed legislation should provide for the cooperation of the Federal and State Governments under laws to be enacted by the Congress and legislatures of the several States.

A State board should be created in each State to act in cooperation with the Federal authorities.

The Federal Government to provide the money for reclamation works, and to be expended in the preparation of farms for cultivation and the reclamation work to be carried out by the Federal Government.

If privately owned or State owned land is used, the State should provide it.

The land submitted by the State should be subject to the approval of the Federal Government, both as to quality and cost.

The States to provide facilities for the agricultural training of soldiers lacking experience or knowledge of local conditions.

Wherever such agricultural training is provided, the State and the Federal Government shall share the cost equally.

Money provided for the acquirement and reclamation of lands and the preparation of farms shall be repaid in small payments, extending over long terms, at low rates of interest.

A. J. McCune, of Colorado, State engineer; Charles F. Tew, of Colorado; Fred S. Lucas, of Colorado; Kurt Grunwald, of Colorado; W. I. Drummond, of Oklahoma; Alfred S. Rollo, of Moore Haven, Fla.; Alfred C. Siebolth, of Arizona; Jona Las Cetrite, of California; Leonard Tillotson, of Texas; Chas. McCaffree, of South Dakota; Frank M. Byrne, of South Dakota; Thomas M. Potter, of Peabody, Kans.; Andrew Kimball, of Thatcher, Ariz., also representing New Mexico; Fred D. Sherman, of Minnesota; Jewett Mayes, of Jefferson City, Mo.; W. W. Burr, of Lincoln, Nebr.; N. B. Coffman, of Chehalis, Wash., also representing State of Oregon under commission of its governor; Geo. S. Bruce, of Houston, Tex.; F. B. Linfield, of State of Montana; E. C. Leedy, of Great Northern Railway; E. G. Peterson, of Logan, Utah; W. O. Wolf, president of Kansas State Board of Agriculture; T. S. Minter, for State Department of Agriculture of Texas; Geo. Albert Smith, of Salt Lake City, Utah; W. M. Jardine, president Kansas State Agricultural College; E. F. Benson, of Olympia, Wash.; E. A. Willson, for North Dakota; Wm. A. Reef, of Denver, Colo., secretary.

GOVERNMENT SUPPLIES.

The bill (S. 4858) to provide method of settlement for materials, stores, and supplies transferred between different bureaus, departments, or agencies of the Government, and for other purposes, was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill had been reported from the Committee on Military Affairs with an amendment, in section 1, page 2, line 4, after the word "Government," to insert:

Provided, That the Secretary of War may by regulations prescribe the basis for fixing the prices to be charged and paid for all War Department materials, stores, or supplies so transferred, and the method of settlement therefor.

And at the end of section 1 to insert a new section, as follows:

SEC. 2. That all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

So as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That whenever authorized transfers of materials, stores, and supplies are made between bureaus of the War Department, or between a bureau of the War Department and any other executive department or independent establishment of the Government, payments therefor may be made by the proper disbursing officer of the office, bureau, department, or independent establishment to which such transfer is made, and the same method may be employed in the settlement of other transactions between appropriations under bureaus of the War Department, or between any such bureau and any other executive department or independent establishment of the Government: *Provided*, That the Secretary of War may by regulations prescribe the basis for fixing the prices to be charged and paid for all War Department materials, stores, or supplies so transferred, and the method of settlement therefor.

SEC. 2. That all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT NOGALES, ARIZ.

The bill (H. R. 282) amending the public buildings act approved March 4, 1913, providing for the purchase of a site for a public building at Nogales, Ariz., was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That so much of section 4 of the public buildings act approved March 4, 1913 (37 Stats., p. 873), as authorizes the acquisition of a site and the erection of a suitable building thereon for the United States customhous t Nogales, Ariz., at a cost not exceeding $110,000, and so much of ction 5 of said act (37 Stats., p. 877) as authorizes the acquisition of a site for the United States post office and other Government offices at Nogales, Ariz., at a cost not exceeding $10,000, be, and the same are hereby, amended so as to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, one site and to erect thereon one building for the accommodation of the United States post office, customhouse, and other Government offices at Nogales, Ariz., at a cost not exceeding $120,000, of which limit of cost not exceeding $15,000 shall be expended for such site; and that the appropriation of $16,000 made by the act of Congress approved July 29, 1914 (38 Stats., p. 563), in pursuance of said authorization of March 4, 1913, for a site and building for said customhouse, be, and the same is hereby, made available for the acquisition of the site and the commencement of the erection of the building hereinbefore authorized for said post office and customhouse.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Arizona what change this bill makes in the present law?

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, in order to answer that question I shall have to make a preliminary statement, which will be very brief.

In 1913, in the public buildings bill, there was authorized a public building—to wit, a customhouse and the site therefor—at Nogales, Ariz., and an appropriation of $110,000 was made for that purpose. In the same act, the public buildings bill of 1913, there was an additional appropriation of $10,000 for another site for a post office. Now, Mr. President, this is only corrective legislation. Two sites are not needed. Two sites would only be an incentive to erect another building. This is simply corrective legislation, to provide that there shall be but one site and one building.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. OVERMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 3 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Thursday, November 21, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate November 18, 1918.

AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY.

John W. Davis, of Clarksburg, W. Va., to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Great Britain.

SOLICITOR GENERAL.

Alexander C. King, of Atlanta, Ga., to be Solicitor General, vice John W. Davis, resigned.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Passed Asst. Surg. Friench Simpson, to be surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from October 6, 1918.

Asst. Surg. Robert Louis Allen, to be passed assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from September 22, 1918.

Asst. Surg. Ora Howard Cox to be passed assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from September 21, 1918.

Asst. Surg. Marion Sunsari Lombard to be passed assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from September 21, 1918.

Asst. Surg. Carl Michel to be passed assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from September 22, 1918.

Asst. Surg. William Francis Tanner to be passed assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from September 21, 1918.

Asst. Surg. William Charles Witte to be passed assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from September 22, 1918.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

The following-named cadets, graduates of the Military Academy, to be second lieutenants with rank from November 1, 1918:

Louis George Horowitz.
David Albert Newcomer.
Boyd Wheeler Bartlett.
Alfred Maximilian Gruenther.
Laurence VanDoren Harris.
Herbert Bernard Loper.
Ivan Crawford Lawrence.
Benjamin Mace Hedrick.
Robert Gibbons Gard.
Robert Ammons Hill.
David Horn Whittier.
Sidney Ward Gould.
Herbert Maury Jones.
Fred William Marlow.
Orville Wells Martin.
William Joseph Regan.
Roy Green.
Forrest Eugene Cookson.
John Paul Kennedy.
Alexander Sharp Bennet.
George Sheldon Price.
Carl Spencer Molitor.
Philip Stueler Lauben.
Wyburn Dwight Brown.
Robert Miller Montague.
Charles Pollard Jones.
Anthony Clement McAuliffe.
Robert Leonard Johnson.
Lester Francis Rhodes.
Albert Rhett Stuart Barden.
Romeo Francis Regnier.
Don Gilmore Shingler.
Harlan Nelson Hartness.
Louis Brainard Ely.
Julius Easton Slack.
Bertram Francis Hayford.
Ernest Aaron Bixby.
Robert Rossiter Raymond, jr.
Harris Fulford Scherer.
Donald Miller Davidson.
Ernest John Riley.
Clarence Emil Burgher.
Thomas Benoit Hedekin.
Joseph Vincie Phelps.
Charles Norton McFarland.
Charles Alvin Pyle.
Alexander Griswold Kirby.
John Ray Hardin.
Herbert Weldon Semmelmeyer.
William Wilkeson Barton.
Maurice Place Chadwick.
Walter Ernest Bullock.
Foster Joseph Tate.
Carl Robinson.
Richard Tobin Bennison.
Henry John Dick Meyer.
Elton Foster Hammond.
Ernest Marion Brannon.
Francis George McGill.
Rollin Franklin Risen.
Butler Lyons Hill.
Oscar Alan Saunders.
John Wyville Sheehy.
James Battle Rivers.
John Joseph Burns.
Leslie Edgar Jacoby.
John Raikes Vance.
Clarence John Kanaga.
Richard Powell Ovenshine.
Edwin Virgil Kerr.
Thomas McGregor Shillock.
Harrison Howell Dodge Heiberg.
William Irwin Allen.
Paul Andrew Donnally.
James Edmund Parker.
William Wesson Jervey.
George Raymond Burgess.
Edward Lynde Strohbehn.
Maurice Keyes Kurtz.
William Holmes Wenstrom.
Paul Lewis Harter.
Leo Clement Paquet.
Thomas Maurice Crawford.
Eugene McGinley.
Hugh Brownrigg Waddell.
Leslie DeLong Flory.
Paul Robert Menzies Miller.
Isaac Haiden Ritchie.
Augustine Francis Shea.
Carlisle Visscher Allan.
Marion Patton Echols.
Roy Anthony Moore.
John Edward McCarthy.
Francis Otis Wood.
Hobart Hewett.
Richard Thomas Rick.
Waldemar Sven Broberg.
James Holden Phillips.
John Edwin Leahy.
George Washington Lewis.
Frederick Weed Drury.
Leander Dunbar Syme.
Ellis Vern Williamson.
Leroy Clark Wilson, 2d.
Nathaniel Alanson Burnell, 2d.
William Goebel Stephens.
John Bartlett Murphy.
James Lowe Harbaugh, jr.
Virgil Farrar Shaw.
Paul Alpheus Noel.

Michael Gibson Smith.
Syril Emerson Faine.
Arthur Maxon Parsons.
Harry Welling Barrick.
William Travis VandeGraaff.
Howard Rand Perry, jr.
Edward Hamilton Young.
Nathan Arthur Smith.
Gerald Saint Claire Mickle.
Benjamin Randolph Farrar.
Harris Ellis Sanderson, jr.
Hugh French Thomson Hoffman.
David Stanley Holbrook.
Walter Scott Winn, jr.
Willard Gordon Wyman.
John Leonard Whitelaw.
Edward Henry Bowes.
Edwin Malcolm Sutherland.
Joseph Andrew Holly.
Henry Baldwin Nichols.
William Douglas McNair.
Charles Forrest Wilson.
Robert Francis Carter.
Hugh Garnett Elliott, jr.
Nathan Farragut Twining.
William John Crowe.
George Whitfield MacMillan.
L. Hoyt Rockafellow.
Percy Emery Hunt.
Douglas Alden Olcott.
Roland William McNamee.
John Carpenter Raaen.
Lentilhon Wheeler.
Winfred George Skelton.
Lambert Benel Cain.
Edmund Bower Sebree.
Ignatius Lawrence Donnelly.
Merritt Brando Booth.
Raymond Clay Barlow.
Frank Greene Davis.
Emmett James Bean.
Donald Allen Fay.
Charles Henry Noble.
Walter Towle O'Reilly.
Kenneth Pierce.
Charles Henry Bryan.
John Endler.
John Howell Collier.
Dean Luce.
Vincent Coyle McAlevy.
George Gordon Elms.
John Dimmick Armstrong.
Ralph Francis Stearley.
Donald Handley Nelson.
Edward Ora Hopkins.
John Victor Domminey.
James Verne Cole.
Horace Parker Sampson.
Ralph Bernard Kindley.
John Adam Bruckner, jr.
Clarence Archibald Frank.
Frederick Bradstreet Dodge, jr.
Clarkson Deweese McNary.
Bernard Albert Byrne, jr.
Charles Ream Jackson.
George Lincoln Dillaway, jr.
Warren Wilson Christian.
Dale Wilford Maher.
Robert Barrett Hutchins.
Joseph William Kullman.
George Dewey Rogers.
Harold Edward Marsden.
Robert Jones Merrick.
William Henry John Dunham.
Landon Garland Daniel.
Raymond Francis Kilroy.
Irvin Alexander.
John Harvey Madison.
George Edward Bruner.
Thomas Llewellyn Waters.
Urban Niblo.
Thomas Houston Dameron.
Roger Sherman Evarts.
Charles Linton Williams.
Kenneth Sharp Olson.
William Lighton McEnery.
Robert Montgomery Springer.
Russell John Nelson.
Charles Maine Wolff.
Simon Foss.
Davis Ward Hale.
Edward Melvin Starr.
Joseph Sladen Bradley.
Arthur Launcelot Moore.
Robert William Crichlow, jr.
Martin Anthony Fennell.
Ralph Harris Bassett.
Harold Allen Brown.
Albert Sidney Johnson Stovall, jr.
Donald Carson Hardin.
Harold Clifton Zimmerman.
John Thomas Keeley.
Albert Smith Rice.
James Wellington Boyd.
Joseph Conrad Odell.
Vincent Harold Kelly.
Josiah Tony Dalbey.
Logan Osburn Shutt.
Stuart Little.
Hilton Edward Heineke.
Galen Magnus Taylor.
John Francis Laragnino.
Royal Wheeler Park.
Daniel Phillip Buckland.
Philip McIlvaine Whitney.
John Morris Works.
Christopher Hildebrand.
Joseph Holleman Warren.
Edgar Mortimer Gregory.
John David Frederick.
Richard Ray Coursey.
William Ramsey Bready.
Joseph Charles Panzarella.
Dwight Lyman Adams.
John Charles Hyland, jr.
Thomas Gordon Cranford, jr.
Lester George Degnan.
Henry Bennett Sheets.
Archie William Cooly.
Edwin Robert Samsey.
William Robert McMaster.
Paul Revere Carl.
Cornelius Emmett O'Connor.
Joseph Alfred Cranston, jr.
Maurice Ladin Rosenthal.
Willard Leslie Isaacs.
Horace Speed, jr.
Fred William Makinney, jr.
William Benjamin Kean, jr.
Harold Robert Emery.
David Sanderson McLean.
William Joseph Moroney.
Russell Lowell Williamson.
Charles Leslie Keerans, jr.
Howard Adams White.
Howard Dohla Johnston.
Albert Carroll Morgan.
Franklin Leroy Rash.
Robert Watson Child.
Edgar Harvey Snodgrass.
Claude Birkett Ferenbaugh.
Adna Chaffee Hamilton.
Harold Stuart Ruth.
Sterling Eugene Whitesides, jr.
Lewis Stone Sorley, jr.
Albert Coady Wedemeyer.
David Best Latimer.
Ralph J. Miller.
Isaac Wiley Finley.
John Leighton Denny.
Roswell Boyle Hart.
Haldor Hegland Myrah.
Herbert Joseph Riess.
Martin Loeb.
Henry Ignatius Szymanski.
Ulric Lee Fomby.
Frederick Brenton Porter.
Bryan Sewall Halter.
Gordon Leslie Chapline.
Hughes Steele.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

To be second lieutenants with rank from November 1, 1918.

David Wood Griffiths.
Bernard Skinner Stearns.
Arthur William Pence.
Leslie Richard Groves, jr.
Henry Gray Lodge.
Lemuel Pope, 3d.
James Logan Rhoades.
Frederic Bates Butler.
Leverett Griggs Yoder.
Harry Alexander Montgomery.
Wilson Gordon Saville.
Mark Mayo Boatner, jr.
David Ayer Dupue Ogden.
Frederick Adolph Platte.
Karl Browne Schilling.
John Hawkins Elleman.
Elmer Ellsworth Barnes.
William Wesley Wanamaker.
Beverly Carradine Snow.
Richard Lee.
Howard Louis Peckham.
John Southworth Niles.
Charles Richard Bathurst.
Wendell Phillips Trower.
Robert Gilbert Lovett.
Cornman Louis Hahn.
Edwin Potter Lock, jr.
Morris Williams Gilland.
David Terrill Johnson.
Edwin Gunsolus Shrader.
Randolph Pierson Williams.
Otto Praeger, jr.
Allison Miller.
Newell Lyon Hemenway.
Archie Trescott Colwell.
Arthur Joseph Sheridan.
James George Christiansen.
Benjamin Franklin Chadwick.
Charles Dickson Jewell.
Heath Twichell.
Joseph Jones Twitty.
Robert Everett York.
Chester Krum Harding.
William Victor Hesp.
William Clarence Bennett, jr.
Claude Henry Chorpening.
Frank Otto Bowman.
James Postell Jervey, jr.
Joseph Shirley Gorlinski.
George Sackett Witters.
Albert Riani.
Orville Ernest Walsh.
Harvey Drexler Dana.
Peter Paul Goerz.
Robert Blake Coolidge.
John Peter Dietrich.
William Aylett Callaway.
Howard Voorheis Canan.
Vere Alfred Beers.
Doswell Gullatt.
John Bell Hughes.
Eugene Luther Vidal.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

To be second lieutenants, with rank from November 1, 1918.

George Brooke McReynolds.
Frederick Atherton Stevens.
Harrison Shaler.
Edmund Wilson Searby.
Roger Manning Wicks.
Hugh Archer Palmer.
George Vernon Keyser.
Homer William Blair.
Lawrence Bradford Bixby.
Harry Crawford.
William Washington Webster.
John Hamilton Hinds.
William Powell Blair.
William James Epes.
John Hinton.
Eric Spencer Molitor.
Richard August Ericson.
Richard Brobst Madigan.
James Vincent Carroll.
William Henry Barlow.
Ernest Calhoun Norman.
Charles Rolland Gildart.
Gerald Alexander O'Rouark.
Charles Edward Hixon.
Bryan Evans.
Francis Andrew March, 3d.
John Sheridan Winn, jr.
Roger Williams Autry.
Myrl Milton Miller.
Alfred Nathan Bergman.
Stuart Millikin Bevans.
John Hiram Lewis, jr.

COAST ARTILLERY CORPS.

To be second lieutenants with rank from November 1, 1918.

John Marks Moore.
Eugene Germanus Miller.
Joseph Coolidge Kilbourne, jr.
Brooks Scott.
Arthur Emil Mickelsen.
Paul Boyle Kelly.
Leon Harold Dunn, 1st.
James Clyde Styron.
Bonner Frank Fellers.
Richard Ravenel Spring.
Melton Adams Hatch.
Kenneth Seymour Stice.
George Maurice Badger.
Marion Van Voorst.
Edwin Boyd Fitzpatrick.
Dean Richard Dickey.
William Amberson Sexton.
Hobart Reed Yeager.
Gervais William Trichel.
Thomas William Munford.
James Longstreet Whelchel.
John Hadley Fonvielle.
Joe David Moss.
Edward Arthur Dolph.
Felix Max Usis.
Edward Ward Hendrick.
Bernard Wellington Slifer.
Lee Earl Gray.
Donald William Sawtelle.

CAVALRY ARM.

To be second lieutenants, with rank from November 1, 1918.

George Gage Eddy.
Charles Edward Morrison.
Christian Knudsen.
Francis Bassett Valentine.
Thomas Tipton Thornburgh.
William Covington Benton.
Vincent John Conrad.
David Adams Taylor.
Ronald Austin Hicks.
Elmer Vaughan Stansbury.
Edwin Leslie Hogan.
John Creel Hamilton.
Mark Rhoads.
Joseph Kittredge Baker.
Charles William Leng, jr.
Albert Walker Johnson.
Willard Ames Holbrook.
Auston Monroe Wilson, jr.
Samuel Powell Walker, jr.
Fred Glover Sherrill.
Sol Mark Lipman.
William Theodore Powers.

INFANTRY ARM.

To be second lieutenants with rank from November 1, 1918.

Benjamin Abbott Dickson.
Charles Mason Wells.
William Bobbs Miller.
Richard Carrick Babbitt.
Wade Rushton Cothran, jr.
Percival Bolling Banister.
Claude Desha Anderson, jr.
Hammond McDougal Monroe.
John William Middleton.
Clarence Arthur Rosendahl.
Frank Johnstone Cunningham.

Edward Ward Smith.
John Bartlett Sherman.
John Joseph Breen.
James Arthur Kehoe.
Frederick Pearson.
Charles Frederick Colson.
DeWitt Hicks.
Donald Frederic Carroll.
Robert Alvin Schow.
John Harrison Stokes, jr.
Jesse Ellis Graham.
Jerome David Cambre.
William Howell Cocke.
Burrowes Goldthwaite Stevens.
Alexander Thomas McCone.
Thomas Markhan Brinkley.
John Kennedy Buchanan.
Ivins LaRue Browne.
Kenneth Willey Leslie.
Beverley St. George Tucker.
John Trites Brown.
John Coachman Cullens, jr.
Reginald Hubbell.
Wesley Collins Dever.
John May Tatum.
Gerald Burnett O'Grady.
Paul Wilkins Kendall.
John Franklin Farley.
Charles Henry Moore, jr.
James Wentworth Freeman.
Alexander John Mackenzie.
Wiley Vinton Carter.
Ira Platt Swift.
Wilbur Eugene Dunkelberg.
James Hicks Carney Hill.
Victor Crippen Broome.
Thomas Reynolds Denny.
Frank Mathews Corzelius.
Julius Lynch Pyland.
Arthur Pulsifer.
Farrin Allen Hillard.
William Jesserel Mason.
Elliott Watkins.
Francis James Gillespie.
Jesse Lewis Gibney.
Robert Hale Vesey.
Clarence Miles Mendenhall, jr.
Kester Lovejoy Hastings.
George McKnight Williamson, jr.
Howard Waite Brimmer.
Charles Milner Smith, jr.
Albert Brownfield Goodin.
Walter Joseph Muller.
Harry Lovejoy Rogers, jr.
George Bryan Conrad.
William Stephen Murray.
Harry Krieger.
Raymond Wainwright Odor.
James Clyde Welch.
Miner Welsh Bonwell.
John Perry Pence.
John Leo Binder.
Joseph Magoffin Glasgow.
Elmer Mike Jenkins.
James Lawrence Keasler.
Rutherford Dent McGiffert.
Richard Bryan Wheeler.
Thomas Roswell Aaron.
Charles Llewellyn Gorman.

MEDICAL CORPS.

To be first lieutenants with rank from November 9, 1918.

First Lieut. John Murray Welch.
First Lieut. Merrill Clary Sosman.
First Lieut. Jacob John Mann.
First Lieut. John Luverne Hemstead.
First Lieut. Charles Gilbert Irish.
First Lieut. George Palmer McNeill, jr.
First Lieut. Sidne Ober Rees., jr.
First Lieut. Oscar Thweatt Kirksey.
Capt. William Walsh Lerman.
First Lieut. Victo Roland Turner.
First Lieut. Frederic Damrau.
First Lieut. Charles William Henderson.
First Lieut. William Donaldson Fleming.
First Lieut. Harry Gardner Johnson.
First Lieut. John Henry Murphy.
First Lieut. Charles Anthony Cibelius.
First Lieut. James Winn Sherrill.
First Lieut. Philip Lewis Cook.
First Lieut. Edward Augustus Lane.
First Lieut. Charles Fremont Snell.
First Lieut. Arthur Luis Guerra.
First Lieut. Maximilian Mark Nemser.
Capt. Charles Henry Manlove, jr.
Capt. Eugene Vernon Powell.
First Lieut. Henry Tayloe Compton.
First Lieut. John Henry Bullock.
First Lieut. Howard Barton Swan.
First Lieut. Walter van Olinda Moore.
First Lieut. John Nagle Hayes.
First Lieut. Edgar Harvey Albers.
First Lieut. Benjamin William Lewis.
First Lieut. Lawrence Henry Fitzgerald.
First Lieut. George Heinrichs Preston.
First Lieut. Edgar William Kemner.
First Lieut. Walter Schneider Bennett.
First Lieut. Louis Frederick Sanmann.
First Lieut. Maurice Blocher Bender.
First Lieut. Clifford Edward Bergin.
First Lieut. John Bunting Haines.
First Lieut. Guy Champion Milnor.
First Lieut. Robert Bogan.
First Lieut. James Wright Clarkson.
First Lieut. Floyd Ellsworth Best.
First Lieut. Paul Seibert Seabold.
First Lieut. Sidney Jonas Wolfermann.
First Lieut. Ralph Maurice DeGraff.
First Lieut. Thomas William Connolly.
First Lieut. Irl Cephas Riggin.
First Lieut. Whitman Carlisle McConnell.
First Lieut. Clarence Mansfield Reddig.
First Lieut. Ernest Jackson Steves.
First Lieut. John Adams Logan.
First Lieut. Raymond Edwin Elliott.
First Lieut. George Arnold Brown.

To be first lieutenants with rank from November 15, 1918.

Maj. Jesse P. Truax.
Maj. Charles Henry Stearns.
Maj. Ralph Waldo Newton.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Capt. Albert P. Niblack to be a rear admiral in the Navy from the 20th day of March, 1918.

The following-named officers to be assistant naval constructors in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), from the 23d day of September, 1918:

Willis C. Sutherland,
Frederick E. Haeberle,
Grover C. Klein, and
Norborne L. Rawlings.

The following-named pay inspectors to be pay directors in the Navy, with the rank of captain, for temporary service, from the 5th day of November, 1918:

George R. Venable,
David V. Chadwick,
Trevor W. Leutze, and
Eugene C. Tobey.

The following-named paymasters to be pay inspectors in the Navy, with the rank of commander, for temporary service, from the 5th day of November, 1918:

Elijah H. Cope,
William N. Hughes,
Harold W. Browning,
Harry E. Collins,
Ellsworth H. Van Patten,
Maurice H. Karker,
Brainerd M. Dobson,
John N. Jordan,
Lewis W. Jennings, jr.,
Charles E. Parsons,
John F. O'Mara, and
Raymond E. Corcoran.

Carpenter Everette O. Smith to be an assistant naval constructor in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service, from the 15th day of October, 1918.

Acting Pay Clerk Hunter J. Norton to be an assistant paymaster in the Navy with the rank of ensign for temporary service from the 15th day of September, 1918, to correct the date from which he takes rank as previously confirmed.

Acting Pay Clerk Aner Erickson to be an assistant paymaster in the Navy with the rank of ensign for temporary service from the 15th day of August, 1918, to correct the date from which he takes rank as previously confirmed.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy for temporary service from the 21st day of September, 1918:

Herschel P. Cook,
Charles R. Smith, and
Gordon M. Jackson.

Ensign Wilfred E. Shuit, of the United States Naval Reserve Force, to be an ensign in the Navy for temporary service from the 1st day of November, 1918.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate November 18, 1918.

UNITED STATES CONSUL.

CLASS 4.

George A. Bucklin to be a consul of class 4.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

John W. Hanan to be United States district judge, district of the Canal Zone.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

Charles F. Clyne to be United States attorney, northern district of Illinois.

COAST GUARD.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Coast Guard for temporary service:

William P. Kain,
Floyd J. Sexton,
Clement J. Todd,
Gustavus U. Stewart,
Joseph F. Farley, jr.,
David P. Marvin,
Carl H. Abel, and
Edward M. Webster.

First lieutenants of Engineers to be captains of Engineers in the Coast Guard for temporary service:

Benjamin C. Thorn,
Milton R. Daniels,
Ellis Reed-Hill,
Francis C. Allen,
Mayson W. Torbet, and
Gustavus R. O'Connor.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Capt. Charles F. Hughes to be a rear admiral for temporary service.

Commander Allen Buchanan to be a captain for temporary service.

Lieut. William L. Wright to be a lieutenant commander for temporary service.

Lieut. Hamilton V. Bryan to be a lieutenant commander for temporary service.

Lieut. Elroy L. Vanderkloot to be a lieutenant commander for temporary service.

Lieut. Wilbur J. Ruble to be a lieutenant commander for temporary service.

Lieut. John R. Palmer to be a lieutenant commander for temporary service.

The following-named naval constructors, with the rank of commander, to be naval constructors, with the rank of captain, for temporary service:

Henry Williams and
Henry T. Wright.

The following-named naval constructors, with the rank of lieutenant commander, to be naval constructors, with the rank of commander, for temporary service:

Alexander H. Van Keuren,
Roy W. Ryden,
Waldo P. Druley,
Paul H. Fretz,
Fred G. Coburn, and
Herbert S. Howard.

The following-named assistant naval constructors, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), to be assistant naval constructors, with the rank of lieutenant, for temporary service:

Henry R. Oster,
William H. Hopkins, jr.,
Lawrence B. Richardson,
Homer N. Wallin,
William J. Malone,
Ralph S. McDowell, and
William C. Wade.

The following-named officers to be assistant naval constructors, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service:

Michael C. Faber,
William A. Nightingale,
Frank A. Saar, and
Garrison R. Arey.

Capt. John A. Hoogewerff to be a rear admiral.

Capt. Marbury Johnston to be a rear admiral.

Lieut. Commander Fletcher L. Sheffield to be a commander.

Lieut. Commander Louis Shane to be a commander.

Ensign Merrill T. Kinne to be a lieutenant (junior grade).

Commander Frank H. Clark to be a captain.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders:

Allen Buchanan,
John M. Enochs,
Clarence L. Arnold, and
Frederick L. Oliver.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders:

Claude A. Bonvillian,
Herndon B. Kelly,
Hamilton F. Glover, and
George H. Bowdey.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants:

Franklin S. Steinwachs,
James A. Logan,
Richard P. Myers,
Carleton H. Wright,
Schuyler Mills,
Carroll M. Hall,
John J. Brown,
James C. Monfort,
Lunsford L. Hunter,
Daniel E. Barbey,
Walter S. Haas, and
John P. Bowden.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade):

Homer H. H. Harrison,
James R. Kyle, jr., and
Albert R. Stephan.

Midshipman Herschel P. Cook to be an ensign.

Boatswain Edmund Delavy to be a chief boatswain.

Machinist John A. Ward to be a chief machinist.

Lloyd C. McDonald to be an assistant dental surgeon with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade).

The following-named officers to be assistant naval constructors with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade).

Henry R. Oster,
William H. Hopkins, jr.,
Lawrence B. Richardson,
Homer N. Wallin,
William J. Malone,
Ralph S. McDowell, and
William C. Wade.

The following lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders for temporary service:

Conrad Ridgely,
Edward O. McDonnell,
Walter S. De Lany,
Hans Ertz,
Hubert V. La Bombard,
Thomas M. Shock,
Robert P. Mohle,
Robert A. Lavender,
Walter S. Haas,
Aaron S. Merrill,
Charlie P. McFeaters,
George D. Hull, and
James E. Brenner.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants for temporary service:

William Seyford,
George E. Maynard,
Gottlieb Sherer,
Arthur B. McCrary,
Axel Lindblad,
Seldon L. Almon,
Thomas W. Mather, and
Chares L. Poor, jr.

Ensign Stuyvesant Wainwright, jr., to be a lieutenant (junior grade) for temporary service.

The following-named warrant officers to be ensigns for temporary service:

William Pfeffer,
Benjamin V. Goepfert,
Lester E. Auger,
Charles R. Hoffecker,
Samuel A. Katz,
Walter G. Neal,
Edward G. Nolan,
Walter F. A. Dixon,
Edward A. Stein,
William R. Ross,
Scott E. Peck, and
Angus V. Chisholm.

The following-named enlisted men to be ensigns for temporary service:

George E. Hummer,
Arnold Hanchett,
Charles F. Grisham,
William Hartenstein,
Leonard Sicer,
Henry L. Burmann,
Edward J. Tyrrell,
Virgil D. Duke,
Charlie S. East,
William C. Betzer,
Ralph E. Thomas,
Richard W. Thompson,
John H. Thomas,
James M. Haynes,
Jesse F. Cordes,
Joe R. Robson,
John S. Hawkins,
Erastus E. McClaine,
Reuben F. Davis, and
Charles H. Trask.

The following-named acting pay clerks to be assistant paymasters with rank of ensign, for temporary service:

Mason E. Mitchell,
Albert T. Creightney,
Ervine R. Brown,
Charles Musil,
Forrest Ivanhoe,
Ray E. Snedaker,
Samuel L. Bates,
Clifton I. DuFilho,
George W. Davis,
Guild Bruda,
Chauncey J. Buckley,
Don M. Robinson,
Evans C. Sorenson,
Edward E. Thiele,
Arthur C. Schroeder,
John T. Knox,
Robert R. Blaisdell,
Fred W. Lynch, jr.,
Charles Schaaf,
Edmund J. Flynn,
Louis F. Randall,
Ray W. Byrns,
Walter Wilson, jr.,
William W. Wise,
John T. Neighorn,
Guy E. Holmes,
Alvin S. Reid,
William D. Blaker,
Howard B. Stout,
Robert H. Lenson,
Arthur C. Wallen,
Edward F. Ney, and
Ernest C. Middleton.

The following-named citizens to be acting chaplains, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service:

Carl W. Becker,
William F. Blackard,
Edward C. Boynton,
John A. McCarthy,
John R. Spann, and
Umphrey Lee.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders for temporary service:

Harry D. McHenry,
Harry R. Bogusch,
George C. Fuller,
William M. Quigley,
Albert R. Mack,
James A. Saunders, and
John H. Culin.

The following-named acting pay clerks to be assistant paymasters for temporary service:

Clarence E. Kastenbein,
James H. Stevens,
Ellsworth F. Sparks,
Trigg M. Smith,
William G. Conrad,
Orville F. Byrd,
Ellory F. Carr,
James D. G. Wognum,
Edgar C. Hartup,
Robert Von Ritter,
David A. Bachman,
Daniel L. McCarthy,
John E. Wood,
Harry A. Miller,
Harvey R. Dye,
Norris D. Whitehill,
Verney Carroll,
Louis A. Puckett,
George Scratchley,
Charles B. Forrest,
John P. Killeen,
Karl S. Farnum,
Lester B. Karelle,
Harold E. Walker,
Willard B. Hinckley,
Charles H. Gillilan,
Jacob K. Ziesel,
Hunter J. Norton,
Leon Dancer,
Charles H. Ritt,
Joseph W. Cavanagh,
Harry E. Wickham, jr.,
William O. Wood,
Samuel E. Thompson,
James E. Brennan,
Joseph M. Devine,
George L. Thomas,
Theodore M. Stock, and
Chester B. Peake

Brig. Gen. (temporary) Charles G. Long to be a brigadier general in the Marine Corps.

Col. Smedley D. Butler to be a brigadier general in the Marine Corps, for temporary service.

Col. (temporary) Newt H. Hall to be a colonel in the Marine Corps.

Lieut. Col. (temporary) Harold C. Snyder to be lieutenant colonel in the Marine Corps.

The following-named captains to be majors in the Marine Corps, for temporary service:

Ethelbert Talbot,
Louis R. de Roode, and
John A. Minnis.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Marine Corps for temporary service:

Robert P. Jeter,
Lawrence B. Smith,
Richard O. Sanderson,
Louis S. Davis,
Jonathan Lucas, jr.,
Archie W. French,
William L. York,
Harry D. Gibbons,
John F. Williams,
Howard B. Freeman, and
Bruce J. Mansfield.

The following-named second lieutenants to be first lieutenants in the Marine Corps, for temporary service:

Melvin J. Stinchfield, jr.,
Pierson M. Tuttle,
Herman L. McLeod,
Clarence H. Hartley,
John T. Selden,
Frank C. Myers,
Joseph D. Broderick,
Louis A. Perraud,
Grant L. Hill,
Arthur F. Sennholtz,
Carl R. Dietrich,

Edward B. Irving,
Wells W. Miller,
Keesler B. Low,
George Ehrhart, jr.,
Elmer E. Hall, and
Charles F. Worthen.

POSTMASTERS.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Owen A. O'Neil, Chatham.

NEW MEXICO.

Harvey Springer, Dawson.

MISSISSIPPI.

John R. Meunier, Biloxi.
Charner W. Triplett, jr., Carthage.
Josie P. Bullock, Drew.
Robert M. Izard, Newhebron.
John J. Stokes, Osyka.
Harrison L. Robins, Rienzi.
William W. Cain, West.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *November 18, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty Father, dispenser of all wisdom, power, and goodness, we bless Thy holy name that the world-wide war is over; but in the readjustment which must inevitably follow we pray that Thy counsels may prevail in the task of selecting strong, pure, noble men who shall sit in the peace council; that they may measure out justice to those who need discipline, mercy to those who need mercy, reparation to those who need reparation, and comfort to those who are in sorrow; and that, above all, great principles for the guidance of nations shall be established in a peace which shall endure forever; that Thy kingdom may come and Thy will be done in earth as in heaven, through the precepts and example of Thy Son Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, November 14, 1918, was read and approved.

SWEARING IN OF A MEMBER ELECT.

Mr. COADY. Mr. Speaker, I ask that Mr. CARVILLE D. BENSON, of Maryland, who was elected to fill the unexpired term of our late colleague, Mr. TALBOTT, be sworn in this morning.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has the credentials of the gentleman from Maryland, and they are in regular form.

Mr. BENSON appeared before the bar of the House and took the oath prescribed by law.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House of Representatives by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House of Representatives that the President had approved and signed bills of the following titles:

On October 29, 1918:

H. R. 12976. An act providing for the protection of the users of the telephone and telegraph service and the properties and funds belonging thereto during Government operation and control.

On October 30, 1918:

H. R. 12404. An act authorizing the construction of a building for the Public Health Service in the city of Washington, D. C.

On November 1, 1918:

H. J. Res. 340. Joint resolution making appropriations for certain necessary operations of the Government for the month of November, 1918, and for other purposes.

On November 4, 1918:

H. R. 13086. An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and prior fiscal years, on account of war expenses, and for other purposes.

On November 5, 1918:

H. R. 12438. An act authorizing the conveyance of the United States jail and land on which the same is located at Guthrie, Okla., to Logan County, Okla.

On November 7, 1918:

H. R. 7637. An act to authorize the construction and maintenance of a dike on Depot Slough, Lincoln County, Oreg.

H. R. 11949. An act to extend the time for the construction of a bridge across Pearl River, between Pearl River County, Miss., and Washington Parish, La.

H. R. 12631. An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Winnebago, in the State of Illinois, and the town of Rockford, in said county and State, to construct a bridge across Rock River, at or near Camp Grant.

H. R. 12773. An act to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Little Calumet River, in Cook County, State of Illinois, at or near the village of Riverdale, in said county.

H. R. 13036. An act transferring jurisdiction and control for the period of the war over the Southern Branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers from the board of managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers to the Secretary of War for use for Army hospital purposes.

H. R. 10205. An act to provide for the consolidation of national banking associations.

REFORM IN THE CIVIL SERVICE (H. DOC. NO. 1437, 65TH CONG., 3D SESS.).

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which the Clerk read, as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

As required by the act of Congress to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States, approved January 16, 1883, I transmit herewith the Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the United States Civil Service Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1918.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *November 18, 1918.*

The SPEAKER. Ordered printed and referred to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

REFERENCE OF THE ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

The SPEAKER. The message read by the President of the United States here the other day about the armistice the Chair neglected to refer, and he now refers it to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. BRUMBAUGH, by unanimous consent, was granted leave of absence, for two weeks, on account of illness.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn until Thursday next.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 7 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until Thursday, November 21, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. SCOTT of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 13139) providing for the free transportation of soldiers, sailors, and marines in the service of the United States on all railroads operated and controlled by the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HICKS.: A bill (H. R. 13140) giving to every person who receives an honorable discharge from the naval service a bonus of one month's pay; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13141) giving to every person who receives an honorable discharge from military service a bonus of one month's pay; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GRIFFIN: A bill (H. R. 13142) making the 11th day of November in each and every year a legal public holiday; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. DUPRÉ: A bill (H. R. 13143) extending the time for the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near the city of New Orleans, La.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. STEENERSON: Resolution (H. Res. 449) relating to allowance for railroad fare, quarters, and subsistence of discharged soldiers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DRANE: Resolution (H. Res. 450) authorizing the Clerk of the House to pay Mary B. Jones, daughter of Thomas D. Jones, late an employee of the House of Representatives, a sum equal to six months' compensation at the rate he was receiving at the time of his death; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. HEFLIN: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 350) declaring the 11th day of November a national holiday to be known as Wilson Day; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. MAHER: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 351) declaring November 11 of each year to be a national holiday; to the Committee on the Library.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. ANDERSON: A bill (H. R. 13144) granting an increase of pension to Michael Fogarty; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13145) granting a pension to Feronka Dotzenrot; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HICKS: A bill (H. R. 13146) for the relief of Carolyn Wheeler Kobbe; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHERWOOD: A bill (H. R. 13147) granting a pension to Albert Beehler; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13148) granting an increase of pension to John C. Koepplinger; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13149) granting an increase of pension to Bavin Copeland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13150) granting an increase of pension to Manly R. Yardley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13151) granting an increase of pension to John Daily; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 13152) granting an increase of pension to William H. Ramey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII,

Mr. DARROW presented a resolution of the United Business Men's Association of Philadelphia, Pa., in favor of legislation providing for the retirement of superannuated Government employees, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *November 21, 1918.*

The chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we have come to Thee with the great burdens of state upon our hearts and minds. Thou hast brought us to the day of victory and great glory has come to our arms. Thou hast brought us into vital contact with the nations of the earth. Thou hast given us a place of great power in the world. We desire in the exercise of our great obligations and duties to keep before us Thy will, to build states and to build a world citizenship upon the unchanging principles of Thy revealed will. Guide us day by day as we labor to advance the interests of mankind. Give us constantly the assurance of Thy presence and blessing. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of Monday last, when on request of Mr. SHEPPARD and by unanimous consent the further reading was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

SENATOR FROM MISSOURI.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I present the credentials of Senator-elect SELDEN P. SPENCER, of Missouri, and ask that they be read to the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read.

The Secretary read, as follows:

THE STATE OF MISSOURI,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

This is to certify that on the 5th day of November, 1918, SELDEN P. SPENCER was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Missouri a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the unexpired term of the late William Joel Stone.

In testimony whereof, I hereunto set my hand and cause to be affixed the great seal of the State of Missouri. Done at the city of Jefferson, this 19th day of November, A. D. 1918.

FREDERICK D. GARDNER,

By the Governor:
[SEAL.]

JOHN L. SULLIVAN,
Secretary of State.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the credentials? [After a pause.] Is the newly elected Senator in the Chamber?

Mr. REED. He is.

The VICE PRESIDENT. He will present himself at the desk and take the oath of office.

Mr. SPENCER was escorted to the Vice President's desk by Mr. REED, and the oath prescribed by law having been administered to him he took his seat in the Senate.

SENATOR FROM KENTUCKY.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, at the last meeting of the Senate I objected to calling the name of Senator MARTIN of Kentucky because there had been no one selected at the general election to fill out the short term occasioned by the death of the late Senator James. As this raises a new question, I ask unanimous consent that the question as to Mr. MARTIN's right to a seat in the Senate be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections for investigation and report.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

SENATOR FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair presents the credentials of Hon. HENRY W. KEYES, Senator elect from the State of New Hampshire for the term of six years beginning March 4, 1919. The credentials will be printed in the RECORD and placed on file.

The credentials are as follows:

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

This is to certify that on the 5th day of November, 1918, HENRY W. KEYES was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of New Hampshire a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of six years, beginning on the 4th day of March, 1919.

Witness: His excellency, our governor, HENRY W. KEYES, and our seal hereto affixed at Concord, this 15th day of November, A. D. 1918.

HENRY W. KEYES, *Governor.*

By the governor:
[SEAL.]

EDWIN C. BEAN,
Secretary of State.

CONGRATULATORY CABLEGRAMS FROM AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a congratulatory cablegram from the president of the Council of State of Haiti, which will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

PORT AU PRINCE, *November 17, 1918.*

To the Senate of the United States,
Washington:

The Council of State of Haiti, happy at the success of the arms of the United States and allies, expresses to the Senate of the United States its confidence in a final peace founded on right, justice, and humanity.

LEGITIME,
President of the Council of State.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The cablegram will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, before it is referred I should like to state that the Committee on Foreign Relations have had under consideration several messages of a similar sort from legislative bodies of American Republics and have instructed me to report a resolution requesting the Vice President to acknowledge the receipt of the same, and I should like to have the privilege of incorporating this message from Haiti for the same purpose.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. If there is no objection, I will report at this time the resolution which the Committee on Foreign Relations presents and ask that the Secretary incorporate with the names in the resolution the message received from the Republic of Haiti. I do this because we are on the eve of final adjournment and there ought to be a prompt acknowledgment. I ask that the Secretary may read the resolution as modified.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 340) as modified and accompanying report, as follows:

The Committee on Foreign Relations, to which were referred the cablegram addressed to the President of the Senate of the United States by Ricardo Dolz President of the Senate of the Republic of Cuba, dated November 11, 1918; and also the cablegram addressed to the President of the Senate of the United States by Ismael Vasquez, president of the Senate of the Republic of Bolivia, and Atiliano Aparicio, secretary of state of Bolivia; and also the cablegram addressed to the President of the Senate of the United States by President Legitime, of the Council of State of Haiti; and also the cablegram addressed to the American Senate by the Senate of the Republic of Uruguay, and signed by Ricardo Areco, its president, and M. Solsona, the secretary, all of which congratulate the Senate of the United States upon a successful termination of the war, having had the same under consideration, favorably report for adoption the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Vice President be, and he is hereby, requested, in the name of the Senate of the United States, to acknowledge the receipt of the cablegrams addressed to the Vice President of the United States by the Senate of Cuba, the Senate of Bolivia, the Senate of Uruguay, and the Council of State of Haiti, all of which congratulate the Senate of the United States upon a successful termination of the war, and to express the appreciation of the Senate for the friendly greetings and congratulations contained therein.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the resolution is adopted.

AFFAIRS IN COSTA RICA.

Mr. LODGE. I present a cablegram from San Jose, Costa Rica, and ask that it may be read and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA, *November 16, 1918.*

Senator LODGE, *Washington, D. C.:*

President Tinoco declared twelfth holiday. Enthusiastic celebration by Government officials and people of Costa Rica, joined by all foreign residents of allied nations. Resolution in joint session of Congress to celebrate allied victory opposed strenuously by anti-Tinoco and pro-German Congressman Roberto Hernandez, Carlos Diaz, Everisto Mora. After day of excitement, friends of Tinoco, pro-allied members, passed resolution. Our chargé d'affaires's [Johnson] indiscreet public speech was construed and discussed under great excitement in Congress as an attack upon the Government. About 20 young men gathered near our legation, attempting demonstration against the Government, crying "Death to the Government," under the delusion they would be protected by Johnson. The police immediately dispersed them, causing some friction with our representative. The great pro-German and German influence will not be able to destroy the present Government. Financial condition good, farmers prosperous, and pro-allies happy. Johnson's open approval for more than a year of pro-German attempts to destroy the present Government and his notorious attempt to have the agent here of the British bondholders seriously injure the country financially should be immediately investigated by our Government.

JOHN N. POPHAM.

TRANSPORTATION OF THE MAILS (S. DOC. NO. 302).

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Postmaster General, transmitting, pursuant to law, certain information relative to the authorization and direction for the readjustment of compensation to be paid to railroad companies for the transportation of the mails, etc., which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads and ordered to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by G. F. Turner, one of its clerks, announced that the House had agreed to a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 60) providing that in the enrollment of the bill H. R. 11945, an act to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products, and for other purposes," the Clerk be authorized to make certain corrections, etc., in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 61) authorizing the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives to close the present session of the Congress by adjourning their respective Houses on the 21st day of November, 1918, at 5 o'clock post meridian, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills, and they were thereupon signed by the Vice President:

H. R. 282. An act amending the public buildings act approved March 4, 1913, providing for the purchase of a site for a public building at Nogales, Ariz.; and

H. R. 10818. An act to authorize the county of Loudon, in the State of Tennessee, to construct a bridge across the Tennessee River near Loudon, Tenn.

FINAL ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KELLOGG obtained the floor and presented matter which follows the reference of the House concurrent resolution.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, if the Senator from Minnesota will yield to me, I will ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the concurrent resolution which has just been received from the House of Representatives.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

Mr. KELLOGG. If the consideration of the concurrent resolution is going to involve debate I shall have to object until I finish my remarks, which will only occupy a few moments.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I do not think the resolution is debatable.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is not debatable.

Mr. BORAH. The Chair asked if there was objection to the consideration of the resolution.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I should like to hear the resolution read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there is an objection the resolution must go to the Committee on Appropriations. If not the Chair will lay the resolution before the Senate for consideration.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I should like to have the resolution read, if there is no objection.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will lay the resolution before the Senate and see what can be done.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. There is no question but that the Committee on Appropriations is unanimously in favor of the resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

House concurrent resolution 61.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives be authorized to close the present session of the Congress by adjourning their respective Houses on the 21st day of November, 1918, at 5 o'clock post meridian.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, it has been suggested by the Senator from Virginia that the resolution is not debatable. I ask the Chair whether that is a correct interpretation of the rule?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair thinks that the resolution is the same as a motion to adjourn.

Mr. CUMMINS. And is not debatable?

The VICE PRESIDENT. And that motions to adjourn are not debatable.

Mr. CUMMINS. This, however, is a resolution for adjournment sine die.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. There is, I believe, a precedent that a resolution to adjourn sine die is not debatable.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair thinks the resolution is not debatable. Senators know whether they want to adjourn or whether they do not.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, the Senator from Virginia has suggested that if the resolution went to the Committee on Appropriations undoubtedly the committee would be unanimously in favor of it. I do not intend to make any particular opposition to adjournment, but I do not think it is well advised; and if there is an opportunity to vote, I shall vote against it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. BORAH. I am going to object to the present consideration in order to give us time to know whether we want to adopt it or not.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I did not hear what the Chair ruled in respect to the final adjournment resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The concurrent resolution was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, there being an objection to its consideration.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I ask the Chair if he ruled that the resolution must go to the committee? Can not a motion to adjourn be considered without going to a committee?

The VICE PRESIDENT. This is a resolution which invariably goes to the Committee on Appropriations, unless by unanimous consent it is considered by the Senate.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Very well, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Such resolutions have been referred to the Committee on Appropriations ever since the present occupant of the chair has presided in the Senate.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I am not making any question about the ruling, but I suggest that that course has been pursued for convenience. That committee has jurisdiction of the matter, if any committee has, but I have never known that it was obligatory to refer a motion to adjourn or a resolution to adjourn to a committee. If it goes to any committee, it goes to the Committee on Appropriations, and I am perfectly willing that it should go to that committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will suggest that reports of committees will soon be in order.

CONTROL OF CABLE LINES.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, I send to the desk the resolution adopted by the Association of State Railway and Utilities Commissions at a meeting held in Washington the 13th and 14th of November, pertaining to the taking over of the cable, telegraph, and telephone lines, and I ask that the same be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Whereas it is apparent that the ends sought to be attained by Federal control of telephone and telegraph lines as a war measure have already been satisfied as far as is possible, and it is not perceivable that under existing conditions it is desirable that further Government control be exercised pending the return of such properties to State control; and

Whereas during the short period of such control and operation by the Federal Government there has been practically no interference or change in the corporate organization, management, or properties of said telephone and telegraph companies; and

Whereas pending the natural termination of such Federal control the State commissions are embarrassed by the assumption by the Postmaster General of exclusive control over rates: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this association does respectfully recommend to the Postmaster General that the Federal control of the telephone and telegraph lines cease as soon as practicable and the military necessity therefor shall have ended.

Mr. KELLOGG. I also send to the desk a public statement from Mr. Clarence H. Mackay, president of both the Postal Telegraph & Cable Co. and the Commercial Cable Co., together with a letter of Mr. Mackay addressed to Mr. Burleson, Postmaster General, which I ask to have read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

PRESIDENT MACKAY PROTESTS.

Clarence H. Mackay, president of the Postal Telegraph-Cable Co. and the Commercial Cable Co., on being asked regarding the Government taking the control of the cable lines, said:

"I can not understand why the Government takes over the cables as a war measure notwithstanding the war being now practically ended. The cable companies have rendered splendid service ever since the outbreak of the European war four years ago. Why at this late day the Post Office Department takes over the cables as a war necessity, in the face of the fact that the Navy Department has censored all cable messages since April, 1917, and is still censoring them, is beyond my comprehension. And why, also, the Government should saddle itself with this added burden when, on the other hand, it is trying to reduce the war expense is a mystery.

"The cables, except for the last few days, have been worked to their full capacity, and Government operation can not increase that capacity nor make the rates any cheaper. In fact, I have no doubt that Government operation will result in loss, just as the Government operation of the land lines will undoubtedly result in a very heavy loss. Only a few days ago I wrote Mr. Burleson requesting that the land lines be turned back to the companies, so as to limit the loss of the Government. That letter is quite in point, and reads as follows:

"'NOVEMBER 11, 1918.

"'Hon. ALBERT S. BURLESON,
"'*Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.*

"'MY DEAR MR. BURLESON: In view of the fact that an armistice with Germany has now been signed and a treaty of peace will probably be agreed upon quickly, I take the liberty of suggesting that the telegraph lines be returned to the two telegraph companies at once, as authorized by the President's proclamation, which states that you shall be at liberty to relinquish "in whole or in part to the owners thereof * * * any telegraph * * * system or any part thereof."

"'Such action on your part would save the Government a great deal of money, because, as I am informed, the compensation which has been agreed upon between you and the Western Union Telegraph Co. is much more than that telegraph company is now earning from month to month. That compensation is even more than that company's earnings for 1917, which was the most profitable year in its history. The earnings of that company for the first seven months of this year as reported to the Interstate Commerce Commission were $1,357,225 less than they were for the same period of last year (including cable operations, but any decrease in such cable earnings was undoubtedly more than offset by the alleged decrease of $578,000 in taxes), which would indicate that the year ending July 31, 1919, will show a loss to the Government in connection with that company of at least $2,326,668, and in all probability considerably in excess of that figure. I do not know what the corresponding figures of the Bell Telephone Co. are, but there is no reason for the Government continuing to bear these losses, inasmuch as it can stop them immediately by returning the lines to the telegraph companies. That such a step would meet with general approval is indicated by the speech of Senator MARTIN, of recent date, in which he urges immediate retrenchment in all branches of the Government.

"'There is no such deficiency in your operation of the Postal Telegraph lines, inasmuch as no compensation has yet been agreed upon as to that company.

"'Again, the sooner competition in the telegraph business is restored the greater I believe will be the satisfaction of the public. As you are aware, the joint resolution of Congress of July 16, 1918, authorizing the taking of control of the telegraphs and telephones was purely a war measure "for national security and defense," and this is emphasized by the fact that Congress provided that Federal control "shall not extend beyond the date of the proclamation by the President of the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of peace," as against the railroad Federal-control bill, which continued the period of Federal control for a period of 21 months after the war. If Congress had intended the telegraph and telephone Federal-control act to be other than a purely war measure, Congress would have made its continuance last for the same period as the railroad control. The fact that the telegraph-telephone control was purely a war measure was also most emphatically emphasized in the debates in both Houses of Congress when the resolution was passed.

"'Certainly the war no longer justifies the Government's retaining these telegraph lines for war purposes. In fact, since August 1, 1918, when the Government first took control of the telegraph lines for war purposes, there has not been a single act in such operation, so far as I can ascertain, that has been different from what such operation would have been if the telegraph companies had been allowed to continue their own control and the Government had not taken over the lines for war purposes. This merely emphasizes the propriety and wisdom of the lines being turned back at once.

"'The compensation to the Postal Telegraph-Cable system is now in course of discussion with your committee, but if you think well of the suggestion to return the lines to both telegraph companies, the Postal Telegraph-Cable Co. is willing to waive any claim for compensation and accept what the lines have actually earned since the beginning of Federal control. All this would save the Government from the loss which it is now sustaining from month to month.

"'On the other hand, if the Government is to continue to keep control of our lines, we certainly are entitled to the same profits that we made during the year prior to July, 1918, which you will notice includes the first six months of 1918, in which six months, as stated above, the Western Union earnings showed a considerable decline, but which was apparently not considered in arriving at their compensation. You will observe, therefore, that the basis on which we are willing to accept compensation is more favorable to the Government than you have granted to the Western Union. Apparently war compensation is based upon war profits, and we are entitled to the same treatment as the Western Union in this respect. I am,

"'Yours, respectfully, CLARENCE H. MACKAY,
"'*President.*'"

When Newcomb Carlton, president of the Western Union, was asked for a statement regarding the Government's seizure of the cables he said:

"I have nothing to say on the matter. Any statement must come from Washington."

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, if there is no objection in the Senate, I should like to make a few very brief remarks upon this petition and statement.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, it will be remembered that we had carried on the war for nearly a year and a half before it occurred to anyone that it was necessary to take over the telegraphs and telephones and cables as a war measure. When the bill was reported to the Senate for that purpose, the advocates of the bill made no claim that there was any necessity then existing for taking over the telegraph lines. The principal advocates upon the floor of the Senate, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS], made it very plain to the Senate and to the country that the President had no immediate intention of taking over the telegraphs and telephones; that they knew of no necessity for so doing then existing; but that the passage of the bill was simply asked to empower the President to take over the telegraphs and the telephones in the event the necessity of the war should demand it thereafter. I now wish to call attention very briefly to the language of these Senators upon this subject and to show how the action of the Government squares with the spokesmen of the administration. Mr. UNDERWOOD said:

The committee does not present this bill to the Senate with a viewpoint that there is any necessity in this hour confronting the country as a reason why these lines should be taken over.

But it was simply an act, he said, empowering the President to meet the emergency if it should arise. The Senate will remember, I think, the speech of the Senator from Illinois, in which he said:

I deny absolutely that there is a foundation for the charge made that the joint resolution authorizes the President to operate the properties to the exclusion of the companies which own them.

Sir, I do hold and present to these honorable Senators this thought: That when we had passed the joint resolution the President under no wise takes possession of this property, under no circumstances but one does he assume to operate it. The power to him granted by the joint resolution is never to be exercised until subsequently to its passage there are circumstances manifest to him from evidence incontrovertible, proved and evident, that for the national security or for the defense of the country he should step in and assume that control.

And he proceeded to say that the telephone and telegraph lines would be operated by the companies as usual. He said:

The owners will exercise the same domination over the plant; there will be nothing disturbed; there will be nothing interrupted.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. KELLOGG. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LEWIS. I only desire that the Senator from Minnesota make clear what I knew was his intention. He referred to the speech of the Senator from Illinois, and I should like to have the RECORD show that it was myself and not my colleague [Mr. SHERMAN] who made those observations, in order that he may not bear the responsibility. I also desire that it shall appear that the remarks were made upon a resolution that was then pending before the body, if the Senator from Minnesota will allow me to make that suggestion.

Mr. KELLOGG. I think everyone understood that I referred to the junior Senator from Illinois.

Mr. President, it was also stated upon the floor of the Senate that Congress was about to take a recess, and that something might happen that would require the President to take over the telegraph and telephone lines during the recess.

Mr. President, some of us had doubts upon that subject. We believed that it was part of a scheme really inaugurated by the Postmaster General, who had always been in favor of it, to take over the telegraph and telephone and cable lines as preliminary to Government ownership and Government operation, as we believed the same step was taken in the case of the railroads. We were assured, however, that it was simply a war measure for the national security and defense. Now, what happened? Immediately after the passage of the resolution the President issued a proclamation taking over the telegraph and telephone lines and placing the Postmaster General in charge of their operation; but the cables were not taken over for reasons, I believe, that everybody understands. In the first place, the cable lines were thoroughly censored; not a message since 1917,

following our entry into the war, has been or could be sent over the ocean cable lines until it had been read or censored by officers of the United States Government, which was and is as it should be. There was apparently no necessity for taking them over; there was no necessity for taking over the telegraph and telephone lines, as subsequent events have clearly developed.

Now, after the war is over we are met by the astounding proposition that as a war necessity, for the national security and defense, it is necessary to take over the cable lines, or at least a part of them—those cable lines only, I believe, running to Europe. I can not find out that any of the cable lines running to South America have been taken over. I do not know whether the cable lines across the Pacific have been taken over, but I assume that they have been, as they are a part of the Commercial Cable Co.'s lines.

After the war is over, when we are assured that it can not be resumed, because the central empires will be rendered impotent to carry it on, when we are assured by Mr. Creel, according to a statement in the morning papers, that there is to be no further censorship of the cables, there can not be any war necessity whatever for taking them over, we are met by a proposition to take over the cable lines. This demonstrates, it seems to me, beyond question that there never was a war necessity, but that it is a part of a plan to fasten upon this country Government ownership of cables, telephones, and telegraphs, although the Government ownership of telephones and telegraphs certainly has not been profitable, according to the letter of Mr. Mackay. The Government is paying to the Western Union Co. much more than the receipts of the company for the use of the lines, and there is a loss, Mr. Mackay says, of over $2,000,000 already in the operation of those lines. He further offers, I observe by his letter, to take back the Postal and the cable lines without any charge to the Government at all, to assume all the obligations of Government operation and save the Government from any loss.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Minnesota yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. KELLOGG. I yield.

Mr. CUMMINS. I desire to ask the Senator from Minnesota a question. He has just suggested that the motive for taking over the cable lines may be to advance the Government ownership and operation of those lines in time of peace. Upon reflection, does he not think that the proposed visit of the President of the United States to Europe may present an emergency that has something to do with the assumption of the cable lines by the Government?

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, I do not see how the President's visit to Europe can in any way be made an excuse for taking over the cable lines; and beyond that I do not desire to speculate on the subject to the Senate. It is perfectly evident that there was and is no war necessity for taking over the cable lines; but, under the guise of a war necessity, we are to be given Government operation of the cables as well as Government operation of telegraphs and telephones, although the latter has not been particularly profitable or agreeable to the American people.

I ask permission to submit as part of my remarks a petition of the Minnesota Railway and Warehouse Utilities Commission having charge of rates and service on telegraphs and telephones, in which they petition Mr. Burleson not to increase enormously the charge for installation. These charges have been increased all the way from $5 to $15 per installation, and more than double the normal rates, costing the people of my State many hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Minnesota yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. KELLOGG. I yield.

Mr. REED. There has been some confusion in the Chamber and I could not hear the latter part of the Senator's remarks. Did he say that the rates had been increased for installing telephones in houses?

Mr. KELLOGG. I presented a petition from my State stating that the rates for the installation of telephones had been increased.

Mr. REED. I do not wish to interrupt the Senator, but will he advise us what the extent of the increase has been?

Mr. KELLOGG. I can not say to what extent it has been increased generally over the country. I simply file the petition, and ask that it be made part of my remarks. I do not wish to stop now in the morning hour to read it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the petition referred to by the Senator from Minnesota will be printed in the RECORD.

[The petition referred to will be found as Appendix A.]

Mr. TOWNSEND. May I interrupt the Senator on that point for just a moment?

Mr. KELLOGG. Yes.

Mr. TOWNSEND. It is not only true that rates have been increased, but an order has been issued locally to the effect that telephones can not be temporarily discontinued. For instance, when a man leaves his home, as I leave mine in the summer time, he discontinues the use of his phone and then continues it again when he returns; but notification has been given that that can not be done under the orders of the administration controlling the telephones.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, I think there are very substantial reasons why the cable lines especially should not be taken over to Government operation, and certainly not to Government ownership. I stated those reasons in a speech to the Senate on the 11th of July, when a bill on the subject was before the Senate, and I shall not repeat what I then said; but I will remind the Senate that no nation in the world owns its own cable lines extending into foreign countries. They have considered it inadvisable because of the natural objections of a particular country to allowing foreign countries to own public utilities within its territory. As I said before, the landing rights of every cable line that runs to the South American countries contain clauses for their forfeiture in the event that they are assigned to any Government, the principal object being to prevent the United States Government from owning cable lines into those countries. I have no doubt that the President may have obtained the consent of Great Britain temporarily, perhaps—perhaps permanently; I do not know—to take over the cable lines reaching England, and that he perhaps may have obtained the consent of Portugal and France to take over the cable lines reaching those countries.

Mr. President, the development of cable lines to foreign countries is one of the most important things to this country, to our trade and commerce in times of peace; and the extension of those lines is to-day occupying the attention of the great cable companies operating lines to South America. I hope that nothing will be done to imperil the future of our commerce by taking them over to Government operation.

APPENDIX A.

ST. PAUL, MINN., *September 9, 1918.*

Hon. A. S. BURLESON,
Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Minnesota Railroad and Warehouse Commission respectfully begs to enter a protest against the putting into effect in the State of Minnesota of your order No. 1931, in which you order that the telephone companies shall charge "a readiness to serve" or "installation charge" of $5 to $15, dependent upon the monthly rental of the service required by the subscriber.

This commission, upon an application by the Northwestern Telephone Exchange Co. and the Tri-State Telephone & Telegraph Co. and the Zenith Telephone Co. to place into effect certain charges for service connections, conducted a hearing on July 9 and 10 last and have attempted to go thoroughly into the merits of an installation charge.

It is not the intention of this commission to raise any objection as to the fundamental principles of a service charge, and will assume, for the purpose of this objection only, that such a charge is a proper charge in building the rate structures for telephone service. The commission does object to the amounts charged on the following grounds:

First. That the sums are excessive and that the telephone companies can not justify such amounts by any cost figures that they may produce.

Second. That the expense of an installation has no connection with the monthly rental charged for telephone service, and that a graduated charge based upon monthly rental has no foundation in theory or practice.

Third. That the installation fee as ordered will actually reduce the number of telephone subscribers and impair the value of the service, and will reduce the operating revenues of the companies and will cause facilities of the companies to remain idle that could be used at a very slight expenditure of labor and material.

The commission bases its objections upon evidence presented to it by the Northwestern Telephone Exchange Co., and all of which is of record in this office.

The Northwestern Co. presented figures compiled for the year 1917, derived from cost figures for the making of 42,350 service connections for new subscribers. The company built up its figures from only noncapitalized expense, which, of course, would be the only items that could possibly be taken into consideration in figuring what would be the proper service connection charge. Every dollar of expenditure for the construction work of the installation of a telephone is charged to the capital account, under the accounting system promulgated by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the only item of expense connected with the original installation that the Northwestern Telephone Exchange Co. claimed to be a proper expense charge was a charge for commercial, traffic, and accounting expense of 57 cents. Where the installation was made, where there had been a previous installation that was discontinued, there was an expense item of 68 cents per station for inspecting and putting in shape the inside wiring that had previously been installed. All of the other expense claimed by the telephone company, which amounted to $4.02, was expense not arising at the time of the installation, but was an expense due to the discontinuance of a subscriber's station and loss of inside wiring and drop wires, which had to be credited to capital account.

The total expense built up by the Northwestern Telephone Exchange Co. amounted to $5.27. This expense was based upon loss arising from 19,000 stations discontinued and not reused, and was spread over a total of 42,350 installations. It would therefore appear that an in-

stallation charge of $5 would reimburse the company for any loss that they might have from the installations, and all over and above the sum of $5 would be in the nature of a gift to the company and would be a great burden upon the telephone subscriber. All items of expense shown by the company were taken from the station removal and change account, according to the accounting system prescribed by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

In regard to the second objection, the records of this office show that telephone rates are dependent upon many varying conditions and circumstances, and that no classification of service can be made just based upon the monthly rate alone; that many telephone companies that have been conscientiously serving the public and maintaining a low, reasonable rate will have only a $5 installation charge, while other companies that have carried on their business for mere personal gain, without consideration of the public, and have excessive rates, will be receiving a $10 or $15 installation charge.

In regard to the third objection, in view of the fact that it is generally conceded that the telephone systems of the country are absolutely essential for the prosecution of the war, it therefore follows that telephone communication to as many subscribers as can possibly be reached is a desirable situation. In carrying on of local war program in connection with liberty loan, Red Cross, war savings stamps, Fuel and Food Administrations, draft boards, and the many other organizations for war purposes, it will generally be found that the heads of the local organizations are among the busiest men in their various communities; that they are absolutely dependent upon telephone service for the successful conduct of their duties. The saving of time and labor of these volunteers and patriotic local committee men is essential and important, and in the aggregate means immense value in time and labor.

At first thought it would appear that the installation charges under order No. 1931 would merely curtail any further development or construction of telephone facilities, but it is well to consider the telephone business and the number of changes that are made in telephone subscribers each year. As stated above the new service connections made by the Northwestern Telephone Exchange Co. for the year 1917 were 42,350. The Northwestern Co. do not operate half of the total number of telephones within the State of Minnesota and carrying that as the average would mean that over 85,000 installations were made in the State during the year 1917.

According to the testimony of the telephone companies at said hearings there is a gain of one subscriber for every six or seven installations; in other words, that where there are six new installations there are five subscribers who discontinue the service. That is, out of the 85,000 installations in the State of Minnesota for the year 1917 there would be a gain to the companies of not over ten or twelve thousand new subscribers, while there would be a discoutinuance of something like 75,000 stations. Each discontinuance of service means the releasing of telephone facilities for a new subscriber. If the installation charge remains as in order No. 1931, it will mean that out of 85,000 installations, which would be a normal condition without the installation charge, a large percentage—and our estimate would be in excess of 50 per cent of the subscribers normally taking telephone service—would not under the new order take telephone service. That will mean a reduction in the number of telephone subscribers, a reduction in the revenues to telephone companies; a reduction in the number of citizens that can be reached over the telephone lines of this State.

The restriction of the additions of new facilities or new construction could be provided for by a direct order to that effect, and without imposing a hardship upon the citizens seeking new service through facilities already owned by the telephone companies and in place for use.

The commission has submitted these facts to the Federal Telephone Administration, trusting that the investigation made by this commission would be of some service to the Federal administration. It is the desire of this commission to work in harmony with the Federal Telephone Administration in all possible ways and to make the administration of telephone properties as successful as possible.

We trust that you will give the matters herein set forth careful consideration, as we firmly believe that an injustice is being done to the telephone subscribers in the State of Minnesota and that the telephone service will be hindered rather than aided by the installation charge.

Yours, very truly,

IRA B. MILLS, *Chairman.*
O. P. B. JACOBSON, *Commissioner.*
FRED W. PUTNAM, *Commissioner.*

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I ask that the resolution which I send to the desk be now read. I sought to have it read before the eminent Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG] began, but I did not wish to interrupt him. It bears directly upon this subject, and I desire to have the resolution read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is it a petition?

Mr. LEWIS. It is a resolution, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator is presenting it?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes; I am presenting this resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. We have not yet reached the order of resolutions. We have not started yet. The Senator from Minnesota was given unanimous consent to proceed out of order.

Mr. LEWIS. But upon a resolution, and I thought thereby other resolutions were in order. I should like to ask unanimous consent at this moment to have this particular resolution read, as it bears upon this subject.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. LEWIS. I shall not address myself to it at this time. I will wait until after the morning hour.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 348) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That it is the expression of the United States Senate that the policy of the United States Government for the future should be that of Government ownership of interstate railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and also national lines of communication necessary to complete postal and telegraphic service to the citizens of the Nation.

Resolved further, That the Government should possess and own all natural agencies for the production of fuel produced and created from the land and produced and created as the result of natural agencies. It shall construct and own ships and agencies of water transportation necessary for merchant marine, all to be maintained and continued in behalf of the United States and for the advancement of its commerce so as to facilitate the dealings of the citizens of the United States in matters of trade and shipping with all citizens of other countries.

Resolved further, That the method of the operation of these agencies heretofore mentioned is a subject to be regulated and adjusted in each instance according to the demands and circumstances surrounding the operation of that particular agency at the particular time of the demand for the use of that agency, be it railroad, steamship, telephone, telegraph, coal, or oil.

COTTON EXPORTS.

Mr. GORE. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter addressed by the Director of the Bureau of Markets to Chairman McCormick, of the War Trade Board, in regard to the discontinuance of the embargo on cotton, also a letter which I have myself addressed to Mr. McCormick on the same subject. I ask also to have inserted in the RECORD two or three other statements and letters which I will furnish at a later day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, November 20, 1918.

MY DEAR SIR: I am writing you in regard to the existing embargo on raw cotton. The embargo was originally authorized with the distinct understanding that it was to be used in order to hinder the shipment of supplies, either directly or indirectly, to our enemies. This purpose and object must, of course, be justified by every loyal citizen. So long as a technical state of war continues between the United States and the central powers there can be no objection on the part of the cotton farmers or their friends to the continued application of the embargo to cotton shipments which might find their way into the hands of the enemy. The same objection does not apply, however, to the shipments of cotton destined either to the allies or destined in good faith to neutral countries. To prohibit or restrict the shipments of cotton to the allies or neutrals must inevitably depress the price of this staple commodity. This is a direct loss, not merely to the individual farmer who produces the cotton but to the United States taken collectively. It is both a social and a national loss, as well as an individual loss subtracted from our aggregate resources.

It has been estimated that by lifting the embargo and by providing ample shipping facilities Great Britain could and would use 1,000,000 bales more this year than last; that Japan would use 900,000 bales more this year than last; that Italy would use 600,000 bales more this year than last; that Spain would use 500,000 more bales this year than last, not to mention the lesser neutral and belligerent countries nor the central European countries after the proclamation of peace. Here is a vast potential demand for the present crop of cotton, which would be converted into an effective demand if the embargo were removed and if ample shipping accommodations were provided. The cotton farmers are entitled to whatever enhancement of price would follow upon the timely and judicious removal of these artificial restraints. This is the more so in view of the practical certainty that if next year's cotton crop should be extraordinarily large there would be no artificial interference by the Government to sustain the price and to protect the farmer. Let me repeat, the cotton farmers only desire that equal justice which the President has fitly characterized as the heart of democracy.

The interest of the producers and the interest of our country, taken as a whole, would be greatly subserved by the revocation of the embargo. This would enhance the value of this great national asset while it is still in our own hands, and, what is more, it would be an act of simple justice to our cotton farmers. These considerations justify me in urging most earnestly the immediate revocation of the embargo so far as shipments to the allies and neutrals are concerned.

Most respectfully,

T. P. GORE.

WASHINGTON, *November 16, 1918.*

HON. VANCE C. MCCORMICK,
Chairman War Trade Board, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Reference is made to the telegram which you received to-day from New Orleans, signed by more than 50 cotton dealers in that market, and to a request from your board that the committee on cotton distribution make recommendations relative to the subject matter of this telegram. I have received a similar telegram.

The need for cotton by our allies, the neutrals, and the central powers is very great. Many of their spindles are idle. We are preparing to furnish them food. Along with food they must have work to do, and it is necessary to this end that they have raw materials which they may work up into manufactured products. Further, the cessation of hostilities will release additional labor for their mills. The stocks of raw cotton in Europe are very greatly depleted, little reserve stock being left on hand. The representatives of foreign nations with whom we have conferred have recognized and stated very frankly their great need for cotton. They are ready to buy, both to replenish their reserve stocks and to operate their machinery.

With the coming of peace, through the operation of numerous factors, such, for instance, as the release of tonnage from war activities, the stoppage of sinkings by submarines, the building of new tonnage, and the release of neutral and enemy country tonnage, a great deal of additional tonnage will become available for commerce. With the keen need that is felt for cotton there is no doubt that a substantial part of this tonnage will be used for carrying this staple. If the exportation of cotton is facilitated through the ready issuance of export licenses and otherwise, it is altogether likely that even tramp steamers will carry it over from this country.

The cotton situation in the South at the present time is very serious. The stocks of raw cotton in this country at the end of July, 1918, were 3,312,000 bales, being larger than in any prewar year, and if the exports and domestic consumption for the present cotton season are no greater than last season the stocks at the end of July, 1919, will be approximately 4,500,000 bales. There is no doubt, of course, due to conditions already pointed out, that the requirements of the world for

the present season will be largely in excess of requirements for the past season. However, during the present critical period of transition from war to peace there is great stagnation, and it is very essential that everything possible be done to alleviate this condition immediately. This is the season during which the producers of cotton harvest their product. Their financial obligations become due during the fall season, and they must sell their product in order to cancel these obligations. With little movement for cotton, either they can not sell it or they are compelled to sell it at a price which represents great sacrifice. This condition touches directly about 3,000,000 citizens of this country, as cotton is produced by a very large number of small producers and not by a very small number of large producers, as in the case of many other commodities. If the cotton is sold at this season at a sacrifice, the result is a loss to those who are least able to bear it. It must also be borne in mind that an unsatisfactory price at this season of the year will result in a curtailment of production next year and in the consequent reduction in the cotton available for clothing the world. Moreover, the question involved concerns the Nation as a whole, and not merely the producers, since cotton in normal times forms our most important article of export.

In view of the conditions outlined above, it is recommended that all possible steps be taken to facilitate the exportation of cotton, and that, so far as is consistent with sound public policy, limitations or restrictions upon the granting of licenses shall be removed. Particularly with reference to Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, and Japan it appears that a very generous policy as regards export licenses ought to be adopted. With reference to Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland it is recommended that until the allies and the United States have in their hands guarantees of the acceptance by Germany of the armistice terms exportation be allowed under licenses on the basis of their prewar consumption or in accordance with the trade agreements now in force with these countries. In any event, it is our opinion that these neutrals should be permitted at least to buy and store in this country the quantity of cotton due them under present trade agreements. After the guarantees required of Germany under the armistice terms are in our hands we are of the opinion that exports of cotton to neutral groups should be permitted on substantially the same terms as exports to our allies.

If the movement of cotton is to be restrained, in view of the coming peace conference, some steps must be taken to avert the immediate disaster which threatens the cotton-producing sections of the United States and the impending misfortune to the Nation at large and the rest of the world through the enforced curtailment in the production of cotton next season.

Very truly, yours,

CHARLES J. BRAND, *Chairman.*

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. SUTHERLAND presented petitions of sundry citizens of Charleston, W. Va., praying for the enactment of legislation to increase the efficiency of the Medical Department of the United States Army, to provide a pharmaceutical corps in that department, and to improve the status and efficiency of the pharmacists in the Army, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. NELSON presented a memorial of the Watkins Medical Co., of Winona, Minn., remonstrating against the proposed tax on nonbeverage alcohol in the pending revenue bill, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs, favoring the passage of the new Federal child-labor bill, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also presented a memorial of the Kondon Manufacturing Co., of Minneapolis, Minn., remonstrating against the extension of the excess-profits tax provision to partnerships and individuals in the pending revenue bill, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. ASHURST (for Mr. OWEN), from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 10) conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, consider, and determine certain claims of the Cherokee Nation against the United States, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 610) thereon.

Mr. FLETCHER, from the Committee on Commerce, to which was referred the bill (S. 5025) to amend an act entitled "An act for the establishment of marine schools, and for other purposes," reported it with an amendment.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 5026) to amend an act entitled "An act to define, regulate, and punish trading with the enemy, and for other purposes," approved October 6, 1917, reported it without amendment. (S. Rept. No. 612.)

Mr. OVERMAN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (S. 4785) to incorporate the American Committee for Relief in the Near East, reported it without amendment.

FINAL ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I report from the Committee on Appropriations the adjournment resolution (H. oCn. eRs. 61), and I ask that it be considered at once.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the title of the concurrent resolution.

The SECRETARY. Concurrent resolution providing for the adjournment of the two Houses of Congress on this day at 5 o'clock.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the concurrent resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, upon the passage of the concurrent resolution I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, the concurrent resolution is not debatable?

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is the opinion of the Chair. It is simply a resolution for an adjournment sine die, and every Senator knows what he wants to do about it.

Mr. SMOOT. I rose simply to make a statement of explanation, but I recognize the ruling of the Chair to be correct.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KENDRICK (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] and vote "yea."

Mr. KNOX (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. NEW] and vote "nay."

Mr. McCUMBER (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS]. Understanding, however, that if he were present he would vote as I shall upon this question, I vote "yea."

Mr. McLEAN (when his name was called). I have a pair with the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MYERS]. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. WALSH (when Mr. MYERS's name was called). I announce that my colleague [Mr. MYERS] is absent from the city on official business.

Mr. PENROSE (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS]. As he is absent, I will refrain from voting.

Mr. SAULSBURY (when his name was called). I transfer my general pair with the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT] to the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS] and vote "yea."

Mr. SHERMAN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Kansas [Mr. THOMPSON] and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. STERLING (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH]. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. SHAFROTH (when Mr. THOMAS's name was called). I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. THOMAS] on account of official business.

Mr. WALSH (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] to the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN] and vote "yea."

Mr. LEWIS (when Mr. WILLIAMS's name was called). I announce the absence of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], occasioned by illness in his family.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CALDER (after having voted in the negative). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY]. I transfer that pair to my colleague [Mr. WADSWORTH] and will permit my vote to stand.

Mr. CURTIS. I have a pair with the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK] and therefore withhold my vote. If at liberty to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. McKELLAR. I announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague, the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS], on account of illness.

Mr. CURTIS. I wish to announce that the Senator from Maine [Mr. FERNALD] is paired with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON].

The result was announced—yeas 41, nays 18, as follows:

YEAS—41.

Ashurst	King	Pittman	Sutherland
Bankhead	La Follette	Poindexter	Swanson
Beckham	Lewis	Pomerene	Townsend
Benet	Lodge	Ransdell	Underwood
Culberson	McCumber	Saulsbury	Vardaman
Dillingham	Martin, Ky.	Shafroth	Walsh
Fletcher	Martin, Va.	Sheppard	Warren
Gore	Nelson	Simmons	Wolcott
Hitchcock	Nugent	Smith, Ga.	
Jones, N. Mex.	Overman	Smith, Md.	
Kendrick	Phelan	Smoot	

NAYS—18.

Borah	Hale	Knox	Trammell
Brandegee	Harding	McKellar	Watson
Calder	Johnson, Cal.	Moses	Weeks
Cummins	Kellogg	Reed	
France	Kenyon	Spencer	

NOT VOTING—37.

Baird	Guion	Myers	Smith, Mich.
Chamberlain	Hardwick	New	Smith, S. C.
Colt	Henderson	Norris	Sterling
Curtis	Hollis	Owen	Thomas
Fall	Johnson, S. Dak.	Page	Thompson
Fernald	Jones, Wash.	Penrose	Wadsworth
Frelinghuysen	Kirby	Robinson	Williams
Gerry	Lenroot	Sherman	
Goff	McLean	Shields	
Gronna	McNary	Smith, Ariz.	

So the concurrent resolution was agreed to.

PRESENTATION OF MEDALS.

Mr. PITTMAN. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate joint resolution 186, which I report (No. 611) favorably from the Naval Affairs Committee. Before I make the request I ask that the report and the joint resolution be read.

The SECRETARY. The Senator from Nevada reports favorably from the Committee on Naval Affairs Senate joint resolution 186, authorizing the President of the United States to cause to be struck bronze medals commemorating the winning of the world's war and the valor of our military forces, and to distribute and present such medals to the officers and men of our land, sea, and air forces.

Mr. PITTMAN. I ask, also, that the correspondence with regard to the joint resolution be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none.

The Secretary read as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON TERRITORIES,
November 13, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The heroic services of our military forces upon the land, the sea, and in the air have won the admiration of the world and the undying gratitude of oppressed people everywhere. I know that you, on behalf of the American people, have an eager desire to see that a fitting testimonial and memento be presented to each and all of these American heroes. I know that you have in mind and will suggest a suitable plan for the accomplishment of this patriotic purpose.

Very sincerely, yours,

KEY PITTMAN.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, 18 November, 1918.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I talked with the Secretary of War about this resolution and find that he approves as heartily as I do. In haste,

Cordially and sincerely, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Hon. KEY PITTMAN,
United States Senate.

Mr. PITTMAN. At a committee meeting this morning the matter was discussed, and I think I am at liberty to say that it met no objection and was favorably passed unanimously by the committee. As the commission to be constituted under the joint resolution will have to prepare the necessary designs, and it will take some time, I request the present consideration of the joint resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the joint resolution was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The amendments were on page 1, line 7, to strike out the word "medal" and insert "medals"; and on page 2, line 2, to strike out the word "medal" and insert "medals," so as to make the joint resolution read:

Resolved, etc., That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to cause to be struck bronze medals commemorating the winning of the world's war and the valor of our military forces upon the land, the sea, and in the air, and to present such medals to each and every officer, soldier, and seaman engaged in the service of our Government at any time during the war as a memento of the glorious achievement and as an expression of gratitude on behalf of our Government and of all the people of the United States.

The President is further authorized to appoint a commission to select the form and design of such medals and attachments.

The amendments were agreed to.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 344), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That a committee of two Senators be appointed by the Vice President, to join a similar committee appointed by the House of Representatives, to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that the two Houses, having completed the business of the present session, are ready to adjourn unless the President has some other communication to make to them.

The VICE PRESIDENT appointed Mr. MARTIN of Virginia and Mr. LODGE as the committee under the resolution.

RETRENCHMENT OF WAR EXPENDITURES.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, I have a communication from the Secretary of War, which I will send to the desk and ask that it may be read. I will state that it is a communication which I am sure will interest every Senator and interest the country. The armistice with Germany was signed on the 11th day of November. Seven days elapsed between the signing of the armistice and the letter of the Secretary of War. He addressed himself immediately to the very important and all-absorbing question of dispensing with war appropriations and reducing the expenditures of the Government, and in those seven days which have elapsed, as shown by his letter, he has canceled contracts which have saved expenditures to the amount of $1,336,800,818. I think it is a marvelous result that in seven days a billion and a third should have been saved from money that was appropriated for war purposes. I believe all the other departments of the Government are at work on the same line and that they will meet the expectation of the country. There never was a more unanimous sentiment in the country than there is now that war expenditures shall cease, and cease immediately. I ask that the communication from the Secretary of War may be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, November 18, 1918.

MY DEAR SENATOR MARTIN:

I am writing this letter because I think, as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, it is important that you should know of the steps so far taken by the War Department to cut down the expenditures of this department in view of the signing of the armistice, which brought about a cessation of hostilities.

The armistice was signed on the 11th of November. Up to and including to-day the War Department has canceled contracts in process of execution, effecting a total saving of $408,900,818.

On contracts which have been let but upon which no work had as yet been done, cancellations aggregate a saving of $700,000,000.

An order was made on the 11th of November cutting out all overtime and Sunday work. The amount saved by this order aggregates about $2,900,000 a day.

The foregoing amounts are exclusive of cancellations in aircraft production or in engineers.

In the Bureau of Aircraft Production orders have been telegraphed out stopping all production on a large number of items, including planes of various types, engines, parts, and special instruments, which aggregate, in the estimated saving, $225,000,000.

In addition to the foregoing, plans have been made to begin the demobilization of the forces under arms in this country and to begin returning at once to the United States such portions of the armed forces abroad as are not needed for the purpose of occupying enemy territory. How rapidly it will be possible for us at present to return soldiers from overseas can not be immediately determined. The demobilization in this country, however, can proceed at once. Blanks have been distributed, physical examinations are being had and records made, so that within a period of two weeks 200,000 soldiers will have been demobilized, and thereafter the work will progress rapidly.

We are reducing the officer personnel of the Army by discontinuing all commissions and honorably discharging officers whose services are no longer needed. The number possible to be dispensed with increases from day to day, and there will, of course, be a corresponding decrease in civilian employees.

In the termination of contracts for supplies and material, the War Department is working in close harmony with the War Industries Board and the Department of Labor, in order that there may be the utmost freedom for the resumption of civil business and the most complete opportunity for labor released from war industries and military service to find suitable and profitable industrial and commercial employment. I have no doubt that within a few days the figures above set forth will show substantial increases, and the savings effected will mount day by day. In general, it is my earnest desire to restore the soldiers to their homes and their civil occupations and to cut

down as speedily and completely as possible the extraordinary expenditures which the War Department was obliged to undertake for the prosecution of the war.

I have not set up here the details of the contracts canceled, because the list is long and the individual items are not of special significance, but if at any time you desire to have detailed information it will give me great pleasure to supply it.

Cordially, yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

Hon. THOMAS S. MARTIN,
Committee on Appropriations,
United States Senate.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I wish to remark that I introduced a resolution (S. Res. 334) a few days ago raising a committee on economy and retrenchment. The committee was to consist of the chairmen of the Committees on Appropriations, Naval Affairs, Military Affairs, Agriculture, and iFnance, and two other members of each of those committees. The object of the committee was to study the appropriations made to meet the expenditures of the present fiscal year and also to consider appropriations that would be necessary for the next fiscal year with a view to effecting every possible retrenchment and economy.

Under the Constitution, Mr. President, the Congress is constituted the custodian of the public purse. That duty is ours; that responsibility is ours. We may neglect the duty but we can not vacate the responsibility. I do not think that measures of retrenchment and economy ought to be committed entirely to the discretion of the executive branch of the Government. I rejoice at whatever retrenchments have been made. I trust that this happy beginning will be rigorously followed up and followed out.

If there be one thing concerning which the American people are unanimous it is that the pruning knife should be applied to all unnecessary appropriations, that they should be reduced to an irreducible minimum. We have been appropriating in terms of billions, not millions. We must now retrench in terms not of millions but of billions. Since war was declared last year this Congress has appropriated $53,000,000,000. That is one-fifth of our total national wealth. That is $9,000,000,000 more than all the money appropriated by all the Congresses from the beginning of Washington's first administration to the close of Wilson's first administration. We had to take the chance of waste in the haste of preparing for war. We now have the leisure, and we are under the heaviest obligation to cut out every item of expense that is not dictated by overpowering duty or necessity. We must pull up extravagance by the roots. This should be done not haphazard, not inconsiderately. This surgery should be done with due care, but with unflinching hand.

I repeat, while the executive branch may in a greater or less measure accomplish this result, the real duty and the real responsibility belongs to the Congress itself.

I shall not at this time call up my resolution as adjournment is pending, but unless the progress of retrenchment is satisfactory to the Congress and the country I shall at the earliest possible time call up the resolution and insist upon its adoption. This is a matter concerning which we can not afford to dally or delay.

PURCHASE OF METALS FOR MINOR COINAGE.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I desire to call the attention of the Senate to an error committed on Monday in the passage of the bill (H. R. 12998) to amend section 3528 of the Revised Statutes. It is a bill which doubles the appropriation for minor coinage. It had already been passed by the House and was upon its passage in the Senate when the chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency [Mr. OWEN] offered the following amendment:

Provided, That the director—

That means the Director of the Mint—

shall purchase the silver metal needed for such coinage at not less than $1 per ounce, as required by law.

I am informed by the Director of the Mint that no silver is required, the metal used being copper and nickel, and that the amendment was a mistake, of which fact I have informed the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN]. He is out of the city and I understand the bill is back in the House. I therefore desire to move that the votes upon the third reading and passage of the bill be reconsidered. I ask for information whether it is necessary to couple that with a request for a return of the bill from the House.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The motion will be to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed and at the same time to accompany it with a motion to request the House to return the bill.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I make that motion.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The latter motion must first be put. The Senator from Nebraska moves that the House be requested to return House bill 12998.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I desire to ask the Senator a question for information, as I could not hear the statement which he made with respect to the bill.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The bill provides simply for minor coinage in which no silver is used. Under a misapprehension the Senator from Oklahoma incorporated an amendment providing the price which shall be paid for silver. As no silver is to be purchased, it simply makes confusion in the bill. I think the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] will bear me out in that statement.

Mr. SHAFROTH. The bill provides for the purchase of metals for minor coinage, and does not indicate whether it shall be silver or nickel.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It is the amendment which stipulates that silver is to be purchased.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield to the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. PITTMAN. Section 528 of the statute which is referred to in the bill provides for a revolving fund for the purchase and distribution of minor coin. Section 3515 of the Revised Statutes reads as follows:

SEC. 3515. The minor coins of the United States shall be a 5-cent piece, a 3-cent piece, and a 1-cent piece. The alloy for the 5 and 3 cent pieces shall be of copper and nickel, to be composed of three-fourths copper and one-fourth nickel. The alloy of the 1-cent piece shall be 95 per cent of copper and 5 per cent of tin and zinc, in such proportions as shall be determined by the Director of the Mint. The weight of the piece of 5 cents shall be seventy-seven and sixteen-hundredths grains troy; of the 3-cent piece, 30 grains; and of the 1-cent piece, 48 grains.

In other words, in the minor coin as laid out in the statute of the United States there is no silver. The bill deals purely with the minor coins described in the statute, and therefore there should be no reference to silver in it.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I desire to interpose an objection to the introduction of any matter before 2 o'clock until the regular morning business is concluded.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. This is to recall a bill from the House which has to be enrolled and signed to-day, and the Senate is to adjourn at 5.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is in the possession of the Senate and the question is on the motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed. It will be reconsidered without objection. The question is on the motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed to a third reading. It will be reconsidered without objection. The question is on reconsidering the vote concurring in the amendment in the Senate. Without objection it is reconsidered, and the Senate refuses to concur in the amendment made as in Committee of the Whole. Without objection the bill will be read the third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

STIMULATION OF AGRICULTURE.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. To correct another difficulty I call attention to this concurrent resolution to correct an error in House bill 11945, entitled "An act making appropriations to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled 'An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products, and for other purposes.'"

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a concurrent resolution from the House of Representatives which will be read.

The concurrent resolution was read, as follows:

House concurrent resolution 60.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That in the enrollment of the bill (H. R. 11945) entitled "An act to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled 'An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products,'" the Clerk be, and he is hereby authorized and directed, to strike out, in line 1 of Senate amendment 31, "Sec. 27" and insert in lieu thereof "Sec. 6," that the sections of said bill may appear in consecutive numerical order and also to relieve from a typographical error in conference disposition of Senate amendment numbered 15, making the amount therein mentioned $150,000.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The typographical error was the printing of $150 for publication instead of $150,000.

The concurrent resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

REPORTS FROM COMMITTEE ON CONTINGENT EXPENSES.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate I report favorably sundry resolutions which provide for the payment of funeral expenses of employees of the Senate, and for the extension of the employment of clerks who have been heretofore authorized by the Senate, and I shall ask for their immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The reports will be received.

IDA M. SHAW.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred Senate resolution 332, reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate to Ida M. Shaw, widow of Richard A. Shaw, late a laborer on the rolls of the United States Senate, a sum equal to six months' compensation at the rate he was receiving at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and other allowances.

ANNIE V. HICKS.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred Senate resolution 337, reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate, to Annie V. Hicks, sister of John A. Hicks, late a laborer in the employ of the United States Senate, a sum equal to six months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

EDNA F. EVANS.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred Senate resolution 330, reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate to Edna F. Evans, widow of Clarence C. Evans, late clerk to Hon. JOSEPH I. FRANCE, Senator from the State of Maryland, a sum equal to six months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

EMPLOYMENT OF ADDITIONAL PAGES.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred Senate resolution 333, reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That Senate resolution 184, agreed to on January 17, 1918, authorizing and directing the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate to employ three additional pages for the Senate Chamber at $2.75 per day each for a period lasting until the end of the present session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, to be paid from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate, be, and the same is hereby, extended and continued in full force and effect until the end of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

EMPLOYMENT OF ADDITIONAL CLERK.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred Senate resolution 335, reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

Resolved, That S. Res. 198, agreed to on September 28, 1918, being a resolution authorizing the Committee on Commerce of the United States Senate to employ an additional clerk at the rate of $100 per month, to be paid from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate, until the end of the present session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, be, and the same is hereby extended and continued in full force and effect until the end of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. FLETCHER:

A bill (S. 5036) to further regulate radio communication; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A bill (S. 5037) to adopt the weights and measures of the metric system as the standard weights and measures in the United States; to the Committee on Standards, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. SMITH of Georgia:

A bill (S. 5038) extending the use of the special fund for vocational education provided by section 7 of the vocational rehabilitation act, approved June 27, 1918, and authorizing the Federal Board for Vocational Education to accept gifts and donations for specific purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. SMOOT:

A bill (S. 5039) to establish the Zion National Park in the State of Utah; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 5040) to give preference in all forms of public employment to men who have been honorably discharged from the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WARREN:

A bill (S. 5041) authorizing donation of obsolete ordnance to the town of Torrington, Wyo.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. NELSON:

A bill (S. 5042) granting an increase of pension to Ferdinand Mussack; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KNOX:

A bill (S. 5043) relating to the review and determination by the Supreme Court of cases which, within six months after the taking effect of the act of September 6, 1916, amending the Judicial Code, were brought into the court by writ of error instead of by certiorari; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CALDER:

A bill (S. 5044) relative to the United States Naval Reserve Force; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WATSON:

A bill (S. 5045) granting an increase of pension to James Manning; and

A bill (S. 5046) granting a pension to Jacob D. Emery; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ASHURST:

A bill (S. 5047) granting a pension to Edith Bailey Macon; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KING:

A bill (S. 5048) to establish the Zion National Park in the State of Utah; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. LEWIS:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 188) providing for pay to soldiers and sailors for three months after discharge; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PHELAN:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 189) making November 11 of each year a national holiday, to be known as "Liberty Thanksgiving Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

CORRUPT PRACTICES.

Mr. POMERENE. By direction of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, I introduce a bill which was favorably reported by the Committee on Privileges and Elections during the Sixty-fourth Congress, and I ask that it be referred back to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The bill (S. 5049) to revise, amend, and codify the laws relating to publicity of contributions and expenditures made for the purpose of influencing the nomination and election of candidates for the offices of Senator and Representative in the Congress of the United States, extending the same to candidates for nomination and election to the offices of President and Vice President of the United States, limiting the amount which may be expended, providing for the publicity of campaign expenses, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. This bill the Senator wants to have recommitted?

Mr. POMERENE. It was introduced and favorably reported by the Committee on Privileges and Elections during the Sixty-fourth Congress. I am now simply reintroducing the bill——

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Oh!

Mr. POMERENE. And asking that it be referred back to the Committee on Privileges and Elections for its consideration.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Is it a bill on the calendar now? Is it a live bill?

Mr. POMERENE. No; it is not on the calendar. It died with the expiration of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. The Senator is now introducing the bill de novo?

Mr. POMERENE. De novo.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

REGENT OF SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

Mr. LODGE. I introduce a joint resolution for which I ask present consideration. It is not usual to refer to a committee a joint resolution to fill vacancies in the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be read.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 187) providing for the filling of a vacancy in the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution of the class other than Members of Congress was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the vacancy in the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution of the class other than Members of Congress, by reason of the death of the Hon. Charles Warren Fairbanks, of Indiana, be filled by the appointment of Robert S. Brookings, of Missouri.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENT.

Mr. POMERENE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 4637) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

THE CENSUS.

Mr. FRANCE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 11984) to provide for the fourteenth and subsequent decennial censuses, which was referred to the Committee on the Census and ordered to be printed.

THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.

Mr. SIMMONS submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 342), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That Senate resolution 300, agreed to on September 11, 1918, being a resolution authorizing the Committee on Finance of the United States Senate to employ an additional clerk, at the rate of $150 per month, for a period lasting from September 14, 1918, until the end of the present session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, to be paid out of the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate, be, and the same is hereby, extended and continued in full force and effect until the end of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico subsequently, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred the foregoing resolution, reported favorably thereon, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

EMPLOYMENT OF ADDITIONAL CLERK.

Mr. POMERENE submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 341), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That Senate resolution 158, agreed to on January 28, 1918, being a resolution authorizing the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate to employ an additional clerk at the rate of $100 per month, to be paid out of the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate, for a period lasting until the end of the present session of the Congress, be, and the same is hereby, extended and continued in full force and effect until the end of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico, subsequently, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred the foregoing resolution, reported favorably thereon, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

POTASH.

Mr. HITCHCOCK submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 349), which was read and ordered to lie on the table:

Resolved, That the Federal Trade Commission be, and it is hereby, directed to advise the Senate as soon as may be as to the number of tons of potash salts imported into the United States and used by the fertilizer companies for each of the three years immediately preceding the war, and also the number of tons purchased by the fertilizer companies of American product in the years 1915, 1916, 1917, and up to the present time in 1918.

Resolved further, That the Federal Trade Commission be directed to make whatever investigation may be necessary to procure the above information, together with such investigations as may be necessary to advise the Senate as to the amount of crude potash already produced in the United States during the present year and held in storage because of the failure or refusal of the fertilizer companies to purchase same. Also, to make such investigation as may be necessary to advise the Senate whether any combination or arrangement between the various fertilizer companies, or any of them, has been entered into for the purpose of restricting or avoiding the use of American potash in fertilizers manufactured during the present year, and what effect, if any, upon the potash industries of the country such a combination is having.

Also, to advise the Senate as to the amount of crude potash of American production now held in storage without any available market.

Also, what, if any, connection, either corporate or individual, exists between any or all of the fertilizer companies in the United States and potash interests in Germany, and what, if any, officials of the fertilizer companies of the United States have potash interests in Germany.

GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA.

Mr. KING submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 347), which was read and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Whereas after more than four years of unprecedented struggle at arms, with the unmeasured spending of blood and treasure, the allied Governments and the United States have triumphed over the autocratic, reactionary, and militaristic forces of the central empires; and

Whereas the victorious powers are about to convene in council for the purpose of establishing the terms of peace and, among other things, for the purpose of determining the territorial boundaries of the nations, and to join in a covenant whereby said powers will jointly and reciprocally acknowledge their several and rightful territorial boundaries, and enter into such covenants with respect to the national boundaries of each other as may be necessary, and to ordain that the boundaries thus fixed by convention shall not be disturbed by war between nations; and

Whereas Russia was the first of the nations engaged in the great struggle for liberty to interpose her arms against the unrighteous aggressions of Germany and Austria, and battled with heroism, fortitude, and sacrifice for the cause of liberty, and in such cause sacrificed the lives of millions of her sons; and

Whereas certain anarchists and enemies of society and law and order, in the perfidious service of Germany, did usurp public property, and by their treason to Russia and the Russian people sought to destroy all forms of government and to subject Russia and her people to economic and political anarchy; and

Whereas under the name of "Bolshevism" said persons have attempted to destroy all law and order and forms of government among the Russian people and to break Russian territory into a number of disorganized and impotent States, and under their disintegrating policy Russia is threatened with partition into small and distracted nations, the result of which would be the progressive domination and subjection of such States to Prussia in her future activities and development; and

Whereas the great mass of the Russian people, united in suffering, desire to establish the liberty of the people to live and to labor in peace with security of their possessions and the rights of property and of contract with respect thereto; and

Whereas to secure these liberties, to provide for the common defense, and to promote the welfare of Russia, the people of Russia desire to establish democratic governments in the communities, cities, and Provinces, and to unite the Russian Provinces in a federal republic which shall exercise authority throughout the Russian domains and make of Russia a great independent political power among the nations, founded upon liberty and law, and the equal and common rights of all men of whatever estate or station in life; and

Whereas it is necessary for the economic development and progress of Russia that she have free access from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea through the Dardanelles, and from the Baltic Sea to the North Sea through the Kiel Canal, and for this purpose that these waterways should be internationalized; and

Whereas for the protection of her ports and coasts, Russia must control and dominate the Aland Islands and the Gulf of Finland, and for these purposes possess the fortifications which command the Gulf of Finland; and

Whereas the integrity of the territories of Russia must be preserved for the accomplishment of her political and economic dignity and independence, excepting only the territories which are inhabited by the Finns and the Poles; and

Whereas to save Russia from the menace of Prussian domination, limits must be set to the Prussian power, and Prussian territory be compressed within the Vistula, the Rhine, and the Kiel Canal; and

Whereas it is imperative for the accomplishment of these principles that Russia shall be represented and participate in the peace conference; and

Whereas Russians who profess these principles have established a government which has its seat at Omsk, which government is republican in form and practice, and is loyal to the treaties of Russia with the entente powers, and is in harmony with the international policy of the United States and the entente powers: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the United States, That the republican Government at Omsk should be recognized as the de facto Government of Russia, and that delegates to be named by this Government should be admitted to the peace conference, to speak for Russia and to properly represent her interests and views in the conference; that steps be taken at the conference to preserve and guarantee the territorial integrity of Russia, and to afford every liberty and facility for the Russian people by a constituent assembly to determine and establish a future government for that country; that to secure Russia's access to the sea, the peace terms shall include the internationalization of the Dardanelles and the Kiel Canal and the restriction of the limits of Prussia to the Vistula on the Polish frontier so as to interpose an effectual barrier to Prussian interference with the political and economic independence of Russia; and be it further

Resolved, That it be the sense of the Senate of the United States, that the Government of the United States and the Governments of the entente powers should take immediate measures to render financial and military aid to Russia, to overthrow bolshevist tyranny and anarchy, to provide food and other material assistance for the people, and to assist the Russian people in bringing their country into economic order and progress as a sound basis for the prosperity and independence of the new federal republic of Russia.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, announced that a committee of three members of the House had been appointed to join a similar committee from the Senate to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that the two Houses have completed the business of the present session and are ready to adjourn unless the President has some other communication to make to them, and that the Speaker had appointed as the committee on the part of the House Mr. KITCHIN, Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee, and Mr. MONDELL.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills, and they were thereupon signed by the Vice President:

H. R. 11945. An act to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," and for other purposes; and

H. R. 12998. An act to amend section 3528 of the Revised Statutes.

SHIP CONSTRUCTION.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution, which I should like to have the Secretary read, because I want to ask the indulgence of the Senate for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 343) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the United States Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation be requested to furnish to the Senate Committee on Commerce a report of all existing contracts for ship construction, the cost of such construction, in both private and Government shipyards, the provisions for the cancellation of contracts made for emergency war needs, together with a report of ships delivered and the disposition thereof, and ships in process of construction; and also a report of contracts and deliveries of materials for fabricated ships.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Being objected to, the resolution goes over.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. If the consideration of the resolution will take no time, I am willing to withdraw my objection.

Mr. HARDING. I do not believe that an extended explanation of the resolution is needed. It comes with the unanimous approval of the Committee on Commerce. In just a word, I will state that the resolution is inspired by the publication in the press of utterances of the president of the Shipping Board and of the director general of the Emergency Fleet Corporation that there are places in the shipyards now for 200,000 men additional to the present force. It requires but a little figuring to present the fact that that means an additional expenditure over our present outlay of more than $600,000,000 per year for labor alone. No matter what the policy of the Government may be as to the future, and no matter how earnestly we all favor the construction of the largest merchant marine in the world, it is inconceivable that the Government will go on appropriating money for ship construction at the present rate, which is at from four to six times the normal cost. It is to get that information that the resolution is offered.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, will the adoption of this resolution bring out the information as to how many wooden ships have sunk?

Mr. HARDING. The resolution calls for the number of ships which have been constructed and the disposition made of them. If the Senator from Idaho accepts the sinking of a ship as a disposition of it I think an answer to the resolution will furnish the information.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I desire to say, in that connection, simply that under the law the Shipping Board will make a report to Congress on the 1st of December next, but that report is general in its character, and it may not cover the specific information which the resolution asks, and which I think is very important and desirable.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the resolution was considered, and agreed to.

Mr. CUMMINS. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. Are we in the order of Senate resolutions or are we in the order of bills and joint resolutions?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate is proceeding under the order of the introduction of bills and joint resolutions.

Mr. CUMMINS. It seems to me that Senators ought to pay some attention to the rules of the Senate. I do not object, however; I simply call it to their attention.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair would like to coincide with the view of the Senator if it were proper for him to do so.

PRINTING OF PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS (H. DOC. NO. 1339).

Mr. PITTMAN. I ask unanimous consent that the President's address to the Congress, on November 11, be printed as a Senate document.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE SERVICE.

On motion of Mr. WARREN, it was

Ordered, That the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MOSES] be assigned to membership on the Committee on the Library and the Committee on Printing.

SOLDIERS' RAILROAD PASSENGER RATES.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I ask that Senate resolution No. 336, presented last Monday, be laid before the Senate.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, before that is done I should like an opportunity to offer a concurrent resolution. We have not reached that order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. We have not reached that order.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Of course I yield to the Senator from Iowa. I only desire to bring before the Senate the resolution to which I have referred.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is impossible for the Chair to know for what purpose a Senator arises.

Mr. TRAMMELL. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Has the Senator from Florida a bill or a joint resolution to present?

Mr. TRAMMELL. I have been awaiting the order of Senate resolutions; and I desire to submit a Senate resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate is proceeding under the order of Senate resolutions.

Mr. TRAMMELL. I offer the resolution which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 350), as follows:

Resolved, First. That the Director General of Railroads be, and he is hereby, requested to authorize a passenger rate of 1 cent a mile to all officers and enlisted personnel of all grades and ranks of the United States Army, Navy, and Marine Corps for a period of three months immediately following honorable discharge from military service.

Second. That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he is hereby, directed to transmit a certified copy of this resolution to Hon. William G. McAdoo, Director General of Railroads.

Mr. TRAMMELL. Mr. President, in view of the fact that Congress is to adjourn this afternoon and the benefits of this resolution will not accrue to the soldiers who are now being demobilized throughout the country, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. If it is not to be discussed, I do not object; but if it is to be discussed I do object to its getting precedence over the resolution which I introduced on last Monday.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator is asking the Chair to be a mind reader.

Mr. TRAMMELL. I do not care to discuss the resolution; it is a very simple resolution.

Mr. SMOOT. I should like to have the resolution again read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will again read the resolution.

The resolution was again read.

Mr. SMOOT. I inquire of the Senator from Florida if it is a Senate resolution or a concurrent resolution?

Mr. TRAMMELL. It is a Senate resolution carrying with it a request.

Mr. SMOOT. And that is all?

Mr. TRAMMELL. A request is all; it is more in the nature of a suggestion.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none——

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. And the resolution is adopted.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, is the question upon agreeing to the resolution?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair asked if there was any objection and heard none.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I did not know——

Mr. CUMMINS. I object to discussion upon the resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Then the resolution goes over.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I did not wish to discuss the resolution; I wished to ask whether or not it would be proper to have it referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce?

Mr. CUMMINS. It is merely a request to the Director General. I do not care anything about it.

Mr. TRAMMELL. I rise to a point of order. I understood the Chair to announce a decision.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Oh, yes; but in these formal matters a decision never stands if a Senator who has not had an opportunity to vote objects. That would hardly be fair.

JOINT COMMITTEES ON RECONSTRUCTION.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, the resolution which I am about to offer is a modification or enlargement of the resolution presented some time ago by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS], and generally termed "a plan for reconstruction." This resolution—and I only make the observation that I do in order to explain the reference I intend to add—this resolution, which is a concurrent one, provides for the appointment of six joint congressional committees, each authorized to take into consideration for the purposes of investigation the problems which we all know have arisen and will continue to arise for some time to come. The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. OVERMAN] introduced a bill some time ago, which has been referred to the Judiciary Committee, providing for the appointment by the President of a commission to make the investigation in the general way proposed in the resolution which I now offer.

The issue between the two plans is that upon our side we propose a legislative inquiry, while under the bill introduced by the Senator from North Carolina it is proposed to make an administrative or executive inquiry. That is the issue. We all recognize that the work must be done, and the sooner we prepare ourselves for the settlement of that vital proposition the better it will be for the country. I think it would be proper to refer this resolution under ordinary circumstances to the Committee on Rules, as it provides for the creation of certain committees of more or less permanency; but inasmuch as the bill introduced by the Senator from North Carolina has been referred to the Committee on the Judiciary—and very properly so—and inasmuch as the same general question is presented by both proposals, I ask, Mr. President, that the resolution be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator ask for the reading of the resolution now?

Mr. CUMMINS. No; I do not. I ask, however, that it be printed in the RECORD, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:

Concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 25) to provide for the appointment of certain joint congressional committees on reconstruction.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there are hereby created six committees, to be known as the joint congressional committees on reconstruction. Each of said committees shall be composed of five Senators and five Representatives in Congress. The members of said committees shall be selected as follows:

The Senators in the manner provided in the rules of the Senate for the selection of the standing committees of the Senate and the Representatives in the manner provided in the rules of the House for the selection of the standing committees of the House.

The members of these committees shall be subject to change from time to time by the Senate and House, respectively, as are said standing committees, and all vacancies shall be filled in the same manner as the original selections were made.

The said committees shall make, respectively, investigations of the subjects hereinafter named and herein assigned to them, respectively, and shall report to Congress from time to time with such recommendations as to additional legislation or otherwise, as they, respectively, may deem advisable.

The first committee, which shall be known as the Joint Congressional Committee upon the Demobilization of the Army and Navy, shall so investigate and report upon the following matters, to wit:

(a) The employment of discharged soldiers and sailors in civil pursuits.

(b) The allotment of lands to returned soldiers and sailors and their establishment in homes upon the public domain.

(c) All legislation which may be required in the proper care for those who have suffered the dangers of war, and especially those who have been disabled and whose ability to earn a livelihood has been impaired.

The second of the said committees, which shall be known as the Joint Congressional Committee upon Foreign Trade and Commerce, shall so investigate and report upon the following matters, to wit:

(a) Duties on imports for the protection and encouragement of home industry.

(b) The development of new foreign markets.

(c) Combinations for the purpose of increasing our selling facilities.

(d) Changes in our banking facilities necessary to cooperate with such trade.

(e) Our merchant marine, including the construction of ships, the continuance of Government ownership and operation, and in general with respect to the various problems of transportation upon the high seas.

The third of said committees, which shall be known as the joint congressional committee on interstate transportation, shall so investigate and report upon the following matters, to wit:

(a) The permanent relation which the Government of the United States should sustain to the common carriers of the country.

(b) Whether the systems of transportation now in possession of and being operated by the Government should be returned to their former owners and operated as heretofore, or whether Government operation should continue with or without Government ownership; or if private ownership is to continue and private operation resumed, what system of regulation and control will be best adapted to secure efficiency in service, reasonable rates of transportation, and fairness to the capital invested.

(c) The relation which should be established between inland water transportation and the railways, including the control of the former.

(d) All questions relating to communication by wire.

The fourth of said committees, which shall be known as the joint congressional committee on domestic business, shall so investigate and report upon the following matters, to wit:

(a) To what extent, if any, should our laws relating to trusts and combinations be modified?

(b) What cooperation should be permitted in order to increase efficiency, reduce cost, and enable this country to successfully meet foreign competition?

(c) To what extent should the Government undertake to control prices?

(d) Government loans to private enterprises.

(e) Government supervision of capital issues.

(f) The supply and control of raw materials and encouragement in the production of articles that have not heretofore been manufactured in this country.

The fifth of said committees, which shall be known as the joint congressional committee on employers and employees, shall so investigate and report upon the following matters, to wit:

(a) Conciliation and arbitration in labor disputes.

(b) The relation of men and women in similar employments.

(c) Substitution of female employees for male employees and vice versa.

(d) The organization of permanent employment agencies.

(e) The distribution of labor, including employment of surplus labor on public works.

(f) The sanitary housing of employees and the disposition of houses constructed by the Government during the war.

(g) The freedom of labor and of employment in its relation to trade, unionism, and wages, hours, and conditions of employment.

The sixth of said committees, which shall be known as the joint congressional committee upon natural resources, shall so investigate and report on the following matters, to wit:

(a) The encouragement of private enterprise in the development of the resources of the public domain.

(b) The tendency toward urban population and the best means of checking it, including the requirements for farm labor and the best means of securing it.

(c) Government loans to farmers.

(d) The distribution of food products.

(e) Our timber problems.

(f) The adequate production and proper distribution of our mineral resources, including coal, petroleum, and other fuels.

(g) The development and control of water power.

Each of said committees is empowered to take up and examine any other subject which, in the course of its investigation, it finds to be inseparably connected with the subjects herein assigned to it and which ought to be considered in view of the change from the activities of war to the pursuits of peace, and especially the demobilization of war commissions, administrations, bureaus, and other civilian war agencies and the adjustment of the forces employed therein to private industry and commerce under normal peace conditions.

Each of said committees is authorized to employ such clerical assistance as it may deem necessary, including the services of experts, and may by subcommittee or otherwise send for persons or papers, administer oaths, and employ stenographers, at a cost not to exceed $1 per printed page, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject before it.

Each of said committees may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate and House of Representatives.

EMERGENCY FLEET CORPORATION.

Mr. KING submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 345), which was read and referred to the Committee on Commerce:

Whereas by the act approved March 1, 1918, entitled "An act to authorize and empower the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation to purchase, lease, requisition, or otherwise acquire, and to sell or otherwise dispose of improved or unimproved land, houses, buildings, and for other purposes," an appropriation of $50,000,000 was made to meet the emergency requiring adequate housing facilities in the shipyards, which emergency has now passed; and

Whereas it is reported that said United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation is unnecessarily expanding its housing operations under said act and is beginning new and unnecessary construction: Now therefore be it

Resolved, That the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation be directed to report to the Senate a complete account of its operations under said act, including a detailed report of the expenditure of moneys, which shall specifically state the amount expended for overhead expenses, what buildings and improvements have been made, the separate cause of the same, what work is at present being done, and what plans have been formed for further construction or for the further expansion of the activities of said corporation under the said act; also what, if any, steps are being taken to change, modify, or alter the program for housing adopted by said corporation.

PURCHASE OF MILITARY SUPPLIES.

Mr. KING submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 346), which was read and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War transmit to the Senate the names of all commissioned officers in the Army and of all other persons who since the 6th day of April, 1917, have been authorized by the War Department to purchase ordnance, quartermaster, medical, and other supplies for the use of the Military Establishment of the United States, and to inform the Senate as to what interest, as shareholders, partners, employees, or security holders, such officer or persons may have, directly or indirectly, so far as the Secretary may be advised, in any corporation, company, partnership, firm, or business which has been awarded contracts for the furnishing of ordnance, quartermaster, medical, or other supplies for the Military Establishment.

EXPORTS OF COTTON.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I ask that Senate resolution 336 be laid before the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate Senate resolution 336, coming over from a preceding day, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Whereas the authority to place an embargo on exports was stricken in the United States Senate from the original bill upon the ground that the embargo might be used to depress the price of our products,

but was subsequently restored upon the assurance that it would only be used to prevent products from reaching enemy countries; and

Whereas the war is now practically over and no possible danger could arise from permitting cotton to go freely to Japan, Spain, Italy, France, Great Britain, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; and

Whereas any restriction upon the exportation of cotton is a serious injury to the cotton grower, to the merchants, and business men of one-fourth of the Union, in which cotton is the largest agricultural product, and to our entire Nation, which depends so largely upon the sale of cotton abroad to care for our international balances, and upon the part the cotton-growing States contribute to the commerce of our entire country: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the War Trade Board is hereby directed to report, as early as possible, to the United States Senate to what extent the export of cotton is still being restricted, the reasons for such course, and the time within which restrictions as to shipments will be removed and cotton permitted to be exported without further hindrance.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I regret that only one-fourth of our States produce lint cotton. If this great national asset were distributed to all of the States, its value would be more fully understood, and it would always find friends everywhere. Our country has almost a monopoly in the production of the character of lint cotton needed to clothe the world. It is our great national asset. It furnishes employment to more of our citizens than any other commodity.

On the 28th of October I brought to the attention of the Senate the fact that during the early part of September lint cotton was selling at from 38 to 39 cents a pound. What I mean is that the farmer drove to his near-by town with his cotton and readily had a market at from 38 to 39 cents. I also at that time demonstrated to the Senate that cotton this year cost the cotton farmer approximately 35 cents a pound to produce it. At that time I also called attention to the fact that the War Industries Board, when cotton was selling at 38 cents a pound, took hold of cotton, appointed committees, threatened an effort to fix prices or to stabilize prices, and created such uncertainty in the market that buyers suspended purchases, and the market price was hammered down 8 cents a pound, a total of $450,000,000 on the entire crop.

At last, a few days ago, these special boards appointed by the War Industries Board found and declared they had no authority to fix a price, no power to maintain a price, no control whatever over it, and that there was no necessity for interference. They practically found what I stated to the Senate on the 28th of October—that the price at which cotton was selling in the early part of September was but a fair price compared with the cost of production and the relative prices of agricultural commodities throughout the United States. But the price had been broken and did not rally.

Then, Mr. President, we looked around, and what did we find? Those of us who have studied this question understand that 50 per cent of the cotton crop is used by foreign mills. To reach a market it must be exported. England, before the war, used of it 3,250,000 bales a year; France, a million to a million and a half bales. Over half the crop goes abroad for its market. About half is consumed by American mills.

What did we find? It will be recalled that the power of embargo on exports was granted by us for military purposes. The Senate rejected it when it was first before the Senate upon the ground that we recognized the danger of giving such a power to Presidents or committees or anybody in our country. We rejected it for fear that it would be used to depress the prices of American products. We finally agreed to the embargo provision on exports that it might be used to exclude supplies from Germany. The President placed cotton in the embargo list, and exports could only be made under license from the War Trade Board. The regulations with reference to license that were established by the War Trade Board during the past few months almost amounted to a suppression of exportation. Five hundred thousand bales of cotton were piled up in the ports. Licenses were not issued for its exportation and the foreign market was greatly restricted.

I recall with pleasure—yes, with pride—the criticism I placed upon granting power to anyone to use the embargo against the exportation of American products. I made that criticism at the time this measure was first pending before the Senate, and the Senate struck out the privilege. Subsequently, we were assured in executive session that it would be used only to keep commodities from reaching enemy countries, and that it was essential to help whip the Germans. Well, now the Germans are whipped. The real question with Germany is whether she has strength enough to sustain a government at all. It is impossible for them to raise an army of resistance against the allies; and yet what was the situation with reference to cotton exportation? I will give an illustration.

Spain was rationed at 35,000 bales of cotton each month. This must be distributed among Spanish dealers; various grades of cotton must be taken by each; and no purchases could be made except upon proof that sales had also been made abroad, and no purchases could be made for accumulation.

Japan, an ally, was practically cut off from purchase; and Japan was in this position: India this year has raised the smallest crop since she began to cultivate cotton, not more than enough for her own mills. Japan last year used 600,000 bales of ours. This year, because none can be obtained from India, Japan will need a million bales; yet shipments of cotton to Japan were greatly restricted. Even England and France received cotton with limitations of the privilege of shipment which handicapped sales of cotton.

I am not criticizing the past. We were ready to stand much to whip the Germans, and it was such a glorious thing to whip them that we all stood it without complaint, and it was all right. I wish to consider the present.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ASHURST in the chair). Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do.

Mr. KING. Would it not be fair in this connection for the Senator to state that there was an insufficiency of shipping, and that perhaps the refusal of the license was based upon the inadequacy of bottoms in which to ship the products?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Not at all. Japan had her ships. That did not have anything to do with shipping to Japan.

Mr. KING. Is it not a fact that the Japanese ships were employed elsewhere for the shipping of food and munitions, and that there was a shortage of bottoms upon her part?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do not think that was the controlling consideration in the Japanese matter. It certainly was not in the Spanish situation. But, as I said, I am not criticizing the past. I am making a statement for certain conclusions that I intend to present, because to-day I shall praise the War Trade Board for what it did yesterday.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do.

Mr. FLETCHER. May I suggest to the Senator, if we had tonnage enough to import 80,000 bales from Egypt, why was there not tonnage enough to export it?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The War Trade Board liberally allowed long-staple cotton to come in from Egypt while it suppressed the export of American short-staple cotton.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, is it not perfectly plain that if there had been no ships to haul the cotton it would not have been necessary to make any embargo, and therefore the embargo was made for the purpose of stopping the shipments?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. As the Senator suggests, there would have been no necessity to restrict licenses for shipments if the ships were not there to haul it. The restrictions reached to prohibiting purchase and accumulation of cotton for foreign account.

Mr. President, an investigation discloses the fact that Japan now can take a million bales of our cotton, and that they want it and need it. Spain can take 600,000 bales. They want it; they need it.

France can use a million bales and spin it before the next crop comes to market. This is agreeable news, because it has only recently been learned on this side that about half the cotton mills in northern France and Alsace-Lorraine, supposed to have been wrecked, are still in shape for immediate use. Italy needs and will use 600,000 bales. I have just stated that France can use approximately a million bales. Great Britain used last year 2,250,000 bales, and is prepared this year to take 3,250,000. Sweden was allotted 65,000 bales for the year. Sweden is asking for 100,000 bales. Holland was allotted none, and Denmark none. Holland needs 100,000 bales and Denmark and Norway 100,000. This year's exports, if an opportunity is given for cotton to move, will exceed 6,500,000 bales.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. The embargoes to which the Senator refers have not been limited to cotton. They have included other articles of merchandise which are produced in America. But what I rose for was to suggest this:

The war is over, if we are to judge from the fact that hostilities are suspended. Belgium is absolutely prostrate, and so is northeastern France. These people need all of the building material, all of the iron and steel for the reconstruction of the manufactures which have absolutely disappeared from the face of the earth. Indeed, they need every material thing which is essential to the rehabilitation of the people, and they have got to get it from the United States. Now, I ask the Senator whether he thinks that priority should be given for cotton or

for anything else until these absolute essentials are supplied to the people of those suffering countries?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I answer the Senator that next to food clothing is necessary, and for clothing cotton is an essential. The operation of the cotton mills in northern France and in Holland and in Denmark will furnish work for their people and clothing for their people and contribute as greatly to the rehabilitation of those countries as any industry within them. Furthermore, I am not asking for priority of shipments as to cotton. I ask that the ships of those nations ready and desirous of hauling cotton shall not be forbidden from taking it.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, there is no question but that what the people of those countries need directly is food and clothing, but the Senator is entirely in error when he says that the mills of Belgium and northern France can immediately proceed to the manufacture of cotton. There are no mills there. The Germans have swept the country like a besom of destruction.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The Senator did not hear my statement on that subject.

Mr. THOMAS. No; I did not.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I did not say mills were ready in Belgium, but I stated that one-half the cotton mills of northern France, Alsace, and Lorraine are still in condition for immediate use. This definite information has been received by the committee on cotton distribution of the War Industries Board within the past few days.

Mr. THOMAS. That may be, but Belgium has none. Now, if these people need clothing—and they do—we should manufacture the clothing, or the cloth for the clothing, and send it to them; but for one I shall insist that the present condition of trade and the power of the War Trade Board shall continue until the people of those suffering countries shall receive those things which are absolutely essential for their commercial and industrial rehabilitation.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Why, Mr. President, it is absolutely essential for their commercial rehabilitation that they be given a chance to go to work. They can spin and weave much clothing for themselves. The ships are ample. There is no difficulty about transportation. We will bring back our soldiers and send over supplies. And you give them a chance to go to work when you give them the raw material with which to work.

Now, Mr. President, I come to a pleasanter part of my task of to-day. At first the Cotton Distribution Board of the War Industries Board seriously injured the cotton grower, some of the board hardly understood the situation; but they all realize conditions as they are now, and to-day they have furnished a letter to the War Trade Board which I desire to present to the Senate. Before doing so, I will read from a telegram sent to the War Industries Board from New Orleans, signed by 50 of the largest cotton merchants of that section.

I will read the telegram:

NEW ORLEANS, *November 14, 1918.*

Bernard M. Baruch, Chairman War Industries Board, Washington, D. C.
Charles J. Brand, Chairman Cotton Distribution Committee, United States War Industries Board, Washington, D. C.
E. T. Pickard, Bureau of Exports, War Trade Board, Washington, D. C.

In view of the statement issued by Chairman Brand, of the cotton-distribution committee, that the world's requirements of cotton will be on a continuously ascending scale, and that exports will probably be 2,000,000 bales more than last year, we respectfully suggest that an effective method of steadying the cotton market would be to remove all export restrictions and that you use your good offices to that end. Prominent cotton exporters state that they have on hand large orders for cotton from practically every neutral country in Europe, but that these orders can not be filled, because export licenses can not be secured except under difficulty and delay. Now that the need of shipping men and munitions for war purposes no longer exists, we feel that the cotton interests of the country may justly request that a larger share of tonnage be made immediately available by the Government for cotton exports. We are firmly of the opinion that if such action as outlined were taken that the market would at once feel the stimulating effects of a general spot demand.

M. Levy & Sons; C. A. Francis & Co.; S. Gumbel & Co. (Ltd.); John M. Parker Co.; H. R. Gould & Co.; Herman Loeb; Norman Mayer & Co.; Jevite Cau; A. M. West, Agent; Geo. N. McFadden Bros. Agency; Herrman & Wolf; C. F. Witherspoon & Sons; Weil & Walshe; N. W. Sloan Co.; Frank B. Nayne; Dodson & Williams; The Buckworth Co.; J. J. Lowrey & Co.; Lehman Stern & Co. (Ltd.); Esteve Bros. & Co.; J. L. Newcomb; A. J. Ingersoll & Co.; Julius Weis & Co.; A. W. McLellan, president Alden Mills; Wilson, Nabers & Pape (Inc.); Kahn's Pickery; S. N. Kahn; E. N. McGlassen, Agent Southern Products Co.; Pferdmenges Preyer & Co.; Wm. T. Wardie & Co.; Richardson & May Land & Planting Co. (Ltd.); L. Blum & Co.; Silvan Newburger & Co.; W. J. Davis & Co.; Shepard & Gluck; Muckle & Woodfin; Bentley Joynson & Co.; Mason Smith & Co.; Coate Bros.; R. B. Eskrigge & Co.; E. S. Stahel & Co.; Goold & Co., by N. N. Lawler; W. B. Thompson & Co.; John F. Clark & Co.; Minoprio & Co.; Hubbell Slack & Co.; Weatherford, Crump & Co.

I desire to call attention to the letter written by the distribution board of the War Industries Board to the chairman of the War Trade Board dated November 16. This letter presents so powerfully the necessity for permitting cotton to be exported without restriction I will read it. I wish to thank the cotton distribution committee for writing the letter and to publicly say I believe they are doing all in their power to broaden the cotton market.

1358 B STREET SW., ROOM 521,
November 16, 1918.

Hon. VANCE C. MCCORMICK,
Chairman War Trade Board, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Reference is made to the telegram which you received to-day from New Orleans, signed by more than 50 cotton dealers in that market, and to a request from your board that the committee on cotton distribution make recommendations relative to the subject matter of this telegram. I have received a similar telegram.

The need for cotton by our allies, the neutrals, and the central powers is very great. Many of their spindles are idle. We are preparing to furnish them food. Along with food they must have work to do, and it is necessary to this end that they have raw materials which they may work up into manufactured products. Further, the cessation of hostilities will release additional labor for their mills. The stocks of raw cotton in Europe are very greatly depleted, little reserve stock being left on hand. The representatives of foreign nations with whom we have conferred have recognized and stated very frankly their great need for cotton. They are ready to buy both to replenish their reserve stocks and to operate their machinery.

With the coming of peace, through the operation of numerous factors, such, for instance, as the release of tonnage from war activities, the stoppage of sinkings by submarines, the building of new tonnage, and the release of neutral and enemy country tonnage, a great deal of additional tonnage will become available for commerce. With the keen need that is felt for cotton, there is no doubt that a substantial part of this tonnage will be used for carrying this staple. If the exportation of cotton is facilitated through the ready issuance of export licenses and otherwise, it is altogether likely that even tramp steamers will carry it over from this country.

* * * * * * *

There is no doubt, of course, due to conditions already pointed out, that the requirements of the world for the present season will be largely in excess of requirements for the past season. However, during the present critical period of transition from war to peace there is great stagnation, and it is very essential that everything possible be done to alleviate this condition immediately. This is the season during which the producers of cotton harvest their product. Their financial obligations become due during the fall season, and they must sell their product in order to cancel these obligations. With little movement for cotton, either they can not sell it or they are compelled to sell it at a price which represents great sacrifice. This condition touches directly about 3,000,000 citizens of this country, as cotton is produced by a very large number of small producers, and not by a very small number of large producers, as in the case of many other commodities. If the cotton is sold at this season at a sacrifice, the result is a loss to those who are least able to bear it. It must also be borne in mind that an unsatisfactory price at this season of the year will result in a curtailment of production next year and in the consequent reduction in the cotton available for clothing the world. Moreover, the question involved concerns the Nation as a whole, and not merely the producers, since cotton in normal times forms our most important article of export.

In view of the conditions outlined above, it is recommended that all possible steps be taken to facilitate the exportation of cotton, and that, so far as is consistent with sound public policy, limitations or restrictions upon the granting of licenses shall be removed. Particularly with reference to Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, and Japan, it appears that a very generous policy as regards export licenses ought to be adopted. With reference to Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland, it is recommended that until the allies and the United States have in their hands guaranties of the acceptance by Germany of the armistice terms exportations be allowed under licenses on the basis of their prewar consumption or in accordance with the trade agreements now in force with these countries. In any event, it is our opinion that these neutrals should be permitted at least to buy and store in this country the quantity of cotton due them under the present trade agreements. After the guaranties required of Germany under the armistice terms are in our hands, we are of the opinion that exports of cotton to neutral groups should be permitted on substantially the same terms as exports to our allies.

If the movement of cotton is to be restrained, in view of the coming peace conference, some steps must be taken to avert the immediate disaster which threatens the cotton-producing sections of the United States and the impending misfortune to the Nation at large and the rest of the world through the enforced curtailment in the production of cotton next season.

Very truly, yours, CHARLES J. BRAND, *Chairman.*

You will observe that these restrictions went to such an extent that neutrals could not buy and store cotton in the United States. The foreign world was cut out of the market practically both for export, for purchase, or for storage, except as the different countries were rationed.

Mr. President, I have just read a letter that is gratifying to me. Now, let me state that with to-day a change comes. The War Trade Board has pulled down within the past 24 hours nearly all these restrictions. They have pulled down the restrictions as to our allies. They have practically pulled them down as to Spain. They have modified them everywhere and only retained them so far as it is still essential in connection with the terms of the armistice to enforce the blockade against Germany and Austria, and as soon as that is no longer necessary as an incident to the armistice I am sure these restrictions also will come down.

I will read the letter delivered this morning to Mr. Brand, written by Mr. Vance McCormick, chairman of the War Trade Board, as a result of the action of the Trades Board:

NOVEMBER 20, 1918.

Mr. CHARLES J. BRAND,
Chairman Committee on Cotton Distribution,
War Industries Board, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We beg to acknowledge receipt of your letters of November 16 and November 19, referring to the exportation of cotton. We also confirm our understanding of the recommendations which we have adopted, agreed to at the conference with your committee and Senator HOKE SMITH yesterday evening, as follows:

We are withdrawing the regulation requiring that for securing an export license the grade and staple be specified, and other requirements which were adopted some weeks ago and published in the War Trade Board regulation effective October 14.

We are also withdrawing the requirements for specific export licenses to Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, and Japan.

In regard to shipments of cotton to Spain, we are withdrawing the regulation whereby the quantity which should be shipped to Spain was limited and allotted among our various shippers.

We are advising the representatives here of the European neutral countries with which we have entered into agreements that they may purchase their entire annual requirements.

We have consulted with the representatives of the countries above mentioned, associated with us in the war, and notwithstanding considerable inconvenience in administration is caused by our acting quickly. We have received their hearty cooperation.

Yours, very truly,

Inclosure. VANCE C. MCCORMICK.

You will observe there has been a restriction as to the quantity that could be purchased here. No matter how desirous foreign cotton merchants might have been to purchase their year's supply they had not the right, they were limited, they were restricted in quantity. Most of the restrictions hampering exports and depressing prices ended to-day.

I desire, Mr. President, to say that I have no doubt these restrictions, these suppressive restrictions as an incident to the war, were put upon cotton with the view of promoting the national welfare and contributing to the defeat of the Germans. I find it unnecessary to express an opinion now as to whether the course was wise or otherwise. I am sure that the present course is wise and right, and I feel also sure that another onward step will be taken in a few days, and all restrictions as to the exportation of cotton will be removed.

I realize the burdens that have been upon the War Industries Board and upon the War Trade Board. Patriotic men of great ability have served upon them, and while hardships have been occasioned by some of their orders, we may not overestimate the contribution made by the members of these boards toward winning the war.

Mr. President, let me say that I do not believe in board government. We all stood it because we had to whip the Germans. They were so thoroughly organized we concluded we had to a little overorganize ourselves to whip them. But Germany will never be a military menace to the world again, and let us, as we move on with our legislative responsibilities, remember that some of the things that have been done in the direction of extreme organization ought not to be considered precedents even in time of war, and every possible facility should be given at once to let every industry in this country have what it needs to again do business without restriction, and every commodity in this country produced by our citizens be given the opportunity through its owners to reach the markets where it is needed. This great country was built with liberality of treatment extended to individual effort. In the exercise of our ingenuity, our ability, our productive capacity, we have not found it necessary to have guardians and directors at the capital to tell our business men and our manufacturers and our farmers just what they should do. I thank God the time has about come when the average man can again conduct his business without restriction, and I hope that the freest opportunity will be given to all the products of this country to seek the markets of the world, to spread, to strengthen our commerce, and to help place our commerce where we will have the business with which to use a great fleet.

I wish to add, I hope our fleet will grow stronger and that we will determine not only on the land but on the water our country shall recognize no leader and submit to no dictation.

During the delivery of the speech of Mr. SMITH of Georgia,

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia will please suspend while the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, the hour of 2 o'clock having arrived. It will be stated by title.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 4637) for retirement of employees in the classified civil service.

After the conclusion of the speech of Mr. SMITH of Georgia,

CONTROL OF CABLE LINES.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, I do not deem it to be the province of a minority party or of any individual member of it to offer criticisms of an administration merely for the sake of criticizing it. To use the ordinary street expression, I do not believe in throwing a monkey wrench into the machinery in order to have the pleasure of witnessing the destruction it works. This is especially true of the Republican Party, because having always been the party of aggression and the party of construction it ill comports with its character to take upon itself a campaign of mere criticism for the purpose of obstruction.

But while this is true generally it is also true that to gloss over errors and to conceal mistakes may be in the long run just as destructive as even to point out errors which do not exist, because if mistakes and if errors of a vital character are concealed they may in the end become festering sores that will require more drastic methods to remove. Therefore whenever a Senator sees an administration's mistakes it becomes, as I conceive it, his solemn duty to point out those mistakes for the consideration of his fellow Senators and for the benefit of the country at large. It is for that purpose that I rise to speak on this occasion.

Last week the press informed us that the President of the United States by proper proclamation had taken over under governmental control and operation the express companies of the Nation. The President did not assign us any reason for that action, and therefore we are left to the broad field of conjecture as to why he did it. It is quite true that we are safe in assuming that the action was taken under the act of Congress passed in 1916, by which the President was empowered to take over all the transportation systems of the country, and it is safe to assume that in this act he regarded the express companies of the Nation as a part of the transportation system of the country. With that conclusion I have no quarrel; but it is passing strange, Senators, that during all the time of storm and stress, during the period of unparalleled congestion of the railroads of the United States, during the time when we were transporting millions of soldiers from one portion of the Republic to another portion of the Republic, to the camp, to the cantonment, to the training stations, and to points of embarkation, while an incalculable quantity of munitions and of food and of equipment were being transported by the railroads, and while this congestion was unprecedented in the history of this or any other country, it was not thought essential by the President to take over the express companies in order to relieve that congestion or to carry on the transportation of the country. Now, when the Hun is at our mercy, when Germany lies prostrate at our feet, when the last cloud of war is sinking below the horizon and the sun of peace fills all our skies, he has taken over the express companies of the country for operation by the General Government.

I believe that that is a breach of good faith on the part of the President of the United States. Congress voted him this extraordinary power for war purposes only. We yielded up our authority in order to put power in the President's right hand and authority in his left hand for the sole purpose of winning this war, and now during all the time of war, during the exigent necessities of the transportation problems of the country, not finding it essential to take over the express companies, now when peace is at hand and war has passed, the President of the United States, as I believe, violates the spirit, if not the letter, of the act which conferred this power upon him in taking over the express companies to be operated by the Government.

Why is that step taken? It is taken, Mr. President and Senators, in my belief, simply because of the fact that the President is loath to give up any of the power with which we have clothed him, and that the subordinates about him, including those in the Cabinet, do not intend to relinquish that power unless compelled to do so by legislative action.

We are also informed that by proclamation the President has taken over the cables to be operated by the Government. If what I have said with reference to the express companies be true, with how much greater force do these same words apply to the cables? It will be recalled that during the debate on the problems with refereuce to taking over the express and telephone lines of the country it was repeatedly stated on the other side by the sponsors for the measure and by the spokesman of the administration that in all probability not even the telegraph or telephone lines would be taken over, that in all probability the power thereby conferred upon the President would never be used, and one man after another on the other side rose up to say that there was no occasion for taking over the cables, because their owners had not in anywise violated any of the secrets that had been confided to them, but ha ' operated them wholly and solely in accordance with governmental suggestions. It was stated repeatedly on the other side by those who advocated that measure that they wanted that provision inserted in the act wholly as a precaution. Congress was about to adjourn for a time, we were about to go to our various

homes, and it was said that in case of a contingency, in case something unforeseen should arise, it was wise to bestow this power upon the President, so that he might use it in time of stress or in an hour of peril. Yielding to that sort of argument, without there being any basis of justification for it at the time, we placed it in the bill and conferred upon the President that power.

Now, after all this declamation, and now after every hour of emergency has passed, and now after peace has come upon us, and now after war has taken his wrinkled front from the presence of the world, we have the President of the United States violating, as I believe, the letter and the spirit of that law by taking over the cables for governmental operation.

It is exceedingly significant, Senators, that this action of taking over the cables comes just at the time when the President of the United States is about to visit a foreign country. I am not going to quarrel with the decision of the President about going abroad. I do not believe that it is an unconstitutional proposition. It is new and it is novel, and in some respects it wears aspects that are quite startling. I do not believe there is any necessity for his going abroad, provided he were willing to confide in others as much as I believe he might at this time confide in many of his qualified fellow citizens. But it is singularly significant that just at the time the President is about to go abroad he takes over the cables, after having declined to take them over during all the years of war and all the time of storm and peril, and when every necessity for his having taken them over has ceased if, indeed, any necessity for such action has ever existed.

Therefore, we are again left to the wide field of conjecture as to why the President sees fit to take this particular action at this particular time. Certainly no one will claim that he is taking them over as a necessity of war. Certainly no one will claim that this is in anywise related to a war proposition, because there is no war and because during all the time while hostilities were active he declined to take them over. If during all that time private management was doing all that was needed to be done, both with the express companies and the cables, how can it be said that private management will fail, now that the war is over and the days of peace have come upon us? Therefore I insist that there is some other reason that the President has not stated, which is not apparent, as to why the cables are being taken over, because in this instance, as in the other, the President has given us no reason.

It will be recalled by those who were present—and I remember that nearly all the Senators were present—during the debate on the question of taking over the telegraph and telephone lines that it was repeatedly stated that there was no real war reason for taking them over. Three witnesses appeared before the committee on the question. Those were Secretary Daniels, Secretary Baker, and Postmaster General Burleson. They gave no reason as to why those lines should be taken over. The only one that was ever assigned by any man on this floor in debate was that there might arise some necessity for it, and we had better bestow that power upon the President as a precautionary measure.

It will further be recalled that these three gentlemen, the three members of the Cabinet I have named, recited in their testimony that there was no reason existing at that time why this action should be taken, but that that policy should be the uniform policy of the country. All of them said that they thought the Government should own these lines and operate them permanently. Therefore, Senators, we come face to face, just as I told you in that debate, with the proposition of the permanent Government ownership of these and of other public utilities as well. Am I in error about that?

The Senator from Illinois himself this morning, he being one of the men who stood upon the floor of the Senate and stated repeatedly that it would not be necessary to take over these lines, but that this power ought to be bestowed as a precautionary measure—that Senator himself introduced a resolution to-day looking to the permanent Government ownership and operation of all public utilities and, in addition to that, of various other private properties. Therefore the Senator himself, my honored friend from Illinois, is accentuating the very idea I have been trying to impress upon Senators here for a long period of time, and that is, that various members of the President's Cabinet and a large number of those who are socialistically inclined who surround him are seeking to fasten upon this country now a program of state socialism. There is no other excuse or pretext of excuse for taking over the express companies and for taking over the cables at this particular time. Therefore, we may as well recognize that policy and prepare to confront it as one of the stupendous problems that perplex the Republic at this vital hour.

Why is the President taking over the cables just at the time he is going abroad? The President, I verily believe in all good faith, might have taken his fellow citizens into his confidence and given his reasons for taking over the cables. He might have taken his fellow citizens into his confidence and stated his reasons for taking over the express companies. He has not seen fit to do so. If there be any reason why it should be done I should be glad if some Senator would voice it. No man has risen to give a reason, except the hidden and sinister reason that it is a part of the general policy of Government ownership and is the opening door to the existence of the socialist state. Therefore, I am left to the wide field of conjecture, as are all other Senators, as to why the President at this particular time has taken this particular action.

It is quite significant that the President is taking with him as one of his companions on this trip George Creel, master of the Republic's instruction. I take it for granted that when the President leaves these shores to all intents and purposes the cables are cut. I take it for granted that the President has taken over these lines because he does not intend that any man at the peace table shall know what is being said in the House of Representatives or on the floor of this body. I take it for granted that we are not to know on this side what they are doing over there and that they are not to know on that side what we are saying over here. I can conceive of no other reason for this action at this particular time save the desire to inaugurate a permanent policy of Government ownership. Why does George Creel go along? Clearly in order to send back whatever news may be required. With George Creel at that end controlling all the messages and with Albert S. Burleson at this end controlling all the sources of information, the country may well be warned that they may take at least with a grain of salt whatever is published as to what happens at the peace conference.

It occurs to me that in all fairness the American people ought to know every transaction that occurs at that peace table. Certainly the Senate of the United States should be apprised of the transactions that occur there. We, under the Constitution of the United States, are a part of the treaty-making body; it is ours to confirm whatever may be there done; it is ours to ratify whatever may there be written; and yet we are to be deprived of all knowledge of the events that there occur, not only those obtained by personal contact—for it is quite evident that no Member of the Senate will be appointed to accompany the President—but we are also to be denied all knowledge that might be transmitted by cable of the transactions that occur at that great conference. Under all the circumstances I regard this as the most remarkable transaction in the history of our entire diplomacy. It seems to me to be inconceivable that such a thing can happen at such a vital time in the history of this country and in the history of the world.

Therefore I am led to believe that when the President of the United States thinks what this step means and how much it involves he may be willing to appoint some Members of the United States Senate to go abroad on this errand with him if he still insists on such an unusual proceeding.

Now, Senators, I have said that these gentlemen do not desire to surrender the power we have heretofore bestowed upon them. This is evidenced by the fact that instead of relinquishing it they are reaching out for more even that they did not take during the progress of the war. And it is further evidenced by the fact that at least in some places in the South they are proceeding with the building and construction of cantonments the same as if the war were still on. The honorable Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] read here a few moments ago a letter from the Secretary of War, and the Senator congratulated the country and bestowed great praise upon the Secretary because $1,780,000,000 worth of contracts had been canceled up to this time. While he was reading there was placed in my hands a copy of the News and Observer, a paper owned and published by Secretary Josephus Daniels at Raleigh, N. C., bearing the date of Friday morning, November 15. I hold it up for your inspection that all may see its language:

United States Employment Service needs 12,000 skilled and unskilled laborers for James Stewart & Co., contractors, Camp Bragg, Fayetteville, N. C. Apply to nearest United States Employment Service office, Raleigh, Charlotte, Winston-Salem, Elizabeth City, Asheville.

And, in addition, a letter from a gentleman whose integrity is unquestioned and who stands without blemish in his community, in which he says:

NOVEMBER 15, 1918.

I inclose an ad. taken from to-day's News and Observer. It was announced two or three weeks ago that there were 8,000 to 10,000 men at work there then. The News and Observer, in issue of the 8th, states that a contract had just been let for 80 miles of standard road to be built through property of Camp Bragg, at a cost of $2,500,000, making

a total of $16,000,000 to be spent in Camp Bragg. It is announced that Camp Polk (tank camp), Raleigh, will be completed. Contractor advertised a few days ago for 2,000 men.

This is a tank camp. Why should tanks be built now? For the same reason that cable and express companies should be taken over now.

They have let contract of $10,000,000 additional to Camp Jackson, Columbia, S. C.

Camp Humphreys, Va., had their labor agents out last week stating that a large addition will be added to Camp Humphrey. Why all this waste and the war over? I understand fully why this hurry at Camp Bragg. It is reported that they are building 700 modern bungalows there, and with fine concrete road, also railroad built to it, water, sewerage, and so forth, this would make an ideal manufacturing village. But why spend $16,000,000 now with war over? It is a shame.

I commend that article, if it be true—and I take it for granted that it is, because here is the advertisement in Secretary Daniels's paper—to the consideration of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. So we may take it for granted that, while some contracts have been suspended and while some demobilization has taken place, after all, in the essential thing of the Government control of public utilities, there has been no alteration in the intention of the gentlemen in the Cabinet and those who immediately surround the President of the United States. These are the only reasons that I have in my mind or that I can conjure up as to why the President at this time of all times should take over the express companies and the cables running from this country to Europe.

I take it for granted that none of us is in such great haste as to demobilization; we believe that the boys in cantonments in this country should be sent back home as speedily and as rapidly as possible, but we are all aware of the fact that those who are abroad can not come back home until after the treaty of peace shall have been signed. However, after the signature of that great document, we believe that they should be sent back to their country just as rapidly as transportation facilities across the ocean can be secured. With those propositions of the administration we are not at quarrel. The thing that stirs me to the very depths is the fact that under these circumstances those in authority continue not only to hold, but also to take over, additional facilities and utilities for the express purpose of fastening upon the country the policy of Government ownership and establishing a system of state socialism, which, if followed to its logical conclusion, will pull down the pillars of the Republic and bury us all in its melancholy ruins. That is why I lift my voice at this particular time against this policy of the administration.

I well agree with the editorial which I find in the New York Times of yesterday, which I commend to my friends on both sides of this Chamber. It is as follows:

The resolution adopted by the caucus of Republican Senators "that the Congress shall assert and exercise its normal and constitutional function, including legislation necessary for reconstruction," expresses an intention which should not be opposed by Democratic Senators. Congress gave up a great deal of its power to the Executive for the patriotic purpose of pushing the war. But the war is over, and Congress would fail in its duty if it continued in times of peace the policy it pursued in the bloody and dangerous time just passed.

If there should be among the Democrats any Senators foolish enough to dissent from this proposal of the Republicans, we presume that they will base their dissent on the fact that, though the war is over, reconstruction is not. But that is an argument for, not against, the resolution of the Republican Senators. It is in the work of reconstruction that the powers committeed to Congress are peculiarly necessary. In time of war it becomes necessary to centralize authority, to sacrifice everything to the winning of the war, but no such necessity appears in times of reconstruction, and the people are very jealous of their Constitution, with its threefold government. They will not be pleased with any party or any set of public officials who, under any pretext whatever, attempt to continue the autocratic power with which the people willingly vested the executive officers of the Government so long as the country was actually in danger.

I agree most heartily with the sentiment and the logic therein expressed. In the day of stress and in the hour of peril we gladly gave over to the keeping of the President of the United States such power as he asked for. Many of us on this side of the Chamber—and I speak for myself—voted power and authority into his hands that we really did not believe he needed; but no man when his country is at war intends to haggle over minutiæ, over details, and we said, "We will give the President the power that he asks, because he asks it and because he says he needs it." After all, the surprise is the greater, when the day of storm is past, when all the war clouds have rolled by, that this authority which we placed in his hands for the purpose of winning the war has not been turned back to the Congress that bestowed it or to the people who conferred it, but is being held and added to from day to day for the express purpose of fastening upon us a system of socialistic ownership, which is contrary to the fundamental principles of the Republic and of the underlying ideas of the Constitution of the United States. That is why at this time in these brief remarks I lift my voice against the action of the President of the United States. I should be glad if the Senate, in this hour of rehabilitation and in this time of reconstruction, would reassert itself to the extent of passing some sort of resolution voicing its opposition to this action on the part of the President of the United States.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, I read in the Constitution, as I remember it, that in certain events the Vice President shall exercise the powers and duties of the President, but the conditions precedent are the death, resignation, or inability of the President. It makes no provision for the absence of the President from the territorial limits of the United States. In pursuance of the constitutional mandates, therefore, the exercise of executive power inheres in the person who occupies officially the place of President, so long as he does not fall within any of the disabilities mentioned in the Constitution so as to devolve the power and the duties of the office upon the chief Presiding Officer of this body, the Vice President. Therefore, when this proposed visit is made, some time, I assume, after the first Monday in December, 1918, the White House will be transferred officially to Paris, France; 3,000 miles of salt water will send its heaving tide between the sole remaining powers of government in the United States and the Executive. There will be left the Supreme Court of the United States, when it shall convene; there will remain the Senate and the House of Representatives; but the Executive and the White House and all its vast powers will be transferred to Europe, where they will abide, if I am to trust press reports, a considerable time. Yesterday's advices informed us that there would be no precipitate departure of the President from the scene of peace negotiations. It induces sober reflection to contemplate the migration of presidential sovereignty to foreign and distant soil.

He will be attended by the usual retinue. He will have his press bodyguard, the redoubtable Creel, who will "creel" every message in approved and official form before it shall be transmitted by cable to this continent. Mr. Creel has seen fit to protest, and, as the poet says, in protesting too much, he but approves the charge. Mr. Creel hastens this morning by the public press to say:

With respect to my charged connection with the cables and cable censorship, there is no such connection, nor will there be any. There is no press censorship of any kind existing in the United States to-day. No plan of resumption has been suggested or even contemplated.

* * * * * * *

The one proper effort of the Committee on Public Information will be to open every means of communication to the press of America without dictation, without supervision, and with no other desire than to facilitate in every manner the fullest and freest flow of news.

I am reminded of an old Spanish proverb which says, "Never lock up a reformed drunkard alone in a wine cellar." [Laughter.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. However justifiable the laughter, the Chair is obliged to call attention to the fact that it is not permitted under the rules.

Mr. SHERMAN. The proverb is quite old in its truth, but will soon be extinct in practice under a pending constitutional amendment. Mr. President, I regret the levity with which the announcement of this great truth is received. I only sought to impress the similarity of the two cases when they are confronted with temptation. Can Creel, with the entire commercial telegraph system, both public and private wires, on this continent, and with 17 trans-Atlantic cable lines all resting in the palm of his imperial hand, resist? Did he not testify before a Senate committee not many months ago that in his earlier days he was given somewhat to sophomoric excesses; that sometimes his language was too lurid; that he spoke sometimes in gigantic terms of red headlines from force of habit? A horse that balks once will balk again. How can he resist? He will burst with suppressed desire and our paean of victory will end in a dirge over his exploded remains. That is an aphorism among horse traders, and it is the rule of conduct always observed among those gentlemen in such transfers of personal property. This is a horse trade. I suggest to the Senate that when we trade Mr. Creel, reformed and alone with the cables in his hand, for Mr. Creel as he has been in years past, when he lived in Denver, when he was about Indianapolis, and when his habitat was the loop in Chicago, we do not gain by the transaction. Men do not make themselves overnight; character-building is not of that ephemeral nature. They are made by a lifetime of action, following precept and example. Mr. Creel is still Creel. The chairman of the Committee on Public Information in Paris will be the same reformed reportorial drunkard in exaggeration in the journalistic wine cellar that he was in Denver and is in Washington to-day.

Why is his presence required, Mr. President? Is he possessed of diplomatic knowledge? Is he a great constitutional lawyer? Has he read and does he know all the precedents from the time

of Hugo Grotius to Robert Lansing in diplomacy and in connection with the controversy upon the freedom of the seas? He has no such record. Is his presence deemed necessary, mayhap, for the safety of the Chief Magistrate? He has no record as personal bodyguard or as a valorous man of war, save as Falstaff and as Jack Cade—

My dagger is in my teeth,
My weapons are my words.

Nowhere has he sought the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth. His name ranged high as a space filler and defamer of every safeguard of stable government. Now he is to measure out to the mighty free press of America what may enter its columns. This is his mission and purpose, and none other, save as a sonorous court trumpeter of his chief.

Such is Creel's record. Why is he needed in Paris? I understand, Mr. President, that the Executive will go abroad in the best steamship that plies on the Atlantic. He will be attended by the usual and necessary secret-service men. No doubt also officers of the Army of high rank and wearing resplendent, glittering uniforms will attend him to gay Paree, now relieved, we all rejoice to say, from the stress of war conditions, so that the display and the splendor of the occasion will rise to the full level of the magnificent affair to be attended by our Executive abroad.

Again, he breaks all precedents. No other President has ever seen fit to leave his country's soil. I earnestly hope, under the blessings of a benign Providence, that his voyage will be attended with safety, that no unkind commotion of the elements, that none of the floating mines or hidden perils of the deep will interfere with his safe return when he shall have performed his full duty, as he sees it, abroad; but I can not understand why the cables on this particular occasion should have been seized preceding his departure for Europe.

I learn by consulting again that veracious chronicle, known as "The real Col. House," who is now abroad—I am speaking under some time limitations, and I hope I may keep within them—that:

From all historic precedent, the United States looks to one man to lead the country's forces in the war. That man is Woodrow Wilson. To him will go the credit for victory or the obloquy of defeat.

I have some idea that in all human probability the private soldier who carried a rifle, who worked a machine gun, who suffered privations and hardships in the trenches, that his captain and the colonels and all the officers who are in this mighty host that went across the sea that some whose pulseless clay sleeps in graves far from sorrowing homes would have some credit. I know that greatness at last is a mere crown upon the apex of the pyramid of the lives of countless millions. Somebody in history touches the peak and the mighty multitude that sacrificed and died and gave up their priceless treasures of human life are only the insensate foundation for the glory of those who are heralded to future ages as the conquering hero; but I protest against the text I have read, that to Woodrow Wilson will go the credit for victory. The victory belongs to the American people, to their instant union, and their heroic sons. It is a part of their imperishable history. It is a part of the great chapter of human events they have written around the world. It belongs to no man; it is the heritage of patriots and the common birthright of human freedom. The attempt to monopolize that credit shows a strange perverseness and misunderstanding of the genius of our institutions. Such a claim is repugnant to the sentiments of every Senator and every citizen of our country.

With the cables taken over recently the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON], I think, has touched one of the predominant notes in the reason why. I think there is another that precipitated it at the inopportune time and way it was done. Let some gentleman who desires to sojourn abroad, whether it be to go across the Rio Grande or to go to Japan, much less the other way, across the Atlantic, attempt to get a passport from the Department of State. Go across for your constituents and try to get a passport now, if you can. Although we are feeding Europe, we are living on cornmeal and buckwheat and sorghum molasses out West, in order that the Hun may be saved from the pangs of starvation. It avails but little. Children are gathering potatoes, staying out of school, in my home country. I saw them. They are stripping cane, and the humble sorghum is supplementing the sugar crop of this country, both beet and cane. Corn is rotting in the fields, and the housewife has left her kitchen and the affairs of her home and has gone into the cornfield; the children who can not reach an ear of corn are husking the down row that is found sometimes nearer the ground. Under these conditions, with the great sacrifices and the efforts we have made to save the food crop of the year, we think that at least we are doing our part, and that if we wanted to go abroad we might in all reason be permitted at least the poor courtesy of a passport.

Try to get one, if you can, unless you belong to the charmed circle. If I were one of Creel's assistants, I could have a passport; but I doubt if a Senator could get a passport to-day. Try it and see. Try it for one of your constituents. I know whereof I speak. Ask Gifford Pinchot whether he can get a passport. Ask Villard, with whose sentiments I do not agree; but if he wants a passport, I would say, God speed him when he gets the passport to go away and stay just as long as he wishes; to stay at least until he changes some of the sentiments he has heretofore entertained.

There are a number of other gentlemen in this country who ought to be provided either with passports, with a kindly admonition to use them at as early a date as possible, or with deportation decrees from a court of competent jurisdiction, backed up by adequate legislation from Congress. But at any rate passports are denied; the cables are controlled, and Creel sits as an imperial dictator at the source of every action and event or source of information that precedes the formal submission to the Senate of a draft of a treaty of peace for ratification. That is what I complain of.

The Senate is a treaty-making body. Last September—on September 3, 1918, as I remember—I remarked upon the time when a treaty, or a form of it, would be submitted to the Senate and immediate action asked. What it will contain nobody knows; and with censored cables, with no ability to learn of the details that precede its formation, of the conditions that attended the negotiation, with nothing except Creeled news from beginning to end the information that will be laid before the Senate will be of the most meager character.

Oh, I am reminded. "Read 'The New Freedom' and 'Pitiless Publicity.' Is not that a guaranty?" It is like the man who made a statement at one time, under the influence of stimulants, that he had caught lobsters that weighed 40 pounds down here somewhere along the coast. Other fishermen jealous of the veracity of their craft took him to task about it; all he was able to produce was the affidavit of two old retired sailors, that they had seen lobsters that they thought weighed 40 pounds apiece. The tribunal appointed to pass upon the truth or falsity of the statement made a report that affidavits were not lobsters. That is still true. Promises in "The New Freedom" are not information. They are not adequate facts upon which we can base our action in ratifying a treaty in this Chamber. So that we are left to the tender mercies of a censored cable for the information that will come from day to day concerning the formation of the draft of the treaty.

These two items taken together I think help explain, or at least somewhat illuminate, the reason which is likely the predominant one for permanent purposes referred to by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON].

When I think of the Chief Executive going abroad I have a considerable vision of how he will look and how he will be attended. I trust he will be given the same consideration that he receives in his own country. I hope there will be no petty jealousies aroused among the allies or our representatives abroad about who is entitled to the credit of winning the war, but that we will divide the responsibility, and likewise that we will equalize our share in the credit. But when that is all done, I am reminded that there must be some reason for his going abroad. The cables can convey, under priority rule, all messages by code or any given language. I can not myself see the necessity of the visit of the Executive, but let that pass.

I wish to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in order that it may be in proper juxtaposition—if you will permit the word—with my remarks, the fact that on August 26, 1918, the Democratic candidates and the Democratic central committee of Muskingum County, Ohio, met on behalf of the Democratic Party at Zanesville in that State. It "resoluted," as all such bodies do, in stately form and approved fashion. The proceedings I have are from the Zanesville Signal, of date August 27, following this meeting. It is a Democratic organ, as I know the Senators from Ohio will cheerfully testify. So taking it as a source of unquestioned veracity, I am moved to read that resolution.

Now, sometimes, Mr. President, especially in the case of a resolution that has many "whereases," as the one we heard awhile ago, it is at the end of the resolution—all the preceding matter lighting our understanding down to the working point—that the important matter comes; but, contrary to custom, the very first words in this resolution are the important ones, because it starts out:

His Majesty Woodrow Wilson, the President of these United States, in his propaganda of world-wide philanthropy, his declarations of humanity, and the preservation of the whole world through the medium of unadulterated democracy, demands our warmest commendation, our

unswerving fidelity and incessant support, and demands the support of every liberty-loving, true, patriotic citizen of the United States of America.

So be it—"His Majesty, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States." I thought I would give that kindly reminder so that if there is any question when he goes abroad, about court etiquette or how the President should be addressed, I will refer them to the Democratic candidate and the Democratic central committee of Muskingum County, Ohio. It is an authority; and even Col. House would be inclined to bow in humble submission if engrossed copies of the resolution were forwarded to him in Paris. I trust the press reports, if they are not pinched off at this end of the cable, will reach him, so that any mooted question on diplomatic addresses might be settled in due form.

However, taking the reason of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON], when the express companies are taken, when the cable lines are taken, when the railways are taken, when the telephones are taken, down to the farmers' mutual, even, out in the Mississippi Valley country, we are reminded that the Postal Department is headed by Mr. Burleson; that the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Houston, is somewhat recently from Texas himself; that the Attorney General is from Texas; and if I might be permitted to lapse into curbstone vernacular, I would say that the President would be suffering, previous to his departure, from a case of "too much Texas." If he had a little wider political horizon, Mr. President, if it even took in Arizona, it would help some; but to confine it to Texas, I think, explains a good deal of the trouble. It led to a political proclamation by the President October 25, 1918, that only Democrats were fit to govern.

Burleson, in five annual reports, has recommended that everything in the way of communication of intelligence be added to his department. He has prejudged the case. He wants more power. Great Britain never undertook to run her cables to our shore. The six cable lines owned by the British Government are leased to the Western Union. As the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG] suggested, taking a general view of the situation in his remarks this morning, there is not a government-owned cable that touches the shore of any other sovereignty in the world, save in the inert form of an inactive ownership. The active ownership or possession and use of it is confined to private parties.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes.

Mr. KELLOGG. Great Britain never owned the cable lines. They were owned by a British company.

Mr. SHERMAN. A British company—that makes it even stronger than I thought. I thank the Senator for the correction. Not only are the 17 trans-Atlantic cable lines covered by this taking of the Government, but, in addition to that, there is a line which runs to Mexico, skirting across and around the shores and bodies of water until the principal cities of Mexico, before disorder was predominant there, were all accessible from this country, either by land wires or by cables. It runs down across the Isthmus of Panama; it penetrates South America; and the Commercial Cable of Mr. Mackay embraces the cable lines in all the peaceable parts of the world. They run across the Pacific Ocean to Hawaii, to the Philippine Islands, to Hongkong, to Japan, and to all the principal Asiatic ports that touch tidewater on that continent. Why are these to be taken by the Government? Has something happened in Siberia lately? Has the new Czecho-Slovak Government met with reverses? Is martial law necessary to take these cable lines in South America and in the far-distant quarters of the globe, Mr. President, in order to promote—in the language of the resolution—"the public security and defense"? I see or know nothing of it. We all know what the issue is. It is to take all you can under the powers delegated to the Executive by a generous and sometimes complaisant Congress. It is like the old novelist from Indiana, after all. You remember that in "The Hoosier Schoolmaster" the old lady, who was quite thrifty, said: "Get a plenty while you are getting it"; and he "got it while the getting was good"—got it under false pretenses in large part, as I believe, and he ought to be politically indicted under the "blue sky" law, because it was misrepresented in the prospectus what he proposed to deliver on the day of payment, or after he had negotiated the paper into the hands of an innocent Republican purchaser for value without notice.

Being in this condition, the power was delegated. No question was raised about war powers. He has the power, and under that power he is constantly engaged in taking everything that is loose. Following the language of one of Dickens's characters, he does not take land; he can not move it. His advice was, to a light-fingered gentleman: "Always take portable property." This is all portable property, down to the poles and hole in the earth in which the pole rests. That was probably the only thing that he could not carry off without being visible to the general public. All of the rest of it is portable property. The most of the articles or enterprises taken are articles that, so far as they belong to citizens of this country, are of a portable character, are eminently destructible, and may be destroyed in value by the taking or by the maladministration of the Government.

There is a very instructive editorial in the New York Times of November 20, 1918. It is instructive because of its contents, first, and next because the Times is a thick-and-thin supporter, right or wrong, at all times on war questions, at home or abroad, of this administration. It can not be regarded as an unkindly critic. It says that it is time to call a halt. It reminds the people of this country in that editorial that the reports of the railways of the country first showing a half-billion dollars of expenditures more than receipts have happily been reduced to $200,000,000. Let us hope it will be reduced still further. It calls attention to the taking of the express companies, and says that if they are operated as the railways have been, they, too, will be run at a loss. It calls attention to the fact that the Western Union Telegraph Co. and the inland lines that have been taken under the exercise of the power of the last of July or August, I believe, 1918, have been run at a loss.

Mr. Burleson denies that in a statement issued on yesterday in the following language, and it is a matter for some traveling auditor to settle:

> The statement contained in Mr. Mackay's letter dated November 11, 1918, and which has been made public by him, to the effect that the compensation to the Western Union Co. is more than that company's earnings for 1917, is not based on facts. The compensation allowed the Western Union Co. by the department is approximately $2,500,000 less than its income for that year from the land lines.

Let that go in. I want such evidence as may be available to be heard on that subject; but it is sufficient to say that there is nothing else that his administration has undertaken to run on which it has kept even. It is running true to form if it comes out behind, and if it can come out solvent on any instrumentality of private business that it has taken and operated I am ready to hear what it is.

The Post Office Department runs behind. Oh, it says that it shows a surplus that it has turned in once in a while to the Treasury; but it pays no rent, it pays no maintenance of buildings. Nothing is written off for depreciation or repairs. Nothing is charged for the ordinary overhead expenses, as private manufacturers or business men put it. If that were charged, as any other solvent business is conducted, the Post Office Department of this country has been from the time of its beginning, or its assumption of its present large duty, run at a loss. Not a report in 25 years could be made, if its receipts and expenditures were figured on any business basis, that would not show that it was tending all the time toward bankruptcy instead of solvency.

I know why these enterprises are taken. It is a part of the policy of framing up the issues of 1920. We might just as well face conditions; and I wish to talk to my southern brethren or to the majority party on the other side of the Chamber for a brief moment.

We may discuss the tariff, the amendment of revenue laws; we may talk of the peculiar questions that confront you on race lines in certain parts of the United States; but the political issues of this country are being changed rapidly. There will be forged, in the mighty furnaces heated by the declaration of war, issues that are new to the politics of America, that are unsettled, and that call for independent thought. I voice only my own opinion. I seek to bind nobody and no organization by the expression of that opinion; but there is the line of cleavage, so manifest that the wayfarer may run along and read it plainly.

There is in this country the radical element. There is a bolshevist abroad in the land. The red flag is carried at the head of a procession in New York City. It has not been carried in Chicago, but no one knows the day when its cobblestones will run red with blood as a result of an attempt to carry it. There is no room in the air of America for more than one flag. I have no use for the alien crew that put a red flag under the skies of this Republic. I believe it to be a violation of the espionage law; and if there were no law, I believe sufficient organized force ought to be gathered in the hands of American citizens to strip from the hands of any alien rabble a red flag carried anywhere in this country.

You, whose rights are more deeply involved than mine, know better than I do the danger attendant upon the destruction of State governments. I believe in preserving the reserved powers

of the States. I believe it is a part of the indestructible foundation of national strength. There never has been a time when a State, with its reserved powers, was not the training ground of a stalwart citizenship. The tendency of the age and the tendency of the time, without regard to which side of the Chamber we sit on, is to destroy the sovereignty of the State in its admitted reserved powers. The States are the great foundation stones of government.

The radical does not believe in a State line anywhere. No man that follows a red flag or has it hidden away in the garret of his house for use on some opportune occasion when the police will not be looking believes in a State. He believes in an autocracy. His ideal government is in Russia to-day, its Lenines and Trotzskys and the whole red-flag crew that has reduced that country to the verge of starvation and made it a tremendous object lesson of what the unrestrained despotism of mobs may do.

There is a radical; and there are more of him than you think. Every great metropolitan center in this country is the breeding ground to spawn radicals upon the law-abiding citizens of the country. The city is a source of endless taint. It is the place where great extremes are found, where the millionaire and the tramp, the habitué of the free-lunch counter and the gentleman who takes his dinner late in the evening and his supper after midnight, are always found. The cheap one-and-a-half per cent in a schooner, with a pretzel made of sawdust and beans, and champagne, with the appurtenances that go with it, represent the extremes. The radical is in evidence—he is destructive—and all of the radicals that are not in jail are in appointive office under this administration.

You are not proud of the company. Do not speak up. I will do the talking for you. It does not hurt me any, and it might hurt you; but you believe it just the same. You have no more use for them than I have. What your President is going to do I do not know. I doubt if you know or not. But there are men in many places in office or in private life, who are encouraged and coddled and petted, who believed that somebody had robbed them before they were told, and they become fanatical in the belief after they are told. So they carry with them the fervor of the saint and the devotion of the martyr when you attempt to correct them for their vagaries in the administration of affairs.

In England there is the same thing. There is a radicalism; and we are a good deal like England in our affairs. I must hasten to a conclusion. We have the radical and the liberal and the conservative. They are here now.

Talk about political divisions and names and slogans all you want, but that is not the question. This administration is responsible for its kitchen Cabinet and that Cabinet headed by Col. House is a collection of radicals imbued with the vagaries of Carl Marx and of Lenine and Trotzky. You will have to purge your own household. There will be a division some day that will rival the cleaning and the differences that we had in our unhappy family, troubles in many years past, and some recent events that have not left our memory.

Mr. President, the issue in 1920 will be the assumption of not only what the Government now has but the assumption of many more undertakings. I find the same language used very generally by many of these men who were radicals; and the radical is not necessarily somebody without means or understanding. The radicals contain many intolerant intellectuals, men who have no practical experience, who sit in their closets and lecture to students in the universities, men who have no knowledge of how government is actually conducted. They know books but they do not know men, and they are the most dangerous of all the visionaries in this or any other country.

Along comes ownership by the Government called Government ownership and operation. The Government necessarily does some things that are indispensable. They are governmental in their character. The Army and the Navy and the public schools and from the beginning the Post Office within reasonable limitations. I do not believe the Post Office ought to go into the banking business or undertake the production and distribution of merchandise in a mercantile sense. It may act as a carrier under the present system, but it can not go further.

Therefore, Mr. President, the issue that is forcing itself to the front, that is aggravated by such seizures as that of the cable lines, is that of the public ownership of these enterprises and many others, embracing all the instruments of production and distribution, to lapse into the language of the platform of the radical. So when we come to that we have raised the line of division that will project itself into 1920. It is that that has led the President to issue the Executive order taking the cable lines. I agree in the entirety with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON].

I wish to make some concluding remarks, Mr. President, on the character of the commission that will frame the draft of the treaty. This is the treaty-making body jointly with the Executive. We have no assurance so far that any Senator will be on that commission, although it has a precedent in other cases of a like kind. Being a treaty-making body, no sufficient reason appears why, if no Member of this body is on the commission, the cables should not be open uncensored and that a free press might not carry to the people of this country and to the Senate all of the information needed. The conditions that attend the negotiations are often as important in the interpretation and understanding as the language in the text of the document.

We have Mr. Creel's word that there will be no censorship, but that in view of the fact that our only source of information is in the hands of a man who has censored, who represents the eye and ear and the hand, touching the wire with every key that clicks on this continent as the representative of the Executive himself, he goes abroad and no access can be had to him. Three thousand miles of ocean will roll between us and the President, and this body sits mute and silent without information until suddenly the draft of the treaty is precipitated into this body for ratification. Against that I protest. It is an incidental reason to be added to that given by the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. President, I wish to put in the RECORD, in addition to the communications offered by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG] from Mr. Mackay and from Mr. Burleson, additional communications and matter which I will give to the reporter and have them inserted without reading, in order to save time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the request will be granted.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[From the New York Times.]

GOVERNMENT'S TRADING ACCOUNTS.

In his letter to Postmaster General Burleson Mr. Mackay refers to the fact that the Government has undertaken to pay to the Western Union Telegraph Co. more than it is earning, "which would indicate that the year ending July 31, 1919, will show a loss to the Government in connection with that company of at least $2,326,668." To which must be added whatever loss is made in connection with the Postal Co., whose compensation is not yet fixed, and the American Telephone Co. The express companies' finances are in a worse state, and will not be relieved by an increase of rates which is immediately converted into an increase of costs. No one can say how the Government will come out with its railway adventure until the war accounts are adjusted, and until the plans for making the temporary arrangement permanent are further developed, but it is plain that there is a pretty quarrel developing between the Postmaster General and the Director General. Their interests conflict in the manner indicated by the working out of the railway-mail pay case.

When it was proposed to pay the railways for the carriage of the mails by the footage of the mail cars rented instead of by the tonnage of the mails carried, the Post Office declared that it would increase the estimated pay of the railways by over $3,000,000. The real figures are now known through the hearings before the Court of Claims. During the life of the footage plan of payment "the annual rate of compensation to the railroads had been reduced from $64,447,982 to $52,182,052." How long will the Director General allow the Post Office to make profits at the loss of the railways? How long will the Director General run the express companies at a loss in competition with the parcel post? When times are normal, and costs of private business are reexamined in connection with the reduction of war profits, how long will private business endure that rates shall be increased and accommodations reduced, in order that the Government may undertake trading responsibilities on a basis of costs to it, and charges to its customers which would not have been endured when the business taken over were managed by private capital?

War finance is a matter limited to war, and wars do end. There is no end to the Government ownership responsibilities which the country is being led into under conditions not deserving the name of fair play. The war was over before the country was confronted with the belated and unnecessary taking over of the cable service under a presidential order not published at its date. The Postmaster General announced yesterday a cut in the telegraph rates which will not go far to allay the country's dislike of the manner in which the thing was done, apart from the merits. Those aware of the result of such experiments elsewhere know how deceptive such reductions of rates are. The British post-office telegraph service has been run at a loss for 44 years. The 6-penny telegrams are delivered at a cost of 22 cents. The sender pays 12 cents, 6 pense, and the taxpayer 10 cents. It overtasks credulity to believe that the post office which never has made a profit on any commercial calculation, and which is usually run at a loss on its own statement, can possibly reduce rates. The pretense is an insult to intelligence.

Also it was announced yesterday that the Government's loss on the railways had been reduced from the half billion which had been feared to $200,000,000 for nine months. The railway accounts are better kept, and the ground is firmer here. But there is a factor not in the accounts. Under Government operation the fixing of rates and wages is a matter of politics rather than economics, and there is a prospect that the railway finance will be assimilated to the British telegraph finance instanced above. Then there are those who are pressing that our new mercantile marine, built for war purposes, shall be operated in peace as a public utility, with the Furuseth Act controlling costs. These operations are on a scale rivaling that of the war, and surpassing it if time is considered in the calculation. Before another step is taken in the direction in which we are headed respecting public operation of public utilities, there should be an extension of the regulation of private finance to public finance. There is nothing political in the suggestion. There is no opposition to public operation in that. It is mere business common sense. Those who oppose it condemn public

operation in advance, and afford an opportunity to say that they do not believe their own arguments. If they honestly believed their claims of profits they would neglect no opportunity of proving them. A claim to public support on the basis of blessings provided by taxes in fact, and concealed by juggling accounts, can not be allowed except by those who are deceived, and like it.

MACKAY SUSPECTS MOTIVE—SEES IN CABLE SEIZURE "A MARCH TOWARD GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP."

Clarence H. Mackay, president of the Postal Telegraph Co. and the Commercial Cable Co. yesterday reiterated his belief that governmental control of the cables would be unwise at this juncture, and said the contemplated seizure of the cables appeared to be "a preliminary march toward Government ownership." The cables had not actually been taken over by the Government at a late hour last night.

"The proposed action is incomprehensible to me," said Mr. Mackay. "The very vastness of the proposition is staggering. For illustration, we have a cable 10,000 miles long, from San Francisco to China, Japan, and Manila. What could the Government do with that? The Central & South American Cable Co. has cables from New York through the Panama Canal and away down the west shore of South America and across the mountains to the Argentine Republic. What could the Government do with that, and why should it want it?

"Then there is the Atlantic system of 17 transatlantic cables, which the Government proposes to take over, six of which are British-owned and are merely leased to the Western Union. Who knows but that serious complications might arise in connection with these foreign-owned cables?

"All the cables are now worked to their utmost speed, and by the most expert management, and it is simply impossible to get anything more out of them. If we still had three or four years of war before us there might be some sense in the Government exercising some degree of supervision over the handling of these vast cable systems, but everybody believes that the terms of peace will be worked out within two, at most three, months, and, furthermore, the Navy Department has been exercising censorship, and is continuing to do so. Why, then, does the Government want to seize these cables for such a short time?

"It will merely disorganize the systems," continued Mr. Mackay, "and undoubtedly will be a heavy expense to the Government. No good can come of it. Apparently the proposition is merely the reverberation of the action of the Government in taking over the land telegraph lines on August 1, 1918, when the war was in full swing. That emergency has now passed, and there is no reason for the Government to seize these vast cable systems.

"There is certainly no element of 'national security and defense' in taking over these cables now, when the war is over, and yet that was the sole purpose of the joint resolution under which the Postmaster General is to take over these cables. Moreover, it has been intimated to me that there is serious doubts if the courts would uphold the action of the Government in seizing these cable systems under the war power after an armistice has been entered into. The whole move would appear to be a preliminary march toward Government ownership."

Inquiry at the offices of the Western Union and the Commercial Cable Co. brought assertions that both companies were fast catching up with the accumulation of messages piled up when the cable staffs were depleted by influenza. According to William J. Deegan, secretary of the Mackay Co., a holding corporation which directs the Commercial Cable Co., this organization is operating its full equipment of five Atlantic cables at maximum. Mr. Deegan said that last week, in addition to a reduced cable force, trouble with the land wires at both ends of the cables had hampered prompt transmission. All causes contributory to delay, however, were now removed, he said, and messages were going forward as fast as offered.

In speaking of the capacity of the five cables which his company is employing Mr. Deegan said each cable was capable of carrying 180 letters a minute, or an average of 30 words a minute. These cables, operated continuously for 24 hours, would permit the transmission of 216,000 words. Speaking of the special cable which the company had reserved for the use of the Government in connection with the peace conference, a cable which will establish a direct connection between the State Department and the American embassy in Paris, Mr. Deegan said that this cable line also would be used for commercial purposes during the intervals when the Government was not employing it.

It was stated that the Western Union cable system between this country and Europe consisted of eight cables, each of approximately the same capacity as the Commercial Co.'s lines. A statement that several of the Western Union cables were out of use because of a break in midocean could not be officially confirmed through Newcomb Carlton, president of the company. It was said, however, that the Western Union was experiencing no difficulty in handling transmission; that the situation was now good and would continue to improve. In support of its ability to handle business the Western Union announced restoration of its trans-Atlantic service, but added that accepted messages would, perhaps, be subjected to slight delay.

MACKAY REPLIES TO BURLESON—THINKS THE REAL REASON FOR CABLE SEIZURE IS INTENDED GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.

Clarence H. Mackay, president of the Postal Telegraph-Commercial Cable Cos., commenting on the statement of Postmaster General Burleson regarding his reasons for taking control of the cable lines, said last night:

"I fail to see the point of Mr. Burelson's argument. The land-line systems are theoretically in the hands of the Postmaster General, but practically they are operated by the two telegraph companies exactly the same as they were before the Postmaster General took them over. Mr. Burleson fails to point out how any more traffic can be sent over the ocean cables than under present control. Those cables already are operated to their full capacity by the most expert management, and he can not add to their capacity. The recent breakdown of the Western Union cable system caused the cable business to go by the Commercial Cable Co.'s cable, and its facilities were overtaxed. But how could Mr. Burleson have added to their capacity during that interruption? The cable business flowed to the Commercial Cable Co. from both telegraph companies because the Western Union land-line system, being deprived of its cable connection, turned over the business to the Commercial Cable Co., or its patrons did so, which is the same thing.

"Ever since the United States entered the war the American ends of the cables have been under the control of Government officials as effectively as any control could be. They have been under the control of the Director of Naval Communications, and not a single thing pertaining to the operation of the lines or the facility with which cable dispatches are being handled was done without his knowledge. Every suggestion and request that was made by this Government official or his representative stationed in our cable office at New York was promptly complied with in every particular. In addition, a most rigid censorship was established, in which the company heartily cooperated. In fact, the Commercial Cable Co. has been complimented by American and British Government authorities for the splendid service they gave. In Canada, Newfoundland, Great Britain, and France, censorship under the direction of those Governments has also been in force for over four years.

"There is not a quarter of the need of close control of the cable systems now or during the period of readjustment as there was during the war itself, because during that time there was a vast quantity of war news which is now quickly subsiding since the armistice was declared.

"Mr. Burleson, of course, is not a practical cable man and knows absolutely nothing about that line of business, and his reasoning is not convincing. He is all wrong.

"Mr. Burleson says he has other reasons. I fear that the chief one is incipient Government ownership."

MUST RUN CABLES, BURLESON STATES—NEVER A TIME IN THE WAR THAT CALLED FOR SUCH A CLOSE CONTROL, HE SAYS—WITHHOLDS SOME REASONS—NEED OF ADJUSTING TRAFFIC SET FORTH—MACKAY ISSUES A STATEMENT IN REPLY.

[Special to the New York Times.]

WASHINGTON, *November 19, 1918.*

Postmaster General Burleson issued a statement to-day giving as one of the reasons for taking over the control of the marine cables that "there never was a time in the history of this war, for which the joint resolution (the Aswell resolution) was passed, giving the President the right to control the wire and cable systems, which called for such a close control of the cable system as to-day and will continue during the period of readjustment."

The Postmaster General added that there were "many other reasons" for taking over the cables which had been suggested by the experience thus far in Government control, but he would not detail them at this time.

No statement was issued concerning the compensation to be awarded the Postal Telegraph Co., but experts were working on the problem to-day, and it is said the figures will be forthcoming to-morrow.

The statement by the Postmaster General concerning the cables follows:

"Originally the cable systems were organized and operated independently of the land-line systems. The transmission of messages commenced and ended at the termini of the cables and the communications destined to points beyond the terminal were physically transferred to other lines. To-day the transmission is continuous for land and cable lines. The distance of continuous transmission is bounded neither by continents nor oceans.

FOR A CONTINUOUS CIRCUIT.

"Effective communication, therefore, demands intimate relations under which a continuous circuit can be established, not from one terminal to another, and so far as authorized under the joint resolution from destination to destination. The effectiveness of the service is dependent upon the extent of the common control of circuits which should be to the furthest point possible.

"This necessity of continuity and common control between land and cable lines is most conclusively shown by the fact that each of our telegraph systems have their independent cable systems.

"The Mackay Co., originally a cable system, finding that the land lines were indispensable to the cable system, constructed a land system to make more effective its cable system.

"The Western Union, while organized primarily as a land company, although there were large cable facilities working in connection with it belonging to other companies, yet for its own interest was forced into constructing and otherwise obtaining effectual control of the trans-Atlantic cable companies which had heretofore been independent, but which worked in connection with the Western Union and which did not belong to or work in connection with the Commercial or Mackay interests.

"The other cable companies, through their contractural relations, became more or less a part of the telegraph system so far as transmission and continuity were concerned, and their operation in this way was made as effective as it would be through ownership or common control.

"There never was a time in the history of this war for which this joint resolution was passed giving the President the right to control the wire and cable systems which called for such a close control of the cable system as to-day and will continue during the period of readjustment. The absolute necessity of uninterrupted, continuous communication should be apparent to all. The Postmaster General is now operating all the telegraph and telephone lines in one system.

ADJUSTMENT OF TRAFFIC.

"The recent breakdown in connection with one of the cable systems has demonstrated the absolute necessity of being able to utilize at will the facilities of either cable system with all of the land-line systems, in order that traffic may be adjusted in the same hands as it is on the land lines.

"There are many other reasons for taking over the cables, which have been suggested by the experience so far in Government control of land lines, but I only think it necessary to state the determining factors."

Solicitor Lamar of the Post Office Department, who has been very active in the late step by the Government, would answer no questions of any character, preserving a silence that at the very least could be said to be discreet. He would not even say whether the amount of compensation for the Postal Telegraph Co. would be made known to-morrow.

It was stated elsewhere in the department that the figures would be published. It was learned also that the department had been studiously at work delving into the figures which the Postal supplied to the Interstate Commerce Commission. The department appears confident that the company's compensation will be regarded as sufficient when the facts are known.

One of the officials of the Mackay Cable Co. was notified Saturday that the Government intended taking over the cables, and a copy of the President's proclamation was handed to him at that time, "before you newspaper men knew about it," it was stated to-day by a Government official.

The Postmaster General announced to-day that he has had a committee at work some six weeks considering the subject of the wages and conditions of employment of telephone and telegraph employees.

WAGE STATEMENT ISSUED.

"The subject," he said in a prepared statement, "is not an easy one to deal with. Both wages and conditions differ materially in different parts of the country and even in the same State. Added to this are the violent disturbances of employment conditions occasioned by the war and the circumstances that telephone rates have not been generally readjusted to meet rising costs as in other employments.

"It is my wish to be just to these faithful workers and to act as promptly as an intelligent disposition of the subject will permit. Meanwhile the employees should keep in mind that just as public employees are paid higher and enjoy better conditions in the long run than private employees, so changes can not be made as rapidly as by an individual employer. I have urgently requested the committee to reach a report without avoidable delay."

Mr. Burleson to-day enlarged the committee on standardization of telegraph rates by naming Charles C. Marshall, Ohio public-utilities commission, and Joseph B. Eastman, Massachusetts public-service commission, as additional members. This committee, originally composed of David J. Lewis as chairman; John C. Willever, vice president, Western Union Telegraph Co.; and Edward Reynolds, general manager, Postal Telegraph Cable Co., was appointed to make necessary studies and recommendations. The enlargement of the committee gives recognition to State utilities and public-service commissions.

A similar committee on standardization of rates for telephone service, composed of David J. Lewis, chairman; Harry B. Thayer, vice president American Telephone & Telegraph Co.; and Charles Y. McVey, president Ohio State Telephone Co., was enlarged by the addition of Paul F. Haynes, Indiana public-service commission, and Noah W. Simpson, Missouri public-service commission.

[From the New York Times.]

PROCLAIMS POWER TO SEIZE CABLES—DOCUMENT SIGNED BY PRESIDENT NOVEMBER 2 MADE PUBLIC. NAMING BURLESON DIRECTOR—TO INSURE COOPERATION—OFFICIALS SAY JEALOUSY BETWEEN COMPANIES, HAMPERING SERVICE, FORCED GOVERNMENT TO ACT.

WASHINGTON, *November 18, 1918.*

It transpired to-day that a proclamation signed by President Wilson November 2, placing all marine cables under the control of the Government, with the Postmaster General as administrator, was published Saturday night on an inside page of the Official Bulletin issued by the Committee on Public Information. The newspapers were not notified of the proclamation, which provides that the Government control shall last until the President has proclaimed the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of peace.

ANTAGONISM BETWEEN COMPANIES.

Antagonism and lack of cooperation between the two great American-owned ocean cable companies were declared to-day in high quarters to have necessitated the Government taking over all the marine cables. It was represented that there had been a total absence of mutual aid on the part of the companies, and that in consequence hundreds of messages were piled up on each side of the Atlantic Ocean awaiting transmission. It was also said that because of the jealousy of the companies toward each other the Government had found it practically impossible under private control to arrange direct and immediate lines to France, over which are now constantly flowing almost ceaseless diplomatic messages.

It was stated to-day, as an instance of the bad feeling of the cable companies toward each other, that when the personnel of one company's Irish cable landing office was ravaged by influenza and the other company's American landing station was hard hit by a sleet storm the two companies would not cooperate with each other to relieve the situation.

Postmaster General Burleson will issue a formal statement to-morrow, detailing the troubles of the Government with the cable companies. He had a long conference to-day with Judge William H. Lamar, Solicitor of the Post Office Department; John C. Koons, First Assistant Postmaster General; and David J. Lewis, who has become allied with the department since the Government took over the control of telegraphs and telephones.

Officials at the department would make no statement for publication to-day regarding the attitude toward the telegraph companies, but one officer said privately that the Government felt no fear of the public's judgment when all the facts were made known.

RESULT OF RED TAPE.

When asked to-day why newspapers had not been notified of the appearance of the proclamation, the Committee on Public Information explained that usually when proclamations dealing with a certain subject were handed by the State Department to the Official Bulletin the committee was asked by the other Government department especially affected to notify the newspapers. Usually the special department issued a statement explaining in plain language the effect of the often technical proclamation. In the case of the cable control, it appears, no such request was made. The Committee on Public Information appeared to believe that it was incumbent upon the Post Office Department to notify the newspapers. The Post Office Department said that this step should have been undertaken by the State Department. One official said, "The proclamation was two weeks old, anyway." He seemed to consider that sufficient excuse for the lack of publicity.

In a short time, perhaps synchronously with the statement promised for to-morrow dealing with the actuating motives for taking over the cables, the Post Office Department will issue a reply to the allegations of Clarence H. Mackay, president of the Postal Telegraph Cable Co. and the Commercial Cable Co., that the Government compensation agreed upon for the Western Union Telegraph Co. is "much more than the telegraph company is earning from month to month," and that the Government may lose $2,326,668 on this agreement for the fiscal year. The Post Office Department is now calculating the compensation for the Postal Co., and this figure may be announced at any moment.

The proclamation follows:

By the President of the United States of America—A proclamation.

Whereas the Congress of the United States, in the exercise of the constitutional authority vested in them, by joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives, bearing date July 16, 1918, resolved:

"That the President, during the continuance of the present war, is authorized and empowered, whenever he shall deem it necessary for the national security or defense, to supervise or take possession and assume control of any telegraph, telephone, marine cable, or radio system or systems or any part thereof, and to operate the same in such manner as may be needful or desirable for the duration of the war, which supervision, possession, control, or operation shall not extend beyond the date of the proclamation by the President of the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of peace:

"*Provided*, That just compensation shall be made for such supervision, possession, control, or operation, to be determined by the President, and if the amount thereof so determined by the President is unsatisfactory to the person entitled to receive the same such person shall be paid 75 per cent of the amount so determined by the President, and shall be entitled to sue the United States to recover such further sum as, added to said 75 per cent, will make up such amount as will be just compensation therefor in the manner provided for by section 24, paragraph 20, and section 145 of the Judicial Code.

"*Provided further*, That nothing in this act shall be construed to amend, repeal, impair, or affect existing laws or powers of the several States in relation to taxation or the lawful police regulations of the several States, except wherein such laws, powers, or regulations may effect the transmission of Government communications or the issue of stocks and bonds by such system or systems."

And whereas it is deemed necessary for the national security and defense to supervise and to take possession and assume control of all marine-cable systems and to operate the same in such manner as may be needful or desirable:

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by the foregoing resolution, and by virtue of all other powers thereto enabling me, do hereby take possession and assume control and supervision of each and every marine-cable system and every part thereof owned or controlled and operated by any company or companies organized and existing under the laws of the United States, or any State thereof, including all equipment thereof and appurtenances thereto whatsoever, and all materials and supplies.

It is hereby directed that the supervision, possession, control, and operation of such marine-cable systems hereby by me undertaken shall be exercised by and through the Postmaster General, Albert S. Burleson. Said Postmaster General may perform the duties hereby and hereunder imposed upon him, so long and to such extent and in such manner as he shall determine through the owners, managers, boards of directors, receivers, officers, and employees of said marine-cable systems.

Until and except so far as said Postmaster General shall from time to time by general or special orders otherwise provide, the owners, managers, boards of directors, receivers, officers, and employees of the various marine cable systems shall continue the operation thereof in the usual and ordinary course of the business of said systems in the names of their respective companies, associations, organizations, owners, or managers, as the case may be.

Regular dividends hitherto declared and maturing interest upon bonds, debentures, and other obligations may be paid in due course, and such regular dividends and interest may continue to be paid until and unless the said Postmaster General shall from time to time otherwise by general or special orders determine; and, subject to the approval of said Postmaster General, the various marine cable systems may determine upon and arrange for the renewal and extension of maturing obligations.

From and after 12 o'clock midnight on the 2d day of November, 1918, all marine cable systems included in this order and proclamation shall conclusively be deemed within the possession and control and under the supervision of said Postmaster General without further act or notice.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done by the President, in the District of Columbia, this 2d day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eighteen and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-third.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:
ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State.

CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENT.

Mr. REED obtained the floor.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator from Missouri yield to me for a moment?

Mr. REED. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, there has been before the Senate since October 10, now a period of about six weeks, the bill (S. 4637) for the retirement of superannuated employees in the classified civil service. In my judgment it is a very worthy bill and it has gotten down to the point of final passage. If Senators think the bill ought to pass, surely six weeks of time for the consideration of the bill are sufficient. I ask the Senator from Missouri to yield long enough for the purpose of voting on the bill. It has been before the Senate, as I said, for six weeks.

Mr. REED. I am informed that there will be further discussion of the bill.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I wish to give notice, if the Senator will yield to me, that there will be objection to voting on the bill to-day.

Mr. REED. I understand that an executive session is desired and in view of the fact that there will be further discussion, it would be futile to yield for that purpose.

Mr. McKELLAR. I understand the bill remains as the unfinished business at the next session under our rule, and I want to give notice to the Senate that on the first day of the next session I shall ask for a vote on the bill.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I desire to ask the attention of the Senate to some rather brief remarks touching the proposed league of nations. I shall not be able, in the time limited, to enter into a complete analysis of that great subject. I hope merely to throw out a few suggestions which may possibly be of some use at a time like this.

At the beginning, I shall breach a senatorial precedent by reading a statement by George Washington. I know that Washington is very much out of fashion. His memory and teachings are fading from the minds of modern statesmen. Nevertheless, out of reverence for the past I challenge your thought to these words uttered by Washington in the very sunset of his life, when looking backward through the mellow light of experience he surveyed the history of mankind, and when he was also able to catch a prophetic vision of the mighty Republic of to-day. Let me implore your attention:

> Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. * * * Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.
>
> The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Again—

> Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies the causes of which are essentially foreign to our conscience. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics; the ordinary combinations and collusions of her friendships or enmities.

A little further on he says:

> Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?
>
> It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world. * * *
>
> Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

So spoke the creator of this Republic. Who will be its destroyer?

Under Washington's policy we have lived 142 years. Our national domain has been extended from a narrow fringe along the Atlantic until it embraces the continent. Our population has increased from 3,000,000 to 104,000,000 people. We have gathered in our laps more of wealth than there is in all the rest of the world. We have glorified our land with magical cities. We have covered the once barren prairies with habitations of civilization. From countless chimneys ascends the smoke that marks the family altars at which husband, wife, and child bow to the God of freedom and bless the memory of George Washington. Our hills are crowned with churches and schoolhouses, twin products of civilization, the glory of humanity. We have become the foremost Nation in the world, not only in wealth but in man power, in education, in intelligence.

So great have we become that when the Teutonic powers were in the very act of conquering Europe we were able to rescue them from destruction. Standing in a position of splendid isolation and independence, without a great standing Army or Navy, but with the strength of a just cause and with the indomitable will and fearless heart of a brave people to sustain us, we stepped into the breach and saved civilization. France had been driven back across bloody fields. The English forces were reeling and staggering to their fate—Haig had exclaimed, in the agony of his heart, "Our backs are at the wall; Britains, stand and die." At that moment new voices were heard coming from the rear—the mingled Yankee cheer and rebal yell of the American soldier. Our troops swept through Chateau-Thierry and turned back the waves of onrushing Huns. From that hour until the armistice was declared not alone the American flag but the flags of all our allies moved forward to victory and to glory. Such is the story told in a word, and most imperfectly told, of what has been accomplished by following the teachings of Washington.

At a time like this, when a peace is about to be declared, a peace that is the most glorious of all history, a peace that was made possible by the valor and power of this country, it is proposed that we shall abandon our ancient and traditional policy and shall become entangled in every broil of Europe as these broils may now or as they may hereafter exist. It is the most monstrous doctrine ever proposed in this Republic. The sanctity of no great name can render it holy. The opinion of no man can make it safe.

Mr. President, what is this proposition? It comes to us in two forms. It comes, in fact, in three, but all in the end amount to the same proposition. I shall discuss one of them only far enough to show that in whatever form or aspect these propositions appear, at their basis is the thought of universal peace, the thought that the millenium has come. That was the sentiment that actuated those good people who a few years ago went up and down our land telling us that the lion and the lamb were ready to lie down together, that war was at an end, that everybody had suddenly become good and pure and virtuous and unselfish. These dreamers were rudely awakened by the cruel voice of war. Their eyes looked out on scenes of blood where they hoped to gaze upon elysian fields.

That fallacy lies at the basis of both the propositions I am about to discuss, but I do not pause at this time to further point out the connection. What are the two concrete propositions? One is that an international court shall be established to which shall be submitted the controversies of all nations. The other is that there shall be a league or compact between certain nations by which they bind themselves to enforce the terms and conditions of their agreements upon each other and upon other nations.

Let us examine the first of these propositions—the international court. First, I remark that no international court and no court of any kind can possibly be effective unless it is possessed of a constabulary sufficient to enforce its decrees.

The mere emission of a judgment by a court without any power to enforce the judgment leaves the court a thing for laughter and jeers. This fact, indeed, is conceded by those who advocate the doctrine I am discussing. In plain language, an international court to be effective must be backed by an international army. It must be further conceded that an international army will be ineffective unless it be powerful enough to conquer any single nation. Aye, more, it must be able to not only conquer any single nation but to conquer any combination of nations that may be formed to defy the decree of the court.

Whoever, then, commands such an army is powerful enough to conquer the United States of America. I unhesitatingly declare that the citizen of our Republic who will wittingly help create an army great enough and strong enough to conquer the United States of America and give the command of that army to an alien is a greater traitor to the country than was Benedict Arnold.

Who is to command this proposed international army? Will it be an American? Will it be a Japanese, or, in the mutations of time, will it be a German, or will it perchance be an Englishman? Somebody must command this army. Who shall it be? Certainly the command will not be vested in our citizens for all time. Surely no one can claim that the United States will always have a friend in command of the international army. No man is so foolish as to believe that other nations will help set up a court that will always decide in accordance with the interests of America and help in the creation of an army that is always to be commanded by an American citizen. Only a fool can believe that.

I have thus far spoken of the army that is to enforce the decree of the court. Who, pray, is to constitute the court that is to decide matters involving the very life of our country? What individuals shall constitute this international court? It must be composed of representatives of different governments. What are these governments? What are their interests? What are their prejudices? Lawyers who sit in front of me never in their lives agreed to submit the vital interests of their clients to an unknown tribunal. They invariably insisted on submitting only a particular controversy, and always then to a tribunal which they were sure would at least be fair and impartial.

But who will constitute this international court? I beg you to stop and think, and if you stop and think you will be appalled at the idea that any man could ever have suggested such a thing as consigning the life of America to such a tribunal. First, shall it be composed of one representative of each nation? If so, is the United States, with 104,000,000, to have the same representation upon the court as the island of Haiti or the Republic of Liberia or Serbia or any other of the smaller countries of the world? And if we are to have a greater representation what becomes of the doctrine of the equality of nations in the international court? What becomes of the doctrine that small nations must be protected from the strong or great nations?

But, sir, who is to constitute the personnel of this court that we are to bind ourselves to plead our case before? I hold in my hand a list of the Governments in Europe as they existed

15 days ago. The Lord of hosts alone knows what they are at this moment. The Lord of hosts alone knows how many of these kings will be back on their thrones the day after tomorrow. He only knows what kind of a government we shall at any time in the future have in any of these countries.

But let me for a moment call attention to the court to which we were invited by some of our enthusiastic friends a few days ago. I shall take the time of the Senate to read only the names of the living blood relationships of the hereditary rulers of Europe. I do not pause to speak of ancestral connections. If I were to do so it would appear that the threads of European royal life are so crossed and intercrossed as to constitute an inextricable tangle. I speak, therefore, of the living relatives, of those who now breathe and exist. Imagine, now, we are forming an international court into which the Republic of America is invited, and to which we must submit our vital interests, the life and death of our beloved country. I call attention to the various European royal families and their connections each with the other:

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND—GEORGE V.

Mother: Princess Alexandra of Denmark.
Sister: Princess Maud, married to Haakon VII, King of Norway.
Uncle: Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, married to Marie, Grand Duchess of Russia.
First cousin: Princess Marie, married to Ferdinand, King of Roumania.
First cousin: Princess Beatrice, married to Alphonse, Infanta of Spain.
First cousin: Princess Helena, married to Christian, Prince of Schleswig-Holstein.
Uncle: Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught, married to Louise Marguerite.
Aunt: Princess Victoria, married to Frederick William, father of William II, Emperor of Germany.
Cousin: Ernest August was King of Hanover.
First cousin: Nicholas II, former Emperor of Russia.
First cousin: William II, Emperor of Germany.

PRUSSIA—WILLIAM II.

Mother: Victoria, Princess Royal of Great Britain, daughter of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.
Sister: Princess Sophie married Constantine, King of Greece.
First cousin: George V of England.
Cousin by marriage: Nicholas II, former Emperor of Russia.

RUSSIA—NICHOLAS II (NOW DEAD).

Mother: Marie Feodorovna, Princess of Denmark.
Uncle: Grand Duke Vladimir married Marie Pavlowna, Duchess of Mecklenburg.
Second cousin: Grand Duchess Helene married Nicholas, Prince of Greece.
Aunt: Marie Alexandrovna married Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh.
Uncle: Grand Duke Paul Alexandrovitch married Alexandra, Princess of Greece.
Second cousin: Olga married George I, King of Greece.
Great uncle: Nicholas Nicholaievitch married Stana, Princess of Montenegro.
First cousin: George V, King of England.
Cousin: William II, Emperor of Germany.

AUSTRIA—CHARLES I.

Mother: Archduchess Marie Josephe, Princess of Saxony.
Cousin: Archduke Rudolph married Stephanie, Princess of Belgium.
Great Uncle: Archduke Ferdinand married Marie-Charlotte, Princess of Belgium.
Great Uncle: Archduke Charles Louis married Marie Therese, Infanta of Portugal.
Cousin: Archduke Albert married Hildegarde, Princess of Bavaria.
Cousin: Archduchess Marie-Christine married Alphonse XII, King of Spain, father of present King.

DENMARK—CHRISTIAN X.

Mother: Louisa, Princess of Sweden and Norway.
Wife: Alexandria, Duchess of Mecklenburg.
Brother: Prince Charles, afterwards King of Norway under the name of Haakon VII.
Sister: Princess Ingeborg married Charles, Prince of Sweden.
Aunt: Princess Alexandra married Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII, King of England.
Uncle: Prince William became George I, King of Greece.
Aunt: Princess Dagmar married Alexander, Grand Duke, afterward Alexander III, Emperor of Russia.

GREECE—ALEXANDER I.

Grandfather—William, Prince of Denmark.
Grandmother—Olga-Constantinova, Grand Duchess of Russia.
Mother—Sophie, Princess of Prussia, sister of Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany.
Uncle—Prince Nicholas married Helene, Grand Duchess of Russia.
Aunt—Princess Marie married George Michailovitch, Grand Duke of Russia.

BELGIUM—ALBERT I.

Mother: Marie, Princess of Hohenzollern.
Wife: Elizabeth, Duchess of Bavaria.
Sister: Princess Josephine married Charles, Prince of Hohenzollern.
First cousin: Princess Stephanie married Rudolph, Archduke of Austria.

SWEDEN—GUSTAVUS V.

Son: Married to Margaret, Princess Royal of Great Britain.
Brother: Charles married to Ingeborg, Princess of Denmark.
Second cousin: Princess Louise married Frederick, afterwards King of Denmark.

BAVARIA—LOUIS III.

Mother: Augusline, Archduchess of Austria.
Wife: Marie Therese, Archduchess of Austria.
Daughter: Princess Aldegonde married William, Prince of Hohenzollern, distant cousin of the Kaiser.
Uncle: Maximilian II, King of Bavaria, married Marie, Princess of Prussia.
First cousin: Prince Louis Ferdinand married Marie de la Paz, Infanta of Spain.

ITALY—VICTOR EMANUEL III.

Wife: Helene, Princess of Montenegro.
Uncle: Prince Amedee, son of King Victor Emanuel and Adelaide, Archduchess of Austria.
Cousin by marriage: Elizabeth, Princess of Saxony.

NORWAY—HAAKON VII.

Wife: Maud, Princess of Great Britain.

BULGARIA—FERDINAND I.

Father: Prince August of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.
Uncle: Ferdinand, King of Portugal.

ROUMANIA—FERDINAND.

Father: Leopold, prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmanngen (distant cousin of Kaiser).
Mother: Antonia, Infanta of Portugal.
Wife: Marie-Alexandra, Grand Duchess of Russia.

SERBIA—PETER I.

Wife: Zorka-Lyoubitza, Princess of Montenegro.

MONTENEGRO—NICHOLAS I.

Daughter: Princess Milotza married Pierre Nicholaievitch, Grand Duke of Russia.
Daughter: Princess Stana married Nicholas Nicholaievitch, Grand Duke of Russia.
Daughter: Princess Helene married Victor-Emanuel, Prince of Naples, afterwards King of Italy.

SPAIN—ALPHONSE XIII.

Wife: Victoria Eugenia, Princess of Battenberg.
Mother: Marie Christine, Archduchess of Austria.
Sister: Marie Teresa, married Ferdinand, Prince of Bavaria.
Aunt: Infanta Maria de la Paz married Louis Ferdinand, Prince of Bavaria.

LUXEMBURG—MARIE ADELAIDE, GRAND DUCHESS.

Grandmother: Adelaide, Princess of Anhalt.
Mother: Marie Anne, Infanta of Portugal.

Imagine the condition of the American Republic going into a court composed of the representatives of these ruling houses. Imagine, if you please, the kind of decree you would obtain in a controversy with one of the rulers before a court each member of which was the blood relative or the representative of the blood relative of the litigant against whom you were obliged to appear. I do not know whether or not the Senate can see the plat I present. I have undertaken to visualize the court by drawing lines showing the blood connections between each of its members. You will observe that the lines cross and recross until they form a perfect spider's web. Into that spider's web the American fly is invited. In it he is perhaps just now preparing to entangle himself. I can not take time further to dwell upon the theme, but I conjure you, as representatives of the Republic, to read this list of relationships and to ask yourselves the question, How can I agree to submit the interests of this Republic to such a court?

"But," says my critic, "these kings are falling, scepters are being broken, monarchs are being driven into exile." Well and good; but, pray, what shall we have in their stead? Shall we go to better or to worse? I say again, reverently, the Lord God of nations and no other dare venture a prophecy. The Czar of Russia was a despot. I was glad to see him, as I shall be glad to see any other king, tumbled from his throne. But I want to see substituted for the destroyed kingly government a government of constitution and law. Without hesitation I declare that the present government of Russia is infinitely worse than was the government of Russia's murdered Czar. Shall we entangle ourselves with courts that may be presided over by such Christian monsters as Lenine and Trotzky or the other European statesmen, hatched or incubating, who march under the red flag of anarchy? Shall we submit our vital interests to them or to the almost equally dangerous socialistic elements who are beginning to display the ugly visage of lawlessness?

Shall we submit the destiny of this Republic to these vile and ephemeral governments that usually are created by the bloody hands of political assassins and which are frequently more infamous than were the despotisms by such means overthrown? Does any man dare submit the interests of this Republic to a tribunal so constituted? If such a man there be I hesitate not to say that the world will write above his name the word "accursed." But, sirs, let me assume, as I hurry through this discussion, that there shall be established free governments and stable governments in every State of Europe; that the last king shall lose his throne; that in his stead a republic shall come forth.

What then? Are we yet justified in submitting the vital interests of our Republic to such a tribunal? Why, sirs, if you will pause but a moment I think you will observe that the European members of such a court might upon many questions have common interests against America.

Let me instance but one thing: It is well known that prior to the war England, France, and Germany were busily engaged

in extending their foreign territory for the purpose of extending their foreign trade. In a few years' time they absorbed practically all of the continent of Africa. It is also known that they looked with ambitious and greedy eyes toward South America; at least Germany did, and we have some reason to suspect that England not many years ago had like ambitions. Who will fail to remember that Grover Cleveland was obliged to almost threaten England with war in the matter of Venezuela? Assume, now, that we shall employ this mighty fleet which we are constructing to absorb the trade of South America—as we should—and that we shall begin to gain the business of that continent. Assume that under some controversy which may arise there—a just controversy to begin with or a controversy created for the purpose—Germany, having been rehabilitated, were to undertake to establish herself in some South American country and were to propose to open that country to the trade of European countries on advantageous terms. What would be our chance before a court the majority of whose members represented the countries interested in getting that trade? You say my illustration is impossible. I say that in 10 years from now we may find our closest friend to-day the ally of a German State.

The history of the world shows this. The animosities of nations do not long endure when they have interests in common. A few years ago Prussia conquered Austria; they soon became allies. Many years Russia protected Bulgaria against the Turk, but this did not prevent Bulgaria from becoming the ally of Turkey against Russia. History teems with similar instances. In such a controversy as I have suggested, would it not be to the interest of every European country to destroy the dominance of America in the South American trade? Would it not be to the interest of Norway and of Sweden and of Holland and of Germany and of England and of France and of Spain and of Portugal, of all of them, to turn the trade which the United States had absorbed over to themselves? I might multiply illustrations. It is sufficient to suggest one. In a controversy of that kind, would we be safe? Dare any man propose to submit the Monroe doctrine to a tribunal of European kings or to a tribunal of European nations? I say, if such a man there is, he has forgotten the history of the Republic, the genius of our people, the soul of our institutions.

But, Mr. President—and I will hurry on, for I have promised to yield the floor—having merely suggested these thoughts, I come to discuss what is called the league of nations. Now, sir, let us inquire what is meant by a league of nations. What nations are to be in such a league? Are all or only part? I do not know which way these dreamers dream upon this subject, but I am willing that they shall paint the picture in the most favorable colors. It is proposed to have a league of nations, let us say, to which all of the enlightened Christian nations of the earth shall become parties.

What is to be the purpose of this league of nations? To what are we to bind ourselves? First of all, let us say that there are certain problems not involved in any league of nations, certain progressive things that ought to be done. But I emphatically assert that they are not dependent upon a league of nations at all. By treaty, by an international assembly called for the purpose of agreeing upon principles of international law, we can clear up many of the difficulties which have hitherto confronted the world.

There is no reason why the right of blockade should not be so defined that any nation breaking it would stand before the world in the disgraceful position of having violated the plain terms of international law. That of course does not restrain and hold nations completely in check, but it has at least some deterring influence. Likewise we could agree upon what constitutes contraband and noncontraband upon the seas, the rules of submarine warfare, the rights of neutral States, and many other vexed questions. The clearing up of these obscure points of law would go far to protect the rights of neutral nations and in some cases would prevent war. Indeed, it was the violation of a principle of international law, as I understand it—but the construction was mooted and doubted—it was the violation of a principle of international law with reference to blockade that led to the controversy between Germany and the United States, for England had declared a blockade of the North Sea and Germany responded with a blockade of the waters in and about the British Isles, and afterwards extended it to embrace a large portion of the ocean. Out of this action of Germany came the controversy that forced us into a conflict with which we were not primarily concerned.

I do not doubt, also, that by treaty some steps may be successfully taken leading to a limitation of armaments. I am sure by treaties based upon good faith many other benefits may be secured.

So that when I argue that we should not enter an international league I do not mean to say that we should not by treaty agree upon a code of international law or enter upon many mutual undertakings the performance of which rest in the honor and good faith of nations.

But, passing from that, I come to the question, What is to be the purpose of this league of nations? We are told that one of its objects is to guarantee the territorial integrity of nations. This in plain language means that we shall agree to prevent any one nation from invading the territory of another nation. Why, Mr. President, if we were to make that sort of compact, it would result that a nation could decline to carry out its agreements and bid defiance to any other nation, simply saying, "You have no power to invade us; you are held back by the international agreement, and if you invade us you will be crushed by the international army. Would a nation be permitted to thus refuse to fulfill its obligations or would the controversy be referred to a court? If so referred, we are at once confronted with all the difficulties incident to a prejudiced or interested court, a topic already discussed.

Is the league to guarantee the stability of the governments of the different countries that are permitted to become members? If so, no monarchial or tyrannical government can ever be overthrown, because its power will be sustained by the league of nations. No oppressed people can rebel, because they must fight not only the unjust government of their own State, but they must contend against the governments of all of the other countries of the league.

By what code of ethics and morals are we to settle the questions that arise from time to time among the members of this league of nations? Are they to have a tribunal that is to decide these questions; and if not, how are the questions to be decided? If they have a tribunal, it will be composed of the partisans of each nation, and, as I have already shown, under existing conditions its membership will be largely made up of kings or the representatives of kings or revolutionists and bolsheviki or the representatives of revolutionists and bolsheviki. But by what code of morals or of ethics are we to decide the questions that arise?

The nations have different religions, different forms of government, different civilizations, and the roots of these differences in many instances go back more than 2,000 years. Are we to undertake now to create a league of nations and set up an international moral code for the other nations of the world? If so, by what principle are we to govern ourselves? China would be invited into this league of nations. She would have to be. She is a great country. She is the first country in the history of the world that ever adopted the doctrine of pacifism. Japan must come in; and yet we say that Japan is pagan, and we say that China is pagan. Shall the "unspeakable Turk" come in; and if so, shall he bring his religion and his serapho? How are we to agree upon a code that will accord with the tenets of the Greek Catholic, the Roman Catholic, the various branches of the Protestant Church, the Jewish, the Mohammedan, and the Confucian religion, or the Shintoism and Buddhism of Japan? By what code of morals are we to regulate and set up our standards?

Mr. President, what is to be the policy of this league of nations? Is England to disband her mighty fleet, which we are just now being told has saved the world and civilization? Is there anybody on this earth great enough fool—I intentionally use that harsh term—to believe that England is going into any league of nations upon terms that will compel her to disband her fleet? Why, if England were to disband her fleet and if she then were attacked by any first-class power she could be starved into subjection within 90 days. Does anyone for a moment believe that England will yield her fleet? If, however, England does not yield her fleet and all other nations agree to build no more ships and to be bound by this league of nations, England will be the master nation of the league and so also of the world. All other nations will be subject to her power should she see fit to exercise it. If it be argued that other nations might continue to arm and build ships, notwithstanding the league, such an argument negatives the chief purpose of the league and renders it a useless thing.

Mr. President, you can not imagine this league of nations and attempt to put it into practical application without you will be startled at once by the impossibility of the task you have assumed. If I had before me a map of Europe, I could point out to you the battle fields of this war; I could point out to you where the ancient Hun, the ancient Goth, the ancient Vandal, and the ancient Gaul fought on these same battle fields 2,000 years ago. The struggle that has been going on in Europe has, of course, had its recent irritating causes, but its ancient causes can be traced back to times before the birth of Christ, when

Teuton met Gaul and upon the ground now wet with new-drawn blood of their descendants. For 20 centuries the races of Europe have fought for supremacy. Nation has battled against nation, race against race. The soil of Europe is filled with the bones of soldiers who have died in these ceaseless struggles—races of men who have been partly subjugated, partly conquered, partly intermixed.

The animosities and hatreds that have been engendered during all the bloody years are to-day as bitter as they were hundreds of years ago. Let me cite you one comparatively recent illustration: Centuries ago Bohemia was overcome by Austria. At that time Bohemia had the greatest university in Europe; over 6,000 students gathered at Prague from all parts of the known world. The court of Bohemia was one of the most brilliant in existence. In one battle Bohemia lost her liberty, and from that time to this the Austrian oppressor has been engaged in endeavoring to exterminate the Bohemian people, not physically, but to exterminate their love of country, their recollection of the glory of the past, their national spirit. Austria has undertaken to deprive them of their very language; she has imprisoned them; she has hanged them upon scaffolds; she has caused them to be shot by squads of soldiers. Yet the Bohemian continued to hate his oppressor and to love his country so passionately that in the present war Bohemian regiment after Bohemian regiment have refused to obey the orders of their oppressors and at the very first opportunity they raised the flag of revolt. To-day they are seeking to rear again the structure of their ancient State.

Mr. President, that same kind of race hatred and love of country exists to-day in Hungary, where the Magyar has placed his powerful hand upon a conquered race. So through all these European countries—and I do not pause to go into any analysis of their history—we will find these rival races, these rival bloods, these hatreds that are 2,000 years old, these animosities that will spring into flame so long as there are men and women on this earth.

Likewise there exist the ambitions of kings, the ambitions of peoples, the desire of the Teuton to get to the sea and to live in a bigger way, the desire of other nations to hold him back, the determination of the Turk to control the Bosphorus, the fixed purpose of European nations to acquire it, the desire of France to extend her borders toward Germany, the desire of Germany to absorb France, the desire of Greece to reclaim her ancient glories, the desire of Italy to push her borders into Austrian territory, the desire of England that her drumbeat shall not only follow the sun in its course, but that it shall be heard beneath every star that shines between the North Pole and the Southern Cross—these ambitions and these desires are part of the life, the soul, the blood, the history, of these peoples.

These controversies will spring into action every 10 years of the world's history. There will be wars in Europe, wars that have a European origin, wars that have a European basis, wars that have back of them European ambitions and hatreds. Into all of those wars, into all of those turmoils, into all of that maelstrom of hatred and ambition, it is proposed to thrust the United States for all time. It is proposed that every time there is a quarrel in Europe the United States must draw her sword. It is proposed that every time there is a cloud of war anywhere upon the horizon of Europe we shall summon our soldiers. Our boys must be dragged from the factories and offices and farms; that we shall make the draft a permanent institution; that we shall tear these youths from their homes and families and send them across the sea; that we shall pour out their blood in quarrels between nations that are 3,000 miles from our shores, and in controversies that affect us not the slightest jot or tittle.

Mr. President, we have had one of these wars. I do not complain because we entered it. We entered it because Germany violated our rights on the high seas; but shall that be a reason for changing our policy? For nearly a century and a half we have adhered to the policy of Washington. We have pursued the march of empire, of glory, and of peace. It may almost be said that in all that long time we have had no European war. The War of 1812 was really the aftermath of the war of 1776, growing out of that and out of our weakened condition. I do not count it. It is impossible that such a war should occur again. The War with Spain—the little 90-day War with Spain—occurred, I honestly believe, through a mistake rather than through a crime; but let us call it a war. They did not count as much, sir, as the death roll of a five-minute battle in this war. They did not count as much in money as we are spending in two days' time. In the long flight of the years we have stood in our place of isolation; we have stood proudly by ourselves, independent, powerful, great, peaceful, and prosperous.

Because Germany finally violated our rights on the seas and we were obliged to enter a controversy against her, is that any reason why we should by solemn bargain agree to become a party to every European quarrel that may hereafter occur? Is that any reason why your boy should be taken from his home, why the draft should be imposed, why we should plunge ourselves into endless debt?

This war, brought on, as I have stated, by reason of the violation of our rights, will have cost us, I believe, before we are through, more than $50,000,000,000. It has cost us a toll in life I do not know how great, because the returns are not here yet. I do not venture a prediction further than to say that there is many a black-bordered notice yet to be given; there is many a mother yet with gasping breath to cry out in the agony of her soul as she reads that a son has gone to his death; there is many a father to press his lips into the white line of pain. Many of these sorrows are still to come to our people; yet, in the face of that, we have the monstrous doctrine proposed that America shall bind herself into a league that will compel her to become a part and parcel of every European quarrel; and this is to be the case whether the quarrel is occasioned by the ambitions of kings or by the outbreaks of anarchists and socialists and Bolsheviki who seek to overturn existing governments, whether republics or monarchies.

I protest—I protest in the name of the mothers of the Republic, I protest in the name of the boys of the land—that it is not only our high duty to keep free from European quarrels in the future, but it is our duty just as soon as this war can be honorably ended to call back to this country, as fast as ships will bring them, the last one of our American soldiers; that it is our duty to restore them to their homes; to give them back to the creative arts and industries; to give them the chance to build homes and to rear families. It is our duty to open to them the doors of schools and universities. It is our duty to invite them to enjoy the glories of that peace they have so nobly fought to attain. It is our duty to give notice now and here that the Republic will continue to adhere to her ancient policy of isolation and of independence.

Why, is there not a great enough field for the American statesman? Is any man so ambitious that he can not find in the thing I am about to present a sufficiently alluring picture?

To our south lie the great nations of South America. They are only half developed. They have a people that are naturally our allies and our friends. Their commerce ought to be our commerce; our commerce ought to be their commerce. Our friendship ought to be their friendship; their friendship ought to be our friendship. We are bound together by ties of interest and amity. Surely here one can visualize a field of national influence glorious and splendid, not only for us but for them. The contemplation of such a picture ought to gratify all ambitions, all yearnings for power and greatness.

Mr. President, the life of this Republic may hang upon this decision. We can not engage in these foreign alliances without making mutual bargains. We can not call upon them to protect us unless we agree to protect them. We can not expect them to come to our relief in a controversy unless we go to the relief of each of them in their controversies. The man who proposes to thrust America into the broils and wars of Europe, binding her for all time to the intrigues and conspiracies and ambitions of the courts of kings and czars and such other governments as may exist, who proposes to reverse the policy of Washington, the opinions of Jefferson, the doctrines of the fathers, advocates that which may unmake this great Republic.

I thank the Senate.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 15 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia and Mr. LODGE appeared, and

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia said: Mr. President, the committee appointed by the Senate, together with the committee on the part of the House of Representatives, to wait on the President of the United States and advise him that it is the wish of Congress to adjourn at 5 o'clock this afternoon, and to inquire if he has anything to communicate to Congress, has discharged that duty. The President instructs us to say that there is no further communication that he desires to submit to the Congress at present.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mr. PHELAN. I offer the following resolution and ask that it be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 351) was read, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate of the United States, That the principle of a league of nations organized to prevent wars and enforce justice be, and is hereby, approved.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, replying to the distinguished Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] on the subject of a league of nations, I desire to observe that his argument appealed to me very strongly in favor of a league of nations, whereas I believe it was his purpose to condemn the proposal which was made in one of the 14 articles of the President's recommendations to the world. The reason which he assigns as rendering difficult the organization of such a league, namely, the racial feuds and love of nationality on the part of the small powers of the world, which he believes would necessarily engender wars, is the very reason why a league of nations to prevent wars should be organized.

We all admit that there is in human nature that desire to assert itself by the most primitive means at hand, the methods of the cave man; and human society has been organized within the limits of governments to prevent such a condition, which would only result in constant disorder. So the very same principles upon which civil society is organized to curb the passions of men apply with equal force to the nations of the world, which, after all, are only organized communities of men. Therefore, when the Senator says that the irresistible disposition on the part of nations to fight renders impossible a league of nations, it proves nothing whatever unless it proves the necessity of the policeman.

There are in Europe a large number of small States. We have given them liberty; we have given them democracy; and yet the gift would be like the Dead Sea fruit of ashes offered to their famished lips unless we had an organized power in the world to restrain the oppression and the injustice by superior powers, which inevitably will come to them if they are left to their own resources.

"I am my brother's keeper." That is the principle of the league of nations, and that will result ultimately in the abolition of war and the salvation of the world.

The Senator has said that it is preposterous to believe that Great Britain will participate in a league of nations. In answer to the Senator from Missouri I have the words of the Premier of Great Britain, Mr. Lloyd-George, who unequivocally declared the other day in favor of a league of nations, because he is a statesman of vision, because he understands the question that is involved, and because he sees, with his superior knowledge, his experience in European affairs, the absolute necessity of having a league of nations.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a moment in order that I may offer a resolution?

Mr. PHELAN. Certainly.

THANKS TO VICE PRESIDENT.

Mr. WARREN. I offer the resolution which I send to the desk and ask for its adoption.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 353) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Senate are hereby tendered to Hon. THOMAS A. MARSHALL, Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate, for the dignified, impartial, and courteous manner in which he has presided over its deliberations during the present session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WARREN in the chair). The question is on the adoption of the resolution just read by the Secretary.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT resumed the chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Senators of the United States, I thought that we were to wind up one session of the Senate without this usual, ordinary, gracious, but wholly perfunctory resolution on behalf of the presiding officer of the Senate. Nevertheless, as the years go by I find myself more and more under obligations to the Senators of the United States for the patience they exercise in the moments of irritation upon my part, for their generous judgment of my conduct, and for something that is far dearer to me than even the record of a presiding officer over this great and illustrious body—the feeling which I have, and which, if I ought not to have it, I beg you will not take away from me, that regardless of politics and politicians, regardless of the ebb and flow of party sentiment and party ideas in America, up to this good hour I have had practically the unanimous individual and personal friendship of the Senators of the United States. For this I thank you. I hope that in the days to come I may be worthy of a continuance of that friendship.

THANKS TO PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I offer the resolution which I send to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 354) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Senate are hereby tendered to Hon. WILLARD SAULSBURY, President pro tempore of the Senate, for the dignified, impartial, and courteous manner in which he has presided over its deliberations during the present session.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, just one word. I desire, sir, to say that you are the personification of the principle of the league of nations, because under the rules you have kept the Senators from personal and physical combat in the enforcement of their ideas and required them to confine themselves to intellectual discussion. That is exactly what we desire to give to the world; and in you, sir, I see a token of the coming day.

SENATE PAGES.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 352), which was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to employ 16 pages for the Senate Chamber, at $2.75 per day each, for a period lasting from November 22, 1918, to December 1, 1918, inclusive, to be paid from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate.

FINAL ADJOURNMENT.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The hour of 5 o'clock having arrived, at which time, in accordance with the concurrent resolution of the Senate and the House of Representatives, this session of the Congress of the United States is to come to its close, by virtue of the authority vested in me by that resolution I now declare the Senate of the United States adjourned sine die.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate November 21, 1918.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

Harris Bennett, of Duluth, Minn., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 36, with headquarters at Duluth, Minn. (Reappointment.)

Frank E. Fitzsimmons, of Providence, R. I., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 5, with headquarters at Providence, R. I. (Reappointment.)

APPOINTMENT IN THE ARMY.

To be second lieutenant with rank from November 1, 1918.

Cadet Williston Birkhimer Palmer.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Lieut. Thomas G. Berrien to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 21st day of September, 1918.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 5th day of November, 1918:

Robert H. Grayson,
John L. Hall,
James H. Strong,
Frederic W. Dillingham,
Hardy B. Page,
Hartwell C. Davis,
Terry B. Thompson,
Laurance T. Dubose,
Arthur G. Robinson,
Walter E. Doyle,
Karl E. Hintze, and
George B. Junkin.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 5th day of November, 1918:

Walter C. Theimer,
Arthur R. Pontow,
Hervey Z. Throop,
William Klaus,
John F. Kennedy,
Frank I. Hart,

Harry R. Hayes,
Alvin Henderson,
John F. P. Miller,
Jerome L. Allen,
Albert R. Colwell,
Carl J. Nerdahl,
Glen R. Ogg,
Eugene L. Richardson,
Jay Smith,
Charles E. Weickhardt,
Marvin G. Fox,
Walter S. Gallagher,
Learned L. Dean,
Henry E. Keller,
Merwin W. Arps,
William W. Cole,
John Kneubuehler,
Harold F. MacHugh,
Ralph Lane,
Joseph W. Storm,
Karl E. F. Sorensen,
Thomas F. Fahy,
Ray C. Hopkins,
Clarence M. Maloney,
Philip A. Wilson,
James A. Maloney,
Kenneth F. Horne,
Jeremiah K. Cronin,
Albert R. Myers,
Willis M. Young, and
Bennie C. Phillips.

Ensign Otis A. Nicholas to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 5th day of November, 1918:

Virgil E. Durden,
John T. Gcree,
Albert H. Siemer,
Walter S. Mallory, jr.,
Carl H. Zeiss,
Louis T. Young,
John R. Shuman,
Edmund G. Flint, jr.,
Joseph H. Cox,
John R. Montgomery,
Clarence V. Lally,
Clifford L. Fenton,
David M. Gilmore,
Thomas L. R. Husselton, and
John P. Hillyard.

The following-named warrant officers for temporary service, to be ensigns in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of November, 1918:

Byron Williams,
Thomas Downs,
George J. Tansey,
Alfred J. Butler,
Walter E. Stephen, and
Jabez N. Phinney.

The following-named enlisted men to be ensigns in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of November, 1918:

Herbert B. Newton,
Lafayette R. Jones,
Carl W. Frohrib,
Laurence F. Hofer,
John M. Kamratkie,
Edward G. Robinson, and
Henry O. Nicholas.

The following-named paymasters to be pay inspectors in the Navy, with the rank of commander, for temporary service, from the 11th day of January, 1918:

John F. Hatch and
Frederick G. Pyne.

Acting Pay Clerk Percy W. McCord to be an assistant paymaster in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, for temporary service, from the 15th day of September, 1918.

The following-named acting pay clerks to be assistant paymasters in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, for temporary service, from the 15th day of November, 1918:

Charles F. House,
Louis W. Crane,
George S. Corbell,
Calvin W. Schaeffer,
William T. Ross, and
Benjamin O. Kilroy.

Assistant Paymaster William B. Young, of the United States Naval Reserve Force, to be an assistant paymaster in the Navy with the rank of ensign, for temporary service, from the 15th day of November, 1918.

Chief Pay Clerk Roscoe J. Dodd, retired, to be an assistant paymaster on the retired list of the Navy with the rank of lieutenant, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918.

The following-named pay clerks on the retired list to be assistant paymasters on the retired list of the Navy with the rank of lieutenant, for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918:

John W. Caum,
Isaac T. Van Patten,
Theodore G. Hansche,
George A. White,
Charles W. Loomis,
Philip T. Lansdale,
Ray E. Ames,
William R. Pattison,
Goerge B. Kimberly,
Frederick H. Ramsay,
Frederick K. Hunt,
Floyd C. Miller,
Harry L. Miller,
Matthew C. Kneip, and
Thomas S. Veitch.

Pay Clerk John F. Flynn, retired, to be an assistant paymaster on the retired list of the Navy with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service, from the 1st day of July, 1918.

POSTMASTERS.

ALABAMA.

Lillie C. Hays to be postmaster at Abbeville, Ala., in place of Charles B. Searcy, deceased.

Marcus M. Russell to be postmaster at Attalla, Ala., in place of David A. Hughes, resigned.

Grova Grace to be postmaster at Dora, Ala., in place of W. H. Ballenger, resigned.

ARIZONA.

John H. Gibson to be postmaster at Winslow, Ariz., in place of William J. Daze, resigned.

ARKANSAS.

Isaac G. Ritchie to be postmaster at Hardy, Ark., in place of Arthur Sullivan. Office became presidential January 1, 1918.

Thomas L. Smith to be postmaster at Lepanto, Ark., in place of Willie E. Lamb. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Alvin G. Stamps to be postmaster at Earl, Ark., in place of John H. Nance, resigned.

CALIFORNIA.

Theodore H. Abel to be postmaster at Coalinga, Cal., in place of W. H. Kerr, deceased.

Andrew M. Isom to be postmaster at Portola, Cal., in place of Esther B. Hensel, resigned.

Harlan J. Woodward to be postmaster at Ramona, Cal., in place of Henry A. Miles, resigned.

COLORADO.

Robert T. De Foor to be postmaster at Eagle, Colo., in place of Ralph E. Belding, resigned.

Orion W. Daggett to be postmaster at Redcliff, Colo., in place of Elsie E. Da Lee Elliott, resigned.

FLORIDA.

Alexander J. Burnham to be postmaster at Bushnell, Fla., in place of Lundy L. Sutton, deceased.

Edwin E. Williams to be postmaster at Passagrille, Fla., in place of Fred S. Kanode, resigned.

GEORGIA.

Wiley M. Rogers to be postmaster at Union City, Ga., in place of R. F. Duckworth, resigned.

Albert S. Hardy to be postmaster at Gainesville, Ga., in place of Mrs. H. W. J. Ham. Incumbent's commission expired July 10, 1917.

ILLINOIS.

Owen C. McCartney to be postmaster at Hamilton, Ill., in place of W. H. Harkrader, resigned.

Edward W. Childe to be postmaster at Martinsville, Ill., in place of D. B. Ulrey, resigned.

William J. West to be postmaster at Odin, Ill., in place of James M. Dace, resigned.

Inez M. Garrison to be postmaster at Flanagan, Ill., in place of W. F. Lutyen, resigned.

INDIANA.

Nathan W. Ringo to be postmaster at Dugger, Ind., in place of Lewis E. Chowning, resigned.

Earle A. Smith to be postmaster at Gosport, Ind., in place of George B. Spicer, resigned.

Fred H. Foster to be postmaster at Oxford, Ind., in place of M. P. Halgren, declined.

IOWA.

Alvah M. Robinson to be postmaster at Reinbeck, Iowa, in place of Elisha D. Roberts, resigned.

KANSAS.

John W. Dean to be postmaster at Blue Mound, Kans., in place of J. H. Burnett, resigned.

Eva Philbrick to be postmaster at Halstead, Kans., in place of John C. Girk, resigned.

Mollie F. Osburn to be postmaster at Jennings, Kans., in place of Lottie R. Boulls, resigned.

Raymond R. Norris to be postmaster at Marquette, Kans., in place of J. K. Stinson, resigned.

Lodema Bryant to be postmaster at Neosho Falls, Kans., in place of Robert B. Leedy, deceased.

Anna L. Taylor to be postmaster at Russell, Kans., in place of James W. Morphy, resigned.

LOUISIANA.

Jesse L. Fowler to be postmaster at Oak Grove, La., in place of H. M. Bailey, resigned.

Chester A. Thompson to be postmaster at Ville Platte, La., in place of Christina Derouen, resigned.

MARYLAND.

Alexander D. S. Harrower to be postmaster at Cockeysville, Md., in place of Thomas E. Frantz, resigned.

MICHIGAN.

Harry S. Morrow to be postmaster at Port Austin, Mich., in place of Andrew K. Burrows, removed.

Charles A. Jordan to be postmaster at Saline, Mich., in place of John Lutz, resigned.

Willis E. Warren to be postmaster at Capac, Mich., in place of A. S. Sadler, declined.

MINNESOTA.

Ruby M. Anderson to be postmaster at Argyle, Minn., in place of Herman R. Meisch, removed.

Hope Mouser to be postmaster at Gilbert, Minn., in place of Hope Monser, to correct name.

Clara A. Toftey to be postmaster at Grand Marais, Minn., in place of Ruth G. Soderberg, resigned.

Lillian M. Reinholdson to be postmaster at Sandstone, Minn., in place of Charles Reinholdson, deceased.

Jay Jackson to be postmaster at Ruthton, Minn., in place of A. M. Evenson, declined.

MISSISSIPPI.

William P. Wildberger to be postmaster at Clarksdale, Miss., in place of R. N. Harris, resigned.

Minnie O. Sharbrough to be postmaster at Rolling Fork, Miss., in place of John T. Griffin, declined.

Henry B. Edwards to be postmaster at Shuqualak, Miss., in place of Olivia M. Jenkins, resigned.

MISSOURI.

Mary P. Fields to be postmaster at Lees Summit, Mo., in place of Robert G. Wilson, jr., resigned.

Thomas F. Weaver to be postmaster at Steele, Mo., in place of Thomas E. Broderick, resigned.

NEBRASKA.

Estella E. Murray to be postmaster at Belgrade, Nebr., in place of Anton J. Ruzicka, resigned.

Ira P. Foreman to be postmaster at Allen, Nebr., in place of S. L. Stewart, resigned. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Edward J. Whalen to be postmaster at Spalding, Nebr., in place of W. P. Dunning, resigned.

NEW YORK.

Marcus R. Zeh to be postmaster at Central Bridge, N. Y., in place of Charles O. Williams, deceased.

Gertrude R. Neenan to be postmaster at East Bloomfield, N. Y., in place of Edward S. Mason, deceased.

Mary H. Avery to be postmaster at Elmsford, N. Y., in place of Florence L. Johnson, resigned.

Elizabeth G. Kenyon to be postmaster at Jamesville, N. Y., in place of Archie Goodfellow, resigned.

Wilder S. Beard to be postmaster at Jefferson, N. Y., in place of Jerome Terpening, resigned.

Ashmer R. Collins to be postmaster at Norwood, N. Y., in place of T. W. O'Driscoll, office declared vacant by order.

Marion E. Wroten to be postmaster at Trudean, N. Y., in place of George E. Wroten, deceased.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Jessie M. Hamill to be postmaster at Oakes, N. Dak., in place of Robert E. Wessel, deceased.

Thomas F. Cooper to be postmaster at Parshall, N. Dak., in place of Gertrude M. Larin, resigned.

OHIO.

Arda M. S. Allensworth to be postmaster at Amsterdam, Ohio, in place of Grover C. Naragon, resigned.

Lee B. Milligan to be postmaster at Lowellville, Ohio, in place of Freda M. Milligan, resigned.

Wendell E. Brettell to be postmaster at Rock Creek, Ohio, in place of Nelson C. Petrie, resigned.

George R. Irwin to be postmaster at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, in place of Marshall E. Foucht, removed.

Roy S. Rush to be postmaster at Wickliffe, Ohio, in place of C. A. Rush. Incumbent's commission expired July 24, 1917.

Harry H. Maxson to be postmaster at Germantown, Ohio, in place of William Buck, declined.

Andrew J. Price to be postmaster at Glouster, Ohio, in place of Hugh Gormley, resigned.

John L. Carr to be postmaster at South Charleston, Ohio, in place of F. J. Sullivan, resigned.

OKLAHOMA.

James G. Sprouse to be postmaster at McCurtain, Okla., in place of Clifford P. Martin, resigned.

Walter A. Thompson to be postmaster at Tahlequah, Okla., in place of A. B. Cunningham, resigned.

Claud Hannon to be postmaster at Wirt, Okla., in place of J. C. Cobb, removed.

OREGON.

Exel Vogel to be postmaster at Rainier, Oreg., in place of J. W. Stacy, resigned.

Richard H. Yates to be postmaster at Willamina, Oreg., in place of Paul C. Belt, resigned.

PENNSYLVANIA.

William D. First to be postmaster at Conneaut Lake, Pa., in place of G. B. Livingston, resigned.

William A. Clancy to be postmaster at Foxburg, Pa., in place of J. M. Keesey, removed.

Margaret C. Brown to be postmaster at Langeloth, Pa., in place of T. B. McKaig, resigned. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John J. Roll to be postmaster at Natrona, Pa., in place of J. S. Gordon. Incumbent's commission expired January 15, 1918.

Thomas F. McHale to be postmaster at Olyphant, Pa., in place of J. J. Moran, removed.

RHODE ISLAND.

Hartzell R. Birch to be postmaster at Kingston, R. I., in place of A. A. Greenman, resigned.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Marie V. Keel to be postmaster at Allendale, S. C., in place of J. E. Searson, resigned.

William T. Reynolds, jr., to be postmaster at Mount Pleasant, S. C., in place of J. A. Patjens, resigned.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Arnold Poulsen to be postmaster at Lennox, S. Dak., in place of A. J. Miller, resigned.

TENNESSEE.

Dudley D. Edgemon to be postmaster at Englewood, Tenn., in place of P. H. Toomey, resigned.

Charles O. Baird to be postmaster at Jellico, Tenn., in place of C. A. Templeton, resigned.

TEXAS.

May Murray to be postmaster at Sonora, Tex., in place of G. W. Smith, resigned.

George W. Morris to be postmaster at New Boston, Tex., in place of Tobe Morris, resigned.

UTAH.

Clyde Panter to be postmaster at Magna, Utah, in place of R. M. Woolley, resigned.

Thomas Brimley to be postmaster at Farmington, Utah, in place of N. O. Palmer, resigned.

VIRGINIA.

Rose A. Milligan to be postmaster at Urbanna, Va., in place of C. C. Chowning, resigned.

WASHINGTON.

Andrew J. Cosser to be postmaster at Port Angeles, Wash., in place of Frank L. Stocking, deceased.

Gertrude Cosgrove to be postmaster at Sprague, Wash., in place of F. H. McCroskey, resigned.

Alberta Hough to be postmaster at Valley, Wash., in place of Alberta Gilson (name changed by marriage).

Inez G. Spencer to be postmaster at Creston, Wash., in place of Sadie Haight, resigned.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Henry L. Bowling to be postmaster at Lewisburg, W. Va., in place of J. O. Dice, resigned.

William A. Curry to be postmaster at Omar, W. Va., in place of Alexander Lester, resigned.

Elmer H. Schreck to be postmaster at Gillette, Wyo., in place of N. D. Morgan, declined.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate November 21, 1918.

AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY.

John W. Davis to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Great Britain.

SECRETARY OF EMBASSY OR LEGATION.

Charles Henry Chapman to be a secretary of embassy or legation of class 4.

SOLICITOR GENERAL.

Alexander C. King to be Solicitor General.

ASSOCIATE JUSTCE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Percy M. Moir to be an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

Frank E. Fitzsimmons to be collector of customs, district No. 5.

Harris Bennett to be collector of customs, district No. 36. Reappointment.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Passed Asst. Surg. Friench Simpson to be surgeon.

Asst. Surg. Clarence H. Waring to be passed assistant surgeon.

Asst. Surg. George A. Wheeler to be passed assistant surgeon.

Asst. Surg. William Charles Witte to be passed assistant surgeon.

Asst. Surg. William Francis Tanner to be passed assistant surgeon.

Asst. Surg. Carl Michel to be passed assistant surgeon.

Asst. Surg. Marion Sunsari Lombard to be passed assistant surgeon.

Asst. Surg. Ora Howard Cox to be passed assistant surgeon.

Asst. Surg. Robert Louis Allen to be passed assistant surgeon.

Dr. Bertrand Earle Roberts to be assistant surgeon.

COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY.

Harry Leypoldt to be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer in the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Department of Commerce.

SURVEYOR GENERAL.

John B. O'Sullivan to be surveyor general of Nevada.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Owen E. Thomas to be receiver of public moneys at Kalispell, Mont.

George G. Beams to be receiver of public moneys at Lincoln, Nebr.

COAST GUARD.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Coast Guard, for temporary service:

William J. Keester,
Eugene A. Coffin,
John S. Baylis,
Charles G. Roemer,
Wilfred N. Derby,
Leo C. Mueller,
Clarence H. Dench,
William K. Scammell,
Roy A. Bothwell,
Wilmer H. Eberly,
Russell L. Lucas,
Stephen S. Yeandle,
Frederick A. Zscheuschler,
Thomas S. Klinger,
Charles E. Anstett,
Henry G. Hemingway,
Jeremiah A. Starr, and
Joseph E. Stika.

First Lieut. of Engineers Herbert N. Pelham to be captain of engineers in the Coast Guard, for temporary service.

The following-named third lieutenants to be second lieutenants in the Coast Guard, for temporary service:

George W. McKean and
John Trebes, jr.

Third Lieut. of Engineers John A. Curran to be second lieutenant of engineers, for temporary service, in the Coast Guard.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

INFANTRY.

To be lieutenant colonels.

Maj. John W. Barker.
Maj. James P. Harbeson.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENTS, BY PROMOTION, IN THE ARMY.

CAVALRY ARM.

To be first lieutenants.

Second Lieut. Arthur W. Stanley.
Second Lieut. Harold E. Brailey.
Second Lieut. Carleton Burgess.
Second Lieut. Frederick H. Vandegrift.
Second Lieut. Harry E. Dodge.
Second Lieut. Charles F. Palmer.
Second Lieut. Jay D. D. Marcellus.
Second Lieut. Lewis D. Cooper, jr.
Second Lieut. Charles J. Davis.
Second Lieut. George W. Outland.
Second Lieut. John M. Moose, jr.
Second Lieut. Nelson R. Perry.
Second Lieut. Innes Randolph.
Second Lieut. Carl B. Byrd.
Second Lieut. Thomas Brady, jr.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

To be first lieutenants.

Second Lieut. Frank C. Delaney.
Second Lieut. Pell W. Foster, jr.
Second Lieut. Kennedy Hassenzahl.
Second Lieut. Arthur P. Patterson.
Second Lieut. Robert P. Reynolds.
Second Lieut. Philip G. Hodge.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

MEDICAL CORPS.

To be first lieutenants.

Maj. Jesse P. Truax.
Maj. Charles Henry Stearns.
Maj. Ralph Waldo Newton.
First Lieut. Charles Augustus Short.
First Lieut. William Calvert Chaney.
First Lieut. Olaf Kittelson.
First Lieut. Lawrence Frederick Fisher.
First Lieut. Young Cleveland Lott.
First Lieut. Earl Edward Van Derwerker.
First Lieut. Albert Barnett Ferguson.
First Lieut. Julius Benjamin Boehm.
First Lieut. John Daniel Gillis.
First Lieut. Ralph Waldo Turner.
First Lieut. Francis John Robinson.
First Lieut. Fowler Burdette Roberts.
First Lieut. Hugo Muench, jr.
First Lieut. Jarrett Matthew Huddleston.
First Lieut. George Eason Blue.
First Lieut. Earl Calvin Padgett.
First Lieut. David Oscar Nathaniel Lindberg.
First Lieut. Cecil Emerson Johnson.
First Lieut. Harry LeRoy Smith.
First Lieut. Carl Bearse.
First Lieut. John Murray Welch.
First Lieut. Merrill Clary Sosman.
First Lieut. Jacob John Mann.
First Lieut. John Luverne Hemstead.
First Lieut. Charles Gilbert Irish.
First Lieut. George Palmer McNeill, jr.
First Lieut. Sidney Ober Reese, jr.
First Lieut. Oscar Thweatt Kirksey.
Capt. William Walsh Lerman.
First Lieut. Victor Roland Turner.
First Lieut. Frederic Damrau.
First Lieut. Charles William Henderson.
First Lieut. William Donaldson Fleming.
First Lieut. Harry Gardner Johnson.
First Lieut. John Henry Murphy.
First Lieut. Charles Anthony Cibelius.
First Lieut. James Winn Sherrill.
First Lieut. Philip Lewis Cook.
First Lieut. Edward Augustus Lane.

First Lieut. Charles Fremont Snell.
First Lieut. Arthur Luis Guerra.
First Lieut. Maximilian Mark Nemser.
Capt. Charles Henry Manlove, jr.
Capt. Eugene Vernon Powell.
First Lieut. Henry Tayloe Compton.
First Lieut. John Henry Bullock.
First Lieut. Howard Barton Swan.
First Lieut. Walter van Olinda Moore.
First Lieut. John Nagle Hayes.
First Lieut. Edgar Harvey Albers.
First Lieut. Benjamin William Lewis.
First Lieut. Lawrence Henry Fitzgerald.
First Lieut. George Heinrichs Preston.
First Lieut. Edgar William Kemner.
First Lieut. Walter Schneider Bennett.
First Lieut. Louis Frederick Sanmann.
First Lieut. Maurice Blocher Bender.
First Lieut. Clifford Edward Bergin.
First Lieut. John Bunting Haines.
First Lieut. Guy Champion Milnor.
First Lieut. Robert Bogan.
First Lieut. James Wright Clarkson.
First Lieut. Floyd Ellsworth Best.
First Lieut. Paul Seibert Seabold.
First Lieut. Sidney Jonas Wolfermann.
First Lieut. Ralph Maurice De Graff.
First Lieut. Thomas William Connolly.
First Lieut. Irl Cephas Riggin.
First Lieut. Whitman Carlisle McConnell.
First Lieut. Clarence Mansfield Reddig.
First Lieut. Ernest Jackson Steves.
First Lieut. John Adams Logan.
First Lieut. Raymond Edwin Elliott.
First Lieut. George Arnold Brown.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

To be second lieutenants.

Cadet David Wood Griffiths.
Cadet Bernard Skinner Stearns.
Cadet Arthur William Pence.
Cadet Leslie Richard Groves, jr.
Cadet Henry Gray Lodge.
Cadet Lemuel Pope, 3d.
Cadet James Logan Rhoades.
Cadet Frederic Bates Butler.
Cadet Leverett Griggs Yoder.
Cadet Harry Alexander Montgomery.
Cadet Wilson Gordon Saville.
Cadet Mark Mayo Boatner, jr.
Cadet David Ayer Dupue Ogden.
Cadet Frederick Adolph Platte.
Cadet Karl Browne Schilling.
Cadet John Hawkins Elleman.
Cadet Elmer Ellsworth Barnes.
Cadet William Wesley Wanamaker.
Cadet Beverly Carradine Snow.
Cadet Richard Lee.
Cadet Howard Louis Peckham.
Cadet John Southworth Niles.
Cadet Charles Richard Bathurst.
Cadet Wendell Phillips Trower.
Cadet Robert Gilbert Lovett.
Cadet Cornman Louis Hahn.
Cadet Edwin Potter Lock, jr.
Cadet Morris Williams Gilland.
Cadet David Terrill Johnson.
Cadet Edwin Gunsolus Shrader.
Cadet Randolph Pierson Williams.
Cadet Otto Praeger, jr.
Cadet Allison Miller.
Cadet Newell Lyon Hemenway.
Cadet Archie Trescott Colwell.
Cadet Arthur Joseph Sheridan.
Cadet James George Christiansen.
Cadet Benjamin Franklin Chadwick.
Cadet Charles Dickson Jewell.
Cadet Heath Twichell.
Cadet Joseph Jones Twitty.
Cadet Robert Everett York.
Cadet Chester Krum Harding.
Cadet William Victor Hesp.
Cadet William Clarence Bennett, jr.
Cadet Claude Henry Chorpening.
Cadet Frank Otto Bowman.
Cadet James Postell Jervey, jr.
Cadet Joseph Shirley Gorlinski.
Cadet George Sackett Witters.
Cadet Albert Riani.
Cadet Orville Ernest Walsh.
Cadet Harvey Drexler Dana.
Cadet Peter Paul Goerz.
Cadet Robert Blake Coolidge.
Cadet John Peter Dietrich.
Cadet William Aylett Callaway.
Cadet Howard Voorheis Canan.
Cadet Vere Alfred Beers.
Cadet Doswell Gullatt.
Cadet John Bell Hughes.
Cadet Eugene Luther Vidal.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

To be second lieutenants.

Cadet Frederick Atherton Stevens.
Cadet Harrison Shaler.
Cadet Edmund Wilson Searby.
Cadet Roger Manning Wicks.
Cadet Hugh Archer Palmer.
Cadet George Vernon Keyser.
Cadet Homer William Blair.
Cadet Lawrence Bradford Bixby.
Cadet Harry Crawford.
Cadet William Washington Webster.
Cadet John Hamilton Hinds.
Cadet William Powell Blair.
Cadet William James Epes.
Cadet John Hinton.
Cadet Eric Spencer Molitor.
Cadet Richard August Ericson.
Cadet Richard Brobst Madigan.
Cadet James Vincent Carroll.
Cadet William Henry Barlow.
Cadet Ernest Calhoun Norman.
Cadet Charles Rolland Gildart.
Cadet Gerald Alexander O'Rouark.
Cadet Charles Edward Hixon.
Cadet Bryan Evans.
Cadet Francis Andrew March, 3d.
Cadet John Sheridan Winn, jr.
Cadet Roger Williams Autry.
Cadet Myrl Milton Miller.
Cadet Alfred Nathan Bergman.
Cadet Stuart Millikin Bevans.
Cadet John Hiram Lewis, jr.

COAST ARTILLERY CORPS.

To be second lieutenants.

Cadet John Marks Moore.
Cadet Eugene Garmanus Miller.
Cadet Joseph Coolidge Kilbourne, jr.
Cadet Brooks Scott.
Cadet Arthur Emil Mickelsen.
Cadet Paul Boyle Kelly.
Cadet Leon Harold Dunn, 1st.
Cadet James Clyde Styron.
Cadet Bonner Frank Fellers.
Cadet Richard Ravenie Spring.
Cadet Melton Adams Hatch.
Cadet Kenneth Seymour Stice.
Cadet George Maurice Badger.
Cadet Marion Van Voorst.
Cadet Edwin Boyd Fitzpatrick.
Cadet Dean Richard Dickey.
Cadet William Amberson Sexton.
Cadet Hobart Reed Yeager.
Cadet Gervais William Trichel.
Cadet Thomas William Munford.
Cadet James Longstreet Whelchel.
Cadet John Hadley Fonvielle.
Cadet Joe David Moss.
Cadet Edward Arthur Dolph.
Cadet Felix Max Usis.
Cadet Edward Ward Hendrick.
Cadet Bernard Wellington Slifer.
Cadet Lee Earl Gray.
Cadet Donald William Sawtelle.

CAVALRY ARM.

To be second lieutenants.

Cadet George Gage Eddy.
Cadet Charles Edward Morrison.

Cadet Christian Knudsen.
Cadet Francis Bassett Valentine.
Cadet Thomas Tipton Thornburgh.
Cadet William Covington Benton.
Cadet Vincent John Conrad.
Cadet David Adams Taylor.
Cadet Ronald Austin Hicks.
Cadet Elmer Vaughan Stansbury.
Cadet Edwin Leslie Hogan.
Cadet John Creel Hamilton.
Cadet Mark Rhoads.
Cadet Joseph Kittredge Baker.
Cadet Charles William Leng, jr.
Cadet Albert Walker Johnson.
Cadet Willard Ames Holbrook.
Cadet Auston Monroe Wilson, jr.
Cadet Samuel Powell Walker, jr.
Cadet Fred Glover Sherrill.
Cadet Sol Mark Lipman.
Cadet William Theodore Powers.

INFANTRY ARM.

To be second lieutenants.

Cadet Benjamin Abbott Dickson.
Cadet Charles Mason Wells.
Cadet William Bobbs Miller.
Cadet Richard Carrick Babbitt.
Cadet Wade Rushton Cothran, jr.
Cadet Percival Bolling Banister.
Cadet Claude Desha Anderson, jr.
Cadet Hammond McDougal Monroe.
Cadet John William Middleton.
Cadet Clarence Arthur Rosendahl.
Cadet Frank Johnstone Cunningham.
Cadet Edward Ward Smith.
Cadet John Bartlett Sherman.
Cadet John Joseph Breen.
Cadet James Arthur Kehoe.
Cadet Frederick Pearson.
Cadet Charles Frederick Colson.
Cadet DeWitt Hicks.
Cadet Donald Frederic Carroll.
Cadet Robert Alvin Schow.
Cadet John Harrison Stokes, jr.
Cadet Jesse Ellis Graham.
Cadet Jerome David Cambre.
Cadet William Howard Cocke.
Cadet Burrowes Goldthwaite Stevens.
Cadet Alexander Thomas McCone.
Cadet Thomas Markhan Brinkley.
Cadet John Kennedy Buchanan.
Cadet Ivins LaRue Browne.
Cadet Kenneth Willey Leslie.
Cadet Beverly St. George Tucker.
Cadet John Trites Brown.
Cadet John Coachman Cullens, jr.
Cadet Reginald Hubbell.
Cadet Wesley Collins Dever.
Cadet John May Tatum.
Cadet Gerald Burnett O'Grady.
Cadet Paul Wilkins Kendall.
Cadet John Franklin Farley.
Cadet Charles Henry Moore, jr.
Cadet James Wentworth Freeman.
Cadet Alexander John Mackenzie.
Cadet Wiley Vinton Carter.
Cadet Ira Platt Swift.
Cadet Wilbur Eugene Dunkelberg.
Cadet James Hicks Carney Hill.
Cadet Victor Crippen Broome.
Cadet Thomas Reynolds Denny.
Cadet Frank Mathews Corzelius.
Cadet Julius Lynch Pyland.
Cadet Arthur Pulsifer.
Cadet Farrin Allen Hillard.
Cadet William Jesserel Mason.
Cadet Elliott Watkins.
Cadet Francis James Gillespie.
Cadet Jesse Lewis Gibney.
Cadet Robert Hale Vesey.
Cadet Clarence Miles Mendenhall, jr.
Cadet Kester Lovejoy Hastings.
Cadet George McKnight Williamson, jr.
Cadet Howard Waite Brimmer.
Cadet Charles Milner Smith, jr.
Cadet Albert Brownfield Goodin.
Cadet Walter Joseph Muller.
Cadet Harry Lovejoy Rogers, jr.
Cadet George Bryan Conrad.
Cadet William Stephen Murray.
Cadet Harry Krieger.
Cadet Raymond Wainwright Odor.
Cadet James Clyde Welch.
Cadet Miner Welsh Bonwell.
Cadet John Perry Pence.
Cadet John Leo Binder.
Cadet Joseph Magoffin Glasgow.
Cadet Elmer Mike Jenkins.
Cadet James Lawrence Keasler.
Cadet Rutherford Dent McGiffert.
Cadet Richard Bryan Wheeler.
Cadet Thomas Roswell Aaron.
Cadet Charles Llewellyn Gorman.
Cadet Louis George Horowitz.
Cadet David Albert Newcomer.
Cadet Boyd Wheeler Bartlett.
Cadet Alfred Maximilian Gruenther.
Cadet Laurence Van Doren Harris.
Cadet Herbert Bernard Loper.
Cadet Ivan Crawford Lawrence.
Cadet Benjamin Mace Hedrick.
Cadet Robert Gibbons Gard.
Cadet Robert Ammons Hill.
Cadet David Horn Whittier.
Cadet Sidney Ward Gould.
Cadet Herbert Maury Jones.
Cadet Fred William Marlow.
Cadet Orville Wells Martin.
Cadet William Joseph Regan.
Cadet Roy Green.
Cadet Forrest Eugene Cookson.
Cadet John Paul Kennedy.
Cadet Alexander Sharp Bennet.
Cadet George Sheldon Price.
Cadet Carl Spencer Molitor.
Cadet Philip Stueler Lauben.
Cadet Wyburn Dwight Brown.
Cadet Robert Miller Montague.
Cadet Charles Pollard Jones.
Cadet Anthony Clement McAuliffe.
Cadet Robert Leonard Johnson.
Cadet Lester Francis Rhodes.
Cadet Albert Rhett Stuart Barden.
Cadet Romeo Francis Regnier.
Cadet Don Gilmore Shingler.
Cadet Harlan Nelson Hartness.
Cadet Louis Brainard Ely.
Cadet Julius Easton Slack.
Cadet Bertram Francis Hayford.
Cadet Ernest Aaron Bixby.
Cadet Robert Rossiter Raymond, jr.
Cadet Harris Fulford Scherer.
Cadet Donald Miller Davidson.
Cadet Ernest John Riley.
Cadet Clarence Emil Burgher.
Cadet Thomas Benoit Hedekin.
Cadet Joseph Vincie Phelps.
Cadet Charles Norton McFarland.
Cadet Charles Alvin Pyle.
Cadet Alexander Griswold Kirby.
Cadet John Ray Hardin.
Cadet Herbert Weldon Semmelmeyer.
Cadet William Wilkeson Barton.
Cadet Maurice Place Chadwick.
Cadet Walter Ernest Bullock.
Cadet Foster Joseph Tate.
Cadet Carl Robinson.
Cadet Richard Tobin Bennison.
Cadet Henry John Dick Meyer.
Cadet Elton Foster Hammond.
Cadet Ernest Marion Brannon.
Cadet Francis George McGill.
Cadet Rollin Franklin Risen.
Cadet Butler Lyons Hill.
Cadet Oscar Alan Saunders.
Cadet John Wyville Sheehy.
Cadet James Battle Rivers.
Cadet John Joseph Burns.
Cadet Leslie Edgar Jacoby.
Cadet John Raikes Vance.

Cadet Clarence John Kanaga.
Cadet Richard Powell Ovenshine.
Cadet Edwin Virgil Kerr.
Cadet Thomas McGregor Shillock.
Cadet Harrison Howell Dodge Heiberg.
Cadet William Irwin Allen.
Cadet Paul Andrew Donnally.
Cadet James Edmund Parker.
Cadet William Wesson Jervey.
Cadet George Raymond Burgess.
Cadet Edward Lynde Strohbehn.
Cadet Maurice Keyes Kurtz.
Cadet William Holmes Wenstrom.
Cadet Paul Lewis Harter.
Cadet Leo Clement Paquet.
Cadet Thomas Maurice Crawford.
Cadet Eugene McGinley.
Cadet Hugh Brownrigg Waddell.
Cadet Leslie DeLong Flory.
Cadet Paul Robert Menzies Miller.
Cadet Isaac Haiden Ritchie.
Cadet Augustine Francis Shea.
Cadet Carlisle Visscher Allan.
Cadet Marion Patton Echols.
Cadet Roy Anthony Moore.
Cadet John Edward McCarthy.
Cadet Francis Otis Wood.
Cadet Hobart Hewett.
Cadet Richard Thomas Rick.
Cadet Waldemar Sven Broberg.
Cadet James Holden Phillips.
Cadet John Edwin Leahy.
Cadet George Washington Lewis.
Cadet Frederick Weed Drury.
Cadet Leander Dunbar Syme.
Cadet Ellis Vern Williamson.
Cadet Leroy Clark Wilson, 2d.
Cadet Nathaniel Alanson Burnell, 2d.
Cadet William Goebel Stephens.
Cadet John Bartlett Murphy.
Cadet James Lowe Harbaugh, jr.
Cadet Virgil Farrar Shaw.
Cadet Paul Alpheus Noel.
Cadet Michael Gibson Smith.
Cadet Syril Emerson Faine.
Cadet Arthur Maxon Parsons.
Cadet Harry Welling Barrick.
Cadet William Travis VandeGraaff.
Cadet Howard Rand Perry, jr.
Cadet Edward Hamilton Young.
Cadet Nathan Arthur Smith.
Cadet Gerald Saint Claire Mickle.
Cadet Benjamin Randolph Farrar.
Cadet Harris Ellis Sanderson, jr.
Cadet Hugh French Thomson Hoffman.
Cadet David Stanley Holbrook.
Cadet Walter Scott Winn, jr.
Cadet Willard Gordon Wyman.
Cadet John Leonard Whitelaw.
Cadet Edward Henry Bowes.
Cadet Edwin Malcolm Sutherland.
Cadet Joseph Andrew Holly.
Cadet Henry Baldwin Nichols.
Cadet William Douglas McNair.
Cadet Charles Forrest Wilson.
Cadet Robert Francis Carter.
Cadet Hugh Garnett Elliott, jr.
Cadet Nathan Farragut Twining.
Cadet William John Crowe.
Cadet George Whitfield MacMillan.
Cadet L. Hoyt Rockafellow.
Cadet Percy Emery Hunt.
Cadet Douglas Alden Olcott.
Cadet Roland William McNamee.
Cadet John Carpenter Raaen.
Cadet Lentilhon Wheeler.
Cadet Winfred George Skelton.
Cadet Lambert Benel Cain.
Cadet Edmund Bower Sebree.
Cadet Ignatius Lawrence Donnelly.
Cadet Merritt Brandon Booth.
Cadet Raymond Clay Barlow.
Cadet Frank Greene Davis.
Cadet Emmett James Bean.
Cadet Donald Allen Fay.
Cadet Charles Henry Noble.
Cadet Walter Towle O'Reilly.
Cadet Kenneth Pierce.
Cadet Charles Henry Bryan.
Cadet John Endler.
Cadet John Howell Collier.
Cadet Dean Luce.
Cadet Vincent Coyle McAlevy.
Cadet George Gordon Elms.
Cadet John Dimmick Armstrong.
Cadet Ralph Francis Stearley.
Cadet Donald Handley Nelson.
Cadet Edward Ora Hopkins.
Cadet John Victor Domminey.
Cadet James Verne Cole.
Cadet Horace Parker Sampson.
Cadet Ralph Bernard Kindley.
Cadet John Adam Bruckner, jr.
Cadet Clarence Archibald Frank.
Cadet Frederick Bradstreet Dodge, jr.
Cadet Clarkson Dewcese McNary.
Cadet Bernard Albert Byrne, jr.
Cadet Charles Ream Jackson.
Cadet George Lincoln Dillaway, jr.
Cadet Warren Wilson Christian.
Cadet Dale Wilford Maher.
Cadet Robert Barrett Hutchins.
Cadet Joseph William Kullman.
Cadet George Dewey Rogers.
Cadet Harold Edward Marsden.
Cadet Robert Jones Merrick.
Cadet William Henry John Dunham.
Cadet Landon Garland Daniel.
Cadet Raymond Francis Kilroy.
Cadet Irvin Alexander.
Cadet John Harvey Madison.
Cadet George Edward Bruner.
Cadet Thomas Llewellyn Waters.
Cadet Urban Niblo.
Cadet Thomas Houston Dameron.
Cadet Roger Sherman Evarts.
Cadet Charles Linton Williams.
Cadet Kenneth Sharp Olson.
Cadet William Lighton McEnery.
Cadet Robert Montgomery Springer.
Cadet Russell John Nelson.
Cadet Charles Maine Wolff.
Cadet Simon Foss.
Cadet Davis Ward Hale.
Cadet Edward Melvin Starr.
Cadet Joseph Sladen Bradley.
Cadet Arthur Launcelot Moore.
Cadet Robert William Crichlow, jr.
Cadet Martin Anthony Fennell.
Cadet Ralph Harris Bassett.
Cadet Harold Allen Brown.
Cadet Albert Sidney Johnson Stovall, jr.
Cadet Donald Carson Hardin.
Cadet Harold Clifton Zimmerman.
Cadet John Thomas Keeley.
Cadet Albert Smith Rice.
Cadet James Wellington Boyd.
Cadet Joseph Conrad Odell.
Cadet Vincent Harold Kelly.
Cadet Josiah Tony Dalbey.
Cadet Logan Osburn Shutt.
Cadet Stuart Little.
Cadet Hilton Edward Heineke.
Cadet Galen Magnus Taylor.
Cadet John Francis Laragnino.
Cadet Royal Wheel Park.
Cadet Daniel Phillip Buckland.
Cadet Philip McIlvaine Whitney.
Cadet John Morris Works.
Cadet Christopher Hildebrand.
Cadet Joseph Holleman Warren.
Cadet Edgar Mortimer Gregory.
Cadet John David Frederick.
Cadet Richard Ray Coursey.
Cadet William Ramsey Bready.
Cadet Joseph Charles Panzarella.
Cadet Dwight Lyman Adams.
Cadet John Charles Hyland, jr.
Cadet Thomas Gordon Cranford, jr.
Cadet Lester George Degnan.

Cadet Henry Bennett Sheets.
Cadet Archie William Cooly.
Cadet Edwin Robert Samsey.
Cadet William Robert McMaster.
Cadet Paul Revere Carl.
Cadet Cornelius Emmett O'Connor.
Cadet Joseph Alfred Cranston, jr.
Cadet Maurice Ladin Rosenthal.
Cadet Willard Leslie Isaacs.
Cadet Horace Speed, jr.
Cadet Fred William Makinney, jr.
Cadet William Benjamin Kean, jr.
Cadet Harold Robert Emery.
Cadet David Sanderson McLean.
Cadet William Joseph Moroney.
Cadet Russell Lowell Williamson.
Cadet Charles Leslie Keerans, jr.
Cadet Howard Adams White.
Cadet Howard Dohla Johnston.
Cadet Albert Carroll Morgan.
Cadet Franklin Leroy Rash.
Cadet Robert Watson Child.
Cadet Edgar Harvey Snodgrass.
Cadet Claude Birkett Ferenbaugh.
Cadet Adna Chaffee Hamilton.
Cadet Harold Stuart Ruth.
Cadet Sterling Eugene Whitesides, jr.
Cadet Lewis Stone Sorley, jr.
Cadet Albert Coady Wedemeyer.
Cadet David Best Latimer.
Cadet Ralph J. Miller.
Cadet Isaac Wiley Finley.
Cadet John Leighton Denny.
Cadet Roswell Boyle Hart.
Cadet Haldor Hegland Myrah.
Cadet Herbert Joseph Riess.
Cadet Martin Loeb.
Cadet Henry Ignatius Szymanski.
Cadet Ulric Lee Fomby.
Cadet Frederick Brenton Porter.
Cadet Bryan Sewall Halter.
Cadet Gordon Leslie Chapline.
Cadet Hughes Steele.
Cadet William B. Palmer.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Capt. Albert P. Niblack to be a rear admiral.

The following-named officers to be assistant naval constructors with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade):
Willis C. Sutherland,
Frederick E. Haeberle,
Grover C. Klein, and
Norborne L. Rawlings.

The following-named pay inspectors to be pay directors, with the rank of captain, for temporary service:
George R. Venable,
David V. Chadwick,
Trevor W. Leutze, and
Eugene C. Tobey.

The following-named paymasters to be pay inspectors, with the rank of commander, for temporary service:
Elijah H. Cope,
William N. Hughes,
Harold W. Browning,
Harry E. Collins,
Ellsworth H. Van Patten,
Maurice H. Karker,
Brainerd M. Dobson,
John N. Jordan,
Lewis W. Jennings, jr.,
Charles E. Parsons,
John F. O'Mara, and
Raymond E. Corcoran.

Carpenter Everette O. Smith to be an assistant naval constructor, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service.

Acting Pay Clerk Hunter J. Norton to be an assistant paymaster, with the rank of ensign, for temporary service.

Acting Pay Clerk Aner Erickson to be an assistant paymaster, with the rank of ensign, for temporary service.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) for temporary service:
Herschel P. Cook,
Charles R. Smith,
Gordon M. Jackson, and
Wilfred E. Schuit.

Lieut. Thomas G. Berrien to be a lieutenant commander for temporary service.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders for temporary service:
Robert H. Grayson,
John L. Hall,
James H. Strong,
Frederic W. Dillingham,
Hardy B. Page,
Hartwell C. Davis,
Terry B. Thompson,
Laurance T. Dubose,
Arthur G. Robinson,
Walter E. Doyle,
Karl E. Hintze, and
George B. Junkin.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants for temporary service:
Walter C. Theimer,
Arthur R. Pontow,
Hervey Z. Throop,
William Klaus,
John F. Kennedy,
Frank I. Hart,
Harry R. Hayes,
Alvin Henderson,
John F. P. Miller,
Jerome L. Allen,
Albert R. Colwell,
Carl J. Nerdahl,
Glen R. Ogg,
Eugene L. Richardson,
Jay Smith,
Charles E. Weickhardt,
Marvin G. Fox,
Walter S. Gallagher,
Learned L. Dean,
Henry E. Keller,
Merwin W. Arps,
William W. Cole,
John Kneubuehler,
Harold F. MacHugh,
Ralph Lane,
Joseph W. Storm,
Karl E. P. Sorenson,
Thomas F. Fahy,
Ray C. Hopkins,
Clarence M. Maloney,
Philip A. Wilson,
James A. Maloney,
Kenneth F. Horne,
Jeremiah K. Cronin,
Albert R. Myers,
Willis M. Young, and
Bennie C. Phillips.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) for temporary service:
Otis A. Nickolas,
Virgil E. Durden,
John T. Goree,
Albert H. Siemer,
Walter S. Mallory, jr.,
Carl H. Zeiss,
Louis T. Young,
John R. Shuman,
Edmund G. Flint, jr.,
Joseph H. Cox,
John R. Montgomery,
Clarence V. Lally,
Clifford L. Fenton,
David M. Gilmore,
Thomas L. R. Husselton, and
John P. Hillyard.

The following-named warrant officers to be ensigns for temporary service:
Byron Williams,
Thomas Downs,
George J. Tansey,
Alfred J. Butler,
Walter E. Stephen, and
Jabez N. Phinney.

The following-named enlisted men to be ensigns for temporary service:
Herbert B. Newton,
Lafayette R. Jones,

Carl W. Frohrib,
Laurence F. Hofer,
John M. Kamratkie,
Edward G. Robinson, and
Henry O. Nicholas.

The following-named paymasters to be pay inspectors, with the rank of commander, for temporary service:

John F. Hatch and
Frederick G. Pyne.

The following-named acting pay clerks to be assistant paymasters, with the rank of ensign, for temporary service:

Percy W. McCord,
Charles F. House,
Louis W. Crane,
George S. Corbeil,
Calvin W. Schaeffer,
William T. Ross, and
Benjamin O. Kilroy.

Asst. Paymaster William B. Young to be an assistant paymaster, with rank of ensign, for temporary service.

Chief Pay Clerk Roscoe J. Dodd, retired, to be an assistant paymaster on the retired list of the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant, for temporary service.

The following-named pay clerks on the retired list to be assistant paymasters on the retired list, with the rank of lieutenant, for temporary service:

John W. Caum,
Isaac T. Van Patten,
Theodore G. Hansche,
George A. White,
Charles W. Loomis,
Philip T. Lansdale,
Ray E. Ames,
William R. Pattison,
George B. Kimberly,
Frederick H. Ramsay,
Frederick K. Hunt,
Floyd C. Miller,
Harry L. Miller,
Matthew C. Kneip, and
Thomas S. Veitch.

Pay Clerk John F. Flynn, retired, to be an assistant paymaster on the retired list, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), for temporary service.

POSTMASTERS.

ALABAMA.

Lillie C. Hays, Abbeville.
Marcus M. Russell, Attalla.
Grova Grace, Dora.

ARIZONA.

John H. Gibson, Winslow.

CALIFORNIA.

Theodore H. Abel, Coalinga.
Andrew M. Isom, Portola.
Harlan J. Woodward, Ramona.

COLORADO.

Robert T. De Foor, Eagle.
Orion W. Daggett, Redcliff.

FLORIDA.

Ulyssis D. Kirk, Sebring.

GEORGIA.

John L. McMurray, Comer.
Albert S. Hardy, Gainesville.
Mrs. Alexander S. Clay, Marietta.
Clarence C. Jarrard, Maysville.
Robert C. Ayres, Royston.

ILLINOIS.

Alonzo E. Werts, Abingdon.
James L. Parks, Carbondale.
Charles K. Gilkerson, Marengo.
Walter R. Nelson, Paxton.

IOWA.

Dick Voogd, Aplington.
Harry R. Sokol, Collins.
Frederick E. Bierman, Decorah.
Rose E. Bagley, Dike.
Jay L. Lee, Dows.
Pearl L. Noelting, Dumont.
John S. Moon, Kellerton.
Joshua F. Elder, Keokuk.
Tressa M. States, Lovilia.
Oscar W. Larson, Odebolt.
Alvah M. Robinson, Reinbeck.
Clifton P. Sickles, Sioux Rapids.
Anna M. Beck, Solon.
Joseph S. Guynn, Traer.
Carl Wulkau, Williams.

KANSAS.

John W. Dean, Blue Mound.
Eva Philbrick, Halstead.
Mollie F. Osburn, Jennings.
Raymond R. Norris, Marquette.
Lodema Bryant, Neosho Falls.
Anna L. Taylor, Russell.

LOUISIANA.

Laurence E. Wilson, Oil City.
Hugh J. Knight, Vidalia.

MARYLAND.

Alexander D. S. Harrower, Cockeysville.
Thomas J. Coonan, Westminster.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Charles J. Dacey, Conway.
John F. O'Connor, Winchester.

MICHIGAN.

Willis E. Warren, Capac.
Harry S. Morrow, Port Austin.
Charles A. Jordan, Saline.

MINNESOTA.

Ruby M. Anderson, Argyle.
Hope Mouser, Gilbert.
Clara A. Toftey, Grand Marais.
Jay Jackson, Ruthton.
Lillian M. Reinholdson, Sandstone.
Alice M. Anderson, Butterfield.
Wilbur M. Ohles, Nashwauk.
Lee C. Peterson, Pillager.
George I. Williams, Virginia.

MISSOURI.

Mary P. Fields, Lees Summit.
Thomas F. Weaver, Steele.

NEBRASKA.

Ira P. Foreman, Allen.
Estella E. Murray, Belgrade.
Charles J. Smersh, Brainard.
Elizabeth M. Lean, Clarks.
John O. Blauser, Diller.
Rainard B. Wahlquist, Hastings.
Harold Hjelmfelt, Holdrege.
David C. Morgan, Plattsmouth.
Edward J. Whalen, Spalding.
Charles A. Berry, Wayne.
George W. Campbell, Wymore.

NEW JERSEY.

John P. Adair, Highlands.
Rufus O. Walling, Keyport.
Harold Pittis, Lakehurst.

NEW YORK.

William H. Murray, Albany.
George S. Vroman, Altamont.
Frank McMahon, Belfast.
John W. Thorp, Brewster.
Marcus R. Zeh, Central Bridge.
Hugh W. McClellan, Chatham.
Florence E. Doane, Chazy.
Harry F. House, Chester.
Elbert G. House, Cuba.
Frederic W. Youmans, Delhi.
Gertrude R. Neenan, East Bloomfield.
Mary H. Avery, Elmsford.
Ephraim J. Fisk, Fairport.
Sumner I. Houghwout, Falconer.
Bruce M. Sweet, Fillmore.
Charles B. Estell, Friendship.
Albert E. Moran, Gardiner.
Jacob L. Hicks, Highland Falls.
Robert B. Haog, Iona Island.
Elizabeth G. Kenyon, Jamesville.
Wilder S. Beard, Jefferson.
Albert M. Thayer, Livonia.
George M. Pierson, Maybrook.

Frederick H. Smith, Milton.
Augusta H. Tilden, New Lebanon.
Luther Hasbouck, New Paltz.
Edward S. Moore, Norwich.
Ashmer R. Collins, Norwood.
John R. Davis, Oakfield.
Joseph P. Kiernan, Pawling.
John E. Walker, Philmont.
Lee Van Vredenburgh, Rhinebeck.
Edwin Clute, Schenectady.
John G. Rose, Sinclairville.
Verne Seebeo, South Dayton.
Francis D. Lynch, Stony Point.
James H. Burns, Troy.
Marion E. Wroten, Trudeau.
Edith L. Kent, Tuxedo Park.
Peter Marcinkowski, Wallkill.
Philip J. Smith, Webster.
Mary R. Newlands, West Point.

NORTH DAKOTA.

John P. Hardy, Fargo.
Jessie M. Hamill, Oakes.
Thomas F. Cooper, Parshall.

OHIO.

Arda M. S. Allensworth, Amsterdam.
Harry H. Maxson, Germantown.
Andrew J. Price, Glouster.
Lee B. Milligan, Lowellville.
Wendell E. Brettell, Rock Creek.
John L. Carr, South Charleston.
Roy S. Rush, Wickliffe.

TEXAS.

George W. Morris, New Boston.
Mae Murray, Sonora.

VERMONT.

Frank L. Start, Jeffersonville.

WASHINGTON.

Inez G. Spencer, Creston.
Andrew J. Cosser, Port Angeles.
Gertrude Cosgrove, Sprague.
Alberta Hough, Valley.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Joseph N. Alderson, Alderson.
James W. Wilson, Barboursville.
Burton B. Rohrbough, Belington.
Leonidas W. Bartlett, Buckhannon.
Hamer H. Berry, Burnsville.
William B. Stewart, Chester.
William D. Roush, Clendenin.
Harry T. Bumgarner, Elizabeth.
William W. Johnson, Glenville.
John R. Schaeffer, Gormania.
Bertha W. Smith, Holden.
Benjamin L. Brown, Kingwood.
Henry L. Bowling, Lewisburg.
Joseph F. Thompson, Martinsburg.
Oliver A. Locke, Milton.
Mary E. Davin, Montgomery.
William S. Wray, Northfork.
Thomas G. Burke, Oak Hill.
William A. Curry, Omar.
William G. Keyes, Philippi.
William B. McNutt, Princeton.
John J. Kerwood, Ripley.
Charles G. Ogden, Salem.
Grover F. Hedges, Spencer.
Preston H. Kelly, Thurmond.
Karl G. Davis, Wallace.
Clelia T. Henritze, War.
Lawrence M. Rowan, White Sulphur Springs.

WYOMING.

Elmer H. Schreck, Gillette.

WITHDRAWALS.

Executive nominations withdrawn from the Senate November 21, 1918.

POSTMASTERS.

John D. Fulton, to be postmaster at Lengeloth, Pa.
George W. Finley, to be postmaster at Spalding, Nebr.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *November 21, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father in heaven, we pray that out of the fiery furnace through which the world is passing that a larger, purer, nobler type of man shall emerge, with a clearer vision of Thy character and Thy purposes.

"And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away. And I, John, saw the Holy City, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband."

We pray that the vision may become a reality; that men may live together in harmony, peace, and unity; that God shall be all in all and life become a precious thing, to be upheld and sustained; and glory and honor and praise be Thine forever. In His name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday, November 18, 1918, was read and approved.

SWEARING IN OF A MEMBER—WILLIAM F. BIRCH.

Mr. BROWNING. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. BROWNING. There is present to-day Mr. WILLIAM F. BIRCH, who was elected to fill the unexpired term of the late JOHN H. CAPSTICK, and I ask unanimous consent that he may be sworn in.

The SPEAKER. Did the gentleman receive a majority?

Mr. BROWNING. There is no contest, and I have a certificate in my hand, from the county clerk, of his election.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. BROWNING] asks unanimous consent that the successor of Mr. CAPSTICK be sworn in without his credentials.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I understood him to say that he had his credentials.

Mr. BROWNING. I have a certificate from the county clerk. The State board has not met, and he could not get his credentials from the secretary of state.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. May I ask the gentleman if there was any contest?

Mr. BROWNING. There is none. There is no objection whatever.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. BROWNING]? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. WILLIAM F. BIRCH appeared before the bar of the House and took the oath of office prescribed by law.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had receded from the amendment No. 28 to the bill (H. R. 11945) making appropriations to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 3944. An act for the relief of Emma H. Ridley;

S. 3986. An act to acquire the manuscript of Charles Chaillé-Long containing an account of the unveiling of the McClellan statue;

S. 2171. An act to abolish the United States land office at Springfield, Mo.;

S. 1661. An act for the relief of Albert H. Campbell;

S. 68. An act to amend section 269 of chapter 231 of the act of March 3, 1911, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary";

S. 4271. An act for the relief of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue;

S. 1590. An act providing for an increase of salary for the United States marshals and for the United States district attorneys for the western and eastern districts of Louisiana;

S. 4178. An act providing additional time for the payment of purchase money under homestead entries of lands within the former Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Mont.;

S. 4858. An act to provide method of settlement for materials, stores, and supplies transferred between different bureaus, departments, or agencies of the Government, and for other purposes; and

S. 4272. An act for the relief of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the bill (H. R. 10818) to authorize the county of Loudon, in the State of Tennessee, to construct a bridge across the Tennessee River near Loudon, Tenn.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the bill (H. R. 282) amending the public-buildings act approved March 4, 1913, providing for the purchase of a site for a public building at Nogales, Ariz.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the following titles, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 10818. An act to authorize the county of Loudon, in the state of Tennessee, to construct a bridge across the Tennessee River near Loudon, Tenn.; and

H. R. 282. An act amending the public-buildings act approved March 4, 1913, providing for the purchase of a site for a public building at Nogales, Ariz.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that this day they had presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bills:

H. R. 10818. An act to authorize the county of Loudon, in the State of Tennessee, to construct a bridge across the Tennessee River near Loudon, Tenn.; and

H. R. 282. An act amending the public-buildings act approved March 4, 1913, providing for the purchase of a site for a public building at Nogales, Ariz.

ADJOURNMENT OF SESSION.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move the immediate consideration of the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House concurrent resolution 61.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives be authorized to close the present session of the Congress by adjourning their respective Houses on the 21st day of November, 1918, at 5 o'clock p. m.

Mr. GILLETT. May I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. KITCHIN. Certainly.

Mr. GILLETT. Has the gentleman assurance that this will be passed by the Senate

Mr. KITCHIN. I have. I have conferred this morning with Senator MARTIN and Senator LODGE. The hour of 5 o'clock is fixed because there are three Senators who desire to make speeches to-day, and they will not finish until some time about 5. They agreed to the hour of 5.

Mr. GILLETT. Is it customary to fix the precise hour?

Mr. KITCHIN. That is the custom. That has heretofore been done in the resolutions for adjournment sine die. My idea is that we will recess as soon as we pass this until 12.30, unless the Senate has passed the resolution and sent it over. Then we will pass the resolution appointing a committee to wait on the President, notifying him we are about to adjourn—a formal resolution—and then we will take a recess until 5 minutes to 5 o'clock.

Mr. WINGO. When we meet between now and 5 o'clock, is the gentleman disposed to give an opportunity for the consideration of emergency matters to which there is no objection?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not think, under the agreement, that we could do that. I hope the gentleman will not ask it, because, while I would be glad for them to be considered——

Mr. WINGO. Here is the situation: I do not suppose there is any doubt that when w entered into the so-called gentleman's agreement it was understood that for all practical purposes that agreement would conclude on the 12th day of November. The gentleman knows it is generally understood that the President will leave here before there will be an opportunity to sign bills of an emergency character that might be passed on the 2d day of December. There are some small bills—I have one myself—and my attention is called to the emergency whereby a great public enterprise, that had been held up by the Capital Issues Committee, if it does not get affirmative action extending the time of a former act will suffer to the extent of $50,000 in bonuses that have been put up and if not used have to be refunded on the 1st day of January. I think it will not violate the spirit of the gentleman's agreement for us to consider emergency matters of that kind between now and 5 o'clock. If it is the judgment of the House that it does, then there is but one recourse left, and that is to bring the Members back here if they want to adjourn this Congress and leave these emergency matters unattended to until December 2. I am opposed to adjournment, aside from the necessity of considering the bill I have mentioned.

Mr. GILLETT. May I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. WINGO. Yes.

Mr. GILLETT. Why make such a proposition as he suggests where he says the result will not come before the 1st of January? Why could we not do it easily when we meet on the 2d of December?

Mr. WINGO. For this reason: When you meet on the 2d of December, then you will have to get unanimous consent to consider a matter of that kind.

Mr. GILLETT. Of course that would be easier than now.

Mr. WINGO. No; it would not be easier than now.

Mr. GILLETT. Oh, yes——

Mr. WINGO. Let me answer the gentleman as to his suggestion of unanimous consent. I do not think we could get it through then; and even if we could get it through the House on the 2d day of December it would be impossible to get it to the President before he goes to Europe, because, as I understand, he contemplates going to Europe, according to the press reports, on December 3.

Mr. GILLETT. Even if that should be true, let me suggest to the gentleman that if we brought a quorum back for that purpose he would never get unanimous consent from that quorum.

Mr. WINGO. Possibly not.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, I think we ought to have some understanding as to what we can do under this situation. There are others who have emergency matters. Let me suggest to the gentleman from North Carolina that if he contemplates taking a recess until 12.30 we take a recess until 12.30, and then——

Mr. KITCHIN. The reason why we introduced the resolution now is because the Senate might pass the resolution immediately, and they would then send it right back. We want to know before we appoint the committee to wait on the President.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman withhold that long enough for me to see if I can get unanimous consent for the consideration of another matter?

Mr. KITCHIN. I think that under the terms of the agreement and understanding of the House such matters as the gentleman refers to should not be taken up. The agreement that we entered into——

Mr. WINGO. No such agreement was ever entered into with me.

Mr. KITCHIN. The agreement was that we should recess until the Senate disposed of the revenue bill or until Congress reconvened.

Mr. WINGO. That was predicated upon the assumption of November 12 as the date for reconvening.

Mr. KITCHIN. Of course, I have no objection to the gentleman's request to consider it; but, even supposing nobody here should object to it, there are 150 or 200 more Members who are away, and if they were present they might object to it. It is to protect them.

Mr. WINGO. It is to protect them from legislation passed in their absence?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. The gentleman from Massachusetts asked the question expressly whether any extension of remarks or any request for unanimous consent for consideration of special measures would be sanctioned, or would be in violation of the agreement, except the legislation that we excepted, as the gentleman knows, and except in cases of necessity, in which event the minority leader and the majority leader should notify the absent Members to return. When the gentleman from Massachusetts asked that question, I answered, "Yes; it would be in violation of the agreement," and stated that no such business would be taken up under unanimous consent. The whole House agreed to it, and the whole matter is in the RECORD. As majority leader I feel that I, so far as the whole House is concerned, ought to see to it that the agreement is kept. I have been very much embarrassed by having to object to several unanimous-consent requests, to which I would not have objected unless we had this agreement and had not Members left with the understanding that these matters would not be taken up and that unanimous consent would not be given. Of course, if the gentleman will look into it, he will appreciate my position in the matter.

Mr. WINGO. Of course, I appreciate the fact that the gentleman owes a duty to the House according to his understanding of

the agreement. But the point I want to make to the gentleman is, that there is not the slightest doubt that in the gentleman's mind at the time we made that agreement it was with the understanding that it would conclude on the 12th day of November.

Mr. KITCHIN. No; we had incorporated in the agreement that nothing should be taken up until the Senate finally disposed of the revenue bill and voted on it, and that in the meantime the House should vote on the question of adjournment from the time we discussed it up to the 12th of November. That was one of the things we could take up without calling the other Members back.

Mr. WINGO. Of course, if the gentleman insists, I feel that possibly under the circumstances in his position he feels obligated to make an objection.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will not object to the gentleman's getting it up when Members get back here any more than any other Member may object.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. KITCHIN. With pleasure.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I suggest to the gentleman from Arkansas that after the convening of Congress in December there will be but little legislation reported from the committees, and those matters will be matters that are matured and are on the calendar and ready, and they can have almost immediate consideration at that time.

Mr. WINGO. Of course, some gentlemen are older in their experience than I am, but my observation has been such that the gentleman holds out very poor hope to me. But I appreciate the situation of the gentleman from Massachusetts and the gentleman from North Carolina and that their interpretation of the gentleman's agreement is different from mine. They feel that they should protect their respective sides, and that being true, I feel that I should not embarrass them by pressing the matter to-day. While I am opposed to adjournment and shall vote against it, I realize that with the leaders on both sides agreed they can force an adjournment to-day. I am in favor of going right on with this session without adjournment. I am ready to stay here and attend to business just as I have continuously during this session.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

STIMULATION OF AGRICULTURE.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Mississippi rise?

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the present consideration of the following concurrent resolution, which I ask to be reported.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi asks for the present consideration of the concurrent resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

House concurrent resolution 60.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That in the enrollment of the bill H. R. 11945, entitled "An act to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled 'An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products,' " the Clerk be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to strike out, in line 1 of Senate amendment No. 31, "section 27" and insert in lieu thereof "section 6," that the sections of the bill may appear in consecutive numerical order; and also to relieve from a typographical error in the conference disposition of Senate amendment No. 15, make the amount therein mentioned $150,000.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. GILLETT. Reserving the right to object, I suppose this is one of the bills that was excepted from the unanimous-consent agreement?

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. It is. It was specifically excepted in the "gentleman's agreement."

Mr. GILLETT. What is the reason for these changes in the engrossed bill?

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. This resolution is simply to correct two errors which have gotten into what is generally called "the Candler food production bill," which passed the House May 23 and passed the Senate September 19 and was sent to conference. When the Senate receded from Senate amendment No. 28, which was the rent proposition, that went out of the bill. The proposed sections included in that Senate amendment were those from 6 to 27, inclusive. When they went out, then it left that break in the numbering, one section being 6 and the next one 27. This is merely to correct that, in order that the sections may be consecutive and in numerical order.

Mr. GILLETT. It is merely a verbal correction, then?

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Merely a verbal correction. Then the second proposition is this: The House in the bill as passed made an appropriation of $480,000 for the news service of the Agricultural Department, and the Senate struck that out. In conference the conferees agreed to an appropriation of $150,000. In writing it up, by a typographical error of the stenographer, he made it read "$150.00" instead of "$150,000." This resolution is for the purpose of correcting those two errors.

Mr. WALSH. Mr Speaker, reserving the right to object, I understand that if consent is not given for the consideration of this resolution the news service of the Department of Agriculture will have only $150 for the ensuing year.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. That is correct.

Mr. WALSH. Does not the gentleman think that will be a very generous appropriation for that service?

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. I do not think so. After full and careful consideration of the matter, the Senate conferees and the House conferees unanimously agreed to the appropriation of $150,000, and I believe at least that amount is necessary and can be usefully expended.

Mr. WALSH. Yes; but after very full and careful consideration the House, under the leadership of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER] and the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture [Mr. LEVER], decided that $480,000 was necessary. Now we have got down to $150, and it would seem to me that we ought not to pass this resolution, but ought to let them try to get along on $150.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. If the gentleman will permit, "we" have not cut it down to $150 at all. The House conferees and the Senate conferees unanimously agreed to $150,000, and it passed the Senate at $150,000 and passed the House at $150,000; but the stenographer in writing it up put his period at the wrong place and wrote it "$150.00" instead of writing it as it was intended to be written and as it passed both the Senate and House, "$150,000." When it is the concensus of opinion not only of the conferees but of the House and Senate that the appropriation should be $150,000, and when that amount has passed both the House and Senate and been reduced clearly by error to the small sum of $150, I do not think the gentleman will object. To object would defeat the evident purpose and will of both the House and Senate, because both bodies agreed to and passed the $150,000 appropriation.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, in view of the statement of the gentleman from Mississippi, and further in view of the fact that the eminent, distinguished, and honored chairman of the Committee on Public Information is soon going away from here, and realizing how hungry people are for news, I will not object to giving this news service.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Many thanks to the distinguished gentleman, my good friend from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH.]

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi a motion to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to was laid on the table.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until 15 minutes to 1 o'clock.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that the House take a recess until 12.45. Is there objection?

HOLIDAY RECESS.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I should like to make an inquiry of the gentleman from North Carolina.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee will propound it.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I should like to ask the gentleman from North Carolina if any thought has been given to the question of a holiday recess—that is, for the Christmas holidays?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say to the gentleman that we have given some thought to that, and in my judgment I believe at this time, under the peculiar circumstances, we ought to waive the usual week or 10 days' Christmas holiday, and perhaps take 2 or 3 days, because we will be rushed to death with legislation, appropriation bills, and the revenue bill, and I understand there will be considerable contest over that. It seems to me the wiser thing for us not to insist on a week or 10 days' Christmas holiday.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, of course, it has been the custom for many years—I do not know how long—to have a considerable recess at Christmas time. That interval has usually been taken advantage of by many Members to attend to their personal business affairs. It seemed to me proper to propound the inquiry at this time, to the end that if there was any thought not to have the usual Christmas holidays, Members might have notice of that fact and be enabled during the time between now and the first Monday in December to give the required attention to their personal business matters.

Mr. KITCHIN. I am glad the gentleman from Tennessee has called the attention of the House to this matter. We will adjourn now, so that Members can take the 10 days' or 2 weeks' time to attend to matters necessary at home, whereas they have been doing it heretofore at the Christmas holidays. They may use the time between now and the first Monday in December, with the understanding that in all probability we will have to dispense with the usual 10 days' or 2 weeks' holiday at Christmas.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The next session, of course, is the short session. The appropriation bills will be unusual in character, and I agree with the gentleman that we ought to dispense with a long holiday, but I do not wish to make myself offensive to the Members when that time shall come. I thought it well enough to discuss it now, and I wish to say to the gentleman that I shall feel inclined to object to any unanimous consent at that time for the taking of any prolonged or protracted recess.

Mr. KITCHIN. I have conferred with the minority leader, Mr. GILLETT, and we are both of the opinion that we ought to dispense with the Christmas holidays this year, owing to the peculiar situation and the conditions during the short session.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MADDEN. It has been suggested by a great many people with whom I have had conversations, who are not Members of the House but citizens of the United States, in view of the fact that the Capital of the Nation is to be taken over to Versailles, France, and that the President will be in session over there, whether it might not be difficult for us to get the bills to him for his signature, and that therefore it might be more than ever essential that a Christmas holiday of some length should be taken. Of course, I do not want myself to spend too much time in taking a long holiday.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Why not hold the sessions of the House and Senate in France?

Mr. MADDEN. It has been suggested also that we might commandeer five or six battleships and take the Congress over to France at the same time that the President is there, so that we might be able to advise him on the intricate problems that he will have to deal with.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. Does not the gentleman think that if we all work together and cooperate during the next three months we need not have any extra session of Congress next year?

Mr. KITCHIN. Possibly that is true. I thank the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] for his suggestion. I had not really thought about it, but before we meet here in December I will give thought and consideration to what the gentleman suggests and see if we can not arrange to have Congress go right along at the same time. [Laughter.]

Mr. MADDEN. I notice that they have taken over the cables and are to take the Bureau of Public Information to France, so I suppose that the cables will be utilized entirely for the subject matter which Mr. Creel and his committee will have to send back to the American people, and I thought if we could save the expense of that by going over it would be a wise thing to do.

Mr. KITCHIN. Some one back of me suggests that they might cable to us what to do every day. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until 12.45 p. m. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 28 minutes p m.) the House stood in recess until 12 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.

AFTER THE RECESS.

The recess having expired, the House was called to order at 12.45 p. m.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, it seems that the adjournment resolution in the Senate had to be sent to the Appropriations Committee on objection to its present consideration. I ask unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until 1.15 o'clock p. m.

Mr. WALSH. Reserving the right to object, can not the gentleman make it a little later?

Mr. KITCHIN. Well, I will say 1.30 p. m.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until 1.30 p. m. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

RECESS.

Accordingly (at 12.47 o'clock p. m.) the House stood in recess until 1.30 o'clock p. m.

AFTER THE RECESS.

The recess having expired, the House was called to order at 1.30 o'clock p. m.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the following concurrent resolution:

House concurrent resolution 61.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives be authorized to close the present session of Congress by adjourning their respective Houses on the 21st day of November, 1918, at 5 o'clock post meridian.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the following titles, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 11945. An act to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," and for other purposes; and

H. R. 12998. An act to amend section 3528 of the Revised Statutes.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that this day they had presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bills:

H. R. 11945. An act to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," and for other purposes; and

H. R. 12998. An act to amend section 3528 of the Revised Statutes.

COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 451.

Resolved, That a committee of three Members of the House be appointed by the Speaker to join a similar committee to be appointed by the Senate to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that the two Houses have completed the business of the present session and are ready to adjourn unless the President has some other communication to make to them.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER appointed as the committee to wait upon the President Mr. KITCHIN, Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee, and Mr. MONDELL.

RECESS.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until 4.50 o'clock p. m.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until 4.50 o'clock p. m. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Accordingly the House stood in recess until 4.50 o'clock p. m.

AFTER THE RECESS.

At 4 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m., the recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker.

DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEES SUBJECT TO MILITARY SERVICE.

The SPEAKER laid before the House a report from the Secretary of Agriculture in response to House resolution 379.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, is that the last of these reports?

The SPEAKER. The Chair can not answer the gentleman, but is rather inclined to think that it is.

Mr. WALSH. That is the second one that has come from the Department of Agriculture.

The SPEAKER. It will be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, is all of that to be printed in the RECORD?

The SPEAKER. That was the order of the House, that they should all be printed there.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. What does the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] desire to have done with it?

Mr. MADDEN. Of course the war is over, but I think these reports ought to be referred to the respective committees to which they belong.

The SPEAKER. The order of the House was that these reports should be read and printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and lie on the Speaker's table until the last one of them was in.

Mr. MADDEN. I do not believe that they are all in yet.

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not know.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. This particular report would involve a tremendous amount of printing and a tremendous amount of expense. Is the gentleman from Illinois willing to permit it to lie on the Speaker's table without being printed in the RECORD?

Mr. MADDEN. No; the House made the order that all should be printed as they came in and should lie on the Speaker's table.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Would the gentleman be willing to have a modification of that order in respect to this?

Mr. MADDEN. No; I think it ought to be printed. I think we ought to know who these men are. That is the order.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I think it ought to go into the RECORD. I think we ought to know who these people are.

The SPEAKER. It is ordered to be printed and to lie on the Speaker's table.

The report above referred to is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, November 20, 1918.

THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR: In compliance with House resolution 379, I have the honor to transmit herewith a statement showing the number of men in the service of the Department of Agriculture who were, on June 5, 1917, between the ages of 21 and 31 years, for whom requests for deferred classification have been asked by the department and allowed, the name and home address of each such person, the character of the work he is performing, and the length of time he has been in the service. This statement includes those employees for whom deferred classification was recommended by the department and allowed by the draft boards, and who are still in the service of the department. It does not include those employees in whose cases the draft boards did not act favorably upon the department recommendation for deferred classification or those in which the recommendation of the department for deferred classification was withdrawn because of later developments which made it possible to release the employees concerned.

The statement shows that 815 employees now in the service of the department were deferred solely on the ground that they are necessary to the adequate and effective operation of the service in which they are engaged and that they could not be replaced without substantial, material loss and detriment to the adequate and effective operation of such service. In addition, 248 employees for whom deferred classification was recommended by the department were also deferred for other reasons, such as dependency, physical disability, and the like.

Respectfully, D. F. HOUSTON,
Secretary.

WEATHER BUREAU.

OBSERVERS AND ASSISTANT OBSERVERS ENGAGED IN AEROLOGICAL WORK.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the case of seven observers and assistant observers of the Weather Bureau engaged in Army aerological work provided for by a special appropriation of $100,000 included in the Regular Army appropriation act. This work is closely coordinated with similar activities of the Signal Corps of the Army and includes the making of upper-air observations in the aid of aviation and, incidentally, for the benefit of baloonists and artillerists. The work is of a highly technical nature, and the men engaged in it must not only be experienced in the handling of kites, theodolites, and other scientific apparatus but must also have had intensive training and be skilled in the complicated mathematical work necessary in computing and reducing the observations. It would be impossible to replace these men without jeopardizing the work, as, even if men with the necessary education and fundamental requirements were obtainable, it would take many months of training for them to be able to accomplish what is required.

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

Frank J. Bavendick, Ellendale, N. Dak. Has charge of the Army aerological station at Ellendale, N. Dak. Seven years eight months.

William S. Cloud, Washington, D. C. Computor in office of official in charge of entire aerological work, Washington, D. C. Received university training. Three years.

Charles S. Ling, Drexel, Nebr. Assists in the Army aerological work at Drexel, Nebr. Five years ten months.

John A. Reible, Broken Arrow, Okla. Has charge of the Army aerological station at Broken Arrow, Okla. Attended college one year. Eight years one month.

Orville E. Russell, Broken Arrow, Okla. Assists in the Army aerological work at Broken Arrow, Okla. Attended college one year. One year ten months.

Charles O. Schick, Grossbeck, Tex. Assists in the Army aerological work at Grossbeck, Tex. Five years eight months.

Frank I. Whitney, Ellendale, N. Dak. Assists in Army aerological work at Ellendale, N. Dak. Three years ten months.

Archie R. Dorr, Twin, Wash. Is an experienced line repair man and telegraph operator at Twin, Wash., on the Tatoosh-Port Angeles Weather Bureau telegraph line. The vessel-reporting stations of Neah Bay, North Head, and Tatoosh Island, Wash., are connected by this telegraph line. There is close and confidential cooperation between the Weather Bureau and the officials of the Army and Navy in connection with this work, and in some instances the bureau's telegraph and cable lines form the only means of communication for Army and Navy business in the important seacoast sections in which they are located. The repair men along these lines, in addition to their knowledge of the topography of the country and their skill in construction and repair work, must be expert telegraphers. Furthermore, they must be men who have demonstrated their loyalty and trustworthiness. Men who could fill their places are unobtainable. Six years eleven months.

Clement R. White, Cape Henry, Va. Is an experienced telegraph-line repair man at Cape Henry, Va. The Weather Bureau maintains a vessel-reporting station at Cape Henry, with telegraph and cable line connections. There is close and confidential cooperation between the Weather Bureau and the officials of the Army and Navy in connection with this work, and in some instances the bureau's telegraph and cable lines form the only means of communication for Army and Navy business in the important seacoast sections in which they are located. The repair men along these lines, in addition to their knowledge of the topography of the country and their skill in construction and repair work, must be expert telegraphers. Furthermore, they must be men who have demonstrated their loyalty and trustworthiness. Men who could fill their places are unobtainable. Eight years four months.

Walter F. Feldwisch, North Head, Wash. Is an expert vessel reporter and telegraph operator at North Head, Wash. The Weather Bureau maintains a vessel-reporting station at North Head, with telegraph and cable line connections. There is close and confidential cooperation between the Weather Bureau and the officials of the Army and Navy in connection with this work, and in some instances the bureau's telegraph and cable lines form the only means of communication for Army and Navy business in the important seacoast sections in which they are located. The vessel reporting can be done effectively only by men of long experience, as they must be able to detect the name, nationality, and ownership of a vessel several miles distant. Furthermore, they must be men who have demonstrated their loyalty and trustworthiness. Men who could fill their places are unobtainable. Seven years three months.

Oscar C. Rauh, Washington, D. C. Employed as expert instrument maker in the Washington office and engaged in the construction of special and delicate apparatus required in the Army aerological work. The instruments can not be obtained from manufacturers, and it is possible to employ only men of long training and exceptional skill in their construction and repair. It would be impossible to fill this employee's place, as even in normal times only a few men were available, and these have long since been absorbed in branches of the Army and Navy for somewhat similar technical instrumental work. Prior to appointment in Weather Bureau had 14 years' training and experience in construction of delicate instruments with the firm of Buff & Buff, Boston, Mass. Ten months.

Joseph Leshansky, Sand Key, Fla. This employee is an expert vessel reporter at Sand Key, Fla. The Weather Bureau maintains a vessel-reporting station at Sand Key, with telegraph and cable connections. There is close and confidential cooperation between the Weather Bureau and the officials of the Army and Navy in connection with this work, and in some instances the bureau's telegraph and cable lines form the only means of communication for Army and Navy business in the important seacoast sections in which they are located. The vessel reporting can be done effectively only by men of long experience, as they must be able to detect the name, nationality, and ownership of a vessel several miles distant. Furthermore, they must be men who have demonstrated their loyalty and trustworthiness. Men who could fill their places are unobtainable. Three years eight months.

BUREAU OF ANIMAL INDUSTRY.

VETERINARY INSPECTORS (MEAT INSPECTION).

The following veterinary inspectors engaged in meat inspection are graduates of recognized veterinary colleges and have qualified for the positions they hold through civil-service examination. After appointment they were given the usual instructions in meat-inspection work by trained employees. Through various assignments everyone has become proficient in this class of work. Their work consists of performing ante-mortem and post-mortem inspections for the purpose of passing carcasses, parts, and organs that are healthful, wholesome, or fit for human food, and condemning those which are unhealthful, unwholesome, or unfit for human food; supervising the handling of meat and meat food products to insure compliance with the meat-inspection regulations; conducting sanitary inspection of establishments in which such inspections are conducted, especially the department to which they are assigned; and attending to such other duties as may be required of them by the meat-inspection regulations and various instructors.

As a result of the present emergency, meat inspection has assumed a position of especial importance, as it is necessary to assure that the meat supplied to the Army, Navy, and the allies and the civilian population of this Nation is healthful, wholesome, and fit for food.

Due to the fact that this service has lost a very large number of veterinary inspectors, it is necessary to conduct the work with a force which is composed of many new employees who must receive much training before they can render the best service. Although all available veterinary inspectors listed by the Civil Service Commission have been appointed, as well as all veterinarians who would accept temporary appointment, there is a large number of vacancies in the ranks of veterinary inspectors. It is necessary that these employees be retained in the service in order that an adequate and effective service may be maintained.

Name, home address, and length of service.

E. M. Aldrich, Omaha, Nebr. One year seven months.
Herman F. Baum, Brooklyn, N. Y. Seven months.
Arthur I. Bevan, Moultrie, Ga. Three years five months.
Robert N. Birdwhistell, Cincinnati, Ohio. Three years five months.
W. S. Buchanan, Chicago, Ill. Four years.
Coleman P. Callaway, Fort Worth, Tex. Two years eight months.
R. J. Digman, Wausau, Wis. Ten years one month.
Guy P. Everley, South St. Joseph, Mo. Six years eight months.
Nathan Feldman, Chicago, Ill. One year five months.
Clyde A. Gardner, Brooklyn, N. Y. Three years five months.
Charles H. Grunwald, South St. Joseph, Mo. Two years eight months.

George J. Gruenewald, Cleveland, Ohio. Three years six months.
Richard Harvey, Indianapolis, Ind. One year eight months.
John W. Hermann, Pittsburgh, Pa. Four years eight months.
S. D. Hobbs, Jacksonville, Fla. Three years six months.
Ray Hoefling, Austin, Minn. Three years four months.
Rush M. Johnson, Indianapolis, Ind. Three years.
Howard M. Kalodner, Philadelphia, Pa. One year two months.
Lawrence P. Kirch, Indianapolis, Ind. Three years ten months.
Cecil S. Lemon, Augusta, Ga. Three years eight months.
C. M. Lombard, Chicago, Ill. Ten years.
Robert L. Mason, Wheeling, W. Va. Eleven months.
Frank W. Miller, Chicago, Ill. Nine years six months.
George E. Mitchell, Newark, N. J. Two years eight months.
Robert Moonan, Chicago, Ill. Four years six months.
Charles E. Mootz, Wheeling, W. Va. Four years.
James W. Norris, Boyds, Md. Five years one month.
Hugh Max O'Rear, Indianapolis, Ind. Three years two months.
Sabin L. Ries, Ottumwa, Iowa. Four years six months.
Garrie W. Riley, Orangeburg, S. C. One year three months.
C. A. Schuler, Sioux City, Iowa. Four years two months.
Floyd A. Scott, Austin, Minn. Six years six months.
Otto W. Seher, Fort Worth, Tex. Three years eight months.
Walter W. Shartle, Indianapolis, Ind. Seven years two months.
T. W. Stewart, South Sioux City, Iowa. Three years ten months.
Martin A. Sweeney, Chicago, Ill. Three years eight months.
E. N. Tierney, Andalusia, Ala. Six years eight months.
Clemence C. Walch, Leavenworth, Kans. Ten years eight months.
John G. Warwick, West St. Paul, Minn. Four years.
John H. Whalen, Chicago, Ill. Seven years.

LAY INSPECTORS (MEAT INSPECTION).

The following lay inspectors engaged in meat inspection qualified for the positions they hold through civil-service examinations. Upon entering the service they were placed under seasoned and experienced employees to receive instructions in the conduct of the work. With the usual number of different assignments, they developed into efficient employees.

Their work consists of assisting veterinary inspectors in performing ante-morten and post-morten inspections; supervising the preparation of meat and meat food products; reinspecting meats during processing and after such processing is finished; passing such meats and meat food products as are clean, wholesome, and fit for food, and to which no prohibited substances have been added, and retaining and condemning such as are unclean, unwholesome, or unfit for food, or which contain prohibited substances.

The work performed by this class of employees covers a most important part of the meat-inspection service, and there can be no question that the meat inspection as conducted by this department, especially under present conditions, is a highly necessary measure to insure the wholesomeness and fitness for food purposes of the meat supply, and through it the health of the men in our Army and Navy, our allies, and the people of this country. A considerable number of this class of employees are now assigned to directly cooperate with the Army and Navy by assignment to Army camps, cantonments, forts, naval-training stations, navy yards, and supply points to reinspect meat and meat food products and to supervise their delivery.

Many of the most efficient lay inspectors have within a comparatively short time left the service, and it has been necessary for the most part to fill these vacancies with inexperienced men. All the eligibles certified for the position by the Civil Service Commission have been appointed, and every effort has been made to secure all possible men capable of doing this class of work and who would accept temporary appointment. Nevertheless, many vacancies have not been filled. Each of the men is performing a vital part of the inspection work, and the loss of any of them would result in materially lowering the efficiency of the service, and would be difficult, if not impossible, to overcome.

Name, home address, and length of service.

Frederick H. Atkins, South St. Joseph, Mo. Six years five months.
Clark M. Attebery, East St. Louis, Ill. Two years seven months.
Plato H. Boller, Salt Lake City, Utah. Three years.
Orley R. Bourland, East St. Louis, Ill. One year six months.
William J. Brennan, Chicago, Ill. Four years four months.
Thomas J. Brett, Somerville, Mass. Nine years six months.
Charles G. Carpenter, Moultrie, Ga. Three years.
F. Clampitt, Sioux City, Iowa. Three years eight months.
Elmer H. Cole, Somerville, Mass. Three years.
N. J. Cunningham, Chicago, Ill. One year ten months.
Timothy F. Danforth, Chicago, Ill. Four years five months.
Franklin O. Elmore, Wheeling, W. Va. Three years.
Earl T. Farrington, East St. Louis, Ill. Six years six months.
James J. Fitzpatrick, Chicago, Ill. One year six months.
F. T. Graskowiak, Omaha, Nebr. Three years six months.
Martin F. Hanley, Indianapolis, Ind. Three years six months.
Charles Harlow, Cincinnati, Ohio. Three years.
Floyd Howard, Fort Worth, Tex. Two years six months.
Robert Hunter, jr., Cincinnati, Ohio. Three years nine months.
Guy G. Jarvis, Peoria, Ill. Four years four months.
William R. Kelly, Fort Worth, Tex. One year ten months.
Patrick J. Kenny, Paterson, N. J. Two years seven months.
G. M. Lint, Chicago, Ill. Three years nine months.
Duane A. Lyon, Chicago, Ill. Four years one month.
Sumner B. McMasters, Austin, Minn. Four years four months.
Myrtis A. Magee, Chicago, Ill. Three years six months.
Jacob P. Maxwell, Omaha, Nebr Two years seven months.
Oliver C. Miller, Mason City, Iowa. One year eight months.
Ira S. Modrell, Wheeling, W. Va. Three years.
Edward Lee More, South St. Joseph, Mo. Five years six months.
Daniel J. Murphy, Somerville, Mass. Five years two months.
James A. Nelmes, Fall River, Mass. Three years eight months.
George W. Nickerson, Chicago, Ill. Four years seven months.
George M. C. Oehler, Ottumwa, Iowa. Four years eleven months.
August Patterson, Jacksonville, Fla. Three years six months.
David P. Powell, Waterloo, Iowa. Three years six months.
Edgar P. Pulley, St. Joseph, Mo. Six years nine months.
Joseph V. Rollins, Austin, Minn. Two years six months.
W. R. Rose, Chicago, Ill. One year nine months.
Frank I. Runnels, Mason City, Iowa. Two years seven months.
Ray A. Schooley, Cincinnati, Ohio. Three years.
William E. Seacord, East St. Louis, Ill. One year seven months.
John T. Shelton, Chicago, Ill. Four years nine months.
M. C. Searer, Chicago, Ill. Six years ten months.
Henry O. Singer, Chicago, Ill. Four years six months.
William J. Small, South St. Joseph, Mo. Six years five months.
James J. Smith, Fort Worth, Tex. One year nine months.
Robert M. Spurlock, Fort Worth, Tex. Two years seven months.
Le Ray Stanley, Fort Worth, Tex. Six years three months.
John Calvin Thompson, Chicago Ill. Three years three months.
Edward J. Toomey, Chicago, Ill. Two years eleven months.
Floyd E. Turley, South St. Joseph, Mo. Six years four months.
Theodore S. Van House, Peoria, Ill. Two years eight months.
W. H. Voth, Sioux City, Iowa. Three years nine months.
Carl H. Wagner, East St. Louis, Ill. Eight years nine months.
Harry C. Whalen, Newark, N. J. Two years six months.
Forrest F. Wynne, South St. Joseph, Mo. Four years five months.

VETERINARY INSPECTORS (TICK ERADICATION).

The following veterinary inspectors engaged in tick-eradication work are graduates of recognized veterinary colleges and have qualified for the positions they hold through civil-service examination. After appointment they were given the usual instructions in tick-eradication work by trained employees. They have been assigned to territories and have shown that they are capable of rendering efficient service.

The eradication of ticks is a work of very great importance, as it has been positively shown that a tick-free section will produce more and better meat and better products than it would if infested with ticks. Congress itself has recognized the value of this work as a war measure by providing for the control and eradication of the diseases and pests of live stock, which includes the cattle tick, under the food-production act. To properly and successfully conduct this work, specially trained veterinary inspectors are required, such as those herein listed, as they are familiar through actual assignment with the sections in which the work is to be conducted.

To train new men requires considerable time. Furthermore, it is not believed possible to obtain new men for this work should the veterinary inspectors now attached to the service be removed, as there are no veterinary inspectors certified by the Civil Service Commission and no veterinarians in private practice are available who will accept temporary appointment. To lose any of these veterinarians, therefore, would materially embarrass the service and considerably retard this most valuable work.

Name, home address, and length of service.

Raymond A. Blackman, Whiteville, N. C. Four years six months.
Theodore Brand, Rayville, La. One year two months.
Harold S. Brundage, Georgetown, S. C. Two years eight months.
John F. Chipman, Leesburg, Fla. Three years six months.
Ashley J. Clark, Natchez, Miss. Two years seven months.
R. E. Cropper, Greenville, Ga. One year six months.
Harry R. Getz, Mena, Ark. Three years ten months.
Walter J. Gray, Houma, La. One year five months.
Roy A. Gregory, De Witt, Ark. Three years two months.
Jacob J. Jones, Pascagoula, Miss. Three years two months.
Albert H. Julien, Camilla, Ga. Three years three months.
Arthur J. Knilans, Windsor, N. C. Three years.
Cleo L. Lash, Bay St. Louis, Miss. One year six months.
Carl F. Lipp, Leesville, La. Three years three months.
George R. Louden, Oberlin, La. Two years eight months.
Lyman E. McDonald, Live Oak, Fla. Two years seven months.
Wilbur McPherson, Liberty, Miss. Two years seven months.
Eugene E. Murphy, Franklin, La. Two years eight months.
Joseph S. O'Hare, Plymouth, N. C. Six years seven months.
Dudley B. Pellette, Colfax, La. One year eight months.
C. G. Rabenstein, Atlanta, Ga. Four years three months.
Ray V. Rafnel, Baton Rouge, La. Five years eleven months.
Charles F. Rathbun, Pine Bluff, Ark. Seven years.
John Redmond, Enterprise, Ala. Three years two months.
Allen W. Rice, De Queen, Ark. Three years two months.
Floyd C. Reid, Arkadelphia, Ark. Two years eight months.
William R. Scott, Sulphur, Okla. Four years five months.
William J. Selkin, Evergreen, Ala. Four years one month.
Claude, Sevy, Covington, La. Four years two months.
S. H. Still, Richland, Ga. Six years eight months.
Henry A. Taggart, Deland, Fla. Two years eight months.
Paul Vaughn, Montgomery, Ala. Six years eight months.
Albert W. Vornheder, New Orleans, La. Two years two months.
Clifford Young, McGehee, Ark. One year one month.

VETERINARY INSPECTORS (HOG-CHOLERA CONTROL).

The following veterinary inspectors engaged in hog-cholera control work are graduates of recognized veterinary colleges and have regularly qualified for the positions they hold through civil-service examination. After appointment they were given the usual instructions and training in hog-cholera control work by experienced employees. They are all rendering satisfactory and efficient service.

The control of hog cholera is of vital importance in connection with the increased production of pork. Congress has recognized the value of this work as a war measure by providing funds for its prosecution under the food-production act. To obtain satisfactory results, experienced and specially qualified men must be employed. To train new men for this work requires much of the time of others who are experienced. The supply of veterinarians is practically exhausted. Consequently, the loss of any of these men would mean a reduction of the force.

Name, home address, and length of service.

Leslie H. Baker, Houston, Tex. Three years six months.
Joe H. Bux, Little Rock, Ark. Nine years five months.
Amer C. Drach, Fort Dodge, Iowa. Six years two months.
Joe Walter Giffee, Geneva, Nebr. Five years three months.
Edgar A. Grubb, Sacramento, Cal. Four years eleven months.
William M. Hobdy, Palestine, Tex. Three years six months.
Frank B. Jones, Springfield, Mo. Six years ten months.
R. E. Moody, Eureka, Kans. One year one month.
Robert Jones Frank, Fort Worth, Tex. One year five months.
James Henry Murphy, Sullivan, Ind. Eleven years eight months.
William Poselner, Woodward, Okla. Four years two months.
Orion L. Summer, Upper Sandusky, Ohio. One year five months.
Charles T. Tawney, Corunna, Mich. Four years eleven months.
Fulton Rex Woodring, Chillicothe, Mo. Three years two months.

VETERINARY INSPECTORS (TUBERCULOSIS ERADICATION).

The following veterinary inspectors engaged in tuberculosis-eradication work are graduates of recognized veterinary colleges and have regularly qualified for these positions through civil-service examination. After appointment they were given the usual instructions and training in this kind of work and are all now rendering very satisfactory and highly efficient service.

These employees are engaged in the eradicaion of tuberculosis from the cattle herds of this country. The great importance of this work, especially at the present time, is apparent and has been recognized by Congress through provision of special appropriations under the food-production act for its more effective conduct. The stamping out of tuberculosis means enlarged meat and dairy production, besides conserving the supply now available. To conduct this work requires men who have received a special training, and to lose any of the present inspectors would very materially cripple the service. This is especially true at this time, since the supply of veterinarians is exhausted. It becomes especially necessary, therefore, that these men be retained in the service.

Name, home address, and length of service.

Emery E. Coshow, Indianapolis, Ind. One year one month.
William C. Drake, Oklahoma City, Okla. Four years.
Solon Gillen, Madison, Wis. Two years eleven months.
J. N. Holzer, St. Paul, Minn. Four years eight months.
James Vernon Lyon, Chicago, Ill. Three years ten months.

VETERINARY INSPECTORS (SUPERVISION OF ESTABLISHMENTS MANUFACTURING SERUMS, TOXINS, ETC.).

The following inspectors are engaged in the supervision of establishments manufacturing biological products. After appointment they were given the usual instructions and training in supervising establishments manufacturing such products. They have become highly trained men in this branch of the work and are capable of rendering especially efficient service.

These employees supervise the production of serums, toxins, viruses, and other biological products, especially anti-hog-cholera serum. This supervision insures the production and distribution of safe and effective curative and preventive products. These products are employed in combating and controlling disease in meat-producing animals. The production of anti-hog-cholera serum in ordinary times is of great importance, but under present conditons it becomes of extreme importance in protecting the supply of pork of this country against loss from disease. Specially trained inspectors are required in order to properly supervise these establishments. They must fully understand all the details of the production of this class of products. To train men for this work requires much time, and, furthermore, the supply of veterinarians is practically exhausted.

Name, home address, and length of service.

Walter Boyce, Superior, Nebr. Six years eight months.
Charles P. Schneider, Indianapolis, Ind. Four years seven months.
Robert Thumann, Kansas City, Mo. Five years three months.
John W. Woods, St. Joseph, Mo. Three years eight months.
Frank A. Bittner, Wichita, Kans. Two years nine months.
Harry M. Edwards, Omaha, Nebr. Three years nine months.
George L. Farrington, Sioux City, Iowa. Six years six months.
C. H. Grove, Oakland, Cal. Four years three months.
Elbert Sturm, Wichita, Kans. Two years six months.

VETERINARY INSPECTORS (DOURINE ERADICATION).

The following veterinary inspectors are engaged on dourine-eradication work. This work requires employees with considerable training and skill and is a class of work which can only be performed in a satisfactory manner by veterinarians. Owing to the scarcity of competent veterinary inspectors it would be practically impossible to replace these inspectors if they were called into the military service, and it would cause a material loss to the horse industry to lose their services.

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

Melvin W. Miller, Albuquerque, N. Mex. Three years four months.
John J. Staab, Albuquerque, N. Mex. Three years six months.
Burl O. Fisher, Harlem, Mont. One year eight months.
Ben H. Steigleder, Albuquerque, N. Mex. One year six months.
Clarence N. Miller, East Las Vegas, N. Mex. Engaged on sheep-scabies eradication work in New Mexico. This work requires men of considerable training, and consists in the inspection of sheep for scabies, together with the supervision of the dipping of animals affected with or exposed to this disease. Sheep-scabies eradication work is very important at the present time, as the disease, if allowed to spread, will materially reduce the production of wool and mutton. It would be extremely difficult to fill the places of the men engaged on this work were they called into active military service. Five years nine months.

Davis B. Allen, Calais, Me. Engaged in the work of inspecting live stock offered for importation from Canada. The regulations provide for the tuberculin testing of all dairy and breeding cattle from Canada. It is believed that tuberculosis is very common among pure-bred animals in Canada, and it is important to maintain along the Canadian border a force of inspectors skilled in the work of inspection and in the application of the tuberculin test. The department is encouraging in every way possible the eradication of tuberculosis from herds of pure-bred animals in this country, and it would be most unfortunate at this time if, through a lack of competent inspectors or a relaxation of requirements, cattle infected with tuberculosis should enter the United States and disseminate tuberculosis in herds of pure-bred animals in this country. Three years one month.

George H. Ehlers, Scobey, Mont. Engaged in the work of inspecting live stock offered for importation from Canada. The regulations provide for the tuberculin testing of all dairy and breeding cattle from Canada. It is believed that tuberculosis is very common among pure-bred animals in Canada, and it is important to maintain along the Canadian border a force of inspectors skilled in the work of inspection and in the application of the tuberculin test. The department is encouraging in every way possible the eradication of tuberculosis from herds of pure-bred animals in this country, and it would be most unfortunate at this time if, through a lack of competent inspectors or a relaxation of requirements, cattle infected with tuberculosis should enter the United States and disseminate tuberculosis in herds of pure-bred animals in this country. Four years six months.

Earl L. Williman, Buffalo, N. Y. Detailed to cooperative influenza-control work with the War Department. This work consists of supervising the cleaning and disinfection of stock cars, stockyards, barns, and other premises used in the handling of Army horses and mules. This class of work requires men of training along special lines, and the work accomplished has resulted in a material reduction in the losses of Army horses and mules through the decrease in the amount of infection from influenza. It would be practically impossible to replace these men if they were called to active military service and such action would seriously affect the conduct of influenza-control work. Three years two months.

Max P. Medved, Kansas City, Kans. Detailed to cooperative influenza-control work with the War Department. This work consists of supervising the cleaning and disinfection of stock cars, stockyards, barns, and other premises used in the handling of Army horses and mules. This class of work requires men of training along special lines, and the work accomplished has resulted in a material reduction in the losses of Army horses and mules through the decrease in the amount of infection from influenza. It would be practically impossible to replace these men if they were called to active military service and such action would seriously affect the conduct of influenza-control work. Six years seven months.

E. D. Allen, Chicago, Ill. Assigned to stockyards work at Chicago, Ill. This work consists principally of the inspection of cattle, sheep, and swine for contagious, infectious, or communicable diseases. It requires training and skill. Eight years eight months.

Horace Brandon, Chicago, Ill. Assigned to stockyards work at Chicago, Ill. This work consists principally of the inspection of cattle, sheep, and swine for contagious, infectious, or communicable diseases. It requires training and skill. Two years eleven months.

Albert C. Osborn, Louisville, Ky. Assigned to stockyards work at Louisville, Ky. This work consists principally of the inspection of cattle, sheep, and swine for contagious, infectious, or communicable diseases. It requires training and skill. Four years three months.

James W. Murdoch, Omaha, Nebr. Supervises the stockyards work at the Omaha, Nebr., station. Has under his direction about 20 employees engaged in inspecting animals for contagious diseases, such as foot-and-mouth disease, hog cholera, scabies, anthrax, and glanders. These employees also apply the tuberculin test to cattle and supervise the immunization of swine for interstate movement for purposes other than immediate slaughter. Dr. Murdoch has had extended experience in contagious-disease work. The services of such experienced men are necessary to guard against outbreaks of serious contagious diseases in public stockyards. Six years eight months.

James E. Regan, New York, N. Y. Employed in connection with the sanitary handling and control of hides, skins, hair, wool, and other animal by-products offered for entry into the United States through the port of New York. In order to comply with the regulations requiring the disinfection of cars, boats, yards, and premises it is necessary that a careful supervision be maintained. This can only be performed by men experienced in such work. In view of the prevalence of anthrax and the existence of foot-and-mouth disease and rinderpest in various countries the regulations relative to the disinfection of hides, skins, or other animal by-products must be carefully administered. Great difficulty has been experienced in retaining inspectors in the service having the necessary qualifications for this work and their call into Army service would seriously hamper the work of the bureau. One year ten months.

George Kernohan, Washington, D. C. Employed in the bacteriological laboratories of the bureau in producing tuberculin and mallein. Through his training, and particularly his experience in the laboratories here, has become an expert in the propagation of tuberculosis and glanders bacilli, used in preparing tuberculin and mallein, which is manufactured in great part for the use of the United States Army. This work, which involves the handling of virulent microorganisms, requires skill and reliability. Dr. Kernohan, with some assistance, is making all the glanders cultures that are needed to produce mallein for the Army. Graduate Kansas State Veterinary College. Prior to present appointment practiced veterinary medicine and was employed as inspector by Kansas State Live Stock Sanitary Commission. Also served as veterinary inspector in the bureau of animal industry at Kansas City and national stockyards for two years. Then took post-graduate course in bacteriology and served as instructor in general bacteriology at the University of Kansas. Two years eleven months.

H. H. Ladson, Clarendon, Va. Assists in the study of contagious abortion of cattle, a problem in cattle conservation of first importance, since it is directly concerned with the production of calves by avoiding premature birth, thereby assuring a maximum calf crop. This work is chiefly field work. The bureau is finding it practically impossible to secure veterinarians, either through the civil-service register or by temporary appointment, to effectively carry on its work. Graduate of a recognized veterinary college. Three years three months.

Harry W. Schoening, Washington, D. C. Engaged as diagnostician of dourine and glanders, two of the most important diseases of equines, which it is imperative to control. Has developed expertness in serum diagnosis which comes only from years of actual experience in the work. These diseases are not possible of early detection in any other manner than by these tests. It would be impossible to dispense with Dr. Schoening's services at the present time without seriously jeopardizing the measures for the control of the diseases mentioned. He has also supplied material to the War Department for diagnostic work in glanders. Graduate of a recognized veterinary college. Ten years eleven months.

Benjamin Schwartz, Washington, D. C. Conducts important investigations concerning parasitic diseases of live stock, which work requires men specially educated and trained in zoology. His knowledge is required almost daily in giving information concerning the extermination and control of parasitic diseases of meat-producing animals, conditions which, if permitted to go uncontrolled, would result in serious loss. Great difficulty has been experienced in securing men qualified for this branch of work, and it is questionable whether any man could be found to take his place should he be called for military service. Graduate College of the City of New York, B. A.; also received M. A. degree from Columbia University, having specialized in zoology. Studied at the Cold Springs pathological laboratory two summers. Prior to present appointment was for nearly a year a scientific assistant in the Bureau of Fisheries and for one term was instructor in biology in the University of Arkansas. Two years nine months.

Samuel Adler, Kansas City, Mo. Assists at the Kansas City meat-inspection laboratory in the examination of meats and meat food products for harmful ingredients, and to determine whether they are properly labeled. A large amount of the work during the past year consisted of the examination of samples of meat food products prepared for military consumption to detect poisons. This is very important work, and it is practically impossible to secure men trained along these lines. At the present time the eligibles for such positions are in the draft age, and even when appointed are only connected with the work a short time when they are inducted into the military service. Graduate Alabama Polytechnic Institute, B. A. and M. S. in chemistry; also attended Columbia University, of New York, two summers. Two years five months.

Walter F. Schroeder, New York, N. Y. Has charge of the fat and oil work in the New York meat-inspection laboratory of this bureau. Has had a number of years' experience in this work, and a new man appointed

to replace him would require considerable time to gain the same proficiency. The bureau has experienced great difficulty in securing chemists and employees to do chemical work. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. Seven years three months.

Winfield B. Fromer, Richmond Hill, N. Y. Engaged in the examination, for many deleterious substances, of special military meat food products. Has gained considerable proficiency in this work, and a new man appointed to take his place would require training before he could carry out this work satisfactorily. Graduate Syracuse University, B. S. Before entering the department service taught chemistry two years and served one year in a commercial laboratory. Four years three months.

Roger M. Mehurin, Washington, D. C. Performs analytical chemical work in the meat-inspection laboratory, specializing in the determination of heavy metals in meat food products, in which work he has become an expert. It is impossible to secure men trained in this special line of work, and if any chemist was appointed to take his place it would require from six to eight months' training in the laboratory before he could satisfactorily do the work. Had three years' training in chemistry prior to his appointment in the bureau. Four years two months.

DAIRY FARMING EXTENSION AGENTS.

These men are employed jointly by the United States Department of Agriculture and the extension divisions of the various State agricultural colleges to conduct dairy-farming extension work, or to direct such work in the field. In the war emergency it is imperative that dairy production of milk and the utilization by means of the dairy cow of feeds men are concentrating their efforts along the line of more economical production of milk and the utilization by means of the dairy cow of feeds which can not be used as human food. They are acquainted with the conditions and the people in their respective States and have their work outlined, and it would be a serious drawback if they were drafted, because there would necessarily be a break in the work before the vacancies could be filled and the new men become familiar with existing conditions. Furthermore, the dairy division has endeavored during the past year, with practically no success, to secure additional men sufficiently trained to do this work. Very few men of maturer years, or women either, are available whose training and experience fit them for this work.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

Campbell A. Hutton, Knoxville, Tenn. Graduate University of Tennessee, B. S. in agriculture; was assistant in dairying in that university two terms; had charge of dairy-herd record work at Tennessee Experiment Station; and was dairy editor of the University of Tennessee Farmer during this period. Prior to entering department service was assistant dairy and poultry agent for Southern Railway Co. for two years. Three years seven months.

Frank M. Colcord, Corvallis, Oreg. Graduate University of Illinois, B. S., and University of Nebraska, M. S.; was emergency supervisor of county-agent work Nebraska in 1917. Ten months.

H. T. Converse, Spartanburg, S. C. Graduate New Hampshire College, B. S. Prior to entering department service engaged in farming one year; was herdsman and manager two years and assistant in the dairy-extension division of Clemson College one term. Three years two months.

Albert A. Fredericks, Baton Rouge, La. Graduate Louisiana State University, B. S. Ten months.

Edward J. Haslerud, St. Paul, Minn. Attended Minnesota College of Agriculture about three years. Before entering department service was tester in a cow-testing association for six months. Eight months.

W. Ir Kellogg, State College, Pa. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. Was official in testing and cow-testing association work one year. Three years nine months.

William E. Peterson, Manhattan, Kans. Graduate University of Minnesota, B. S. and M. S. Was supervisor of garden work public schools of Minneapolis one year, and served with the dairy division of the University of Minnesota one year. Nine months.

Joseph P. La Master, Starkville, Miss. Graduate University of Kentucky, B. S. Prior to entering department was bacteriologist for the Elmendorf Dairy. Three years three months.

Harry G. Stevens, West LaFayette, Ind. Graduate Ohio State University, B. S. in agriculture. Prior to entering department was employed as dairy herdsman. One year ten months.

Josephus P. Quinerly, Auburn, Ala.: Graduate North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Prior to entering department was foreman for Naval Academy dairy, Annapolis, Md.; assistant dairy and poultry agent Southern Railway Co.; and manager Elmview Farms, Grifton, N. C. Three years two months.

Walter E. Tomson, Bozeman, Mont. Graduate Kansas Agricultural College, B. S., and was assistant in dairy husbandry and instructor in dairy husbandry at that institution for five years. Eight months.

J. A. Waldron, East Lansing, Mich. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College, B. S. Prior to present appointment was for various periods herdsman at the college; instructor in agriculture high school, Carlton, Minn.; engaged in farming; and was extension worker in the Michigan Agricultural College. One year eleven months.

CREAMERY EXTENSION SPECIALISTS.

The creamery extension specialists of the dairy division assist creamery operators in overcoming losses and in improving the quality of their product. They also teach them how to make use of the by-products, thus adding to the food supply of the country. There are very few men available who have the training and experience to qualify them to do creamery extension work. Hence, if any of the men now engaged in the work were drafted it would be impossible to replace them with men having equal efficiency without considerable loss of time in training them to do the work. During the existing emergency it is essential that all dairy products be so handled that there will be no losses, and that dairy production be maintained at its present level, or even increased.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

C. E. Newlander, Auburn, Ala. Graduate Cornell University, bachelor of science. For four years prior to entering department service was instructor in dairy manufactures, Michigan Agricultural College. One year one month.

W. F. Gerholz, Buhl, Idaho. Attended Wisconsin Dairy School one term. Prior to present appointment was for five years employed as manager and maker of cheese for several companies. Nine months.

Vern R. Jones, St. Albans, Vt. Graduate Washington State College, B. S., and was instructor in dairying at the college one term; post graduate student Cornell University and instructor in dairying two terms; received degree of M. S. in agriculture from Cornell; was assistant professor in dairying South Dakota State College one term. One year one month.

Owen E. Williams, Washington, D. C. Engaged in investigating the manufacture of ice cream, one of the ways of converting dairy products into food. The work is essential. At present he is working on the substitution of glucose and similar products for cane sugar in ice-cream manufacture; also on the preparation of butter fat, so that it may be preserved and transported long distances, the latter work having application to butter fat for reconstituting milk from skim-milk powder. It would be impossible to secure a man of his training and experience to take up this work. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College B. S. Was then employed for one year as instructor in charge of dairy husbandry at the Baron de Hirsch School, Woodbine, N. J. Five years ten months.

Edwin H. Krause, Lincoln, Nebr. Engaged in stimulating the production of cottage cheese from skim milk and buttermilk, which otherwise would be wasted. He is well trained for this work. Graduate Ohio State University, B. S. Then engaged in dairy farming two seasons. Nine months.

T. C. Haddon, Rock Hill, S. C. Engaged in stimulating the production of cottage cheese. He is well trained for this work. Graduate Clemson Agricultural College, B. S. in agriculture. Prior to department service was teacher of agriculture and science two terms and assistant in agriculture Winthrop Normal and Industrial College two terms. Nine months.

Albert C. Weimar, Washington, D. C. Investigates the manufacture of cheese, attempting to develop methods of manufacturing types whose importation has been shut off by the war. His experience in this department also has qualified him for extension work. Graduate University of Wisconsin, B. S. in agriculture. Two years prior to entering department service was president of the Lacrosse Pasteurized Milk Co. Eight months.

Floyd R. Farnham, West Raleigh, N. C. Engaged in cheese-factory extension work in the mountain regions of the South, inaugurated by the department about four years ago. Mr. Farnham has been instrumental in the organization of 20 cheese factories, some of which still depend on him in a large measure for advice and guidance and expert knowledge of cheese making. Cheese specialists are exceptionally scarce, and it would be very difficult to secure anyone to fill this position. Attended Pennsylvania State College; was instructor in creamery manufacture at that college one term and was buttermaker there one term. Three years nine months.

MARKET MILK SPECIALISTS.

Market milk specialists are engaged in work on the sanitation of milk supplies, a most important matter in the conservation of human health as well as the conservation of dairy products. They cooperate with local authorities in teaching farmers how to produce more wholesome milk. This improvement enhances the keeping qualities of dairy products and prevents loss through spoilage. Practically their entire time during the past year has been devoted to cooperation with the United States Public Health Service in improving the milk supplies in the vicinity of Army cantonments. It would be practically impossible at this time to replace these employees. The dairy division has had unfilled vacancies in this work for nearly a year.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

Harry N. Thomas, Washington, D. C. (in field greater portion of time. Graduate University of Nebraska College of Agriculture, B. S. in agriculture; instructor in agriculture, Beatrice (Nebr.) High School, 1916; county agricultural agent, Dawes County, Nebr., one season. One year.

Clarence S. MacBride, Washington, D. C. (travels all the time). Graduate University of Wisconsin, B. S. in agriculture. Prior to entering department was dairy instructor for State of Washington. One year three months.

Russell S. Smith, Washington, D. C. (travels greater part of time). Graduate University of Maine, B. S. Prior to Government service was State dairy and milk inspector in Maine. Three years eight months.

Clifford W. Wescott, Patten, Me. Graduate University of Maine College of Agriculture, B S. Prior to entering department was State dairy inspector of the Maine department of agriculture. Six and one-half months.

Benjamin Vener, Springfield, Mass. Works chiefly on milk-plant management, dealing with city milk plants. The work reduces losses of milk due to wasteful methods and careless handling. It results in more wholesome milk being delivered to consumers. It cuts down operating expenses by teaching more efficient use of machinery and labor. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S. For two years prior to entering department service was sanitarian, chemist, and efficiency expert to Tait Bros., Springfield, Mass. Eight months.

R. J. Posson, Washington, D. C. (In field greater portion of time). Engaged in collecting and tabulating data regarding milk production. Includes personal work with farmers to determine most economical methods of feeding and caring for dairy cows. Results in a definite understanding as to the requirements in milk production and leads to more economical methods of production. Graduate University of Nebraska, B. S. Two years ten months.

H. P. Davis, Alexandria, Va. For a year and a half after entering department was engaged in dairy extension work. Since that date has had charge of the editorial work of the dairy division. In addition has charge of the feeding experiments at the Huntley (Mont.) Irrigation Experiment Station at the Ardmore (S. Dak.) Dry-Land Experiment Farm, and at the Iberia (La.) Live Stock Experiment Farm. Graduate University of Missouri; received master's degree from Pennsylvania State College; was assistant in dairying at University of Illinois; and assistant in experimental dairy husbandry and instructor in dairy husbandry with Pennsylvania State College. Three years eleven months.

Thomas W. Mosely, Washington, D. C. Is engaged in the organization of bull associations. The bull-association movement has for its object the improvement of dairy cattle through the joint ownership of meritorious pure-bred dairy bulls, and it has proved to be one of the most effective means of increasing the quality and productiveness of dairy cows. It is imperative during the war emergency that dairy production be maintained at the present level and even increased. This can best be done with better cows. The Bureau of Animal Industry for the

past year has endeavored, with practically no success, to secure men sufficiently trained to do this work. Very few men of maturer years are available whose training and experience fit them for bull-association organization work. Graduate University of Nebraska, B. S. in agriculture; graduate student University of Chicago, one summer; and assistant in the dairy laboratories of the University of Nebraska, two terms. Five years.

Frank W. Kehrli, Salt Lake City, Utah. Has charge of bull-association work in the West. This has for its object the improvement of dairy cattle through the joint ownership of meritorious pure-bred dairy bulls, and it has proved to be one of the most effective means of increasing the quality and productiveness of dairy cows. It is imperative during the war emergency that dairy production be maintained at its present level and even increased. This can best be done by the improvement of the productive capacity of the cows of this country. It is difficult to secure men of maturer years whose training and experience fit them for this work Graduate Oregon Agricultural College, B. S. Was field dairyman for this college in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture for three years. Three years nine months.

Elmer V. Ellington, Washington, D. C. (in field all the time). Has charge of dairy extension activities of the Bureau of Animal Industry in the Middle West, supervising the work of 25 extension workers. This position requires, in addition to high-class training, rare qualities for tact, judgment, and executive ability. Mr. Ellington has had special training for this work through years of employment in this department. During the past year the bureau has had practically no success in securing men of this training and experience. Very few men of maturer years, or women either, are available whose training and experience fit them for this work. Graduate University of Missouri, B. S. in agriculture. For various periods was extension dairyman, assistant professor of dairying, and professor of dairying at the University of Idaho. Three years two months.

Joseph B. Shepherd, Ballston, Va. Assists in the dairy extension office of the Dairy Division. Attends to all inquiries regarding feeding, dairy-herd management, and selection of dairy cattle; also the construction of silos and dairy buildings. Graduate University of Nebraska, B. S. in agriculture. Prior to entering department service was employed by the Great Western Sugar Co., Scottsbluff, Nebr. Nine months.

G. E. Braum, Mount Vernon, Wash. Engaged in collecting and tabulating data regarding milk production and in personal work with farmers to determine the most economical methods of feeding and caring for dairy cows. This work results in a definite understanding as to the requirements in milk production and leads to more economical methods of production. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. Prior to entering department service conducted practical work in Somerset County, Pa., one year. One year.

Ralph P. Hotis, Vergennes, Vt. Engaged in collecting and tabulating data regarding milk production and in personal work with farmers to determine the most economical methods of feeding and caring for dairy cows. This work results in a definite understanding as to the requirements in milk production and leads to more economical methods of production. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S. Served for various periods before entering department as manager of a stock farm, instructor in agricultural economics, Massachusetts Agricultural College, and dairyman for the Woodlake Stock Farm, Minneapolis, Minn. One year three months.

Philip A. Wright, Washington, D. C. Performs analytical work in connection with silage investigations, which includes particularly the utilization of new crops for silage. Has had long experience in this kind of work. Graduate Middlebury College, B. S.; student in Yale University, two terms; also received degree of M. A., University of Missouri. Seven years three months.

Roy R. Graves, Chevy Chase, Md. Engaged in investigations in the breeding of dairy cattle. Has outlined and started some extensive experiments along this line. A number of animals of high butter-fat production have been secured, and it is expected that some valuable results will be obtained. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, B. S.; received degree of M. S., University of Missouri. Prior to present appointment was manager of a dairy farm, dairyman in this department, and professor of dairy husbandry at Oregon Agricultural College. Two years.

Paul W. Clemmer, Washington, D. C. Performs bacteriological work in connection with various dairy products. This work is conducted with a view to eliminate the waste of dairy products by spoilage and to improve their quality. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. Prior to entering department service was assistant chemist, Pennsylvania experiment station, and assistant bacteriologist, department of health, Cleveland, Ohio. Three years.

Courtland S. Mudge, Washington, D. C. Performs bacteriological work in connection with various dairy products. This work is conducted with a view to eliminate the waste of dairy products by spoilage and to improve their quality. Graduate Brown University, Ph. B., A. M., and Ph. D. Before entering department service was for various periods graduate instructor in biological chemistry at Brown University; instructor in chemistry at Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, R. I.; and bacteriologist in the research laboratories of the National Canners' Association, Washington, D. C. One year ten months.

Clifford L. McArthur, Washington, D. C. (Travels greater part of time.) Performs bacteriological work in connection with various dairy products. This work is conducted with a view to eliminate the waste of dairy products by spoilage and to improve their quality. Graduate Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S.; received degree of M. S. from the University of Idaho, and took summer course at the University of Chicago and postgraduate work at Rush Medical School. Was bacteriologist for the Oregon Agricultural College. Three and one-half months.

Harper F. Zoller, Washington, D. C. Is working on methods for making casein suitable for gluing purposes in aeroplane construction from centralizer buttermilk, a product now largely wasted. The production of casein in this country must be increased about 50 per cent to meet the shortage due to the lack of imports and increased demand on account of aeroplane construction. It is almost impossible to secure chemists with proper training for this work. Graduate Lenox College, B. S.; received degree of M. S. from University of Illinois. Before entering department was for various periods research assistant in astronomy and graduate assistant in chemistry in the University of Illinois; professor of physical science, University of Puget Sound; and instructor in organic chemistry, Kansas State Agricultural College. One year one month.

David D. Gray, Fort Collins, Colo. Has charge of the horse-breeding work being conducted by this department in cooperation with the Colorado Experimental Station at Fort Collins, Colo. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, B. S. Prior to entering department had one year's experience in veterinary work. One year.

V. O. McWhorter, Dubois, Idaho. Has charge of the sheep experiment station of the Bureau of Animal Industry at Dubois, Idaho, and has been connected with work in sheep investigations for four years. During the past three years he has been trained especially to take charge of the range sheep investigations project. These investigations have been under way for nine years and are now yielding results of immediate value to the producers of wool and mutton in this country. Graduate Washington State College, B. S. in agriculture. Four years.

Sewall Wright, Washington, D. C. Has been employed in scientific work relating to animal genetics; also is a thoroughly qualified mathematician and statistician and has been engaged during recent months in some extremely important statistical work bearing directly on war activities. Graduate Lombard College, B. S.; received degree of M. S. from University of Illinois and S. D. from Harvard. Two years ten months.

Ben F. Brandon, Beltsville, Md. Is assistant in charge of the animal-husbandry portion of the experimental farm of the department at Beltsville, Md. His duties are those of farm superintendent, covering a wide range of farm activities. The experimental farm plays a fundamental part in the work of the Animal Husbandry Division and naturally is vitally connected with the war-emergency program. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. in agriculture. Had practical farm experience prior to entering department. Two years.

SPECIALISTS IN SWINE PRODUCTION.

The department is making every effort to increase the production of pork in the United States. An intensive campaign is now under way in the eight corn-belt States, where many farmers have begun raising hogs for the first time. In the Southern States additional men, appointed under the authority conferred by the food-production act, have been placed as assistants to the regular force of swine-husbandry agents, to stimulate production of pork and to increase the pig-club membership. The importance of this work is manifest in view of the fact that pork constitutes more than one-half of all the meat produced in this country and is the mainstay in the ration of the laboring man and the soldier. The need for increasing the supply of fats is particularly acute. Animal fats can be increased more quickly by increasing the number of hogs than in any other manner.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the case of the following employees engaged in this type of work:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

John T. Tingle, Fort Collins, Colo. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. in agriculture; served one term as principal of agricultural high school. Eight months.

Tom F. Wise, Auburn, Ala. Graduate Iowa Agricultural College, B. S. in agriculture; also had farm experience. Eight months.

William E. Schneider, Denver, Colo. Graduate Colorado Agricultural College, B. S. in agriculture. Eight months.

Leonard J. Allen, Corvallis, Oreg. Graduate Oregon Agricultural College, M. S. As a pig-club agent has been instrumental in accomplishing valuable results. Two years nine months.

De Witt T. Meek, Stillwater, Okla. Prior to entering department had considerable practical experience with live stock, and for a time was secretary of the Federal Live Stock Association of Oklahoma. Two years six months.

Charles R. Bowers, Auburn, Ala. Graduate Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. in agriculture; took post-graduate work in animal husbandry. Eight months.

Peter E. Spinks, Agricultural College, Mississippi. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. in agriculture. One year.

Lewis H. Fudge, St. Paul, Minn. Graduate Ohio State University, B. S. in agriculture. One year.

SPECIALISTS IN BEEF-CATTLE PRODUCTION.

Beef-cattle production is one of the most important lines of work of the Bureau of Animal Industry. Specialists have been placed in different sections of the country to assist farmers and cattlemen in conserving all good breeding cows and to emphasize the necessity of breeding for a maximum calf crop, preparing permanent pastures, building silos, and preserving all available feedstuffs. The corn belt possesses an enormous supply of feed in its corn fodder which has never heretofore been completely utilized. It is estimated that there is in the Southeast this year sufficient feed to take care of between 400,000 and 500,000 cattle, in addition to the number normally provided for. Many problems in beef-cattle production require investigation by specially qualified experts, and it is generally recognized that the experimental work conducted by this department has been the basis of the great development of the beef-cattle industry in the South following the eradication of the cattle tick.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

Gilbert L. Cleland, Canton, Miss. Graduate Kansas Agricultural College. Prior to present appointment had practical farm training and one year's experience in swine and beef-cattle production work. One year six months.

L. W. Summers, Orangeburg, S. C. Graduate Alabama Polytechnic Institute; acted as instructor in the Agricultural College of Virginia, and previous to entering the department service was engaged in farming in South Carolina. Two years.

F. T. Peden, Springdale, N. C. Graduate North Carolina College of Agriculture. Has had practical farm experience. Four years eight months.

Smith W. Greene, Collins, Miss. Graduate Purdue University. Had practical farm experience before entering department. One year five months.

Frank W. Farley, Washington, D. C. Graduate University of Illinois, B. S. Three years.

Carrol J. Goodell, Washington, D. C. (travels in field most of time). Graduate Purdue University, B. S. in agriculture. Spent his early life on a farm and managed a farm for five years prior to entering department service. Three years ten months.

SPECIALISTS IN POULTRY PRODUCTION.

The work upon which these employees are engaged offers one of the quickest means of increasing the meat supply of the country. The production of a large supply of poultry and eggs for domestic consumption will result in releasing greater quantities of beef and pork for the use of our Army and the allies. Every effort is being made to encourage the production of poultry on general farms and in back yards

in order to turn waste material into food for human consumption. These specialists work in cooperation with the State agencies and have been giving chief attention to the great poultry-producing sections of the Middle West, which presents the greatest opportunity for securing the largest and most immediate results. As a necessary concomitant of these extension activities, studies are also being made of various problems relating to the feeding, breeding, and management of poultry.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and approved by draft boards in the case of the following employees engaged in this work:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

Alfred R. Lee, Bladensburg, Md. Graduate of Rhode Island State College, B. S. in agriculture. Has general supervision of the poultry-feeding experiments at the Beltsville farm in connection with the war emergency work and the administrative work in the Washington office. Eight years nine months.

R. C. Blake, Oklahoma City, Okla. Graduate of Massachusetts Agricultural Colege, B. S. in agriculture. Has had wide experience in the management of poultry farms. Seven months.

R. H. Wilkins, Washington, D. C. Graduate of Illinois State University and Cornell University. Was poultry instructor and investigator in Massachusetts and Kentucky for two years prior to present appointment. Ten months.

Leo J. Brosemer, Lafayette, Ind. Prior to present appointment was manager of a commercial poultry plant, poultry-club agent for the department in Tennessee, and associate editor of the Reliable Poultry Journal. Two years four months.

Carl F. Weihman, Bryan, Tex. Attended Pennsylvania State College three years, specializing in poultry. Had three years' practical experience in farming and poultry breeding. Eight months.

Philip H. Hayes, Stillwater, Okla. Graduate of Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. in agriculture. During his college course did considerable work on the poultry farm in connection with the feeding, care, incubation, and other matters relating to poultry production. Nine months.

Sheppard Haynes, Beltsville, Md. Assists in poultry work being conducted at the Beltsville farm. The poultry experimental work at the farm is a vital part of the emergency war program because of its bearing upon the poultry industry of the country. Prior to entering department service had about ten year's practical experience in feeding, breeding, and management of poultry. One year five months.

FOREST SERVICE.

FOREST SUPERVISORS.

A forest supervisor is in direct administrative charge of one or more national forests, with an average area to look after of more than 1,000,000 acres. He has control of a ranger force of from 5 to 20 men, and is responsible for their training, leadership, direction, and support. He negotiates all timber sales for his forest, except those of small size, which are handled by the rangers, and those of very large size, which are handled by the district forester or the forester. After sales are negotiated he is responsible for their administration. He plans and supervises trail, telephone, and other improvements for his forest. He issues grazing and special-use permits, and is responsible to the public, to his ranger force, and to the district forester for the efficient handling of a large volume of business. All funds on the national forests are expended under the immediate direction of the forest supervisor, necessitating an accurate grasp of the fiscal regulations. He is expert in both office and field work. A supervisor within draft age, in many instances, is technically trained for his work. During the war especially heavy duties devolve upon him, because with a depleted subordinate force he is under the necessity of efficiently handling as large a timber business as before the war and a greatly increased grazing business, since it has been the effort throughout the national forests to increase the grazing to the utmost limit in order to augment the country's supply of meat. In every case where deferred classification for a forest supervisor has been requested there are special considerations which make it impossible to replace him without substantial material loss and detriment to the work.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

Edward P. Ancona, Taos, N. Mex. Deputy forest supervisor, Carson National Forest. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. Employed one summer on State forest in Pennsylvania and about a year on chestnut-blight work in same State. Entered Forest Service in a reconnoissance party on the Snoqualmie Forest. Five years five months.

Elliott S. Barker, Taos, N. Mex. Forest supervisor, Carson National Forest. Graduate New Mexico Normal University; also six months in Illinois College of Photography. During school vacations worked at ranching and sawmilling. Entered Forest Service as assistant forest ranger. Nine years five and one-half months.

Charles N. Hammond, Hot Springs, Ark. Deputy forest supervisor, Arkansas National Forest. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. in forestry. Prior to appointment was employed by the Pennsylvania Chestnut Blight Commission, and also assisted in a timber reconnoissance on the Crater Forest. Four years four months.

B. F. Heintzleman, Eugene, Oreg. Deputy forest supervisor, Cascade National Forest, with all qualifications for filling any supervisor vacancy that may occur in district 6. Graduate Pennsylvania State Forest Academy; two years Yale Forest School. For one year in charge of State forest reservation in Pennsylvania. Prior to present appointment employed as forest guard on Kaniksu Forest. Eight years three months.

Jay Higgins, Halsey, Nebr. Forest supervisor, Nebraska National Forest. Graduate University of Nebraska, B. S. in forestry. Entered Forest Service as a guard on one of the Colorado forests. Prior to appointment had experience in sawmill and nursery work. Ten years one month.

Arthur F. C. Hoffman, Pagosa Springs, Colo. Forest supervisor, San Juan Forest. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. in forestry. During the summer of 1909 engaged in timber estimating, mapping, planting, and collecting data for volume and yield tables. During the summer of 1910 employed by the Forest Service as student assistant, being engaged in extensive timber reconnoissance on the White River Forest. Seven years two and one-half months.

Leslie T. Mahurin, Glenwood Sprins, Colo. In addition to handling a large amount of administrative work on the Holy Cross National Forest, assumes many responsibilities comparable to those of a deputy supervisor. Six years four months.

Charles D. Simpson, Montpelier, Idaho. Forest supervisor, Caribou National Forest. Graduate four-year course in chemistry University of Minnesota, specializing in botany and economics and special course in stock judging, veterinary science, and agronomy. Had previous practical experience in stock raising; also worked as forest guard in the employ of the Minnesota State forestry service. Four years eleven and one-half months.

John W. Spencer, Collbran, Colo. Forest supervisor, Battlement National Forest. Graduate Emporia College (Kans.), B. S.; Yale Forest School, M. F. Entered Forest Service as a field assistant on the Crook Forest. Prior to appointment had experience in timber cruising, mapping, and surveying. Seven years three and one-half months.

James C. Whitham, Miles City, Mont. Forest supervisor, Sioux National Forest. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S., specializing in forestry. Entered Forest Service as a forest guard. Seven years four months.

DISTRICT FOREST RANGERS.

A district forest ranger is responsible for protecting from fire one or more districts of a national forest, usually involving an area of from 100,000 to 250,000 acres. In most instances privately owned lands are intermingled with the Government holdings. The district ranger conducts with the public the business arising on his district, including timber sales, the management of grazing, special uses of various sorts, and the free use of timber. He frequently has one or more assistants on timber-sale work, and in the fire season he may have as many as three or four patrolmen working under his direction. In fighting fires he may suddenly be thrown into the control of from 100 to 300 men. The success of a district ranger depends upon a number of factors, important among which are complete knowledge of his district, including the location of corners and land lines dividing private from Government lands, and wide acquaintance with the local people. In some instances a man may be so highly qualified for his place that he can not be replaced without the most serious detriment to the business of the forest and annoyance to the local public. It is of the utmost importance that at least 50 per cent of the district rangers on any forest be experienced men, since it is hazardous to depend upon inexperienced men for more than half the ranger districts. In all cases where affidavits were filed for district rangers it was because of the conditions above indicated.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

Wayne F. Alexander, Livingston, Mont. Forest ranger, West Boulder ranger district, Absaroka National Forest. Attended a short course in forestry at Missoula and business college. Entered the Forest Service as a guard. Had previous experience in logging camps and in handling horses. Five years two months.

Karl C. Allan, Kilgore, Idaho. Forest ranger, district 2, Targhee National Forest. Prior to entering the Forest Service had considerable experience in stock raising. Four years nine months.

Charles E. Brackett, Nicholia, Mont. Forest ranger, Sheep Creek ranger district, Beaverhead National Forest. Attended Yankton (S. Dak.) College and Ranger School, University of Montana. Has had long experience in the Forest Service and is a particularly valuable grazing man. Prior to entering Government service had considerable experience in handling live stock. Seven years one-half month.

James P. Brown, Silver Bow, Mont. Forest ranger, Fleecer district, Deerlodge National Forest. Graudate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. in forestry. Worked in nursery for Pennsylvania Railroad Co.; also experience in tree planting in West Virginia. Five years.

William F. Cochran, Columbine, Colo. Forest ranger, Three Forks ranger district, Routt National Forest. Prior to present appointment was employed three summers as temporary laborer and fire guard in the Forest Service. Had previous experience in surveying. Three years one-half month.

Charles K. Cooperrider, Cowles, N. Mex. Forest ranger, Panchuela-La Mesa ranger district, Santa Fe National Forest. Graduate Ohio University, B. S. Taught three years in high school, one year college, and served one year as high-school principal. Entered the Forest Service as assistant forest ranger. Two years eleven and one-half months.

Fred W. Croxen, Winslow, Ariz. Forest ranger, Bly ranger district, Coconino National Forest. Short course in forestry and animal husbandry at Iowa Agricultural College. Entered Forest Service as an assistant forest ranger. Had previous experience in cattle ranching, lumbering, and tree planting. Six years ten months.

John C. Davis, Alturas, Cal. Forest ranger, Devil's Garden district, Modoc National Forest. Was forest guard one summer before permanent appointment. Prior to appointment had practical experience in stock raising. Two years ten months.

Walter W. Douglas, Merrimac, Cal. Forest ranger, Merrimac district, Plumas National Forest. Had practical experience in building cabins, trails and roads, and telephone lines, and in timber cruising, before entering service; also in handling cattle, both on summer and winter range. Four years eight and one-half months.

William B. Fay, Hesperus, Colo. Forest ranger, La Plata ranger district, Durango National Forest. Had experience in road surveys and road work and in handling stock. Entered Forest Service as a guard. Four years six and one-half months.

Leland Fouts, MacFarland, Tenn. Assistant forest ranger, Hiawassee ranger district, Cherokee-Georgia purchase area. Served as guard in Forest Service two years before permanent appointment and had prior experience in lumbering. Four years five months.

Frank Gray, Cedar, Colo. Forest ranger, Glade ranger district, Montezuma National Forest. Attended State Normal, Alva, Okla., one year, and State Normal, Springfield, Mo., one year, and afterwards taught school. Prior to entering the Forest Service had experience in stock raising. Two years two months.

James I. Hatch, Gallina, N. Mex. Forest ranger, Gallina ranger district, Santa Fe National Forest. Entered Forest Service as a forest guard. Prior to appointment had practical experience in lumbering. Five years four months.

Harry D. Hauser, South Pass, Wyo. Forest ranger, Washakie National Forest. Served as field assistant and as guard in the Forest Service before permanent appointment. Had previous sawmill experience. Three years seven months.

William E. Hedges, Natural Bridge Station, Va. Forest ranger, South Side ranger district, Natural Bridge purchase area. Employed on ranger duties since entering Forest Service. Prior to appointment had experience in surveying, lumbering, handling stock on range, and sawmilling. Two years three months.

Louis R. Hillmon, New Meadows, Idaho. Forest ranger, districts 6 and 7, Weiser National Forest. Prior to appointment was employed two winters at timber work in lumber camps in Idaho. Six years.

William E. Jackson, Denver, Colo. Forest ranger. Attended Anaconda (Mont.) College four years; United States Naval Academy, two years; Kansas State University, two years; University Forest School, two years. Five years seven months.

Wallwin T. Job, Kanab, Utah. Forest ranger, Kaibab National Forest. Prior to appointment worked with surveying party and in surveyor's office approximately 6 months; also had 10 months' experience in ranch work. Eight years nine months.

Robert Johnson, Wensper, Idaho. Forest ranger, district 1, Lemhi National Forest. Previous experience on cattle ranch. Three years eight months.

John V. Leighou, Dolores, Colo. Forest ranger, assigned to timber sale work on Montezuma National Forest. Attended Bloomsburg (Pa.) State Normal one year; Bucknell University, two years; Pennsylvania State College, three years, graduating B. S. in forestry. Prior to appointment to present position had lumbering experience and worked in a reconnoissance crew on Bighorn Forest. Five years two months.

Harvey J. Lickel, Trout Lake, Wash. Forest ranger, Mount Adams ranger district, Columbia National Forest. Attended South Dakota State Normal School three and one-half years; Oregon Agricultural College, two and one-half years; University of Washington, rangers' short course in forestry. Was reared on a stock farm; entered Forest Service as a forest guard. Seven years 10½ months.

Benjamin H. Lowe, Moon, S. Dak. Forest ranger, Limestone ranger district, Harney National Forest. Entered Forest Service as a guard. Had previous experience in lumbering. Two years nine months.

Corley B. McFarland, Landax, Oreg. Forest ranger, west boundary ranger district, Cascade National Forest. Graduate Southern Iowa Normal School. Had stock-raising, logging, and lumbering experience prior to Government employment. Entered Forest Service as forest guard and has been employed on permanent improvement and protection work. Eight years three and one-half months.

Neal O. McKinley, Rye, Colo. Forest ranger, Greenhorn ranger district, San Isabel National Forest. Entered Forest Service as guard. Had previous experience in lumbering. Two years six and one-half months.

Woodfred Grady Miller, Imnaha, Oreg. Forest ranger, Imnaha ranger district, Wallowa National Forest. Had experience in sheep raising and sawmill work prior to entering department service; appointed to Forest Service as a forest guard. Five years one month.

Sanford Mills, Dubois, Wyo. Forest ranger, Washakie National Forest. Lived on ranch until entering Forest Service and was experienced in handling live stock. Five years eight months.

George E. Moore, Currant, Nev. Forest ranger, district 3, Nevada National Forest. Three years at Utah Agricultural College. Prior to appointment had general sawmill experience. Two years seven months.

Stephen A. Nash-Boulden, Descanso, Cal. Forest ranger, Descanso district, Cleveland National Forest. Experienced in grazing and ranching. Served as forest guard for one summer before permanent appointment. Has been a forest ranger during entire period in service. Four years five and one-half months.

Rosco C. Nicholson, Clayton, Ga. Forest ranger, Clayton ranger district, Savannah purchase area. Attended Georgia Agricultural College business course one year, mining and engineering course two and a half years. Served in Forest Service two summers as forest guard before permanent appointment. Four years three months.

Berry W. Phelps, Fraser, Colo. Forest ranger, Byers district, Arapaho National Forest. Two years at Gates Academy, Neligh, Nebr., scientific course; course in surveying and mapping, International Correspondence Schools. Had considerable experience in logging operations and at sawmills, also in handling stock, previous to entering Forest Service. One year five months.

Frank F. Poley, Sulphur Springs, Colo. Forest ranger, Arapaho National Forest. From spring of 1910 to fall of 1914 employed as temporary laborer, foreman of planting crews, and forest guard in the Forest Service. Five years three and one-half months.

Robert G. Schreck, Ely, Minn. Forest ranger, Superior National Forest. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. in forestry. Prior to permanent appointment worked for four summers as forest guard. Three years seven and one-half months.

Joseph L. Sheppard, Evanston, Wyo. Forest ranger, employed on important timber-sale operations on Wasatch National Forest. Previous to entering Forest Service had experience in handling live stock. Three years two months.

Lionel H. Sherman, Dayton, Wyo. Forest ranger, Tongue ranger district, Bighorn National Forest. Entered Forest Service as a forest guard. Previous experience in handling live stock. Four years six months.

I. M. Varner, Soda Springs, Idaho. Forest ranger, district 8, Cache National Forest. Attended University of Idaho two years. Prior to appointment had nine years' experience in lumbering; also experience in surveying. Was forest guard two summers before permanent appointment in Forest Service. Three years seven months.

Henry G. White, Detroit, Oreg. Forest ranger, Detroit ranger district, Santiam National Forest. Since entering Forest Service has been engaged chiefly in trail and telephone construction, scaling, and fire protection. Seven years one and one-half months.

Norman C. White, Bly, Oreg. Forest ranger, Bly ranger district, Fremont National Forest. Practical experience in surveying prior to entering Forest Service, where he has been employed as forest guard, chiefly on grazing and timber work. Six years five and one-half months.

Arthur A. Wood, Lost City, W. Va. Forest ranger, Potomac ranger district, Shenandoah Purchase Area. Entered Forest Service as a forest guard. Prior to appointment had practical experience in stock raising. Five years two months.

FOREST EXAMINERS.

A forest examiner is a technically trained forester who is assigned to a national forest to assist the supervisor in estimating timber, in laying out and making timber sales, and in the administration of sales after they are negotiated. He assists in all other forest operations and activities, such as planting and all manner of special forest studies, and also assists in the general administration work as the need may arise. The forest examiner is the supervisor's technical expert in timber matters. If assigned to a district office, a forest examiner is usually employed on special timber work, such as general timber reconnoissance, or the study of sylvicultural problems, or he may be assigned from forest to forest for work under the direction of the forest supervisor. So large a proportion of the forest examiners formerly in the Forest Service have entered the military service that it would be impossible to replace any of the men for whom deferred classification has been requested without equivalent loss in some other direction.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

R. H. Easterbrooks, Laramie, Wyo. Forest examiner, engaged in timber-sale work on the Medicine Bow Forest. Attended University of Illinois one year; University of Michigan, four years. Had previous experience in lumbering, surveying, tree planting, timber cruising, and fire fighting. Two years five and one-half months.

Oliver F. Ericson, Austin, Oreg. Forest examiner, Whitman National Forest. Graduate Bethany College (Kans.), A. B.; University of Washington (Wash.), M. S. F. Before entering service was employed during school vactions on forest reconnoissance work. Five years two months.

Andrew Hutton, Laramie, Wyo. Forest examiner, assigned to timber-sale work on the Rio Grande National Forest. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. in forestry. Was employed two summers by Forest Park Reservation Commission of New Jersey, surveying boundary lines, marking lines, locating corners, cabin buildings, etc. Three years one and one-half months.

B. E. Leete, Custer, S. Dak. Forest examiner. Graduate Yale, B. A., and Yale Forest School, M. F. Two years eleven and one-half months.

Allen W. Murdock, Hot Sulphur Springs, Colo. Forest examiner, Arapaho National Forest. Graduate University of Michigan, A. B. and M. S. F. Spent college summer vacations two years as fire warden in Michigan and one year as field assistant on Whitman Forest. Four years two and one-half months.

Wallace J. Pearce, Fort Collins, Colo. Forest examiner, Colorado National Forest. Attended Colorado College two years. Engaged in trail, telephone, and fire-guard work. Entered Forest Service as an assistant on the Pike Forest nursery. Four years one month.

Ward Shepard, Albuquerque, N. Mex. Forest examiner, district office, Albuquerque, N. Mex., assisting the chief of operation. Graduate Harvard, A. B., and Harvard Forest School, M. F. Entered Forest Service as forest assistant. Five years.

Edwin H. Steffen, Yreka, Cal. Forest examiner, in charge of silviculture activities on Modoc Forest. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. F. Prior to present appointment served in Forest Service as guard and as forest assistant in technical forest work. Five years six and one-half months.

Charles Steuart, Mancos, Colo. Forest examiner, Montezuma National Forest. Graduate Colorado College, F. E., and Yale Forest School, M. F. Entered Forest Service as a field assistant. Had previous experience in timber cruising. Four years one and one-half months.

Myron W. Thompson, Denver, Colo. Forest examiner, in charge of the office of sylviculture (Denver), substituting for regular incumbent now on military leave in France; only experienced man available with complete knowledge of timber-sale conditions of district 2. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S., and Yale Forest School, M. F. During college vacations worked in forestry field parties. Entered Forest Service as forest assistant. Six years eleven and one-half months.

Earl W. Tinker, Deadwood, S. Dak. Forest examiner, Black Hills National Forest. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College, B. S. F.; Yale Forest School, M. F. Two years eleven and one-half months.

Ernest T. Wolf, Cody, Wyo. Forest examiner. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. F. Prior to permanent appointment served one summer as field assistant in Forest Service. Had previous practical experience in woods and lumber yards. Four years.

GRAZING EXAMINERS AND GRAZING ASSISTANTS.

Grazing examiners and grazing assistants are technically trained grazing experts. When assigned to a nationl forest they make an expert examination or survey of the range resources, the range allotments to different classes of stock, and the methods followed in handling the stock on the range, and recommend changes in numbers of stock, class of stock, methods for their handling, and needed range improvements, in order to eliminate destructive overgrazing or unnecessary undergrazing throughout the forest. Where important changes in grazing management are necessary following the survey the grazing examiner or grazing assistant assists the supervisor in seeing that they are properly made. If assigned to a district office he serves as the district forester's technical expert on the grazing capacity of ranges and methods of range utilization. When assigned to research he collects data and develops improved methods of range management for application in range administration. Grazing examiners and grazing assistants may be assigned from forest to forest, from forest to district office, or from one district to another wherever the need for their services is most urgent.

At the beginning of the war all available grazing examiners and grazing assistants were assigned to make a close but rapid examination of the national forest ranges with a view to decide where it would be possible to take care of more stock without greatly endangering the permanent welfare of the range. The special work of these men has had much to do with the emergency increases of cattle and sheep on the national forests in 1918, amounting to about one-half million sheep and one-quarter million cattle. The maintenance of these increased numbers of stock without danger of unwarranted damage to the range and to live-stock production next year, and in future years, necessitates a close watch of range and stock by grazing experts. The work of grazing examiners and grazing assistants differs in the degree of technical as well as administrative responsibility.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

Mark Anderson, Ogden, Utah. Grazing examiner. Attended Academy of Idaho three years; University of Idaho, two years' work at Forestry School. Prior to permanent appointment, served as forest guard one summer. Five years five and one-half months.

Raymond J. Becraft, Ogden, Utah. Grazing examiner, district office, Ogden, Utah. Graduate Weber Academy, Ogden, Utah; student, Utah Agricultural College one year, agriculture and botany; and at Utah Agricultural College one year. Two years four months.

William R. Chapline, jr., Washington, D. C. (In the field about seven months in every year.) Grazing examiner. Graduate University of Nebraska, B. S., specializing in forestry and botany. Before receiving permanent appointment was employed by Forest Service for part time during three years. Experience in Forest Service as planting assistant, nursery work, field assistant, and forest guard. Six years one-half month.

Lynn H. Douglas, Denver, Colo. Grazing examiner, district office, Denver. Graduate University of Nebraska, B. S. Had practical experience in lumbering and worked one summer with Ohio Forestry Commission before appointment to present position. Has studied the ranges of district 2 and knows more about them than any other man. Seven years two months.

F. D. Douthitt, Alameda, Cal. Grazing examiner. Studied forestry, botany, and allied subjects at University of Nebraska. Since entering Forest Service has specialized on range investigations and administration. Five years four months.

Walter L. Dutton, Baker, Oreg. Grazing examiner, Whitman National Forest. Graduate Oregon Agricultural College, B. S. Employed as forest guard during college vacation. Five years two months.

Leon C. Hurtt, Missoula, Mont. Grazing examiner, district 1. Graduate University of Nebraska, B. S., in forestry. Served as forest guard in the Forest Service two summers before permanent appointment. Three years six months.

John Craig Kuhrs, Oakridge, Oreg. Grazing examiner, Deschutes National Forest. Attended public and high schools and three years at Pennsylvania State College. Entered Forest Service as guard. Seven years six and one-half months.

Theodore B. Nichols, Odgen, Utah. Grazing assistant. Graduate University of Nebraska, B. S. and M. A. Employed by Forest Service during college vacations as field assistant and forest guard for four years previous to permanent appointment, exclusively on range-management work, in which he is ranked as a specialist. Four years five months.

Jesse L. Peterson, Portland, Oreg. Grazing examiner, assigned to the district office at Portland, Oreg., spending entire time on work looking to increase of range carrying capacity, betterment of range management, etc. Six years six months.

ENGINEERS AND ASSISTANT ENGINEERS IN FOREST PRODUCTS.

Engineers and assistant engineers in forest products conduct tests to determine the mechanical or strength properties of wood as a material, such as bending and compression strength, stiffness, hardness, etc., and tests to determine the physical properties of wood as a material, including such factors as shrinkage as influenced by moisture, rate of transmission of moisture, etc. Supplemental tests are also conducted of various special wood products and of methods of kiln-drying to aid in the practical application of results. The war activities of these men have included a wide range of tests to form the basis for the selection, conditioning, and use of wood for airplanes, ships, vehicles, boxes, gunstocks, etc. In the case of airplanes, for example, strength and other tests furnish the basis for the determination of suitable species; for design in which weight, strength, etc., are vital factors; for specifications covering both raw materials and finished parts to permit the elimination of poor and the retention of satisfactory material and parts; for developing methods of kiln-drying and for checking the methods so developed; for developing built-up material, such as ply wood, laminated parts, jointed parts, etc. The work of engineers and assistant engineers differs in the degree of technical as well as administrative responsibility.

A very serious situation exists at the forest-products laboratory on account of the difficulty of securing and holding technical men with the proper training and experience to conduct the investigations called for by the Army and Navy and other agencies of the Government in the prosecution of the war. The technical men at the laboratory have all been trained along highly specialized lines, and it would be difficult if not impossible to replace them. They have been selected with great care, but many of them are within the draft age for the reason that it has not been possible to secure older men with the necessary qualifications and experience. In view of the importance and urgency of the work which the laboratory has been called upon to do, and the scarcity of qualified men available for it, it is highly necessary that everything possible be done to retain the experienced men already there.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

William S. Broome, Madison, Wis. Assistant engineer in forest products. Graduate department of civil engineering, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. Served as rodman and instrument man on various railroads in the South and West; considerable experience in valuation and construction work on these roads. Five and one-half months.

Lorraine J. Markwardt, Madison, Wis. Engineer in forest products. Graduate University of Wisconsin, B. S. in civil engineering, and consulting engineer. Three years nine and one-half months.

Harry J. Rosenthal, Madison, Wis. Assistant engineer in forest products. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. Employed one and one-half years in the engineering department in the city of Rockford, Ill., and as construction engineer for the Inland Steel Co. for a like period. Three months.

J. D. Studley, Madison, Wis. Assistant engineer in forest products. Graduate school of forestry, University of Washington, specializing in forest products. Worked at Seattle timber-testing laboratory and in the mill and on the kilns of the Bryant Mill Co., Seattle. Prior to present appointment was employed four field seasons by Forest Service on cruising, timber sale, homestead-claims examination, patrol, maintenance, construction, and improvement work. Eight and one-half months.

Lars A. Welo, Madison, Wis. Engineer in forest products. Graduate North Dakota Agricultural College; graduate University of Illinois, M. S.; candidate for Ph. D., University of California; taught in high school two years; employed two years as draftsman, engineering department, North Dakota Agricultural College; engaged five years in graduate work and research in physics. Two months.

James O. Bixby, Madison, Wis. Has immediate charge of the section of computing, and in that capacity is engaged in supervising the calculation of final results from original test data secured in the various sections, but especially in timber tests. Since entering the Forest Service has been connected mostly with timber-testing work, and consequently has become thoroughly familiar with the methods of handling the data secured and their preparation for presentation in reports, publications, etc. It has taken years to acquire this degree of familiarity with the work, and at the present time, when the timber-testing work has been more than quadrupled on account of national-defense problems, his training and experience is invaluable in the analysis, interpretation, and application of the data, much of which have been collected over the past 15 years. Attended School of Mechanical Engineering, Purdue University, two years; similar course in University of Wisconsin, one and a half years; student assistant in timber-testing work at the Purdue Laboratory, two years. Eleven years.

Melvin E. Diemer, Madison, Wis. As chemist in forest products conducts investigations of the chemical properties of woods and other forest products and of the application of the results in such industries as pulp and paper making, hardwood distillation, manufacture of ethyl or grain alcohol from wood waste, preparation of naval stores, treatment of woods to prevent decay or to reduce fire hazard, etc. The war activities of this employee have included a rather wide range of special problems, dealing with improved processes for the manufacture of pulp and paper; efforts to increase the production of such war assentials as acetate of lime resulting from hardwood distillation; the use of various forest products in gas warfare, both offensive and defensive; attempts to increase the production of ethyl or wood alcohol from wood waste in order to reduce the demands for grain; development of waterproof glues in order to permit a better utilization of wood in airplanes, etc. Graduate University of Wisconsin, B. A., M. A. (chemistry), and Ph. D. (chemistry). Served for one year as part-time instructor in chemistry in the University of Wisconsin, and for two years was engaged principally in scientific photographic work for University of Wisconsin. Six years seven months.

Matthew E. Dunlap, Madison, Wis. As architectural assistant in forest products, was engaged prior to the war in an investigation of methods of fireproofing wood by means of surface coatings, impregnations, and improved methods of design. Since the war started has been engaged entirely on national-defense problems of immediate importance, chiefly in airplane construction, namely, a study of the relation between the humidity of the air and the moisture content of wood, study of methods of finishing woods to make them resistant to moisture, and study of certain problems involved in the manufacture of wooden screw plugs for shrapnel. The data obtained is being used by certain branches of the Army and Navy. He could not be replaced at this time without serious delay in the work and material loss to the Nation. His work is particularly related to much-needed improvements in the manufacture and finishing of airplane propellers. Graduate College of Architecture, University of Illinois; subsequently employed as architectural engineer in Chicago. One year six months.

Ralph Reginald Randell, Portland, Oreg. As assistant district engineer, is in charge of water-power problems in district 2. In addition, assists the district engineer in matters relating to road construction and the general operations of the branch of engineering, the duties of which have been recently largely increased. Graduate University of Washington, B. S and C. E. Employed as rodman, junior topographer, and junior engineer in United States Geological Survey; entered Forest Service as junior engineer. Four years four and one-half months.

Stanley Skidmore, Madison, Wis. As laboratory aid and engineer, directs the work of a force of 12 men, in which capacity he is responsible for the proper execution of the timber-testing work as outlined by the technical staff. His long experience along this line has made him familiar with the technique of timber testing, the operation and care of testing machines, and the preparation of material for test. Five years six and one-half months.

Ray C. Tuttle, Madison, Wis. As examiner in forest products, conducts important war emergency work at the Madison Laboratory. In order to make the results of these investigations available for use by the Army, the Navy, and other governmental and private agencies, they must be incorporated in reports, which must be technically correct and readily understandable. This requires review by a man who is both a trained engineer and a good writer. The work of technical review which this employee is doing is an essential part of the war investigations at the Madison Laboratory, and, in view of the scarcity of technically trained men, it would be very difficult to secure a properly qualified man to fill his place. Graduate University of Wisconsin, B. S.; two years in College of Engineering and three years in College of Letters and Science, with special courses in English and journalism. Six months.

BUREAU OF CHEMISTRY.

Name, home address, character of work, and length of service.

Elliott Q. Adams, Washington, D. C. Has been instrumental in designing a number of devices which have proven of great assistance in the study of a method for the manufacture of phthalic anhydride on a large scale. This article is one of the most important intermediates used in the preparation of synthetic dyestuffs. Has also designed certain pieces of apparatus in connection with the study of anthracene, which has been of material assistance. Has collaborated in a study of the absorption of gases by charcoal. The apparatus which Dr. Adams has designed in the latter connection has proven of great service, and it is felt that his work will be of great importance in gas-defensive warfare. Because of his knowledge of optical instruments he has been of much service to the chemists of the Signal Corps. He has also studied several compounds which are of importance in aerophotography and has been able to give the Signal Corps much information of great value along this line. The very important lines of investigation which have been brought to a conclusion by him could not have been completed had he been called in the draft. Graduate in chemical engineering, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. For several years was research assistant with the General Electric Co. Was also teaching fellow one year, assistant one year, and instructor two years in the department of chemistry at the University of California. One year one month.

Joseph A. Ambler, Washington, D. C. Has been engaged upon a very valuable line of work in the study of phthalic anhydride and a study of charcoal, which have a direct relation to work connected with the successful prosecution of the war. Completed chemistry course at the Sheffield Scientific School, receiving degree of E. H. B.; also took special course in chemistry at the Yale Graduate School, receiving degree of Ph. D. Prior to entering department was laboratory assistant three years at the Sheffield Scientific School, professor of chemistry three years at Acadia University, Nova Scotia, and for two months was research chemist for the Standard Aniline Products Co., Wappinger Falls, N. Y. One year five and one-half months.

Howard R. Smith, Washington, D. C. Is now engaged in studies of chlorophyll in connection with our investigations looking to the establishment of a dye industry in this country. Has been engaged most of the time since entering the bureau on the analysis of food products in connection with the enforcement of the food and drugs act. Has done

valuable experimental work in packing canned tomatoes; also made a special study of certain essential oils, and is expert in their examination. Graduate of Case School of Applied Science; B. S. in chemistry. Five years seven months.

Herbert A. Lubs, Washington, D. C. Assists in color investigations, giving special attention to chlorination and dyes. Some of these dyes are of special use in bacteriological work. Graduate Newberry College (South Carolina), B. A.; took four years' post-graduate work in chemistry at Johns Hopkins University, receiving degree of Ph. D. Prior to present appointment was organic chemist for four months in the hygienic laboratory, United States Public Health Service, and for two years was employed as organic chemist in Swiss-cheese investigations in the dairy division, Bureau of Animal Industry. Three years eight and one-half months.

Harry E. Roethe, Washington, D. C. Has charge of investigations in the control of smut-dust explosions and fires which occur in thrashing machines and which have caused serious losses. No one else is available to undertake this work. In addition to the project on smut-dust control in thrashers, Mr. Roethe is engaged in the investigation of the control of dust explosions and fires in cotton gins. Is the only engineer in the bureau who has been called upon to conduct investigations of this nature. This work, as well as that in relation to smut-dust control, is of an emergency character. Graduate University of Wisconsin, College of Agriculture, B. S., majoring in agricultural engineering. Since graduation has had considerable experience and training in connection with machinery and mechanical devices. Has been in charge of gas-engine operation for the Fuller & Johnson Manufacturing Co., Madison, Wis., engaged in the manufacture of gasoline and kerosene engines. Was employed by the International Harvester Co. as traveling farm-machinery expert, engaged in installing, inspecting, and repairing farm machinery and equipment, especially thrashing machines, in the vicinty of Davenport, Iowa. Has had special experience with the J. I. Case Threshing Machine Co. in connection with the manufacture and testing of gas tractors. Eleven and one-half months.

Harold H. Brown, Washington, D. C. Is engaged in the prevention of grain-dust explosions, which has a direct application to the conservation of food, and which is conducted under special emergency appropriations. It is extremely difficult to obtain chemists with the technical knowledge necessary to properly conduct these investigations. Graduate Syracuse University, specializing in chemistry and physics; also obtained Ph. D. degree from University of Minnesota, his special work being in organic industrial chemistry and the chemistry of wood products. Subsequently was employed by the Pittsburgh Glass Co. for one year, taught various branches of special chemistry for three years, and for about nine months did research work in problems of explosibility of grain dust at the Bureau of Mines. Three years nine months.

Hylton R. Brown, Washington, D. C. Engaged in developing inert-gas application as a preventive of dust explosions and fires in grain mills and elevators. This work is of an especially high character and has a direct application to the conservation of foods. Much difficulty is experienced in securing chemists having the requisite technical knowledge to undertake investigations of this character. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S., taking the milling engineering course. Subsequently was employed four years doing general milling work at Williamsburg, Pa.; also spent one year in practical milling work at the Washburn-Crosby Co.'s mill at Buffalo, N. Y. One year one and one-half months.

W. Bruce Mather, Washington, D. C. Engaged in the emergency campaign in the prevention of grain-dust explosions and fires in mills and elevators. This work has a direct relation to the conservation of foods. The bureau has experienced great difficulty in obtaining chemists with the technical knowledge and training necessary to carry this work forward. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S., taking work in milling and mechanical engineering. For two years was high-school teacher in chemistry and mathematics. Was employed for short periods with the engineering department of the Anglo-American Mill Co., Owensboro, Ky., and with the Benton Roller Mills. Seven and one-half months.

Walter F. Clarke, Washington, D. C. Engaged in working on the detection of metals in foods, also assisting in cooperative investigation of steel for tin plate, which, it is anticipated, will result in a considerable saving in tin plate as well as perishable foods. This work has very close connection with the conservation of foods. Graduate Hampden-Sidney College, A. B.; pursued postgraduate studies in chemistry and physics at Johns Hopkins University during six sessions; subsequently did a great deal of special work in chemistry. One year nine months.

Ralph W. Frey, Washington, D. C. Engaged in both research and routine work on leather, paying special attention to the securing of data for the War Department on the serviceability of shoe leather for the American armies. He is the only man in the bureau familiar with all phases of these investigations. Graduate George Washington University, B. S. in chemistry. For a few months he served in the chemical laboratory of the Midvale Works at Philadelphia, Pa. Four years five and one-half months.

Kenneth P. Monroe, Washington, D. C. Engaged in the preparation of invertase for use in the department's experiments on cane sirup. There is no other available chemist in the bureau conversant with this process. Dr. Monroe has also been working in the laboratory on the utilization of vegetable-ivory waste, with particular reference to the production of mannose from it and the preparation of useful derivatives from this mannose. One of these derivatives is mannite, which is much needed in the preparation of an explosive, namely, nitromannite. The experiments already conducted indicate that vegetable-ivory waste offers an extremely fertile field for the production of mannite on a large scale. It is therefore very important that the research work on this subject be carried out as rapidly as possible. The bureau has no other chemist who is entirely conversant with the various lines of work now being carried on by Dr. Monroe. Graduate University of Chicago, B. S. in chemistry; also received Ph. D. degree from Columbia University. Served two years as instructor in chemistry at the Oklahoma State University. One year one and one-half months.

Victor E. Grotlisch, Washington, D. C. Is one of two employees of this bureau trained to conduct research and demonstration work on naval stores. Is the only man familiar with assembling the permanent resin types devised by the bureau. This work is important and necessary. Graduate University of Cincinnati, with degree of chemical engineer. For two years prior to entering department was instructor in general chemistry, physics, and engineering chemistry at the Mechanics' Institute, Rochester, N. Y., and for a short period was chemist for the Eastman Kodak Co. at Rochester. Three years eight months.

Harold J. Humphrey, New York, N. Y. Engaged in various lines of food inspection, particularly in connection with milk. In cooperation with other Government agencies, the bureau is investigating continually the supply of milk and milk products furnished to our own Government and to the allies. Mr. Humphrey has conducted a number of investigations along this line. No one to whom the bureau could turn at the present time could take charge of these assignments. In addition, Mr. Humphrey has collected evidence in connection with cases now pending in court. Should he be drafted into military service it is probable that these cases would have to be dropped, as they could not be prosecuted without the evidence which only Mr. Humphrey could furnish. Graduate Cornell University; had practical experience as a bacteriologist before entering department service. One year.

Julian K. Dale, Washington, D. C. Has charge of the field work in the emergency sirup investigations under the food-production act. This work is very important at the present time and demands a specially qualified investigator to properly carry it on. In several Southern States the production of sirup has been backward because of the technical difficulties involved. One of these is that cane juice, if concentrated too far, will crystallize. It has been Dr. Dale's work to find a practical method to prevent this crystallization, and, on the other hand, to prevent fermentation due to the fact that the cane juice was not concentrated far enough. He has been able to work out a method for overcoming both these difficulties and has been enabled to produce a sirup that is superior in quality to the ordinary commercial product. He has devoted a good deal of time to the demonstration of this method for the purpose of stimulating the production of sugar cane. These methods, if followed, will prevent much of the present loss in sirup manufacture due to the spoilage of a considerable portion of each year's crop. There is no one in the bureau who could immediately take up this work were Dr. Dale to leave. Graduate Princeton University; took three years of graduate work, receiving degree of M. A.; a year later received degree of Ph. D. in chemistry. He also taught chemistry in this university for two years while doing graduate work. Five years.

Fredolf T. Anderson, New York, N. Y. Is engaged in the examination and inspection of foods, which has to do with the detection of adulteration and sophistication. Due to the unsettled conditions and high prices, this work is of special importance at the present time. At least one year's training would be necessary to school a new man to carry on the work which Mr. Anderson is doing. Graduate University of Minnesota, B. A. and C. E. Did considerable practical work in the laboratories of the university while a student. Three years eleven months.

Walter F. Baughman, Washington, D. C. Is engaged chiefly in the examination of various waters under the food and drugs act. It would take a number of months to train a man with equal technical ability in this particular line. Graduate University of Pennsylvania, B. S. Subsequently held a position as chemist for the Ohio Watch Co. Five years eight months.

Victor B. Bonney, Berkeley, Cal. Is engaged in analytical work in connection with food and drugs control, which is of special importance at this time, owing to the fact that under the present high prices the temptation to adulterate and sophisticate food and drugs is greater than during normal times. Graduate Washington State College, B. S. in chemistry. Was instructor in chemistry in this institution one year and spent eight months in the fuel laboratory of the Bureau of Mines at Pittsburgh. Three years seven and one-half months.

John H. Bornmann, Chicago, Ill. Is engaged in food inspection work, and in addition has carried on an extensive investigation of the composition of different corn meals. He is skilled along special lines of investigation. His work is especially important at the present time, having to do primarily with foods. Graduate University of Illinois, B. S. and M. S.; also taught chemistry two years at the same institution. Five years seven and one-half months.

Lloyd A. Bosworth, Santurce, P. R. Engaged principally in the food work being conducted by the Bureau of Chemistry. This work is of greater importance than ever at the present time, as an extremely close watch must be kept on the various food products to prevent various forms of adulteration and manipulation. Graduate University of Wisconsin, B. S. in chemistry; took one year of special graduate work in organic chemistry, with research in alkaloids, at the same time teaching organic chemistry; was also a student assistant in general chemistry one year. Prior to entering department service held the position of assistant chemist at the Geneva Experiment Station for two months. Ten months.

Fortune N. Chisolm, Savannah, Ga. Engaged in inspection work in connection with the interstate shipment of foods and drugs. Under present conditions this work is of more importance than ever before. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. in chemistry and engineering; also studied pharmacy six months at the Southern College of Pharmacy at Atlanta, Ga. Previous to entering the bureau held the position of Mississippi State feed and fertilizer inspector. One year ten months.

James O. Clarke, Savannah, Ga. Engaged in carrying on investigations of the methods of determining water in foods and feeding stuffs. This is a very important line of work at the present time, due to the fact that such items should receive closer supervision than ever before, as the temptation to adulterate them is greater because of the scarcity and high prices of these commodities. Graduate Georgia School of Technology, B. S. in engineering chemistry. For four years was assistant State chemist of Georgia. Ten and one-half months.

Charles W. Crawford, Washington, D. C. Was engaged in the examination of food and drug products at the New Orleans Laboratory of the Bureau of Chemistry, but on account of his special knowledge of the problems arising under the food and drugs act has been transferred to the office of the chief of this bureau to assist in the handling of correspondence arising under the act as well as to take care of interstate cases instituted thereunder. Graduate Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S.; also took one year's postgraduate work, receiving degree of M. S. Subsequently was assistant chemist and instructor in chemistry at this institution for one year, assistant State chemist and instructor in chemistry at the Washington State College for one year, agriculturist at Apache four years, and chemist with the International Refining Co. in Oklahoma one year. One year four months.

Herbert W. Daudt, Washington, D. C. Engaged in research work of a high quality as applied to methods of determination of nitrogen; also executive work in assisting in the operation of one of the laboratories of the bureau. Attended Washington University two years; also pursued studies in chemistry at Harvard University, receiving degrees of B. S. and M. S. Subsequently was employed as analytical chemist by the Mallinckrodt Chemical Works one year and was associated with the Commonwealth Edison Co., of Chicago, as analytical and research chemist part of a year; was also instructor at the University of North Dakota four years. Five years one-half month.

Fred L. Elliott, New Orleans, La. Engaged in the examination of food and drug products. This work is of unusual importance at the present time on account of the close scrutiny necessary to detect

adulteration and sophistication of these products. Graduate Louisiana State University Agricultural and Mechanical College; took one and a half year's postgraduate work in chemistry at Cornell University; also one summer's postgraduate course in organic and electrical chemistry at University of Chicago. Subsequently was instructor in chemistry in the Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College for two and one-half years and one summer was assistant chemist in the Mississippi State Laboratory. Five years.

Jacob Feldbaum, Chicago, Ill. Conducts food analysis, factory inspection, and other special investigations. Is skilled in special methods of investigation. His work has to do with the detection of frauds in food products, which assumes special importance at the present time. Graduate College of the City of New York, B. S. in chemistry; also pursued postgraduate research work at same college two years. Four years.

Leslie W. Ferris, Takoma Park, Md. Engaged in research work on dairy products, devising a method for the chemical detection of the use of "neutralizers" in butter. From present indications it would appear that he has a method that will not fail to detect these "neutralizers." Such work is of great importance to the Bureau of Chemistry, especially at this time when, because of scarcity and high prices of food products, manufacturers are tempted to manipulate and sophisticate these articles. Graduate Haverford College, B. A., majoring in chemistry; took one year's postgraduate work in chemistry at same institution. For about five months was chemist in the laboratory of the Dupont Powder Works. Five years five months.

Abraham J. Finks, Washington, D. C. Engaged in special work in the analysis and preparation of protein. Were he removed from this work, it would take at least one year to train a new man to take his place, even if it were possible to obtain a chemist of the necessary qualifications. There are few men in this country engaged in this line of work. Graduate Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Since entering the department has received degree of B. S. in chemistry from the George Washington University. Two years one month.

Carl D. Geidel, Minneapolis, Minn. Engaged in the analysis and investigation of foods. At present, due to the unsettled condition of the food market, the products being offered for sale require closer attention and supervision than ever before. Graduate University of Wisconsin, M. S., taking course in food and scientific chemistry; did postgraduate work at that institution. Afterwards was assistant in chemistry and bacteriology, State Laboratory of Hygiene, Wisconsin; and was appointed bacteriologist and chemist for the Wisconsin State Dairy and Food Commission. In his chemical course at the University of Wisconsin specialized in food analysis under one of the best food chemists in the country. One year.

Thomas G. Gleason, New York, N. Y. Conducts special investigations relating to the occurrence and determination of heavy metals in foods. It would require not less than two years of training to develop a new man to take up this work. There is no other chemist now available for work of the character performed by Mr. Gleason. Graduate Harvard University, B. S., specializing in chemistry and mathematics. Four years ten and one-half months.

Charles B. Gnadinger, Chicago, Ill. Engaged in general analytical work on food products, paying special attention to imported products. This work to-day requires greater accuracy and closer investigation than ever before. Graduate University of Kentucky, B. S. in industrial chemistry. Six years two months.

Raymond Hertwig, Berkeley, Cal. Engaged upon analytical work in connection with the enforcement of the Federal food and drugs act. This work is of especial importance at the present time because the high price of foods makes it a great temptation to adulterate them. It is therefore exceedingly important that men trained in food analysis be retained upon that work. At the same time it is very difficult under present conditions to replace these men. Graduate Purdue University, B. S.; took some postgraduate work at Chicago University, specializing in chemistry. For two years was instructor in chemistry at Colorado Agricultural College. Four years seven and one-half months.

Joseph M. Humble, Bellevue, Ky. Assists in the analysis of foods in connection with the enforcement of the food and drugs act. Graduate State College of Kentucky, B. S. in industrial chemistry. For several years after graduation was engaged as a commercial chemist in various industries. Four years eight and one-half months.

John B. Hummer, Baltimore, Md. Is one of the well-trained and experienced food and drug inspectors of the bureau engaged in the enforcement of the food and drugs act. At the present time it is practically impossible to secure experienced inspectors. It is necessary to take green men and train them to the work. Because of the importance of efficient inspection work, it is highly important that the bureau retain as many of its experienced men as possible. Mr. Hummer has collected evidence in connection with cases now pending in court. Should he be drafted into military service, it is probable that these cases would have to be dropped, as they could not be prosecuted without the evidence which only he could furnish. Seven years eight and one-half months.

Walter E. Kirby, New York, N. Y. Engaged chiefly upon the inspection and examination of imported foods. Also conducts a line of original work upon the detection of refined olive oil in virgin olive oil, in which he has been very successful. This work has a direct connection with the enforcement of the food and drugs act. Graduate Princeton University, B. S. and M. A., doing research work in inorganic chemistry; was also a lecture table assistant in college. Five years nine months.

Henry A. Lepper, Washington, D. C. Engaged in the practical application of a method for the detection of spoilage in tomato products. Also makes analyses of food samples for Government purchase. This work is very essential in connection with the enforcement of the food and drugs act and in checking the purity of food products purchased by the Government. Graduate George Washington University, B. S. Served as assistant chemist in the United States Geological Survey prior to present appointment. Four years six and one-half months.

Herman Lind, Brooklyn, N. Y. Is an experienced food and drug inspector, thoroughly familiar with trade conditions in the vicinity of New York. Possesses a knowledge of this field which can not be found in any other available person. Has developed and figures as a prospective witness in a number of pending court cases and is developing others. Should he be drafted into military service it is probable that these cases would have to be dropped, as they could not be prosecuted without the evidence which only Mr. Lind could furnish. Seven years six and one-half months.

Robert S. Hollingshead, San Francisco, Cal. Assists in the analysis of samples at the San Francisco laboratory in connection with the enforcement of the food and drugs act, and Mr. Hollingshead is one of the most experienced chemists in the western district. Graduate Cornell University, A. B.; did postgraduate work at that institution one year. For two years was assistant at Cornell University filtration plant, for a short time assistant chemist in the food laboratory of the New York State Department of Agriculture, member of the faculty of the University of Georgia two years, and assistant chemist at the Florida Experiment Station. Four years one month.

Hugo G. Loesch, Buffalo, N. Y. Assists as food analyst in the enforcement of the food and drugs act, for which work he is especially well adapted. Graduate Columbia College, B. S.; attended School of Chemistry of Columbia University two years and received degree of chemist. Before entering the service of the bureau was employed as chemist in connection with the manufacture of dyestuffs. Nine months.

Howard E. Palmer, Washington, D. C. Engaged upon research work requiring the highest degree of exactness and ability. It is aimed that the work shall produce methods of practical use in food work. The results of this research will be very valuable in the enforcement of the food and drugs act and in food conservation. Graduate Yale University, B. A., in chemistry and allied sciences; attended the Yale Graduate School three years, specializing in chemistry and receiving degree of Ph. D. Was employed for two years as assistant chemist by a commercial concern, and was engaged as assistant chemist in the Bureau of Standards two years previous to entering the service of the Bureau of Chemistry. Three years ten months.

Homer D. Poore, New York, N. Y. Engaged in analysis of citrus fruits; is also doing considerable work in connection with the investigation of citrus by-products. This work is of particular importance at this time when every effort is being made to increase and conserve the food supply. Graduate in the chemistry course of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, obtaining degree of B. S. Six years.

Sidney F. Sherwood, Washington, D. C. Engaged upon work in connection with the application of the food and drugs act to sugar products. He has had long experience in this work. Graduate George Washington University, B. S. Fifteen years five months.

Edward E. Smith, Washington, D. C. Is performing experiments upon the practical and scientific effects of nitrogen oxide in the bleaching of flour. This work is of special importance in connection with the enforcement of the food-and-drugs act. Much of the work that Mr. Smith has done would have to be repeated should he leave the service of the bureau. Graduate University of Idaho, B. S. in chemical engineering. Was engaged as a commercial chemist for approximately one year before entering the service of the department. Three years ten and one-half months.

Wendell Vincent, Seattle, Wash. Has charge of the Seattle food-and-drug inspection station of the Bureau of Chemistry. The services of such men are most urgently needed in connection with the enforcement of the food-and-drugs act, and never more so than at the present time. Mr. Vincent has collected evidence in connection with cases now pending in court, which cases would probably have to be dropped should he leave the service, as they could not be prosecuted without the evidence which only Mr. Vincent could furnish. Graduate University of Colorado, B. A. Three years three and one-half months.

John B. Wilson, Washington, D. C. Engaged in chemical work relative to the proper preparation and preservation of foods. His education, training, and other qualifications especially fit him for this work. A new chemist entering the bureau to undertake the duties now performed by Mr. Wilson would require months of training. Graduate Ohio State University, B. A., specializing in chemistry. Six years eleven months.

Milton G. Wolf, New York, N. Y. Is stationed at the New York laboratory of the Bureau of Chemistry and has had several years' training in the inspection of imported foods, particularly those requiring examination as to conditions, such as presence or absence of filth, mold, and various other forms of decomposition. Has become an expert in this line of work and it would not be possible to secure a new man having the same degree of proficiency. It would require not less than one year of intensive training to enable an experienced man to fill his place with any degree of satisfaction. The work Mr. Wolf is doing is of greater importance than ever before, and there is a greater volume of this work at the New York laboratory than at any other place in the country. Graduate New York University, B. S. in chemical engineering. During two summers was associated with the National Lead Co., of Brooklyn, N. Y., as assistant chemist. Four years seven months.

Erich W. Schwartze, Washington, D. C. Engaged in carrying on investigations that are of direct importance in connection with the enforcement of the food and drugs act. Has been studying the action of sodium citrate, a substance largely used for the anticoagulant in the transfusion of blood. Has also been studying the action of a number of other drugs of importance. Graduate University of Illinois, A. B.; also University of Chicago, M. D. Was instructor in physiology and pharmacology at Bellevue Hospital Medical College two years. One year eleven months.

J. Lewis Clay, East Orange, N. J. Is an experienced drug analyst and has expert knowledge in the analysis of patent medicines. The degree of proficiency attained by Mr. Clay can only be found in men possessing a peculiar aptitude for that kind of work, in addition to several years' experience. The bureau has been greatly handicapped because a number of older men experienced in drug analysis have recently left the service. The field stations have particularly suffered in this respect. These field stations are called upon regularly to make examinations of imported and interstate shipments of drug products, and this work can only be carried on by trained analysts. Mr. Clay is assigned to the New York station, which has a larger number of samples to examine than any other station of the bureau. Graduate School of Pharmacy, Northwestern University; also pursued work in chemistry at a private school and took one summer's course in analytical chemistry at the Armour Institute of Technology; in addition, took several academic courses. Prior to entering department did considerable commercial work in the manufacturing of pharmaceutical substances; was an assistant in chemical laboratories; also instructor in chemistry. One year one month.

Willis H. Cole, Brooklyn, N. Y. Engaged in the examination of imported and interstate drug products in the New York laboratory. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to secure competent drug analysts. There is no civil-service register at the present time for chemists having the necessary qualifications for this work. Graduate Polytechnic Institute (Brooklyn); B. S. in chemistry. Prior to present appointment was chemist for Moller & Schumann Co., of Brooklyn, N. Y., varnish makers. Seven months.

Clare O. Ewing, Washington, D. C. Has charge of the pharmacognosy laboratory of the Bureau of Chemistry. Has assisted in collecting data for the establishing of standards for crude drugs and spices and data used as subjects for the revision of United States Pharmacopœia IX and Circular 19, Standards of Purity for Food Products. Has served as referee on the testing of chemical reagents for the past three years for the Association of Official Agricultural Chemists. The

work he performs is important, and there is nobody in the bureau as well qualified as Mr. Ewing to take his place. Graduate Ohio State University, B. S. in pharmacy; also took one year's postgraduate work at same university, obtaining degree of M. S. in chemistry. Four years nine and one-half months.

Ernest H. Grant, Elmhurst, N. Y. Engaged in the analysis of food and drug products, with which work he has had very wide experience, being especially skilled in the analysis of drug preparations, such as proprietary medicines. During the past year has prepared a set of methods for the detection of medical purgative drugs. The work being done by Mr. Grant is of greater importance than ever before because of the fact that, due to the high prices and scarcity of these products, the temptation for firms to adulterate or manipulate their products is greater than it has been in the past. It is necessary, therefore, for the proper safeguarding of the public that extremely close attention be given to food and drug products entering the markets today. Graduate Ohio State University, B. S. in chemical engineering. Was assistant chemist for the Merrell Chemical Co. one summer. Eight years.

Carl H. Lowry, New York, N. Y. Assists in drug analyses. Expert drug analysts are extremely necessary to the adequate and effective prosecution of the bureau's work, and under present conditions they are exceedingly hard to find. Graduate Ohio State University, college of pharmacy, B. S. C. in pharmacy. Ten months.

Samuel Palkin, Washington, D. C. Assists in the drug laboratory of the bureau, doing considerable research work along special lines, as well as regular routine work. The work performed in the drug laboratory is of greater importance now than ever before, because, on account of the high prices and scarcity of drugs on the market, the temptation to adulterate and manipulate the drugs is so great that constant examination and supervision is required to protect the public. Was student one year at New York University, school of applied science, chemical-engineering course; graduate Hill University, Ph. B., taking course in chemistry; also received degree of M. S. at George Washington University, majoring in chemistry; Ph. D. at same university. Seven years five months.

Clarence D. Wright, Washington, D. C. Devotes his time chiefly to the analyses of drug products arising under the food-and-drugs act and to some Post Office Department cases. Graduate Clark College (Worcester), A. B., majoring in physics and chemistry; also received degrees of A. M. and of Ph. D. from same institution, specializing in chemistry. For one year was assistant in chemistry at Clark College and for a year was research assistant to one of the professors there. Was also connected with the research laboratory of the General Electric Co., of Schenectady, N. Y., one year. Six years six months.

Carl B. Stone, Washington, D. C. Engaged in the analysis of insecticides and fungicides in connection with the enforcement of the insecticide act. It is extremely important that the work in connection with the enforcement of this act be carried on with more than ordinary vigilance during the period of the war, on account of the temptation on the part of manufacturers to adulterate their insecticides and fungicides, due to the difficulty of obtaining the necessary ingredients and to their high prices. This matter becomes doubly important because of the great necessity under the existing conditions for increasing crop production. Graduate Bethany College (Lindsborg, Kans.), A. B.; also took postgraduate course in chemistry at Nebraska University, during which time was also assistant in the chemical laboratories and instructor in general chemistry. Prior to entering department service was assistant chemist with the Great Western Sugar Co., of Lovell, Wyo. Seven months.

Milo L. Somerville, Hyattsville, Md. Engaged in the analysis of insecticides and fungicides in connection with the enforcement of the insecticide act. It is especially important that the work in connection with the enforcement of this act be carried on with more than ordinary vigilance during the period of the war, on account of the temptation on the part of manufacturers to adulterate their insecticides and fungicides, due to the difficulty in obtaining the necessary ingredients and to their high prices. Graduate Indiana University, A. B., specializing in chemistry. For approximately one year was chemist for the Oliver Iron Mining Co. Seven months.

Charles M. Smith, Washington, D. C. Is an expert insecticide and fungicide chemist and has been engaged in most of the department's research work in connection with lead arsenate, which at the present time is the most important insecticide for leaf-eating insects. Is now working on the chemistry of the calcium arsenate and has obtained much new and valuable information relative thereto. The calcium arsenates have only recently been developed as insecticides and promise to open up an entirely new field in the use of arsenical sprays. This is of particular importance at this time, since it permits the use of lime in place of lead, which not only is high priced but is much needed in the manufacture of munitions. Graduate University of Pennsylvania, B. S. Before entering the service of the department was employed as chemist in the Philadelphia Storage Battery Co. Seven years two months.

Elmer J. Nealon, Washington, D. C. Performs chemical work in connection with the enforcement of the insecticide act. He has had long and varied experience in this work. It would require several years to train a man so that he would be equally valuable to the bureau. Graduate Ohio State University, B. A. For a short time previous to entering the department was assistant chemist in the water-purifying works at Columbus, Ohio. Five years six months.

Edward L. Griffin, Washington, D. C. Is the most experienced organic chemist in the bureau, having to do with insecticides and disinfectants, and performs the analytical work in connection with the most complicated products. Is the analyst witness in a number of important cases now pending before the courts, which would have to be dropped in case Mr. Griffin severed his connection with this bureau. Graduate University of Kansas, A. B., B. S. in chemical engineering, and M. S., major work being in organic chemistry. For two years was instructor in chemistry at this institution. Four years eleven and one-half months.

Henry C. Bowman, Indianapolis, Ind. Engaged in investigations relating to the handling of turkeys and chickens in the Imperial Valley of California. This is a most important and relatively new source of meat supply, the work being a part of the special emergency food-production campaign. Graduate University of California, B. S. in agriculture, specializing in animal husbandry; also took a graduate course at this institution one term. Thirteen and one-half months.

Arden D. Greenlee, Indianapolis, Ind. Has charge of special emergency field work in connection with demonstration poultry and egg packing houses. This work has a very direct bearing upon the meat supply of this country, and Mr. Greenlee is the only man available who is qualified by experience and training to supervise it. Completed a course in chemistry with the International Correspondence Schools; did two years' work at the Ohio State University College of Arts, Philosophy, and Science, with electives in chemistry. Was superintendent's assistant at the Ohio State University one year. Took considerable work in chemistry and graduated with the degree of B. S. at the University of Pennsylvania. Nine years six months.

Edwin C. Heinsohn, Indianapolis, Ind. Is investigator in poultry and egg handling. His knowledge is of great value at the present time in helping to save losses due to defective transportation facilities. It would be impossible to replace Mr. Heinsohn without material loss to the work now in progress, because it is impossible for a man to acquire the information that he now has except by experience in the service. The work in which he is engaged is in direct line of increasing the production and conserving the food supplies of the country. Graduate Cornell University, B. S. Three years.

Ralph L. Skinner, West Lafayette, Ind. Assists in poultry and egg handling investigations and demonstration, being engaged at present on work in southern California, because of the pressing need for the prevention of loss of a large crop of turkeys now being marketed there. This work is of great importance at the present time. Graduate Purdue University, B. S., specializing in poultry. One year two and one-half months.

Howard R. Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. Engaged on war-emergency work in connection with the better handling, transportation, and storage of fish. It is necessary to have a man trained along fundamental scientific lines to conduct the broad and effective campaign for better methods in fish handling. It was difficult to find a man suited for this work, as men with training in this particular line of work are extremely scarce. Mr. Hill is the only man in the bureau engaged in this line of investigation. Attended University of Chicago two years; graduated from Carroll College, A. B., attended University of Illinois Agricultural College one term; received M. S. degree in zoology at University of Illinois Graduate School after one year's study, his major work having to do with fish parasites and diseases. Seven and one-half months.

George D. Horton, Philadelphia, Pa. Engaged in bacteriological work in connection with fish investigations. Present knowledge of the scientific fundamentals for the good handling of fish is crude. Previous to entering this bureau Mr. Horton had engaged in lines of work which gave him an unusually good training. He is now engaged in investigations which promise to be of great economical importance in the utilization of fish resources. This line of work is entirely new. Graduate, Connecticut Agricultural College, B. S., in agriculture; also received degree of M. S. in bateriology at Yale University. Nine months.

Herbert B. Switzer, Chicago, Ill. Is making a special study of the manufacture of powdered milk products, which are used in large amounts by the Army. As a result of this study it has been possible to bring official action looking to the correction of certain serious abuses which are shown to exist. Mr. Switzer is the only bacteriologist of the bureau assigned to the territory in the Central States in connection with the enforcement of the food and drugs act. A very great part of the food production and manufacture of the country originates in his territory. Ten and one-half months.

Benjamin S. Levine, Washington, D. C. Engaged in research and testing work on the mildew-proofing of fabrics and leather. In addition to the value of this work to the farmer, it is of special importance to the Nation at this time in connection with the preservation of materials used as tents, wagon covers, clothing, shoes, and many other articles used by the military branches of the Government. Mr. Levine is the only man in the bureau familiar with this work. Graduate Trinity College (Hartford, Conn.), B. S.; also received degrees of M. S. and Ph. D. from Brown University. Prior to entering department was health bacteriologist in Brown University, industrial bacteriologist for a Providence chemist, and teacher of textile chemistry in the textile department of the Rhode Island School of Designs. Two years ten months.

Victor Birckner, Washington, D. C. Has devoted his time to the study of obscure organic products in foodstuffs and to the cultural side of the investigations of the production of glycerine by fermentation through yeast. There is no one else in the bureau who could carry on this work. Graduate University of Leipzig and University of California. Subsequently was connected with the Institute of fermentology in Chicago for one year. Three years two and one-half months.

Harry L. Lourie, New York, N. Y. Is the only experienced micro-analyst now connected with the analytical staff at the bureau's New York laboratory. Has completed a large series of analyses, which involve possible court actions, in connection with which his testimony will undoubtedly be frequently required within the next year or two. Graduate Harvard University, B. S. Previous to entering department was assistant in chemistry at the Central Evening High School at Boston and was employed for a considerable time as chemist of the Carnegie Steel Co., Youngstown, Ohio. Eight years eight months.

Walter K. Makemson, Washington, D. C. Engaged in the micro-analysis of foods, this work having to do primarily with canned goods. He has been specially trained for the work. Its importance is apparent because of its direct connection with the production and conservation of foods. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College, B. S. and M. S. Attended University of Michigan one year. Nine and one-half months.

Ernest E. Stanford, Washington, D. C. Has assisted in the study of the morphology and chemistry of the cotton plant, in the inspection of crude drugs, and in microchemical analyses; has also assisted in the general microphotographic work, in which he has been very successful. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S.; did graduate work at the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts for two years, receiving degree of M. S. Was assistant in botany and plant pathology and bacteriology at the North Carolina Agricultural Station for two terms. One year three months.

BUREAU OF MARKETS.

GRAIN SAMPLERS.

The proper enforcement of the grain-standards act requires that the Department of Agriculture supervise the grading of grain by licensed grain inspectors. Grain inspection is a highly technical work, and only a limited number of men are qualified from the standpoint of experience to properly perform grain-sampling duties. At the present time the Bureau of Markets is in need of some 72 grain samplers, in addition to those now on the rolls, to efficiently carry out the requirements of the grain-standards act. The civil-service register for grain samplers has only a limited number of men available, and of this limited number a large proportion are either in class 1 of the draft or are not suitable for the work. It has been the experience in the enforcement of the grain-standards act that grain samplers can not be properly fitted to do the work without considerable training. In addition to the 72 samplers

needed at the present time, the bureau is constantly receiving resignations from the grain-sampler force. To lose any of the experienced samplers who are now on the roll would very seriously interfere with the efficient enforcement of the grain-standards act. The grain-standards act at present is performing an especially important function in connection with the regulations of the Food Administration Grain Corporation, which requires that all transactions in wheat must be on the basis of the Federal grades.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

William D. Bennett, Toledo, Ohio. Graduate Cornell College of Agriculture, B. S. Was raised on a farm where grain was one of the main products. One year.

John E. Bohn. St. Louis, Mo. Graduate University of Missouri, B. S. Took postgraduate work at the institution, specializing in marketing and rural organization work. During summer vacations was employed by the St. Louis Merchants' Exchange as grain sampler, his duties including the sampling of cars of grain at elevators, mills, and railroad yards, and noting and recording of the condition thereof. Ten months.

Willis B. Combs, Boston, Mass. Graduate Cornell University College of Agriculture, B. S., making a special study of moisture determination and the grading and handling of grain. One year four months.

Francis A. Cumings, Minneapolis, Minn. Was employed three years by the E. H. Pugh Sampling Bureau at Cass Lake, Minn., and for five years as grain sampler by the Minnesota State grain inspection department. One year three months.

Hazen P. English, Kansas City, Mo. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College, specializing in farm crops and grain judging. Was reared on a farm and has had practical experience in the handling of grain. Ten months.

John H. Frazier, Detroit, Mich. Prior to entering department service had seven years' experience in sampling and grading of grain, being familiar with the details necessary for making moisture tests and for keeping records of samples and inspections. One year three months.

Harold S. Heilman, New York, N. Y. Before entering department service had four years' experience as a deputy grain inspector with the Buffalo Corn Exchange, being familiar with the details of handling, sampling, inspecting, and grading of grain, and had experience in the methods obtaining in transferring grain from cars and boats to elevators and from elevators to transportation lines. One year three months.

Wayne D. Mathews, Fort Worth, Tex. Previous to present appointment was employed by the Kansas State grain inspection department, first as inspector's helper, later as grain sampler, being engaged in securing samples of grain at railroad yards, steamship docks, warehouses, and elevators, in noting the condition and quality of grain, in keeping records and making reports thereon, and in making analyses of samples in the laboratory. Nine months.

Walter J. Morgan, Salt Lake City, Utah. Graduate Oregon Agricultural College, B. S. During summer vacations was employed upon grain farms. Ten months.

John F. Mueller, Indianapolis, Ind. Graduate College of Agriculture, University of Minnesota, B. S., specializing in agronomy, farm crops, weeds, and seed testing and grain judging. Ten months.

Herbert E. Nelson, Duluth, Minn. For four years previous to present appointment was employed by the grain inspection department of the Minneapolis Railway and Warehouse commission as grain sampler, his duties including the sampling of loads of grain at railroad yards, mills, elevators, and steamship docks, preparation of reports, and keeping of records. Ten months.

Thomas J. O'Brien, Milwaukee, Wis. Prior to appointment in the department was employed by the Illinois State grain inspection department as grain sampler, his duties including the sampling of cars of grain at mills, elevators, railroad yards, and steamship docks, noting the condition and quality of the grain, making records and reports, and conducting laboratory moisture determinations. Ten months.

David E. Overlock, Chicago, Ill. For two years before entering department service was employed by the Illinois State grain inspection department as grain sampler and grain helper; his duties consisting of the sampling of cars of grain at mills, elevators, railroad yards, and steamship docks, noting condition and quality thereof, keeping records, making reports, conducting of moisture determinations in the laboratory, making separations of damaged grain, and investigating other factors involved in the grading of grain. Ten months.

William A. Pahl, Minneapolis, Minn. For five years prior to present appointment was employed by the Omaha Grain Exchange, first as helper and sampler, later as grain inspector. His duties consisted of sampling cars of grain at mills, elevators, and railroad yards, and assisting with inspection work and laboratory analyses. Ten months.

Bertram J. Rogers, Toledo, Ohio. Graduate New York State College of Agriculture, where his work has included special studies in growing, grading, and handling grain. He was reared on a farm and has had much practical experience along agricultural lines; also two years' experience as a public-school teacher. One year four months.

William D. Smith, New Orleans, La. Before taking up present duties had five years' experience in the handling and shipping of grain with H. I. Baldwin & Co., Decatur, Ill. One year three months.

James P. Stanfield, Louisville, Ky. Before appointment in this bureau was employed for five years by the West Tennessee Grain Co. at Obion, Tenn., as bookkeeper and local grain buyer; his duties including the buying of grain from farmers in that territory, its sampling, inspecting, and grading. Ten months.

Gregory L. Straight, Kansas City, Mo. Prior to entering the department had five years' experience in the sampling, handling, and inspection of grain, part of which time was with the Kansas City Board of Trade; was also connected with the Kansas State grain inspection department. One year three months.

Ralph W. Taylor, Louisville, Ky. Previous to present appointment had four and one-half years' experience as manager in the buying, receiving, and shipping of grain at cooperative warehouses and one and one-half years' experience as sampler in the Illinois State inspection department. One year three months.

Carl A. Waalen, Minneapolis, Minn. Attended Carlton College and Colorado College for two years, taking an engineer's course, specializing in botany, soils, and wood. Two years prior to appointment in this department was employed by the Burdick Sampling Co. at Glenwood, Minn., and by the Duluth Board of Trade as grain sampler; his duties consisting of the sampling of cars of grain at mills, elevators, and railroad yards, noting its condition, and making records and reports thereon. Ten months.

James W. Wesson, Nashville, Tenn. Graduate University of Kentucky, A. B. and B. S., specializing in agricultural economics and marketing investigations. For one year prior to appointment in this department was employed as assistant instructor in agricultural resources and marketing investigations at the University of Kentucky. Ten months.

John W. Wetz, New York, N. Y. Graduate Cornell University, B. S. in agriculture. Was reared on a farm and has had active practical experience in the harvesting, handling, storing, and shipping of grain and other farm products. Nine months.

John J. Ahearn, Cincinnati, Ohio. Has charge of the Cincinnati branch office of the Bureau of Markets in connection with the market news service on fruits and vegetables. His knowledge of railroad affairs has made him particularly valuable in the Cincinnati market, as this is an important diversion point. Previous to present employment was for several years with the Pennsylvania Railroad in New York City, handling fruit and vegetable deliveries and assisting with the auction sales on their piers. One year nine months.

Harold C. Albin, Washington, D. C. (spends considerable time in the field). Assistant in handling and transportation investigations with fruits and vegetables. His withdrawal from this work would seriously interfere with the emergency food conservation campaign now under way. Graduate University of Illinois, B. S. Previous to present appointment had been connected with the Bureau of Chemistry for approximately two years, engaged in handling and transportation work, particularly as relates to poultry, eggs, etc. Three years.

Frank W. Allen, Washington, D. C. (spends considerable time in the field). Is engaged in a campaign to increase the storage facilities for fruits and vegetables in Colorado, in cooperation with the State marketing office and the State council of defense. There is urgent need for this work in Colorado and other States, and it is practically impossible to secure men with adequate training and experience along these lines. Graduate University of Missouri, B. S. in agriculture; three years' research work Iowa State College. Before his present appointment was assistant professor in the Washington State Agricultural College in charge of fruit handling and marketing work. Eight months.

William F. Allewelt, Washington, D. C. (spends considerable time in the field). Has been rendering practical service in demonstrating to growers and shippers in Michigan the value and requirements of the potato grades. Other States have asked for assistance from the department in conducting work of a similar character to that performed in Michigan. Only men with special training can successfully conduct such work. He is also rendering service in connection with the enforcement of the standard-container act. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. in horticulture. Prior to present appointment had several years' experience in growing and handling vegetables. One year two months.

George H. Baston, Washington, D. C. Has charge of the investigational laboratory in which the acidity determinations of the grain-standardization project are carried on, and is responsible for outlining, directing, and supervising the work of the force employed thereunder. His work has included an investigation to determine the practicability of substituting in part flours made from grains other than wheat for the wheat flour. He has participated in all the main activities of the grain-standardization project, both field and laboratory, and has assisted in formulating standard grades for both corn and wheat. He also has supervision of the investigational work relating to the bleaching of oats commercially, and at present is assisting in perfecting the tentative standards for oats. Graduate George Washington University, having specialized in chemistry. Prior to present appointment was employed four years in the Bureau of Chemistry on investigational work relating to the chemistry of cereals and milling and baking tests of wheat and flour; detailed to the Forest Service one season to make special field investigations relative to the composition of soils in the national forests of the Northwest, and was assistant in grain standardization, Bureau of Plant Industry, for five years. Eleven years.

Harold S. Bird, Washington, D. C. (Spends considerable time in the field.) Engaged in investigations relating primarily to methods of car loading and transportation of perishable food products, the results of which to date indicate serious mistakes in methods of loading these products in different sections of the country, resulting in heavy loss in transit and at market terminals. It is urgently necessary for the effectiveness of this work, which is essentially connected with the war work, that these investigations should be continued and extended. It is also equally important that the demonstrations of the results secured be given the widest publicity. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College, B. S., specialized in horticulture and pomology. Three years.

Ralph H. Brown, Washington, D. C. Has had considerable grain experience in an executive capacity, and is now giving assistance in the rendering of decisions relating to questions involved in the enforcement of the grain-standards act. It is important that the grain-supervision work be maintained on an efficient basis, especially in view of the bureau's cooperation with the Food Administration Grain Corporation, and this can be done only through the retention of trained and experienced men. Nine months.

John A. Burgess, Pittsburgh, Pa. Has charge of the Pittsburgh branch office of the Bureau of Markets. He not only collects information regarding conditions in the live stock and dressed meat trade in Pittsburgh, but releases the market reports of the bureau in the territory served by the branch office in Pittsburgh. Graduate Ottumwa (Iowa) Public State College, B. S. Prior to entering the Government service was employed in a large meat-packing plant at Ottumwa, Iowa, where he acquired experience in marketing dressed meats and meat products, qualifying him to cope with the reporting conditions in the wholesale dressed-meat trade in the large meat-consuming cities. Nine and one-half months.

Charles A. Burmeister, Washington, D. C. Engaged in work in connection with the market news service on live stock and meats. This market report service consists in furnishing telegraphic reports of live-stock receipts and prices at Chicago, which information is distributed by leased wire to the bureau's various local offices and is used exclusively by the telegraph companies and press associations in their commercial news services. He is also regularly engaged in investigational work connected with the live stock, slaughtering and meat packing industry of the country. Graduate Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. Subsequent to graduation and prior to entering the Government service was engaged in the live-stock industry as manager of his father's ranch in Texas, where he gained a thorough knowledge of the industry in the range States. Seven years.

Earl A. Chenault, Richmond, Va. Has charge of the Richmond, Va., office of the grain and hay reporting market service of the Bureau of Markets. This is war emergency work, its main object being to put the producers of grain and hay who have surpluses of such stocks in touch with dealers and others desiring them. Reports are issued biweekly, giving in detail the amounts of grain and hay on hand, the amounts

shipped in and out of each county, and the carload prices. These reports are distributed by mail to all people who express a desire to receive them. Graduate Ohio State University, B. S. in agriculture. One year ten months.

Doak B. Carrick, Washington, D. C. (spends considerable time in the field). Engaged primarily in emergency work in connection with the handling of apples and other fruits and vegetables injured by freezing in transit, with a view to reducing to a minimum the losses of these products in transportation. Also engaged in developing methods of handling which apply to the successful storage of perishable food products by preservation in freezing storage. These investigations relate directly to the conservation of fruits and vegetables, and have a particular war bearing at the present time. To a considerable extent they provide the basis for other lines of work connected with the storage project which relate primarily to the refrigeration of these products, both in transportation and storage. Graduate Wake Forest College, (North Carolina), A. B.; also received degree of Ph. D. from the New York State College of Agriculture. In connection with investigations for his doctor's thesis, made an extended study of the effect of freezing on plant tissues. Seven months.

James H. Collins, Washington, D. C. (spends considerable time in the field). Has filled varied and important assignments in connection with the surveys of fruit and vegetable markets conducted by the Bureau of Markets, and the inauguration and development of the market-news service covering these products, including the conduct of special investigations. During the past year has represented the department in a comprehensive study of the marketing problems of Maricopa County, Ariz., conducted by this bureau in cooperation with the University of Arizona. As a result of this survey definite action will be taken looking to the stabilizing of agriculture in the valley. After the completion of this survey in Arizona, Mr. Collins was placed in immediate charge of the bureau's investigation of transporting farm products by motor truck. The motor-truck transportation problem is of especial importance at the time. Graduate University of Arkansas, B. S., specializing in agriculture. Three years nine months.

Joshua M. Chilton, Washington, D. C. Assists in the enforcement of the provisions of the United States grain-standards act in Washington and at such points in the field as his services may be required. On account of his experience in handling the varieties of grain which pass through the markets in the South and Southwest, was at first detailed to act in charge of the twenty-fifth Federal grain-supervision district, with headquarters at Memphis, Tenn. Memphis is one of the gateways to the large consuming area of the Southeast. There is inspected in this market approximately 25,000,000 bushels of grain annually. The importance of carrying on the work in connection with the grain-standards act is fully recognized. Prior to present appointment was in the employ of the Missouri State inspection department for nine years; for two years supervising the weighing and handling of grain at terminal elevators, thereby gaining an intimate knowledge of the methods employed in handling, cleaning, clipping, mixing, and grading all kinds of grain at the large elevators; and seven years in sampling and making analyses necessary to determine the true grade of grain. Subsequently was employed one year by a grain concern in St. Louis as grain salesman on the floor of the merchants' exchange, and during a part of the year as its traveling representative. His experience has included the classification and grading of almost every variety of grain and has afforded him an opportunity to become thoroughly familiar with the grain industry. Nine months.

Saxon D. Clark, St. Louis, Mo. Has charge of the St. Louis branch office of the Bureau of Markets, in connection with its news reports on fruits and vegetables. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College. Prior to entering department had one year of practical experience in the Maine Apple Growers' Association. One year two months.

Charles F. Creswell, Washington, D. C. (Spends considerable time in the field.) Has charge of the cottonseed activities of this bureau, being the only representative of the bureau who has been in close touch with the various phases of the cottonseed industry. For the past year has been engaged in economic investigations conducted for the purpose of eliminating the large amount of foreign matter which annually is transported and purchased with cotton seed, and which results in damaged cotton seed and a lower quantity and quality of edible products, as well as requiring the utilization of about 4,000 extra freight cars each year. Has also been engaged in the development of practical commercial standards for cotton seed and the elimination of serious economic losses and wasteful practices existing in the trade. In cooperation with the Food Administration has assisted materially in the formulation of rules and regulations established to govern the cotton-seed industry. High school, business college, and law university graduate; has pursued other collegiate work, including a correspondence course in agriculture at Pennsylvania State College, and has had practical farm and railroad experience. Nine years six months.

George H. Dacy, Washington, D. C. (Spends considerable time in the field.) Engaged in general live-stock and meat-marketing investigations. His broad knowledge of agricultural conditions and ability as a writer make his services particularly valuable, especially in the work undertaken and carried on in conjunction with the Federal Trade Commission in collecting at loading points information relative to the marketing of live stock at local packing plants and the large centralized markets. Is at present assisting in the preparation for publication of the material obtained in this investigation. From the very inception of this important live stock and meat work, both marketing and market reporting, the Bureau of Markets has met with extreme difficulty in securing men with proper training and experience to fill the positions. Graduate University of Wisconsin, B. S. and M. S. in agriculture. Prior to entering Government service operated a farm of his own and wrote on agricultural topics for a number of publications. While employed as a writer for one of the leading agricultural journals traveled extensively over the country and acquired a broad knowledge of farming conditions and methods of handling and marketing agricultural products. He devoted special attention to live-stock marketing problems. One year.

William H. Darrow, Providence, R. I. Has charge of the local market-reporting service at Providence, R. I., which he inaugurated and developed, and which has proved a decided success. This service seeks to encourage the consumption and conservation of locally raised products and assists in the elimination of waste through efficient distribution of the local food supply. Producers, dealers, and consumers are daily advised as to market conditions, and farmers and housewives, as well as dealers, avail themselves of the service. It is proving of great importance in utilizing vegetables when particularly plentiful and liable to waste. Graduate Middlebury College, B. A., and Cornell University, M. A., in pomology and agricultural chemistry. Was instructor in horticulture in the University of Maine for a year and spent three years in practical horticultural work. Ten months.

George C. Edler, Washington, D. C. Is chief assistant to the specialist in seed marketing and has direct supervision of the compilation and revision of material submitted by field reporters for publication in the Seed Reporter. Also handles special assignments in connection with the work of this project. Is thoroughly familiar with every phase of the seed industry. There are very few firms in the country employing men in the capacity in which he has had experience, and the field from which it is possible to recruit men of his specialized commercial training is exceedingly limited. Graduate University of Illinois, B. S. in agriculture. Prior to entering Government service was employed in seed work, both on the farm with seed growers and with seed dealers; spent four years with a seed company in Minneapolis as traveling salesman and buyer of farm seeds, also having charge of the seed-corn department. One year ten months.

Vernon P. Fawcett, Spokane, Wash. Has charge of the Spokane (Wash.) office of the grain and hay market reporting service of the Bureau of Markets. This is strictly war-emergency work, its main object being to put the producers of grain and hay who have surpluses of such stocks in touch with dealers and others desiring them. Reports are issued biweekly, giving in detail the amounts of grain and hay on hand, the amounts shipped in and out of each county, and the carload prices. These reports are distributed by mail to all people who express a desire to receive them. Graduate University of Idaho, B. S. in agriculture, specializing in agronomy, horticulture, and botany. Was reared on a farm and during the latter portion of his college course assisted in the analyses of seeds in the agronomy department of the university. For three years prior to his entrance into the Government service acted as State seed commissioner of Idaho. Nine months.

Adelbert D. Gail, jr., New York, N. Y. Has charge of the New York branch office of the Bureau of Markets, operated in connection with the collection and distribution of market information on fruits and vegetables. The enormous receipts of this market, drawn from every section of the country, make it an exceedingly difficult one to cover. Attended the University of Pennsylvania three years. For three years he was a member of the firm of J. H. Gail, of Buffalo, in which capacity he gained valuable experience in the marketing of perishable products and had an opportunity to become familiar with the problems relating to the marketing of these products. For a period prior to present appointment was employed as advertising representative of a large publishing company. Three years nine months.

John C. Gillilan, Washington, D. C. Has charge of the work of checking the railroad superintendents who report each night the loadings of live stock on their respective divisions. Supervises the activities of a large force, both in Washington and in the field, engaged upon this work. From 350 to 400 railroad division superintendents telegraph live-stock loadings nightly to the bureau, and the speed with which the necessary corrections, because of delinquencies on the part of the superintendents, must be made is a considerable factor to their value. Mr. Gillilan also supervises the force which compiles the information received from the railroad superintendents in a summary to be transmitted each morning to all branch offices for release. Graduate University of Minnesota, B. S. One year of graduate work in University of Minnesota in agricultural economics. Ten months.

Willis G. Goodenow, Fargo, N. Dak. Engaged in investigations carried on at Agricultural College, North Dakota, relative to milling and baking values of wheat and flour. His training and experience as a milling engineer make him especially valuable at this time in connection with the effort being made to correlate the investigational work of this department with that of other departments relating to the conservation of the wheat supply of the country. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, having specialized in flour-milling engineering. Prior to appointment in the Bureau of Markets was employed as scientific assistant in the Bureau of Chemistry; also had seven years' experience as assistant milling engineer in commercial work. One year five months.

Homer A. Harris, Washington, D. C. (spends considerable time in the field). Has been employed on responsible independent field assignments which have included potato distribution reports at Idaho Falls, Idaho; handling the market-news service at Plant City, Fla., and Monett, Mo., during the commercial movement of the strawberry crop; supervision of the service during the peach movement in Fort Valley, Ga.; and the maintenance of an office at Macon, Ga., to distribute market reports on watermelons. Attended agricultural college three years and had several years of commercial experience in the fruit business. One year ten months.

Bryon G. Hays, Kansas City, Mo. Assists in the administration of the local office of the live-stock and meats project at Kansas City, Mo., and in collecting and releasing daily market information relating to the live-stock and meat trade. Much difficulty has been experienced in getting together an adequate and efficient force to handle the increasingly important work conected with this service, particularly to man the local offices, especially at the large centralized markets of Chicago, Kansas City, and other central-western points. Graduate College of Agriculture of the University of Nebraska, B. S. Prior to present employment had considerable experience in judging and buying live stock for a commission firm at Omaha. Nine months.

Stanley G. Hilton, Washington, D. C. (In field considerable part of time). Engaged in conducting investigations of the warehousing of grain and in the administration of the United States warehouse act, including the preparation of rules and regulations for enforcement thereof. Has had a thorough training in the fundamentals of handling and storing grain and has assisted in the consideration of the complex problems arising in connection with this work, including the study of types of elevators and warehouses, the insurance of grain in storage, and the methods of handling and caring for this product. The proper warehousing of grain is of paramount importance in the conservation of this important product in the present emergency. Much difficulty has been experienced at all times in securing men with the requisite training for this work. One year.

Frederick J. Hughes, Washington, D. C. For the past two years has handled all the appointment and civil-service work and all the records of the personnel of the Bureau of Markets. This work has become unusually heavy during the past several months and probably will remain so for an indefinite period. For the past 18 months consistent efforts have been made to train an understudy for Mr. Hughes, but for various reasons it has been impossible to develop and retain any satisfactory candidate for such a position. Mr. Hughes has a thorough knowledge of the civil-service laws, rules, and regulations, and of the precedents and policies of the department and of the bureau in dealing with appointments and promotions. Three years eight months.

Clarence E. Killingsworth, Washington, D. C. (spends considerable time in the field). Employed primarily on cotton-spinning tests conducted by the department and incidentally on work connected with the cotton-standardization and cotton-marketing projects. At present is engaged on experimental-spinning tests which are being conducted by the United States Department of Agriculture in cooperation with the War Department and the Department of Commerce, for the purpose of developing a suitable airplane fabric from cotton to replace the linen fabric now being used. It is highly important to develop from cotton as promptly as possible a suitable airplane cloth to be used in the manufacture of airplanes. Completed textile course in the Mississippi Agricultural College; also had experience in erecting machinery in carding and spinning rooms in northern and southern cotton mills. He has had considerable experience in the actual commercial manufacture of cotton fabrics. Three years.

Clarence W. Kitchen, Washington, D. C. Has been associated with the market-surveys project since the inauguration of the market-news service in 1915, and has had comprehensive training in almost every branch of the work of this project. Has assisted in the opening of numerous new stations and suggesting improvements in the service of those already opened. When the rapid growth of the news service necessitated an extension of the administrative work of the project in Washington in January, 1917, Mr. Kitchen was assigned to the task. At present he is in immediate charge of the assignment of field forces and the daily administrative duties of permanent branch offices. Owing to his broad experience gained by actual contact with the work since its inception, it would be exceedingly difficult to replace him. Five years nine months.

Harvey E. Larsen, Boston, Mass. Investigates, in cooperation with the Boston Market Gardeners' Association, problems of marketing and distributing locally grown truck-farm products, the cost of marketing by this method as compared with others, and the value of reporting local market conditions and prices through the local press. The market conditions in practically all large New England cities, especially Boston, have become very acute, and the local truck growers and members of State Council of Defense made a very urgent request to this bureau for assistance in solving the problems. This service is proving very valuable as a means of meeting emergency marketing problems. It is one of the most effective means of stimulating the consumption of locally grown produce, lowering prices, and conserving foodstuffs. Graduate University of Wisconsin, M. S., having completed all the marketing work which the university offers. Prior to entering the department service, received valuable experience in commission dealing in the commission district of Chicago, and for several years was connected with the farm-crop department of the Michigan Agricultural College. Eleven months.

George Livingstone, Washington, D. C. Has charge of the Federal grain supervision under the United States grain-standards act, directing the work of the grain supervisors and their assistants in the 36 Federal grain-supervision districts of the country, and has general supervision over all the grain and hay marketing activities of this bureau, through which the emergency work of the department in issuing market reports on these commodities is directed. Assisted in the preparation of the rules and regulations promulgated for the enforcement of the United States grain-standards act and of other regulatory publications issued in connection with the enforcement of that act. Has directed the promulgation of standards for shelled corn and wheat, personally supervising the holdings of hearings on grain standards and directing the investigation of the practices of marketing grain at country and at terminal points. Graduate Ohio State University, B. S. in agriculture; took graduate work at Cornell University and at Halle-Wittenberg. For several years was assistant professor of agronomy at the Ohio State University, and was tendered the position of chief of the newly created department of farm crops at that institution, which position he declined for the purpose of entering the service of this bureau. Three years.

Brice M. Mace, jr., Washington, D. C. Has supervision of the administration of the branch offices opened in connection with the live-stock and meat-reporting service of the Buerau of Markets. It is very difficult at this time to obtain the services of men possessing the administrative ability combined with a knowledge of live-stock marketing methods. Graduate Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn., B. S.; studied law at the University of Chicago; and is at present taking an M. A. course in economics at George Washington University. Was reared on a Tennessee stock farm and was in charge of city and county school systems for seven years. Nine months.

Nathan Menderson, Washington, D. C. (spends considerable time in the field). Engaged on grades and standards work. This work is of very great importance to southern peanut growers, because practically no effort has been made by the department looking to the establishment of standard grades for peanuts. The purpose of this work is to enable the recommendation to growers of the best methods of handling and grading their peanuts and also to determine what will constitute practical market grades for both shelled and unshelled peanuts. Peanuts are now becoming an important food product, and their standardization and improved methods of grading and marketing is of decided importance, not only to the large producing sections of the South but also the consumer. Graduate Yale University, A. B., and Cornell University, M. A. Prior to entering the Bureau of Markets was employed by the Bureau of Plant Industry in connection with the introduction and development of new vegetables in the South. Three years six months.

Benjamin C. Moomaw, Washington, D. C. (spends considerable time in the field). Assists the project leader in charge of State cooperation in marketing work, in coordinating the various projects of the bureau with the State cooperative activities. Also assists in a study of the cooperative marketing work being carried on by the bureau in the Southern States, rendering help to the field agents in these States in the development of their activities and in the improvement of their methods. Graduate Washington and Lee University. Prior to entering the Bureau of Markets was for six years actively engaged in orcharding in the State of Virginia and in marketing apples, both in this country and abroad. For one year was institute lecturer in fruit growing for the Virginia department of agriculture and immigration and later extended this work to other branches of agricultural interests. Served as a director and president of the Virginia Fruit Growers' Association for several years. One year nine months.

Joe D. Morgan, New Orleans, La. Has been engaged in making field and laboratory investigations relative to the method of handling, grading, and transporting commercial grain; acted temporarily as grain supervisor under the grain-standards act. At present has charge of the grain-standardization investigations being made at New Orleans. In connection with this work, assists in the investigations relative to the causes and prevention of explosions and fires in grain elevators, mills, and various kinds of machinery used in the handling of grain. These investigations have a direct relation to the efforts being made to conserve the wheat supply of the United States, both by prevention of grain loss by fire and the deterioration of commercial grade on grain caused by smut in wheat. During the past thrashing season Mr. Morgan has assisted in the cooperative project relating to smut dust control in wheat at thrashing time, investigating special devices recommended by experts of the department and determining the effect of the application of these devices to thrashing machinery. Graduate Montana State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, B. S. in biology. Two years ten months.

Julius H. Peters, Boston, Mass. Assists in the conduct of the telegraphic market news service on live stock and meats at Boston. He is fully familiar with the intricate details relating to reporting meat-trade conditions, which has a direct bearing on the food supply in the present emergency. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. Was employed as instructor of agricultural economics at this institution parts of two terms and as teacher of agriculture at the Atlantic (Iowa) High School for one year. One year two months.

William C. Quick, Washington, D. C. (spends considerable time in the field). Has been continuously associated with investigations regarding the handling, transportation, and storage of fruits and vegetables. Supervises important lines of work in the Pacific Northwest directly related to the conservation and marketing of fruit crops grown there. He is thoroughly familiar with the fruit industry and with the proper construction and management of storage houses for apples. The conservation of foodstuffs is a question of primary importance, and the work upon which Mr. Quick is now engaged bears directly on that problem. Graduate University of Arkansas, B. S. in agriculture. Three years eight months.

Sam H. Ray, Kansas City, Mo. In charge of the live stock and meat reporting station at Kansas City. Devotes much of his time to devising means whereby this service may be improved. Has rendered much assistance in connection with the installation of the telegraphic market reports on estimated receipts and prices of live stock at Chicago, Ill. He is by training, experience, and ability well fitted for his present work. Graduate Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College; took post-graduate course at the University of Illinois. Prior to entering the Bureau of Markets, had six years' experience in ranching in Texas; was employed two years as instructor in animal husbandry in the First District Agricultural College at Jonesboro, Ark.; and was in the service of the Bureau of Animal Industry, where he was selected to investigate the beef industry of Guatemala. Three years eleven months.

Frederick W. Read, Kansas City, Mo. Has assisted in the development of the cold-storage reporting system of the bureau. After the organization of the work, covering some 70 commodities, Mr. Read was assigned to take charge of all the market news work in Florida, including both the permanent market station at Jacksonville as well as the numerous field stations throughout the State. Was subsequently placed in immediate supervisory charge of the work of this project in the district bounded by the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi River. It is believed that this system will greatly relieve the Washington office of a vast amount of administrative detail. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S. Graduate student Harvard University School of Arts and Sciences; two years. Prior to entering the Bureau of Markets was assistant in farm management, Bureau of Plant Industry, and instructor in agricultural economics, Massachusetts Agricultural College, for short periods. Two years eight months.

Stephen A. Regan, Washington, D. C. Assisted in the preparation of the Government's standards for wheat and in investigations relative to the handling of grain in bulk rather than in sacks. Besides having a wide general experimental knowledge of all classes and grades of wheat, is especially familiar with all matters relating to the wheat-growing area throughout the Pacific Northwest. Assisted in the work of organizing the grain-standards supervision work, having for a period acted as Federal grain supervisor in charge of the Denver office, and for a period as grain supervisor in charge of the San Francisco office. When, in January, 1918, Dr. J. W. T. Duvel, in charge of the grain-standardization work in the Washington office, was designated to proceed to Australia and other Australian points for the purposes of special investigations, Mr. Regan was brought to Washington to take Dr. Duvel's place during his absence. Graduate College of Agriculture, University of Idaho, B. S. in agriculture. Prior to entering the service of the department served for one season as State food commissioner of Idaho. Two years nine months.

Howard B. Richardson, Washington, D. C. (spends considerable time in the field). Has been engaged primarily in cotton standardization and spinning test work and assisting with the manufacturing tests made by the department for the purpose of determining the spinning value of the different grades, staples, and other qualities of upland, sea-island, and Arizona-Egyptian cottons. At present engaged on the experimental spinning tests being conducted by the department in cooperation with the War Department and the Department of Commerce for the purpose of developing suitable airplane fabric from cotton to replace the linen fabrics now being used. Has represented the bureau at various points in the cotton handling and marketing activities. Completed a three-year course in mechanical engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a three-year course in cotton manufacturing with the American Correspondence School. Prior to his appointment in the Bureau of Markets served nearly four years as laboratory aid in the Bureau of Plant Industry. Seven years eight months.

Patrick J. Roach, Minneapolis, Minn. Last year had charge of the Minneapolis office of the Bureau of Markets in connection with the market surveys project. As the Minneapolis office is in the center of an important potato-producing section, he gave special attention to reports on this commodity, with the result that this season he has been assigned to more important potato-producing sections to give specialized service on this product to the growers in these districts. He started the season at Eagle Lake, Tex., and is now handling the distribution of reports in the Fort Smith, Ark., district. Prior to entering Government service had many years' experience in the produce business. One year nine months.

Otto W. Schleussner, Los Angeles, Cal. Has been in immediate charge of the work of developing a national market news service on fruits and vegetables since its inauguration in 1915. When it was decided to inaugurate the news service and inspection service on the Pacific coast this spring Mr. Schleussner was selected to supervise the combined work of these two projects in the territory west of the Rocky Mountains. It seemed advisable to handle this work as a district problem, inasmuch as the marketing problems of Pacific coast growers are different from those encountered in any other part of the country and must be handled separately. He exercises supervisory control over the permanent branch offices on the Pacific coast, includ-

ing a number of the most important producing points. He also serves in an advisory capacity in considering general policies relating to the fruit and vegetable marketing activities of this bureau. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College, B. S. in agriculture. Prior to his appointment in the Bureau of Markets had wide experience in business in various lines—truck farming, inspection work, and commercial dealings with fruits and vegetables in the markets and in the producing districts. Three years four months.

Alfred B. Smeby, Washington, D. C. (spends considerable time in the field). Was first assigned to the development of a new system of reports on live-stock movements, introduced experimentally at Lancaster, Pa., about a year ago. This project involved the perfecting of arrangements with farmers, railroad agents, live-stock buyers, the trade at the Lancaster stockyards, and others to obtain accurate information concerning the "in and out" movement of beef cattle in 18 counties known as the Lancaster district. When the service was successfully installed at Lancaster he was detailed to Rocky Ford, Colo., to inaugurate a similar service covering the Arkansas Valley cattle and lamb feeding districts. He was later called to Washington to assume charge of important work pertaining to current bulletins on live stock and meats and was placed in full charge of the bureau's weekly live-stock and meat-trade news bulletin, supervising the reporting service on the movements of live stock in the feeding and grazing districts of the United States. He is at present on an indefinite assignment reporting the Chicago hog market. Prior to entering Government service was engaged in the newspaper publishing business for six years, five years as market writer and associate editor of the Sioux City (Iowa) Daily Live Stock Record and live-stock editor of the Sioux City Tribune. One year two months.

Edwin W. Stillwell, Washington, D. C. Engaged in important administrative work in connection with the details of the technical daily telegraphic reports and other work incident to the assembling and issuance of market news on the movements and prices of fruits and vegetables. The administrative work requires a combination of qualifications in order to handle it successfully. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. in horticulture, specializing in pomology and marketing. Eleven months.

Charles B. Tubergen, Pittsburgh, Pa. (spends considerable time in the field). Has handled distribution reports for a number of important perishable products at various points. Is at present in charge of the important field station at Onley, Va., where his duties other than administrative consist in the collection and distribution of marketing information. The market news work in which he is engaged has expanded very rapidly and Congress has appropriated large sums of money to continue it. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College. For five years subsequent to graduation was in the employ of the New York State Experiment Station at Geneva, and for one year was employed in the office of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange at Chicago. Nine months.

Gustav P. Warber, Washington, D. C. (spends considerable time in the field). Has recently made an exhaustive study of the production of casein in this country, the information being desired for the use of the Shipping Board and the War Industries Board as a guide in determining the policy of these boards with reference to importation of that product and with reference to the needs of the Army and Navy for airplane construction. His principal work at the present time is connected with a comprehensive study of the marketing and handling of milk throughout the United States by means of the distribution of schedules and by personal investigations. Graduate University of Minnesota, B. S. and M. A. in agriculture. Served as assistant in the division of agricultural economics, University of Minnesota, for three years, during which time he pursued the study of special problems in the field of agricultural economics. Three years eleven months.

Bert W. Whitlock, Salt Lake City, Utah. Is grain supervisor in charge of the Salt Lake City office, which is a particularly important assignment because of the variety of grain produced and shipped from the territory covered. The supervisional activities for the district are centralized in the Salt Lake office, and from that point extensive investigations are conducted to supplement the information now available for use in the determination of standards. The department is unable to secure competent men for all of the positions of grain supervisor. The department is cooperating with the United States Food Administration authorities in their work with grains under the food-control act. This necessitates exceedingly important and heavy work among the grain trade by the grain supervisors of the Bureau of Markets, both at the Washington office and in the field. Graduate Kansas State University, B. S. in agriculture, specializing in grain marketing, grain grading, and milling technology; also served at this institution as student assistant in milling technology and as student assistant in chemistry. Prior to entering the Government service held several important appointments in the State grain laboratories of Montana, having direct charge of the milling and baking investigations. Was also appointed deputy State grain inspector. Eleven months.

John F. Wilmeth, Washington, D. C. Engaged in work in connection with the enforcement of the United States grain-standards act and other projects dealing with the marketing of grain. He is thoroughly familiar with the provisions of the act and also with the requirements of the rules and regulations of the Secretary of Agriculture under the act. Has attended all the hearings held in connection with the different phases of the enforcement of the act and the establishment of grades for grain promulgated thereunder. Mr. Wilmeth is also in charge of the work of compiling estimates for grain projects, special reports required by Congress, and similar work requiring a thorough knowledge of department and bureau policies, legal training, and familiarity with the technical requirements under the grain-standards act. Prior to assuming his present duties held responsible positions in the administrative offices of the Bureau of Plant Industry, the office of the Secretary, and the Bureau of Markets. Is graduate of the Georgetown University Law School. Has been admitted to the bar of the District of Columbia and the State of Louisiana. Nine years eight months.

Furman B. Wise, Washington, D. C. (spends considerable time in travel status). Has specialized in investigations relating to the handling, grading, and transportation of rice, conducting both field and laboratory investigations in Washington, New Orleans, La., and in the rice-growing sections throughout the entire United States. Renders assistance in handling matters relating to this crop, with special reference to its commercial grade. His services are also utilized in giving assistance as to the best means of distributing the rice crop, with a view to its increased use for food. Graduate Agricultural and Mechanical College of South Carolina, B. S.; also University of Wisconsin, M. S. Six years ten months.

BUREAU OF PLANT INDUSTRY.

Name, home address, character of work, and length of service.

Glen B. Ramsey, Orono, Me. Engaged in the investigation of potato diseases in Maine. He has recently taken the leadership in pathological extension work in Maine and is engaged in putting into practice in that State, with the cooperation of the State extension forces, the methods of control for important diseases of truck crops, particularly potatoes, that have been worked out. Entire time devoted to the various phases of this work, including the oversight of field demonstrations, the instructing of State and county agents and farmers in methods of plant-disease control, and the preparation of necessary literature on the subject, this being a part of the program of food conservation through the control of plant diseases. Graduate Indiana University, A. B. and A. M., specializing in botany, mycology, and plant pathology. Prior to entering the department service held a teaching fellowship in botany at Indiana University, was instructor in botany at the University of Maine, and assistant plant pathologist of the Maine Agricultural Experiment Station. Two years three months.

Roscoe E. Blair, Bard, Cal. Has been serving as superintendent of the Yuma Experiment Station, near Bard, Cal., and in conducting demonstration work among farmers on the Yuma reclamation project. His duties as farm superintendent include the supervision of all the investigational work of the Yuma station and some field work among settlers on the Yuma reclamation project with particular reference to the production of long-staple cotton. This work is of special importance at the present time, when the demand for long-staple cotton for both civil and military purposes is exceeding the supply. The Yuma station is located in a section devoted to intensive farming, as shown by the fact that the average production per acre for that district (the Yuma reclamation project) in 1917 was valued at $105. The work of the station has been a very important factor in the development of local agricultural industries, particularly as regards the two most important industries, cotton and alfalfa seed. He has served also as representative of the Office of Demonstrations on Reclamation Projects on the Yuma project, it having been found impossible so far to secure a suitable man for the work of that office. Graduate Kansas State Agriculture College. Prior to entering the department was employed for a brief period as assistant in the department of horticulture at the Kansas Experiment Station. Seven years eleven months.

Leonard E. Newman, Concord, N. H. Has charge of cooperative work on the control of the white-pine blister-rust work in New Hampshire. This includes general control work throughout the State, specific local cooperative work with 43 townships, and the direction of the activities of about 75 employees. This blister-rust disease threatens the destruction of the white pine, which is the most valuable and important forest tree in the northeastern section of the United States. The situation is critical; present failure of the cooperative control work in New Hampshire would cause irreparable damage and might easily mean failure for the blister-rust campaign in the entire region. For the continuation and success of the work in New Hampshire it is important that Mr. Newman be retained in his present position, as he is the only experienced man left who is thoroughly familiar with the work in that State, he having been with the work ever since it was inaugurated. Graduate Biltmore Forest School. Had three years' experience in general forestry work in the Northwest and in New Hampshire before entering the department service. Two years one month.

Louis J. Gillespie, Washington, D. C. Engaged in working out the relation between crops and soil acidity, involving highly technical experience and training in connection with hydrogen-ion concentration. There are only a limited number of men available for this type of work in the United States, and if he were separated from the service for any reason this line of work would have to be suspended indefinitely. He is showing a decided relationship between the hydrogen-ion concentration in soils and the prevalence of certain diseases affecting prominent food crops. Graduate Brown University, Ph. B. and Ph. D. Served as assistant in physics, Brown University; instructor in chemistry, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence; fellow in bacteriology, Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research; and bacteriologist, New York Department of Health, for various periods before entering department service. Four years ten and one-half months.

Rolla N. Harger, Washington, D. C. Engaged in chemical work, requiring highly specialized training, in the Office of Soil-Fertility Investigations. It has been found impossible under the present conditions to obtain men of similar training and experience. Since September, 1917, has also been engaged in making investigations of an unusual character in cooperation with gas-warfare investigations, Bureau of Mines, acting for the Ordnance Department. This special research is invaluable to the prosecution of this line of offensive warfare. Graduate Washburn College (Topeka, Kans.), A. B.; did graduate work in chemistry at Kansas University two terms, receiving M. A. degree. Before entering department was laboratory instructor in chemistry at Washburn College three years and laboratory instructor in chemistry at Kansas University two years. One year one month.

Wofford B. Camp, Gaffney, S. C. Engaged in California upon work having in view the increased production of the long-staple Egyptian type of cotton in the United States by the utilization of the improved varieties and cultural methods that have been developed through the experimental work of the department. On account of the reduced production of this type of cotton in Egypt and difficulties of communication and transportation there could be no assurance that enough extra staple cotton would be available in the United States even for the strictly military purposes of aeroplane wings, balloon fabrics, and automobile tires. The production of sea-island cotton has become entirely an uncertainty on account of the boll weevil. The field operations in California consist of locating and caring for plantings of the improved varities in promising locations, in cooperation with new cotton-growing organizations that are being established, and giving necessary advice and assistance required in properly establishing this new long-staple industry in the Southwest. This work involves the direct and active personal supervision of the experimental plantings, which are located throughout the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys of California, and includes necessary instruction of farmers in methods of planting, thinning, selecting, roguing, picking, and other operations connected with production, breeding, and preservation of the purity and uniformity of the varieties. The cultural methods of handling these new long staples in the Southwest are different than those used in other regions, and there are no other men obtainable who have had special training like that of Mr. Camp or who are qualified to undertake it. Graduate of Clemson Agricultural College, B. S. Was raised on a farm and was continually in the environment of farm life and work before entering the department. One year eleven and one-half months.

Walton G. Wells, Sacaton, Ariz. Engaged on work directly related to the increased production of cotton of the Egytian type in the irrigated sections of Arizona and California. The fact that importation of this type of cotton from Egypt has recently been much restricted and that the Arizona and California product is the only available substitute for sea-island cotton, which is of vital importance to the military program of the United States requires that every effort be made to stimulate production of American-Egyptian cotton in Arizona and California. This cotton is already being extensively employed in the manufacture of high-grade tire fabrics and is being tested for use in the production of balloon fabrics for the Army. In the event of a serious curtailment of the sea-island crop as a result of boll-weevil ravages American-Egyptian is the best available substitute for sea-island cotton in the manufacture of balloon, gas-mask, and airplane fabrics. Increased production of American-Egyptian cotton is contingent upon (1) the maintenance of a large supply of pure and selected seed for planting and (2) familiarizing the growers with the best methods of production which have been worked out by the department. Mr. Wells has had a longer and more intimate contact with both of these lines of effort than any other man now in the Government service. He is the only employee of the department available for continuous service in the field who has sufficient familiarity with the Egyptian cotton plant to carry on effectively the vitally important work of seed selection. The work is both urgent and continuous in its nature and does not permit of the delays and interruptions which the training of an inexperienced substitute would entail. Six years two months.

Norbert R. Mueller, Washington, D. C. Has charge of the extensive experiments in drug-plant growing which are being conducted in cooperation between this department and the University of Wisconsin, the continuance of which is regarded as exceedingly important in the present emergency. The Bureau of Plant Industry, through its cooperation with a number of universities which maintain drug gardens in connection with their schools of pharmacy, is working to secure the production of as large quantities as possible of several essential drugs. Mr. Mueller not only has had immediate charge of the work of producing these drug crops at the University of Wisconsin but visits these other institutions, as necessity may arise, to give expert supervision and advice and assist in promoting the work. There are very few men in the country who have had any practical experience in the line of work in which Mr. Mueller is engaged. It has been found necessary to increase Mr. Mueller's responsibilities by assigning him to emergency field work in connection with the castor-bean crop in addition to his regular assignment to the production of important drug plants. These duties include collaborating with officials of the Signal Corps, War Department, cooperating with county agents, advising growers, etc., in order to insure castor-bean production on the large acreage required to provide supplies needed in the manufacture of lubricating oil for airplane motors. The withdrawal of Mr. Mueller's services would mean the practical abandonment of any productive features of the department's drug plant work in the northern Mississippi Valley, which is of great importance in producing adequate supplies of important drugs for military needs, and would hinder the cooperative work in producing sufficient castor oil for airplane use. Graduate of University of Wisconsin (pharmacy course), B. S.; was graduate student, same institution, one term, receiving M. S. degree. Prior to present appointment was for various periods registered pharmacist, had charge of drug-plant work at Wisconsin Pharmacy Experiment Station, was in charge of field party ho[illegible]e-mint investigations in Wisconsin River Valley, and fellow in pharmacy at University of Wisconsin. Two years.

Edgar C. Young, Timmonsville, S. C. Has entire responsibility for the handling of the drug-plant crop in South Carolina during the present season. The work that would suffer through his withdrawal is that dealing with the cooperative studies of drug-plant and oil-seed crop production in South Carolina. The increasing dearth of supplies of certain important drugs formerly imported has made it of vital importance to insure the successful production of crops of these drugs in this country. One of these vitally important drugs is cannabis, which will be needed in large quantities both by the medical and the veterinary services of the Army, as well as in the treatment of illness and alleviation of suffering in private practice. At the present time the main reliance for cannabis of the pharmacopœial standard in this country rests upon the production of the South Carolina crop. This country is now also called upon to furnish supplies of this important drug for export. The withdrawal of Mr. Young from the South Carolina drug-plant work can not fail to imperil the production of the cannabis crops, which requires a type of treatment and handling that can not be obtained from inexperienced help. It would further involve the loss of a large amount of experimental data of peculiar interest and value at the present time, when facts concerning the production of drugs and oils in this country are in urgent demand because of the failure of supplies which have heretofore come from abroad. Graduate of Clemson Agricultural College, B. S. in agriculture; took postgraduate work at Clemson one term. Was reared on a farm and has had considerable experience in handling farm labor. Before entering his present duties conducted field experiments on cotton at Peedee Experiment Station during one season and was assistant in botanical and bacteriological laboratories at Clemson College one term. One year three months.

Harry A. Schoth, Corvalis, Oreg. Has charge of forage-crop experiments being conducted in cooperation with the Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station at Corvallis, Oreg., with particular reference to the production of seeds of vetches and other special forage crops. This work is highly important, especially in view of the fact that ordinary sources of supply in Europe are cut off, and it is therefore essential that American sources for seed be developed. The work with forage crops is also highly important in connection with the dairy industry of western Oregon and western Washington. Graduate of Oregon Agricultural College, B. S. and M. S. For two terms was employed as farm foreman and was fellow in agronomy at the Oregon Agricultural College. Two years four and one-half months.

Fred W. Geise, Washington, D. C. Is investigating the fertilizer value of the greensand marl deposits of eastern United States as a source of potash for agricultural purposes. His work consists chiefly of technical laboratory and greenhouse studies, carried on at Washington. His withdrawal at this time would seriously cripple the work and endanger results which, it is hoped, may find practical use during the present season. Graduate Wesleyan University (Nebraska), A. B.; took special course in biology at University of Wisconsin; received M. S. degree University of Chicago. Was raised on a farm and is familiar with farming practices in the Middle West. Eleven months.

Oscar R. Mathews, Bellefourche, S. Dak. The superintendent of the Bellefourche (S. Dak.) station is an employee of the office of Western Irrigation Agriculture, the station being under the management of that office. The superintendent is fully occupied with the work in irrigation agriculture and has not been specially trained in dry-land agriculture nor familiar with the details of the work that is being conducted by the office of Dry-Land Agriculture. Mr. Mathews is the only representative of the last-named office at the Bellefourche station and is responsible for the conduct of the work of crop production under dry-land conditions, which work has already proved its value by its results. This work involves soil preparation, seeding, cultivation, harvesting the crops, study of yields, effects of cultivation, rotations, etc. He also has charge of the soil moisture and other chemical and physical determinations in the laboratory on the field station and has kept the records of the meteorological observations. This work is directly concerned with the increasing of the food supply, particularly wheat, of the country by determining the possibilities of production in this section of the country and the methods by which these possibilities can be most profitably realized. Graduate South Dakota Agricultural College, B. S. and M. S. Nine years.

Joseph B. Kuska, Colby, Kans. Has charge of extensive investigations in methods of crop production under dry-land conditions at the Colby (Kans.) substation of the Kansas State Experiment Station in cooperation with the State. Under the terms of this cooperative agreement the department agrees to provide a trained assistant in dry-land agriculture who shall be responsible for and have immediate charge of the experimental work. Mr. Kuska has had charge of such work since its inauguration in the spring of 1914. Graduate University of Kansas, B. S. Spent early life on a farm. Four years six months.

Charles H. Ruzicka, Williston, N. Dak. As superintendent of the Williston (N. Dak.) dry-land field station has charge of an extensive series of experiments being conducted under a cooperative agreement with the North Dakota Experiment Station to determine the best methods of crop production for that section. Under this agreement the department furnishes the superintendent of the station. Wheat and flax production are of first importance in this section, and any advance the experimental work may make in the solution of the many problems concerned in their production adds directly to the total production of these and other essential foodstuffs and raw materials. Graduate North Dakota Agricultural College, B. S. in agriculture; has also had practical farm experience. Prior to present appointment spent two seasons examining and appraising lands in western North Dakota and eastern Montana for the Northern Pacific Railway Co.; taught one year in associated agricultural high schools at Milaca, Minn.; and was two years with the North Dakota Better Farming Association. Five years six months.

Charles T. Dearing, Washington, D. C. (Most of his time is spent in the field.) Has charge of the muscadine-grape investigations of the bureau, which involves a study of cultural methods and requirements and the breeding of better varieties. His work also includes the development of methods of utilization of grapes in the home. Heretofore the use of the muscadine type of grape has been restricted to the making of wine, canning, and preparation in the fresh state in a few different culinary ways. Mr. Dearing has developed exceedingly satisfactory methods of making unfermented juices, jellies, jams, and other products, and these have been presented at a large number of meetings, in cooperation with the office of Extension Work in the South, through a large portion of the muscadine-grape-growing territory. Graduate University of Missouri. Eight years five months.

Charles Sando, Washington, D. C. His duties are largely of a biochemical nature and consist of making analyses of fruits and vegetables to determine the changes which have taken place when held under different conditions, including storage. Similar investigations are carried on by Mr. Sando with reference to the conditions of fruits or vegetable products grown under different conditions for the purpose of correlating cultural methods with the behavior of the products in storage. Another phase of his work is a study of fruit and vegetable pigments as an index of different degrees of maturity, the degree of maturity being an essential factor to consider in connection with the behavior of the product in storage and subsequent thereto when removed for consumption. Graduate Maryland Agricultural College; took advanced work in organic chemistry at the University of Michigan. Three years one and one-half months.

Elmer Snyder, Fresno, Cal. Engaged upon studies of cultural and production problems in connection with American Euvitis grapes and investigations of Vinifera grapes in California. The latter project has been under way for the past two years, and together with another member of the bureau staff he has been primarily responsible for the results of the investigational work being carried on in some 10 or 12 experimental vineyards located at different points in California. Perhaps the most important feature of his work is in connection with the development of a dried-currant industry. The foundation work, with which Mr. Snyder is very closely identified, has been laid for the development of a currant industry in California which promises to take the place of an imported product amounting annually to 30,000,000 or more pounds. His duties also consist of taking annual series of notes covering blossoming records, growth records, yield records, and observations on numerous methods of culture and the behavior of a great number of varieties under test. Graduate New York State College of Agriculture. Three years.

George K. K. Link, Washington, D. C. (greater part of time spent in the field). Advises the inspectors of the Bureau of Markets and the War and Navy Departments relative to the investigations of losses in market and storage and studies means of prevention, working with other pathologists who are at the points of production. This work is an essential part of the food-conservation program, closely affiliated with investigations at the points of production, and operating directly to reduce the present losses of perishable vegetables. The economic interests involved in this work are very great. The losses on a single car amount to from $100 to $400, a large part of which is preventable by measures applied in the field or packing house. A continued effort is made to disseminate this information among the producers and to bring about all possible improvement. Graduate University of Chicago, B. S.; graduate student University of Nebraska, one term, receiving A. M. degree; also received Ph. D. degree from the University of Chicago. Assisted in the chemical and botanical laboratories at Chicago University; served as an assistant in botany at the Kansas Agricultural College; adjunct professor of agricultural botany and assistant in the experiment station of the University of Nebraska; professor of plant physiology and physiologist of the Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station; and during the six years prior to present appointment has devoted his entire time to university teaching and to investigation and extensive work at the experiment station of Nebraska along the line of potato diseases, a great part of this time being spent in field work in the irrigated and dry-land sections of western Nebraska. Eight months.

Gustav A. Meckstroth, Washington, D. C. Engaged in bean-disease investigations, having charge of a field station. The protection of the bean crop against disease is a matter of very urgent war service. He has had charge of this work for more than a year, and a good beginning has been made. The bean crop is one of the most important of the vegetable crops of the country, and it has been especially subject to losses due to diseases during recent years. Graduate Ohio State University, B. A. and M. A. For various periods prior to present appointment, taught in public schools; assisted in laboratory in general botany, Ohio State University; was an agent of the department in connection with white-pine blister-rust inspection; taught general botany and plant pathology at Pennsylvania State College; and assisted in plant pathological work at Pennsylvania experiment station. Was raised on a farm and engaged in general farming in Ohio until college course was finished. One year three and one-half months.

Luther P. Byars, Washington, D. C. Mr. Byars is a project leader and specialist engaged in the investigation of nematode diseases of cotton, truck, and forage plants. Has in charge the Federal investigation on the control of root knot, a disease which reduces the value of southern crops by many millions of dollars annually, and is engaged in a campaign of crop conservation with a program of root-knot control from the Atlantic States to Texas. Experiments are in progress which must run continuously for a series of years. On these the department has spent a great deal of money for installation and care, and the results will be lost if they are suspended. No one is available to take Mr. Byars's place should he leave the service. Experts in nematology are rare. Graduate Clemson College, received M. S. degree from University of Wisconsin, and examination for Ph. D. degree has been successfully passed and degree will be granted upon completion of thesis. Was assistant in plant pathology at the South Carolina experiment station one year, assistant in botany at the University of Wisconsin two years, and plant pathologist at South Carolina experiment station one year. Prior to taking up permanent work in the department was employed by this bureau to do nematode-disease survey work on sugar beets and other plants. Four years seven months.

Arthur J. Mix, Washington, D. C. (greater part of time spent in field). Engaged in emergency work in the control of truck and forage-crop diseases in cooperation with the extension organization of one of the northwestern States. His duties include personal instructions to county agents and farmers, the holding of farmers' institutes and county-agent meetings, the preparation and distribution of printed matter, and the supervision of demonstrations of disease-control methods. The position requires a man well trained in plant pathology and experienced in demonstration work. Graduate Hamilton College, A. B.; also received Ph. D. degree from Cornell University. For four years held a fellowship at Cornell University, during which period he conducted an educational campaign during the growing season in disease and insect control and the general care of orchards. For one year was assistant botanist at the New York experiment station, Geneva, investigating potato diseases; and for two years was instructor in plant pathology at the University of Kansas. Two and one-half months.

William L. Doran, Amherst, Mass. Is extension pathologist for the State of Massachusetts and is engaged in putting into practice in that State, with the cooperation of the State extension forces, the methods of control of important diseases of truck crops that have been worked out. The work to which he is assigned is a necessary link in the food-conservation program. The position of extension pathologist is one requiring a man of thorough training in plant pathology and related subjects and wide experience. Graduate Massachusetts Agriculture College, B. S., specializing in botany and chemistry; did postgraduate work in plant pathology one year and received degree of M. S. During college course worked on farms in summer, especially with market-garden and florist crops; lived 18 years on a farm; instructor in botany, New Hampshire State College, and assistant botanist, New Hampshire Agricultural Experiment Station, one year. Seven months.

Ivan C. Jagger, Washington, D. C. (greater part of time spent in field). Is pathological adviser on truck-crop diseases for the Southern States, having general charge, on the part of the Bureau of Plant Industry, of the cooperative extension activities in the South along this line. He plans campaigns for the control of diseases of truck crops, visits the bureau workers in the States and the cooperating State officials, prepares circulars and bulletins, conducts correspondence, and in other similar ways carries on the campaign for food conservation through the control of plant diseases. Graduate Cornell University, B. S. in agriculture; graduate student and industrial fellow in department of plant pathology, same institution, one year; graduate student in University of Wisconsin one year, receiving M. S. degree after specializing in plant pathology; graduate student and instructor in department of plant pathology at Cornell one term. Before entering department spent four summers in the field in New York State carrying out experiments on the control of diseases of vegetables; for five years was assistant professor of plant pathology, University of Rochester and Cornell University, all his time being given to investigation of diseases of vegetables both in greenhouses and in field in the vicinity of Rochester, N. Y. Three months.

Max W. Gardner, Washington, D. C. (greater portion of time spent in field). Engaged in assisting the food products inspectors of the Bureau of Markets in the inspection of carload lots of perishable vegetables at terminal markets, the purpose of this work being to determine the causes of the large losses which occur in transit and to assist in the prevention of these losses through the introduction of control measures. This work is an important part of the program of food conservation through the control of plant diseases and requires men highly trained in plant pathology and possessing unusual teaching ability. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College, B. S.; also received M. S. and Ph. D. degrees from University of Wisconsin. Prior to present appointment served for various periods as pathologist and chemist, Keokuk Canning Co.; assistant plant pathologist to the Pennsylvania State Chestnut Bilght Commission; assistant in plant pathology, Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station; and during three summers held a three months' appointment in this bureau as assistant in charge of cucumber-disease investigations in Wisconsin; was also instructor in plant pathology, University of Michigan. Two years nine months.

Howard G. MacMillan, Washington, D. C. (temporary summer address, Greeley, Colo.). Engaged in the investigation of control methods for potato diseases in Colorado and has charge of important field stations. Has spent three years in the work and now has results which he believes will effect important improvements in the control of potato diseases in the irrigated West. Graduate Brown University, Ph. B.; also received M. S. and Ph. D. degrees from University of Wisconsin. Prior to present employment was employed for short periods by the Bureau of Plant Industry in connection with chestnut-blight investigations in the control of fruit diseases. Three years ten months.

Lawrence O. Watson, Florence, S. C. Is pathological adviser in charge of work on disease control for cotton and truck crops in all Southern States, representing the Bureau of Plant Industry in all its relations to southern extension work along these lines. Has also been engaged for a number of years in breeding and disseminating disease-resistant cotton and cowpeas and is the man on whom the bureau depends for the preservation and conduct of this important project. Has built up an efficient corps of cooperators and pushed with especial activity since the war the more extended use of resistant cotton as a means of disease control. Has organized and now directs this disease-control work in cooperation with the State authorities in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Oklahoma. The work, though new, is already having an influence on crop production. The county agents are continually in need of help from the experienced pathologists of this bureau. Graduate Clemson Agricultural College, B. S. in agriculture; one year of graduate work at the University of Illinois. Was raised on a farm and is familiar with the details of farm work. Before entering upon department duties was for two years assistant chemist in State analytical work at Clemson College, S. C.; served as assistant to the county auditor at intervals during vacation periods and was assistant botanist at the South Carolina Agricultural College one year. Seven years.

John C. Walker, Washington, D. C. (greater part of time spent in field). Engaged in the investigation of onion diseases and in pathological inspection work in cooperation with the Bureau of Markets and the War Department investigating pathological problems connected with the handling and transportation of vegetables. Graduate University of Wisconsin. M. S. and Ph. D.; took one semester of graduate work at Cornell University. Was born and raised on dairy and truck farm and had practical experience in growing cabbage, onions, potatoes, sugar beets, and other truck crops prior to entering the department. College work was directed chiefly to studies in plant pathology, especially diseases of truck crops. Eight and one-half months.

Jenkin W. Jones, Biggs, Cal. Has charge of the Biggs (Cal.) cereal field station of the Bureau of Plant Industry. This is the only experiment station devoted to the rice industry in the entire western United States. The experiments carried on there include the determination of the best varieties of rice for California conditions, the best times, rates, and methods of sowing rice to obtain the maximum production, the best methods, times, and rates of irrigation to conserve irrigation water and at the same time insure a large production, rotation systems to free rice lands from weeds, etc. The station is comparatively new, but is recognized as the source of all authentic information on rice growing in California. The many farmers who are taking up rice growing for the first time in 1918 are very largely dependent upon the station for their information. Graduate Utah Agricultural College, B. S. in agriculture. Was raised on a farm and prior to entering department had charge of a demonstration farm at Harlowton, Mont. Five years ten months.

Harry Braun, Washington, D. C. As a scientific assistant in the laboratory of plant pathology, is engaged in research studies on the new wheat disease in the Middle West known as "black chaff." He does both field and laboratory work and is at present the only well-trained man the laboratory of plant pathology has in the field. It is important that the work be pushed as rapidly as possible, owing to the number of States involved and the serious nature of the disease. Men fitted to prosecute such a research are hard to find, practically all of them being within the draft age. Mr. Braun worked last season on this wheat disease and knows the problems involved. Graduate Cornell University, B. S.; took postgraduate course at same institution, specializing in plant pathology; also did graduate work at Columbia University in botany one term, receiving M. A. degree. Prior to present appointment was for various periods assistant, department of plant pathology, Cornell University; student assistant and scientific assistant, Office of Cotton, Truck, and Forage-Crop Diseases Investigations, this bureau. One year nine and one-half months.

John W. Pace, Mobile, Ala. Has been engaged in connection with the cooperative campaign for the eradication of citrus canker in Alabama for more than two years and has proved to be unusually efficient inspector and superintendent, and experience has shown that it would be impossible to replace him with any satisfactory person. He has immediate supervision of the inspection and eradication work in Baldwin County, Ala., and occasional supervision over the work in Mobile County. In Baldwin County approximately a million Satsuma orange trees are planted. Since 1914 the citrus industry of the South has been menaced by the presence of the Japanese disease of citrus canker, which is not only very destructive to trees that become infected, but also destroys the commercial value of fruit. At present quarantine prevents the shipment of fruit from infected districts. It is becoming almost impossible to find new inspectors for responsible positions in the canker eradication work, which makes it imperative to retain the inspectors who have proved their ability to inspect citrus plantings and detect canker and who have the necessary executive ability to plan and supervise the work of others. Graduate Alabama Polytechnic Institute, B. S. Was raised on a farm. Two years six months.

Alma Wilson, Logan, Utah. Engaged as pathological adviser, in cooperation with the State extension forces of Utah, in putting into practice the methods of control developed for important diseases of truck crops. This work is important and is a necessary link in the food-conservation program. The position of extension pathologist is one requiring a man of thorough training in plant pathology and related subjects and wide experience. Graduate University of Utah, B. S. Was instructor in general botany at Utah Agricultural College four semesters, laboratory instructor in plant pathology two semesters, and laboratory instructor in plant physiology five semesters. Had two years' research experience in potato diseases at the Utah Experiment Station and some experience in plant-disease survey and in plant-disease extension work in Utah prior to entering department service. Six and one-half months.

BUREAU OF ENTOMOLOGY.

Name, home address, character of work, and length of service.

John E. Graf, Macclenny, Fla. Directs the field work being conducted at the various field stations of the Bureau of Entomology in connection with the campaign for the eradication and control of the sweet-potato weevil and coordinates the department's activities with similar work undertaken by State organizations. The work is closely allied to the emergency food production conservation program, inasmuch as the

sweet-potato weevil has been spreading unchecked until the present year and is becoming extremely threatening. The sweet potato is a staple food not only of the people of our Southern States but on the Army ration. Graduate Pomona College, with one year's postgraduate work at that institution. Six years eleven months.

C. H. Batchelder, Orono, Me. Demonstrates methods of controlling serious insect pests of staple crops. Men of the type capable of performing entomological extension work are extremely difficult to find, and the importance of the work, judged by their results obtained through their efforts, makes it extremely desirable to retain their services. Mr. Batchelder is the only extension entomologist now operating in the State of Maine. Graduate of an approved college, having taken the course in entomology; also had practical experience before entering the department fitting him for service as demonstrator and public speaker. Three months.

William T. Ham, Pullman, Wash. Demonstrates methods of controlling serious insect pests of staple crops. Graduate of an approved college, having taken the course in entomology; also had practical experience before entering the department fitting him for service as demonstrator. Five months.

Olden K. Courtney, Macclenny, Fla. Has charge of the operations at one of the bureau's field stations in connection with the eradication campaign against the sweet-potato weevil. Mr. Courtney is especially familiar with local conditions in the section in which he is employed. Graduate of an accepted agricultural college, having specialized in entomology. Five months.

Charles E. Smith, Baton Rouge, La. Has charge of the operations at one of the bureau's field stations in connection with the eradication campaign against the sweet-potato weevil. Graduate of an accepted agricultural college, having specialized in entomology. Three years.

ASSISTANTS IN TRUCK-CROP INSECT INVESTIGATIONS.

These employees are men of considerable experience in the Bureau of Entomology, who by reason of demonstrated ability in research, life-history studies, and investigations and experiments in control measures in connection with truck-crop insects have been placed in charge of bureau field stations in various localities. The character of the research investigations which they are conducting demands that men experienced and trained in the particular lines be employed in their prosecution. All these employees are working on problems of research closely allied to the present conservation program.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

Roy E. Campbell, Alhambra, Cal. Has charge of field station dealing especially with sugar-beet insects. College graduate, having specialized in entomology. Five years.

Fred A. Johnston, Kingsville, Tex. Has charge of one of the bureau's field stations in connection with the eradication campaign against the sweet-potato weevil. College graduate, specializing in entomology. Eight years.

Corwin F. Stahl, Spreckels, Cal. Engaged in study of insect transmission of curly top of sugar beets, probably the most serious disease of this crop in the United States. College graduate, specializing in entomology. Six years.

Francis M. Wadley, Wichita, Kans. Has charge of general truck-crop insect investigations at the bureau's field station at Wichita, Kans. College graduate, specializing in entomology. Four years.

C. F. Moreland, Baton Rouge, La. In connection with the sweet-potato weevil eradication campaign, is engaged in a survey of the food plants of this insect in order to determine all the facts possible regarding its feeding habits. This investigation is very essential to the effective prosecution of control measures. Mr. Moreland is fitted for this character of work by reason of his special botanical training and especially his familiarity with the flora of southern Louisiana. Graduate Louisiana State University, B. S. and M. S.; prior thereto attended Washington and Lee University one year. Was raised on a farm. Prior to entering department service was instructor in botany at the Louisiana State University. Two months.

A. J. Ackerman, Bentonville, Ark. Has charge of field experimental work in the control of apple insects in the Ozarks. This work has a direct bearing on increased food production. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S. Four years.

L. C. Antles, Grand Junction, Colo. Has charge of the bureau's investigations of the codling moth in the Grand Valley, Colo., which involves large-scale spraying operations in the control of this insect. Graduate Colorado Agricultural College, B. S.; also took postgraduate work at the Pennsylvania State College. Before entering the department service had three seasons' experience in orchard-insect work in the Grand Valley, Colo. Two months.

EXTENSION AGENTS IN DECIDUOUS FRUIT INSECT CONTROL.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the cases of the following agents engaged in extension work in deciduous fruit insect control. This work involves the giving of demonstrations of the proper methods of controlling insects affecting deciduous fruits. It has a direct bearing on increased food production, and, in view of the scarcity of men trained along this line, it would be very difficult to replace those now in the employ of the department.

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

J. M. Robinson, Raleigh, N. C. Graduate, University of Miami, B. S.; also received degree of M. S. from the Ohio State University. Nine months.

Oliver I. Snapp, Agricultural College, Miss. Graduate, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, B. S.; also took postgraduate work in entomology at the Maryland State College of Agriculture. One year nine months.

E. W. Atkins, Ames, Iowa. Is specialist in beekeeping in cooperation with the extension services of Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. This work includes field demonstrations and lectures among beekeepers, in cooperation with county agents. It has been increasingly difficult to find men of the proper training and experience for this type of extension work. Five vacancies now exist in the staff engaged upon this work, which so far it has been found impossible to fill. Graduate Ontario Agricultural College, Guelph, Ontario. Prior to entering department served as deputy apiary inspector in Ontario and as specialist in apiculture at the Nebraska Experiment Station; also was engaged as commercial beekeeper in Ontario. Seven months.

D. J. Caffrey, Hagerstown, Md. Has charge of the laboratory investigations on wireworms and cutworms; also work on European cornstalk borer in New England. These pests are responsible for tremendous losses in food crops. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College; also did postgraduate work at that institution. Prior to present appointment was for three months assistant to the entomologist of Massachusetts Experiment Station and for two years assistant to the State entomologist of Connecticut. Five years one month.

Frank S. Chamberlin, Quincy, Fla. Has charge of a substation at Quincy, Fla., investigating the tobacco budworm and other important tobacco insects. Received two years' training at the Worcester Polytechnic Institute and graduated from Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S. For two summers before entering the department held the position of deputy State nursery inspector of Massachusetts. Eleven and one-half months.

T. R. Chamberlin, Salt Lake City, Utah. Conducts control experiments with respect to the efficacy of certain cultural methods in the control of alfalfa weevil. Is the only fully experienced assistant remaining on this investigation, the two other older assistants having recently left the service, one for military duty and the other to engage in State work. Attended University of Utah. Five years six months.

Bert R. Coad, Tallulah, La. Has charge of the bureau laboratory, which conducts investigations of the cotton-boll weevil in the Mississippi Delta. He has had years of training in the boll-weevil work. Graduate University of Illinois, majoring in entomology. Served under the State entomologist after graduation for some time before entering the department. Six years six months.

ASSISTANTS IN COTTON-BOLL WEEVIL CONTROL.

These assistants are engaged in practical experiments in the control of the cotton-boll weevil, especially in the determination of the proper methods of using arsenate of lead. It is necessary to retain their services, at least during the present crop season, on account of the difficulty that has been experienced in obtaining men familiar with the cotton-boll weevil problem. These men have been especially trained for the work upon which they are engaged.

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

Webb B. Williams, Tallulah, La. Attended Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College for several years, specializing in entomological work. Two years seven and one-half months.

F. C. Craighead, East Falls Church, Va. Concerned primarily in the conservation, through the prevention of insect damage, of forest products, especially those used by the Army and Navy. Very much timber especially valuable to the Army and Navy is rendered unusable because of insect injury. The investigations conducted by Mr. Craighead have made and are making it possible to recommend control measures which will prevent this damage. The position is one which no training other than that gained through experience can be of immediate service. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. A.; took postgraduate work at George Washington University. Seven years.

C. W. Creel, Forest Grove, Oreg. In charge of a large and important field station located at Forest Grove, Oreg., and of all the investigations of the bureau on the clover-flower midge, alfalfa-seed chalcis, Hessian fly, and grasshoppers under way in the Pacific Northwest. Is directing a special campaign during the present season for the suppression of grasshoppers, the Coulee cricket, and the clover-flower midge in an effort to produce a full crop of red-clover seed. Graduate University of Nevada, B. S.; subsequently was assistant to the State entomolist of Nevada two years. Seven years four months.

W. M. Davidson, Sacramento, Cal. Engaged in the investigation of predatory insects, especially the ladybird beetles, in cooperation with the California State Horticultural Commission. This work involves careful life-history studies of the insects in question and their liberation in orchards on a practical scale where they are likely to become established. Graduate Leland Stanford University, B. S. Seven years four months.

A. B. Duckett, Bladensburg, Md. At the present time is the only well-trained assistant in the stored product insect branch of the Bureau of Entomology. He not only takes charge of the office during the absence of the branch chief, but has recently been assigned the very important task, in cooperation with the War Department, of reporting to the chief storage officer of the port of New York the condition of Federal supplies purchased and stored at the Bush Terminals in New York. This is a distinct war service. Graduate Maryland State College of Agriculture. Six years three and one-half months.

William O. Ellis, Riverton, N. J. Has charge at Riverton, N. J., of the bureau's investigations of the recently introduced Japanese beetle. This work involves careful life-history studies of the insect, its behavior, and experimental work in the field to effect its control. Mr. Ellis is also assisting in the work of the eradication of the beetle now under way. Graduate Lebanon Valley College (Annville, Pa.), A. B.; pursued postgraduate studies at the Iowa State College, specializing in advanced botany and general and research entomology; also took postgraduate work at Cornell University, specializing in economic entomology and advanced zoology. One year.

W. T. Emery, Wichita, Kans. Engaged as the ranking assistant in the Hessian-fly investigations located at Wichita, Kans., and is conducting biological work in connection with these activities, with which he alone is entirely familiar. Graduate Kansas State University, A. M. Subsequently was assistant to the Kansas Entomological Commission for one year. Four years one month.

A. I. Fabis, Brownwood, Tex. Has charge of the bureau's laboratory at Brownwood, Tex., where investigations of pecan insects are being carried out in that region. This work involves careful life-history studies of the important insect enemies of this crop and the carrying out in the field of large-scale experiments in their control. Graduate College of the City of New York, B. S.; also completed one year's work in entomology at Cornell University. Four years four months.

R. J. Fiske, Roswell, N. Mex. Has charge of the bureau's investigations of the codling moth in the Pecos Valley, N. Mex., involving careful life-history studies of the insect and large-scale field experiments in its control. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S.; previous to entering the department was acting in charge of the entomological work of the Porto Rican Agricultural Experiment Station. Three years ten months.

A. L. Ford, Manhattan, Kans. Engaged as special field agent in extension work for the State of Kansas. Was assigned to this work at the urgent request of the State director of extension and State entomologist, in order to prevent the suspension of the entire ento-

mological extension program, and is conducting important demonstration work on the control of insects affecting the production of winter wheat. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, M. S. For three years previous to present appointment was assistant in entomology at this institution. Ten months.

John B. Gill, Monticello, Fla. For five years has had charge of the bureau's investigations of pecan insects in the South, with headquarters at Monticello, Fla. This work involves careful life-history studies of the important insect enemies of the pecan and the carrying out in the field of large-scale experiments in the control of these insects. Eight years.

Rudolf W. Glaser, Forest Hills, Mass. For several years he has had charge of the investigation of the wilt disease which destroys gypsy-moth caterpillars. This has required a technical study in order to determine the causative organism of wilt. He is now working on a bacterial disease introduced from Japan, which affects gypsy-moth caterpillars. These experiments are only partially completed. Five years two months.

Charles C. Hill, Carlisle, Pa. Has charge of a branch of the Hessian-fly investigations east of the Alleghany Mountains. The work he is performing is of a peculiarly technical nature. Student at Harvard College; graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S. Prior to entering department was nursery inspector in Massachusetts for one year. Four years.

Thomas E. Holloway, New Orleans, La. Has charge of the bureau laboratory at New Orleans, La., where investigations of the sugar-cane insects and the Argentine ant are undertaken. Is at present in Cuba obtaining parasites for introduction into the United States for the control of the sugar-cane moth borer. The moth borer is one of the principal enemies of cane, and now menaces the future of the cane-sugar industry in this country. The only possible hope of controlling this pest is by the introduction of parasites. Graduate Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. Engaged in entomological work for the Texas Experiment Station two years before entering the service of the department. Nine years.

Robert H. Hutchison, Washington, D. C. Mr. Hutchison is the bureau's authority on the house fly and its control. He has also been engaged upon an investigation regarding the life history and control of the body and head lice commonly called "cooties." The cootie problem has opened up many fields for investigation, and unless the work is continued the matter may be dropped completely and important and necessary information will not be obtained. He is also cooperating with the Chemical Warfare Service in connection with tests that are being made of all poisonous gases now used in warfare with a hope that possibly some gas may be available which could be used for freeing the men wearing masks of all cooties. Also, at the request of the Medical Department, he is testing an unusual apparatus for the control of the cootie. In cooperation with the Quartermaster's Department, Mr. Hutchison is engaged in experiments to determine the effect of all processes of laundry and dry-cleaning establishments for the control of the cootie. He is thoroughly familiar with the technique of breeding the cootie, and has a thorough grasp of the whole subject. Graduate La Fayette College (Pa.); took postgraduate work at the University of Pennsylvania. Four years eleven and one-half months.

H. G. Ingerson, Lakewood, Ohio. Has charge of the bureau's investigations of grape insects, with headquarters at Cleveland, Ohio. This work involves careful life-history studies of the insects and carrying out in vineyards of large-scale experiments in their control. It is also necessary for Mr. Ingerson to visit various vineyardists in the grape-growing territory and instruct them in methods of insect control. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. Four years two months.

Dwight Isely, Bentonville, Ark. Has for some years had charge of the bureau's investigations of grape insects in the northeast Pennsylvania grape belt. At present is assigned to an investigation of apple insects in the Ozarks, with headquarters at Bentonville, Ark. This work involves careful life-history studies of important apple insects and the carrying out in the field of large-scale experiments in their control. Graduate Fairmont College (Wichita, Kans.), A. B.; received degree of M. A. from Kansas University. Four years.

Dettmar W. Jones, Melrose Highlands, Mass. Engaged on experimental work in connection with the introduction of parasites of the gipsy moth and the brown-tail moth and is carrying on special investigations on several introduced species. Four years.

Willard V. King, New Orleans, La. For several years represented the Bureau of Entomology in the studies of pellagra undertaken by the Thompson-McFadden Commission. For several seasons following this work had charge of the bureau's work in Montana on the Rocky Mountain spotted-fever tick. The winter seasons were spent by Dr. King in malaria-mosquito investigations in New Orleans, where he made an unusual record. During 1916 he discovered that a species of mosquito which has heretofore not been considered an efficient carrier of malaria, can do so. He also conducts special investigations on the body louse and is a recognized authority on medical entomology. Graduate Montana Agricultural College; also received degree of Ph. D. from Tulane University. Nine years.

Max Kisliuk, jr., Miami, Fla. Engaged in control work on the army worms, which are doing serious injury to plantings of castor beans in Florida; also in working out measures for controlling other castor-bean insects. The Signal Corps of the Army has made large contracts for plantings of castor beans in order that a sufficient supply of oil may be available as a lubricant for airplane motors. Conditions on these plantations are so serious that the bureau is concentrating all the men it can spare on the problem. Graduate Maryland Agricultural College; did postgraduate work at the Ohio State University, receiving his master's degree from the latter institution. One year eight and one-half months.

E. W Laake, Dallas, Tex. Engaged in work on live-stock insect pests and in cooperative experiments with the Bureau of Animal Industry in the control of insects in meat-packing establishments. Graduate Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Four years eleven and one-half months.

M. C. Lane, Forest Grove, Oreg. Has assisted in the grasshopper control and investigational work in the northwestern part of the country. At present is engaged in the clover-seed chalcis campaigns in the Pacific Northwest. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S., majoring in entomology. Prior to department appointment was a deputy nursery inspector of Massachusetts and had practical experience in bee management. One year six months.

B. R. Leach, Winchester, Va. Has charge of the bureau's laboratory at Winchester, Va., where investigations are being carried out on the important apple insects in that region. The comparative merits of dust and liquid sprays in the control of these insects is being worked out. Mr. Leach has had considerable experience along this line. Graduate Cornell University, B. S. Four years four months.

T. F. McGehee, Tallulah, La. Is first assistant in the cotton-boll weevil investigations conducted at Tallulah, La. He has had experience in this investigation during the past four years. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College. Four years ten months.

R. B. McKeown, Medford, Oreg. Assists in codling-moth investigations in the Rogue River Valley, Oreg., with headquarters at Medford. Graduate Colorado Agricultural College, B. S. One year.

William M. Mann, Washington, D. C. Has devoted practically all his time to studying and classifying ants referred to the Bureau of Entomology, and recently has completed a very thorough survey of Cuba and the Bahamas to determine injurious insects, including ants, which might be introduced either through commerce or on nursery stock into the United States. Can speak the languages in vogue in practically all of the countries requiring special investigation to determine injurious insects likely to be introduced, and is also familiar with the conditions existing in these countries. Attended Washington College of Agriculture two years; also two years at Leland Stanford Junior University, receiving the degree of B. A. from the latter institution; subsequently received the degree of D. S. from Harvard University. Prior to entering the Government service spent six years in studying ants under the direct supervision of Dr. W. M. Wheeler, who is the world's recognized authority on this group of insects. In addition, has devoted two summers to study at the Marine Biological Laboratory, and for two years held a traveling fellowship from Harvard for ant work in the Fiji and Solomon Islands and Australia. Other explorations were made by him in Brazil, Bolivia, Mexico, Haiti, Arabia, Syria, Bahama Islands, and various parts of the United States. Ten months.

Harold Morrison, Washington, D. C. Is entomological explorer in charge of an insect survey of the West Indian Islands and Central and South American countries. This survey has particular relation to fruit flies and other insect pests of plants and plant products likely to be brought into the United States through the agency of commerce from the regions designated. He is also in charge of the collection of fruit flies and other pests from the regions named which are being collected and forwarded to the Bureau of Entomology from time to time by various official entomologists, directs the correspondence and the work of various collaborators, and makes personal surveys to check up the work and to supplement it with such specific studies as may be necessary to secure the desired information over the entire field. He has already completed a preliminary survey of the Virgin Islands, San Domingo, and Cuba, and, in addition, has made a specific study of the citrus black fly, a dangerous insect which has not yet gained a foothold in the States, in Cuba, Jamaica, and the Canal Zone. The importance of keeping out injurious insects affecting tropical and subtropical fruits which have not yet gained entrance into the continent is well recognized. Graduate Cornell University, B. A.; also received the degree of M. A. from Leland Stanford University. For five years was assistant to the State entomologist of Indiana, devoting most of his time to the inspection of foreign and domestic nursery stock and the determination of insects and plant diseases. Prior to present appointment was entomological inspector of the Federal Horticultural Board. Two years three and one-half months.

G. F. Moznette, Miami, Fla. Has charge of field work in the study of the life history, habits, and means of control of fruit flies and other insect enemies of mango, guava, avocado, and other subtropical fruits which are being commercially developed in southern Florida. He also cooperates with the Federal Horticultural Board and has charge of the inspection and safeguarding of plants grown in the plant-introduction garden at Miami, Fla., maintained by the Bureau of Plant Industry. This project covers an important field of special fruit development in southern Florida and is particularly important because of the location at Miami of one of the department's principal plant-introduction gardens, and because of the proximity of this region to Cuba and the Bahamas, which under existing traffic conditions renders it very subject to possible invasion by a number of serious fruit insect enemies, which are known to occur in the West Indies. Graduate Oregon Agricultural College, B. S.; did one year's postgraduate work at University of California. Prior to present appointment was assistant entomologist at the Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station for two years, and served for one year as entomological inspector in the Federal Horticultural Board. Eleven months.

Paul R. Myers, Carlisle, Pa. Is ranking assistant attached to Hessian-fly investigations east of the Alleghany Mountains. Prior to present employment was assistant in the department of agriculture of Pennsylvania four years and assistant in the United States National Museum four years. Four years.

E. J. Newcomer, Portland, Oreg. Engaged in investigations of important peach insects. Graduate Leland Stanford University, A. B., also took postgraduate work in entomology at this institution. Four years one month.

C. M. Packard, Berkeley, Cal. Has complete charge of the Hessian-fly investigations in California. Also cooperates in the grasshopper-control work carried on in that State. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S. Was assistant in horticulture at the college two years. Five years.

J. H. Paine, Washington, D. C. Engaged in orchard insect-survey work. This work involves making observations on important deciduous-fruit insects. In addition, Mr. Paine is an insect photographer. Graduate Leland Stanford University, B. S. Five years six months.

H. R. Painter, Charleston, Mo. Assistant in investigations of the Hessian fly, chinch bug, and billbug at the bureau's station at Charleston, Mo. Graduate, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Was subsequently assistant State entomologist of Oklahoma. Two months.

F. W. Poos, Charlottesville, Va. Conducts field operations in connection with the experimental control of the wheat jointworm, which has been very injurious throughout the winter-wheat belt for the past two years. Graduate University of Kansas, M. A. Was assistant to the Kansas entomological commission one year, and agent for the Florida State plant commission one year. One year.

P. A. Porter, Wallingford, Conn. Has been engaged in life-history studies of parasites attacking deciduous-fruit insects. Has accumulated considerable data in connection with the life histories of these parasites. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S. One year.

Dean A. Ricker, West Lafayette, Ind. Engaged as assistant in the long-term experiments in connection with the investigation of the Hessian fly and white grub, having charge of field plots and other work in

northern Indiana. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S. Was assistant in gypsy-moth control work one year prior to present appointment. Three years.

L. P. Rockwood, Forest Grove, Oreg. Is ranking assistant at the bureau's Forest Grove (Oreg.) laboratory. Is engaged in active field work in connection with the campaign for the increased production of red-clover seed through the suppression of the clover-seed chalcis and clover-flower midge. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S. Was employed one year as assistant in mosquito-control work in Massachusetts. Six years.

S. A. Rohwer, East Falls Church, Va. Has charge of the eastern field station of the branch of forest insects. The primary problems investigated by him are (a) phenological records on plants and insects in relation to the bioclimatic law, and (b) work on insect galls for the purpose of obtaining an American substitute for those galls which heretofore have been introduced and form a necessary ingredient in the manufacture of record inks, especially those used in the Treasury Department. These galls also supply necessary properties in certain useful dyes and form one source of supply of gallic and tannic acids. This work is of such a nature that it can be conducted only by one who can qualify by the training gained through experience. Attended University of Colorado, specializing in biology and allied sciences, work at university being supplemented by independent researches of a technical nature; received special training under the direction of two very prominent American entomologists. Eight years ten months.

John V. Schaffner, jr., Sherborn, Mass. Has been conducting experimental work in the field in the control of gypsy and brown-tail moths, and for the past three or four years has had charge of a section of the work. Six years seven months.

E. R. Selkregg, Washington, D. C. Has charge of life-history investigations of the oriental peach moth at Arlington Farm, Va., which involves cafeful life-history studies of the insect as a basis for determining means of control. This insect has recently been discovered and is proving to be a serious pest of peach, pear, apple, quince, and other fruits. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S. Four years.

Melvin B. Shepherd, Melrose Highlands, Mass. Has been employed for past five years in colonizing imported parasites of the gipsy and brown-tail moth and making collections from colonies liberated in order to determine the success of the plantings. Has a thorough knowledge of the location of different parasite colonies throughout the infested area in New England, also the methods used in handling parasitic material at the laboratory. Six years seven months.

E. H. Siegler, Wallingford, Conn. Has been continuously engaged in investigations of deciduous-fruit insects and their control, and is a specialist in apple-insect investigations, being in charge of this line of work for the bureau in different localities. Is at the present time in charge of the bureau's laboratory at Wallingford, Conn., devoted to the investigation of important apple insects. This work includes a large amount of careful life-history studies of orchard insect pests, and especially the carrying out in the field of large-scale spraying, dusting, and other experiments in insect control. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. Seven years one month.

Arnold P. Sturtevant, Washington, D. C. Engaged in a study of the causes and treatment of bee diseases. Also examines samples sent in by beekeepers from all parts of the United States for determination. The Bureau of Entomology has full knowledge of work done by experiment stations and other agencies, and no other bacteriologist could be secured to do this work. Graduate Clark University; did post-graduate work at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Prior to present appointment was assistant to professor of bacteriology Massachusetts Institute of Technology; was also specialist in bee diseases, experiment station, Amherst, Mass. One year six months.

Chester F. Turner, West Lafayette, Ind. Has charge of Hessian-fly investigations at Nashville, Ill. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, B. S. Subsequently was nursery inspector in Kansas and assistant in gypsy-moth control in Massachusetts one year. Four years seven months.

R. H. Van Zwaluwenburg, Hagerstown, Md. Engaged in a campaign for the control or extermination of the European cornstalk borer, a dangerous European pest which has recently become established in eastern Massachusetts. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S., majoring in entomology. Prior to present appointment was entomologist at the insular experiment station, Mayaguez, Porto Rico. Eight months.

W. B. Wood, Washington, D. C. Has charge of experimental work being carried out on the Arlington farm in the control of the oriental peach moth, which involves large-scale spraying experiments in the application of insecticides to determine the best means of controlling this insect. Mr. Wood has had a wide range of experience in life-history studies and control operations in connection with decidious-fruit insect investigations. Graduate Kansas Agricultural College, B. S. Seven years two months.

T. Scott Wilson, San Antonio, Tex. Is the sole assistant attached to the entomological field laboratory located at San Antonio, Tex. Is conducting an insect survey of Texas in cooperation with the State and bureau extension entomologists. Is also cooperating with these specialists in the insect-control work. Graduate University of Kansas, A. B. Subsequently was teacher of zoology and biology one year. Five years three months.

H. K. Plank, Seaview, Wash. Has charge of the bureau's laboratory at Seaview, Wash., where investigations of cranberry insects are being carried out in cooperation with the Washington Agricultural Experiment Station. Graduate Pennsylvania State College of Agriculture, B. S. Four years two months.

BUREAU OF BIOLOGICAL SURVEY.

BIOLOGICAL ASSISTANTS IN RODENT-CONTROL WORK.

Prairie dogs, ground squirrels, jack rabbits, pocket gophers, and other rodent pests occupy hundreds of millions of acres of public domain and private lands in the West. A considerable part of 17 States is occupied by these pests, which exist in such enormous numbers that they are highly destructive both to crops and to grazing. The losses in food crops alone are estimated from $6,000,000 to $9,000,000 annually in North Dakota, $20,000,000 in Montana, and approximately $30,000,000 in California. The losses in the other States involved are in proportion to the cultivated areas.

Through the investigations of its field experts the Bureau of Biological Survey has developed methods of destroying these pests on a large scale and at small cost, even with the present high prices of material. The methods employed by this bureau in rodent-control work have been developed within the past three or four years, and, as a result, the only available specialists who have a sufficient knowledge of the work to handle it effectively are the extremely limited number of men who have been employed in it.

Each of these assistants is in charge of rodent campaigns in the destruction of these pests over vast areas. Through cooperation with the State extension services thousands of farmers are working under the direction of these experts in exterminating rodent pests. In North Dakota during the present season 33,000 farmers are working in the campaign organized by one of these men, and it is expected that more than 13,000,000 acres of land will be largely freed from ground squirrels and that a great increase in the grain output of that State will result. The bureau's expert, in combination with the State extension service, is planning a still greater campaign next year. In Montana about 20,000 farmers are engaged in a rodent campaign under the direction of one of these men. In New Mexico the State council of defense has allotted money to be expended under the direction of one of the bureau's assistants in a campaign against noxious animals in order to increase the food output of that State the present year, and the result has been so gratifying that the chairman of the council has requested that this cooperation be repeated the coming year.

Everywhere in the States where the bureau is working the communities are putting up many thousands of dollars and the farmers are cooperating in constantly growing numbers, owing to the obvious saving of food resulting from the wholesale destruction of rodents which maintain themselves throughout the season by feeding upon planted crops. There is a demand for more than double the number of experts that are now available for this work. To take away the few competent men engaged on these projects would leave the bureau without the necessary force to carry on the work and would deprive it of the necessary experts to train the additional men needed, as well as to continue the important campaigns now in progress.

The State directors of extension work, farmers, and others in the States where this work is being conducted agree in the opinion that it is directly adding many millions of dollars to the food output of the country each season. The effects of the work are so apparent that the public demand for assistance and assignment of experts to guide local campaigns far exceeds the bureau's ability to comply.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

Winney E. Crouch, Boise, Idaho. Graduate North Dakota College of Agriculture. One year eleven months.

Gilbert F. Bateman, Tucumcari, N. Mex. Attended the Colorado Agricultural College two years, specializing in biology. One year four months.

Ray T. Jackson, Laramie, Wyo. Graduate Colorado College of Agriculture. Five years eight months.

Donald A. Gilchrist, Flagstaff, Ariz. Graduate Colorado College of Agriculture. Three years seven months.

Urban S. Ebner, Fargo, N. Dak. Graduate North Dakota College of Agriculture. Two years eleven months.

Charles F. Bliss, Albuquerque, N. Mex. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S., specializing in forestry; also took special training in advanced physiology and ecology at the University of Minnesota, obtaining a degree of M. S. in forestry. Seven years eleven months.

Benjamin B. Richards, Provo, Utah. Graduate Kansas Agricultural College. Two years three months.

James Silver, jr., Denver, Colo. Graduate Colorado College of Agriculture. Five years.

Cedric R. Landon, predatory-animal inspector, San Angelo, Tex. Has had charge of the bureau's predatory-animal campaigns in Texas three years. Has developed an efficient force of hunters and managed the work successfully. He has secured the hearty support of the ranchmen and live-stock associations, which are supplying funds for the employment of additional hunters under his supervision. His experience with conditions on the Texas ranges and his knowledge of the available competent hunters, as well as his acquaintanceship among the live-stock growers and their confidence in him, are assets of great value in connection with the work in that region. It is difficult to find experienced men for the predatory-animal work even under normal conditions. Three years seven months.

BUREAU OF CROP ESTIMATES.

FIELD AGENTS.

Each field agent of the Bureau of Crop Estimates is required to keep so thoroughly in touch with the agricultural conditions in his territory that he can not only make accurate reports to the department for publication month by month, but that he may be considered the highest authority on such matters in his State. These objects are accomplished by (1) travel and close study to learn at first hand acreages planted, relative changes in condition of crops, and probable yield; (2) personal interviews with the best-informed men in each section; (3) extensive circularization of the territory, for which purpose large lists of individuals trained in reporting crop conditions are maintained; and (4) the maintenance of detailed records acquired by crop-reporting methods in previous years, as well as records from all other sources possible, such as assessors' returns, census reports, etc., so compiled as to facilitate comparison and study. These duties are incidental to the issuance of the regular crop report each month. In addition, special reports are frequently required to be made, which usually involve special trips to restricted areas, preparation of mimeographed inquiries, tabulation of returns, and report to Washington.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the case of five field agents of the Bureau of Crop Estimates. Each is an experienced man, whom it would be difficult to replace, and whose services in connection with the present and prospective food supply are of great importance during the continuance of the war. Unquestionably the retention of these men in their present positions is necessary to the adequate and effective operation of the crop-reporting service, and none of them could be replaced without substantial material loss. Furthermore, each represents an investment by the Government of a large sum of money in preliminary training, getting acquainted with his territory, and becoming familiar with methods and sources of estimating crops and live stock, which can be acquired only in the service of the Bureau of Crop Estimates. If any of these men should leave the bureau, several months would be lost in obtaining a successor through the Civil Service Commission, and a year or more would be required to train his successor to the point where his judgment would be sufficiently developed to be of value.

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

Aaron E. Anderson, Lincoln, Nebr. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, degree of B. S. in agriculture; first 18 years of life spent on farm. Four years.

Hal F. Bryant, Charleston, W. Va. Graduate University of Kentucky, B. S. in agriculture. Three years four months.

Guy Fitzpatrick, Missoula, Mont. Graduate Minnesota College of Agriculture, B. S. Five years eight months.

Harry O. Herbrandson, Watertown, S. Dak. Graduate North Dakota Agricultural College, B. S. in agriculture. Four years.

Julius H. Jacobson, Blackfoot, Idaho. Graduate Utah Agricultural College, B. S. Prior to present appointment was engaged one year in practical farming; three and one-half years, agriculture, Department of the Interior; and four years assistant in dry-land agriculture, Bureau of Plant Industry, Department of Agriculture. Five years four months.

FRUIT AND TRUCK CROP SPECIALISTS.

Crop specialists, as a rule, maintain no lists of reporters. Most of their information is gained by travel and by interviewing large numbers of individuals. The information thus gathered is used to supplement and as a check against similar information gathered from other sources by the bureau or its field agents. The territory of crop specialists is more extended than that of field agents. The productive region for fruit and truck crops is divided according to the number of assistant crop specialists available. The truck crop specialists are assigned certain territories extending across the country from South to North, and their travel is regulated by the progress of the trucking season from South to North. Their reports are submitted weekly by telegraph to the chief truck crop specialist at Washington and are considered in connection with information obtained from other sources, resulting in the issuance by the bureau of weekly and semimonthly truck crop reports. The fruit crop specialists devote special attention to surveys of apple and peach growing sections. Their travel is continuous, and the results of their observations, together with the returns from printed inquiries among orchardists, are embodied in monthly reports.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the case of four crop specialists. Each is well qualified for the work to which he is assigned, before receiving appointment having passed a rigid civil-service examination requiring a basic knowledge of scientific agriculture, statistical methods, etc. The withdrawal of any one of these men would result in substantial, material loss and detriment to the adequate and effective operation of the crop-reporting service. Furthermore, like the field agents, these crop specialists represent an investment by the Government of a large sum of money in preliminary training, getting acquainted with their territory, and becoming familiar with methods and sources of estimating fruit and truck crops, which can be learned only in the service of the Bureau of Crop Estimates.

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

Charles G. Carpenter, New Orleans, La. Assistant truck crop specialist, whose territory extends throughout the United States. One year two months.

J. Clifford Folger. Fruit crop specialist, whose territory extends throughout the United States. Graduate Washington State College of Agriculture, bachelor of science in horticulture; candidate for doctor of physics in agricultural economics. Two years.

R. G. Risser, San Francisco, Cal. Assistant truck crop specialist, whose territory extends throughout the United States west of the Mississippi. One year six months.

Samuel M. Thomson, Washington, D. C. Assistant fruit crop specialist, traveling extensively throughout the United States. Graduate Cornell University; bachelor of science. Prior to present appointment had several years' service and wide experience with fruit crops in the Office of Farm Management of this department. Four years three months.

STATES' RELATIONS SERVICE.

COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION WORK.

The cooperative extension act of May 8, 1914, provided for a nation-wide system of instruction for the farming population in agriculture and home economics outside of the schools and colleges. It established a close copartnership between the Federal and State agencies in the organization and administration of the extension service. When a state of war was declared it was realized that the cooperative extension system, with its combination of Federal and State administrative officers and specialists, county agents, home demonstration agents, farm bureaus, and other local organizations furnished a ready and effective means for the nation-wide dissemination of the needed facts as well as for practical demonstrations of the best methods of increasing agricultural production and securing the most economical utilization of the products of the farm. Recognizing the importance of this great system, Congress appropriated $4,348,400 for its immediate development. This involved the rapid extension of the work to all sections of the Union and necessitated the employment of a large number of additional county agents, home demonstration agents, club agents, and the like, at the very time when the department was losing many of its most effective and trained employees

The cooperative extension service, as now developed, consists of a well-organized field force reaching into most of the agricultural counties in the United States, through which the Department of Agriculture, and other Federal agencies acting in cooperation with it, as well as State and county agencies, are able to reach the farmers in a very direct way and to assist them in the difficult problems presented during the continuance of the war. In each State there is a director of extension, with administrative assistants and specialists. There is also a county agricultural agent in each of 2,450 counties, and a county home demonstration agent in each of 1,800 counties.

The county agents work with and through various organizations, such as farmers' associations, farm bureaus, county councils of agriculture, county councils of defense, and the like. In a large part of the United States the organization extends to every community in each county, with voluntary workers in each community organization acting in consonance with the National and State forces in the matter of food production and conservation. Through this organized force the needs of the Nation in food production are made known to the farmers, and they are assisted in planning their work so as to best meet these needs. In this way the farmers are aided in locating supplies of seed, in securing fertilizer and farm implements, in the prevention of outbreak of animal diseases, in the control of plant diseases and insect pests, in the utilization of better farm implements to save labor, and community cooperation to supply labor, and in securing the assistance of city and town people in supplying the labor needs of farmers. They are also assisted in dealing with problems of marketing and storage, prevention of waste, conservation, saving of fuel, etc. Assistance is rendered to farm women in the problems of gardening, dairying, poultry raising, canning, preserving, drying, and otherwise conserving food for future use, as well as the utilization of food and the substitution of foods which are plentiful for those which are scarce.

These agents also render valuable assistance in liberty loan, Red Cross, war savings, and other campaigns and aid local draft boards in considering of furloughs from the Army for agricultural purposes. They supply the Department of Agriculture with accruate information regarding production, outbreaks of disease among animals and plants, outbreaks of insect pests, and difficulties in marketing, and keep the Government posted generally regarding all matters affecting agriculture within the counties.

STATE AGENTS AND COUNTY AGENT LEADERS AND ASSISTANTS.

State agents in charge of county-agent work are usually selected from men who have been successful county agents. Their duties are to supervise the work of their assistants, and through them of the agents, to carry the food-production program of the Federal department and the State agricultural colleges to the farmers of the State, and of each county through the organized efforts of the district and county agents, and to assist them in adapting it to the agricultural possibilities of the county. They maintain relationships with the specialists at the agricultural college and in the Federal Department of Agriculture and adapt their campaigns to the work of the county agents. They receive, compile, and summarize the reports of the agents and report upon the work to the extension director and to the department.

Assistant State agents or district agents and assistant county-agent leaders have a prescribed territory consisting of a number of counties in which county agents are located. Under the administrative direction of the director of extension and the State agents these men travel from county to county and supervise the work of the county agents. They perfect the necessary financial arrangements before a county agent is employed, check up on the agent's method of conducting his work, give him instructions, and guide him on questions of policy, and assist him in all problems of organization. They also aid the county agent in carrying to the people any agricultural plan or campaign outlined by the department and the college. They perfect the plans for the work of specialists coming from the colleges and the department to assist county agents and, in short, deal with all the problems and all the types of work of the county agent in an administrative way.

As a rule, a district agent supervises the demonstration work of from 12 to 25 counties.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by the draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

Thomas L. Asbury, Madison, Ga. Graduate Georgia State College of Agriculture, B. S. Was reared on farm and has had practical experience in dairying and general farm work. Two years eleven and one-half months.

Spencer B. Cleland, St. Paul, Minn. Graduate Minnesota College of Agriculture. Since graduation has done farm-survey work in Minnesota. Three years ten months.

James M. Gray, Asheville, N. C Graduate Agricultural and Mechanical College of North Carolina, B. S.; took postgraduate studies. Was reared on a farm. While in college spent two summers on farm and two summers in college dairy. Managed farm one year. Three years six months.

Dewitt T. Hardin, Chattanooga, Tenn. Graduate Clemson College; also received M. S. A. degree in University of Tennessee. Reared on a farm. Assisted in short-course work; official tester for the Tennessee Experiment Station two years. Four years three months.

Albert L. Love, Nashville, Tenn. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S.; attended summer schools Mississippi Agricultural College and University of Chicago; took postgraduate course Mississippi Agricultural College; one year, George Washington University. Was reared on a farm; has worked and managed several farms in Mississippi and is familiar with general-crop production. Taught school four years. Three years five months.

Paul W. Monohon, Orono, Me. Graduate University of Maine, taking agricultural course. Was assistant to dean of College of Agriculture, Orono, Me., one year; also assistant to director of extension. One year ten months.

William E. Morris, Olivia, Minn. Graduate Wisconsin College of Agriculture. Was assistant in feed and fertilizer inspection and dairy tests, Wisconsin Experiment Station, two terms; also had charge of animal husbandry and dairy department of the La Crosse County School of Agriculture. Four years ten months.

George E. Piper, Manhattan, Kans. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College, B. S. Prior to present appointment edited agricultural supplement for Associated Publishers Syndicate; was foreman on a 6,000-acre live-stock and grain ranch in Montana. Three years three months.

Harvey C. Ray, Little Rock, Ark. Spent four years at the State School, Missouri, Lincoln Institute; two years postgraduate course at Tuskegee Institute, Ala.; specialized in general agriculture and farming. For three years was superintendent of agricultural department, Langston University, Langston, Okla. Was raised on a farm, and has a very practical knowledge of all kinds of farm operations. Three years six months.

Carl M. Rose, Lexington, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College; took postgraduate work in agriculture at Cornell University. Prior to present appointment was for two years manager of a large plantation in Mississippi; afterwards served as county agent. Nine months.

Phil Sheldon, Lincoln, Nebr. Attended University of Nebraska College of Agriculture. Ten months.

Lewis A. Toan, Rochester, N. Y. Graduate Cornell University, B. S. A. Was farm manager four years after leaving college. Taught agriculture in high school one year. Was manager Monroe County Farm Bureau four years. Eleven months.

Hu S. Vandervort, Morgantown, W. Va. Graduate West Virginia University, B. S. in agriculture; postgraduate work, same institution. Was reared on a farm. Prior to present appointment served as county agent three years. Two years eleven months.

Wylie R. Ward, Omaha, Nebr. Attended Wesleyan University one year; graduate College of Agriculture, University of Nebraska, B. S. Was instructor in agronomy at University of Nebraska two terms. Ten months.

Lawrence A. Wickland, Omaha, Nebr. Graduate Nebraska University, B. S., in agriculture; taught school. Seven months.

N. C Wickland, Omaha, Nebr. Graduate Nebraska University, B. S. Taught school four years before and one year after graduating; also engaged in farming. Ten months.

Collett E. Woolman, Baton Rouge, La. Graduate University of Illinois, B. S. in agriculture. Spent six months abroad studying agriculture in England, France, Germany, and Holland. Farm reared, with extensive practical farm experience. Four years nine and one-half months.

COUNTY AGENTS AND ASSISTANT AGENTS.

A county agent is a joint employee of the United States Department of Agriculture, the State agricultural college, and the county government, or some organization in the county. Generally he is a graduate in agriculture of a State agricultural college, has had practical experience in farming, and possesses personal qualifications for leadership in agriculture.

His duties are to secure the cooperation of farmers in conducting on their farms, with their own laborers, tools, and equipment, and at their own expense, cooperative demonstrations to illustrate better farm practices in the raising of crops, feeding of live stock, and, in many cases, in farm management and marketing. He disseminates information generally to farmers—either to individuals upon request or through organized communities, meetings, etc. As a general rule he has the cooperation of some county or community organization of farming people, whereby he is enabled to reach the largest possible number of persons. These organizations also give the farmers an opportunity to take an active part in planning the program for the county-agent work so as to meet the real needs of agriculture in the respective communities. Where there are existing organizations of farmers he works through them, if possible. He brings to the farmers of the county on their own farms the agricultural information of the Department of Agriculture and the State agricultural colleges. His entire efforts are directed toward improving agricultural conditions, the introduction of the best methods, and the solution of difficult problems confronting the farmers.

An important part of his duties relates to the introduction and development of the live-stock industry, the standardization of breeds, and the organization of farmers for the control of live-stock diseases, such as hog cholera and blackleg. In this work he cooperates with the live-stock disease-control agencies of the State and Nation. He teaches farmers how to prevent damage from insects and organizes them to control insect pests and plant diseases whenever outbreaks occur. He cooperates in this work with the entomological and pathological specialists and those in charge of insect and plant-disease control.

During the war he has a large number of other duties. The agricultural campaigns or programs are carried out locally under his leadership. It is his duty to advise farmers regarding the needs of the Nation with reference to production, marketing, conservation, and the like and to suggest ways of meeting them.

This work is done through some county organization, whether it be farmers' associations, a county farm bureau, a county council of agriculture, or the county council of defense. He helps locate supplies of seed where needed; advises farmers, with the assistance of specialists, on problems of marketing and on the purchase of supplies, such as fertilizers, tools, equipment, etc.; deals with the farm-labor situation, under the direction of the farm-help specialists of the Department of Agriculture; and generally takes charge of all extension work in the county regarding food production, prevention of waste in production, storage, and marketing.

The farm-labor situation has presented many difficulties since the United States entered the war. The county agents have rendered valuable assistance in dealing with the problem, especially in determining the farm-labor needs of the county, registering available laborers, and supplying farmers with labor at the time needed. They have also emphasized the necessity of cooperation among farmers in the use of labor, machinery, and equipment.

The county agents have actively cooperated in the Red Cross, liberty loan, war saving, and other special war campaigns. Because of the wide experience that these men have already had and the contacts that they have established in the counties it would seriously interfere with the food-production and conservation campaigns if their services were to be discontinued. The work performed by them requires not only practical experience in farming but technical knowledge as well.

Assistant county agents have training and experience similar to that of the county agents. They are located in populous agricultural counties, working as assistants to and under the direction of the county agents.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

Andrew H. Barnett, Camden, Ala. Graduate Alabama Polytechnic Institute, B. S. A. Has practical knowledge of farm work and the care and breeding of live stock. Two years four months.

William D. Barton, Prattville, Ala. Graduate Alabama Polytechnic Institute, B. S. A.; also took a summer course in chemistry. Had practical farm experience; for two years after leaving college managed farm of an agricultural school. Three years seven months.

Frank R. Curtis, Demopolis, Ala. Graduate Alabama Polytechnic Institute. After graduation worked on his own farm for a short time; was then assistant manager of a plantation of 5,000 acres. Four years seven months.

Loyd J. Hawley, Troy, Ala. Graduate Alabama Polytechnic Institute. Had practical farm experience. Three years nine months.

Robert C. Lett, Tuscaloosa, Ala., Box 606. Attended Alabama Polytechnic Institute. Has had practical farm experience. Four years five months.

James A. McLeod, Union Springs, Ala. Graduate Alabama Polytechnic Institute, B. S. in animal industry. Had practical experience in farming before entering college. Was assistant in animal industry at Alabama Polytechnic Institute 15 months after graduation. Three years.

Lewis C. Pace, Eutaw, Ala. Graduate Agricultural College of the University of Tennessee, B. S. Had practical farm experience. Taught agriculture in an agricultural high school one year after leaving college. Nine months.

George H. Stewart, Wedowee, Ala. Graduate Alabama Polytechnic Institute; took postgraduate work at University of Wisconsin. Had practical farm experience. Ten months.

Joseph P. Wilson, Andalusia, Ala. Graduate Alabama Agricultural College, B. S. Had practical farm experience. Taught school four years after leaving college. Two years three months.

Emmitt S. Barrentine, Mammoth Spring, Ark. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S.; took postgraduate work. Has had practical farm experience. Had three years' experience in teaching rural schools. Nine months.

Stanley D. Carpenter, Harrison, Ark. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural College, B. S. Has had practical farm experience. Taught in agricultural high school two years. Was employed one year with the Florida State plant board in citrus-canker eradication work. Nine months.

James E. Critz, Marion, Ark. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural College, B. S. Had practical experience in all kinds of farm work. Was teacher in agricultural high school a year and a half. One year six months.

George R. Ely, Little Rock, Ark., old courthouse. Graduate State Agricultural College of Pennsylvania, B. S. Taught animal husbandry in agricultural school three years. Was for 16 months seed and fertilizer inspector for the commissioner of agriculture in Arkansas. Has had practical farm experience. Four and one-half months.

Joel Lambert, Pine Bluff, Ark. Has practical knowledge of all farm operations. Six years seven months.

Herbert A. McPherson, McGehee, Ark. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Has had actual farm experience. Was for two years plantation manager. One year two months.

Colin D. Gunn, Starke, Fla. Graduate Florida Agricultural College, B. S. Has had practical farm experience. One year eight months.

Tom B. Brandon, Claxton, Ga. Graduate Clemson Agricultural College, B. S. For two years before entering college had full charge of his father's farm. Eight months.

Walter S. Brown, Hiawassee, Ga. Graduate Georgia State College of Agriculture, specializing in animal husbandry. Has had 12 years' experience in practical farming and stock raising. Has taught in rural schools. Thirteen and one-half months.

Esten G. Cromartie, Hinesville, Ga. Spent two years at Eleventh District Agricultural School, Douglas, Ga., two years at Gordon Institute, Barnesville, Ga., and one year at University of Georgia, receiving B. S. degree in agriculture at the latter institution. Worked in the office of the Georgia State board of entomology and in the field in boll-weevil work, and assisted in cotton experiments over the State. Taught in agricultural school. Eight months.

Hendrick L. Cromartie, Albany, Ga. Attended Georgia State College of Agriculture. Spent 10 years on his father's farm; also had charge of a 400-acre farm before engaging in demonstration work. Four years four months.

Wade P. Huie, College Park, Ga. Graduate Georgia Agricultural College, A. B. and B. Ph. Has had extensive practical farm experience. Nine months.

William H. Sorrells, Leesburg, Ga. Graduate Georgia State College of Agriculture. Had one year's experience as principal of rural high school prior to present appointment. Eight months.

Russell O. Bate, Cynthiana, Ky. Attended University of Tennessee for short courses in agriculture. Has had practical experience in farming. One year eleven months.

Armiel Carman, Clinton, Ky. Graduate University of Kentucky, B. S. in agriculture. Had practical farm experience. One year eleven and one-half months.

Robert S. Clough, Benton, Ky. Graduate University of Missouri, B. S. in agriculture. Has had practical farm experience. Was schoolteacher and superintendent of schools. One year nine months.

Angus N. Gordon, Henderson, Ky., care of chamber of commerce. Graduate University of Kentucky, B. S. in agriculture. Had practical farm experience. Was instructor in agriculture at University of Kentucky for a short time. Two years one month.

William J. Harris, Bardwell, Ky. Graduate University of Kentucky, B. S. in agriculture. For a year was manager of a 15,000-acre plantation in South Carolina. Was instructor of animal husbandry in the College of Agriculture, University of Kentucky, and agricultural editor for the Lexington Herald. Eight months.

Howard H. Harrison, Stanton, Ky. Received course in agriculture at Berea College. Has had practical farm experience. Taught agriculture at Oneida Institute, Oneida, Ky., one year. While a student at Berea College assisted in county-agent work. One year two and one-half months.

Charles L. Hill, Calhoun, Ky. Graduate Oregon Agricultural College, B. S. Had experience working in large orchards in Oregon during summer vacations. For three years after graduation engaged in farming. Nine months.

Samuel J. Lowry, jr., La Grange, Ky. Attended Berea College; graduate University of Kentucky, B. S. in agriculture. After graduation managed 500-acre farm for two years and managed a seed farm for several months. One year eleven and one-half months.

John L. Miller, Campbellsville, Ky. Attended Washington and Lee University one year and Peabody College four terms. Spent summer vacations on the farm while attending college. Taught school one year. Six months.

Gordon B. Nance, Smithland, Ky. Graduate University of Kentucky, B. S. in agriculture. Familiar with all farming operations. Supervised city school gardens one year. Seven months.

Warner W. Owsley, Louisville, Ky., Board of Trade Building. Graduate University of Kentucky, B. S. in agriculture. Has had practical farm experience. For one season was tester for county cow-testing association. Seven months.

Wayland Rhoades, Independence, Ky. Graduate University of Kentucky, B. S. in agriculture; was student assistant in dairying. Spent some of his vacations on his father's farm, two summers on the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station farm, and one summer managing his father's farm of 275 acres. Three years three months.

Fred H. Spickard, Dixon, Ky. Student in agriculture University of Kentucky. Has had 10 years' experience in farming and teaching. Seven months.

Charles L. Taylor, Bardstown, Ky. Attended Western Kentucky State Normal School, taking the work offered in agriculture and assisting in the work of the school farm; also student in agriculture one year at University of Wisconsin. Had practical farm experience. Four years five and one-half months.

John T. Taylor, Louisville, Ky., care Board of Trade. Graduate University of Kentucky, B. S. in agriculture. Has had practical farm experience. Three years seven months.

Berlie Winton, Hawesville, Ky. Graduate in agriculture Berea College. Has had practical farming experience and has taught school. Seven months.

Felix Bachemin, jr., Covington, La. Graduate College of Agriculture, Louisiana State University. Has had experience as a teacher in rural high schools. As county agent, devotes a large part of his time to boys' club work. Eleven and one-half months.

Claud A. Brewer, Oberlin, La. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College; four months' postgraduate work. Was for a time instructor in agricultural schools. Had practical farm experience. Two years six months.

Louis A. Broussard, box 742, Lake Charles, La. Graduate in agriculture Louisiana State University. After leaving school managed a plantation in southern Louisiana. Three and one-half months.

Thomas H. Casanova, Abbeville, La. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College; also took postgraduate work. Had practical farm experience. Two years nine months.

Corliss C. Chapman, De Ridder, La. Graduate Louisiana State Normal; took special course in rural-school work, with agriculture. Taught agriculture five years, including three years as principal of an agricultural school. While in this position was active in boys' and girls' club work in cooperation with extension workers. Three years nine months.

Harry J. Chatterton, Homer, La. Graduate Alabama Polytechnic Institute. For several years engaged in agricultural high-school work in Louisiana. Managed father's farm two years. Conducted beef-feeding experiments for the Bureau of Animal Industry, United States Department of Agriculture, and the Alabama Experiment Station two years prior to present appointment. Ten months.

William M. Crumpton, Ruston, La. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College. Taught agriculture one year after graduation. Has excellent farm experience. Five months.

Adolph Bernard Curet, New Roads, La. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College. Is an experienced, practical farmer. One year seven and one-half months.

Sidney J. Durand, Ville Platte, La. Graduate State Normal School and took agricultural short course at Louisiana State University. Taught three years in public school and five and one-half years in high school. Had practical farm experience. Eight months.

William A. Givens, Ruston, La. Graduate College of Agriculture of Louisiana State University. Has had practical farm experience. One year three and one-half months.

Thomas J. Griffin, Houma, La. Graduate Louisiana State Normal School. Had practical farm experience. Was principal and agriculturist of an agricultural school. Nine months.

Bush M. Jackson, Monroe, La. Graduate Clemson Agricultural College, degree in agriculture. Has had extensive practical farm experience. Two years.

Lou H. La Rue, Jennings, La. Graduate in agriculture Missouri State University. Taught agriculture one and one-half years, during which period much of his time was devoted to boys' and girls' club work in that section. Familiar with practical farm work. Nine months.

Lewis H. Martin, New Orleans, La. Graduate Louisiana State University, also graduate New York State College of Agriculture. Has had practical farm experience. Was manager of a large ranch in southern Louisiana two years. Three years 10 months.

Alfred A. Mendoza, Opelousas, La. Graduate in agriculture Louisiana State Normal. Was principal of rural schools, where he conducted club work and school gardens. Experienced in practical farm work. Four months.

Beraud L. Mestayer, Garyville, La. Took teachers' course at Louisiana State Normal, specializing in agriculture. Later employed as agricultural teacher in the various high schools, and while so employed did considerable work among farmers in his community along demonstration lines. Two years.

Thomas H. Milliken, Bastrop, La. Graduate College of Agriculture, Louisiana State University. Has had extensive practical farm experience. Ten months.

Joseph O. Montegut, Gonzales, La. Graduate Louisiana State Normal; attended three summer schools in agriculture at Louisiana State University. Has had extensive farm experience. One year two months.

Thomas W. Patten, Arcadia, La. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College. Taught agricultural subjects and sciences in county agricultural high school. Had extensive farm experience. Ten months.

Paul D. O. Perkins, Lake Charles, La. Has had large and varied practical farm experience. Was superintendent of the Angleton substation, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, prior to present appointment. Four years eleven months.

Clarence P. Scurlock, Mansfield, La. Received technical training in agriculture at Iowa State College. Taught for four years in rural schools. Four months.

Emmett S. Shumate, Jonesboro, La. Received technical training at Louisana Industrial Institute and Louisiana State University. Has had practical farm experience. Six months.

Robert L. Sloan, Colfax, La. Graduate, agricultural course, North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College; took postgraduate work in the same institution. Has had extensive practical farming experience. Taught in agricultural high school. One year one month.

Fenwick A. Swann, Marksville, La. Graduate College of Agriculture, Louisiana State University. Has had extensive practical farm experience. Three years ten and one-half months.

Everett L. Talbot, St. Martinsville, La. Graduate Louisiana State University. Was high school principal four years. Eight months.

George C. Vidrine, Houma, La. Graduate Southwestern Louisiana Industrial Institute. Has had several years' practical farming experience. One year.

Francis H. Whitaker, Winnsboro, La. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College. Taught agriculture in high school two years. Had practical experience in farming. Ten months.

Erwin O. Anderson, Denton, Md. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College, B. S.; also received M. S. in agriculture from University of Wisconsin. Has had practical farm experience. Was assistant professor of farm management at Pennsylvania State College. Eleven months.

Eston F. Fox, College Park, Md. Graduate Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pa., A. B.; also took advanced work in agriculture, Maryland State College. Taught in rural school one year and was instructor in high school two years. Devotes practically all his time to boys' club work. Seven and one-half months.

Pinckney A. Hauver, Frederick, Md. Graduate Maryland State College, B. S. in agriculture. Has had practical farm experience. Prior to present appointment was teacher of agriculture in high schools; was also county club agent one summer. One year four and one-half months.

Oliver C. Jones, Centerville, Md. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. in agriculture. Has been engaged in farming all his life. One year six months.

Clarence Z. Keller, Princess Anne, Md. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. in agriculture. Spent his summer vacations in practical farm work, the last summer having entire charge of a 200-acre farm. Prior to present appointment was instructor in agriculture for two years in high school, during which time he organized boys' clubs and community and county fairs. One year one month.

Louis H. Martin, Princess Anne, Md. Graduate Hampton Institute. Engaged four years in practical farm work. One year three and one-half months.

Albert G. Middleton, Oakland, Md. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. in agriculture. Spent summer vacations on farms. After graduation managed two farms. Taught agriculture one year in high school. One year three and one-half months.

Riley G. Arnold, Sardis, Miss. Graduate Alabama Polytechnic Institute, B. S. A. After graduation taught agriculture for three years. Three years.

Thomas W. Bailey, Ashland, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Had experience managing farms before taking up the county-agent work. Two years six months.

Milson M. Bedenbaugh, Booneville, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. After graduation taught for three years in an agricultural high school and had charge of the high-school demonstration farm. Nine months.

John T. Belue, Lauderdale, Miss. Graduate Alabama Agricultural College, B. S. Has had practical farm experience. One year seven months.

William M. Boggan, Columbia, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Prior to present appointment was principal of an agricultural high school and managed high-school demonstration farm. Two years four and one-half months.

Oscar C. Bottoms, Philadelphia, Miss. Graduate Alabama Polytechnic Institute, specializing in animal husbandry. Has had practical experience as manager of a dairy farm. One year five and one-half months.

Ridley W. Cannon, Decatur, Miss. Graduate Burritt College (Tenn.), B. S. and H. M.; was also student at the University of Mississippi during three summers. For seven years prior to present appointment served as principal of an agricultural high school. Six and one-half months.

Harry G. Carpenter, Rolling Fork, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. At the time of his appointment as county agent was managing a 60-cow dairy farm. Four years four months.

Horace A. Carpenter, Belzoni, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Prior to present appointment taught in an agricultural high school and managed the school demonstration farm. Two years seven months.

John W. Carpenter, jr., Greenville, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Was instructor in agricultural engineering for the extension division of the Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College for three years prior to present appointment. Nine and one-half months.

Thomas I. Cook, Prentiss, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S.; took postgraduate course in dairying. Two years four months.

Fred L. Craft, Noxapater, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. For a year prior to present appointment was employed by the Bureau of Plant Industry, United States Department of Agriculture, as special agent in the eradication of citrus canker in Florida. Six months.

George C. Cypress, Braxton, Miss. Had two years' special instruction in agriculture at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama; also had practical farm experience. One year nine and one-half months.

Van V. Eason, Louisville, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Has had experience as manager of a dairy farm. Two years two and one-half months.

Henry G. Grantham, Mize, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College. One year four months.

Newton D. Guerry, jr., Okolona, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Prior to present appointment was special agent of the Bureau of Entomology. Had practical farm experience. One year four months.

Arthur G. Hamilton, Calhoun City, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College. Prior to present appointment was agriculturist in an agricultural high school. Has had practical farm experience One year four months.

Harvey C. Heath, Holly Springs, Miss. Graduate Alabama Polytechnic Institute, B. S. A. Has had practical farm experience. Three years four months.

Joel D. Howerton, Natchez, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College. Taught in agricultural school. One year seven months.

Cecil A. Hughes, Macon, Miss. Graduate College of Agriculture, University of Illinois. Has had practical farm experience. One year eleven and one-half months.

Frank Hurst, Forest, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Prior to present appointment taught in the agricultural high school and managed the school demonstration farm. One year one month.

Fred J. Hurst, Magnolia, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Has had practical farm experience. One year seven months.

Henry H. Leggett, Brookhaven, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S.; took postgraduate work at the Iowa Agricultural College. Has had practical farm experience; at the time of his appointment was manager of a farm. Eight months.

Wesley R. Lominick, Gloster, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. and M. S.; attended a short course in plant pathology at the University of Florida. Was employed for one and one-half years by the Bureau of Plant Industry as plant pathological inspector in connection with citrus-canker eradication. One year seven months.

Nate S. Martin, Ripley, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Has had practical farm experience. Seven and one-half months.

Donald A. McCandliss, Gulfport, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Three years six months.

Jodie S. McKewen, Winona, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Prior to present appointment had two years' experience as teacher in agricultural high school and manager of the high-school demonstration farm. One year five and one-half months.

Charles L. McNiel, Senatobia, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Has had 10 years' practical experience in farming, two of them as manager of a 1,200-acre plantation. Seven months.

Enoch C. McReynolds, Kosciusko, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. For two years prior to present appointment was teacher in an agricultural high school and manager of the school demonstration farm. One year three months.

Maurice E. Miller, Charleston, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S.; took postgraduate work in animal husbandry at the University of Wisconsin. Has had practical farm experience. One year three months.

Will C. Mims, New Albany, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Was instructor in agriculture in an agricultural high school for one year. Has had practical farm experience. Four years two and one-half months.

William M. Mingee, Lucedale, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Has had practical farm experience. Two years five and one-half months.

George T. Neill, Raymond, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Prior to present appointment was teacher in agricultural high school and manager of the high-school farm. Six months.

James W. Newton, Mayersville, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Has had experience as a practical farmer. One year one month.

James R. O'Neal, Greenwood, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Prior to present appointment managed a large plantation. One year five months.

James C Reddoch, Quitman, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Has had practical experience in farm work. Seven and one-half months.

Charles S. Rich, Monticello, Miss. Took a four-year course in agriculture at the Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College. Has had excellent experience as a practical farmer. Eight months.

Robert C. Riggan, Iuka, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. For two years prior to present appointment was teacher in an agricultural high school and manager of the high-school farm. Seven months.

John N. Robbins, Fulton, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. For four years prior to present appointment was instructor in agriculture in an agricultural high school and manager of the high-school farm. Seven months.

Julian E. Sides, Agricultural College, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College. Has had practical farm experience. Four years two and one-half months.

Frank M. Smith, Mendenhall, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S.; took two years' postgraduate work at this institution for four and one-half years prior to present appointment, and teacher in agriculture and manager of the demonstration farm at one of the high schools of Mississippi. One year five months.

Albert G. Spinks, Coffeeville, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Has had practical farm experience. Two years two and one-half months.

Claude G. Steele, Marks, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S.; took one year's postgraduate work in horticulture in this institution. Two years three months.

Junie M. Thomason, Batesville, Miss. Graduate Alabama Polytechnic Institute, B. S. A. Has had practical farm experience and was for one year teacher in agriculture in an agricultural high school. One year three months.

John E. Vaughn, Tylertown, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. For two years prior to present appointment was teacher in agricultural high school and manager of high-school farm. Nine months.

Samuel M. Yeates, Moorhead, Miss. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Has had practical farm experience. Prior to present appointment was teacher in agriculture in an agricultural high school. Five years three months.

Cleveland C. Bearden, Beaufort, N. C. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S.; also graduate student in plant pathology and citrus culture, University of Florida. Prior to present appointment was farm superintendent, taught agriculture in high school one year, and was agent for State Plant Food Board of Florida, working on plant diseases and insect diseases. Nine months.

John Deal, Hayesville, N. C. Took a one-year special course in agriculture at the North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College. Has had practical farm experience. Four and one-half months.

Willard T. Kyzer, Kinston, N. C. Graduate South Carolina Agricultural College, B. S. Has had practical farm experience. Six and one-half months.

Warren M. Laughinghouse, Columbia, N. C. Took a two-year course in agriculture at the North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College. Has had practical farming experience, including management of a large farm for four years. Nine months.

Robert R. McIver, Sanford, N. C. Pursued course in agriculture at the North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College two and one-half years. Has had practical farm experience. Two years four months.

Ewing E. Millsaps, jr., Dobson, N. C. Graduate North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Managed farm two years before entering college. One year.

William B. Pace, Shallotte, N. C. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College. Has had practical farm experience, also worked on college farm. For two years after graduation taught agriculture in high school. One year one month.

Carl C. Proffitt, Rutherfordton, N. C. Graduate of agriculture, North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College. Had one year's experience as teacher of agriculture in high school, in which position he had full charge and management of a 50-acre farm. One year eleven months.

Eugene R Raney, Windsor, N. C. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College; took one year's postgraduate work at same institution. Worked on farm during vacations. Was employed by Department of Agriculture one summer in silo-construction work in Mississippi. One year one month.

John H. Speas, Danbury, N. C. Graduate in agriculture, North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College. Managed father's farm prior to present appointment. Seven months.

Needham B. Stevens, Plymouth, N. C. Graduate North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S.; took postgraduate course in the same institution, specializing in animal husbandry and agronomy. Engaged in farming one year. During one summer was employed as herdsman for the North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College. Three years six months.

Molloy C. Vaughn, Newbern, N. C. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Was employed as agent for the Bureau of Plant Industry and inspector for the State Plant Board of Florida for two years prior to present appointment. Four months.

Marion R. Bryant, Purcell, Okla. Graduate Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. in agriculture. Has had practical farm experience. Nine months.

Frank H. Dillenback, 313 Federal Building, Guthrie, Okla. Graduate Kansas Agricultural College, B. S. Eleven and one-half months.

William J. Green, Stillwater, Okla. Graduate Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. in agriculture. Has had practical farm experience. Devotes entire time to boys' club work. One year ten months.

Otto J. Moyer, Stillwater, Okla. Graduate Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. in agriculture. Devotes practically his entire time to boys' club work. Nine and one-half months.

Arthur R. Smith, 11 Federal Building, Muskogee, Okla. Graduate Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Has had practical experience as a dairy farmer. After graduation spent some time in Wisconsin and other Northern States studying live stock and other agricultural problems.

Carroll S. Adams, Beaufort, S. C. Graduate New Hampshire College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, B. S.; special student University of Kentucky; student assistant in horticulture, University of Kentucky. Prior to present appointment was assistant professor of horticulture, University of Kentucky; assistant horticulturist, Kentucky Experiment Station; and had two years' practical experience in commercial market gardening. Six months.

Charles W. Baker, Kingstree, S. C. Graduate Clemson Agricultural College; also received M. A. degree from Wisconsin Agricultural College. Worked on farm during vacations while attending college and had other farm experience. Two years four months.

Samuel E. Evans, Bennettsville, S. C. Graduate Clemson Agricultural College; received master's degree from University of Wisconsin. Taught agriculture in an agricultural school, managed an experimental farm in connection with agricultural high school, and had other practical farm experience. Three years eight months.

Charner S. Patrick, Anderson, S. C. Graduate Clemson Agricultural College. After graduation taught agriculture in an agricultural school. Has had practical farm experience. Three years eleven months.

James A. Riley, Chester, S. C. Graduate Clemson Agricultural College; also received M. A. degree from Agricultural College of Wisconsin. Has practical farm experience. Four years ten months.

Francis W. Risher, Walterboro, S. C. Graduate Clemson Agricultural College. Worked one year in the office of the director of experiment stations; taught agriculture in agricultural school. Has practical farm experience. Two years one month.

Z. Douglas Robertson, Estill, S. C. Studied agriculture two years at University of Virginia; also received master's degree at College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin. After graduation taught agriculture in high schools and operated a farm. Organized a large number of local communities for better agriculture. Eight and one-half months.

William E. Stokes, box 135, Edgefield, S. C. Graduate Clemson Agricultural College. Was assistant professor of agronomy, New Hampshire Agricultural College, for two years. Has had practical farm experience. Nine and one-half months.

William G. Adsmond, Crossville, Tenn. Attended University of Tennessee. Has had practical farm experience. Nine and one-half months.

John H. Agnew, Alamo, Tenn. Graduate in agriculture, University of Tennessee. Has practical farm experience. Ten months.

Woodson S. Baldwin, Clarksville, Tenn. Graduate University of Tennessee, B. S. in agriculture. Has had practical farm experience. Two years nine months.

Archie V. Bears, Fayetteville, Tenn. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Experienced in farming operations. Two and one-half years.

Frank R Bradford, Dandridge, Tenn. Graduate Laneview College (Tenn.) and studied agriculture three years in the University of Tennessee. Has been a practical farmer all his life. Ten and one-half months.

Marvin D. Brock, Courthouse, Memphis, Tenn. Graduate University of Tennessee, B. S. in agriculture. During last year at the university was assistant in the department of agronomy. Spent all his life on the farm and managed farm for about six years. One year nine months.

John E. Dail, Blountsville, Tenn. Graduate University of Tennessee, B. S. in agriculture. Is a practical farmer. Two years.

Benton McM. Elrod, Brownsville, Tenn. Educated at Berea College; also received B. S. degree in agriculture from University of Tennessee. Is a practical farmer. Two years two months.

Charles C. Flanery, Winchester, Tenn. Studied agriculture two years at Berea College; also four years in agriculture at University of Tennessee, receiving B. S. from latter institution. Has had practical farm experience. Eleven months.

Jay. C. Grimes, Madisonville, Tenn. Graduate University of Tennessee, degree in agriculture. Has been practical farmer all his life. One year ten months.

Peter C. Hambaugh, Newport, Tenn. Graduate in agriculture, University of Tennessee. Has had practical experience in farm work. One year two months.

Leonard J. Kerr, Selmer, Tenn. Studied agriculture three years at University of Tennessee. Has worked on farm since leaving school and gained a practical knowledge of farming. Eleven months.

Frank R. Hines, Rutledge, Tenn. Graduate University of Tennessee, B. S. in agriculture. For a short time was nursery inspector for the university. Has had practical farm experience. Three years ten months.

Joe W. Lovell, Centerville, Tenn. Graduate University of Tennessee, B. S. A. Is experienced in general farm work. Taught school two years. Assisted in demonstration work prior to present appointment. Ten months.

Hugh A Powers, Lexington, Tenn. Graduate University of Tennessee. Taught agriculture in county high schools. Has been a practical farmer all his life. Two years five months.

Elzie S. Roberds, Ripley, Tenn. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College. Taught at that institution after graduation, and later was director of the agricultural department of an agricultural high school. Four years three months.

James L. Robinson, Jacksboro, Tenn. Graduate in agriculture, University of Tennessee. Taught school. Has practical knowledge of general farm work. Two years ten months.

Thomas L. Robinson, Murfreesboro, Tenn. Graduate University of Tennessee, B. S. in agriculture. He worked on a stock farm until he entered university. Prior to present appointment served as official tester of cows for advanced registry two years; was dairy demonstrator on an agricultural train one summer; also taught agriculture in high schools. One year.

Walter O. Sharp, Sevierville, Tenn. Graduate University of Tennessee, B. S. in agriculture; also attended summer courses at university. Taught for a time. Practical farm experience. Eleven months.

Oakley M. Shelby, Dover, Tenn. Graduate University of Tennessee, B. S. A. Was employed as field assistant in tobacco-insects investigation three summers. Is familiar with the production of general farm crops and the raising of live stock. One year.

Everett R. B. Shockley, Nashville, Tenn. Graduate Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School, Nashville, Tenn. Worked as farm superintendent at this institution. Eight months.

Henry H. Thomas, Greenville, Tenn. Graduate East Tennessee Normal School. Taught agriculture in county high schools. Has had practical experience in the management of live stock and general farm operations. One year one month.

Felix G. Vickers, Tazewell, Tenn. Pursued agricultural course at University of Tennessee two years and attended summer sessions five years. Taught in rural schools four years. Had practical farm experience. One year two months.

Wilford F. Weir, Clinton, Tenn. Graduate in agriculture, University of Tennessee. Taught school four years. Previous to present appointment had several years' practical experience in farming. One year two months.

Andrew J Winegar, Knoxville, Tenn. Graduate Carson-Newman College, B. A.; also graduate University of Tennessee, B. S. A. Has practical knowledge of farm work. Two years.

Elbert B. Wright, Lewisburg, Tenn. Attended College of Agriculture, University of Tennessee, three years. Has had practical farm experience. Eleven months.

Keatley G. Baker, Kerrville, Tex. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, B. S. Two years five months.

Stephen W. Harris, Groesbeck, Tex. Is well qualified in agriculture. Prior to present appointment was employed by the Forest Service. Six months.

James B. Snider, Rusk, Tex. Graduate Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Has had special training in horticulture and farm gardening. Six and one-half months.

Clive Templeton, Longview, Tex. Graduate Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. Two years six months.

Bernard O. Bradshaw, Covington, Va. Graduate Ontario Agricultural College, Guelph, Canada; also did special work at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Has had much active experience in farm work. Four years eight months.

Shirley L. Cole, Stafford, Va. Student in special courses in agriculture, Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Had charge of the greenhouse at the college two years. Prior to present appointment was engaged for four years in private orchard work and general farm work. Three years five months.

Gordon A. Elcan, Sheppards, Va. Graduate Hogue Academy, Blackstone, Va. Has had practical farm experience. Six months.

Kenny N. Ellis, Waverly, Va. Took two years' course in agriculture at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Has had practical farm experience. Three years six months.

Weldon H. George, Runnymede, Va. Has an agricultural certificate from the Hampton Institute, where he did considerable work in connection with farm machinery, creameries, and incubators. Is familiar with general farming problems. One year eight and one-half months.

Robert F. Jones, North Emporia, Va. Took a five years' course at Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute, Petersburg, Va. Has practical knowledge of farming. Three years four months.

Wilbur K. Moffett, South Boston, Va. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. in agriculture. Has had valuable experience in general and dairy farming. Six months.

Farrar V. Shelton, Charlotte Court House, Va. Graduate Virginia Polytechnic Institute, B. S. in agriculture. Has had farming experience. One year six months.

Jollie H. Tibbs, Fincastle, Va. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College, B. S. in agriculture. Was four years principal of a large agricultural high school. Has had practical farm experience. Nine months.

R. E. F. Washington, Roxbury, Va., box 51, R. D. 1. Graduate Hampton Institute. Has been a successful farmer. Six years.

Robert L. Buchanan, Parkersburg, W. Va. Graduate University of West Virginia and Michigan Agricultural College. Engaged in forage-crop investigations, Washington State Experiment Station, one year. Experienced in practical farm work. Two years eleven months.

William D. Click, Hamlin, W. Va. Graduate in agriculture, Berea College. Familiar with general farming operations. Prior to present appointment was employed four months in farm management investigations by the United States Department of Agriculture. Three years six months.

H. R. Cokely, Moorefield, W. Va. Graduate West Virginia University, B. S. in agricalture. Taught school four years. Had practical experience in general farming. One year one and one-half months.

Benjamin F. Creech, Spencer, W. Va. Is college graduate, taking degree of B. S. Engaged in active farm work six years. Prior to present appointment spent three summers in field work for the Office of Farm Management, United States Department of Agriculture. Ten months.

Frank M. Foote, Beckley, W. Va. College graduate. Has had extensive experience in practical agriculture. Three years eleven and one-half months.

Arthur F. Hedges, Glenville, W. Va. Graduate in agriculture, University of Wisconsin; one year postgraduate work. Was head of department of agriculture, Northland College, and managed farm in connection with that institution; also had other practical farm experience. Eleven months.

Samuel F. Hinkle, Webster Springs, W. Va. Graduate Ohio State University, B. S. in agriculture. Prior to present appointment had two years' experience on a farm. One year one month.

Burt Johnson, Marlinton, W. Va. Had two years' work in agriculture at Berea College; also took two years' course in agriculture at University of Wisconsin. Is thoroughly familiar with farming operations. Three years three months.

H. W Prettyman, Keyser, W. Va. Graduate West Virginia University, B. S. in agriculture. Served as assistant county agent before entering upon present duties. Has had farm experience. One year two months.

Harley D. Rohr, Grafton, W. Va. Graduate College of Agriculture, University of West Virginia. Had experience as teacher in rural schools and taught agriculture in the high school three years. Engaged in farm work. One year two months.

James E. Romine, Buckhannon, W Va. Graduate University of West Virginia, B. S. in agriculture. Has practical knowledge of farming. One year eleven and one-half months.

Webster H. Sill, Bethany, W. Va. Graduate Pennsylvania State College. B. S. A. Familiar with all kinds of farm operations. Was school teacher one year. Prior to present appointment was employed for short periods by the Bureau of Entomology and the Office of Farm Management, United States Department of Agriculture. Four years eleven months.

Olive H. Standard, Clay, W. Va. College graduate. B. S. in agriculture. Prior to present appointment owned and operated a small farm. One year five and one-half months.

Carl J. Williams, Sacramento, Cal. Graduate College of Agriculture, University of California. Prior to present appointment was assistant to farm advisers of California two years. One year four and one-half months.

L. A. Bevans, Danbury, Conn. Attended Massachusetts Institute of Technology one term; graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S. Was teacher of agriculture in high schools two terms. Nine months.

E. A. Brown, Hartford, Conn. Graduate Cornell University, B. S. Taught agriculture in high school one and one-half years. Three years four months.

Harry G. Avery, Shoshone, Idaho. Attended Kansas Agricultural College three terms. For three years managed 700-acre farm in Kansas and for one year teacher of agriculture in high school. One year two months.

Herbert H. Beier, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. Graduate College of Agriculture, University of Idaho, B. S. Prior to present appointment was employed for various periods in forest service; also as buttermaker for Caldwell Cooperative Creamery, Caldwell, Idaho; and in charge of Boise Valley Cow-Testing Association, Boise, Idaho. One year three months.

R. R. Lancaster, Rupert, Idaho. Attended University of Missouri one term and Kansas Agricultural College two terms. Prior to present appointment served in United States Army six years and for short periods during summer on farms of University of Missouri and Kansas Agricultural College and experiment station. One year one month.

John E. White, St. Anthony, Idaho. Graduate Utah Agricultural College, B. S. Was teacher of agriculture in high school four years. Eight months.

G. L. Reed, Brookville, Ind. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. Eight months.

E. L. Shoemaker, Versailles, Ind. Graduate Purdue University; taught agriculture two years. Seven months.

R. E. Wilson, Peru, Ind. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. in agriculture. Eight months.

H. E. Ackerson, Monticello, Ind. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. in agriculture. Ten months.

B. B. Adams, Rockville, Ind. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College. Had charge of soils and crops department, Winona Agricultural College, one term. Ten months.

Ralph E. Arnett, Danville, Ind. Graduate Iowa College of Agriculture, M. S. Was assistant in animal-husbandry department of that institution. Managed farm two years. One year.

Ross N. Atkinson, Evansville Ind. Graduate Perdue University, B. S. in agriculture. Nine months.

Donald D. Ball, Washington, Ind. Graduate Purdue University, B. S., in agriculture. Nine months.

Paul R. Bausman, Monticello, Ind. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. A. Was deputy inspector, State chemist department, Purdue University, two years. Six months.

H. S. Benson, Sullivan, Ind. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. A. Subsequently was supervisor of vocational agriculture in Owensville, Ind., schools. Eight months.

P. D. Brown, Greensburg, Ind. Graduate Kentucky University College of Agriculture, B. S. One year five months.

Chas. A Buechner, Knox, Ind. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. A. Prior to present appointment was manager, Fame Canning Co., Tipton, Ind. Ten months.

L. M. Butler, Vincennes, Ind. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. A. Agricultural instructor high school one term and instructor in animal husbandry and dairying at Winona College of Agriculture two years. Ten months.

V. V. Clarke, Plymouth, Ind. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. Has managed farm one year. Nine months.

Howard J. Clinebell, Terre Haute, Ind. Graduate University of Illinois, B. S. Was crop investigator Purdue University extension department one summer prior to present appointment. Nine months.

Myron E. Cromer, Frankfort, Ind. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. A. Teacher of agriculture in high schools three years. Seven months.

T. C. Cravens, Martinsville, Ind. Graduate University of Illinois, B. S. A. Five months.

H. W. Crowe, Brazil, Ind. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. A. Ten months.

Samuel S. Davis, Kentland, Ind. Graduate University of Illinois, B. S. and M. S. Managed a farm two years. Ten months.

G. A. Ellis, Franklin, Ind. Graduate Iowa College of Agriculture, B. S. in animal husbandry. Teacher in agricultural schools two years. Ten months.

F. S. Fouts, Greencastle, Ind. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. A. Nine months.

Whitney K. Gast, Logansport, Ind. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. Has managed farm one year. Nine months.

R. M. Gilbert, Indianapolis, Ind. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. Taught agriculture in Minnesota schools one year. Has managed farm five years. Two years ten months.

A. L. Hodgson, Winchester, Ind. Attended Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College two years; graduate University of Wisconsin, B.

S. A. Worked on father's farm; taught rural school two years. Eleven months.

C. M. Jeb, Columbus, Ind. Graduate Indiana University, A. B. and B. S.; also attended Purdue University School of Agriculture one term. Ten months.

A. T. Morrison, Connersville, Ind. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. A. Was assistant instructor University of Illinois one term. One year two months.

George X. Reed, Boonville, Ind. Graduate Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa. B. S.; also Iowa State College, B. S. Was principal Delmar Junction High School one year; farm management enumerator and demonstrator one summer. One year nine months.

G. W. Rosencrans, Covington, Ind. Graduate Miami University; received M. S. degree from University of Wisconsin. Taught school one year. Two years eight months.

Harold R. Smalley, Angola, Ind. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. and M. S. For two years was assistant in soil and crops department Purdue University experiment station. Five years.

E. L. Shoemaker, Versailles, Ind. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. Teacher of agriculture two years. Seven months.

Charles A. Burge, Greenfield, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. in animal husbandry; attended University of California farm school one year. Ten months.

Fred F. Clark, Wyoming, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. A. Prior to present appointment was assistant in agricultural extension at this institution. One year eight months.

Clyde H. Combs, Fayette, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. in animal husbandry. Ten and one-third months.

George Dunlop, Orange City, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. A. Engaged in extension work in farm crops at that institution prior to present appointment. One year five and one-half months.

Bert L. France, Emmetsburg, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. Engaged in farming four years. Three years six months.

E. F. Graff, Iowa City, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College. One year.

Glenn Hazen, Mount Pleasant, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. in animal husbandry. Ten and one-half months.

Henry P. Kelley, Griswold, Iowa. Graduate University of Illinois, B. S. Engaged in farming two years. Seven and one-third months.

Carl N. Kennedy, Des Moines, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. in animal husbandry. Instructor in animal husbandry Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College two years; assistant professor in animal husbandry Oregon Agricultural College. One year four months.

A. H. Pickford, Wapello, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College of Agriculture. Managed father's farm one year. For two years prior to present appointment was instructor in agriculture and engaged in extension work. Ten months.

W. O. Roessler, Sigourney, Iowa. Graduate University of Illinois, B. S. Agricultural instructor in high school one year. Ten and one-third months.

C. C. Scott, Rockwell, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. Engaged in teaching and farming two years. Five months.

Lew P. Sewell, Bedford, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. Agricultural instructor three years. Four and one-half months.

J. P. Stack, Creston, Iowa. Graduate Kansas Agricultural College, B. S. Engaged in soil-survey work one season; instructor, farm crops, Kansas Agricultural College one term; agriculturist Great Western Sugar Co. one year. Five and one-half months.

J. F. Thomas, Hampton, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. in dairying. Prior to present appointment was instructor at the University of Maine and assistant in dairy-extention work at Iowa State College. Five and one-half months.

E. M. Torblaa, Clarion, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. in animal husbandry. One year five and one-half months.

Theo. Thorson, Tripoli, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College of Agriculture, B. S. Was instructor of dairying University of Nebraska. Five and one-half months.

Harley Walker, Burlington, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. Was instructor in agricultural school and engaged in farming prior to present appointment. One year ten months.

D. H. Zentmire, Marengo, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. A. Taught agriculture at Iowa State College two years. Subsequently was assistant secretary Iowa Corn and Small-Grain Growers' Association. Three and one-half months.

George W. Kable, Corvallis, Oreg. Attended University of Washington four years, University of California one and one-half years, and University of Nebraska one year; received B. S. degree from University of California. Was assistant irrigation engineer State College of New Mexico two years and managed a ranch one year. Ten months.

Orville B. Burtis, Solomon, Kans. Graduate Kansas State College of Agriculture, B. S. Has had practical experience as farm manager. Two years five months.

Alfred L. Clapp, Council Grove, Kans. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, specializing in agronomy. Was foreman agronomy farm at this institution one year, managed ranch in Colorado one year, and was high-school instructor one year. One year three months.

A. D. Folker, Topeka, Kans. Graduate Iowa Agricultural College, B. S. Managed 400-acre farm and has been active in farmers' institutes and other farm organizations. Four years.

Preston O. Hale, Cottonwood Falls, Kans. Graduate Kansas Agricultural College. Assisted in feeding experiments at the college; managed large stock farms one year. One year five months.

John V. Helper, Dodge City, Kans. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, B. S. Taught agriculture one year. Ten months.

H. L. Hildwein, Kingman, Kans. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, B. S. Engaged in general farm work two years. Ten months.

A. E. Jones, Mankato, Kans. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, B. S. Was agricultural instructor in high school one year; managed home farm. One year.

Ralph Kenney, Manhattan, Kans. Graduate Ohio State College, B. S. Subsequently was assistant in agronomy Kent State College and Experiment Station; also assistant professor, farm crops, Kansas State Agricultural College. Six months.

Edward Larsen, Pratt, Kans. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, B. S. After graduation engaged in farming and breeding purebred Hereford cattle. Six months.

George W. Sidwell, Leoti, Kans. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, B. S. After graduation taught school and engaged in farming. Six months.

A. G. Van Horn, Kansas City, Kans. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, B. S. Managed a dairy farm after leaving college. Eight months.

H. J. Adams, McPherson, Kans. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, B. S., specializing in animal husbandry. Ten and one-third months.

Joseph H. Bodwell, Foxcroft, Me. Graduate University of Maine, College of Agriculture, B. S. One year ten months.

Richard B. Dodge, Orono, Me. Graduate College of Agriculture, University of Maine. One year one month.

Norman S. Donahue, Belfast, Me. Graduate University of Maine, College of Agriculture, B. S. Was principal and teacher of agriculture in Hartland Academy, Hartland, Me., for one term. Nine and one-half months.

Roger L. Gowell, Warren, Me. Graduate University of Maine, College of Agriculture, B. S. One year ten months.

John L. Scribner, Presque Isle, Me. Graduate University of Maine, College of Agriculture. One year one month.

Robert M. Stiles, Hartland, Me. Attended College of Agriculture, University of Maine, two terms. Managed farm four years. One year ten months.

Ralph H. Gaskill, Danvers, Mass. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S. After graduation was instructor in agricultural school. Eleven months.

H. L. Barnum, Lake City, Mich. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College, B. S. Managed farm. One year four months.

Elton B. Hill, Menominee, Mich. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College, B. S. Was instructor in agricultural school one year. Two years.

Carl M. Kidman, Onaway, Mich. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College, B. S. Prior to present appointment engaged in farm work one year, taught school three years, and engaged in farm-management survey field work. One year two months.

Emil L. Kunze, Sault St. Marie, Mich. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College. Taught agriculture and chemistry two terms at high and normal schools; also assisted in farm-crops department Michigan Agricultural College. One year.

Arnold L. Olson, Munising, Mich. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College, B. S. Teacher of agriculture in high school one year. Eight months.

B. P. Pattison, Escanaba, Mich. Attended Michigan Agricultural College four years. For one year was professor of animal husbandry at University of West Virginia. Engaged in farm work one year. One year one month.

C. L. Rose, Evart, Mich. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College, B. S. Managed farm six years. Eight months.

F. L. French, St. Paul, Minn. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. Director of agriculture in high school one term. Seven months.

Frank L. Gerten, St. Paul, Minn. Attended College of Agriculture, University of Minnesota, four years. Taught agriculture in high school two years. Also engaged in active farming. One year one month.

A. W. Malcolmson, Olivia, Minn. Graduate College of Agriculture, University of Minnesota; graduate student and instructor in animal husbandry at this institution one year. Nine months.

A. C. O'Banion, Moorhead, Minn. Graduate Iowa State College of Agriculture, specializing in animal husbandry and agronomy. Was high school instructor in agriculture two years. One year four months.

Robert R. Smith, St. Paul, Minn. Graduate College of Agriculture, University of Minnesota. One year one month.

Alvin I. Foard, Farmington, Mo. Graduate Missouri College of Agriculture, B. S. Engaged in farm-management survey work one summer. Was instructor in agriculture in normal school one year. One year five months.

E. M. Harman, Columbia, Mo. Graduate University of Missouri, B. S. Was official tester for dairy department University of Illinois one year. Four months.

W. C. Swarner, Tipton, Mo. Graduate University of Missouri, B. S. Five months.

John R. Hall, Harrisonville, Mo. Graduate Missouri College of Agriculture, B. S. Engaged in farming since graduation. Six months.

Glenn S. Hensley, Farmington, Mo. Graduate Missouri College of Agriculture, B. S.; was student assistant in farm crops. Ten months.

W. R. Gordon, Townsend, Mont. Graduate West Virginia University, B. S. Teacher of agriculture in high school one term. Ten and one-half months.

D. W. Mendenhall, Glendive, Mont. Graduate North Dakota Agricultural College, B. S. Taught agriculture in high school and agricultural school two years after graduation. One year three months.

James E. Hogue, Lincoln, Nebr. Graduate University of Nebraska, B. S. Has been connected with farming operations all his life. Seven months.

George Newswanger, Omaha, Nebr. Graduate University of Nebraska, B. S. Was in charge of animal-husbandry work at Scottsbluff substation, Mitchell, Nebr. Ten months.

P. C. Neuswanger, Omaha, Nebr. Graduate Colorado College, B. S.; also attended University of Nebraska one year. Three months.

Noel N. Rhodes, Omaha, Nebr. Attended Nebraska School of Agriculture three years; also University of Nebraska College of Agriculture three years. Eleven months.

L. Boyd Rist, Lincoln, Nebr. Graduate College of Agriculture, University of Nebraska, B. S. Two years two months.

Fred L. Taylor, Lincoln, Nebr. Graduate College of Agriculture, University of Nebraska, B. S. Was agricultural instructor in high school after graduation. One year six months.

W. W. Sim, Lincoln, Nebr. Graduate University of Notre Dame and University of California, B. A. and B. S. Managed and owned several farms. Four months.

John J. Sjogram, Omaha, Nebr. Graduate Nebraska College of Agriculture, B. S. Was agricultural instructor in high school two years after graduation. Four months.

Joseph Willis Wilson, Mason, Nev. Graduate University of Nevada, B. S. in agriculture. Engaged in farming and stock raising after graduation. Eleven months.

C. A. Smith, Manchester, N. H. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College, B. S. Managed a farm eight years and for one year was assistant superintendent of farm of an agricultural school. One year.

W. C. Stokoe, Lancaster, N. H. Graduate Cornell University; engaged in practical farming and taught agriculture nearly three years. One year two months.

F. A. Carroll, Trenton, N. J. Graduate Rhode Island State College. Was supervisor Coos County (N. H.) Cooperative Cow-Testing Association one year, assistant in dairying cooperative work between United States Department of Agriculture and Delaware College one year, and engaged in farming two seasons. One year two months.

L. A. Cooley, Toms River, N. J. Graduate Rutgers College, B. S. Spent two summers in farm work. Ten months.

Walter M. Ellison, Silver City, N. Mex. Attended Cornell Institute four years and New Mexico College of Agriculture five years. Was instructor in high schools two years. Eleven months.

James G. Hamilton, Los Lunas, N. Mex. Graduate University of New Mexico, B. S. A. For two years was assistant in agronomy at New Mexico Agricultural College, his duties being those of superintendent of the college experiment farm and instructor in farm machinery. One year four months.

Richard L. Strong, Estancia, N. Mex. Graduate Agricultural College, Fort Collins, Colo., B. S. Engaged in practical farming three years after graduation. Eleven months.

Homer P. Powers, Socorro, N. Mex. Graduate New Mexico College of Agriculture. Engaged in farming one year prior to present appointment. One year.

Stuart Stirling, Carrizozo, N. Mex. Graduate New Mexico College of Agriculture, B. S. Ten months.

Emmett M. Yates, Tucumcari, N. Mex. Graduate Missouri State University, B. S. Was high-school principal three years, working on farms in summers. Eight months.

Errol Stanley Bird, Canton, N. Y. Graduate New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, B. S. For two years after graduation was farm adviser, Rome State Custodial Asylum, and for six months manager of 750-acre farm. One year three months.

Oscar H. Chapin, Walton, N. Y. Attended Cornell University seven terms. Has had practical experience in dairy and general farming. Five months.

Arthur D. Davies, Herkimer, N. Y. Graduate Cornell University, B. S. Eleven months.

Jasper F. Eastman, Binghamton, N. Y. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, M. A.; also received degrees of B. A. and M. A. from University of Illinois. For seven years was instructor in agronomy at State School of Agriculture, Morrisville, N. Y. Two years five months.

Nicholas G. Farber, Troy, N. Y. Graduate Cornell University, B. S. Taught agriculture in high school two years. Engaged in farm-bureau work. One year two months.

C. W. Gilbert, Catskill, N. Y. Graduate New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, B. S. Eleven months.

Hawley B. Rogers, Jamestown, N. Y. Graduate New York State College of Agriculture, B. S. Four years four months.

Edwin P. Smith, Norwich, N. Y. Graduate Rochester University; also received B. S. A. degree from Cornell, assisted in extension work one winter, and managed a 400-acre farm prior to present appointment. Three years five months.

Ralph Q. Smith, Belmont, N. Y. Graduate Ohio State College, B. S. A. Taught school two terms; engaged in farming one summer and assisted State agriculture-extension department in several counties in Ohio. One year four months.

Charles A. Taylor, Herkimer, N. Y. Attended Cornell Agricultural College one year; three summers at Cornell Summer School. Managed home farm two and one-half years. For three years taught agriculture. Three years six months.

J. R. Teall, Syracuse, N. Y. Graduate Cornell University, A. B. Managed farm while at college. Was manager Cayuga County Farm Bureau three years. Four years three months.

E. V. Underwood, Oswego, N. Y. Graduate Cornell University, B. S. A. Taught agriculture one year. Was also manager of Oswego Farm Bureau. Three years eleven months.

Theodore W. Vann, Elmira, N. Y. Graduate New York College of Agriculture, B. S. Managed farm six months. Was assistant manager of farm bureau, Oswego County, six months prior to present appointment. One year eight months.

Edw. C. Weatherby, Auburn, N. Y. Graduate Cornell University, B. S. Managed home farm of 250 acres. One year five months.

Elmer R. Zimmer, Oswego, N. Y. Took special course at Cornell University two years. Was instructor in animal-husbandry department, College of Agriculture, Cornell University, three terms; also manager Tioga County Farm Bureau. Two years four months.

Arthur H. Neumann, Dickinson, N. Dak. Graduate University of Wisconsin, B. S. A. For various periods was assistant in soils research, University of Wisconsin; analytical soil chemist, University of Wisconsin; and in charge of chemistry and agriculture at State School of Science, Wahpeton, N. Dak. Three months.

Elmer E. Barnes, Paulding, Ohio. Graduate Ohio State University, B. S. A. Engaged in farming and taught district school three years. Was assistant in agricultural chemistry and soils department, Ohio State University, for one semester. Five months.

Walter Eli McCoy, Springfield, Ohio. Graduate Ohio State University, B. S. A. Was employed by extension department, Ohio State University, one year. Four years eleven months.

William Watson Brownfield, Cambridge, Ohio. Attended Ohio State University three years. Was farm manager three years. One year seven months.

F. S. DeLashmutt, Columbus, Ohio. Attended Ohio State University three years. Engaged in dairy-extension work and as instructor in dairy department, Ohio State University, one year. Eleven months.

Clayton L. Long, Cleveland, Ohio. Attended Ohio State University one term. Was extension horticulturist and poultryman at this institution one term and instructor in horticulture and extension horticulturist, New Hampshire State College, two terms. One year.

Arthur R. Chase, The Dalles, Oreg. Attended Agricultural College of Iowa one term and Oregon Agricultural College two terms, receiving B. S. degree from the latter institution. Taught rural schools three terms, and was county school supervisor one year. Also worked on ranches five summers. Conducted corn contests for Oregon two years and potato contests one year, and organized rural parent-teachers' circles and one grange. Two years four months.

W. M. Brennan, Mitchell, S. Dak. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. Spent all his life on farm and managed an 800-acre ranch for three years after graduation. Nine months.

A. L. Bushy, Plankington, S. Dak. Attended South Dakota State College four years; also Purdue University, receiving degrees of B. S. and M. S. from latter institution. Was teacher, Purdue University, four years. Five months.

P. J. Crandall, Alexandria, S. Dak. Graduate University of Wisconsin, B. S. Instructor in agriculture three years. Five months.

J. H Hamilton, Mitchell, S. Dak. Attended Michigan Agricultural College four years. Teacher of agriculture four years. Six months.

George B. Kennard, Sioux Falls, S. Dak. Graduate South Dakota State College, B. S. A. After graduation taught agriculture in high school. Lived all his life on farm. Nine months.

Dick Lewallen, Presho, S. Dak. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, B. S. A. For two years after graduation taught school and directed summer garden work. Two years eleven months.

Harry E. Rilling, Wessington Spring, S. Dak. Graduate South Dakota State College of Agriculture. Was assistant in agronomy at the college two years. Spent one year in farming after graduation. One year.

L. M. Caldwell, Hayti, S. Dak. Graduate South Dakota State College, B. S. Was agricultural instructor in high school two years, engaging in extension work during summer months and half time during school year. Seven months.

E. C. Bird, Armour, S. Dak. Graduate Oberlin College, A. B.; also attended University of Wisconsin. Three years.

R. E. Johnston, Hot Springs, S. Dak. Graduate South Dakota State College, B. S.; for two summers was student assistant in agronomy. Worked three years on farm before attending college; after graduation managed a farm three years. One year ten months.

George R. Mayland, Rapid City, S. Dak. Graduate South Dakota State College, B. S.; also received degree in agriculture; managed a farm three years. Six months.

N. Risjord, Miller, S. Dak. Graduate North Dakota Agricultural College, B. S. Engaged in farming during summer months. After graduation taught agriculture and organized farmers' clubs, farmers' exchanges, etc., in connection with high-school work. Three months.

Colman Wagner, Selby, S. Dak. Graduate South Dakota State College, B. S. Has spent nearly all his vacations on farm and is familiar with farm life; has managed a farm since graduation. Six months.

Lew Mar Price, Price, Utah. Graduate Utah Agricultural College. One year.

Harrison B. Woodbury, Nephi, Utah. Graduate University of Utah; attended Utah Agricultural College one term. Was engaged in farming three years, and was employed as horticulture inspector one year. Nine months.

I. N. Bartlett, Middlebury, Vt. Graduate University of Vermont and State Agricultural College, B. S. Nine months.

Morton F. Downing, Rutland, Vt. Graduate University of Vermont and State Agricultural College, B. S. Was instructor in agronomy and farm manager at an agricultural school for three years and was employed by the University of Vermont extension service for three months. Three years three months.

Harold F. Johnson, Newport, Vt. Graduate University of Vermont and State Agricultural College; B. S. in agriculture. Served with Vermont agriculture extension service and dairy department of University of Vermont three years. One year three months.

L. A. Wood, St. Johnsbury, Vt. Graduate Cornell College of Agriculture, B. S. Prior to present appointment was employed three months as assistant in the Office of Farm Management, this department. Two years nine months.

R. B. Coglon, Pullman, Wash. Graduate Toronto University; subsequently was lecturer in agriculture at University of Saskatchewan one year; county agricultural agent, North Dakota Better Farming Association, one year; State seed commissioner, Idaho Experiment Station, two years; assistant director of county agriculturists for Idaho one year; and county agriculturist, Lane County, Oreg., one year. Two years four months.

John W. Adriance, Stockton, Cal. Graduate College of Agriculture, University of California, B. S. Spent life on farm. Nine and one-half months.

Ernest L. Conant, Sacramento, Cal. Attended University Farm School, Davis, Cal., one year. Managed farm and ranch two years. Prior to present appointment was assistant to county horticultural commission, Santa Clara County. Seven and one-half months.

Edwin L. Garthwaite, Bakersfield, Cal. Graduate College of Agriculture, University of California, B. S. Eight months.

William A. Kent, Modesto, Cal. Graduate University of California, B. S. Was laboratory assistant in department of soils at the college. Nine and one-half months.

George W. Kretsinger, San Diego, Cal. Graduate University of California, B. S. Had general farm experience covering several years. Nine and one-half months.

Donald E. Martin, Berkeley, Cal. Graduate University of California; B. S. in agriculture. One year.

W. A. McCutchan, Fresno, Cal. Graduate College of Agriculture, University of California. Nine months.

Myron A. Rice, Berkeley, Cal. Graduate College of Agriculture, University of California, B. S. One year two months.

John E. Stiles, Berkeley, Cal. Graduate College of Agriculture, University of California, B. S. One year two months.

Frank G. Tiffany, Willows, Cal. Attended Stanford University one year. Received degree of B. S. at College of Agriculture, University of California. Owns and manages ranch. Nine and one-half months.

Hermann F. Brueck, Stockton, Cal. Graduate College of Agriculture, University of California, B. S. Spent two years on large ranch after graduation. Eight months.

C. W. Hammans, Storm Lake, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S., in animal husbandry. Was superintendent of agricultural high school three years. Nine and one-third months.

L. T. Nutty, Marion City, Iowa. Graduate Iowa State College of Agriculture, B. S. in animal husbandry. Ten and one-half months.

J. S. Quist, Des Moines, Iowa. Raised on live-stock farm. Attended Fremont Normal one term Prior to present appointment was supervisor of garden work, Blair, Nebr. Ten months.

John L. Lantow, Paola, Kans. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, B. S. Has had practical farm experience. Ten and one-third months.

H. C. Hensley, Jackson, Mo. Graduate University of Missouri, B. S. Was instructor in agriculture in Madison City schools two years. Two years six months.

E. H. Leker, St. Charles, Mo. Graduate University of Missouri, College of Agriculture, B. S. Eight months.

Edw. A. Livesay, Columbia, Mo. Attended Virginia Polytechnic Institute six years and University of Missouri one year, receiving B. S. (C. E.) from the former and M. S. (Agr.) from the latter. Was student assistant in physics Virginia Polytechnic Institute one term. Engaged in general farming one term. Ten months.

A. R. Hecht, Lincoln, Nebr. Attended University of Nebraska four years. Was tester in charge of cow-testing association one year; was also official cow tester for University of Nebraska dairy department. Engaged in general farming one summer. Nine months.

Ben F. Hensel, Lincoln, Nebr. Graduate Nebraska State Agricultural College, B. S. Worked on farm six years. Conducted a soil survey of Wayne and Phelps Counties, Nebr. Seven months.

Arthur W. Tell, Lincoln, Nebr. Graduate University of Nebraska, B. S. in agriculture. Taught school two years before entering college. Seven months.

R. J. Bugbee, Woodsville, N. H. Graduate New Hampshire College. Market gardener and greenhouse manager one year. Engaged in emergency food campaign in State. Nine months.

A. B. Bucholz, Hudson, N. Y. Graduate Hobart College, B. S.; also received M. S. degree from Cornell University College of Agriculture. Employed by New York State Department of Agriculture six years. Ten months.

Robert V. Call, Cooperstown, N. Y. Graduate Cornell University, B. S. Six months.

John F. Chapin, Watertown, N. Y. Graduate Cornell University. Managed farm and orchards four years. Nine months.

Wilbur D. Chase, Cooperstown, N. Y. Prior to present appointment was engaged six months as assistant county agent and was engaged in emergency food campaign. Eleven months.

Fred P. Foster, Canandaigua, N. Y. Graduate Cornell University, B. S. Managed and worked general farm. Was animal-husbandry specialist Holstein-Friesian Register Co., Vermont, prior to present appointment. Three months.

J. L. Laycock, Rochester, N. Y. Graduate New York State College of Agriculture, B. S. Worked on farm during vacations. Operated 200-acre farm three years. For four months was manager of county farm bureau. Eleven months.

Fred D. Palmer, Lisle, N. Y. Graduate Cornell University, agricultural course. Worked two years on home farm and was manager of a farm one year. Eight months.

Fred R. Walkley, Auburn, N. Y. Graduate Cornell University, B. S. Taught agriculture one year. Five months.

W. L. Kadderly, Corvallis, Oreg. Graduate Oregon Agricultural College, B. S. in agriculture. Engaged in farm management demonstration work four months prior to present appointment. One year seven months.

George H. Baldwin, Kingston, R. I. Graduate Rhode Island State College, B. S., agricultural course. For two years prior to present appointment was assistant manager for Dexter asylum farm. Nine months.

H. E. Bartram, Winooski, Vt. Graduate University of Vermont and State Agricultural College, B. S. Taught agriculture in high school two years and was assistant in plant pathology department, University of Vermont, and State Agricultural College experiment station four years. Eight months.

Frank D. Jones, Burlington, Vt. Graduate University of Vermont and State Agricultural College, B. S. Conducted home farm and was active in home community prior to present appointment. Eight months.

C. S. Fletcher, Spokane, Wash. Graduate State College of Washington. Taught agriculture four years. Seven months.

O. V. Patton, Pullman, Wash. Graduate State College of Washington, degree in horticulture. Taught in high school one semester. Was assistant fruit inspector for Walla Walla, Wash., approximately two years. Eight months.

CLUB WORKERS.

The club workers are a part of the regular extension staff of the State college of agriculture and are employed cooperatively by the Department of Agriculture and the State college of agriculture and the county farm bureau.

These club workers, through the farm bureau, meet with groups of boys and girls, plan with them projects in food production and conservation and other practical work which the children carry on at their homes, organize them into clubs to receive practical instruction related to these projects, and secure an adult local leader to direct the work of the children. The workers organize corn clubs, potato clubs, garden clubs, garden and canning clubs, market-garden clubs, pig clubs, calf clubs, baby-beef clubs, sheep clubs, bread clubs, garment-making clubs, etc. The club worker assists these groups of boys and girls in keeping records of cost and production, in giving public demonstrations, in holding summer club festivals, in making exhibits of their products, and in holding at the close of the year an achievement day. The club worker travels about the county meeting with the groups and leaders and giving expert advice, direction, and instruction on better methods in production and conservation.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by the draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

J. E. Carrigan, Burlington, Vt. Graduate University of Vermont and State Agricultural College, B. S. Was employed as assistant in Vermont agricultural-extension service. Served as county agent two years and later as assistant county agent leader before entering upon present duties. Three years two months.

R. N. Kebler, Marquette, Mich. Graduate Michigan Agricultural College, B. S. Was high-school teacher of agriculture. Prior to present appointment was county club leader one summer. One year.

Walber B. Krueck, West Lafayette, Ind. Graduate University of Wisconsin College of Agriculture. After graduation was instructor in animal husbandry. Purdue University School of Agriculture one term; also engaged in live-stock work at Purdue University. Nine months.

Harold G. Mattoon, Pittsfield, Mass. Graduate Massachusetts Agricultural College, B. S. Engaged one season in eradication of white-pine blister rust, and for short period as Massachusetts State nursery inspector and as assistant county agent and assistant secretary for county farm bureau. Ten months.

William P. Martin, Baton Rouge, La. Graduate Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, specializing in animal husbandry; has had extensive practical farm experience. Two years.

Edw. B. Oxley, Tucson, Ariz. Graduate University of Arizona, B. S. Was assistant State club leader in Nevada prior to present appointment. Seven months.

Leland S. Parke, Tucson, Ariz. Graduate Iowa State College, B. S. A. Prior to present appointment was agricultural inspector of United States Reclamation Service in the Salt River Valley for one and one-half years. Ranched in California and Arizona one year. Three years six months.

Charles E. Potter, Bozeman, Mont. Attended Bethany College, West Virginia, two years; also senior in West Virginia College of Agriculture. Assistant in dairy department of latter institution. Was superintendent of county schools two years; also district superintendent and county club leader one year. One year three months.

H. H. Williamson, College Station, Tex. Graduate Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. in agriculture. Also attended the advanced courses at the Iowa State Agricultural College. Six years three months.

FARM-MANAGEMENT DEMONSTRATORS.

Farm management demonstrators are employed cooperatively by the State agricultural colleges and the United States Department of Agriculture. They deal with the business side of farming and aid farmers in improving the efficiency of their operations. By means of accurate comparisons of the business of individual farmers with that of their more efficient neighbors, they are stimulated to greater food production per acre, per animal, and, what is more important, per man. The group method of demonstration has been so developed that in most cases farmers are able themselves to make these comparisons between their business and that of their neighbors.

In almost any community of the United States will be found a number of farmers who are doing from a third to a half more production work per man than are many of their neighbors. One way to deal with the labor problem is to transfer men from other communities. Another way is to teach farmers how to reorganize their farm rotations and live-stock production so as to use more efficient equipment and labor methods. The farm-management demonstrators are leaders in this class of work.

One of the principal purposes of the farm-management demonstration service is to assist farmers in adapting Federal and State programs to conditions existing in their communities.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

William L. Cavert, St. Paul, Minn. Graduate Cornell University, B. S. A. After graduating was engaged two years in farm-survey work. Three years ten months.

Harold J. Evans, Georgetown Station, N. Y. Graduate Cornell University, B. S. For five months was assistant county agent. Eleven months.

Charles H. Graves, East Lansing, Mich. Graduate New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, B. S. Prior to present appointment was employed as agricultural engineer with Forestal (Ltd.), Buenos Aires, Argentina. Ten months.

P. E. McNall Manhattan, Kans. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, B. S. in engineering, B. S. in agriculture, and M. S. in agriculture. Did practical electrical work in soils at the experiment station. Three years ten months.

Walter J. Tubbs, Burlington, Vt. Graduate Cornell University, B. S. Prior to present appointment was assistant county agent. One year ten months.

Pascal K. Whelpton, Washington, D. C. Graduate Cornell University Agricultural College, B. S. Worked on a farm for three years; employed in farm management extension work in Connecticut three months; was instructor in agriculture in high school four months. Two years four months.

SCIENTIFIC EMPLOYEES OF INSULAR EXPERIMENT STATIONS.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work, and length of service.

Clarence W. Carpenter, Honolulu, Hawaii. Employed as pathologist at the Hawaii Experiment Station, where he organized the plant-disease work. Has made a survey of some of the more important diseases of economic crops, and during the present crisis has conducted a campaign for the control of plant diseases of bananas, which threaten that important food crop, and is engaged in a study of their causes and means of control. A familiarity with tropical conditions, such as he has gained through the two years he has been in Hawaii, is very necessary in carrying on the work with plant diseases. Graduate University of Vermont, B. S. and M. S., having specialized in bacteriology and chemistry. Had practical experience while a student as assistant in the laboratory of hygiene of the Vermont State Board of Health and in the bacteriological-pathological laboratories of the Vermont Experiment Station. Prior to present appointment, was assistant in plant pathology in the Bureau of Plant Industry, working on cotton and truck-crop diseases. Specialized on potato and other diseases, and published a number of papers on his investigations. Five years seven months.

Mazwell O. Johnson, Honolulu, Hawaii. Has charge of the chemical work of the Hawaii Agricultural Experiment Station. Mr. Johnson has made special studies of some of the peculiar soil problems met with in Hawaii. As a result of his discoveries, several thousand acres of land which were formerly unproductive have been added to the area devoted to food crops. He has been very active in emergency work relating to drying of food products, in working out fertilizer formulas for food crops, and in preparing publications. His three years' experience in the islands has given him an excellent grasp of the soil, fertilizer, and other problems and of the special conditions met with. Graduate Purdue University, B. S. in chemical engineering; also received M. S. degree from George Washington University. Prior to present appointment was assistant chemist in the Meat Inspection Division of the Bureau of Animal Industry, and for short periods was employed in a technical capacity by commercial concerns. Four years four months.

Wilton T. White, Fairbanks, Alaska. Has charge of the station at Fairbanks, in the interior of Alaska, where experimental work with farm crops, and especially with cereals, is conducted on a scale comparable to commercial farming. Unusual difficulty has been experienced in securing suitable men for the Alaska stations, which require not only adequate training but practical experience and resourcefulness in meeting contingencies due to the remote location. Graduate Kansas State Agricultural College, B. S. Taught agriculture one year before graduation. Had charge of a 640-acre farm in Kansas, devoted to grain and stock farming, three years prior to entering department service. Eleven months.

BUREAU OF SOILS.

Name, home address, character of work, and length of service.

J. N. Carothers, Washington, D. C. As electrochemist in the Bureau of Soils, has developed and perfected a process for smelting phosphate rock in an electric furnace and collecting phosphoric acid so produced in an electric precipitator. Installed and operated such an installation on a commercial scale at Hoboken, N. J., demonstrating the commercial feasibility of the process for users of pure acid. Has recently completed a piece of work in connection with the War Industries Board

involving the design of an electric furnace suitable for the production of phosphorus direct from phosphate rock. At present, is installing apparatus for an investigation of the possibility of fixing atmospheric nitrogen by means of the electric arc, using a current of very high tension and frequency. This work has a direct bearing on the problem of munitions as well as on that of fertilizer supplies. Graduate Clemson College, B. S., in agriculture and chemistry; Missouri University, graduate courses in chemistry and engineering. Prior to present appointment employed as chemist, assistant superintendent, and director of plant workmen, Southern Electrochemical Co., Nitrole, S. C.; later with the Southern Electrical Chemical Co. and Interstate Chemical Corporation, developing a process for smelting phosphate rock in electric furnace. Two years eleven months.

Albert R. Merz, Washington, D. C. In charge of the project of surveying the blast-furnace industry to determine present operating conditions. This involves the analysis of samples of the materials charged into the furnaces and of the slag drawn off. Such samples have been secured from practically all the blast furnaces of importance in the country, and the work of examination is proceeding actively. It is already evident that the amount of potash potentially available from this American source is very large, probably at least equaling the total amount ever imported from Germany prior to the war. Graduate University of Virginia, B. S. and M. S. Prior to present appointment was chemist Raymond Mining Co., Stuarts Draft, Va., dealing with manganese and iron ores; assistant chemist Pennsylvania State Agricultural Experiment Station, fertilizer control, butters, milks, miscellaneous work; assistant chemist Southern Cotton Oil Co., Savannah, Ga., cotton-seed meal, hulls, glycerine, pancolene, B fat, soap stock, coal; assistant chemist E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., dynamite, fulminate of mercury, notroglycerine, miscellaneous work; chemist, Railroad Valley Co., Tonopah, Nev., brines, salts, waters, muds, and rocks, with especial reference to potash; and conducted nitrate investigations on desert basin deposits. Since entering the Bureau of Soils, has been engaged in the analyses of salines of the United States, investigations on kelps, analyses of phosphatic materials, preparation of concentrated fertilizers, and investigation on nitrates of the Great Basin. Six years one month.

William H. Fry, Washington, D. C. Engaged in the identification, by means of the petrographic microscope, of minerals in soils, fertilizers, fertilizer materials, or samples of unknown composition. By means of the petrographic microscope it is possible for one skilled in its use to quickly and surely determine the presence or absence of any ordinary minerals without a tedious chemical examination, and, in the case of soils, to determine the form in which the elements are present, which can not be determined by any other means. The work is essential to the soil investigations being carried on for this reason. There are very few petrographers in the United States (not more than 10), and it would not be possible to replace Mr. Fry except by obtaining a petrographer from some other department of the Government or other institution doing equally important work. Graduate University of North Carolina, A. B., major in minerology and petrography; graduate student University of North Carolina, one year. Prior to present appointment was assistant in geology University of North Carolina two years and instructor in geology one year; also minerologist North Carolina geological and economic survey one year. Six years five months.

SCIENTISTS IN SOIL SURVEY.

Each of these employees is in charge of a soil-survey field party employed in mapping the soils of certain selected agricultural areas throughout the United States. This requires ability to identify and technically classify soils, to locate them topographically, and to indicate their relative agricultural value and adaptation. It involves a technical knowledge of geology, of soils, and of plane-table traverse work, requiring quite a comprehensive knowledge of agricultural conditions and methods, together with the ability to analyze conditions and express them accurately in report form for publication.

This work has a direct bearing on the existing situation by reason of the fact that the results constitute an exceedingly important factor in crop production. The individual States recognize this and are cooperating extensively with the Department of Agriculture in the work, furnishing funds and men to the equivalent of that supplied by the department, and are using the data secured in their efforts looking toward intelligent activity and increased production of necessary food crops. This fundamental work is also valuable to the extension service in these States in their regular as well as their emergency work. The results are in constant use by the Army in the location of camp sites, in sanitation, in military maneuvers, and plans for the national defense. The Bureau of Soils is actively cooperating with the War Department and securing military information in addition to the regular soil-survey data, furnished directly to the War Department, relating to roads, bridges, houses, topographic features, character of soils, and drainage conditions.

The number of men trained in this line is limited, and the field for them is confined to the demands of the department and States cooperating in this work. The service has always been able to absorb all the trained men available. The department's force has been built up gradually and systematically and is the cumulative result of years of selection and training. Twenty-one men were lost during the past year from this force, which is 40 per cent of the normal field force. In spite of the most strenuous efforts, it has been possible to fill only 10 of these vacancies.

Deferred classification has been requested and allowed by draft boards in the cases of the following scientists in soil survey:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

[Washington, D. C., is the official headquarters of all the scientists in soil survey herein listed, but practically their entire time is spent in the field.]

John H. Agee, Washington, D. C. Graduate University of Tennessee, B. S. in mining engineering. Prior to present appointment two seasons of field-work investigations of phosphate deposits with Tennessee geological survey and one year in cooperative soil-survey work for the State of Tennessee. Six years five months.

A. C. Anderson, Washington, D. C. Graduate North Dakota Agricultural College, B. S. in agriculture. Prior to present appointment classified land for Northern Pacific Railway and engaged five years in cooperative soil-survey work for State of North Dakota. Two years ten months.

M. W. Beck, Washington, D. C. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. in agronomy. Prior to present appointment two seasons as laboratory assistant, soil research laboratory, Pennsylvania State College. Five years nine months.

E. W. Deeter, Washington, D. C. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. Prior to present appointment, two years soil mapping in field for State of Pennsylvania; assistant instructor in soils. Five years.

C. E. Deardorff, Washington, D. C. Graduate University of Missouri, B. S. in agriculture; post-graduate work. Prior to present appointment, three years cooperative soil survey for Missouri. Two years one month.

J. E. Dunn, Washington, D. C. Graduate Columbia Normal Academy, Missouri. Graduate University of Missouri, B. S. in civil engineering. Prior to present appointment taught school two years; two years' experience State soil-survey work; one year Reclamation Service; raised on farm. Five years ten months.

F. A. Hayes, Washington, D. C. Graduate University of Nebraska, M. A.; two years postgraduate work in geography and conservation. Prior to present appointment was employed four seasons in Forest Service; one season in cooperative soil-survey work for Nebraska. One year six months.

F. Z. Hutton, Washington, D. C. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. in agronomy, specializing in soils and farm management. Three years ten months.

R. C. Jurney, Washington, D. C. Graduate University North Caroline, B. A. Prior to present appointment spent two years in cooperative soil-survey work for North Carolina. Three years four months.

N. M. Kirk, Washington, D. C. Graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S., specializing in horticulture and animal husbandry; vacations in practical farm work. Five years ten months.

E. T. Maxon, Washington, D. C. Took one year's advanced work in New York State Normal School; graduate College of Agriculture, Cornell University, B. S.; one year assistant department of soil technology. Prior to present appointment was for two years assistant in State soil survey. Five years eight months.

A. H. Meyer, Washington, D. C. Graduate University of Wisconsin, B. S. in agriculture; postgraduate work in soils, meteorology, and climatology. Prior to present appointment engaged two seasons in Wisconsin soil survey. Seven years one month.

A. L. Patrick, Washington, D. C. Graduate State Normal School, Stroudsburg, Pa.; graduate Pennsylvania State College, B. S. in agriculture; assistant instructor in soil and physical laboratory. Prior to present appointment had field experience in State soil-survey work. Five years.

Lee Roy Schoenmann, Washington, D. C. Graduate University of Wisconsin, B. S. Prior to present appointment had three years' State soil-survey work. Six years eight months.

E. H. Smies, Washington, D. C. Graduate Kansas State College, B. S. in agronomy; student assistant in soils, laboratory, and field. Five years.

W. I. Watkins, Washington, D. C. Graduate University of Missouri, B. S. Prior to present appointment worked in soils and fertilizer in laboratory and field; assisted in State soil-survey work. Three years ten months.

E. S. Vanatta, Washington, D. C. Graduate University of Missouri, B. S. in agriculture, specializing in agronomy and animal husbandry. Prior to present appointment engaged three years in cooperative soil-survey work for Missouri. Seven years.

L. V. Davis Washington, D. C. Graduate University of Missouri, B. S.; postgraduate work in soil investigations. Prior to present appointment was assistant in State cooperative soil-survey work. Four years five months.

H. W. Hawker, Washington, D. C. Received high-school and business education. Six years eleven months.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY.

Name, home address, character of work, and length of service.

Floyd R. Harrison Washington, D. C. As Assistant to the Secretary, Mr. Harrison is the principal executive officer in the immediate office of the Secretary of Agriculture. Educated in public schools of Petersburg, Va., and later took courses at the Emerson Institute, the Drillery Shorthand School, and Strayer's Business College, Washington, D. C.; then completed three-year law course at Georgetown University and was graduated with the degree of LL. B. Was appointed in the Department of Agriculture September 1, 1906, and has served as Secretary to the Solicitor, Chief Clerk of the Bureau of Chemistry, executive clerk to the Assistant Secretary, private secretary to the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, confidential clerk to the Secretary of Agriculture, private secretary to the Secretary of Agriculture, and Assistant to the Secretary. Eleven years nine months.

Arthur H. Fast, Washington, D. C. As assistant to the solicitor of the department is engaged upon legal work incident to the administration of the United States warehouse act. He has been engaged for several months in preparing regulations for cotton warehouses, which work required considerable personal investigation of methods of storing and handling cotton so as to enable him efficiently to perform his duties and dispose of legal questions arising under the statute. He has acquired much information along the lines of his official duties which is of very great value to the department. For one to take his place would mean that he would have to spend a long time in studying and acquainting himself with the work before he could perform the duties with efficiency. At the present time the office of the solicitor is undermanned. Difficulty in finding lawyers suitably qualified who are willing to accept appointments is constantly increasing. College graduate, with degrees of A. B. and LL. B.; took special course in public speaking. Prior to entering the department was for two years teacher in public high school and for two years engaged in private law practice. Two years four months.

Harlan D. Smith, Washington, D. C. Has charge of the office of information, in which capacity he supervises the preparation of all press material, the department's weekly news letter, and many circulars, and assists in the preparation and distribution of posters and other material. Is a trained newspaper man and is particularly skilled in the popular treatment of scientific subjects. The office of information is the principal source of material for newspaper and periodical publication concerning the activities of the department. Besides supplying daily and weekly newspapers, general periodicals, and class publications, it is of special service to the agricultural press in digesting, condensing, and reviewing important bulletins. He is the only man now available for conducting this important function of the department. Three years.

OFFICE OF FARM MANAGEMENT.

Name, home address, character of work, and length of service.

E. H. Thomson, Takoma Park, D. C. As assistant chief of the office of farm management assists the chief of the office in supervising the investigational activities and acts for the chief in his absence on all questions dealing with the work of the office. In addition to these duties he has direct supervision of the section of farm organization, which includes the farm-survey work, investigations of farm machinery and equipment, cooperative farm-management investigations, and various special farm organization problems. Graduate of Cornell University, College of Agriculture, B. S. in agriculture; did graduate work last half of session year and two years following, receiving degree of M. S. in agriculture; took full course in agriculture, with special emphasis on dairying and farm management. Prior to entering departmental service lived on a farm. Eight years nine months.

R. G. Hainesworth, Washington, D. C. As head draftsman, is engaged on highly technical work in the preparation of maps, charts, and other material having to do with the publication of the Atlas of American Agriculture and the publication of the Atlas of the World Agriculture. Has been connected with this project for a number of years and is in charge of the compilation and preparation of a very large amount of material entering into this work. This material has been used very extensively in the war emergency, not only by the Department of Agriculture, but by other branches of the Government, particularly the Shipping Board. The termination of this employee's appointment would be a very material loss, necessitating considerable delay in furnishing information required by the various executive departments. Five years four months.

Robert W. Meyers, Philadelphia, Pa. As farm-help specialist for the State of Pennsylvania Mr. Meyers assists farmers in securing an adequate supply of farm labor for their operations. In this work he cooperates actively with the county agents and with the representatives of the Department of Labor. Seven months.

DIVISION OF ACCOUNTS AND DISBURSEMENTS.

John M. Kemper, jr., Washington, D. C. Aside from occupying the bonded statutory position of deputy disbursing clerk, the responsibilities of which require a person in whom the disbursing clerk reposes the utmost confidence, this employee assists the Chief of the Division of Accounts and Disbursements in compiling and preparing the various financial reports required of the Secretary of Agriculture from time to time by Congress and in the preparation of the annual estimates of appropriations. This work requires an intimate knowledge of the appropriations of the Department of Agriculture and the financial transactions of the Treasury Department, which information can be gained only through years of experience such as this employee has had. He also keeps the record of allotments to the various bureaus of the department made in conformity with law by the Secretary from the regular apropriations and the war emergency appropriation provided by Congress for stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of products. Mr. Kemper has been trained under the personal supervision of the Chief of the Division of Accounts and Disbursements in this work of the Department of Agriculture for years. Ten years six months.

FEDERAL HORTICULTURAL BOARD.

ERADICATION OF COTTON BOLLWORM.

Plant quarantine inspectors (field clean-up work).

The pink bollworm of cotton, undoubtedly the worst known insect pest of cotton, has obtained a limited foothold at a number of points in the State of Texas. This department, under an emergency appropriation, is making a vigorous attempt to exterminate the insect at these restricted points, and has accumulated, with great difficulty under existing conditions, a number of technically trained men to direct such field work of inspection and extermination. This work is of the utmost importance to the future of the cotton crop of the United States, and it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to replace the men engaged in this work should they be lost to the department. These men have all gained experience and developed capacity in this work, which involves technical knowledge of the pink bollworm and ability to recognize evidences of infestation by it in the field, in addition to the practical supervision of large numbers of laborers in the physical work of destroying cotton and other field clean-up and disinfection operations. Although a nonassembled continuing civil service examination for plant quarantine inspector was announced November 14, 1917, the list of eligibles resulting from this examination has not yet been sufficient to meet the needs. Even if it were possible to obtain a sufficient number of qualified persons, they could not, for a considerable length of time, take the places of the men now engaged in this work without substantial material loss and detriment to the adequate and effective operation of the service.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work (see general statement), and length of service.

Herald M. Brundrett, Houston, Tex. Graduate Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. in agriculture, specializing in entomology and horticulture. During one year was employed as instructor in entomology in the college. One year.

Clifton C. Halbedl, Houston, Tex. Graduate Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. One year one month.

Wrathall K. Hanson, Houston, Tex. Graduate Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S. in agriculture. Prior to entering department service was employed for a short period by the American Refrigerator Transit Co. as fruit inspector. Seven and one-half months.

Lowell F. Locke, Houston, Tex. Graduate New Mexico Agricultural College, B. S. in agriculture, course including entomology. Prior to present appointment worked at a dry-land experiment station at Tucumcari, N. Mex., for about 10 months, keeping soil, moisture, crop, weather, and other records. Six and one-half months.

Walter Ohlendorf, Houston, Tex. Graduate Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S.; took a post-graduate course at Cornell University, qualifying for M. S. degree. Prior to present appointment was employed for a year and a half by the Texas Department of Agriculture, being engaged in demonstration work in insect control, investigation work on insects, agricultural-exhibit work, nursery inspection, and other work of a similar nature. Six and one-half months.

Karl H. Townsend, Houston, Tex. Received high-school education and studied Spanish one year; also studied chemistry and trigonometry at George Washington University three years. Prior to present appointment was employed by the Bureau of Plant Industry for 11 years. During the last seven years of his service in the latter bureau was employed for a considerable portion of time in work which gave him a good deal of training in the making of field observations along scientific lines. Has been engaged upon his present duties eight months. Eleven years eight months.

Plant quarantine inspectors (inspectors at ports of entry).

The quarantine service of this department in relation to the pink bollworm at the ports of entry on the Mexican border controls the entry of all cars, freight, and personal baggage from Mexico into the United States and supervises the disinfection of such cars, freight, and baggage. This work requires a special technical training in entomology and also in the methods and practices of fumigation and general disinfection. This quarantine service to be efficient must be continuous and under the direction of experienced men, and its interruption or the breaking in of new men involves a risk of the entry of the pest being guarded against and a nullifying of all previous work. The men now engaged in this work have shown peculiar aptness therefor and are men of energy, ability, and tact. The prevention of the entry of the pink bollworm through the agency of such traffic may mean the prevention of enormous future losses to the cotton crop of America; a crop, furthermore, of very vital war interest. A nonassembled continuing civil-service examination for plant quarantine inspector was announced November 14, 1917, but the list of eligibles resulting from this examination has not yet been sufficient to meet the needs. Even if it were possible to obtain a sufficient number of qualified persons, they could not for a considerable length of time take the place of the men now engaged in this work without substantial material loss and detriment to the adequate and effective operation of the service.

Deferred classification has been requested by the department and allowed by draft boards in the following cases:

Name, home address, character of work, and length of service.

Edgar S. Jewell, Laredo, Tex. Prior to his present appointment was employed by the Federal Horticultural Board in connection with the Maine potato quarantine; also did some work for the Bureau of Plant Industry in connection with potato-disease experiments in Maine. Three years.

Ulphian C. Loftin, Lerdo, Durango, Mexico. Entomological assistant in charge of the station established in the Laguna district of Mexico for a study of the pink bollworm of cotton. These studies are to be the basis of control operations and are of the greatest importance in relation to the future handling of the very serious pink-bollworm problem. His loss at this time would interrupt this very valuable piece of work, and in view of the conditions of isolation under which he lives it would be most difficult to find anyone to take his place. Graduate North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College, B. S.; post-graduate work at the University of Florida, consisting of courses in soil, physics, embryology, and entomology, leading to degree of M. S.; served as a laboratory assistant to the entomologist of the Florida Experiment Station in connection with a number of citrus investigations, velvet-bean spraying, and other insect investigations. During five summer vacations was employed by the North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College Experiment Station in the dairy, bacteriological, and veterinary departments. Prior to present appointment was engaged as entomological assistant in the Bureau of Entomology in the investigation of sugar-cane insects. For several months was stationed in Cuba searching for parasites of sugar-cane insects for importation into the United States. This work was of a novel nature and methods had to be devised as it proceeded, requiring special study and special ability. Five years.

Kenneth B. McKinney, Lerdo, Durango, Mexico. Is detailed to the station established in the Laguna district in Mexico for a study of the pink bollworm of cotton. These studies are to be the basis of control operations and are of the greatest importance in relation to the future handling of the very serious pink-bollworm problem. His loss at this time would interrupt this very valuable piece of work, and in view of the isolation under which he lives it would be most difficult to find anyone to take his place. Graduate University of Tennessee, giving special attention to entomology. Prior to present appointment was engaged on tobacco-insect work for the Bureau of Entomology under temporary appointments averaging about six months each for a period of over four years. Three years.

INSECTICIDE AND FUNGICIDE BOARD.

Name, home address, character of work, and length of service.

J. Louis Monarch, Washington, D. C. Performs the duties of an executive assistant. Has charge of many details involved in the development of cases under the insecticide act, and in the absence of the executive officer performs the administrative work of the Insecticide and Fungicide Board, including the direction of inspectors and sample collectors. The most important feature of his work is to review the scientific data presented by the several branches of the board in connection with alleged violations of the insecticide act and to cooperate with them in the preparation of charges. Has been employed by the board for seven years, and it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to secure a man of similar training and experience. Graduate of Georgetown Law School and admitted to the bar of the District of Columbia. Prior to entering the service of the board was employed in the office of the solicitor of this department. Nine years.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE TO WAIT UPON THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, your committee appointed to wait upon the President and notify him that the House was ready to adjourn and ask if he had any further communication to make, has, in company with a like committee on the part of the Senate, performed that duty. The President wishes us to inform the House that he has no further communication to make at this time.

ADJOURNMENT.

The SPEAKER. The hour of 5 o'clock having arrived, in accordance with the resolution heretofore adopted, the Chair declares the House adjourned without day.

Accordingly (at 5 o'clock p. m.) the House adjourned without day.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury transmitting supplemental estimate of appropriation required by the Department of State for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919 (H. Doc. No. 1338); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting estimate of appropriation to be included in the deficiency bill or some other act which may be considered at an early date (H. Doc. No. 1340); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a draft of a bill increasing the travel allowances of officers of the Army (H. Doc. No. 1341); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

4. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting tentative draft of a bill designed to provide increased compensation for all candidates for commission in the Air Service (Aeronautics) while receiving instruction involving flights (H. Doc. No. 1342); to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

5. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting report of The Adjutant General of the Army relative to the financial and other affairs of the United States Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth, Kans., and for the Pacific and Atlantic branches thereof, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1918 (H. Doc. No. 1343); to the Committee on Military Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

6. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting with a letter from the Chief of Engineers report on preliminary examination of Tillamook Bay and River and Hoquarten Slough, Oreg., with a view to securing the most feasible channel from the entrance to the city of Tillamook (H. Doc. No. 1344); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed with illustrations.

7. A letter from the Commissioners of the District of Columbia transmitting a detailed statement of the expenditures from the appropriation for contingent expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1918 (H. Doc. No. 1345); to the Committee on the District of Columbia and ordered to be printed.

8. A letter from the Secretary of War directing attention to the importance of the provisions of H. R. 12376 (H. Doc. No. 1346); to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service and ordered to be printed.

9. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a statement showing for the first four months of the current fiscal year the average number of employees in each bureau and office of the Navy Department proper, at Washington, receiving increased compensation at the rate of $120 per annum and the average number by grades receiving the same at each other rate (H. Doc. No. 1347); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

10. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a statement showing, by bureaus and offices, as of date November 15, 1918, the number and designation of persons employed under the appropriation for additional temporary employees, Navy Department (H. Doc. No. 1348); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

11. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Nancy A. Lockwood, Edna M. Miller, and Charles K. Miller, heirs of Benjamin K. Miller, deceased (H. Doc. No. 1349); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

12. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of George Jabez Daniels, son and sole heir of Jabez J. Daniels, deceased, against the United States (H. Doc. No. 1350); to the Committee on War Claims.

13. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Alice W. Rash, daughter of Humphrey W. Woodyard, deceased, against the United States (H. Doc. No. 1351); to the Committee on War Claims.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. WINGO: A bill (H. R. 13153) extending the time for the construction of a bridge across the Arkansas River, at the foot of Garrison Avenue, at Fort Smith, Ark.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SWIFT: A bill (H. R. 13154) providing for the issuance of certificates of record to the nearest of kin of deceased enlisted men and women of the world war; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also a bill (H. R. 13155) providing for the issuance of certificates of record to the nearest of kin of all deceased soldiers and nurses of the world war; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FRENCH: A bill (H. R. 13156) to extend protection under the civil-rights act approved March 8, 1918, to soldiers and sailors beyond the period set forth in said act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DILLON: A bill (H. R. 13157) prescribing the duties of the Federal judges in cases tried by a jury; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SWIFT: A bill (H. R. 13158) to incorporate the United States Platinum Corporation and to aid in the development of the mineral resources of Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. ALEXANDER: A bill (H. R. 13159) to further regulate radio communcation; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. FRENCH: A bill (H. R. 13160) to extend the provisions of the homestead laws touching credit for period of enlistment to the soldiers, nurses, and officers of the Army, and the seamen, marines, nurses, and officers of the Navy and the Marine Corps of the United States who have served or will have served during the war between the United States and Germany and Austria; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. SINNOTT: A bill (H. R. 13161) for the erection of a statue in honor of Ferdinand Foch, marshal of France, in Washington, D. C.; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. VESTAL: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 352) authorizing and permitting enlisted men of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps to retain their uniforms; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LUNDEEN: Resolution (H. Res. 452) authorizing and directing certain committees of the House to make investigations relative to employment of labor; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALEXANDER: A bill (H. R. 13162) to authorize the changing of the name of the steamship *Charlotte Graveraet Breitung;* to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. CURRY of California: A bill (H. R. 13163) for the relief of Robert L. Brantley; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD: A bill (H. R. 13164) granting an increase of pension to William Riley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FIELDS: A bill (H. R. 13165) granting an increase of pension to David Tipton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FRENCH: A bill (H. R. 13166) for the relief of Kentuck Corbett; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. GREEN of Iowa: A bill (H. R. 13167) granting an increase of pension to Osmer A. Rose; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GRIFFIN: A bill (H. R. 13168) granting a pension to Matilda Lovey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KRAUS: A bill (H. R. 13169) granting an increase of pension to Alexander Little; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LESHER: A bill (H. R. 13170) granting a pension to Elizabeth Sides; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SANDERS of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 13171) granting a pension to Elizabeth Hamilton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 13172) granting a pension to Sarah M. Johnson; to the Committee on Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. DALE of New York: Resolutions of the Pattern Makers' Association of New York and vicinity asking for the passage of the Smith-Bankhead bill providing for the vocational rehabilitation of workmen disabled by industrial accidents; to the Committee on Education.

Also, petition of John I. D. Bristol, of Milwaukee, Wis., urging the passage of House bill 5407; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DALE of Vermont: Petition of Danville (Vt.) Grange, No. 325, Patrons of Husbandry, favoring repeal of the postal-zone law; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ESSEN: Resolution adopted by Branch No. 3 of the National Association of Post Office Laborers, of St. Louis, Mo., in favor of House bill 9906, providing for an increase in the salary of post-office employees; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. LUNDEEN: Memorial of a mass meeting of citizens of Minneapolis protesting against armed intervention in Russia and asking immediate recognition of the soviet government; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania: Resolutions and suggestions for the upbuilding of an American merchant marine; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. STEENERSON: Petitions in favor of H. R. 5407 and S. 4914 by the following: J. A. Narum, J. J. Wade, and Henry N. Jensen, of Detroit; H. E. Webber, of Fergus Falls; Willard S. Ward, of Minneapolis; T. M. McCall, Mrs. H. E. Newland, and Walter F. Banks, of Crookston, all in the State of Minnesota; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition urging early action and favorable reconsideration of S. 130, relating to officers' retired pay, etc., signed by the following: Charles Kittleson, M. Hunt, and Charles Davis, Civil War veterans; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. VARE: Motion adopted at meeting of United Business Men's Association of Philadelphia, requesting passage of bill for the retirement of civil Government employees; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota: Petition of R. H. Wood and seven other citizens of Lakota, and of a number of citizens of Fargo, N. Dak., praying for permission to the Pan Motor Co., of St. Cloud, Minn., to sell the balance of its capital stock; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.